

# The Mental And Social Representation In Oral Communication About The Cabanagem In The Municipality Of Colares In The State Of Pará (Brazil)

Aureliano Da Silva Guedes, PhD

Professor At Federal University Of Pará, Postdoc In ICPD By FLUP (Portugal)

Armando Manoel Barreiros Malheiro Da Silva, PhD

Full Professor At University Of Porto/FLUP (Portugal)

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## Abstract:

**Justification:** know the current narratives on Colares Island regarding the Cabanagem in order to understand how the population reconstructs history through oral communication, thus creating mental and social representations of this historical event.

**Objective:** To understand how the narratives of the Cabanagem are constructed, destroyed, and (re)constructed, and to explore new information contained in the mental and social representations of the inhabitants of Colares Island regarding the Cabanagem, in order to understand their current socioeconomic problems.

**Methodology:** Study of the bibliography on the topic; an exhaustive survey of codices and newspapers from the Public Archive of the State of Pará was conducted, covering the period from 1830 to 1841; unstructured directive interviews were conducted in the Municipality of Colares. The interviewees were asked to tell stories about the Cabanagem in Colares, their sources of information, etc., to understand how supporting sources directly or indirectly interfere in the construction of mental and social representations. The interviewee was asked if they had loyalist or Cabano ancestry, or if they were unaware. The interviewees were asked to compare their time with that of the Cabanos, for a better understanding of the (re)construction of the history of the Cabanagem. The interviewees were asked if they thought there could be a new Cabanagem, so that, through these answers, their social problems could be identified through the representative (re)constructions they gave to the event. The interviews were transcribed, coded, and analysed. The analysis sought to identify differences in the interviewees' speech compared to bibliographic and documentary data, classifying these differences in oral communication as representations, which were categorised as mental or social representation.

**Conclusions:** The family is the main influencer in the construction of social representations, reaching 66.66%. The school does not appear significantly in the representation of the Cabanagem. The anchoring of the Social Representations of the Cabanagem on the island of Colares demonstrates the great importance of the island for the movement, for the interviewees, the island of Colares is of great importance to the Cabanagem rebellion, often second only to Belém. Oppression is represented through the difficulties in strengthening social movements, which are beginning to show signs of discouragement and complacency. The development in Brazil is not uniform, since the North and Northeast suffer from unemployment, high prices, rural and urban violence, etc., much more acutely than the rest of the country. On Colares Island, serious social problems are evident in social representations, including declining fish stocks, low production of cassava flour, a staple food in their diet. Well-founded research on social representation lead to a better understanding of a community and how to involve it as a partner in projects at solving identified problems. Social representation offers possibilities to rethink the socioeconomic condition of a given community, as it allows it to have more freedom to express its past fears, present difficulties, and aspirations for the future. In the history, it is reconstructed with new worldviews in mental and social representations, with a wealth of social content, humanisation, individuality, among others, which frequently polarise between groups, but also merge, creating new myths, deconstructing others, proving facts, legends, myths, demonstrating the countless possibilities that the researched populations have to maintain or reconstruct oral traditions with their dynamism, strengthening the groups.

**Keywords:** Social representation, Mental representation, Cabanagem - history, Colares municipality – Brazil, History of Pará-Brazil, Colares (Brazil) - social aspects.

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## **I. Introduction**

The discussion about social representation is not new; it dates back to the beginning of philosophy, but different terms were used, and the object of study was generally myths and legends, images, religions, among others, explained through common sense<sup>1</sup>.

Representation is part of the individual, the collective, and the social, and in one way or another, whether denied or accepted, it cannot be overcome because it contains and is contained within a whole that is not subtracted from human reality; otherwise, we will never fully understand it<sup>2</sup>.

It is important to know that Cabanagem was an insurrection of the people of Pará against the policies of the Brazilian Empire, it was the culmination of a long series of rebellions that for many years shook the Province of Grão-Pará<sup>3</sup>. Chiavenato comments that the Cabanagem in Pará was the only political movement in Brazil in which the poor actually took power. It is the only and isolated episode of extreme social violence, when the oppressed - the lowest rabble, blacks, tapuios, mulattos and cafuzos, as well as whites so degraded that they seem to have no right to whiteness, almost an exponential class -, take power and reign absolute, eliminating almost all forms of oppression, destroying the social hierarchy, destroying the military forces and replacing them with something that makes the powerful tremble: the people in arms. At this moment, short in history, a great rebellion took place in Grão-Pará that did not have any consequential forms of political organization around the new popular power<sup>4</sup>.

In this sense, it is important to know the current narratives on Colares Island regarding the Cabanagem in order to understand how the population reconstructs history through oral communication, thus creating mental and social representations of this historical event.

This article aimed to understand how narratives of the Cabanagem are constructed, destroyed, and (re)constructed, and to explore new information contained in the mental and social representations of the inhabitants of Colares Island regarding the Cabanagem, in order to understand their current socioeconomic problems.

## **II. Methodology**

The research was conducted in three stages. First, a bibliographic survey of the chosen theme was carried out in various libraries for theoretical grounding; secondly, an exhaustive survey of codices and newspapers from the Public Archive of the State of Pará was conducted, covering the period from 1830 to 1841; thirdly, unstructured directive interviews were conducted in the Municipality of Colares, using a recorder. The interviewees were asked to tell stories about the Cabanagem in Colares, their sources of information, etc., to understand how supporting sources directly or indirectly interfere in the construction of mental and social representations. The interviewee was asked if they had loyalist or Cabano ancestry, or if they were unaware. The interviewees were asked to compare their time with that of the Cabanos, for a better understanding of the (re)construction of the history of the Cabanagem. The interviewees were asked if they thought there could be a new Cabanagem, so that, through these answers, their social problems could be identified through the representative (re)constructions they gave to the event. The interviews were transcribed, coded, and analysed. The analysis sought to identify differences in the interviewees' speech compared to bibliographic and documentary data, classifying these differences in oral communication as representations, which were categorised as mental or social representation.

## **III. Results And Discussion**

According to RSAO-CL1, the Cabanagem was a movement, a revolution that took place in Pará, where Colares was a lookout point for the Cabanos; they positioned themselves here on guard to prevent invaders from coming by sea.

TACM-CL7 states that, throughout Brazil, since colonial times, we have suffered various consequences and revolutions, and the Cabanagem was one that encompassed our state of Pará. We had several key figures, such as Angelim, Felix Clemente, and others who were part of the Cabanagem revolution.

During the Cabanagem period in Pará, other revolts broke out in the first half of the 19th century in Brazil, such as the Balaiada, the Farroupilha, and the Cabanada. The Cabanada had nothing to do with the Cabanagem; it took place in the Northeast, and its main objective was the return of Emperor Pedro I to Brazil. Regarding the non-compliance with the decisions of the provincial governments, this did indeed happen, as these were Portuguese governments, and even though the people of Pará demanded that the Empire appoint someone from Pará to administer the state, this did not occur. Furthermore, before the arrival of the royal family in Brazil in 1808, fleeing Napoleon's forces, Pará and Maranhão were considered Overseas Provinces of Portugal and directly linked to the Portuguese king, while the rest of Brazil was directly linked to the viceroy. A rather interesting fact is that, for some reason, even after Brazil's independence, the Brazilian Regency kept the Portuguese in charge of the administration of Pará.

Another interesting fact is that Belém appears in Colares' Social Representations as the centre of the Cabanagem. The fact is that Colares Island depends on Belém because it has precarious health services, and in moderate and severe cases, patients are taken to Belém; teenagers have to take preparatory courses for university entrance exams or the National High School Exam in the capital or neighbouring cities; businesses buy and sell in Belém or Vigia, among other things. It is justified that Belém and Vigia always appear as references in the representations, Belém because it is the capital of the state and Vigia because of its proximity to the island of Colares, both by land and by river, giving rise, as will be seen later, to even analogous legends.

The interviewees always affirm the importance of Colares Island for the Cabanos, for example: RSAO-CL1 states that: "this was a real point of concentration for the Cabanos, due to the strategic location of the island, a strategic location for observing the sea and preventing access by adversaries". RSS-CL3 says that "Colares was a key point for the Cabanos; Colares was where the Cabanos lived. There was a beach here called Chácara, which was where their representation was located. There's a mountain here that still has an old cannon there". For TACM-CL7: "Their most strategic point was Colares and Vigia; from here on the island there's access to the mainland, and from Vigia they came here. One of their strategic points was the Cajuerinho point and the Santa Maria point, where they also had contact with other refugees. They stayed here to await the command from Belém regarding their participation in that tragedy, not only in upholding the law, but also in the [revolution] of the ruling class, and today we still have accounts of many Cabanos".

Because Colares was a strategic point between Belém and Vigia, the Cabanos would not fail to exploit this, as it would facilitate the observation of any movements by the loyalists towards the Salgado microregion, which, at the time, was under the control of the Cabanos. The capture of Vigia by the Cabanos was by land, but the island of Colares would serve as support for maintaining that important war front. The pride of the population in having the island as an important part of the history of Pará leads to collective and social representations affirming that Colares was: "a main point for the Cabanos", "this is where the Cabanos lived", "This was a real point of concentration for the Cabanos." The fact is that, in all the accounts, those interviewed praise the island as a way to reclaim pride and give it the importance that the governments of the state of Pará have not given it until now. Interestingly, even though the separation between the island and the mainland is less than 250 metres, the journey is still made by canoe or ferry, and a small bridge would solve the problem for the population. It is crucial that these representations highlight the island, because it was truly important to the Cabanos, and it remains important for the residents, to maintain their self-esteem and continue to demand the necessary infrastructure for Colares.

Interviewee TAMC-CL7 discusses the indigenous issue during the Cabanagem rebellion, saying: "Here they had a very big impact because of the Tupinambá Indians, perhaps around 200 indigenous families, and they also suffered at their hands." NGCS-CL6 states: "it originated from the Indians, it came through them". The codices of the Public Archive of Pará recount the active participation of the Indians and Tapuios in the Cabanagem; their interests were to be respected as the first owners of the land; the Tapuios, in addition to the aforementioned, wanted the right to citizenship. Moreover, the Cabanagem was composed of groups with antagonistic interests, uniting only in the objective of having a governor in the Province who was from Pará, or at least a Brazilian, which only occurred in the 1840's when, finally, Brigadier Francisco José Soares de Andréia left the Presidency of the Province and the Court appointed Bernardo de Souza Franco, a native of Pará and a bachelor of legal sciences. What had been done sooner would have prevented so much fighting, destruction, and bloodshed.

For RSAO-CL1, "the designation of those warriors as Cabanos was because they lived in huts, they didn't have fixed locations, they only lived in huts". As for who the Cabanos were, several representations emerge that, in a way, resemble each other. ICRR-CL5 says that "they were people who came seeking refuge from wars and revolutions, so they placed the Cabanos here, more precisely on the coastline, all the way to Vigia". ICRR-CL5 claims that "they came here but didn't settle down; they remained mutinous in the woods and mangroves before leaving". For TACM-CL-7: "They became refugees, due to non-compliance with the law for violent crime. And they were mistreated and therefore they lived as fugitives without the right to their freedom because of this revolution, they invaded the island, at the time a very beautiful island with plenty of access to nature, and several figures of the Cabanagem appeared here". Indeed, the Cabanos both took refuge on the island of Colares and used it as a strategic point. One fact that drew attention is that one of the interviewees said that the Cabanos did not establish permanent residence there, meaning that there were no natives who were Cabanos, which is not true, since even the island's indigenous people joined the Cabanos. It may be that when people say that the inhabitants of Cabanos didn't settle permanently, it's a way of expressing their frustration, due to the lack of immigration to the island, but rather emigration of families seeking better living conditions in nearby cities, thus decreasing the population. This is a significant loss for those who remain, who then view the island nostalgically, recalling times when so-and-so used to fish, when so-and-so made cassava flour, and when so-and-so used to chat—in other words, longing for a better time, when there were more friendships and more abundance. Therefore, there is a need for public policies that can prevent emigration, providing infrastructure as a bridge between the mainland

and the island, better-equipped schools, university extension programs linked to the island's problems, a well-equipped hospital with doctors and nurses, production incentive programs, and other facilitators that encourage the inhabitants of Colares to remain on the island.

Representations emerge regarding the type of clothing worn by the Cabanos, for example: TACM-CL7 states that "they wore very red clothes, due to the dye from the muruci tree and the dye from the mangrove swamp, and they wore hats, used sickles, and also carried rifles as firearms". This is a true fact, and one that has somehow been perpetuated in the representations of the Cabanagem in Colares. The Cabanos dyed their clothes red as if they were uniforms, that is, they considered themselves Cabanos soldiers, with ranks, uniforms, and weapons, defending Pará.

The issue of anti-Portuguese sentiment is present in representations of the Cabanagem rebellion; for example, RSS-CL3 states that, "Colares was a Portuguese colony here, the Portuguese left because of the Cabanos, so they wouldn't die." For a long time, trade in Pará was conducted by the Portuguese; until the end of the 20th century, many businesses were run by Portuguese, and Colares was no exception. If there is nostalgia because Colares had a somewhat different commerce than it does today, this manifests itself by blaming the Cabanos for the Portuguese withdrawal from the island. The fact is that the rebels really did persecute the Portuguese in the Province, just as the Portuguese, when in government, also persecuted them. However, after the Cabanagem rebellion, trade became regularised, and if the Portuguese withdrew from Colares, it was in search of other, more profitable economic investments. What is lacking is financial stimulus from the government, such as loans, financing, and incentives for associations and cooperatives, so that the island of Colares can have a competitive economy.

According to RSAO-CL1, "they had one objective: they took from those who had more to give to the poor." In other words, the hope arises of the emergence of a "Robin Hood" who takes from the rich to give to the poor, heroes who would save the poor from the social conditions imposed by the rich.

LPF-CL4 reports that: "they would arrive at houses and take what was inside, they would also take some people". According to RSS-CL3: "The Cabanos were bad people, they would get close to another person and kill them, to take what they had, their life was killing. They were very bad. There's a village called Bacuiirara, they would go to the beach there, and the people who came at night from there to here, or from here to there, they would kill them, they would chase after people and kill them. The Cabanos only served for that, to take other people's things, to kill others, that was the main activity of the Cabanos here in Pará." However, there are accounts that defend this behaviour of the Cabanos in Colares, such as that of interviewee TACM-CL7, who says: "When they caught someone, they also punished them because the punishment they received, they passed on as well". In a previous statement, she also says, "They were mistreated and that's why they lived as fugitives." These representations, in which the Cabanos appear as evil, thieves, murderers, etc., are reflections of the imposition of the dominant figures in the political scene of Pará, who, until the first half of the 20th century, still idolised Andréia Cochrane, and the school, as a disseminator of the ideologies of the dominant to the dominated, was one of the great instruments for propagating discrimination against those who rebelled against the elites. These ideas, for many decades, were maintained in books, teachers' speeches, schools, and conversations on sidewalks with family members. Only recently has there been a recovery of the Cabanagem side of Pará's history, not in its entirety, but as an embryonic form. The impact of these changes has not yet reached sidewalk conversations with family, which, in Colares, is the main way of propagating Cultural and Social Representations. There are cases, however, in which people believe that the Cabanos committed a lot of violence and justify their actions by saying that they were persecuted and had to act that way.

According to TACM-CL7, the end of the Cabanagem rebellion on Colares Island occurred as follows: "over time, the fugitives died there from sunstroke, smallpox, and other contagious diseases." In other words, the Cabanos in Colares were not defeated; they died much later from natural causes, that is, from the diseases of the time. Accounts of smallpox and other diseases that emerged epidemically in the Province of Pará in the mid-19th century are found in documents from that period and in books about the Cabanagem. There are no reports of loyalist invasions on the island, nor even of fighting on its soil. Colares, due to its proximity to the Municipality of Vigia and also because it belonged to that city, always appears in some of the representations of those interviewed. ICRR-CL5 says that "they stayed in Vigia, so much so that there, in that stone church, history says that the Cabanos were thrown dead onto those stones and then cement was added". Regarding the myth that the Cabanos were cemented into the buildings, this researcher visited several old constructions and only identified that, in the construction process, shells and other shellfish were used, and that the ruling elite used this fallacy to create panic among the Cabanos and the population of Vigia and neighbouring cities. Therefore, it would not be difficult for these stories to have reached Colares due to the proximity of the two cities. According to the research, this did not happen.

Myths and legends have always flourished in the collective and social mental representation of the people, not only regarding the bodies of still-living Cabanos cemented into ancient constructions, but also regarding "ghosts" and treasures. In these mental, collective, and social representations of the interviewees, an

imaginary world emerges involving the possibility of finding treasures, riches, fortunes, and inheritances that were supposedly buried by the Cabanos.

RSAO-CL1 says: "Even today, there are memories, or even dreams, of certain backwoodsmen coming to give the money, the inheritance they had buried, and people say they won't go to retrieve it because they are afraid to face the situation." The same interviewee tells another story where he says: "About ten years ago, a very curious event happened in Colares, which I witnessed: He settled in Ponta do Humaitá, which is a strategic location in the municipality of Colares. He had a fishing trap that he made some time ago, then he disappeared, and curious people started looking around his house and saw a very large hole he had dug. People thought it was a pot full of money that he took out and disappeared, and never reappeared." LPF-CL4 states that: "They brought a lot of gold, a lot of gold indeed, they couldn't sell or use that gold, what they did was dig a well and throw the gold in, and break glass so people couldn't take it out. In front of Colares there's a church that has a well that has now naturally clogged up, and that contained this gold. Also, in Humaitá we have a marble stone that is the crown, it's not from Spain, nor from France, because I remember well that there was a *SRACOI*, English, it's French, it couldn't be Spanish, so they walked a lot, a lot indeed, to see gold, to see the people. So, people were very afraid, the old women, at that time, covered themselves, hid themselves, because the Cabanagem arrived, the Cabanos arrived, they walked around in red, a big hat, that cangaço style on their backs. Colares was very rich, there's a lot of gold, in the village of Machadinho, in fact the whole island of Colares. We have a place whose name I've forgotten now, that has a "Beautiful beach, I forgot the name, not opposite Vigia, which is on this side, it's a wealthy beach where the huts also stayed for a long time." This imagery arises from the financial difficulties faced by a large part of the population of Colares Island, leading many to believe that a change in their lives can only happen if they find a "treasure." This reflects the unemployment situation in Pará and Brazil, which hinders social mobility, leaving the poor with the hope that they can only change their lives by winning the "lottery" or finding hidden treasures.

Another fact observed in mental and social representations is that, in the case of "treasures," the interviewees always claim that they saw, or that someone they trust or who is highly respectable in their community found, such treasure, as a way of giving "veracity" to their accounts.

These accounts of buried treasure are reminiscent of pirate stories. It's worth remembering that there were pirates in the Salgado microregion. This is the case of John Priest, where it is unclear from the codices studied whether he was American or English. The fact is that John Priest stole the cargo from the English ship *Clio* in Salinas, killed part of its crew with the help of indigenous people, and sold the weapons and ammunition to the Cabanos of the city of Vigia. In a way, this story has been perpetuated in the mental and social representations of the people of that island, anchored in stories of pirates who buried treasure and did not enjoy it. There were (re)constructions in which the Cabano was replaced by the pirate and the mysticism of the dream of *revelación* as one of the ways to find these treasures. It should be remembered that the Cabanos stole some things to buy weapons and ammunition, but what they stole most was food and ammunition; gold, yes, but not much. However, they wouldn't waste time burying gold, as they wanted immediate results.

Regarding "ghosts," hauntings, and other such things, RSAO-CL1 says: my mother also tells stories, which she can confirm, about when she was a girl on a walk with my grandmother at midday, when she encountered a Cabano. She says it was a Cabano because she remembered one from how her parents described them: the man was dressed in clothes like mangrove dye, blood-coloured, with an axe in his hand, a very large hat, a rustic, bearded man, and so on. For TACM-CL7: it seems like they were part of a legend, a story told by the beach, dressed all in red, with a red hood, those weapons, and they only appeared like that on dark nights.

It is possible that fear of the ghosts of the Cabanos came to exist in mental and social representations as a result of the loyalist ideology that preached that the Cabanos were evildoers, murderers, robbers, among other terms that denigrated the image of those warriors. Therefore, it is possible that in the (re)constructions of what was discussed in schools, conversations with friends and relatives, the Cabanos emerged as "ghosts," "hauntings," to keep the population fearful of a new idea of Cabanagem. In this case, older people would have been vectors for spreading these legends and myths.

When respondents were asked to compare the poverty of the time of the Cabanos rebellion with that of today, the following representations were obtained: RSAO-CL1 said, "I attribute it to the past, to the time of the Cabanos [a historical rebellion] with now. Of course, there has been an evolution due to the changing mindsets. People back then had a less developed culture than people have now; they were less enlightened. In my view, back then it was perhaps due to a lack of development, and today there are people who can develop better, let's say in terms of space and land use; they can cultivate everything. Back then, there weren't people to explain what they should do to survive, and people were poor and lacked understanding, but there are certainly differences. Now I think it's much better". LPF-CL4 shares a similar thought, saying that "back then it was worse because the Cabanos also killed and stole for food, for things like gold and everything, they killed. So it's much better now, in this era it's better than in the time of the Cabanos". According to TACM-CL7, "in the time of the Cabanos, it was like today, except they didn't have freedom because of the ruling class; they didn't have freedom in their

work. We are in a country where we are free, we have our rights, we have the autonomy to speak, to say what we feel, and it's no longer that condition of not speaking because you're useless and you'll be shot".

In these narratives, the Cabanagem period appears as if there was no economic development on the island, due to a lack of schools and education, leading to a lack of alternatives; The violence that arose from both sides. We cannot forget the tragedy of the Brig Palhaço, in which 256 people died, and where loyalists killed and cut off the ears of the rebels to serve as trophies. The Cabanos also persecuted and killed Portuguese people and Freemasons. The lack of freedom to choose what to plant and what to harvest, the lack of freedom of expression, leads the population in these (re)constructions to demonstrate their lack of autonomy. It is noticeable, however, that these mental and social representations begin to undergo mixing or influence from other events such as the 1930 Revolution and the 1964 Coup d'État.

RSS-CL3 states, "Survival was better for them because they had everything in abundance: they had fish, flour, they had the people they robbed, killed, at that time they had jewellery, they had money, life on this island was excellent for them, that's why they settled in Colares, because of that, because it was very plentiful, there were the Portuguese." In RSS-CL3's account, he says: "This was an island without poverty; what one had, the other had. It was all a neighbourhood system; what one didn't have, the other had, and it served its purpose. That's how it was back then. Fishermen would go fishing and not sell their catch. Let's say if I went fishing—all these houses that are my neighbours—I would bring back enough fish to give one fish to each person. The person who had a farm would make flour, and on the day they made flour, they would gather their closest neighbours to help, and divide a little for each one. That's how life was in Colares." And he exclaims, "Nowadays, nobody values anyone; everything is difficult!". According to ICRR-CL5: "I believe that poverty back then was due to a lack of job opportunities; today I think poverty is more due to a lack of support from the authorities, and besides that, people are very complacent, very comfortable. So here in Colares, only those who don't want to work go hungry, because they have everything they need to live, they have fishing. So the poverty I'm talking about isn't poverty, misery, it's the problem of not having comfort, of not having material possessions. So, I think that back then there weren't job opportunities. But in the country, there's a lack of support, political manoeuvring. And that didn't exist in the past." In a way, NGCS-CL6 shares a similar idea, stating: "Life used to be better because there was no violence, you could enjoy life more, take advantage of nature, your social life, or your home life; nowadays people live imprisoned even in their own homes, they can't go out, there's too much violence. There's no poverty here for us, people go to the beach to catch shrimp, they go to catch crabs, they go fishing. So only those who want to die of hunger do. Poverty does exist, but we have to know how to use our heads to evaluate these points, only those who want to die of hunger do."

In this section, the collective and social representation is that things were better during the Cabanos uprising, but at certain times and situations, they (re)create this by linking the Cabanagem with more recent periods, such as the childhood of the interviewees when, for them, things were better. They claim that today is worse because, during the Cabanos uprising, there was an abundance of fish, cassava flour, and money was boosted by the Portuguese trade in Colares. Today, according to these interviewees, there is so much violence that people can no longer have a social life, go for a walk, go to a party, or even feel safe in their own homes, as they are in danger of robbery and lynching by gangs. There is also growing distrust in governments and authorities in general, due to the lack of public policies for the island of Colares.

One particular detail is the nostalgia for a not-so-distant time when people lived by exchanging favours with their neighbours. This nostalgia emerges in the representations, as they had a type of survival where whoever produced cassava flour, fished, or harvested something shared it with their neighbours—something that can't even be called bartering. This occurred, until recently, on the island of Colares.

Regarding the possibility of a new Cabanagem uprising, RSAO-CL1 states: "I think it's impossible because of the evolution of people's mentality. Nowadays we live in a super-modern era, unlike back then. There may be other revolutions, in other forms, but I don't think there will be a Cabanagem". RSS-CL3 states: "No," and continues, saying, "What can exist now is piracy, which exists throughout Brazil and the world. It's piracy; it's no longer Cabanagem, it's piracy now.". ICRR-CL5 says: "I don't think so, not in that same style. Today there are many alternatives to avoid conflict, right?". Another Cabanagem could not emerge, according to those interviewed in this segment, because people are more enlightened; therefore, the forms of struggle are different, such as negotiation and strikes. Armed struggle is not an alternative; that is, people seek peace, tranquillity, and security.

Some interviewees believe that a new Cabanagem could emerge; for example, TACM-CL7 states that: "Only if the government does not pay attention to the people could there be a new Cabanagem." For NGCS-CL6: "Yes, it is possible, very possible, to reverse this situation, right? From the awareness of the people in the community, of the community leaders, to reverse this situation, which is indeed possible, very much so, in seeking people who will lead this group, so that we can revive this Cabanagem again, and there is a possibility of reviving it again". In this context, the possibility of a new rebellion in the Cabanagem still exists, due to the lack of public

policies that truly solve the basic problems of an increasingly rebellious population. This may not have occurred yet due to a lack of awareness and leadership within the community.

In the accounts of the interviewees, serious social problems emerge in their representations, including the decline in fish stocks and cassava flour production, the lack of attention from authorities regarding the problems of Colares Island, and the lack of support and organisation among the residents themselves to demand significant changes and projects that generate jobs to prevent serious social problems, such as violence. Violence is reflected in several accounts as a source of insecurity for people participating in parties, social gatherings, and, above all, feeling safe in their own homes. Simple things like a bridge less than 250 meters long would put the population in faster and better contact with the mainland, a hospital with doctors and equipment, among other measures, would solve problems that have dragged on for many years. It is noticeable that part of the population is dissatisfied with the politicians who do nothing for the island, and this is complicated, because dissatisfaction leads to rejection, and this can lead to drastic actions by a people abandoned by government projects. Therefore, participatory projects with the island's communities are necessary to identify their needs regarding basic infrastructure, in order to offer services that truly solve basic problems. On the island of Colares, these problems require public policies implemented with participatory community planning, involving and committing both the communities and the relevant authorities.

Regarding the respondents' ancestry: 50% are unaware of whether they are descended from Cabanos or loyalists; 33.33% declare themselves descendants of those who fought against the Cabanos; 16.66% consider themselves descendants of Cabanos. During the interview, it was noted that one of the respondents said he was a descendant of Cabanos, but soon changed his mind, saying he was unaware of his ancestry. This is a reflection of the dominant ideology that, until the mid-20th century, portrayed the Cabanos as bandits, murderers, and wrongdoers, and this has been perpetuated in the memory of the people, who are afraid to acknowledge such ancestry for fear of being marginalised or compared to the Cabanos.

The fact is that Colares, due to its proximity to the city of Vigia, its location in the Salgado microregion, its strategic position as an island between Belém and Vigia, the presence of indigenous people who, at the time, fought in favour of the Cabanagem rebellion, and the fact that the Cabanos remained there for a long time, would likely have had the support and recruitment of the island's population to fight in the Cabanagem. Therefore, the percentage of people who claim to have Cabano ancestry being lower compared to the descendants of those who are loyalist, and those who declare not knowing their ancestry, may be unrealistic, reflecting the perpetuated fear of discrimination that occurred during the Cabanagem.

Even if a significant portion of the population does not identify as descendants of the Cabanos, it does not mean they do not give due importance to the Cabanagem, so much so that they make a point of emphasising the island's role in that civil war, in addition to accounts that still place the Cabanagem as part of the formation of their culture. For example, NGCS-CL6 says: "The Cabanagem was a very important thing in human life because it not only left behind, but it brought and prospered many things among us. The Cabanagem didn't happen today; it came from the ancients and is part of our lives. Nowadays, all the traditions that come from our ancestors relate to the Cabanagem, which the population lives by. Many value it, and many don't. Through our social work, we try to find out from the elderly what the Cabanagem meant to them. They start talking to us and say that the Cabanagem originated with the indigenous people, came through them, and from then on, the people prosper, creating new things and context". TACM-CL7 says: "the consequence of all this is that: they left behind a culture that continued to evolve, and some of the innovations of modernism regarding the Cabanos are still found today".

An interesting fact is that only one interviewee mentioned the names of Cabanos, and these were Félix Malcher and Angelim; this interviewee was a retired teacher. This demonstrates that schools should invest more in regional history.

The main ways in which Social Representations are propagated on the island of Colares occur through the family, with grandparents being the primary influencers, followed by parents, accounting for 66.66%. Friends are also significant in the propagation of Representations, totalling 33.33% of the declared forms.

#### **IV. Conclusions**

The family appears as the main influencer in the construction of social representations, reaching 66.66%. Interestingly, the school does not appear significantly in the representation of the Cabanagem, highlighting the need to address didactic content from subjects such as History, Geography, Social Studies, among others, focusing on the island's history, myths, and legends, in order to continue traditions that may be lost over time.

Regarding the anchoring of the Social Representations of the Cabanagem on the island of Colares, it is clear that the island itself emerges as being of great importance to the Cabanagem, despite the fact that 20th-century books to date have not adequately highlighted the island. However, for those interviewed, Colares Island is of great importance to the Cabanagem rebellion, often second only to Belém. The fact is that the island was strategically important for the Cabanos in the Salgado microregion for escapes and attacks on Belém; however, official history fails to acknowledge this, something the interviewees have long recognised.

Oppression is represented through the difficulties in strengthening social movements, which are beginning to show signs of discouragement and complacency in the struggles for social improvements in the municipality of Colares; The large regional differences between the north and the south and southeast are present in their mental and social representations, mainly regarding employment and income of the population, who have to live with the discourse of some intellectuals about sustainable development, but in reality these families suffer from a lack of sustainability in government projects; Globalisation, or world integration, has increased the differences between rich and poor in "developing" countries. Furthermore, development in Brazil is not uniform, as the North and Northeast suffer from unemployment, high prices, rural and urban violence, etc., in a much more acute way than the rest of Brazil. These regions have to pay for the luxuries of richer regions and countries, such as large projects in the state of Pará, which benefit from tax breaks that could be applied to the region. Often, these projects do not generate employment for the populations of surrounding towns, and in many cases, result in a lack of fish and, consequently, the exodus of riverside populations to larger cities, causing land invasions, unplanned neighbourhoods, unemployment, and other social problems. On Colares Island, serious social problems are evident in the representations, including the decline in fish stocks, the low production of cassava flour, a staple food in their diet; the lack of attention from the authorities regarding the island's problems, the lack of support, the lack of organization among the residents themselves to demand significant changes, especially the lack of an economy that generates jobs to avoid serious social problems, such as the violence that frightens the residents; there is a lack of public policies that truly solve the basic problems of the population, a lack of awareness and leadership within the community itself; the population is dissatisfied with the politicians who do nothing for the island, creating a feeling of abandonment by state and federal government projects, such as bridges, hospitals, schools, among others.

Well-founded research on social representation can lead to a better understanding of a community and how to involve it as a partner in projects aimed at solving its identified problems. There are many methods for diagnosing, researching, and developing models for social projects; however, professionals must understand that there are various truths, and the truth of those who will benefit is the one that should be considered. Undoubtedly, social representation offers numerous possibilities for rethinking the socioeconomic condition of a given community, as it allows them more freedom to express their past fears, present difficulties, and aspirations for the future.

As for history, it is reconstructed with new worldviews in mental and social representations, with a richness of social content, humanisation, the individual, among others that often polarise between groups, but often merge, creating new myths, deconstructing others, proving facts, legends, myths, demonstrating the countless possibilities that the researched populations have to maintain oral traditions or reconstruct these oral traditions with their dynamism, strengthening the groups that often gather at the doors of houses in the late afternoon to exchange knowledge, and among this knowledge, historical knowledge, which, as I identified, is often not passed on by schools in the interior of the state, with an emphasis on local history.

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