



Social Imaginaries in a Garifuna Textbook

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Author's Statement

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Abstract

Within the construction of Central American educational historiography, local languages and cultures have great relevance. School textbooks can be a mechanism of cultural hegemony, but also a place of emancipation. This work explores the construction of social imaginaries in a specific school text, constructed primarily with Garifuna songs: Tiyanu Nuguchu Garinagu, I and II cycle of Garífuna Mother Tongue (Secretaría de Educación Pública de Honduras, 2019). From a decolonial approach, it will be shown how, although hegemonic processes stand out, counter-hegemonic elements are also present. The approach will be in accordance with a study of the coloniality of power as a scheme of thought and framework of action that legitimizes the differences between societies, subjects, and knowledge, which therefore brings us closer to the social imaginaries on which they are based. It will be explored whether the text is being a tool to perpetuate a belief system typical of the Garifuna community or it is far from it. Keywords: Social imaginaries; Garifuna; decolonial feminism; coloniality of power; hegemony.

Introduction and State of the Art

Within the construction of Central American educational historiography, indigenous languages, and cultures convey knowledge and values that provide meaning and social cohesion. The appreciation and study of indigenous languages are significant because they offer unique insights and ways of understanding the world differently; they help promote peace, freedoms, social inclusion, and the diversity of values, cultures, and languages (Educo, 2019). Besides allowing learning in one's own language, textbooks in vernacular languages can be a mechanism for cultural hegemony and a space for emancipation. This perspective is the starting point for analyzing this article, the textbook "Tiyanu Nùguchu, Garifuna Mother Tongue for 1st and 2nd Cycle" (Secretaría de Educación Pública de Honduras, 2019). Castoriadis (1975) perceives political activity as the capacity to become aware, through mechanisms of rational enlightenment, of our role in creating social institutions with the duality of meaning and human autonomy. The imaginary is a configurator and structure of reality, capable of working both in maintaining and questioning the social order (Coca et al., 2011).

The Garifuna people are the result of a historical process originating north of the island of San Vicente in the Caribbean. Formerly called Black Caribs, their ancestors were Arawak and Carib indigenous people. During the second half of the 17th century, shipwrecked Africans and enslaved individuals fled following the wind's direction from Barbados (Randazzo, 2019).

Between 1500 and 1775, there was significant contact with Europeans (English, Spanish, French, and Portuguese), sustaining fierce military struggles due to the "opposition of the

inhabitants in defense of their lands” (Green, 2011, p. 73). From 1779 to 1796, amid the conflicts, the English and French maintained some control of the island through peace agreements. Finally, with the death of Satuyé (Universidad Pablo Olavide, 2024) on March 14, 1796, the British took possession of the island of San Vicente and expelled the Garifunas on April 12, 1797, to the island of Roatán, Honduras (Davidson, 1983), located 2,735 km from Saint Vincent in the Lesser Antilles, in the Caribbean region; they were later relocated to the Honduran port of Trujillo. Since then, “the population spread along the Caribbean coast of Honduras, Belize, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. A significant portion of their population resides in the United States due to a migratory process that began in the mid-20th century” (Agudelo, 2013, p. 93).

Both indigenous and African roots are supported by linguistic, genetic, and ethnographic studies (González, 2006). The Garifuna language is considered a “historical product dating from pre-Columbian times” (UCR, 2016, p. 1). Initially, the island of San Vicente was inhabited by the Iñeri (speaking Arawak-Manipure). Around the year 1200, the island was invaded by the Kalinago (speaking Carib) from the Venezuelan Caribbean. González (1997) explains that the Kalinago

Took possession of the island by enslaving or killing the Iñeri men and taking the women” (p. 12). Thus, a fusion of gender languages emerged, one “that was called Carib, Galibi, Caliponam, or Garifuna. The entire population easily assimilated and understood this dual-structured language; Iñeri women taught their sons and daughters Arawak, and the men taught them Kalinago (Godfrey, 2012, p. 10).

The Garifuna language remained unwritten until the late 20th century. However, singing has likely been one of the “containers” of cultural memory, serving a genuinely constitutive and transcendent function. “According to tradition, Garifuna women first sang Yurumei during the journey from San Vicente to Roatán (1797)” (Randazzo, 2019, p. 73). This song is the most emblematic of this culture and is considered the anthem of the Garifuna nation. However, it is more than its intonation during that event; it is much more than an anecdotal action:

In Garifuna culture, singing is an authentic discursive practice, as it involves not only the author but also the community; it is easily transmitted and reappropriated, mainly because it generally has a sort of chorus, like a responsorial in which the whole group, including the audience, joins in, echoing, strengthening the individual voice, and making it collective (Randazzo, 2019, p. 74).

Materials and Methods

The textbook “Tiyanu Nóguchu, Garifuna Mother Tongue for 1st and 2nd Cycle” (Secretary of Public Education of Honduras, 2019) will be analyzed. Our reflections will focus on the cognitive and symbolic discourse and its dynamics of power and access, in line with the studies

of the coloniality of power as a scheme of thought and framework of action that legitimizes differences among societies, subjects, and knowledge. From a decolonial perspective, it will be shown how, while hegemonic processes are present, counter-hegemonic elements also stand out. It will explore whether the text is or is not a tool for perpetuating a belief system inherent to the Garifuna community. Furthermore, an analysis of the text and its didactic possibilities will be encouraged to delve into the disruption in the network of significance of practices and meanings as an essential step to approaching social imaginaries.

A text like the one presented invites reflection on the relationships between discourse and power, on how the text and the conversation of dominant institutions or groups enact, reproduce, and legitimize abuse. Van Djik (2013) mentions seven dimensions of domination. The fundamental element is the cognitive-symbolic domain that power groups exercise through institutions or the institutionalization of entities. Discourse is used for the reproduction or reconstruction of power and domination. Access, the author explains, is how “people take the initiative in a communicative event, the modalities of participation, as well as how the properties of discourse are controlled” (p. 67). Access is a resource power groups use in almost all areas: “social, political, institutions, professions, and genders” (p. 67).

This power and domination resource presents specific dimensions: planning, the situation, communicative events, the sphere of influence, and audience control. Each dimension involves the exercise of “control over the minds of the participants, receivers, or audience as a whole in such a way that they provoke mental changes that those in power will prefer” (p. 67), scheduling how communicative events will be carried out: who will participate, who is not allowed, when, where, what topics, what speech acts, styles and tones are appropriate, who is allowed to speak, to ask, what ideologies will be mobilized in the discourse. Therefore, it is worth reflecting “if access to discourse is a measure of power. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) becomes an essential diagnostic tool to assess how domination occurs regarding policies, specifically in the educational space (Van Djik, 2013).

The text’s description is indispensable, as well as the space of interculturality that brings us closer to a better understanding and comprehension of the discourse. An analysis of the order of presentation enables a specific way of knowledge configuration (Foucault, 1978) and the consideration of Garifuna singing as the predominant genre in the text in question.

Being a review of a text, the use of hermeneutics is imperative, for, as Héctor Cárcamo Vásquez would say, as a research tool, it will make us: “develop the intelligibility of the discourse contained in the text; to a great extent, it is about crossing the physical borders contained in the words to achieve the meaning of these as captured on paper” (Vásquez, 2005).

The work must also study the coloniality of power since it shows the scheme of thought and framework of action that legitimizes differences between societies, subjects, and knowledge.

In the field of didactic discourse, it is ambitious and imperative to rethink and reframe the internalized semiotic power of the school text as a counter-hegemonic mechanism. This pedagogical resource can constitute a social semiotic agent capable of dialoguing constructs of identity and plurilingual and multicultural identities, deconstructing “ethnic, classist accents” (Ajagán, 2012) towards an “emergent and rooted epistemology, social transformation in terms of justice, diversity [...] generate a learning ecology that incorporates fair and democratic practices” (Cortés, et al., 2022).

Text Description

The text in question is a curricular space on the Garifuna mother tongue designed for the first and second cycles of education. It is titled “Tiyanu Núguchu”, meaning “the discourse, the message, or the words of my mother.” The text is divided into six (6) chapters or “sileisi” (meaning section or content).

The entire text is in the Garifuna language. The first part presents “uremu lidan Garifuna” (songs/hymns). Initially, it features the “Lord’s Prayer,” accompanied by an image of Jesus crucified. Secondly, it teaches “Leremuna Indura” (the National Anthem of Honduras), alongside the Honduran flag. Thirdly, there is the song “Yurumein” (Saint Vincent), considered the anthem of the Garifunas, which narrates the arrival of the Garifunas to Honduras and Central America. It refers to the desire to return, hence it depicts a boat filled with Garifuna and perhaps non-Garifuna people.

In the second part, there is the Anthem to the Mother (in Garifuna, translated from Spanish), followed by a song about the reason for yearning and looking towards Africa. Next, a story and a chorus tell the tale of a Garifuna lady named Doña Cipriana, who always went to a river and lost her children there. The last part is a short poem, *Huraraü tounaha mama*, mentioning that the Mother sends her daughter to sell bread.

The third part begins with brief historical-narrative texts about the Garifuna people’s wars against the colonizers. These stories exalt Satuyé, the Garifuna hero, and Barauda, his wife. According to the narrative, Barauda is a brave woman who fought alongside Satuyé in defense of the Garifuna people. The images accompanying the text depict a man resembling more of a Mesoamerican indigenous hero rather than a man with a Garifuna phenotype. The image of Barauda shows a woman tending to livestock.

The third lesson presents the story of Tona, a hardworking and diligent woman washing clothes alongside some Garifuna girls. In the image, the washing process is traditional: using rivers and tubs, which Garifunas currently use for washing. This section concludes with a story about a Garifuna girl named Dana, who was not obedient to her parents.

In the fourth part, there is only one song about school; its lines mention the importance of school attendance and greeting and respect for the institution and the teacher. It mentions that

the teacher teaches that good things are learned that children are obedient, are friends, should help each other, and share at school.

The fifth part contains six songs and one round. “Wuremu noufuri Wana” (Aunt Wana’s song) tells of a mystery and a desire to search for some nephews. It questions where Aunt Wana is and what she might be doing. The image highlights a singing woman; the song’s lyrics are superimposed on the photograph. “Wuremu Tiyadügü nuban” tells another song in which the homes of a Garifuna village are shown, but the old ones are made with natural materials. It tells that the mother orders her daughter to move from that place because it will rain. “Wuremu Kiki” is a children’s song about time the hours. It consists of questions and answers: “kasan oura?” (what time is it?), “ladoun aban” (one o’clock). The image features a group of Garifuna boys and girls playing in the schoolyard.

“Wuremu Seingu Dunuru” (Song of the Five Little Birds) narrates the story of baby birds leaving the nest individually. The image features a large tree and some birds flying, with a Garifuna teenager on the left side. The story highlights the connection with Mother Earth, with fauna and flora, as the essential message conveyed is about life present in the sea, in the birds. In the end, there is a little tongue twister about “yalifu” – the pelican. At the end of lesson five, “Wuremu Waboudañon” (The Counting Song) is shown; the content emphasizes ordinal numbers: “aban” (one), “biama” (two), “ürüwa” (three), “gädürü” (four), “sengü” (five), “sisi” (six), “sedü” (seven), “widü” (eight), “nefu” (nine), “disi” (ten).

“Lisili Sileisi” (the sixth part) showcases nine “wuremu lidan Garifuna” (nine traditional songs or dances). “Abimeihani” talks about a mother encouraging her son to work in the cassava fields; “Wuremu Wanaragua” is the request of a very sick woman to God for healing; “Wuremu Kaba Nerere Bune Nirau” is a mother’s complaint about her son’s disobedience, highlighting that his action will have consequences; “Wuremu Wiunchein Wuremu Lanina Ahurühani” is a song about a traditional Garifuna occupation, featuring a man working the land with rudimentary tools in a cassava field; “Wuremu Lanina Hugunhungun” is a song that invites the raising of the flag; “Wuremu Sambai” tells that the sister is tired of life’s challenges and problems. The last part of the sixth section features a poem dedicated to a bird, “Dunuru Fiendiwatu” (Painted Bird). The poem describes the bird: it has a leaf, a flower in its beak, and love in its being.

Generally, the images feature groups of people, especially women, wearing traditional dresses and dancing these rhythms. In two images, men appear, one working the land, tending to the cassava crop, and the other playing a traditional drum melody.

Analysis and Results: The Marks of Symbolic Power

From a particular perspective, the hegemonic/exclusionary dimensions carried by the school textbook “Tiyanu Nüguchu” pose an obstacle to advancing the construction of intercultural

meanings. For example, the idea of linguistic variation is presented as something negative, a problem to be resolved by the Ladino society. The book outlines feature of acculturation; it employs icons that evoke and promote submission and domination: Eurocentric religious images, the image of the national flag of Honduras representing nationalism rather than plurinationalism, large photographs that evoke the idea of slave ships, images of people with phenotypic traits Latinized or belonging to other cultures. The national state controls cultural interaction and propagation as a mechanism of domination, naturalizing asymmetry, and educational inequality in Honduras.

Ruiz, García, and Peña (2017) argue that the space of teaching and learning is a symbolic form of domination through the construction of educational discourses that are the product of various imperceptible forces, sometimes and other times, visibly open. The authors emphasize the importance of understanding how power operates, how it is expressed in space, the body, programs, and subjects, and how the school cloaks itself in the liberating project of knowledge. In this area, the didactic text has played a predominant role. Textbooks or school texts are perhaps the best contributors to reproducing the structures and mechanisms of power of the State and dominant groups. From their conception, textbooks are considered educational material that must contain an arbitrary selection of cultural contents. This selection generally reflects the condition of domination of those who make the selection. Regarding social imaginaries, there is an interdependent relationship between what is considered fundamental in a society and its imaginary, including a political dimension derived from questioning certainty and alternative interpretation of “the real” (Carretero, 2005). Parra Carrasco (2023) discusses how gender imaginaries materialized through language and their role in signification and legitimization as societal stabilizers.

The order of the texts is denotative. Regarding social imaginaries, Baeza (2003) considers that matrices of signification can legitimize a form of social organization and make new needs visible. Initially, there is the Lord’s Prayer, followed by the anthem to Honduras and the anthem to Saint Vincent, showing the liminality of the group, in the sense of Homi Bhabha (2002), as symbols of what would be called the religion of the homeland (Thiesse, 2001), constituted by two nations: the Honduran and the Garifuna. Conde (2009) suggests that instead of searching for the hidden, the focus should be on what is present, what is set before the text, and the new worlds it opens up to. Thus, the theme of Gender is imposed next, as the following block begins with the anthem to The Mother. Most of the subjects of action in the school text are female. The male figure is present in the colonizers, Satuyé, the teacher, and the farmer. Perhaps also in the metaphor of the bird and the flight (in three texts).

In the section that includes the Hymn to the Mother, there is also an ode to Africa and two texts that address the theme of motherhood: Doña Cipriana, who loses her children in the river, and the Mother, who sends her daughter to sell bread. The entire connotation is feminine, in addition to the possibility of considering the African continent as the motherland (Toledo Jofré, 2011), allowing for a deeper exploration of the themes of loss of offspring and exploitation of labor.

Indeed, the following section focuses on the wars that the Garifuna people wage against colonizers and the prominence of Satuyé, a famous Garifuna warrior leader, and Barauda, his wife, who stands as his equal in the struggle. Up to this point, there is a balance between masculine and feminine symbols.

However, from this moment on, female characters (11 in total) will stand out, including Tona, the working woman; Dana, the Garifuna girl; Aunt Wana, the singer; Mother and daughter in their relationship; the Mother who teaches to work; the sick woman; the Mother who demands; the woman who acknowledges her sister's troubles. These stories should not be surprising, as songs in this culture are everyday occurrences, traditionally the work of women, who hold centrality within the socialization network and likely beyond. However:

The matrifocality of the Garifuna people has been ignored and even suppressed by the dominant patriarchal culture, which disregards its existence and encourages the replacement of women's networks in our communities, promoting a Western-style social organization that reduces us to mere statistics and, it can be argued, even commodifies us (Black Fraternal Organization of Honduras, OFRANEH, 2017).

Due to its established and instituting nature, Parra Carrasco (2023) considers that there is a close link between gender-based violence —of a symbolic order— and social imaginaries. These are capable of making gender relations based on coercion, control, and unequal power distribution plausible, acceptable, and legitimate.

The matrifocality (Smith, 1996) and matrilocality of Garifuna communities can also be found in the role of women in the ancestral worship of Dügü (an animist religion), which revolves around the tribute paid to grandmothers (nagoto) (González, 2006). Likewise, Hadel (1972) establishes a critical detail regarding the authorship of lyrics, noting that women, especially punta, usually create certain types of songs. However, today, incursions into all types of Garifuna musical genres are mentioned (Randazzo, 2019, p. 78). While styles such as parranda are more associated with men, they seem more traditionally oriented toward the instrumental performance of paramount drums, conch trumpets, harmonicas, accordions, and similar rattles (Arrivillaga Cortés, n.d.). However, more research is needed in this area.

Currently, the most prominent names in commercial Garifuna music are male, even though some perform songs that the community recognizes as being written by well-known and acknowledged female authors, but without giving them credit. This invisibility leads us to cite Moi (2005), who refers to the discrimination against female creators precisely because they are women. Indeed, this discrimination is even systemic and, therefore, not easy to perceive, especially when it is being exercised. The exception is *Umalali: The Garifuna Women's Project*, an album of songs by Garifuna women from Belize, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Guatemala produced by Ivan Duran (2008):

Umalali: The Garifuna Women’s Project is an album overflowing with stories. It tells the tale of its creation: a decade-long labor of love that began with five years of gathering songs and uncovering remarkable female voices, followed by recording sessions in a seaside hut and culminating in the exquisitely detailed and nuanced production magic. The album narrates stories through its songs: of hurricanes that obliterated homes and livelihoods, a son slain in a distant village, the agony of childbirth, and other struggles and triumphs of everyday life. It also shares the personal stories of the women involved in this enchanting recording project: mothers and daughters who, while tirelessly working to support their families, sing songs and carry forward the traditions of their people to the next generations.

The coloniality of power in textbook design and production deepens the division of labor with unequal consequences, not only socioeconomically but also in knowledge production. Textbooks legitimize the colonialism of knowledge by reproducing the organization and contents of knowledge based on scientific disciplines; other forms of knowledge, such as those produced by indigenous peoples, are not considered. Beyond being functional to the colonial and capitalist structures of knowledge production, circulation, and consumption, they also serve as commodities to create and consolidate corporate economic monopolies (Paredes, 2012).

As observed in the school textbook studied here, the book can be considered not only as a system of content transmission but also as the result of political, economic, and cultural interests:

Designed by actual power groups who have genuine interests. [...] Even recognizing that textbooks construct ideologies and ontologies—is fundamentally misleading in many essential aspects because it is not “society” that has created these textbooks but specific groups of people. “We” have not constructed these curricular artifacts in the sense that there is a universal agreement among all of us and that we have decided that this constitutes official knowledge (Apple, 1993, p. 113).

There are always social interests at play by privileging certain practices over others; there are those who win and those who lose with the representation of reality that is imposed. These interests mean that by exercising control over the value or price of resources and linguistic uses—that is, by ensuring that some forms of speech are assigned a place in the evaluative continuum between good and evil, appropriate, and inappropriate, elegant, and rustic—, dominant groups control the production and distribution of other types of symbolic and material resources (Ciudad and Zavala, 2019, p. 91).

Textbooks for indigenous peoples in Honduras fit the descriptions above. In particular, the semiotic composition of the school text *Tiyanu Núguchu* exhibits characteristics that adhere to the institutionalization of well-defined ideologies and roles in defense of the legitimization of

power through colonizing state policies: exclusion, invisibilization, stereotypes, segregation, and racism. The images and linguistic content act as a source of symbolic domination, highlighting ethnic differences as a means of categorization and hierarchy.

In the school textbook, the religious icon at the beginning gives the impression of being one of the black Christs that can be found in the many churches along the Honduran Atlantic coast. The works in black can be linked to the pre-Hispanic past since some gods like Yacatecuhtli, the God of commerce, or Tláloc, the God of rain and economy, were represented in black (Escoto, 2017, pp. 18-19), making it possible for the evangelization process to be more readily accepted by the natives of America. It was part of a policy of inclusion and domination characteristic of the colony since in 1542, with the promulgation of the New Laws, the indigenous people were freed from slavery because they were believed to be descendants of one of the twelve lost tribes of Israel.

Moreover, because our primary intent and will have always been and is for the conservation and increase of the Indians, and that they are instructed and taught in the matters of our holy Catholic faith and well-treated as free persons and our vassals, as they are; (...)

Item: We order and command that from now on, for no cause of a war or any other, even under the title of rebellion, or for ransom or any other way, no Indian may be made a slave, and we want them to be treated as our vassals of the [royal] crown of Castile since they are. No person may use the Indians through naboria, tapia, or any other mode, against their will (National Library of Spain, n.d., p. 6).

The devotion to the Black Christ lies more in its color than in the mysticism of the image itself:

This was part of a well-crafted strategy to eradicate idolatry and its idols and replace them with peninsular images that sought to represent the Christian religion, Christian dogmas, symbols, and iconographies. This process, in addition to including Christian preaching and the construction of churches, also involved winning the sympathy of the natives by adding pre-Hispanic elements to such representations since, according to Gruzinski, the existing linguistic obstacle would make the image a conquering role (Escoto, 2017, p. 10).

Santiago Castro Gómez warns that “the aristocratic imaginary of whiteness is the identity founded on ethnic distinction from the other. The devotion to black saints thus became part of an imaginary reconstructed by the church to cohere and strengthen bonds of coloniality over black slave and free communities during the 16th to 19th centuries” (in Escoto, 2017, p. 10). However, this act of domination and reconfiguration of the dogma was not only developed at the level of black communities. For the indigenous people of America, by tradition, the color black has been considered sacred, as previously mentioned, since important deities were personified in that hue in America.

Over time, colonizers coded the phenotypic traits of the colonized with colors and assumed them to be the emblematic characteristics of the racial category. This coding was initially established, probably in the British-American area. Africans were there not only the primarily exploited, as the central part of the economy rested on their labor, but they were, above all, the most critical “colonized race” since the “Indians” were not part of that colonial society; consequently, the dominants called themselves white in response to a colonialist vision (Quijano, 1993, p. 203).

To understand how meaning is attributed, it is worth citing the nineteenth-century theologian Rudolf Otto in *Das Heilige* (1980), who states that black idols are intrinsically more “numinous” than white ones. Numinosity is inversely related to luminosity. Otto in *Das Heilige* mentions that the numinous is considered “tremendous,” that is, the tremendous mystery which, according to the author, can be felt in various ways. It can penetrate the spirit with a gentle flow, in the form of the calm feeling of absorbed devotion, for the Tremendous Mystery:

It manifests in fierce and demonic forms. It can plunge the soul into horrors and almost witchlike terrors. It has manifestations and elementary degrees, crude and barbaric, and evolves towards more refined, purer, and transfigured stages. In the end, it can turn into the suspense and humble trembling, into the silence of the creature before (Otto, 1980, p. 12-13).

Since the mystery as such refers to the hidden, the secret, what is not unveiled, yet, it says with it to refer to something positive:

Mystery means nothing other than the hidden and secret, what is not public, what is not conceived nor understood, what is not every day and familiar, without the word being able to characterize and name it more precisely in its affirmative qualities. However, with this, we refer to something positive. This positive character of the mysterious is experienced only in feelings (Otto, 1980, p. 13).

The image of the saint, of the sacred, represents the status quo, and, unsurprisingly, the evangelizing project continues as a form of control and domination. It is essential to redefine the idea of identity where indigenism is demystified, and mestizaje is used as a means to counter colonialism and racism in our societies. However, in our country, there has been an attempt to discuss identity while denying indigenous and Afro-descendant groups. In the text *Tiyanu Nuguchu*, on page 11, there is also the national anthem of Honduras with its chorus and seventh stanza. While it needs to be known by Hondurans, it is also crucial that the construction of identity comes from the awareness of all groups, especially those that have been excluded from decision-making, especially those related to their culture.

A fundamental category of this analysis is the coloniality of power, which seeks to explore how the West and its agents have constituted a globally hegemonic power model in the present.

This model presupposes that, despite the end of colonialism as a formal political system, social power is still constituted based on criteria originated in the colonial relationship, that is, coloniality continues to be the central character of current social power (Quijano, 1993).

A strong hegemonic pressure causes Garifuna culture to survive in many ways in resistance. Hadel (1972) refers to the storytellers of úragas (stories) sprinkled with equally sung versions -although it seems that few tell them now-:

...a story was told first, and then it had its song [...]. It used to be very beautiful; it was done at the end of the novena. Some stayed in the house listening to the úraga, and others went to the yard to dance punta. Then, one did not feel the length of the night because there was how and where to be distracted: either outside dancing or inside listening. Now it has been lost, almost in all communities (García, 2016).

From a Western worldview, the text stops showing the culture of the people from customs and cultural expressions as minor practices; in this sense, for example, music could be considered an element that abounds in the text. From this point of view of social reality, songs could be a rhetorical strategy complicit in inequality, prevailing what is legitimate. It might be believed to present the Garifuna individual in a subordinate position in society: the native, the different, the non-cosmopolitan.

However, singing is the most crucial genre of traditional Garifuna culture (Porter, 1983, p. 64). In addition to being a mnemonic method among the Garifunas it is a widespread practice, especially among women, whose lyrics (and the music) allow the expression of experiences, feelings, and even individual and collective problems, “being a testimony of the construction of their representation about the social world that characterizes the group” (Randazzo, 2019, p.74).

Garifuna songs are poetry. They capture the history, values, aspirations, concerns, the deepest feelings of a people who have remained illiterate in their language. The songs capture and express the totality of the Garifuna experience and, in a sense, serve as a literature waiting to be written and translated into other languages for our common benefit (Cacho, n.d., p. 20).

Discussion: Imaginaries, Decoloniality, and Counter-Hegemony

The ILO Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples develops a series of articles that require signatory countries to comply, hoping that the rights and customs of indigenous peoples are preserved and perpetuated, giving a series of guidelines on health, work, and education. However, how the signatory countries, including Honduras, have complied or not points to why the same country ignores and denies. It is fundamental to redefine the idea of identity where indigenism is demystified, and mestizaje is used to counter colonialism and racism in our societies.

Honduras, although it has sought mechanisms to comply with the needs for recognition and respect of indigenous peoples, continues to commit serious violations, not only to the convention but to the constitution of the republic that guarantees the free exercise of all religions. Looking at the text *Tiyanu Nuguchu Garinagu*, one can notice on page 10 a prayer to Our Father in a Garifuna version with a crucified Jesus as an illustration. Many questions arise.

Spanish has functioned as a hegemonic discursive tool utilized to racialize, dominate, and categorize the ‘other,’ in this instance, the Garifuna people. This prompts several critical inquiries: Does the paternalistic voice of the State predominate in writings? Is domination enacted through linguistic content that stereotypes the Garifuna people? What underlying idea is conveyed through the use of the Garifuna language? From which worldview is this use liberating or subjugating?

Moreover, within the historical context, the use of the Garifuna language appears as a unidirectional state resource, leading to an uncritical or oversimplified view of the teaching of history. The State and its policies are established as the central historical subject. Conversely, the Garifuna society might seem passive, ostensibly unable to present the ‘other’ history: the Garifuna people as a historical subject in their societal development and as part of a multicultural and multilingual Honduran society.

In conclusion, it is vital to recognize that the text *Tiyanu Nuguchu Garinagu* rescues and perpetuates the language and ensures stories like *Yurumein* remain part of the oral historical record until they cease to be non-literate. Nevertheless, it is crucial to move away from the colonizing idea and view the nation’s vision as a construction in which all its inhabitants form the idea of identity.

The study of social imaginaries (IS) is part of not only the possibilities of contributing to the Ibero-American academic effort but also because it can be a way to transform a social reality that seems elusive in many respects. IS as a principle of reverie capable of subverting institutionalized reality, as a source of alternative possibilities to the socially dominant reality. It’s about valuing the possibilities inherent in things.

What transformation of the acquired experience is not primarily due to the imaginary? What change has not been symbolically formulated through fiction? Furthermore, what fiction, if significant, has not opposed the culture in which it appeared? We are not made of repetition or formalism but ‘woven from the very matter of our dreams’ (Duvignaud, 1986, p. 35-36).

In the face of the dominant, there are always forces in struggle, differing or opposing the main course. It is about becoming aware that we can debate everything, even what has been given to us, and that it is possible to liberate the creation of new meanings and new social alternatives. It is about becoming increasingly conscious of our participation in the social construction of

reality and, therefore, knowing ourselves free, capable of creating the meanings we wish for our lives. However, there are limits when conducting fieldwork. Can they become visible, apprehensible, and measurable? What is visible about social invisibility? Despite these and other questions, a horizon of interpretive possibilities opens when addressing the social.

The value of using authentic texts and documents from and in the language and culture from which they originate is undeniable. The stories told in Tiyanu Noguchi from the Garifuna worldview present different formats with significant semiotic potential. In songs, especially, there are valuable narratives and a predominance of the female voice. We see slogans that are socialized from language and culture. There are interaction routines, for instance, the numerous solicitations. The question is how to use existing tools to support the text: physical and virtual dictionaries, grammar books on history, geography, botany, dances, gastronomy, etc. In the future, counter-hegemonic pedagogical proposals can be presented to value the inputs from the textbook.

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