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**Democratic sense and demographic census: a matter of awareness and freedom****Senso democrático e Censo demográfico: uma questão de consciência e liberdade****Sentido democrático y censo demográfico: una cuestión de conciencia y libertad**Author <sup>1</sup> <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1597-5180>

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**Abstract**

This article is a literature review that brings to light, in the geopolitical and philosophical fields, the controversy surrounding the decision of the Brazilian State to cancel the realization of the Demographic Census justified by the lack of financial resources required for the execution of this secular research, of character national and that deals with the demographic reality of the country. From the legal-state quarrel, a theoretical framework is developed with the perspective of associating the Census, an instrument for the management and dissemination of social, economic, cultural and demographic information of Brazilian society, which is indispensable, to the construction of a free social conscience advocated by a democratic state. It concludes by understanding that neglecting the importance of the Demographic Census means, in a certain way, making the democratic Sense impossible.

**Keywords:** Demographic census. Democratic sense. Free consciousness.

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**Resumo**

Este artigo é uma revisão de literatura que traz à baila, nos campos geopolítico e filosófico, a polêmica em torno da decisão do Estado brasileiro em cancelar a realização do Censo demográfico justificado na falta de recursos financeiros demandados para a execução dessa pesquisa secular, de caráter nacional e que trata da realidade demográfica do país. A partir da querela jurídico-estatal, desenvolve-se um referencial teórico com a perspectiva de associar o Censo, instrumento de gestão e divulgação da informação social, econômica, cultural e demográfica da sociedade brasileira indispensável, à construção de uma consciência social livre preconizada por um Estado democrático. Conclui-se entendendo que negligenciar a importância do Censo demográfico significa impossibilitar, de certo modo, o Senso democrático.

**Palavras-chave:** Censo demográfico. Senso democrático. Consciência livre.

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## Resumen

Este artículo es una revisión de la literatura que saca a la luz, en los campos geopolítico y filosófico, la controversia en torno a la decisión del Estado brasileño de cancelar la realización del Censo Demográfico justificada por la falta de recursos financieros necesarios para la ejecución de esta investigación secular. , de carácter nacional y que se ocupa de la realidad demográfica del país. Desde la disputa legal-estatal, se desarrolla un marco teórico con la perspectiva de asociar el Censo, instrumento de gestión y difusión de la información social, económica, cultural y demográfica de la sociedad brasileña, indispensable, a la construcción de un libre conciencia social defendida por un estado democrático. Concluye entendiendo que descuidar la importancia del Censo Demográfico significa, en cierto modo, imposibilitar el Sentido democrático.

**Palabras clave:** Censo demográfico. Sentido democrático. Conciencia libre.

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*“The more you are informed of the inessential, the less you know about yourself and the more you are controlled by the logic of fear” (SODRÉ, 1981).*

## Introduction

The current social scene of Brazilian politics has been marked by controversies involving basic principles for any nation constituted under the aegis of Democracy. This statement is due to the fact that, so far, five major disputes have involved the pillars of the Brazilian nation, resulting not only in headlines in national and international news, but in cases settled in the highest Court of judicial litigation of the country: the Federal Supreme Court (STF).

The first of them referred to the anti-democratic acts promoted by supporters of the current head of the federal executive power of Brazil, configuring itself as a procedural agenda in the STF with the investigation of both ordinary civilians and government officials, as highlighted in part of the decision of the minister Alexandre de Moraes that determined “the immediate execution of the arrest in flagrante delicto, for an unbailable crime of federal deputy Daniel Silveira” (BRASIL, p. 7, 2021):

as of today (16/02), this COURT came to the attention of this video published by Federal Deputy Daniel Silveira, available through the

link: <https://youtu.be/jMfInDBItog>, on the youtube channel called "Politics Play", in which the aforementioned deputy for 19m9s, in addition to frontally attacking the Justices of the Federal Supreme Court, through various threats and insults to honor, expressly propagates the adoption of anti-democratic measures against the Federal Supreme Court, defending the AI-5; including the immediate replacement of all Ministers, as well as instigating the adoption of violent measures against their lives and safety, in clear affront to democratic, republican and separation of powers principles (BRASIL, 2021, p. 1).

Amid attacks on the pillars of a democratic country under the law, another pillar that became the target of offensive speeches given by the head of the Brazilian nation and by the respective minister at the time, was Education, giving rise, once again, to interference judicial, how to extract:

according to the initial, in an interview given to "Jornal da Cidade", the respondent, as Minister of Education, made a series of inferences about illicit activities in federal universities, of which it is possible, according to the applicants, to verify the commit crimes against the honor of professors, servants and students from these universities (BRASIL, 2020, p. 1).

The third dispute, and no less serious, referred to alleged environmental crimes caused by the minister of the environment, which resulted in investigative processes on probable crimes committed by the one who should be the maximum guardian of the environment in Brazil. Therefore, one of the last accusations stands out:

Federal Police delegate Alexandre Silva Saraiva in disfavor of Environment Minister Ricardo de Aquino Sales, Senator Telmário Mota and IBAMA President Eduardo Binresta [...] concluded that the patent remains Minister RICARDO DE AQUINOS SALLES, SENATOR TELMÁRIO MOTA and the President of IBAMA EDUARDO BIM, consciously and voluntarily, and in a unit of design, hinder the supervisory action of the Public Power in dealing with environmental issues, as well as directly sponsoring interests private (of loggers) and illegitimate before the public administration, taking advantage of their qualities as public servants [...] For the foregoing, I

grant the request of the Attorney General's Office and order the opening of an inquiry against the Minister of the Environment Environment Ricardo de Aquino Sales for the facts described in the Public Prosecutor's Office, with the objective of investigating the practice of the crimes typified in art. 321 of the Penal Code (administrative advocacy), in art. 69 of Law 9,605/1998 (obstacle or hinder environmental inspection) and in art. 2, § 1, of Law 12,850/2013 (preventing or hindering the investigation of a criminal offense involving a criminal organization) (BRASIL, 2021, p. 2-8).

E, por último, a contenda diretamente relacionada à motivação deste artigo, a saber: necessidade de imposição judicial para que o país realize o Censo demográfico no ano de 2022:

o direito à informação é basilar para o Poder Público formular e implementar políticas públicas. Por meio de dados e estudos, governantes podem analisar a realidade do País. A extensão do território e o pluralismo, consideradas as diversidades regionais, impõem medidas específicas. O Censo, realizado historicamente pelo Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística – IBGE, permite mapear as condições socioeconômicas de cada parte do Brasil. E, então, o Executivo e o Legislativo elaboram, no âmbito do ente federado, políticas públicas visando implementar direitos fundamentais previstos na Constituição Federal. Como combater desigualdades, instituir programas de transferência de renda, construir escolas e hospitais sem prévio conhecimento das necessidades locais? (BRASIL, 2021, p. 3).

Minister Marco Aurélio continues in support of his decision:

the Federal Government and IBGE, by failing to carry out the study in the current year, due to the cut in funds, failed to comply with the specific duty to organize and maintain official national statistics and geography services - article 21, item XV, of the Constitution of 1988. Finally, they threaten the normative force of the Major Law. There is an essential joint action of the three Powers, taking the constitutional commitments off the paper. In this case, it is up to the Supreme Court, with access to the Judiciary, the immediate applicability of fundamental rights and the omission of the defendants, to impose the adoption of measures to make the demographic research feasible. 3. I grant the preliminary injunction to determine the adoption of measures aimed at carrying out the Census, observing the parameters

recommended by the IBGE, within the scope of its own technical discretion (BRASIL, 2021, p. 4).

The Census is a public policy implemented in Brazil since 1872 and, in 1991, by force of Law nº 8.184/1991, the demographic census is no longer a discretionary act, that is, it is no longer a whim of the State whether they want to do it or not, is a legal obligation, given the fact that it constitutes an instrument that allows the government to plan public policies that are adequate for a known reality.

Art. 1 The periodicity of Demographic Censuses and Economic Censuses, carried out by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics Foundation (IBGE), will be fixed by an act of the Executive Branch, and may not exceed ten years for the Demographic Censuses and five years for of the Economic Censuses. Art. 2 The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics Foundation (IBGE) will carry out, with reference to the year 1991, the following Censuses: a) Demographic Census (population and households); b) Economic Census (agricultural, industrial, commercial and services) (BRASIL, 1991).

Lack of knowledge of reality makes assertiveness of political action difficult, makes it impossible for society to assess the quality of the performance of public authorities, hinders scientific research and does not allow Brazilians and the world to know the reality of the country. In this sense, the public power cannot, with justifications of economic rationality, quibble about its legal obligation to draw up a ten-year diagnosis of the country, in order to put into practice effective public policies, that is, situated in the concrete reality of the Brazilian nation.

Amid these disputes, the country and the world are experiencing a hybrid crisis, initially sanitary, but which invaded all other dimensions of social life, especially politics and the economy, making it necessary to set up a Parliamentary Inquiry Commission (CPI) which, according to paragraph 3 of article 58 of the Constitution, regulated by Law 1579, of 1952, aims to ensure that the Parliament exercises its role as oversight of the State.

This CPI, determined by the Supreme Court, assigned the Senate to investigate alleged actions and omissions of the federal government in combating the pandemic, given a reality with the calculation of more than half a million deaths at the time of writing this article. The STF, under the terms below, determined the installation of the CPI on the pandemic in the Senate:

In this first analysis, I verify the legal plausibility of the grounds for the petition. In accordance with the consistent line of precedents of the STF, the opening of the parliamentary inquiry depends, solely, on the fulfillment of the three requirements foreseen in art. 58, § 3, of the Constitution. These are: (i) the requirement of one-third of the members of the legislative houses; (ii) the indication of a fact determined to be determined; and (iii) the definition of a certain term for its duration. This means that the installation of a CPI is not subject to a discretionary judgment by the president or the plenary of the legislative house. The governing body or the parliamentary majority cannot oppose such a requirement for reasons of political convenience and opportunity. Once the constitutional requirements have been met, the creation of the Parliamentary Inquiry Commission is necessary (BRASIL, 2021, p. 9).

One sees, therefore, a federal executive government in constant litigation with basic constitutional precepts, among which, the very democratic principles of a country of law, which were essential even for its rise to power, especially in a context marked by the digital culture in which access to information through the most diverse social media moved the scenario of the 2018 elections.

It was because of the unrestricted right to access to information, with the constitutional right of freedom of expression as the main priority, that transparency and dissemination of the speeches and proposals of new political actors won the four corners of the country. It should be noted, however, that the expansion of this right, in a digital context of use under the false idea of anonymity, is extrapolated, so much so that, in the aforementioned scenario of presidential elections in Brazil, the result was the installation of the Parliamentary Commission Fake News Joint Inquiry (CPMI) provoked by CPMI Institution Application No. 11/2019:

the development of this fertile and hostile environment for the dissemination of opinions has also made possible the automation of publishing tools, resulting in the emergence and spread of robots - accounts controlled by software that pretend to be human beings, who already dominate part of the networks and actively participate in discussions in political moments of great repercussion. In political discussions, robots have been used across the party spectrum not only to gain a following but also to conduct attacks on opponents and forge artificial arguments. They manipulate debates, create and disseminate false news - the so-called fake news - and influence public opinion through the posting and replication of messages on a large scale. [...] In view of the above, the immediate installation of a Joint Parliamentary Inquiry Commission becomes essential. Given the complexity of the facts, new evidence may be added to the process as the Commission develops its work (BRASIL, 2019, p. 2-8).

Controversially, the current federal executive government, elected based on democratic precepts, especially the right to information, today ignores the importance of public knowledge about the real situation of a continental country full of inequalities, such as Brazil, when it abstains of the legal duty to carry out the Census.

Refraining from this obligation is both a breach of the law, and withdrawing from the population the right to know about the reality of their country, to monitor the performance of public authorities and to know about themselves as a nation. In view of the above, this article has as its main question: can a 21st century Brazil, with a high degree of technical capacity, when compared to 19th century Brazil, which already carried out the Census, without numbers, without radiography of its reality?

In order to find answers to this central question, the general objective is to highlight the importance of the Demographic Census as a constitutional right guaranteeing access to information to the population, which is why it constitutes a geopolitical instrument, especially with regard to defense for an effectively

democratic State, given that the Census enhances society's right to inspect and verify the compliance of public authorities with the country's Magna Carta.

Therefore, a literature review is carried out on a widely known term, however, emptied of meaning in the social scene of Brazilian politics, namely: Democracy. This term is linked to the purpose of the Demographic Census, which, as it is presented, is currently neglected by a Brazilian geopolitics opposed to the transparency of demographic and economic information as a basic constitutional right for a nation that claims to be democratic.

The article concludes with some considerations about a Brazilian geopolitics that currently operates with distorting speeches about the effectiveness of the performance of the public power in relation to agendas that it raised as slogans of its political campaign, among which, the economic growth of the country, considering that denying the Census makes this motto a mere campaign rhetoric, as there is no way to measure and/or evaluate a country's economic growth without knowing, in localized numbers, its socioeconomic reality.

### **Democracy, Freedom and Census**

In a context marked by debates around the Democracy crisis, it is necessary to discuss the (im)possibilities of this political regime in countries that, like Brazil, fundamental democratic values, such as Liberty, have often been invoked as a denial of the democratic rule of law itself, given that Democracy

rather than being a political form, it is a form of life, characterized above all by a strong dose of transitivity of conscience in man's behavior. Transitivity that neither arises nor develops unless under certain conditions in which man is launched to debate, to examine his problems and common problems. In which men participate (FREIRE, 1967, p. 81).

In the light of the Brazilian philosopher and educator Paulo Freire, the aforementioned value is fundamental for Democracy to be achieved through



participation, which explains the historical recurrence of conceptual debates around Democracy and Freedom, whose materiality “will depend on the concrete options that men do” (FREIRE, 1967, p. 16).

There are those who understand Freedom as an unrestricted right of expression, however, there are those who see Freedom as the right to human dignity, which includes education, health, employment and housing and, therefore, understand it as superior to the previous conception; and, also, there are those who define Freedom as a mere fantasy, considering that everyone is socially and psychologically conditioned. These varied conceptions lead humanity, in different times and spaces, to question itself about what it means to be free and what are the obstacles to Freedom.

However, since Freedom has the role of breaking through the veils of ignorance, why does the subject accept to give up this fundamental value?

Regarding this questioning, La Boétie (1976) allows us to think that being free implies responsibilities and choices, and humanity is used to the condition of being an object, it does not know how to be a subject. She is constantly seduced by servitude. There is a comfortable desire for submission. For this reason, in the current era of Freedom, not having it is a docile rhetorical way of claiming it, because, deep down, it is given up by the taste of the object-man in opposition to the fear of responsibility that one starts to assume as a man-subject.

Thus, as defended by Adorno (1995), the suppression of Freedom materializes in non-emancipated consciences, which contrasts with any perspective of democratic and free life, since,

the demand for emancipation seems to be evident in a democracy [...] Democracy rests on the formation of the will of each person in particular, as summarized in the institution of representative elections. To avoid an irrational result, it is necessary to assume the aptitude and courage of each person to use their own understanding (ADORNO, 1995, p. 169).

Adorno (1995), appropriating the Kantian expression, defended the idea of emancipated consciousness as a synonym for Aufklärung, which translates into clarification, that is, into the possibility that allows man to be free. In the words of Kant (1985):

Enlightenment is man's exit from minority for which he is the one to blame. Minority is the inability to use his own understanding without the direction of others. Man is himself to blame for this inability, when its cause lies in the lack, not of understanding, but of resolution and courage to make use of it without the direction of another person. Sapereude! Dare to make use of your own understanding! (KANT, 1985, p. 407).

For existentialist philosophical currents anchored in the thought of Jean Paul Sartre (1905-1980), all human reality is free

because it is perpetually detached from itself, and because what was is separated by a nothingness from what is and what will be. And, finally, because your very present being is innate in the form of the 'reflector-reflector'. Man is free because he is not himself, but presence himself. The being that is what it is could not be free. Freedom is precisely the nothing that has been in the core of man and forces human reality to become instead of being (SARTRE, 1998, p. 545).

But this Freedom, for Sartre (1998), is a cause of anguish, whose any attempt to escape "is nothing more than a way of becoming aware of one's own anguish" (SARTRE, 1998, p.89), therefore, the lack of Freedom it becomes associated with external factors, that is, with a subterfuge of the conscience in relation to the anguish that afflicts it. These external factors, the philosopher called bad faith, because

having defined man's situation as a free choice, no excuses and no help, we consider that every man who takes refuge behind the excuse of his passions, every man who invents determinism, is a man of bad faith. It is possible to object this: why could he not choose himself as a man of bad faith? And I answer that I don't have to judge you morally, but define your bad faith as a mistake. We cannot escape, here, a judgment of truth. Bad faith is, of course, a lie, as it conceals

the total freedom of engagement. On the same plane, I will say that the one who declares that certain values pre-exist in themselves has bad faith; I will be at odds with myself if, at the same time, I want these values and affirm that they are imposed on me. Someone might ask me: what if I want to be a man of bad faith? I will answer: there is no reason why you cannot be, but I declare that you have bad faith and that the attitude of strict consistency is the attitude of good faith. Also, I can make a moral judgment. When I declare that freedom, through every concrete circumstance, cannot have any other objective than to want itself, I mean that if man ever recognizes that he is establishing values, in his helplessness, he will no longer be able to desire anything other than freedom as the foundation of all values. That doesn't mean he wants her abstractly. But, simply, that the acts of men of good faith have as their ultimate meaning the search for freedom as such (SARTRE, 1970, p. 18-19).

What is certain is that, regardless of the philosophical current, whether existentialist, Marxist or otherwise, the concept of Freedom occupies the central axis in the discussion on the very definition of human being.

The organicity that carries Freedom is verified in different times and groups, in the most varied spatiotemporal contexts, which gave it different semantic clothing. But, in the 21st century, the question persists: after all, what is Freedom in a democratic State under the rule of law?

And in the current Brazilian context, marked by the polarization of the political scene, a posture that, as the French humanist philosopher La Boétie (1976) criticized, mitigates the debate, as it prevents the perception of other gradations of colors than just the one admitted by the polarizer, which inverts thinking by the mere adjective, democratic values have, at all times, been the agenda of the judiciary, which makes it more than necessary to discuss the relationship between Freedom and Democracy before and beyond the preambular rhetoric of the Magna Carta that defines it as the supreme value for the construction of a fraternal, pluralistic and prejudice-free society, founded on social harmony and committed, in the internal and international order, to the peaceful solution of controversies (BRASIL, 1988).

Freire (1967) calls this polarizing being sectarian as opposed to radical, as he understands that the latter “rejects activism and always submits its action to reflection. The sectarian, whether from the right or from the left, stands before history as its only doer. As its owner” (FREIRE, 1967, p. 50).

The author continues in his reasoning about the distinctions between the sectarian and the radical subject:

it rejects activism and always submits its action to reflection. The sectarian, whether from the right or from the left, stands before history as its only doer. As its owner. They differ because, while one intends to stop it, the other anticipates it. If the story is his work, if it belongs to him, one can stop it whenever he wants, the other anticipate it, if he wants to. Hence, they identify themselves in the imposition of their convictions. In reducing the people to the mass. The people do not count or weigh on the sectarian, except as support for their ends. Must attend the process activistly. It will be commanded by the intoxicating propaganda that is not being warned. Do not think. They think for him and it is as a protégé, a minor, that he is seen by the sectarian, who will never make a truly liberating revolution, precisely because he is not free either. For the radical, who cannot be a centrist or a rightist, history is not stopped or anticipated, without running the risk of punishment. He is not a mere spectator of the process, but increasingly a subject, as the critic captures its contradictions. It is also not its owner. It recognizes, however, that, if it cannot stop or anticipate, it can and should, as a subject, with other subjects, help and accelerate transformations, insofar as it knows in order to interfere (FREIRE, 1967, p. 50-51).

A brief review of the history of Democracy in the world allows us to understand that it initially appears as a political regime based on prioritizing the will of the majority to the detriment of the minority. This conflict of wills always excluded, in a way, the other party, the less numerous one, as Hamilton, Madison and Jay (1985) problematized in the context of the elaboration of the North American constitution in 1788:

when in a republic the means of defending the nation against the tyranny of its chiefs have been obtained, all social questions are not

yet resolved; it is, moreover, a matter of defending one part of society against the injustice of another, more numerous part. Different classes of citizens necessarily have different interests; and when the majority is united by a common interest, the rights of the minority are necessarily in danger (HAMILTON; MADISON; JAY, 1985, p. 132).

Against the problem of minority submission by the majority, Hamilton, Madison and Jay (1985) understood that, to anticipate it, there would be only “two ways: [...] the first, to create in society a will independent of the majority and , therefore, of society itself; the second, to bring into society as many different classes of citizens as necessary, so that an unfair combination of the majority cannot take place [...]” (HAMILTON; MADISON; JAY, 1985, p. 132).

What these statist thinkers wanted to emphasize, given the greater democratic experience that sprang to their eyes at the end of the eighteenth century, was the concern for the tyrant power exercised by a democratic majority over the other minority parts of society. Thus, the main questions they raised were: how to guarantee diversity in a unit? How to guarantee Democracy in a hybrid and multiple social fabric in all senses?

In view of these two central questions, the federalists urged people to think about Democracy beyond an idealized bias, as the virtues - limit of power, citizen equality, defense of representation and democratic rationality - as well as the risks to them should be object of political analysis under penalty of these annulling those and, therefore, denying the basis of practical political rationality, which they called mediation, that is, dialogue, without which, Democracy loses its core, a principle that rules out easy manipulation of human passion for demagogic power imposed under a false democratic sieve.

In the scenario of the last presidential elections in Brazil, the demagogic power, which found a disseminator in digital information and communication technologies (TDIC), was central to dominate human passion, distancing people from the virtue of democratic rationality. This supremacy of demagogic power,

potentiated by TDIC, was described as follows by Eco (2015) in his speech during the awarding of the title of Doctor Honoris Causa in Communication and Culture at the University of Turin:

social media gave the right to speak to legions of imbeciles who previously spoke only at the bar, after a glass of wine, without causing harm to the community. They were immediately told to shut up, whereas now they have the same right to speak as a Nobel Prize winner. The drama of the internet is that it promoted the village idiot as the bearer of the truth (ECO, 2015).

The digital world, for Eco (2015), has impoverished the democratic debate since, at the same time that it expanded the reach of democratic virtues, especially Freedom of expression, with the debate of opinions as the main driver, it gave visibility to postures and thoughts that attack the very democratic right of Freedom, thus resulting in a paradox of contemporary Democracy: would Freedom, in the face of the democratization of opinion, be a problem or democratic action itself? Could Freedom of expression even deny Democracy itself, from which it results as an inalienable right? How to keep the democratic system anchored in Freedom of expression, without hindering that Freedom?

In a Democracy it is prescribed that everyone has the right to have an opinion, but this right does not give the same value to different opinions. However, the TDIC made this idea of the personified valuation of discourses tenuous. And when this valuation is lost, Democracy itself is in danger.

One of these dangers is what has come to be called the politics of identity, in which identity, normally associated with gender, religion and ethnicity, starts to determine politics and no longer necessarily the democratic virtues. These are placed in the background, whereby the required place of identity speech begins to extrapolate the democratic itself, thus closing itself in a politics of identity that, when not derived from a common place, loses its nature democratic, since, as a politics of identity,

it operates on the assumption that essential identities among marginalized communities (for racial, gender and sexual reasons) are the ones that deserve recognition. In general, identity policy is not committed at the state level and remains in the sphere of civil society (MIGNOLO, 2008, p. 312).

Find the equidistant point between Freedom and the inversion of the logic of the politics of identity to identity in politics, as this operates, according to Mignolo (2008), in opposition to the former, disconnecting "from the iron cage of 'political parties' as it has been established by modern/colonial and Eurocentric political theory" (MIGNOLO, 2008, p. 312), in the perspective of not denying the democratic virtues that take place in the commonplace of speech, is what, nowadays, seems to emerge as a challenge in a Brazil that wants to be democratic, but which, not rarely, exceeds or lacks in *Liberdade*, as well as, practices a policy of identity, when it is known that, under the prism of Democracy,

identity in politics, in short, is the only way to think decolonially (which means thinking politically in terms and projects of decolonization). All other ways of thinking (that is, interfering with the organization of knowledge and understanding) and of acting politically, that is, ways that are not decolonial, mean remaining in imperial reason; that is, within the imperial identity policy (MIGNOLO, 2008, p. 290).

As a requirement for the practical rationality of Democracy, the common place of speech, understood as a break "with the silence instituted for those who were subordinated, a movement towards breaking with the hierarchy, very well classified by Derrida as violent" (RIBEIRO, 2017, p. 90), presupposes

linking decoloniality with identity in politics, the decolonial option reveals the identity hidden under the pretense of universal democratic theories while constructing racialized identities that were erected by the hegemony of Western thought categories, histories and

experiences (once again, Greek and Latin foundations of modern/imperial reason) (MIGNOLO, 2008, p. 297).

Exercising Freedom of expression in a democratic society, therefore, involves an ethical stance. Ethics because “knowing where we speak is fundamental for thinking about hierarchies, issues of inequality, poverty, racism and sexism” (RIBEIRO, 2017:84).

Contemplating the possibility of debating Freedom as a vice in a democratic society is due, therefore, to the emptying and/or non-resignification of what comes to be Democracy and, in turn, Ethics in a society, because "although ethics is in the fashion and everyone talks about it, no one really believes that it is important, and even essential for living" (CORTINA, 2003, p. 18).

Therefore, it is never too much to discuss Democracy in society, noting that talking about Democracy presupposes understanding its ethics, given that, according to the deconstructionist thinking of philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930 – 2004), there is only Ethics in relation to the other, therefore, adequate to a principle of collective and democratic life, whose prescriptive imposition even denies Ethics itself, and the focus should be on the process and not on proposing the content of an Ethics.

For Democracy, it is reasonable to understand that it is not the will of the majority, as the majority desire applied by quantification is no guarantee that a series of other democratic requirements will be met, especially: whether the majority's will preserve the rights of the minority and if this majority will is not a demagogically manipulated construct. This guarantee will depend on the inescapability of the Ethics to Democracy which, in general terms, means the removal of any type of physical or psychological violence from social interactions.

That said, Democracy is a certain set of processes through certain institutions. Without democratic institutions and processes, the simple majority expression does not necessarily make something democratic.



These state institutions, extended into welfare, in the words of Adorno (1995), translate into

social organization we live in remains heteronomous, this that is, no person can exist in today's society really according to his own determinations; while this is happening, society forms people through countless mediating channels and instances, in such a way that they absorb and accept everything in terms of this heteronomous configuration that has deviated from itself in its consciousness. Of course, this reaches the institutions, even the discussion about political education and other similar issues (ADORNO, 1995, p. 181-182).

In a democratic State, Freedom is one of the fundamental values that guide the idea of majority government, as one of its greatest expressions is political pluralism, manifested by egalitarian and just coexistence regardless of whether majority or minority, whose focus is on always in the protection of the fundamental rights of an effectively ethical life.

By freedom, as presented, there are many definitions and types, however, regardless of its various meanings, what matters is that the name continues to be the term Freedom, from which it is understood that its control is what mitigates it, this yes, it is not a question of wanting Freedom, but not letting it be controlled, lost. And this gives the concept of Freedom a radical outfit,

[...] freedom, which only rarely - in times of crisis and revolution - becomes the direct target of political action, is actually the reason why men coexist politically organized. Without it, political life as such would be meaningless. The *raison d'être* of politics is freedom and its realm of experience is action. [...] The freedom that we accept as established in all political theory and that even those who praise tyranny must take into account is the very opposite of "inner freedom", the intimate space in which men can escape external and external coercion. feel free. This inner feeling remains without outward manifestations and is therefore, by definition, without political significance. [...] Despite the great influence of the concept of an interior and apolitical freedom on the tradition of thought, it seems safe to say that man would know nothing of interior freedom if

he had not previously experienced the condition of being free as a mundanely tangible reality. . We initially become aware of freedom or its opposite in our relationship with others, and not in our relationship with ourselves (ARENDR, 2009, p. 192-194).

Not getting lost in the game of control of Freedom presumes the right to a critical conscience, averse to domestication and the culture of imposition, as a condition for reaching a new level of reasoning about oneself and the world. Any ties that prevent the formation of a critical conscience, threaten Freedom, in turn, against the critical conscience, which ultimately undermines the democratic State of law itself, considering that, "it is precisely the criticality that fundamental note of the democratic mentality" (FREIRE, 1967, p. 95).

The more critical a human group, the more democratic and permeable, as a rule. The more democratic, the more linked to the conditions of their circumstances. The less democratic experiences that require him to have critical knowledge of his reality, for his participation in it, for his intimacy with it, the more he is superimposed on this reality and inclined to naive ways of looking at it. To naive ways of perceiving it. The verbose ways of representing it. The less critical we feel, the more naively we deal with problems and superficially discuss matters (FREIRE, p. 95-96).

In this sense, it is the duty of the State, which calls itself democratic, not only to constitutionally describe Freedom as a fundamental value, but to provide the population with institutions and processes that enable the transitivity of naive and magical consciences for criticism, that is, free, because it is through critical awareness that the possibility for

the representation of things and facts as they occur in empirical existence. In its causal and circumstantial correlations. The naive conscience (on the contrary) believes itself superior to the facts, dominating them from the outside and, therefore, it believes itself free to understand them as it pleases. The magical conscience, on the other hand, does not come to believe that it is "superior to the facts, dominating them from the outside, nor does it "judge itself free to

understand them as it best suits it". It simply captures them, lending them a superior power, which dominates it from the outside and which, for this very reason, has to submit with docility. Fatalism is characteristic of this awareness, which leads to the crossing of arms, to the impossibility of doing something in the face of the power of facts, under which man is defeated (FREIRE, 1967, p. 105).

Among the State strategies that allow the nation to know itself, a basic condition for the birth of critical awareness of itself and the reality to which it belongs, the Demographic Census has been revealed, since Imperial Brazil, as an instrument for awakening critical thinking, in other words, to enable a realistic level of awareness about the country's demography and economy, thereby removing the naive awareness of oneself and the space it inhabits, since, just as it is characteristic of the Census, it allows the apprehension of the geographic reality of the country, also "it is characteristic of critical consciousness its integration with reality, while the naive one is its superposition to reality" (FREIRE, 1967, p. 105). Census and Critical Sense are, therefore, inseparable for a democratic State that prioritizes Freedom, especially Freedom of conscience.

In this sense, Holt (2003) highlights that statistical instruments, which include the Brazilian Census, are essential for the good performance of public policies to

allow the development and monitoring of public policies, allocate resources and support the public administration in financial decision-making. They are also useful for citizens to follow the work of their own government. They are also important from an international perspective, allowing national governments to monitor performance against other countries, such as those with purchasing power; to ensure that economic competitiveness is maintained or improved; to monitor economic and social development in other countries and the result of economic alternatives or social policies adopted [...] (HOLT, 2003, p. 4, author's translation).

In the case of Brazil, which has carried out the census survey since 1872, the last one having taken place "from the 1st of August to the 31st of October 2010, when the census takers visited just over 67.5 million households" (IBGE, 2010), so that the

statistical framework that has been known today, for over a decade, is based on estimates, which weakens the assertiveness of current public policies, whose statistical information “is essential for decision-making. public and private investments and contribute to adequately planning the sustainable use of resources” (IBGE, 2010).

It is important to highlight that, since its rudimentary beginnings, census research has undergone technical improvements, which give it, in the contemporary situation marked by the predominance of TDIC , a degree of surgical precision on the reality of Brazil, offering

a complete and current view of the country, through the performance of its main functions:

- Coordination of Cartographic and Statistical Information Systems
- Production of Statistical Information
- Production of Geoscientific Information
- Production of Census Information
- Production of Environmental Information
- Information Dissemination
- Management of Higher Education, Research and Extension (IBGE, 2010).

In addition to the aforementioned functions, the Demographic Census, which, as already conceptualized, constitutes “the most complex statistical operation carried out by a country, especially when it has continental dimensions like Brazil, with 8,515,692.27 km<sup>2</sup>, distributed in a heterogeneous territory, often difficult to access, comprising 27 Federation Units” (IBGE, 2010), also includes Institutional Governance and support processes: Information and Communication Technology Management, Administrative Management, People Management.

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<sup>2</sup> "To achieve the best quality standards in the 2010 Census, the IBGE introduced several managerial, methodological and technological innovations, with emphasis on the updating of the digital territorial base, the adoption of a handheld computer equipped with GPS, for data collection, and the introduction of the internet as an alternative for filling out the questionnaire and the computerization of approximately 7,000 collection points installed by the IBGE to manage the 2010 Census in all 5 565 Brazilian municipalities” (IBGE, 2010).

At the same time, we know of the geopolitical potential that the Census exerts, given that appropriating the geographic reality of a country means providing the subject with knowledge of the weaknesses and potential of a nation. And, as Bacon (1988), an empiricist philosopher, said, to offer information is to offer control, as this offer generates knowledge, which is power in itself. Therefore, both the offer and non-offer of the Census by the Brazilian State is a question of control, it is an act of power, given that, considering that "power and knowledge are synonymous [...] what matters is not that satisfaction that, for men, is called "truth", but 'operation', the effective procedure" (ADORNO; HORKHEIMER, 1985, p. 20).

Thus, even though it is known that the Census is, in itself, information that generates knowledge, therefore, an instrument of power, the conflict with Freedom resides in the discretion of the State that exercises its power in disguise, when it is offered in the format and in the content unilaterally determined and latent, when the subject is deprived of access to this knowledge. This conflict has its origins, as mentioned, in what Adorno and Horkheimer (1985) call operation, in the manifestation of the procedural manipulation of the construction of social consciousness.

Given the above, it is understood that manipulation is an anti-democratic strategy that attacks the subject's right to freedom to build a free conscience. This type of strategy is typical of a geopolitics opposed to Democracy, as it sees the subject's consciousness as "the ultimate human quality and, without a doubt, the most precious, because what is ultimate is, at the same time, what is better and more fragile. And, in fact, the conscience is extremely fragile and, in its fragility, it can be mistaken many times" (MORIN, 2004, p. 126).

In this sense, it is not surprising that there will be many efforts to make it impossible for society to become aware of itself and its mundane reality. Denying the transparency of geographic information in Brazil, that is, preventing the Brazilian population from knowing its demographic and economic reality, therefore, making it

impossible for the population to become aware of itself and its space, means denying Democracy itself.

A denial that is dressed up in the docile official justification that its cause was caused by an external and exceptional factor, when it is known that, in reality, it is part of the operation, of the *modus operandi* of the tergiversive strategy of attributing the impossibility of management to an external element. transparent geographic information, which should have as a democratic pillar the broad access and dissemination of political action to society.

In his view, the intentional permissiveness to undermine the principle of Freedom of conscience is hidden, having as an argument the mitigating externalization of this choice, since this will be a reason docilely accepted by object-men who use the same argument to justify the taste for submission disguised in the rhetorical will of Freedom.

### **Final considerations**

Anchored in the argument of the unavailability of economic resources, the Brazilian State has justified financial cuts in areas such as Education, Environment and Defense. With this same argument, in 2021, it communicated to the nation about the non-completion of the Demographic Census, which was already delayed in that year due to an emergency decree, due to the pandemic moment that devastates humanity.

Its postponement was not the right decision, also because the Census is essential to understand the dynamics of a Brazil that is lame with the pandemic, however, canceling it is an irrational act, to say the least, especially because the Census deals with to make information available, which characterizes it as an essential activity.

Failure to do so will have negative impacts on the most diverse sectors of society that benefit from the data that result in public policies in areas such as: health,

education, planning, housing, economy, science and technology. The Census provides information on the national territory, which translates into a current and historical portrait of the country.

However, giving up this ten-year study that has made it possible, since 1872, to guide government actions in relation to the basic needs of the population, it is not just a question of a State power opposed to planned management, it means neglecting the major constitutional precepts that govern a democratic State right.

In defense of these precepts, the interference of the judiciary was necessary, which determined its realization for the year 2022 under the explicit reasoning that the right to information is fundamental for the public power to formulate and implement public policies.

In the midst of this dispute involving the Census, in the current Brazilian social scene, pillars such as Justice, represented by its highest symbol, the STF, and Education, embodied by public universities and their subjects, have been targets of discursive attacks by the State itself. It is said to be democratic, there seems to be an intention to dismantle the institutions that provide democratic processes in a society.

These attacks have been constantly the object of geopolitical and philosophical analysis, whose constitution of a government elected by democratic constitutional precepts seems to operate in the sense of undermining the practical rationality of Democracy. In relation to the production of scientific knowledge, this, at all times, is discredited by the State.

The legal imposition of the Census by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) makes visible the impacts caused by setbacks in the scientific field in view of the supremacy of a government that denies science.

In general terms, the main conclusion reached here is that the Census is not just a matter of quantifying and spatially locating people, but it is a necessity for the awakening of the democratic Sense. And ignoring the importance of this instrument for the construction of an increasingly free conscience is the same as denying it its

right to Freedom, above all, in a contemporaneity marked by crises in the fundamental values of a democratic society.

Census is, therefore, a matter of Sense, because it emanates power, whose appropriation of knowledge of the socio, economic, cultural and demographic profile of a population, depending on intentionality, can result in manipulation of the conscience of others.

Without the Census, society, economy, culture, science and, above all, Democracy and Freedom are lost. In short, the whole of Brazil is harmed by not knowing the picture of its reality, even if this demographic radiography reveals a reality in law and not exactly in fact.

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