

The Mental And Social Representation Of Cabanagem In The Municipality Of Acará In The State Of Pará (Brazil): Narratives Of The Past To Understand The Present

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Abstract:

Justification: Representations are the figurations of the environment, which occur through symbols, values, norms, knowledge, beliefs, among others, which are presented in a real or ideal way through social interrelations, in a way that they are ethnocentric or relativized in individual memory (Mental Representation), collective (Collective Representation), or social (Social Representation), are created and recreated, destroyed and reconstructed, materializing themselves through communication and language. In view of this, it seeks to understand the present of the city of Acará through the Social and Mental Representation of the Cabanagem Movement to understand the current problems of the population.

Methodology: Semi-directive interviews were conducted with residents of the municipality of Acará in the state of Pará (Brazil), and six interviews were selected, including interviewees with the following profiles: a teacher, a senior citizen, a community leader, a person who worked in social assistance, and two people who did not fit any of the previous profiles, chosen at random. It is worth mentioning that the interviewees were assured anonymity using, when necessary, an alphanumeric code. The most significant narratives were selected to analyze the Mental and Social Representation of Cabanagem and to understand how they reconstruct this history, and how their present fits into these Representations.

Objective: to identify how Cabanagem is represented in the memory of the population of Acará in the State of Pará in Brazil, how they construct, destroy and reconstruct the narratives of Cabanagem and how these communications occur.

Conclusions: The study of Mental and Social Representations enables not only the search for history from the perspective of the population, where official history has often erased traces of heroism and dignity, but also the understanding of how people see and communicate their social condition and how they reconstruct facts that have reached them orally through relatives, friends or popular leaders, and thus can identify what they think about their current society, government projects, among others. Identifying their needs provides the elements for developing social projects that truly meet the needs of those populations

Keywords: Social Representation, Mental Representation, Cabanagem - History, Acará Municipality – Brazil, History of Pará-Brazil, Acará - Social aspects

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I. Introduction

Representations are the figurations of the environment, which occur through symbols, values, norms, knowledge, beliefs, among others, which are presented in a real or ideal way through social interrelations, in a way that they are ethnocentric or relativized in individual memory (Mental Representation), collective (Collective Representation), or social (Social Representation), are created and recreated, destroyed and reconstructed, materializing themselves through communication and language.

Representation is part of the individual, collective and social and, in one way or another, whether it is denied or accepted, it cannot be overcome because it contains and is contained in a whole that is not subtracted from human reality, under penalty of never understanding it in its entirety. If Habermas, Luhmann, Marx, Engels, among others, try to disregard representation in their analyses, it is there, in my view, that the fragility of their theories lies¹.

Representations are present both in the 'world' and 'in the mind', and they must be researched in both contexts². This is the condition for achieving an error-free analysis of representations, being a fundamental point of representations, since the collective and/or the social are formed by the "I's" and their minds, and due to their dynamism they travel from the Mental Representation (MR) to the Cultural Representation (CR) and from CR to the Mental Representation (MR), from the Social Representation (SR) to MR and MR to CR, from CR to SR and SR to CR and so on³.

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 power⁴.

The Cabanagem was not a war of races, nor a fight of the destitute against those who had property. The 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-Pará⁵.

Acará is a municipality where several events related to the Cabanagem Movement occurred, including the beginning of this historical event and the main resistance struggles.

This article objective is to identify how Cabanagem is represented in the memory of the population of Acará in the State of Pará in Brazil, how they construct, destroy and reconstruct the narratives of Cabanagem and how these communications occur.

II. Methodology

Semi-directive interviews were conducted with residents of the municipality of Acará in the state of Pará, and six interviews were selected, including interviewees with the following profiles: a teacher, a senior citizen, a community leader, a person who worked in social assistance, and two people who did not fit any of the previous profiles, chosen at random. It is worth mentioning that the interviewees were assured anonymity using, when necessary, an alphanumeric code. The most significant narratives were selected to analyze the Mental and Social Representation of Cabanagem and to understand how they reconstruct this history, and how their present fits into these Representations.

III. The Mental And Social Representation Of Cabanagem In Acará

For RJN-AC2, the Cabanagem was one of the revolutionary movements within the municipality of Acará, where different people from different groups, different ethnicities, fought a fight; this fight was really a political fight. RRCF-AC6 says that the Cabanagem was a movement that arose precisely from the people's need to free themselves from Portuguese rule and domination. The Cabanagem was precisely this revolt that the people felt to survive and, feeling that they could no longer bear this, they made this movement against Portuguese power. LJCS-AC9 states that the Cabanagem was an important fight; it was a movement against the government, against the old regime; it was for independence. RJN-AC2 says that the reason for the Cabanagem was a political fight that had the interest of the whites to take possession of this area. From then on, the Indians were expelled from this area by the whites. The objective of the Cabanagem, according to LJCS-AC9, was to take over the government from the powerful.

It is noted that the interviewees describe the Cabanagem as an ethnic war in which either the Indians or the blacks fought against the white Portuguese. In other words, it appears as an anti-Portuguese political movement in which armed struggle was the only alternative they found against their oppressors. It is worth remembering that, even though Brazil was already independent from Portugal, the Province of Pará remained under Portuguese control. Even after Pará became independent, due to agreements with Portuguese politicians and merchants who lived in Pará, the Province remained under their control and, for a long time, the people demanded that the Province of Pará have a President from Pará, or at least a Brazilian one, which the Empire did not comply with, resulting later in the Cabanagem.

The term Cabanagem for JDF-AC5 was because the warriors built the so-called cabins, which is why the word Cabanagem comes from cabano. Cabano were people who lived in hidden cabins, they built their homes on the banks of the streams, in remote places to try to live outside, to be independent of slavery, and to begin to articulate the idea of becoming autonomous one day. It did not have a legal form, it was not like the syndicate, it was a type of clandestine organization.



Cabin On The Banks Of A River.

Although intellectuals such as Batista Campos and Félix Clemente Malcher, among others, were the mentors of the Cabanagem, according to the Social Representations of the interviewees, it was the poorest people, that is, those who lived in huts, who really fought in the Cabanagem. History only mentions the names of Angelim, Vinagre, Clemente Malcher, and Batista Campos, forgetting many popular leaders of the poor class, blacks, and Indians who stood out in this fight, despite their names appearing in the codices existing in the Public Archive of Pará.

In the Social Representations of the Cabanagem, in Acará, the interviewees always make some kind of reference to the slaves, even without mentioning names, and, in some cases, they refer to the cabano leaders, mainly Félix Clemente Malcher, as opportunists who took advantage of the opportunity to become commanders and, later, Presidents, to then betray the objectives of the Cabanagem for their own benefit, as can be seen in the Social Representations. They do not fail to have in Social Representations a struggle of the people for the freedom of the oppressed, an ethnic struggle against Portuguese rule in the Province of Pará.

The tragedy of the Brigue Palhaço still lives in the memory of the interviewees, having been one of the many causes of the Cabanagem. LJCS-AC9 reports that “there was a group that was trapped inside a ship for several days and died asphyxiated by lime, why do that! The only people who commanded the ships were Portuguese, the English, all against the poor wretches here in Pará.”

One cannot fail to notice the indignation present in the interviewee's Mental Representation when he says: “Why do that!”. It sounds like unnecessary violence.

Raiol describes the Tragedy of the Brigue Palhaço based on the text by José Joaquim de Oliveira Machado in “Corografia Paraense” and in the work “Ensaio Corográfico do Pará” by Antônio Ladislau Monteiro Baena, in the following way: “There, on one of the hottest days in this climate, they were thrown into the hold or into a space thirty palms long, twenty wide and twelve high, the hatches being closed and only a small crack being left open for the entrance of air. Confined and crowded into such a narrow space, these unfortunates, who belonged to various parties and colors, which it was convenient to separate, soon broke out in screams and lamentations, exasperated by the heat and lack of air they were experiencing; and in the midst of this terrible clamor, some threats were heard against the crew on board, which must have been considered as impotent effects of desperation”.

The result of the imprisonment of 256 people in the holds of the ship “Brigue Palhaço” (Brigue Deligente), when, during the night, quicklime was thrown into the holds, causing the death of 252 political prisoners and another 3 who died later, with only 1 surviving. This further inflamed the feelings of revolt of those who would later be called cabanos and intensified the conflicts between the Filantrópico Party (an anti-Portuguese party) and Caramuru (a party of Portuguese and sympathizers, with conservative characteristics).

There are those who say that the water given to these unfortunates was poisoned, the poison being prepared by the apothecary João José Calamopim, and by Bernardo José Carneiro⁶. This method would be repeated more than a hundred years later when the Nazis filled train cars with prisoners, so that they would meet the same end. In these cases, a victim of the Nazis, the pharmacist Guillaume Trocin, explains that the increase in partial pressure of carbon dioxide causes acts of insanity, leading prisoners to attack each other to death. This is what happened in the ship's hold; first there was a lack of oxygen, which in itself causes death without signs of insanity, but when the partial pressure of carbon dioxide increased, insanity led to the tragedy⁴.

To this day, the mental and social representations of those who narrate this fact are permeated with indignation and revolt. In particular, this revolt is against the Portuguese, hence the remnants of anti-Portuguese feelings in the interviewee LJCS-AC9.

The Cabanos, according to MASS-AC8, “were people, important figures who arrived here and stayed for a long time. They used to hide in Acará Açu, in Tauauá. In fact, they are still there, we pass by the river. There are some towers, there are several things that we can still see that were theirs, that they made back then and left behind. Back then, they were always making these things, working with clay, leaving those things ready, where they hid.”

Official history often points to Félix Clemente Malcher's farm in Acará as the place where the Cabanagem began. Official history does not give the exact location of this farm, however, in the Social Representations of the Acaraenses, the location of the farm appears as being in Baixo Acará Açu, in Tauaú.

JMA-AC4 relates the cabanos to slavery, saying that “they were people who arrived. They were slaves, and here in the Baixo Acará area there are still people who are their descendants, who talk about what slavery was like: they had no opportunities, they were not valued, they had no way to sell their produce, people suffered, their children had no way of knowing about things, so they gradually died out.” JDF-AC5 shares the same idea, saying that “the previous people who lived here were slaves, brought from African origins, from other origins, and who were brought by the so-called white people of the time - the Portuguese, etc. - to work in the sugarcane and coffee plantations, and in the commercial activities that were practiced here, so they lived under a slave regime. At a certain point, they began to flee, to refuse to accept the rule of the bourgeoisie, of the white people's commerce, so they began to build the so-called huts.” JMA-AC4 states: “Our church here was built by the Cabanos, by the slaves, it was made of stone.” In the Representations of the Cabanagem, in Acará, the black slave is present, many interviewees placing the Cabanagem as a struggle carried out by slaves wanting freedom, which, in fact, it was also, since the Cabanagem was carried out by several groups, among them, the slaves.

Referring to the Cabanos, Monteiro (1994:56) states that: “Adding blacks and Tapuios, there are 83.15% of non-whites against 16.85% of whites from the valid data”. He states that “47.71” of the Cabanos were Tapuios, which leads to the obvious conclusion that Indians and mestizos were the majority of the guerrillas⁷.

The fact is that black people are always present in the Social Representations of the stories of Cabanagem reported in Acará, this is because Acará was an area of farms and that ethnic group is present in quilombos that still exist³.

JDF-AC5 says that Acará is considered, even in the history of the country, as the birthplace of Cabanagem, in fact, the birthplace of Cabanagem here in the municipality of Acará is a place called Caráí in Baixo Acará, the cabanos gathered more, where leaders such as Pedro Vinagre, Eduardo Angelim and others who appear in history emerged.

LJCS-AC9 states that, “among the movements, the Cabanagem is the most interesting and it was in our Pará, including here in Acará. We have a farm where they used to besiege themselves. There is a farm, Acará Açu, where the movement was besieged, where Clemente Malcher, Batista Campos, Vinagre and others made their headquarters. Today, in Acará, we have the first cabano monument that represents the Cabanagem in Pará, the Church of Our Lady of Desterro on the Acará Açu farm, a two-hour boat ride from the headquarters to the farm. The only thing we have in Acará that has been preserved from the Cabanagem era. It is made of stone. They even say that there is gold and silver under the floor, but no one has opened it to see. There is a chapel where Batista Campos and the friar, I don't remember his name now, who accompanied them used to house the wounded and the sick. Canon Batista Campos, who was also wounded, stayed in this chapel. Today, it is not preserved. The birthplace of Cabanagem in Pará is Acará, where we have a farm, we have an oven, we had cremation ovens, where the powerful burned the slaves.”

The Social Representations of Cabanagem in Acará are permeated by pride in the city having been the birthplace of Cabanagem in Pará, marked by its heroes, monuments, among other symbols. In the case of the monuments, many report that they were built by cabanos, which, in reality, in many cases, date back to periods prior to the Cabanagem War. The Social Representations of the interviewees seek to anchor the greatness of the cabanos as builders³.

RRCF-AC6 says that “Félix Clemente Malcher was the first Cabano President, and he wasn't even from Acara, just because he had a farm here called Acará Açu, he was a landowner, I don't know if he was also suffering some kind of pressure from the Portuguese. Clemente Malcher got close to the cabano movement, and apparently had a fighting spirit, but he fought like this happens today: the guy is in a bad situation, he sees that he can find a way out, he runs, even against his will. This Clemente Malcher had this thing of getting together with the cabano movement, but I believe it was because he wanted to, so much so that when the movement was successful in the thing, they put him as the first Cabano President. They ended up killing him, because after he was in power he started to defend the Portuguese more than the cabano movement.” LJCS-AC9 states that “in the past there was betrayal for personal benefit, Félix Clemente Malcher betrayed his own friends to get his hands on the presidency. After they were in the movement, after they won the first battle, they started thinking about their own benefit.”

In the case of the first Cabano President, Félix Clemente Malcher, it is believed that he would appear as a hero to the people of Acara because he had connections with that city, because he had a farm there and because there are still his descendants in that city. However, it is surprising when one hears Social Representations in which the interviewees refer to Félix Clemente Malcher in the following way: “.he wasn't even from Acara, just because he had a farm here called Acará Açu.”, “he betrayed his own friends to have the

government in his hands, to have power in his hands, the presidency.” In other words, the interviewees do not give importance to these connections between Malcher and the city and still point to him as a traitor to the Cabanagem cause, a landowner, ambitious, opportunist, who used the Cabanagem to take personal advantage, betraying the cabanos to join the Portuguese.

Félix Antônio Clemente Malcher was a conservative lieutenant colonel, a wealthy farmer, a classist, and a member of the same economic elite that exploited small landowners, artisans, slaves, Tapuios, and Indians. Power changed its name due to the opportunism that some people use in popular revolutions. It was no surprise that he acted according to the logic of the ruling class. Thus, the actions of Félix Antônio Clemente Malcher were not very different from those of Bernardo Lobo de Souza. Malcher's government was authoritarian, reactionary, and persecuted those who had ideas contrary to his, such as Lavor Papagaio, Francisco Vinagre, Eduardo Angelim, and his brothers Geraldo Francisco and Manuel Nogueira, among others who fought for the cause of the Cabanagem, leading the cabanos to depose him and, when he was transported to Fortaleza da Barra, he was approached by a group in a canoe and fatally shot by Quintiliano Barbosa. In the Social Representations in Acará, as a result, he is still, in a certain way, hated and placed on the margins of the cabano movement.

According to RRCF-AC6: “Angelim was captured and arrested because at the time, when he managed to break through the barrier in Guamá and took up residence here at the headwaters of the Acará River, the police were looking for him. Upon learning that an expedition was coming after him, he fled. No one knows if he was actually captured or if he escaped, I don't know.” RRCF-AC6 says that “Angelim lived on the banks of the river, which is a branch of the Iaçú River.” In the Social Representations in Acará, Eduardo Angelim, unlike Félix Clemente Malcher, appears as a hero who had never been captured by the legalists, as he took refuge in Acará, and is proud of that. The fact is that Angelim was also a landowner because he had married a rich widow. He co-opted the Portuguese, but he had the subtlety not to persecute his opponents in the movement. His populism earned him the admiration of the people, not only at that time, but even today, as can be seen in the Social Representations of the City of Acará. As for Angelim having taken refuge in Acará, the official history also makes reference to this. He even managed to remain protected by the Indians for a long time. When he was arrested, he was old and weak. The fact is that, in some way, the people idolize him as a hero.

LJCS-AC9 states that: “The Portuguese government did everything it could to stop the Cabano revolution, because they wanted to take power over Pará, and this group of Cabanos wanted their freedom.” The issue of anti-Lusitanism and the freedom of the people is evident in this representation, as a way of affirming that the people had no freedom because the Portuguese at that time were oppressors, authoritarians, and exploiters. This Social Representation is also a way of reaffirming that Brazil should have its autonomy from other countries, that freedom is the general principle that should govern people's lives.

For RJN-AC2, as a result of the Cabanagem: “... there were many deaths, and the benefit that this struggle brought was only for the bourgeoisie, where several Indians, several illustrious people were arrested and massacred, that is, they really shed their blood because they were the owners of these lands. They belonged to these lands and they shed their blood in favor of freedom, so that no one would come and take over, exploit this land, as the whites wanted, the bourgeoisie wanted”. The representation shows: the land as sacred and that it must be defended with blood because it is fundamental to production within the State. The exploitation of the worker, of the farmer by the bourgeoisie, the value of freedom, the importance of land ownership, and the need to be careful with politicians who take advantage of situations for their own profit, are also present in the representations of the people who need the land as a means of production and who do not want the cabano blood to have been shed in vain. To this end, they still fight, not in an armed manner, for public policies that guarantee their most basic rights, such as small farmers in Pará who cannot obtain financing for production; they receive low offers for their lands from large landowners, in addition to constant threats from large landowners and land grabbers. Those who do not work the land suffer from unemployment or low wages, debts from financing agricultural production, low prices paid for the harvested product and precarious living conditions due to there being little investment in infrastructure by the state government, resulting in a rural exodus in search of hospitals, schools, jobs and better living conditions.

When asked to compare the poverty of the Cabanagem era with that of their own time, the following responses were given: RJN-AC2 says that: “We are living better, better because of the exploitation that exists today in relation to the less favored, let's say: They have a little more freedom, because they are no longer the owners of that land, they already have a certain amount of control over the land, so that is why today, in relation to the Cabanagem era, we are living in a better time, despite the fact that there is still great exploitation, great devastation, the big farmers trying to take this land from us, right? From the caboclo, let's say, from acarãense.” For JMA-AC4: “... at that time the forest was still very unexplored, and there were still many animals, there were many fish in the sea, so, in any case, it was different from today; poverty today is related to the lack of opportunities, you have everything, but you don't have the resources to acquire it, at that time the poor had no resources, but you had where to look for alternatives to feed your children, to feed your family you had in the

forest, you found a lot of hunt, in the sea you found a lot of fish. To get to Belém, for example, you had to go by canoe, which was the sailing boat they called it, you traveled I don't know how many days, but eight days to get to Belém. So the difficulties became more frequent, and they were further away, right? People thought that was poverty. Today poverty is people who go hungry. Right here we find people who have difficulties, who have no way to earn money, who have nowhere to look for anything. You go to the countryside and you can't find hunt anymore, which is deforestation. You go to the river and you can't catch fish. So poverty today is perhaps even worse than it was back then. In my parents' time, for example: they were raised in the countryside with hunt, fish, açaí and plenty of food. Today there is not so much abundance. We still live in the countryside. We have land in the countryside, but when the weekend comes and everything is finished, we have to go to the city to buy it, because if you stay you will go hungry. It has changed completely. Now I don't know what was better: if today you have the opportunity and go to the city and buy it, or back then when there was nothing, there was no freedom. The cabanos had no freedom, they depended on someone, everything was limited, so you only went if someone told you to."

According to JDF-AC5: "From a food perspective, people in the past had easier access to food, they had a lot of natural wealth, a lot of hunting, a lot of fishing, so people lived in the riverside area, which was where the population was most populated. They lived more based on hunting and fishing, so they certainly had richer, more nutritious food, and less contaminated food. Chickens were raised in the backyard, and the food was healthier. From a freedom perspective, it was worse, because they had no freedom, so everyone worked for the boss. Even at the time when I was already understanding myself, I was considered a "customer". So, the owner of the business was the one who managed the boss, the one who dominated. Whatever you made, you had to deliver it to him, and there was no price, no cost, he was the one who determined the price, so it was a slave poverty, a poverty called slavery, from the point of view of someone who dominated. Today I think that poverty has a greater impact, not from the point of view of people having autonomy, but from the point of view of people being able to buy, because we have few natural reserves, we have a very large flow, the population has increased a lot, and the living conditions from the point of view of money, and having resources in hand, if you have little, although people can sell to whoever they want, they have complete freedom to be in the city, you come here, you go back, but I feel, for example, that from my time until the time I was born, 1953, we lived much healthier, much more peacefully from the point of view of food conditions, not from the point of view of being worthy of a house, of assets, people had much less, those who had had, had, those who didn't had nothing, everyone lives at a level that is at least more stable from the point of view of appearance."

RRCF-AC6 states that: "Things were better in the past. In my case, when I arrived in Acará, there was plenty of food. Living on the banks of this river, we didn't worry, we didn't go hungry, because the greatest need that affects the people, I'm not just talking about Brazil, but the world. And yet, at that time we didn't go hungry, and there wasn't, like today, this wave of diseases, which in my opinion is caused more by man himself. There's so much medicine, so much filth. Today we don't eat a single natural tomato, right? Any type of vegetable, greens, or legumes that we eat is not natural. I believe that these chickens that we eat today, which people eat a lot of, are not very healthy for our bodies. But back then there wasn't so much of that. We ate, but today we don't know what beef tastes like. Today the taste of beef is very different from natural beef. So, at that time things seemed better, because we didn't go hungry, we didn't suffer from need. Today I can't kill a monkey because I'm liable to go to jail. Progress arrives in a place and, difficulties come along with it, robberies, kidnappings, everything that is bad comes along with progress."

MASS-AC8 says: "I think that back then, there was poverty, but at least we were rich in so many things, because we had food to eat, you could hunt, fish, eat açaí, and nowadays it's difficult. Today there's a lot of poverty, the difficulties are greater than back then. Back then we were poor, we had difficulties, but we had everything, we had flour, today sometimes people want it but don't have it." LJCS-AC9 states that "... in the time of the cabanos they had money, they had the means of survival, and today we do not have money, hunting, fishing, food, clothing, everything, everything is expensive, not before; the poverty of the past was not poverty, they had difficulty buying, they had money, they got money, but they had difficulty buying, today there is what to buy, but there is difficulty in having money. So I think that poverty today is worse than in the past".

In this block, the Social Representations point to the Cabanagem era as having greater natural wealth, since the virgin forest provided means of survival through hunting, gathering and fishing, therefore, a healthier, richer diet, without pesticides or any chemical products, resulting in fewer diseases than today. There was, as an obstacle, the figure of the boss, who for them was someone who determined what to buy and sell, how to sell and the price. Generally, this boss was the local merchant who bought from the small farmer, hunter or fisherman and sold them goods at the price he set. The population did not have the freedom to set or negotiate the price of what they sold, since Belém was too far away to travel by canoe, so they could not sell their products so easily in the capital of Pará; The figure of slavery is also present, as well as the image of the more populated riverside area.

In these representations, the Cabanagem era is reconstructed as a more recent one, the time of their grandparents, parents, or even their youth. This is important to understand the degree of dissatisfaction that the people have with the present. In this dissatisfaction with today, the interviewees end up seeing poverty as greater than before, because, according to them, people have more autonomy, more possibilities to buy, freedom to come and go, however, there is a lack of money for this; there are many opportunities to earn money, but there is a lack of financial resources for this. Hunting is prohibited by the Brazilian Institute of the Environment - IBAMA and fish is scarce, resulting in hunger and a much greater dependence on the city. On the other hand, food today contains chemical preservatives, resulting in diseases that worsen the living conditions of the people. The fear of assault, kidnapping, among other social problems is present in the Social Representations in Acará, not only brought about by progress, but also seen on television news, resulting in panic. Complaints such as the lack of social rights for the region's rural residents and public policies are also found in the Social Representations. This shows that, through this type of research, it is possible to more efficiently detect the real interests of the populations, serving as a social diagnosis for projects that truly solve the problems of the populations of these cities.

Regarding the possibility of another Cabanagem, the interviewees expressed their views as follows: RJN-AC2 states, "If they continue the way they are, which is invading these lands inappropriately and violently, yes!". RRCF-AC6 says, "A new Cabanagem! I would do it!". MASS-AC8, showing doubts, says, "I think it could happen, it's a difficult thing, I don't know! Nowadays things have evolved a lot, it's more difficult." It is clear from these Social Representations that the revolt against the municipal, state and federal administrations is present due to the lack of public policies that truly satisfy the needs of the people of the City of Acará. It is in these discontents that there is a danger of a revolt, especially against land grabbing, which is denounced in the Social Representations as a serious problem in the Municipality. It is important to note that dissatisfaction can lead the oppressed to react, and this reaction can take many forms: Defeating politicians through voting; organizing a struggle through unions, associations, etc. Fear of repression is still observed, when censorship restricts all freedom of expression contrary to the dominant ideology, which is reflected in the Mental Representations of some interviewees.

In this other group, the interviewees expressed themselves in the following way: JMA-AC4 said that: it would be very difficult, there in Baixo Acará there is an association of people who were descendants of slaves, I don't imagine that they will go back to how it was before, and it won't happen, similar things could happen, right? Different from that, but it won't, it's very difficult, it won't happen". For JDF-AC5 "Today it is difficult to organize a new Cabanagem, not because we don't have the conditions to do it, because the media is favorable to doing it. At that time there were no means of communication, people communicated with messages, with letters, with notes, a sign, something, but there is also secrecy. From an organizational standpoint, I think it's very difficult for someone to start a revolution here today. If they try to start a new revolution the next day, the police will be surrounding them, because there are also means of communication for those who are against us, or who are in opposition, it will be much easier to reach them, so I think that today, despite having an easy time organizing, it is also much easier to be caught off guard." LJCS-AC9 says that, about another Cabanagem "I think it's difficult because in the past we had people who were interested in fighting for the community, today we have people who are interested in fighting for their own interests. Today I think it's difficult for a movement like the Cabano movement to form. I think it's difficult for someone to take the lead to take over the government like the Cabano movement did. I think it's difficult for someone in Pará to come and say: we're going to take over the government for ourselves, for the community."

The fear of repression and people's lack of interest in protesting, the lack of social organization, due to not having the necessary means of communication, and the lack of leaders would be the main reasons for not having a new Cabanagem.

In the representations of the two groups, the urgent need to create public policies through participatory methods that involve communities and authorities in the development of projects committed to the satisfaction of the people is highlighted. The problem of land grabbing, lack of hospitals, difficulties in obtaining food, among others reported by the interviewees during the research in the Municipality of Acará, demonstrate the need for urgent social interventions to improve the quality of life of those people.

Regarding descendants of Cabanos: 83.33% declared themselves descendants of Cabanos, some of them hesitated a little before admitting this, perhaps for fear of discrimination, or because they were in front of an interviewer unknown to them; 16.66% did not declare themselves descendants of Cabanos or Legalistas; none of the interviewees declared themselves descendants of Legalistas, which leads to the conclusion that the pride of the people are the Cabanos, so much so that, during the research, they always referred to Acará as the birthplace of Cabanagem.

People expect the stories told by their grandparents to be perpetuated, which can be seen in the following statements. JDF-AC5 says: "We don't study or deeply understand our history or the history of our people, so everything we have is told. If we have the opportunity, or if it is possible, we should bring to our

children, to my children, to the children of the people of Acará, a deep knowledge about the Cabanagem, because it was our history, and we don't talk about it, we don't know it, we don't see it, we don't have any idea of what the Cabanagem was. But what did it really bring to us? That we could live at the level we live - the so-called freedom...". MASS-AC8 says: "There should be more depth to this history of research, of the fact that happened". JMA-AC4 states: "... no one valued, not even the politicians valued the Cabanagem here in Acará."

The interviewees would like their stories about the Cabanagem to be taught in schools, told in books, respected, and for young people to value them more. It is up to the authorities and researchers to pay more attention to the oral history of the Cabanagem in Acará, since that was where the war began and where many figures from the history of that struggle took refuge. The mental and social representation of the Cabanagem is of great importance for identifying facts passed down orally from parents to children, grandparents to grandchildren, because, in addition to revealing facts that the official history did not tell, it reveals the social problems of the present of the interviewees who recreate facts permeating the present. With this, it is possible to diagnose the needs of the people and develop participatory public policies that solve or, at least, alleviate the problems detected in the representations identified in this research.

IV. Conclusions

The study of Mental and Social Representations leads the researcher to understand the lifestyle of the interviewees, because when they report a past fact, they mix it with their present, knowing how to separate this, we have the reality of the interviewee that is often not revealed by another method, because when talking about the other and/or something, it is easier to say what their problem is, in view of this it is easier for the social researcher to create participatory social policies that truly satisfy the deepest desires of the community to be served.

The study of Mental and Social Representations enables not only the search for history from the perspective of the population, where official history has often erased traces of heroism and dignity, but also the understanding of how people see and communicate their social condition and how they reconstruct facts that have reached them orally through relatives, friends or popular leaders, and thus can identify what they think about their current society, government projects, among others. Identifying their needs provides the elements for developing social projects that truly meet the needs of those populations

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