

The Impact of the 2009 US-backed Coup on the Political, Social, and Economic Spheres of Honduras

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study explores the perspectives of seven Honduran citizens regarding the 2009 coup in Honduras, with a focus on themes of political instability, economic struggles, social polarization, migration, and international intervention. The participants expressed a range of views on the coup and its aftermath, with some highlighting the negative impact of the coup on Honduran democracy and others suggesting that it represented a necessary corrective measure. The study also examines the role of the United States, in the coup and its aftermath, with a majority of participants expressing negative sentiments towards US intervention in Honduras.

Introduction

Honduras, formerly inhabited by predominantly indigenous tribes, is renowned for its natural beauty, encompassing its beaches, rainforests, and coral reefs. Conversely, the region is also characterized by prolonged periods of violence and stagnant development processes. To understand the stark difference between these two realities, it is vital to consider the role played by the United States in the history of Honduras.

The onset of the 20th century marked the commencement of a series of interventions by the U.S. in Honduras, most of which were aligned with a conservative American agenda aimed at protecting its commercial interests. Some of these interventions were motivated by the desire to maintain control of banana plantations by U.S. corporations. Others were driven by geopolitical considerations, such as the alleged necessity to safeguard political stability and counter socialist movements in the region. However, the crux of the matter is often overlooked regarding these interventions, which entail detrimental impacts on the public's well-being: the displacement of thousands, undermining of democratic institutions, and exacerbating poverty and inequality. Today, Honduras faces pressing challenges, including high levels of crime and violence, political instability, information inequality, and economic hardships. These challenges, alongside pivotal moments in Honduras' history, can be traced back to U.S. interventions and the enduring legacy they have left behind. If the U.S. intends to take on the role of implementing sustainable solutions in the region, understanding the correlation between U.S. interventions and the current situation in Honduras is crucial. In 2009, Honduras experienced a military coup that overthrew the democratically elected President, Manuel Zelaya. The coup was widely condemned by the international community, and the U.S. was criticized for not taking a stronger stance against it. The coup led to a period of political instability in Honduras, with increased human rights violations and violence against journalists and activists. The significance of the coup and its consequences in comprehending the current state of affairs in Honduras cannot be disregarded. Moreover, to comprehend the situation in Honduras, it is imperative to acknowledge its intersection with broader global dynamics.

What was the impact of the US-backed 2009 coup on the daily lives and well-being of Honduran citizens, and how do their experiences and perspectives shed light on the broader economic, social, and political implications of U.S. interventions in Honduras? An in-depth exploration of this question through qualitative interviews with Honduran citizens will provide valuable insights into the complex relationship between U.S. interventions and the current state of Honduras.

This study aims to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the current situation in Honduras, including the role of the U.S. in the 2009 coup and its impact on the country's citizens. By doing so, this research can inform foreign policy decisions that address the systemic issues ingrained in Honduran society, rather than simply addressing the symptoms of these issues.

Additionally, this research paper will examine the relationship between the coup and the mass migration that ensued subsequently, known as the 2016 Caravan. Existing literature on Honduran migration and its underlying factors typically overlook the contribution of the U.S. to the circumstances leading to migration. Moreover, the solutions implemented by the United States, other countries, and international organizations such as the United Nations in Honduras frequently neglect the impact of modern-day imperialism and consequently prove to be unsustainable.

Literature Review

The primary decades of Honduras's history were defined by instability in terms of economy and politics. Indeed, the political context paved the way for 210 armed conflicts between gaining independence from Spain and the rapid rise to power of the Carias government. The United States meddling in the region's affairs played a significant role in fueling this stability.

The period of the early 1900s was marked by a series of conflicts, interventions, and occupations, in Central America and the Caribbean by the United States, which came to be known as the American-Caribbean Wars or the "Banana Wars", a term coined by historians. These interventions were aimed at protecting American commercial interests in the region, particularly those of the United Fruit Company. This company had a considerable financial stake in the production of various goods, including bananas, tobacco, and sugar cane throughout the Caribbean, Central America, and northern South America.

The Vaccaro Brothers Company, more popularly known as the Standard Fruit Company, was the first to strike a deal with the Honduran government, paving the way for the Cuyamel Fruit Company to follow suit. The United Fruit Company, with the assistance of its subsidies (the Tela Railroad Company and Truxillo Railroad Company), also secured a contract with the government. To secure a contract between the Honduran government and the American companies, various methods of bribery were employed. A commonly used approach involved exchanging land for the construction of railroads in Honduras, which is why a railroad company facilitated the agreement between the United Fruit Company and Honduras. The aim of securing this contract was to gain control over the entire process of banana production and distribution. Moreover, the American companies sought to maintain their power and vast influence by providing funding for guerilla fighters, presidential campaigns, and governments.

During the early 1980s, the Ronald Reagan Administration converted Honduras into a military satellite by investing millions of dollars in Honduran military forces. These efforts aimed to create a base for countering guerilla groups in El Salvador and supporting the Contras in their fight against Nicaragua's Sandinista government. The Honduran army acquiesced to this agreement due to the significant financial and military assistance received from the United States in exchange for its cooperation. Additionally, military rulers in power saw the suppression of leftist movements as necessary for maintaining their grip on power and thus welcomed U.S. sponsorship.

As part of this arrangement, the CIA funded and provided training for Battalion 316 of the Honduran army. This battalion was established to intercept weapons destined for the guerillas. The United States not only trained the battalion in surveillance and interrogation tactics on American soil but also funded the hiring of Argentine counterinsurgency experts, who were responsible for the deaths or disappearances of over 10,000 Argentine citizens during the "dirty war", to teach Hondurans "methods to eliminate subversives" starting in 1981. Consequently, Battalion 316 was responsible for the disappearance or deaths of at least 140 Honduran citizens.

In 2009, the Honduran military overthrew the democratically-elected president, Manuel Zelaya, in a US-backed coup that was regarded as both undemocratic and concerning by the international community. Zelaya, who held moderately left-leaning views, posed a threat to the entrenched Honduran oligarchy, which had pledged loyalty

to the capitalist system endorsed by their financiers in the United States. Afterward, the U.S. continued offering military and economic assistance to the interim government that took over and took steps to dissuade other countries in the region from taking action against the coup leaders. Notwithstanding the demand for Zelaya's return by nearly every country in the Latin American region, Washington upheld its decision to support new elections. This decision was reprimanded internationally due to the widespread violence and repression that ensued. Elections were conducted thereafter, and five months after the removal of Zelaya, Porfirio Lobo was appointed to the presidency. Despite the crisis being declared over eventually, violence levels have continued to rise since then.

Hillary Clinton, then Secretary of State under President Obama, played a significant role in the response of the US government regarding the coup. Despite initially expressing concerns about the legality of the coup, she later shifted her position and advocated instead for a negotiated settlement that would allow Zelaya to return to the country as a symbolic figurehead while leaving the coup leaders in power. According to critics, Clinton's change in position was largely driven by U.S. economic interests, particularly those of American corporations that were operating in Honduran sweatshops, producing textiles and other goods. Specifically, critics argue that Clinton's close relationship with Lanny Davis, a lobbyist hired by the Honduran business community to protect the interests of the coup leaders in the United States, may have influenced her stance.

Steve Striffler and Mark Moberg's "Banana Wars: Power, Production, and History in the Americas" is an illuminative scholarly work that examines the role of the United States in Honduras and the broader region of Central America. The book offers a critical perspective of US intervention in the region and its impact on local economies, politics, and society. As previously mentioned, the book contends that the United States has historically leveraged its military and economic power to promote the interests of American corporations in Central America, particularly those involved in the production and export of Bananas. The writers put forth the view that this has resulted in the exploitation of workers and the destruction of local economies, as well as political instability and violence. Moreover, the work provides a historical analysis of U.S. intervention in the region, tracing the origin of the "Banana Wars" back to the commencement of the 20th century when the United States began embedding its influence in Latin America. The authors argue that this intervention has continued to the present day, with the United States supporting authoritarian regimes and military interventions in the region to protect American business interests.

As the end of the 19th century approached, most of the economies in Central America were nascent and underdeveloped. Sensing this, the U.S. perceived a chance to exploit this vulnerability: through economic dominance. In his work, *The United States in Central America, 1860-1911: Episodes of Social Imperialism and Imperial Rivalry in the World System*, John W. Weeks employs a historical perspective to narrate the political, social, and social factors that led to US intervention in the region. The work argues that in addition to economic interests, the US government saw Central America as a strategically important region for maintaining influence in the Western Hemisphere. Weeks explores the social and cultural aspects of US intervention in Central America, arguing that American imperial ambitions were often accompanied by a sense of cultural superiority and a desire to "civilize" local populations, a phenomenon that often led to conflicts between American businesses, the US government, and local communities.

Despite the significant challenges encountered by Honduran communities, there have been various efforts over time to push back against oppression and initiate the reconstruction of a fairer and more democratic society, shaped by and for the citizenry. In their book, *Honduras in Dangerous Times: Resistance and Resilience*, James J. Philips and Samuel Logan highlight the efforts of Honduran civil society to resist oppression and institute long-term support for democratic institutions. The work underscores the efforts of indigenous communities, labor unions, human rights activists, and other social movements to challenge the status quo and build a more egalitarian society. Similarly to the aforementioned literary works, this book delves into the correlation between U.S. involvement in Honduras and the country's current problems. Offering a critical perspective on the role of the United States in Honduras, the work calls for a more humane approach to U.S. foreign policy in the region.

This paper will employ the theoretical framework of imperialism to examine the impact of the 2009 US-backed coup on Honduran citizens. Imperialism refers to the exercise of power and control by a dominant nation over weaker nations, often in pursuit of economic gain. By analyzing the coup in the context of imperialism, this research

aims to shed light on the role of external forces in shaping the political, economic, and social conditions of Honduras. The framework of imperialism will enable a critical analysis of the underlying power dynamics that led to the coup and the subsequent consequences for the people of Honduras. Through this lens, the research will provide a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between internal and external factors that influence the fate of Honduras as a nation.

Methodology

1. Case Study Design

A case study design is a research method that involves the in-depth investigation of a specific individual, group, event, or situation. It is a qualitative research approach that aims to explore and comprehend complex phenomena in their real-life context. Case studies are commonly used in the fields of psychology, education, anthropology, political science, and social work to analyze unique cases that cannot be studied through quantitative data. Moreover, qualitative data is often used in case studies when there is limited quantitative data available. This was the case for this research. While quantitative data can provide valuable information about measurable variables such as population demographics, economic indicators, and voting patterns, it may not be able to capture the nuances of individual experiences and attitudes.

The case study design will provide unique information about the specific case being investigated, which in this research is the impact of the 2009 coup on Honduran citizens. To collect data for this study, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with a purposive sample of Honduran citizens living in Yoro, Honduras. It will enable the researcher to explore the dynamics between those involved in the coup and those affected by it. Furthermore, the case study method will allow the researcher to examine the interplay between various factors and develop new theories that can be applied in future studies. The case study approach is particularly suitable for investigating the impact of the coup on Honduran citizens in Yoro because it can shed light on factors that are often overlooked by media outlets. The complexity of the impact of the coup can be better understood through this research method and it will provide valuable insight that might not be uncovered through quantitative data alone. In certain contexts such as political upheaval, quantitative data may be difficult to obtain, as was the case with the Honduran coup. As a result, the researcher had to rely on qualitative data collected through interviews to gain insight into how the coup affected Honduran citizens.

2. Selection of Participants and Rationale

To address the research question adequately, the researcher needed to gather qualitative data. Nine participants were selected for interviews using purposeful sampling. All of the selected individuals were Honduran citizens residing in El Progreso, Yoro, and were aged above 30 years old. This sampling technique was particularly beneficial because it allowed the researcher to create a sample that is believed to accurately represent the population based on previous research and reasoning. The sampling criteria were thus based on this strategy and the researcher searched for individuals who met these criteria. The participation criteria for this study include being a Honduran citizen residing in Yoro, aged 30 or older, and having been present in the same territory both before and after the 2009 coup. Gender was not a factor in the selection process.

The rationale behind selecting this specific sampling criterion was to ensure that the experiences and perspectives of the participants were relevant to the research question. Yoro is a region that witnessed a substantial number of protests following the coup, and by selecting individuals who were 30 years or older and resided in Yoro before and after the coup, the researcher could obtain meaningful insights into the impact of the coup on Honduran citizens.

This age range was chosen as it focused on participants who have lived through the pre and post-coup period, thereby providing a unique perspective on the topic of the study.

3. Data collection through qualitative interviews using the phenomenology method

As previously mentioned, the primary method for collecting data in this study was through qualitative interviews conducted via phone calls. In addition, the researcher employed the phenomenology method to explore the participants' lived experiences and perspectives related to the impact of the coup. Phenomenology is a qualitative research method that seeks to explore and understand individuals' subjective experiences related to a particular phenomenon. The research method is particularly useful in exploring complex, sensitive, and personal topics where participants' subjective experiences are critical to the research question. Utilizing the phenomenology method in the context of the research question proved to be beneficial due to the method's emphasis on exploring participants' experiences. In this case, the identified phenomenon was the impact of the 2009 coup on the people of Yoro, Honduras. To accommodate the language barrier, all interviews were conducted in Spanish, the participants' native language, since none of them spoke or understood English. The interviews were recorded with proper consent and transcribed into English for the data analysis process. The researcher relied on family connections to recruit participants from their surrounding neighborhoods who met the study's sampling criteria.

During the interview process, the researcher asked a set of questions that were designed to obtain specific information about the participants and to prompt personal anecdotes that could provide valuable insights into the research topic. The interview questions were developed based on the research questions. The set of questions included three questions that ensured that the participant met the study's criteria, and the remaining questions were open-ended and allowed the participant to elaborate on their experiences. Each interview had a maximum time limit of 50 minutes to ensure that the participant had enough time to share their experiences. In total, there were 15 questions asked during each interview. Thus, the interviews were semi-structured, intending to capture each participant's personal experiences during and after the coup.

4. Data analysis methods

The collected data was analyzed using a thematic analysis approach. Recurring themes and patterns in the data were identified and then organized into separate categories. To begin this process, the interviews were first translated into English and transcribed, while taking care to maintain accuracy and ensuring that no valuable information was lost or misinterpreted during the translation process. The transcripts were read several times, and several key concepts or codes were identified, which were then categorized into different themes. The researcher used Quirkos, a digital software designed to facilitate qualitative data analysis, to conduct thematic analysis. The analysis of the data allowed for the identification of patterns, trends, and relationships, between the codes and categories. To interpret the data, conclusions were drawn based on the analysis, including comparisons with existing literature, the development of new theories or hypotheses, and recommendations for future research. Thematic analysis is a robust method applied when attempting to uncover patterns and themes in qualitative data. Furthermore, this study analyzed the data through the theoretical framework of imperialism lenses, providing a deeper understanding of the participant's experiences in the context of the broader socio-political and economic context.

Table 1. Semi-Structured Qualitative Interview Questions

How old are you?
Are you a Honduran citizen?
Do you live in Yoro, if so, what part of Yoro do you reside in?
Have you resided in Honduras since the coup and did you live there before the coup?
How has your life been impacted by the 2009 coup in Honduras, if at all?
In your opinion, what were the underlying causes of the coup?
What role do you think the United States played in the coup, and how did it impact Honduras, if at all?
Can you describe any specific instances of violence or human rights abuses that you have witnessed or experienced since the coup?
How was your community affected by the coup, particularly in terms of social and economic resources, if at all?
Can you speak to any changes in political participation or representation since the coup?
How has the media portrayed the coup and its aftermath, and how do you think that has affected the public perception of the situation?
What are your thoughts on the relationship between the coup and the subsequent migration patterns from Honduras?
Can you speak to any efforts to address the challenges facing Honduras since the coup, particularly those aimed at reducing poverty and inequality?
How do you see the situation in Honduras evolving in the coming years?
In your opinion, what steps could be taken to improve the situation in Honduras?
How do you think the United States and other international actors could support these efforts?

Results

Before evaluating the data, the semi-structured qualitative interviews were structured around five central concepts: (1) Political upheaval from the perspective of Honduran citizens, (2) Human rights and their violations in Honduras, (3) Economic impact of the coup on Honduran citizens, (4) International intervention and its impact on the Honduran people, (5) Impact of the coup on families and communities.

The identified concepts provided a framework for deriving themes from the personal responses of each participant and identifying patterns within those responses. Through data analysis, five distinct themes emerged and were further examined based on the participants' responses. The following are the themes and their explanations:

Table 2. Identified Themes and Explanations

Theme	Explanation
1. Political and social change	This theme explores how Honduran citizens perceived and experienced political and social changes in the aftermath of the coup, including changes in government policies, political repression, and social unrest.
2. Human rights violations	This theme examines the impact of the coup on human rights violations in Honduras from the perspective of citizens, including issues such as freedom of expression, access to justice, and experiences of violence or repression.
3. Economic struggles and livelihoods	This theme assesses the economic consequences of the coup on the daily lives and livelihoods of Honduran citizens, including changes in employment opportunities, poverty rates, and access to necessities.
4. Role of U.S. intervention	This theme examines the role of the United States in the coup and its aftermath from the perspectives of Honduran citizens.
5. Migration	This theme refers to the relationship between the 2009 coup and the subsequent mass migration of Honduran citizens, including how political violence, economic instability, and social unrest caused by the coup contributed to the increase in migration.

In the following table, *Table 3*, there is a summary of each participant's responses to the interview, including the theme(s) that were identified in their responses.

Table 3. Synopsis of Semi-Structured Qualitative Interviews and Identified Theme (s)

Participant	Summary of Interview	Identified Theme(s)
Participant 1	<p>The participant is a 30-year-old natural-born Honduran citizen currently residing in El Progreso, Yoro, for the past 20 years. The participant believes that Mel Zelaya's proposed re-election and his interest in implementing policies similar to those of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela and Fidel Castro in Cuba led to the coup. The participant alleges that since the coup, Honduran politicians have been involved in narco-trafficking deals and that hidden agendas in the Honduran government have resulted from these narco ties. The participant notes that when Mel Zelaya was in office, he raised the minimum wage of workers, but after he left, companies switched to paying hourly rates, and the current minimum wage is insufficient to cover basic living expenses. The participant claims that the United States plays a significant role in Honduras, exploiting the country's natural resources and treating it like a colony. The participant argues that the U.S. role in the coup was supporting the ouster of Zelaya, the interim government, and the subsequent president, Pepe Lobo. According to the participant, the economic and social situation in Honduras worsened under Lobo's rule. The participant notes that the coup had a bad economic impact on his community and that many people lost their jobs because of it. After the coup, the participant witnessed an increase in unemployment, crime, and extortion rates. The participant mentions Bertha Caceres, an environmental activist who was killed while fighting for the protection of natural resources and indigenous communities during Juan Orlando's presidency. The participant argues that Caceres had too much influence, particularly with Europeans who take more care of the environment and was killed for defending her indigenous land and the environment. The participant also mentions that the ENEE, a government-owned electricity company, is in charge of maintaining the infrastructure of energy in Honduras but fails to provide adequate service, while private companies continue profiting off their service at cheaper rates than the public. He mentions that many lost their jobs after the coup and that there was an increase in the lack of educational opportunities. He believes these factors made it difficult for people to find work and make a living, causing many to immigrate to the United States. The participant argues that the government must invest in education and replace corrupt politicians for there to be a change in Honduras. The participant believes that the U.S. should acknowledge its role in imperialism and military funding that has contributed to the country's corruption and could help by not abusing its power and influence. Finally, the participant highlights the challenges facing their community, such as extortion by gangs and the need for change to create a better future.</p>	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
Participant 2	<p>This participant is a 31-year-old natural-born Honduran citizen currently residing in El Progreso, Yoro, for the past 30 years. He stated that the coup had a detrimental effect on both him and his family. Although he was in school at the time of the coup, he recalled his parents facing difficulties finding work afterward. They had to</p>	1, 2, 3, 4,5

Participant	Summary of Interview	Identified Theme(s)
	<p>commute from El Progreso to San Pedro, which was a challenge due to violent protests, blocked streets, and local travel being dangerous. The interviewee believed that the coup happened because Mel Zelaya threatened the economic interests of big business owners in Honduras, and he claimed that the U.S. supported the coup because it did not appreciate this role. The interviewee mentioned that the United States' main role was to agree with the coup, and as a result, the country was subsequently removed from various treaties and international organizations. After the coup, violence, protests, and strikes increased, and the police would often throw tear gas bombs at protestors. He says that if people left their homes to protest the coup, the police would beat them up or jail them by orders of the interim government. There was also an increase in violence and extortion. Many factories left the country, which was a source of employment, and there were not many investments in the country. The interviewee claimed that after the coup, the country was governed by a political party with ties to drug trafficking that placed corporate interests over the common welfare. All jobs became hourly, and companies did not pay workers' benefits. If they hired someone, it was only for three or four months. The interviewee mentioned that at the time of the coup, the media did not talk much about it, and if it did, it was in favor of the coup. These media sources were financed by the interim government and then Pepe Lobo, and as a result, they misinterpreted Mel Zelaya's intentions as communist and promoted pro-coup messages. The interviewee stressed that the country has not recovered since the coup and worries that if other countries, especially the US, do not like the way the current government, run by Mel Zelaya's wife, Xiomara Castro, governs, there could be another coup. He argued that the United States has helped Honduras, but always in exchange for something. He claims that the US provides the country with economic assistance in return for military bases and territory. The interviewee suggested that if the US wants to help, it should do so according to the problem that arises in the country. Regarding migration patterns, the interviewee said that after the coup, people in his family and community started leaving the country because there were no sources of work. He claims people left for the US in search of better opportunities after the coup.</p>	
Participant 3	<p>This participant is a 40-year-old natural-born Honduran citizen currently residing in El Progreso, Yoro, for the past 40 years. This participant argued that the 2009 coup in Honduras had a significant impact on daily life, particularly in terms of the economy. The closure of entrances and exits to the city made it difficult for people to buy food and work, leading to a downturn in the economy that is still felt today. She attributes the coup to the mismanagement of rulers who wanted to make illegal consultations with the people through the ballot box, which included creating a new constituent that many believed was against the Honduran constitution. She believes that the United States was involved in the coup, with Hillary Clinton supporting the interim government and Pepe Lobo after. She also mentions specific instances of violence and human rights abuses, such as the killing of Berta Caceres, who was fighting for environmental rights and was believed to have been killed for her oppo-</p>	2,3,4,5

Participant	Summary of Interview	Identified Theme(s)
	<p>sition to the interests of powerful corporations. The coup has also affected her community in terms of health, education, and security, with fewer opportunities for education and an increase in children forced to work or become part of a gang. This participant suggested that there hasn't been much positive political change in Honduras since the US-backed coup of 2009. The interviewee argues that the country has not improved, and instead, things have gotten worse. She notes that each political party in Honduras works for its interests, without regard for the welfare of the country or its citizens. The interviewee also mentions that after the coup, more political parties emerged, but these parties did not make any positive difference. Additionally, the interviewee suggests that the country was under a "narco-state" for 12 years after the coup, with both Pepe Lobo and Juan Orlando having ties to drug trafficking. This comment suggests that the interviewee believes that the political situation in Honduras is closely tied to illegal activities, which further exacerbates the country's problems. According to the participant, people started leaving the country and coming into the US after the coup because the economy and job opportunities were damaged. Many people lost their jobs, including government employees who were replaced by the new government and had to leave to look for opportunities elsewhere. The participant also mentioned that the United States is where the majority of immigrants go. She does not see the situation in Honduras improving shortly and believes that the United States and other international actors could help by supporting efforts to reduce poverty and inequality.</p>	
Participant 4	<p>This participant is a 36-year-old natural-born Honduran citizen currently residing in El Progreso, Yoro, for the past 30 years. Participant Four spoke about the effects of the 2009 Honduran coup d'état, which overthrew President Manuel Zelaya. She mentioned that there was a lot of violence, insecurity, and an economic downturn, which led to the closure of her business and her nuclear family's emigration to the United States. She believed that the coup was motivated by the economic interests of powerful figures in Honduras, who felt threatened by Zelaya's policies. She also mentioned that the US was involved in supporting the interim government and Pepe Lobo. This participant also spoke about the social and economic impacts of the coup. She noted that there was a lot of violence and looting, which caused business owners to close their stores abruptly. She also believed that the mass emigration that ensued was a consequence of the coup, as people were not able to support their families due to violence, crime, and lack of employment. She believed that the lack of economic opportunities was also due to money laundering, which concentrated wealth in a few hands. Money laundering has always existed in Honduras, but the participant began to notice it quite strongly during the presidency of Pepe Lobo and Juan Orlando. She spoke about the political environment in Honduras after the coup, noting that it had gotten worse. She mentioned that the National Party had been in power ever since the coup until 2022, and they had not thought of developing the country or creating jobs. She believes that</p>	1,3,4,5

Participant	Summary of Interview	Identified Theme(s)
	<p>the media played a significant role in promoting the coup, as the majority of media outlets were in favor of it. She noted that people believed anything they heard, and when journalists associated Zelaya with a communist ideology, they created fear within people, leading them to support the coup. She mentioned that following the coup, the country stopped receiving a lot of international aid that sustained certain economic parts of Honduras. Some of this aid helped create employment opportunities for lower-income families. People started leaving mainly because there were no jobs. And even if there were jobs, the money they received from them was not enough to cover all of their living expenses. The participant expressed her fear about the situation in Honduras in the coming years, as she seems to not know what will happen with the current authorities. She believes that if nothing changes, people would continue losing their lives, fleeing the country, or living in poverty. She suggested that the government should take action to improve education, fight crime, and stop corruption. However, she noted that it was difficult to see how the government could help, as corruption was rampant in the country.</p>	
Participant 5	<p>This participant expressed his dissatisfaction with the current political situation in Honduras, stating that the country is facing a severe crisis of illegitimacy. He highlighted the fact that former US-backed president, Juan Orlando, came to power through a fraudulent election and was engaged in human rights abuses. The participant, who was personally affected by the coup, explains that it caused political and economic instability, leading to the failure of businesses and a bad economic situation that continues to affect the country. He claims that the coup was motivated by the economic interests of powerful and wealthy families who disagreed with certain modifications that the government of Mel Zelaya wanted to make. Zelaya wanted to eliminate dispensations enjoyed by big businessmen, such as those imposed on certain tariffs, which threatened their economic interests. They chose to unite and use their power and influence to bring forward the coup d'état. This participant attributed the increase in migration from Honduras to the 2009 coup, which he described as a turning point in the country's history. He explained that the coup resulted in a breakdown of the rule of law, widespread corruption, and an increase in violence and insecurity, which led many people to leave the country. He explains that the coup caused a division in the bipartisanship that previously existed in Honduras. As a result, a third political force emerged and currently governs. However, the change caused by the coup led to 12 years of single-party rule, with the party governing for two terms through usurpation. He emphasized the human rights abuses that took place in Honduras following the coup, particularly against social leaders and activists who were critical of the interim government. He stated that many people who spoke out against the government were being targeted by security forces and criminal groups and that the government did very little to protect them. He also talked about the political instability in Honduras, which he described as a</p>	1, 2, 3, 4, 5

Participant	Summary of Interview	Identified Theme(s)
	<p>result of the lack of legitimacy in government. He stated that the interim government ruled with an iron fist, suppressing dissent and opposition, and that this led to a further breakdown of the rule of law and an erosion of democratic institutions. He called on the international community to pay attention to what is happening in Honduras and to hold previous governments accountable for their human rights abuses. He urged the international community to support the Honduran people in their struggle for democracy and human rights and to pressure the government to respect the rule of law and uphold democratic values. He stressed the importance of dialogue and peaceful solutions to the crisis in Honduras. He called on all Hondurans to come together and work towards a more democratic and just society, one that respects human rights and the rule of law. He also emphasized the need for transparency and accountability in government, and for the Honduran people to have a say in the decisions that affect their lives.</p>	
Participant 6	<p>This participant is a 50-year-old natural-born Honduran citizen currently residing in El Progreso, Yoro, for the past 30 years. Participant six explained how the coup in Honduras affected the country in many ways. He mentions that after the coup, there were violent protests and chaos, which made it difficult to commute from El Progreso to San Pedro for those who worked in the city. According to this participant, many people thought that the ousted president wanted to bring communism to Honduras, and they saw the coup as a way to prevent that. He believed that the United States mainly interfered by supporting the coup, and he had also heard that the United States provided a military strategy to execute the coup, but it remained low-key. He also talked about the human rights abuses that occurred after the coup, specifically violations of women's rights, strikes, stoppages, and deaths. The lack of employment opportunities and poor economic conditions are the main reasons for migration. Politicians have put many restrictions and limitations on the economy, such as limiting car imports and filing for bankruptcy to avoid paying workers' minimum wages. He also mentioned that private clinics charge too much money, and only upper-class people are in power. He had been to the hospital in El Progreso, but there were no medicines for his disease, and he had to go to the pharmacy, which was expensive. Regarding the media, he said that some spoke out against the coup, and others spoke in favor, but the majority was in favor. He believed that the issue of migration would continue to exist due to the lack of employment opportunities. Before, maquilas provided employment, but they closed down. The situation in the country is critical, and agriculture has fallen significantly. The inputs for farming have become expensive, and agriculture may not survive in the future. The private company has the products, and they blame the high prices on the fact that they come from abroad. He predicts that the situation in the country will be hard in the future because it would no longer be possible to cultivate due to the expensive inputs.</p>	1,2,3,4,5

Participant	Summary of Interview	Identified Theme(s)
Participant 7	<p>The participant believes that the coup happened because the democratic governments always want to dominate and take away the victory of the communist/socialist governments, which is why they also believe the U.S. supported the coup. They also believe that Mel Zelaya, who was removed from the presidency during the coup, wanted to lead the country to a communist ideology. The participant thinks that the United States quietly supported the political party they believe is democratic, which is why they supported the installment of Pepe Lobo shortly after. The participant does not watch media outlets that report on human rights issues because they know that there is a lot of violence globally, and they believe watching the news does not edify them. They try to separate themselves from the political environment. The participant thinks that politicians in Honduras operate with their group (either the national party or the liberal party) and give only a few crumbs to the town. They believe that both games (national party and liberal party) have put them in the same condition. After the coup, the country went from being a democratic country all its life to having a left-wing communist party. However, they do not feel affected by any party because their hope is in God. The participant believes that the media in Honduras are paid for and controlled by the leftists, who only talk about what the leftists tell them to talk about. They think that the humble worker is not interested in what the politicians are doing, only in surviving. The participant thinks that the United States is interested in destabilizing and destroying not only its nation but also the entire world for short-term economic plans. They believe that a dark elite is in charge of destabilizing nations, and they mention a man called Soros who is interested in this. The participant would like Honduras to have a rebirth and restart as a country because they believe that the government has destroyed it. They think that the government needs to be purged, and that there is already evidence of corruption among politicians and involvement in drug trafficking. They believe that the police also need to be purged and cleaned. The participant thinks that in the past when the United States has helped Honduras, it has been to have the country in their favor. However, they think that with the change that is coming, it will not depend on the United States to collaborate with Honduras.</p>	1, 3, 4,

Table 3 contains a brief summary of each participant’s response along with specific details that support the identified themes. With the exception of one participant, all others discussed all three themes, suggesting that the patterns observed in each interview were consistent and not significantly distinct from one another. Overall, the participant’s responses largely focused on similar topics and expressed a shared dissatisfaction with the coup d’etat. By identifying these themes in the conducted interviews, the researcher was able to locate a correlation between the U.S.-backed overthrow of Mel Zelaya, the ensuing negative economic and social effects experienced by citizens, and the current political and social status quo in Honduras.

The research findings are consistent with previous existing research on the topic. In a research study conducted by the Center for Economic and Policy Research, scholars found that the rates of poverty and extreme poverty fell by 7.7 and 20.9, respectively, during the Zelaya Administration. Nonetheless, between 2010 and 2012, the poverty rate increased by 13.2 percent, while the extreme poverty rate increased by 26.3 percent. The study also found that

during the 2010-2010 period, the unemployment situation worsened. The number of involuntary part-time workers and those unemployed increased from 6.8 percent in 2008 to 14.1 percent in 2012. Similarly, a vast majority of the interviewed participants mentioned facing economic problems and a lack of employment shortly after the coup. Moreover, the previous research revealed that spending on education, health, public housing, and transportation increased between 2006 and 2009, before falling over the period 2010-2012. The study highlights that during the Zelaya administration, social expenditures rose in tandem with the overall expenditure, whereas under the Lobo government, social spending decreased despite an increase in total spending. These findings align with what the participants expressed about experiencing negative economic and social effects in the aftermath of the coup.

Analysis

Theme 1: Political and social change

This theme aimed to examine the specific ways in which Honduran citizens from diverse backgrounds perceived and experienced political and social changes after the coup, taking into account the various implications it may have had for them.

All participants provided responses that included information relating to Theme 1. According to the participants, there were numerous changes in the political and social systems of Honduras after the 2009 US-backed coup. All the participants, in fact, mentioned negative changes. Participant 1 alleged that hidden agendas in the Honduran government resulted from narco ties, while Participant two claimed that after the coup, the country was governed by a political party that placed corporate interests over the common welfare. Additionally, participants 3 and 5 observed that the country's political system had become more divided after the coup, and that while more political parties emerged, they did not make any positive difference. Participant 4 noted that the country had become a "narco-state" after the coup, with former presidents Pepe Lobo and Juan Orlando Hernandez having ties to drug trafficking. Participant 5 stated that the coup resulted in a breakdown of the rule of law, widespread corruption, and an increase in violence. This participant claimed that the change caused by the coup led to 12 years of single-party rule, with the party governing for two terms through usurpation. Moreover, participants 1, 4, and 5 highlighted the negative economic impact of the coup on the country, with Participant One witnessing an increase in unemployment, crime, and extortion rates, and Participants four and five noting that money laundering and corruption became prevalent during the presidencies of Pepe Lobo and Juan Orlando.

Participant 7 was the only one with a positive view of the political and social changes after the coup in Honduras. She believed it prevented the rise of socialism and that the new presidents were democratic and anti-communist. Her higher income and support for the pro-coup movements may have influenced her perspective. This shows how personal factors, like income and political affiliations, can affect one's perception of the coup and its impact.

Moreover, the analysis of the data using the lens of imperialism highlights the significant role of the US-backed coup in shaping the political and social changes in Honduras. The connection between the Honduran government and narco-trafficking is an important factor to consider, given the US's involvement in the War on Drugs in Central and South America, often with questionable results. The study suggests that the US's focus on interdiction and drug enforcement has contributed to the growth of cartels and the militarization of police forces, which in turn have led to political instability in the region. This displacement has resulted in the growth of new cartels and an increase in violence as rival groups compete for control of the drug trade. The study also highlights the role of US agencies such as the DEA and Colombian Special Forces in the creation of police units like TIGRES, which were often accused of using military tactics and violating human rights. These changes have had a real and tangible effect on the lives and communities of Hondurans, with one participant noting that "people are scared to go outside and live a normal life because of the violence and gang activity."

Overall, study participants reported negative effects of the 2009 US-backed coup in Honduras, including a narco-state, corruption, breakdown of the rule of law, violence, and economic impacts such as unemployment, extortion, and government corruption.

Theme 2: Human rights violations

This theme aimed to examine the specific ways in which Honduran citizens perceived human rights violations after the coup. Many human rights abuses in Honduras often go unreported, and it was essential to explore the personal accounts of Honduran citizens regarding their experiences with human rights violations. By investigating these accounts, the researcher sought to gain insight into the ways in which human rights violations impacted the lives of Honduran citizens on a personal level. This theme underscores the importance of acknowledging and addressing the human costs of political and social upheaval. It highlights the need for policy and action that prioritize the protection and promotion of human rights, particularly for vulnerable populations.

All participants but one talked about human rights violations after the coup in Honduras. Participant 1 spoke about difficulty traveling due to frequent protests, tear gas bombs, and fights in the streets. Participant 2 mentioned the murder of Bertha Caceres, an indigenous activist fighting for the protection of natural resources, and gang violence and extortion in certain areas. Participant 3 also talked about the murder of Bertha Caceres and the opposition to the economic interests of the wealthiest families in the country. Participant 4 claimed that groups of the Libre political party looted and set fire to businesses during protests, while Participant 5 mentioned unjust imprisonment and extrajudicial killings. Participant 6 mentioned women's rights violations and the lack of security and human rights protection. Participant 7 did not express strong opinions about human rights abuses and admitted she tried to distance herself from any political environment.

The majority of participants alleged that US interests have played a significant role in shaping the priorities and decisions of Honduran leaders, often at the expense of human rights. Participants identified various actors responsible for human rights abuses, including the national police and military, who were heavily supported and funded by the US government. The US government's support for multinational corporations had led to the forced eviction of Indigenous peoples and the destruction of their lands. The US's support for the Honduran military and police was also highlighted. A Harvard Political Review article noted the US's commitment to a government mired in human rights abuses, and the Human Rights Watch reported at least 18 killings of journalists, human rights defenders, and political activists.

Overall, the data collected aligns with existing research on human rights abuses in post-coup Honduras. Participants attribute responsibility to the national police and military, which were funded by the US government.

Theme 3: Economic struggles and livelihoods

This theme aimed to examine the specific ways in which Honduran citizens perceived the economic struggles that ensued after the coup and to gain insight into how their lives may have been affected by it.

Based on the data collected, the 2009 coup had a detrimental effect on the economic well-being of Honduran citizens. Participant One noted that several factories and businesses shut down after the coup, resulting in a lack of employment opportunities for citizens. Participant Four reported that their family had to emigrate to the United States because their businesses could not survive the economic downturn. The majority of participants mentioned that the cost of living skyrocketed while wages remained low, exacerbating the financial difficulties faced by Hondurans. Participant Two pointed out that after Zelaya's ouster, the minimum wage decreased and was not enough to cover living expenses such as rent, food, transportation, and clothing. Furthermore, the same participant stated that the cost of food and basic necessities increased significantly, making it even harder for citizens to make ends meet. Participant

Three held a strong viewpoint regarding the impact of the coup on employment, particularly among government employees, stating that the new government replaced opposition party members with individuals from their own political party, resulting in significant job losses. Participant Seven, on the other hand, was the only outlier in her view of the economic struggles that ensued, stating that the coup did not affect her due to her religious beliefs, which encouraged her to not look at negative reports by media outlets or fear frightfulness about the situation.

The suspension of aid was a severe blow to Honduras, with the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank withholding \$470 million in loans and transfers earmarked for Honduras. The EU suspended about \$93 million in aid, Venezuela ceased to supply the country with any fuel, and the US suspended \$32.7 million in foreign assistance for 2009. These findings support the claims made by participants one and four, who stated that the country was marginalized after the coup and that Honduras stopped receiving a lot of international aid that sustained certain economic parts of Honduras, respectively. Moreover, five out of six participants pointed out a rise in unemployment rates in the aftermath of the coup, consistent with the report's other findings that highlight the loss of over 100,000 jobs from mid-July through mid-October following the coup. According to Jose Enriquez Nuñez, the president of the Honduran National Association of Small and medium-sized Businesses at the time, "Since June 38, demand has declined dramatically. It has created chaos, and that chaos is causing us to collapse." The situation is exacerbated by the fact that Honduras' external debt has increased by 373% to \$9.25 billion by the end of 2021, as reported by a Geopolitical Economy Report.

Overall, the data collected reveals Honduran citizens' severe economic struggles post-2009 coup: decreased employment, rising living costs, and insufficient investment in infrastructure.

Theme 4: International intervention and perspectives

This theme sought to explore Honduran citizens' perceptions of the US role in the 2009 coup and international intervention in the region. The researcher aimed to gain insight into the ways in which citizens viewed the involvement of foreign governments and organizations in the political and economic instability of Honduras.

All participants acknowledged the role of the United States in the coup, with some participants providing more detailed information about the nature of the US involvement. Participants One, five, and Six, specifically mentioned that the US supported the coup, while participant three mentioned that Hillary Clinton, as part of the US government, supported the interim government and Pepe Lobo after the coup.

Additionally, several participants expressed negative sentiments toward US intervention in Honduras. Participants One and Two suggested that the US has historically interfered in Honduras for its own interests, with participant one suggesting that the US supports coups in countries whose governments don't align with US interests. Participant Two even referred to Honduras as an unofficial "colony" of the United States. Participant Five also suggested that the US collaborated with the economic interests of the Honduras oligarchy in supporting the coup.

However, some participants did mention that the US could help Honduras. Participants four and Five mentioned that the US could help by providing aid and developing projects, although participant four cautioned that this aid should not be exploitative. Participant Five also mentioned that the US could help Honduras demonstrate the fraudulent and greedy actions of previous governments.

Participant Seven was once again the only outlier in her view of the economic struggles that ensued for many Honduran citizens after the coup. She claimed that the US did not fully support the de facto government and initially condemned the coup. She also suggested that the US government was not clear on whether it supported what she believed was the communist government or the national democratic government that was installed after the coup. This differs from the other participant's opinions, as they believed that the US played a significant role in supporting the coup and shaping political, economic, and social structures in Honduras.

Participant One suggests that the U.S. supported the coup because of its displeasure with Zelaya's policies, particularly his interference with the interests of Honduras' oligarchy. Moreover, the participant notes that the U.S. has supported Honduras in the past but has done so in exchange for something, such as land or military bases. This

suggests that the U.S. has used its economic and political power to shape Honduran priorities and decisions in favor of its interests.

According to the author of “Dancing with Monsters: the U.S. Response to the 2009 Coup,” there may have been another reason why the United States softened its stance on the coup: the desire to maintain control of the Palmerola Air Base, which is an important military outpost in Central America. This view is consistent with the claims of participant one and sheds light on the various factors that may have influenced U.S. foreign policy during the coup. Benjamin Richard’s research paper, “Ideas versus Interests: U.S. foreign policy and the Honduras Coup of 2009,” also touches on this motive, citing the establishment of the Soto Cano Air Base (also known as Palmerola) as a site for U.S. troops in the 1980s and continuing to this day, as often cited by journalists.

Overall, the participants had mixed views on US involvement in the 2009 coup, but most agreed the US played a significant role in supporting it and shaping political, economic, and social structures in Honduras.

Theme 5: Migration

This theme aimed to examine the ways in which the 2009 coup and its aftermath impacted migration patterns and perceptions among Honduran citizens. Through personal accounts and interviews with community members, the researcher sought to understand the push and pull factors that led Hondurans to migrate and the challenges faced by those who chose to stay in the country.

There were several commonalities and patterns in the data regarding the impact of the coup on the country’s migration patterns. Firstly, the economic instability caused by the coup resulted in a lack of job opportunities and financial instability, which pushed people to leave Honduras in search of better opportunities. Participant One pointed out that the economic insecurity caused by the coup resulted in the closure of numerous factories, which worsened the situation. Participant Two highlighted the government which replaced Zelaya’s put people from their party in power, resulting in a significant number of government employees losing their jobs as well.

Secondly, participants three and four highlighted the role of fear and violence in migration patterns, with individuals being threatened by politicians who were installed after the coup. Drug trafficking and the fight for power by certain groups also contributed to the fear and instability in the country.

Moreover, there was a common belief among the participants that the US has historically been involved in destabilizing Honduras and leaving the country to fend for itself. According to the participants, the US has set the state for money laundering and drug trafficking, which further contribute to the country’s dire state. Participant Five highlighted the role of imperialism in the situation in Honduras, where US involvement heavily contributed to the disintegration of the country’s economic and social stability. This in turn contributed to the mass increase in migration patterns.

Participant Seven stood out from the rest of the participants once again as she provided a distinct perspective on migration patterns. Her response was relatively limited, as she mentioned that people migrated due to their families in the United States advising them to leave the country. However, she did recognize that some individuals may have had to flee their communities due to violence, which was a common reason cited by her family members. The difference in the response of Participant Seven compared to the other participants suggests a potential link between their personal background and their perspective on migration patterns. Participant Seven’s limited understanding of the issue and their emphasis on the role of family ties in migration patterns may reflect a lack of exposure to the economic and social factors that drive migration, as well as a potential bias towards her own family’s beliefs and values.

As per existing research, migration in this region was not initiated by the coup but had already been ongoing for several years. However, the coup acted as a catalyst, accelerating the migration process at a much faster pace and larger scale. In her writing, Patricia Foxen, the Deputy Director of Research for UnidosUS, points out that the armed conflicts in the 1980s caused significant damage to both rural and urban communities in Central America. The United States’ aid and strategic interests in the region played a major role in fueling these conflicts. The state-sponsored violence that followed involved military and paramilitary death squads that targeted anyone deemed subversive. This

violence, in turn, destroyed entire communities, causing deep impacts on local economies and social networks. As a result, the first mass displacements of people to the United States occurred. Foxen's historical lens highlights how the seeds of U.S. policy have inevitably led to the "harvest" of migration from Central America.

Implications

The findings of this study have significant implications for policymakers at both the domestic and international levels. The negative impact of the coup on Honduran citizens, as demonstrated by the research, should inform future policies to prevent similar situations from happening again. The policies should also take into account the economic displacement experienced by certain groups in Honduras and aim to provide assistance to those who were disproportionately impacted by the coup. As highlighted in one participant's account, it is evident that a select few do not encounter the same challenges as the broader public due to their economic status. Therefore, policies should be tailored to address these factors and not adopt a one-size-fits-all approach. Additionally, policymakers should consider the role of imperialism in Honduran issues and the consequences of militarizing the Honduran government with US support.

The research highlights the need to address the root and systemic issues pervasive in Honduran society in order to deal with the consequences of the coup and subsequent years of narco-state rulings. Addressing these issues means ensuring government transparency and accountability, challenging corruption and narco-states, and taking into account the opinions and experiences of Honduran citizens. Incorporating democratic processes and meaningful citizen participation in policymaking can lead to more equitable and effective policies that better reflect the needs and concerns of the Honduran people. Enacting policies such as creating an independent body to investigate corruption, implementing whistleblower protections, and promoting citizen oversight can increase transparency and accountability in the government. Furthermore, policies should consider the relation between politics and violence, as many participants noted the involvement of politicians in narco-trafficking and its ripple effects on Honduran citizens' livelihoods and securities. Prohibiting the use and possession of firearms and addressing the presence of gangs in the country are crucial steps in reducing violence and promoting citizen safety. However, these policies must also address the systemic issues within the Honduran political system that have allowed for the proliferation of violence and narco-trafficking. This includes addressing corruption and impunity among politicians and law enforcement officials, implementing reforms that ensure fair and transparent elections, and providing economic opportunities for marginalized communities. Finally, policymakers should strive to prevent the politicization of human rights cases and ensure that the media accurately reports on the situation. By implementing these policies, it is possible to create a safer and more stable environment in Honduras for its citizens and prevent further political upheavals and human rights violations.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the 2009 coup in Honduras was a complex event that involved multiple actors and factors. The participants in this research study provided diverse perspectives on the causes and consequences of the coup, as well as the role of domestic and international actors in shaping its outcomes. The themes that emerged from the participants' responses highlighted the following key points: the importance of democratic governance and human rights, the role of Honduran institutions and civil society, the impact of economic and social inequality, and the role of US interventions and perspectives. Overall, this research highlights the profound and enduring impact of the 2009 coup on Honduran society and politics. It emphasizes the necessity of adopting a more inclusive and participatory approach to governance and development in order to effectively address the challenges confronting the country. Specifically, it is crucial for government policies to incorporate the diverse personal experiences of various demographic groups in Honduras, considering the economic and social repercussions they have faced as a result of the coup. These considerations should inform future policy decisions, taking into account the specific effects experienced by different segments of society and shaping the path toward a more democratic and equitable society. To achieve this, it is crucial to listen

to the voices and perspectives of Honduran citizens and to engage in meaningful dialogue and collaboration with all sectors of the Honduran community.

Limitations

One of the limitations of this study was the small sample size and limited geographic scope, as only seven participants from one region of Honduras were interviewed. Another limitation was the language barrier that hindered the interview process. Moreover, the fear of retaliation from government forces or the groups mentioned in the paper such as gangs, may have deterred some potential participants from participating, even though anonymity was guaranteed. Another significant limitation was the lack of available quantitative data. The scarcity of data was due to the nature of coups, which disrupts record-keeping and transactions. The lack of comprehensive census data made it difficult to conduct quantitative analysis, which limited the scope of the research question. Qualitative research was used through interviews as the primary method of data collection due to the scarcity of quantitative data. These limitations should be considered when interpreting the findings of this study.

Future Directions

Based on the limitations and findings of this research, there are several directions that future studies can take. Firstly, it would be valuable to conduct a larger, more diverse study with participants from different regions of Honduras to gain a more comprehensive understanding of their perspectives on the 2009 coup and its aftermath. Additionally, a notable number of participants highlighted the significant influence of the media in either endorsing or condemning the coup. Subsequent research endeavors could delve deeper into the impact of ethnic media on shaping the prevailing norms and values in Honduras. It would also be pertinent to examine the various factors that exert influence on specific media outlets and assess whether they too are susceptible to the sway of imperialism or Western ideologies. Furthermore, given the challenges of obtaining quantitative data in the aftermath of the coup, future studies could explore alternative methods for gathering and analyzing data, such as utilizing digital data sources and social media platforms. Finally, future research could also focus on potential solutions to address the issues raised by the participants, such as the role of international aid in promoting sustainable development and democracy in Honduras. Overall, this study provides a foundation for future research on the political and social dynamics of post-coup Honduras and highlights the need for continued engagement in this complex and evolving landscape.

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