ARTÍCULOS DE INVESTIGACIÓN
Research Article

Honduran women in North Carolina. A vision from a gender perspective through five life stories

Hondureñas en Carolina del Norte. Una visión desde la perspectiva de género a través de cinco historias de vida

Rosa Rabazo Ortega*, Alfonso Vaźquez Atochero**

Consejería de Educación, Junta de Extremadura
University of Extremadura

Received: October 24, 2023–**Accepted:** April 1, 2024–**Published:** July 1, 2025

Cite this article in APA:
Rabazo Ortega, R., & Vázquez Atochero, A. (2024). Honduran women in North Carolina. A vision from a gender perspective through five life stories. *Revista Colombiana de Ciencias Sociales, 16*(2), 473-498. https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Abstract

This article aims to expose the difficulties faced by people migrating from Latin America to the United States, which are increased in the case of women. Open interviews were conducted with a small group of Honduran women migrants, supporting their arguments through a series of bibliographic documents detailed at the end of the article. This is a work whose originality lies in the fact that the subject of female migration has been little addressed in the social science literature. As a fundamental conclusion, it is worth noting the reproduction at

* Bachelor's degree in Anthropology from the University of Extremadura, Master's degree in Anthropology from UNED, Madrid, and teacher at Consejería de Educación de Extremadura, Badajoz, Spain. Email: rrabazoo01@educarex.es; ORCiD: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4300-3282

** PhD in Anthropology from the University of Extremadura, and teacher at the University of Extremadura, Badajoz, Spain. Email: alfonso@unex.es; ORCiD: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1657-8275; Google Scholar: https://scholar.google.es/citations?user=zoQiWtsAAAAJ&hl=es

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

destination of typically female tasks that our informants already conducted at origin, producing a stagnation in their socio-economic conditions of departure. The main limitations found during the research have been related to the location of female interlocutors willing to participate in the study online.

Keywords

Charlotte; Coyote; Honduras; Migration Experience; Transnational activities; Life stories; Gender.

Resumen

El presente artículo pretende exponer las dificultades a las que se enfrentan las personas que emigran de Latinoamérica a EE. UU., especialmente las mujeres. Se realizaron entrevistas abiertas con un grupo reducido de hondureñas migrantes y se rastrearon documentos bibliográficos que apoyan la argumentación. La pertinencia del artículo se basa en la escasez de investigaciones halladas sobre la migración femenina en la literatura de las ciencias sociales. Se concluye que en el país de destino las migrantes reproducen las tareas típicamente femeninas que ya realizaban en su país de origen, lo cual produce un estancamiento en sus condiciones socioeconómicas. La principal limitación encontrada en el transcurso de la investigación ha sido la distante localización de algunas interlocutoras, sin embargo, se han proporcionado los recursos para su participación *online*.

Palabras clave

Actividades transnacionales; Charlotte; Coyote; Experiencia de migración; Honduras; Historias de vida; Gender.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Introduction

The decision to study Honduran immigration to North Carolina is due to the established fact that Honduras is a factory of illegal immigration. Two million of its nine million citizens live in the U.S. (Cerdán, 2016). According to data from the Census Bureau (Jaramillo, 2017), around 50,931 nationals of Honduran origin resided in North Carolina in 2015, a situation that prompted the need to open a mobile consulate in the city of Charlotte. From 2000 to 2010, the number of Hondurans in the U.S. increased from 217,569 to 633,401. They have been the hardest hit by the 2010 immigration policies, with four deportations for every person granted residency. In 2011, it was estimated that ten Hondurans settled in the state every hour (Rocha, 2011, pp. 21-22).

Within the aforementioned group of migrants, this research focuses on women because, as will be seen below and as is the case in other Central American countries, Honduran women who choose to undertake a sometimes definitive journey to the U.S. have to face many difficult decisions before, during, and after their migration, including violence and separation from their children. Therefore, the question that will guide the content of the article is what role gender plays in migration processes and how this role is reproduced in the hosting contexts, as migration processes cause major transformations in gender relations, families, and working life, both in the countries of destination and in the countries of origin (Zavala de Cosío, 2014, p. 15). As will be made clear in the conclusion, research such as the one we are concerned with is fundamental to make both scholars in the field and the aforementioned groups aware of the need to take steps in favor of the empowerment and liberation of migrant women once they have settled in the destination country.

Theoretical framework and state of the question

It is crucial to begin by defining two basic concepts when facing any research that addresses the subject matter at hand. Migration can be defined as the geographical movement of people across a particular border to change or establish a permanent or semi-permanent residence (Puerta, 2012, p. 65). On the other hand, emigration is understood as the departure of people from their place of origin (Puerta, 2012, p. 65). Moreover, in any qualitative research that employs the interview in depth and life story, the sample size will always be small. Íñiguez (2001) focuses on the dilemma of identity that is established between the one and the multiple, singularity and generality, or peculiarity and homogeneity of behavior. But following Pujadas Muñoz (1992) and his analysis of

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

the advantages and disadvantages, the collection of testimonies and experiences from the primary source provides a consistent account of the lived experience, although this does not necessarily have to be extrapolated.

The political situation in Honduras, as in other Central American countries, is not easy. According to Amnesty International (2018), it is the country with the highest rate of corruption and criminality. Governments infiltrate criminal organizations within transnational ones (Pérez-Galán et al., 2019). Knox (2019) brings to the table the problem of a complex and multilayered violent scenario. Other authors show the greater vulnerability of women in these scenarios (Cortés Maisonave, 2017; Cortés, 2018). This framework takes place in a convulsive political activity: if, in El Salvador, government representatives come to power by coups d'état or by decision of economically and socially powerful people (White, 1996b, pp. 103-142), the situation in Honduras is not very different. The elite intends to continue living as in the last hundred years: using exploitation. The existing oligarchy continues to have privileges regardless of changes in government (Castro, 2019).

On June 28, 2009, the coup d'état against President Manuel Zelaya, exiled to Costa Rica by the army, took place, who in government since 2006 had proposed his reelection, which was prohibited. In 2019, history seemed to repeat itself: thousands of Hondurans poured onto the streets to demand social improvements from the current president, Juan Orlando Hernández. Among other events, there were strikes by transport workers and the special police (TIGRES), among other social sectors. Manuel Zelaya, an ally of Hugo Chávez, was threatening to return after the courts allowed the reelection of Juan Orlando Hernández in 2017. Following the coup, elections were held in 2009, 2013, and 2017. Finally, Zelaya founded the Liberty and Refoundation Party (Libre) supporting Orlando's then-main competitor, Nasralla, in 2017, who is now the main rival (Espallargas, 2019).

Like the political instability, the economic situation is unflattering for the harmonious development of the country. Honduras is the poorest of the five Central American countries, although it has plenty of land. It is a primary export economy (Ortega, 2016). When North American fruit companies were established in Honduran territory, Salvadorans migrated there to work. As work there decreased, they began to occupy land for their own consumption. The workers who emigrated had more human capital. To all this was added the arrest of Salvadoran soldiers who were occupying a truck loaded with weapons. The war between the two countries, known as the "Soccer War", lasted five days (between July 14 and 18, 1969), but hostilities continued, especially on the Honduran side. Anti-foreigner sentiment is channeled towards Great Britain because of the occupation of Belize (White, 1996a, pp. 229-244). Since the end of the 19th century, there has been a migration of Salvadorans to coffee-growing areas and Honduras.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Men follow the route of the banana companies, cultivating Honduran land free of taxes. After the civil war (from 1981 to 1992), Salvadorans began to arrive in North American cities, with the United States being the main migratory destination (Sánchez-Molina, 2006).

The concentration of wealth tends to polarize economic balances, allowing the existence of totally depressed social strata that enter a loop of perpetual poverty as the system does not allow an entry door. The defenseless Salvadoran peasant who does not own land goes to a loan shark because he has no right to credit (White, 1996c, p. 143). In Honduras, despite the existence of natural resources, the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few is such that, in addition to the lack of continuous development, land is left uncultivated. Until the 1970s, the situation was more equitable; the modernization of agriculture led to the massive sale of land, and neoliberalism has continued to dispossess peasants of this land (Castro, 2019). Although mobility should have been facilitated by the Economic Partnership Treaty signed by Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, this was only effective for capital, not for workers (Ortega, 2016).

Except for Costa Ricans, political instability, wars, violence, and economic constraints have caused Central Americans to move en masse mainly to the U.S. since the late 1980s (Puerta, 2012).

Three stages stand out in Honduran migration to the US:

- Low: from the seventies to the end of the eighties of the 20th century, the banana route was followed. The number of migrants ranged between 4,300 and 4,700 per year, with a predominance of documented persons.
- High: between 1989 and 1991, with about 10,356 migrations.
- Medium: from 1992 to 2002, the situation stabilized with a figure of 6,217 migrants per year (Puerta, 2012).

Every decade in the last fifty years, Central America has been affected by a devastating hurricane. Mitch was the worst Atlantic storm in the last two hundred years. After this catastrophe (1998), Hondurans surpassed Guatemalans and Salvadorans in illegal access to the U.S. (Puerta, 2012). This same author still considers the 2:1 ratio to be valid since, out of every 100 undocumented migrants, 46 arrive legally. The term “mojados” (wetbacks), used by Puerta (2012) in his article, is clarified by Sánchez-Molina (2006), who explains that it refers to those who cross the Rio Grande to reach the U.S. illegally. López Recinos (2013) highlights that since 1990 emigration has become explosive and compulsive in nature, and Ortega (2016) reflects on whether it is really migration or expulsion.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Although in Honduras there is a greater proportion of migrating men, women suffer the consequences of gender stereotypes and are relegated to tasks related to home, care, small commerce, etc. Furthermore, Giorguli Saucedo and Itzigsohn (2006) state that, despite this imbalance, female migrants are more likely not to return to their country of origin, which marks a fundamental difference in the structure of the migration system according to the gender of the migrant. According to the International Organization for Migration (2019), an increasing number of undocumented women are embarking on the perilous adventure of crossing the U.S.-Mexico border using dangerous routes previously followed only by men. The feminization of migration carries with it two crises, social reproduction in the country of origin (poverty, unemployment, and violence), as well as caregiving tasks in the destination country (Ortega, 2016). When they do not respond to the demand for labor and lack capital, they become invisible, suffering all kinds of violence, despite the laws that supposedly protect them.

In the past, they accompanied a man or sought family reunification; today, they are often responsible for maintaining the family they leave behind in their country of origin. Receiving countries contribute to maintaining women's roles, as they are hired as cheap labor to take care of dependents, thus internalizing and privatizing such care. Treated as merchandise, they no longer have a history and a future. The discourse on the importance of the role of the family in the country of origin and destination does not apply to them. In fact, there is talk of a humanitarian crisis of unaccompanied migrant minors from the northern triangle of Central America. Between January and August 2014, border patrols detained about 66,000 children. Thus, their children remain in the country of origin under the care of other women in the family (Ortega, 2015). These minors, classified as unaccompanied migrant children, make the crossing due to problems related to family violence, poverty, etc. They are the most vulnerable group because they suffer sexual abuse or fall into the hands of human traffickers. In 2010, 1,520 Honduran children were deported by land (Caballeros, 2011; Re Cruz, 2017).

The discourse on the importance of the role of the family in the country of origin and in the country of destination does not apply to immigrant women. On the other hand, to cite just one aspect among all possible, the physical and mental health problems of children due to the grief caused by parental migration are proven, as we see how it is undervalued by the economic of remittances (González-Miranda, 2011).

Herrera-Saray (2010) puts on the game board the vision of the family as a group of people who not only live together but also have a common life project. López-Montaño (2011) highlights the difficulties of these family models due to the associated problems and the danger of destructuring that is added to those that could exist previously. Therefore, following Sánchez Molina (2006), it can be affirmed that the configurations of transnational families must represent one of the main socio-cultural problems of current migratory dynamics. And the fact is that, as Sanchez-Molina (2006) continues to state, the exercise of transnational motherhood is not considered an ideal.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Ciurlo (2014) addresses the issue of gender and the transnational family and the implications it entails: remittances establish a connection between migrants and their societies of origin. Ultimately, remittances represent the country's third source of income (Ortega, 2016). But leaving minors in the care of adults who are not their parents, coupled with greater access to money from remittances, as well as growing up in poverty environments, often leads to crime and insecurity. An example of this is the young people who join the "maras", violent organizations that have also acquired a transnational character (Cañada, 2011).

Thirty-one percent of the work corresponding to the service sector is related to cleaning, in the case of Central American women who migrate to the US (Rocha, 2011). Ninety percent of those affiliated with the Special Regime for Household Workers are women and 60% are immigrants, but these figures are not objective, since the real number is double the number of affiliated women. Thus, we speak of a "global care chain". Women with more economic autonomy look for others to take care of those who cannot do it themselves. Those from the south leave their husbands and children to go and care for others who are not their own. They leave unpaid work in the hands of sisters, aunts, etc. for other poorly paid work (González-Miranda, 2011). This same author provides the order in which remittances are received, mothers, husbands, daughters, fathers, sisters, and grandmother. Sixty-five percent are sent to women, compared to 34.5% sent to men.

The transnational religious networks and organizations have among their objectives the continuity and reproduction of gender roles wherever they settle. Thus, María Reyes, whose journey is described in detail by Sánchez-Molina (2006), affirms that all men are the same, as she perceives inadequate treatment of women also in Washington, her destination city. Despite this, she reproaches women who have rebuilt their lives, having left their children in their country of origin. Vidal Fernandez et al. (2002) value the role of networks both in securing employment and facilitating integration. Networks are fundamental for the domestic support they can provide, as they help to give some continuity in the country of origin, but also to make the reception in the country of destination less traumatic.

From the above, the hypotheses put forward in the research can be deduced:

- Gender roles are reproduced in the destination country.
- Female immigrant jobs in North Carolina (specifically in the city of Charlotte) are related to caregiving.
- Clear identification of the motives that lead to the decision to migrate: economic motives, escape from structural and personal violence, escape from gender inequality and lack of opportunities, and family and social motives.
- Do people in situations of greater poverty, oppression, low professional qualifications, and lack of education constitute the group that migrates in greater proportion?

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

A series of aspects that have guided the search for information, the drawing of conclusions, and the practical applications with which we end the text have been considered. The first of these areas refers to the tasks performed by the female interlocutors in the country of origin. As Cañada (2011) points out, it is logical to assume the negative impact that the migration of young people of productive age has on the society of origin. Despite what is often thought, the effort to find a job is equal between natives and immigrants. In 2000, the unemployment rate was 5.7% for natives compared to 6.8% for Central Americans settled in the U.S. Portes and Rumbaut (2010) affirm that these rates are higher in the case of women, whether migrants or natives. They conclude by stating that education level, gender, English proficiency, and years spent in the destination country play a crucial role in securing employment and achieving better adaptation. However, it is equally important to consider the impact of policies implemented by both sending and receiving countries (pp. 77-81).

The most offered jobs in Honduras, in decreasing order, are: customer service (which equals demand), security guard, sales manager, call center operator (for which a command of English is essential), sales consultant, sewing operator, farmer, and manual maquila operator (Cucho & Melgar, 2018). Considering the role assigned to women in that country, coupled with the necessary knowledge of English, it is easy to get an idea of the situation in which a large part of the Honduran female population finds itself.

As for the jobs performed in the destination country, 81% of Hondurans admire the U.S., have the American dream as a reference, and aspire to work several jobs at the same time to earn a minimum wage fifteen times higher than that received in the country of origin. In addition, with social security contributions, they may be able to retire one day. Finally, social advancement is feasible, as they can become owners of their own businesses (Puerta, 2012). For this author, the jobs they perform are rejected by the poorest Americans and are related to domestic service, office cleaning, fast food preparation, or customer service in supermarkets (p. 81).

It is important to note that half of Central Americans between the ages of 25 and 54 living in the U.S. contribute with their labor and to social security (Rocha, 2011). Honduran women work in domestic cleaning and childcare and are also prominent in the area of meat processing, in addition to the agricultural and construction work mentioned above. A total of 13,700 Hondurans with TPS (a temporary permit granted by U.S. Citizen and Immigration Services to assist foreign nationals fleeing disasters, duress, medical emergencies, or other urgent circumstances) work in construction. Around 3,900 Honduran women work in childcare; followed by gardening, in which some 3,700 Honduran immigrants work; 3,300 do so in catering; 800 in hospitals; and 23,100 are engaged in other fields not included among those cited (Cucho & Melgar, 2018).

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Among the motivations that lead them to migrate, in addition to job stability, wages, and social security, it is worth mentioning the ease of obtaining credit, as well as access to healthcare and education (Puerta, 2012). As in the Salvadoran case, most immigrants consider returning to their country of origin and investing their savings there. In the case of María Reyes, the protagonist of the text by Sánchez-Molina (2006), her goal was to set up a shop (Sánchez-Molina, 2006) and invest in the construction of a house, which represents the greatest achievement of any migratory project. In Honduras, the Central American country with the lowest wages and the highest inflation and taxes, seven out of every ten inhabitants are poor and 53% are in extreme poverty. Unemployment (especially in the case of women) and precarious employment, lead to job instability, which prevents the satisfaction of basic needs.

To all this is added a justice system that is on the side of the powerful, a political class that does not work for the common good, as well as insecurity caused by drug trafficking and organized crime (Puerta, 2012).

Youth gangs called *maras* use extortion against cab drivers and business owners, forcing them to close their businesses and leave the country. The areas farthest from the center are those of greatest conflict. According to the National Violence Observatory (2019), in the capital, Tegucigalpa, thirty patients with gunshot wounds are treated every day. Lately, real massacres are taking place, with five or six deaths a day, causing the postponement of much-needed surgical operations. In addition to the economic causes and natural disasters (also pointed out by Castillo-García, 2000), violence is currently considered the main cause of Honduran migration. In order to flee from this situation, they expose themselves to a whole series of risks including mutilation of limbs by boarding a moving train, rape, kidnapping, and forced labor when crossing the Mexican border.

It is worth mentioning the difficulties encountered until they settle in the country of destination. The first of these is to be able to reconcile life in their place of origin with the one they are building in the destination country. This situation sometimes leads to the creation of a parallel family abroad. Knowledge of the language is a challenge for Honduran women who emigrate to the U.S., as it is very difficult to get rid of the original accent. When immigrants settle in a new State, they must identify the behaviors that are socially valued as well as those that are not tolerated. In most cases, Honduran migrant women work in the destination country in jobs that are far below their professional training and qualifications. On the other hand, it is important to mention they must grieve the loss of contact with their environment, both ethnically and scenically speaking.

As mentioned throughout this work, there are numerous dangers to be faced during the crossing, especially in the case of women, who could be victims of sexual exploitation or human trafficking. Sometimes the most accessible jobs for them are related to prostitution or drug trafficking (Puerta, 2012). All these aspects are highlighted in the work of Sánchez-Molina (2006), in which María

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Reyes recounts the bad moments she went through on the journey, walking through the desert for two days and two nights. She also spent time in a detention center in Texas after being detained by immigration authorities. She tells how the coyote treated them as if they were animals, as well as the conditions of the transit points (p. 43). She also shares with the reader the abuse attempts she experienced at the hands of the coyote. When he failed, he took a girl who was with her and replaced her with a boy, intending for her to be detained by immigration. She was detained and released after paying a 3,000 USD bond. The deportation letter was held up due to the hurricane. The expression "wetback" refers to someone who crossed the Rio Grande to cross the border. Obviously, illegal workers also suffer labor abuse. María cleaned at night in an office building; the boss, also Latino, did not pay them double for the work they did when a co-worker had to be absent. She used someone else's card, so the boss threatened to fire her after a few months. As for supporting the family at home, she sent cassettes to her children to correct them from a distance. Caballeros (2011) analyzes the problem through the stories of immigrants who reached the U.S. by crossing the Mexican border. Among other extreme situations, they had to cross the aforementioned river with water up to their waists, sleep in chicken coops, eat only crackers and canned food, sleep on cardboard, endure extreme cold temperatures, etc. There were up to nineteen people on top of the train wearing bags to avoid getting wet, one of them lost a leg due to the speed of the train, something that, unfortunately, is common (González-Miranda, 2011).

In short, both the aspects of the journey and the conditions of reception influence the migrant's adaptation to the destination country. Those who join clandestinely do not overcome these circumstances until they regularize their legal status (Sánchez-Molina, 2006). This section can be concluded by stating that undocumented migrants are frequently victims of assaults, abuses, and human rights violations. Some women are raped up to twenty times before reaching the northern border of Mexico (Casillas, 2008).

Since the interlocutors of this study, like most of the migrant population today, participate in transnational activities, this aspect is addressed and justified by the corresponding bibliography. Thus, transnationalism can be defined as the set of "occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders for their implementation" (Portes et al., 1999, p. 219). On the other hand, Guarnizo and Smith (1998) differentiate between transnationalism from above, carried out by governments and other corporations, and transnationalism from below, by small traders and migrants (p. 59).

Once conceptualized, it is necessary to distinguish between comprehensive activities, involving economic, political, and social exchanges, and selective ones, referring exclusively to sending money to family (p. 63). The latter include the most basic and at the same time the most important type of transnational activity, *remittances*. Before 2007, they were the main source of foreign exchange in Honduras, with a percentage of 42%, replacing exports and the sale of goods

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

and services. Although they favor local trade and family consumption, they are the cause of the emergence of undesirable activities, such as migrant smuggling and inflation, which makes those who do not receive them poorer each time, and they are forced to overexploit natural resources, compromising sustainability due to a search for greater productivity, for example, when they acquire land near the mountains to convert it into pasture. Much of this activity is aimed at improving housing or building new ones (Cañada, 2011).

In Central America, transnational relations have given rise to a series of *associations* that contribute to the welfare of immigrants by favoring the development of infrastructure or collaborating in humanitarian causes. In these associations, leadership is exercised by men, and women are limited to decoration or food tasks in the events that take place (Andrade-Eekhoff & Silva-Ávalos, 2004). María Reyes speaks of institutions that help them, such as the Centro Católico Hispano, where they can go to medical appointments with the help of an interpreter, or the Carlos Rosario School, where she learned to read (Sánchez-Molina, 2006). The author provides interesting data for the present study; for example, the organization of Latino Festivals to make visible the importance of Latinos in the city. On the other hand, because of the rise of this Latino ethnic identity, community centers were created, such as the Centro Católico Hispano (1967) and the Carlos Rosario International Center, also mentioned in the work of the aforementioned author.

It is important not to leave aside the religious communities that are established in the country of destination, since they have several purposes: to maintain transnational ties and fulfill a solidarity role. Additionally, they also exercise control over women, preventing them from acquiring new cultural habits and perpetuating the traditional roles assigned to them (Sánchez-Molina, 2006).

In terms of *politics*, it should be noted that the attempt to favor the participation of those outside Honduras in the presidential elections held in 2001 was a failure (Andrade-Eekhoff and Silva Ávalos, 2004). Although more than one million Hondurans live in the U.S., only 46,000 are on the electoral roll, and just 13,627 of them voted in the elections held between 2001 and 2017. In 2013, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal included Atlanta among the possibilities of voting abroad, but participation was also low because going to exercise that right means losing a day of work. Other places where it is also in force are Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, New Orleans, New York, and Washington (Ordóñez-Baca, 2019).

In any research conducted on migration, *networks* cannot be forgotten. In the case of María Reyes, they were represented by her parents, her brother Fachito, etc. When she describes the composition of people who made the journey together, she dwells on the networks they had at their destination and the children who had been left in the care of relatives (Sánchez-Molina, 2006).

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

It is also interesting to know the educational level of the informants interviewed, as well as their command of English. In this regard, it should be noted that, although these indicators (together with gender) are important, there are other determining factors that will affect the future of the immigrant in the country of origin. These determining factors are the facilities or obstacles established in this respect by both the sending and receiving countries. The length of stay should also be taken into consideration as a facilitator of opportunities (Portes & Rumbaut, 2010). In this sense, Castillo-García (2000) confirms what has been pointed out by many other authors who study contemporary migrant populations: those who do so have an intermediate level of schooling.

Methodology

This paper presents the initial findings of a prospective research study aimed at understanding the perceptions of five women who have migrated from Honduras to the U.S. Given the limited nature of this study, which is based on five interviews, existing bibliographic material, and an analysis of the context and media, the following main objectives have been proposed:

1) Exploring the decision-making process during migration.

2) Understanding the informants' perceptions of the difficulties faced by migrant women because of their gender.

3) Analyzing barriers related to language and cultural adaptation.

These are five particular case studies, but the generalization of the experiences of the migrant women who participated in the study is avoided. Each has a unique and complex experience in the migration process. Given its significant Honduran population, choosing Charlotte as a specific geographic setting is appropriate for understanding migration experiences in this area. The purpose is not to offer general conclusions valid for other cases or settings.

The five cases have been selected by convenience sampling to identify differences among the diverse experiences. This allows us to paint a broader picture than one specific life experience could provide, as pointed out by Sanchez-Molina (2006) in his study on the journey of María Reyes, which has been revised on several occasions to enrich the analysis. We are aware of the limitation of this sampling, which will not yield inferential results. However, we find it interesting since they are the life experiences of some protagonists, which was transferred to the title itself: Vision through five life stories.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

The study population consists of a group of five Honduran women who work in different fields in Charlotte, a city located in Mecklenburg County, which has the ninth-largest Honduran population in the United States (Cucho & Melgar, 2018). Founded in 1768, Charlotte is a city with an important commercial and financial sector. It is known worldwide for the NASCAR automobile circuit, where collector car races are held, and represents the most populous city in North Carolina. In 2010, it had 731,424 inhabitants, which is a density of 918.71 inhabitants per square kilometer. In 2017, the population was 859,035, which made clear its growth trend. Carolina is a key host location for migrant women from Central America (Vidal Fernandez, 2002; Willers, 2016).

North Carolina has seen an increase in the employment rate in high or low-paying jobs, but not so much in middle-paying jobs. Overall, wages have increased, outpacing inflation, although wage rates remain below the national average due to lower educational degrees. On the other hand, prices are between 5% and 10% lower than in most of the country. Between the end of 2018 and the first half of 2019, Charlotte was among the cities experiencing the most job growth. These are the jobs most offered in that city, in decreasing order: electrician, chauffeur, cleaning staff, carpentry, construction, and elder care (Walden, 2019).

As for the group of informants, it is a diverse sample both in age and in time spent in the destination country, and they meet the profile of Honduran migrants. Therefore, they do not have higher education degrees, as they have completed, at most, the ninth grade of secondary education. Their income levels exceed the national average and they move in clusters, making use of the migratory experiences of family, friends, and fellow nationals waiting for them at the destination (Puerta, 2012). Also in agreement with the aforementioned author, most of the members of the sample are single and of childbearing age. For these reasons, the sample should be considered valuable. In addition to being heterogeneous, both in terms of origin and personal characteristics, it will allow for future research of greater scope.

To locate the women participating in the sample, a request for collaboration was sent to the administrator of a Facebook group called “Hondureños en Charlotte”, who was informed about the ongoing research. Their collaboration made it possible to collect the first contacts that have been taken as a starting point and served to establish the network.

The first participant (P1) was asked if there was an area in Charlotte where there is a higher concentration of Honduran men and women living and her response was the following: “Mmm... yes, there are many. Maybe in South Charlotte, Central area, Sharon Amity and Eatway... And many more” (personal Facebook communication, February 03, 2020). South Charlotte stands out as being the most popular and fastest-growing neighborhood because it also has excellent communication with downtown and great accessibility to housing.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Initially, several communications were maintained with the participants through the *Messenger* application. Five women willing to participate in the research were located and asked a brief battery of questions about their way of life before and after migrating; information that became their life stories. The long-term objective is to expand the research sample through a technique known as snowballing by creating a group that includes other Honduran women as well as the initial interlocutors. The women participants were informed of the purpose of the interviews and that their testimonies would be used to construct a study that would later be published. In addition, they were assured that their data would be treated confidentially and that in no case would their identity be revealed. The fieldwork was carried out by a female ethnographer, to manage more effectively the cultural and emotional sensitivity of the participants.

Various data collection techniques were used to obtain the most truthful and contrasting contributions possible. As Díaz de Rada (2012) indicates, before an interview, the ethnographer must have prior knowledge of the objectives pursued. Therefore, it was essential to develop a script for each collective subject. However, the intention was not to stick to it scrupulously to favor relaxed conversations and obtain more information. The conversations were redirected when the situation required it. The questions asked were:

- How old are you?
- What is your marital status?
- How many years have you been living in the U.S.?
- Did you leave any children in your home country?
- Why did you take the initiative to leave your country?
- What work did you do in Honduras?
- What do you do for work in North Carolina?
- What was your journey to the U.S. like? Means and time used, obstacles encountered, resources used, costs, etc.
- Networks you had in the destination country.
- Positive and negative experiences in the USA.
- Have you received any support in the destination country? From whom?
- Do you participate in any association or activity related to your hometown? Which one?
- Do you vote in the elections held in Honduras from Charlotte?
- What is your level of English? What studies have you completed?

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

With the help of these questions, we sought to initiate a conversation to explore issues such as the decision to start the journey (without return, as the informants told us), their professional and personal situation in their country of origin, and what they are looking for or have found in the country of destination. They were also asked about the role of support and solidarity networks among migrants, and their perception of the added difficulties they encountered because they were women.

The timing and frequency of future conversations, of a more informal nature, were determined by the interlocutors. As mentioned above, when the snowball technique begins to bear fruit, it will be enriching to use the life story, which is understood as a cultural reconstruction carried out from within the subjects studied. The aim is to study their reactions to the norms imposed by society. Although it involves a journey through the life of the person in question, such an account will focus on a particular moment of existence, depending on the subject selected in each case (Hernández Corrochano, 2018).

Hatch and Wisniewski (1995) list the main characteristics of life histories:

a) They focus on the lives of individuals.

b) They have a more personal character than other types of qualitative research.

c) They have a practical and change orientation.

d) They emphasize subjectivity.

The recommendations of Chárriez Cordero (2012) were followed in the development of this study. Therefore, the purpose of the study was explained in detail to the interviewees, the anonymity of their testimonies was guaranteed, and the interview schedules were previously agreed upon, making it clear that they could withdraw from the process at any time if they wished. Similarly, an attempt was made to create an atmosphere of security, respect, and trust, which are fundamental to fostering open and genuine communication. Special care was taken with the interviewer's body and verbal language, space was given to express emotions, and any form of undue pressure or directionality was avoided. In addition, each fragment of the life stories was rigorously transcribed, reviewed, and validated later with the participants themselves, to correct or nuance aspects and collaboratively construct an account as faithful and meaningful as possible of their migratory experiences.

The construction of a broader community on Facebook, which was later moved to the WhatsApp application, allowed discussions to be held among the members and enriched the conclusions of the study. This social network also facilitated the snowballing technique. In addition to the group "Hondureños en Charlotte", whose administrator facilitated the first contacts and where they

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

announce transportation for parcels, news about the origin country, festive events in parts of the destination city, consultants who process residence permits, among other information necessary for the migrant population, a group formed by Salvadorans and Hondurans was located. Although the group also includes citizens from other locations in North Carolina, posts in this group warn about Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE U.S.) controls, hurricanes, and other relevant information.

A number of web pages, scientific articles, as well as complete works that deal with the subject under discussion here have been consulted. Some of these are included in the bibliography section. From the above, we can deduce the use of primary and secondary sources of information. Among the primary sources, we can mention the interviews conducted with the participants, the contacts with the administrator of the social network, the monographs, such as the work by Sánchez-Molina (2006), the conference by Hernández Corrochano (2018) (since the content has been the result of her research), as well as the documentary by Pérez Galán et al. (2019). Secondary sources consulted include contributions from scientific journals on the migration processes of Central American women (Casillas, 2008; Castillo-García, 2000), the historical journey through the Salvadoran migration process (White, 1996), and the news extracted from the digital press.

Results

Although it is true that five life experiences cannot be extrapolated to the whole group, they do allow an approach to the migration phenomenon of Honduran women to the U.S. and to empathize with their sensitivities, hopes, and motivations. The results provide a detailed overview of the participants in terms of their age, marital status, geographic origin, and length of residence in Charlotte. This provides a basic understanding of the profile of Honduran migrant women in this specific area. However, it is important to keep in mind that the sample remains small and may not fully represent the diversity of the migrant population: we are therefore talking about a diversity of experiences and not a generalization of women's experiences.

The five women interviewed come from different places: one from Santa Rosa de Copán, two from El Progreso, and two from Tegucigalpa, the capital. Four are single and one of them has left her ex-husband and children in her hometown. Their ages range from nineteen to forty-five. Except for the nineteen-year-old, who has been in Charlotte for only five months, at the time of this writing, the other participants have been in Charlotte for an average of more than five years.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

In all five cases, they have come to Charlotte encouraged by an acquaintance or family member who assures them that they will improve their work and economic situation, which has been the case. As to whether there is a relationship between them prior to the study, only the two from El Progreso have a bond, they are sisters. Their migration histories are much more hopeful than those described in the theory of this article. Their migration networks have made it easier for them to move and settle in the country of destination and to obtain better-qualified jobs than those they had in their country of origin. Although only one of them performs non-household or care work, they are satisfied with their working conditions. The one who left her children in her hometown does not lose hope of being reunited with them soon, although she does not consider it an easy goal. Her main motivation for making the decision to migrate, as in the case of María Reyes and thousands of other Central Americans and Latinas, was to flee from gender violence. She states that there is nothing that can scare her now or during the trip, as she considers it the only way out of her desperate situation. In contrast to what has been analyzed so far, they do not plan to return to their country of origin, at least for now.

Regarding their English proficiency, only one of the five women in the sample said that she has the linguistic communication skills to be able to work in English and communicate correctly. In the other four cases, the knowledge is low or very low. In August 2017, 500,000 Hondurans spoke English, and there were 2.2 million students enrolled at each level. The average number of English speakers is six out of every one hundred, with about 2,000 teachers trained to teach English. Although there are about 700 bilingual centers, they all belong to the private system, where none of our informants studied.

Among the associations and organizations that have helped the interviewees, one can mention Comunidad Colectiva, created in Charlotte in 2017 to provide free advice to immigrants who may be affected by Trump's policy laws. In general terms, they give them a series of recommendations on what to do if they are detained by the authorities controlling migration. Information is provided on the areas of the city where ICE usually carries out controls and the strategies it employs: following people to their homes, stopping them under the pretext of conducting a traffic control (an act beyond their authority), and approaching individuals detained at a gas station. According to this community, the two basic strategies to keep in mind are to exercise your right to remain silent when asked questions and to request bail if arrested. Regarding the first one, they are advised not to reveal any information without a court order and to continuously answer with the same response. A warrant is necessary to enter a house or vehicle. In the event of detention, they are usually taken to Georgia. Afterward, they must apply for a bond with the judge to prove their situation from home. Family members should prepare some of the following documents for them to present at the time of applying for the bond: a birth certificate of a child born in the U.S., a document proving marriage to a resident, or proof of each of the years they have been residing in the country. They are advised that if any citizen sees ICE conducting a raid, they should notify the people in charge of the Community via telephone or through their website.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Normally, the informational meetings are held at the headquarters of the progressive Christian inclusive movement of the Mission Gathering Church. The involvement of the churches is implicit, which is reminiscent of María Reyes' story when she tells how the people from the church paid for her medical care and medicines while she was convalescing after having gall bladder surgery, in addition to referring to the Centro Católico Hispano, where they can go to the doctor thanks to the help of an interpreter (Sánchez-Molina, 2006).

Regarding participation in transnational events, the five participants spoke of Hola Charlotte, an event that took place on October 20, 2020. It was the eighth edition of an annual festival organized by Norsan Media, with the collaboration of several cultural associations in Charlotte. At the festival, in addition to food and drink, visitors can enjoy performances by numerous Latino artists and visit flea markets with local handicrafts. The date chosen coincides with the celebration of the National Hispanic Heritage Month, which takes place between September 15 and October 15. It is located in Uptown, the heart of the city of Charlotte.

On the other hand, it is notable that none of the five participants have considered returning to their home country. It is striking that, despite having no intention of returning, only one of them is fluent in English, while all of them maintain a strong connection to their cultural identity and value the ability to maintain transnational ties. The lack of prospects if they return to their country of origin, both in the short and long term, generates considerable stress, especially when considering the family members left behind. This sense of uprootedness is intensified by finding themselves at an intermediate point between two lands: they feel foreign in both the country of origin and the destination country.

Conclusions

For the group studied, the repercussions of the present study can be very positive. Through the aforementioned discussions and the conclusions drawn from the research, the informants will be able to reflect on their situation and create initiatives or join other existing ones that will lead them to the empowerment necessary to break down this barrier that immigrant women encounter, both in the country of origin and in the country of destination. González Miranda (2011) includes as a recommendation the need to continue research about domestic work and human trafficking. The same author suggests seeking economic, technical, and political support for migrant associations that advocate for women's rights and promote self-esteem. In Charlotte, a mobile consulate for immigrant assistance has been established; another of the author's requests.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Participating in community initiatives and seeking support to improve their situation can have a significant impact on the empowerment of Honduran migrant women in Charlotte. By actively engaging in activities and programs that promote well-being and social integration, these women can strengthen their sense of autonomy and ability to face the challenges of their daily lives. However, they face several barriers that can hinder this process, such as language and cultural barriers, which represent a major challenge because they can hinder effective communication and access to resources and services. In addition, gender bias can also act as an obstacle to the empowerment of these migrant women. The combination of being migrants and women can expose them to double vulnerability and discrimination, which can slow down their ability to reach their full potential and participate fully in community life. Therefore, it is crucial to address these barriers comprehensively and develop strategies that promote the empowerment of Honduran migrant women in Charlotte. This may include implementing culturally sensitive training programs, establishing community support networks, and promoting inclusive policies that address the specific needs of this demographic. In doing so, we can help create a more equitable and supportive environment for the growth and development of these women in their new home.

Caballeros (2011) calls for another important issue to which studies can also contribute: the need to include children's issues in migration policies, both internally, *transregionally,* and internationally. Specifically, in the Charlotte Court, there are a total of 3,000 pending cases concerning Central American minors. Between 2005 and 2017, 8,943 "unaccompanied children" were identified in the U.S. of which 5,429 were initiated in that Court and deported, what Re Cruz (2017) refers to as "frozen dreams". Of the total number of cases, 5,240 did not have legal representation, so 3,035 were deported. According to 2017 figures, 41% of the deported minors (3,752) were Hondurans (Ortiz, 2017). Hondurans face violence, not only from the state but from maras and other gangs. In addition, Honduran women have the added element of gender-based violence (Asakura & Torres Falcón, 2016; Binazzi, 2019).

The aim in the academic field is to provide a compendium of current data on how migratory flows function. More specifically, the focus is on the advantages of choosing to migrate for female empowerment among Honduran women settled in Charlotte, North Carolina.

The U.S. needs labor and Hondurans find migration to be an optimal alternative to their situation. Therefore, it is necessary to be aware of this interrelationship, as well as the risks it entails and the opportunities it offers (Andrade-Eekhoff and Silva Ávalos, 2004). Works on migratory movements such as this one favor such understanding.

Finally, for Puerta (2012), few academic works address Honduran immigration and, more specifically, migration to the U.S., which is more than enough reason to have decided to do this research.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Statement of authorship contribution

Rosa Rabazo-Ortega, researcher, her role in the research: fieldwork, data collection, data analysis. Alfonso Vázquez-Atochero, researcher, his role in the research: data analysis and revision of the final version of the manuscript.

Conflict of interest

The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest with any institution or commercial association of any kind.

References

Andrade-Eekhoff, K., & Silva-Ávalos, C. M. (2004). La globalización de la periferia: flujos transnacionales migratorios y el tejido productivo local en América Central [The globalization of the periphery: transnational migration flows and the local productive fabric in Central America]. *Revista Centroamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 1*(1), 57–86. https://cutt.ly/4fbFylP

Amnesty International. (2018). *Amnesty International Report 2017/18: The state of the world's human rights*. https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/POL10/6700/2018/en/

Asakura, H., & Torres Falcón, M. (2016). Migración femenina centroamericana y violencia de género: pesadilla sin límites [Central American female migration and gender violence: a nightmare without limits]. *Zona Franca*, *21*(22), 74–85. https://doi.org/10.35305/zf.v21i22.23

Binazzi, A. (2019). Género y migraciones forzosas en Centroamérica y el Caribe [Gender and forced migration in Central America and the Caribbean]. *Collectivus, Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, *6*(1), 155–176. https://doi.org/10.15648/Coll.1.2019.9

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Caballeros, A. (2011). Migración con rostro de niños, niñas y adolescentes [Migration with the faces of children and adolescents]. *Encuentro*, (90), 84–93. https://doi.org/10.5377/encuentro.v44i90.601

Cañada, E. (2011). Migraciones en Centroamérica: en la médula de un cambio estructural [Migration in Central America: at the heart of structural change]. Encuentro. *Revista Académica de la Universidad Centroamericana*, (90), 34–49. https://doi.org/10.5377/encuentro.v44i90.599

Casillas, R. (2008). La ruta de los centroamericanos por México, un ejercicio de caracterización, actores principales y complejidades [The Central American route through Mexico: an exercise in characterization, key actors, and complexities]. *Migración y Desarrollo*, (10), 157–174. https://doi.org/10.35533/myd.0610.rcr

Castillo-García, M. A. (2000). Las políticas hacia la migración centroamericana en países de origen, de destino y de tránsito [Policies toward Central American migration in countries of origin, destination, and transit]. *Papeles de población*, *6*(24), 133–157. https://cutt.ly/cfbFbIh https://rppoblacion.uaemex.mx/article/view/17696

Castro, L. (Producer and director). (2019). *Desde Honduras a EEUU.: ¿qué hay detrás de las caravanas de migrantes?* [From Honduras to the US: what is behind the migrant caravans?] [Documentary]. RT, Cartas sobre la mesa. https://youtu.be/7q41DDJbUpQ?si=MPv0JWwwoqxEax46

Cerdán, V. (Director). (2016). *Héroes invisibles. Honduras.* [Invisible héroes. Honduras] [Documentary]. RTVE. https://www.rtve.es/play/videos/heroes-invisibles/heroes-invisibles-7-sd/3733498/

Chárriez-Cordero, M. (2012). Historias de vida: Una metodología de investigación cualitativa [Life stories: a qualitative research methodology]. *Revista Griot*, *5*(1), 50–67. https://cutt.ly/LfbC8fm

Ciurlo, A. (2014). Género y familia transnacional: Un enfoque teórico para aproximarse a los estudios migratorios [Gender and transnational families: a theoretical approach to migration studies]. *Revista Científica General José María Córdova*, *12*(13), 127–161. https://doi.org/10.21830/19006586.158

Cortés, A. (2018). Violencia de género y frontera: migrantes centroamericanas en México hacia los EEUU [Gender-based violence and border: Central American migrants in Mexico

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

heading to the US]. *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe*, (105) 39–60. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26525008

Cortés Maisonave, A., & Manjarrez Rosas, J. (Eds.). (2017). Mujeres, migración centroamericana y violencia: un diagnóstico para el caso de Puebla [Women, Central American migration, and violence: an assessment of the situation in Puebla]. Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla. https://docta.ucm.es/rest/api/core/bitstreams/b7e0f675-320a-4b2b-afee-fb221250017c/content

Cucho, A., & Melgar, L. (2018). *Dónde viven, en qué trabajan y cuánto aportan a EEUU: estos son los hondureños que perderán el TPS* [Where they live, what they do for a living, and how much they contribute to the US: these are the Hondurans who will lose TPS]. Univision Noticias. https://www.univision.com/noticias/tps/donde-viven-en-que-trabajan-y-cuanto-aportan-a-eeuu-estos-son-los-hondurenos-que-perdieron-el-tps

Díaz de Rada, A. (2012). *El Taller del Etnógrafo. Materiales y herramientas de investigación en etnografía* [The Ethnographer's workshop. Research materials and tools in ethnography]. UNED.

Espallargas, A. (June 29, 2019). *Honduras vive su peor crisis social a diez años del golpe de Estado* [Honduras is experiencing its worst social crisis ten years after the coup d'état]. ABC. https://www.abc.es/internacional/abci-honduras-vive-peor-crisis-social-diez-anos-golpe-estado-201906281933_noticia.html

Giorguli Saucedo, S., & Itzigsohn, J. (2006). Diferencias de género en la experiencia migratoria. Transnacionalismo e incorporación de los migrantes latinos en Estados Unidos [Gender differences in the migration experience. Transnationalism and incorporation of Latino migrants in the United States]. *Papeles de Población*, *12*(47), 8–37.

González-Miranda, J.L. (2011). Investigación exploratoria sobre migración de mujeres de Somoto (Nicaragua) a San Sebastián (España) [Exploratory research on the migration of women from Somoto (Nicaragua) to San Sebastián (Spain)]. *Encuentro. Revista Académica de la Universidad Centroamericana*, (90), 50–83. https://doi.org/10.5377/encuentro.v44i90.600

Guarnizo, L., & Smith, M. (1998). *Transnacionalism From Below: Comparative Urban and Community Research*. Transaction Publishers.

Hatch, J. A., & Wisniewski, R. (1995). Life history and narrative: questions, issues, and exemplary works. In Hatch, J. A. & Wisniewski, R. (Eds.), *Life History and Narrative*, (pp. 113-136). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203486344

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Hernández-Corrochano, E. (2018). *Historia de vida* [Life story]. UNED.

Herrera-Saray, G. (2010) El lugar parental: una pista analítica para Comprender la familia en situación de Transnacionalidad [The parental place: an analytical clue for understanding families in transnational situations]. *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios de Familia*, 2, 117–136. https://revistasojs.ucaldas.edu.co/index.php/revlatinofamilia/article/view/5552

International Organization for Migration (Ed.) (2019). *Life stories of returned migrants*. http://kmhub.iom.int/en/virtual-library/life-stories-returned-migrants.

Íñiguez, L. (2001). Identidad: de lo personal a lo social. Un recorrido conceptual [Identity: from the personal to the social. A conceptual journey]. In E. Crespo (Ed.), *La constitución social de la subjetividad* (pp. 209–225). Catarata.

Jaramillo, P. (August 16, 2017). *Abrirán consulado de Honduras en Carolina del Norte* [Honduran consulate to open in North Carolina] La Noticia. https://cutt.ly/IhmOL57

Jones, A. (2006). *Genocide: A comprehensive intoduction.* Routledge.

Knox, V. (2019). La violencia de las pandillas, la violencia de género y los delitos de odio en Centroamérica: la respuesta del Estado frente a su responsabilidad [Gang violence, gender violence, and hate crimes in Central America: the State's response to its responsibility]. *Revista Migraciones Forzadas*, 62, 75–77. http://hdl.handle.net/10045/100157

López-Montaño, L. M. (2011). Proyecto familiar y familia en situación de transnacionalidad en Colombia [Family project and transnational families in Colombia]. *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios de Familia*, *3,* 127–145. https://revistasojs.ucaldas.edu.co/index.php/revlatinofamilia/article/view/5073

López Recinos, V. (2013). Desarrollo, migración y seguridad: El caso de la migración hondureña hacia Estados Unidos [Development, migration, and security: The case of Honduran migration to the United States]. *Migración y Desarrollo*, *11*(21), 65–105 https://doi.org/10.35533/myd.1121.vlr

Observatorio Nacional de la Violencia (2019). *Mortalidad y otros* [Mortality and others]. Instituto Universitario en Democracia, Paz y Seguridad (UNAH–IUDPAS). https://cutt.ly/EhmPEEY

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Ordóñez-Baca, F. (April 4, 2019). *¿Conviene o no que los hondureños puedan votar en el exterior?* [Should Hondurans be allowed to vote abroad?]. El Heraldo. https://www.elheraldo.hn/hondurenosenelmundo/conviene-o-no-que-los-hondurenos-puedan-votar-en-el-exterior-IYEH1273218

Ortega, A. (2015). La migración de mujeres hondureñas y la crisis de los cuidados [The migration of Honduran women and the care crisis]. *Nueva Sociedad*, (256), 103–113. https://nuso.org/articulo/la-migracion-de-mujeres-hondurenas-y-la-crisis-de-los-cuidados/

Ortega, A. (2016). ¿Migración voluntaria o expulsión? Una aproximación a las causas y dinámicas de la migración laboral en Honduras [Voluntary migration or expulsion? An approach to the causes and dynamics of labor migration in Honduras]. Friedrich Ebert Stinftung, (2), 1–37. https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/fesamcentral/12784.pdf

Ortiz, P. (noviembre 20, 2017). *Hay más de 3.000 casos pendientes de menores centroamericanos en la Corte de Charlotte* [There are more than 3,000 pending cases involving Central American minors in Charlotte court]. La Noticia. https://lanoticia.com/noticias/usa/nc/clt/mas-3000-casos-pendientes-menores-centroamericanos-la-corte-charlotte/

Pérez-Galán, B., Mejía-Chinchilla D. X., & Zuñiga-Cáceres, L. (2019). *Honduras (I): la lucha por el territorio y por los derechos de los pueblos indígenas* [Honduras (I): the fight for the territory and the indigenous peoples' rights]. Canal UNED. https://canal.uned.es/video/5cc7fb53a3eeb0d84f8b4567

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. (2010). *América Inmigrante* [Immigrant America]. Anthropos.

Portes, A., Guarnizo L. E., & Landolt, P. (1999). The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *22*(2), 217–237. https://doi.org/10.1080/014198799329468

Puerta, R. (2012). Entendiendo y explicando la migración hondureña en Estados Unidos [Understanding and explaining Honduran migration in the United States]. *Población y desarrollo. Argonautas y Caminantes*, *2*, 65–84. https://pdac-mdd.unah.edu.hn

Pujadas Muñoz, J. J. (1992). *El método bibliográfico: el uso de las historias de vida en ciencias sociales* [The bibliographic method: the use of life stories in social sciences]. Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

Re Cruz, A. (2017). Antropología de Emergencia en el trabajo con menores y mujeres centroamericanas en busca de asilo [Emergency anthropology in working with Central American minors and women seeking asylum]. *Astrolabio, Revista Internacional de Filosofía*, *19*, 207–217. https://raco.cat/index.php/Astrolabio/article/view/318864/409084

Rocha, J. L. (2011). Censo estadounidense 2010: cifras e implicaciones de la mayor presencia de centroamericanos en Estados Unidos [2010 US Census: figures and implications of the increased presence of Central Americans in the United States]. *Encuentro. Revista Académica de la Universidad Centroamericana*, (90), 19–33. https://doi.org/10.5377/encuentro.v44i90.598

Sánchez-Molina, R. (2006). *Proceso migratorio de una mujer salvadoreña. El viaje de María Reyes a Washington* [The migration process of a Salvadoran woman. María Reyes' journey to Washington]. Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.

Vidal Fernández, L., Tuñón Pablos, E., Rojas Wiesner, M., & Ayús Reyes, R. (2002). De Paraíso a Carolina del Norte. Redes de apoyo y percepciones de la migración a Estados Unidos de mujeres tabasqueñas despulpadoras de jaiba [From Paraíso to North Carolina. Support networks and perceptions of migration to the United States among female crab peelers from Tabasco.]. *Migraciones Internacionales, 1*(2), 29–61. https://migracionesinternacionales.colef.mx/index.php/migracionesinternacionales/article/view/1721

Walden, M. (September 4, 2019). *Usted decide: ¿Cómo va la economía de Carolina del Norte?* [You decide: How is North Carolina's economy doing?]. La Noticia. https://lanoticia.com/opinion/como-va-la-economia-de-carolina-del-norte/

White, A. (1996a). El Salvador en Centroamérica [El Salvador in Central America]. In *El Salvador 1550-1973: Cuatro siglos de evolución histórica y geopolítica salvadoreñas* (Vol. 5) (pp. 195–207). Universidad Católica de El Salvador. https://books.google.com.co/books?id=qtd8DwAAQBAJ&pg=PA294&hl=es&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=1#v=onepage&q&f=false

White, A. (1996b). Antecedentes históricos: los últimos cien años [Historical background: the last hundred years]. In *El Salvador 1550-1973: Cuatro siglos de evolución histórica y geopolítica salvadoreñas* (Vol. 5) (pp. 84–118). Universidad Católica de El Salvador. https://books.google.com.co/books?id=qtd8DwAAQBAJ&pg=PA294&hl=es&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=1#v=onepage&q&f=false

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21501/22161201.4823

White, A. (1996c). La estructura económica [The economical structure]. In *El Salvador 1550-1973: Cuatro siglos de evolución histórica y geopolítica salvadoreñas* (Vol. 5) (pp. 119–161). Universidad Católica de El Salvador. https://books.google.com.co/books?id=qtd8DwAAQBAJ&pg=PA294&hl=es&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=1#v=onepage&q&f=false

Willers, S. M. (2016). Migración y violencia: las experiencias de mujeres migrantes centroamericanas en tránsito por México [Migration and violence: Central American migrant women's experiences in transit through Mexico]. *Sociológica*, *89*(31), 163–195. http://www.sociologicamexico.azc.uam.mx/index.php/Sociologica/article/view/1295

Zavala de Cosío, M. E. (2014). *El género en movimiento. Familias y migraciones* [Gender on the move. Families and migration]. El colegio de México.