


DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY AND GENDER EQUALITY: A CASE STUDY OF THE 2023 WOMEN'S FOOTBALL WORLD CUP IN SOCIAL AUDITING AND CITIZEN TRANSPARENCY

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ABSTRACT

The article seeks to analyze deliberative democracy, based on Jürgen Habermas' theory, applying it in the context of public and private entities, with a focus on gender equality in the 2023 Women's Football Cup. The article will present a replicable model of social auditing, integrating Habermas' communicative rationality with the guidelines of the Brazilian Audit Courts. A connection will also be established between communicative rationality and administrative practices for the management of complex systems, since they share foundations of validity, correctness, sincerity and veracity. The questions are based on the reports produced by the international media during the mega-event, using gender inequality as a category. The central argument lies in measuring the permeability of democratic civic common sense and identifying barriers to communication and effective engagement. The article seeks to contribute to the formation of citizenship and integration between theory and practice in the face of the challenges of participatory democracy. The research presents two important results, the first confirms recent research on gender inequality in sport, as the media framework showed disparities in women's football, and the second is the non-compliance with the rules of citizen transparency of sports entities.

Keywords: Gender Equality in Sport, Deliberative and Participatory Democracy, FIFA Women's World Cup 2023.

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INTRODUCTION

The closing ceremony of the 2023 FIFA Women's World Cup represents a historic milestone in world football, not only for the unprecedented conquest of the title by the Spanish women's team, but also for the collective offense that this same team received, as a gender, at the time of the consecration of the victory. On the podium, in addition to congratulations from the president of FIFA and heads of state, striker Jenni Hermoso receives a kiss on the lips.



The kiss, perpetrated by Luiz Rubiales, then president of the Spanish Football Federation, symbolizes the continuity of a ritual - if non-sexual as alleged by the agent - of seeking continuity of vassalage. He, man and suzerain, marks his service as someone who belongs to him. The kiss, called "non-sexual", is intended to forcibly submit a pact of "agreement", "friendship", in addition to submission, live and in satellite transmission.

With no limits on the invasion of bodies and desires, the 2023 FIFA Women's World Cup featured cases of explicit sexual harassment, from acts practiced in official training sessions at the event, such as the Zambia coach, who was already being investigated for sexual harassment (FIFA, 2023), to the Spain coach, captured in an official broadcast groping, in a "commemorative" embrace, the breast of a "colleague from the coaching staff" (ELVERDINDA, 2023).

In addition to direct violence, indirect violence was also present at the event. The gender pay gap is touted as the "real highlight" of the sports competition. Teams such as Nigeria and South Africa sent their teams even without the payment of the athletes' salaries (MICHOLLEK, 2023). In Brazil, the best player in the world (six-time winner of the 'FIFA The Best' award) and who bears her name, in the trophy for the most beautiful goal of the

season awarded by FIFA – Marta (Marta Vieira da Silva), earned less than the equivalent of a Neymar watch per year (ROCHA, 2023).

The exception to the rule, the equal division of salaries between the male and female players of the U.S. team, is due more to the merit of the players, four-time champions in the sports category at the World Cup and seven medals in the Olympic Games, five of which are gold, than to the equality effectively achieved socially.

Although the right to equality has been guaranteed since 1948 by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, given its importance, gender-based violence against women was specified as an action to be directly combated by States in 1979, in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Generally defined as "any type of physical, psychological, sexual or symbolic aggression against someone due to their gender identity or sexual orientation", discrimination is understood as:

"any distinction, exclusion or restriction based on sex and which has as its object or result impair or nullify the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, regardless of their marital status, on the basis of the equality of men and women" (UN Women, 2013).

As a result, 43 years later, the United Nations Development Program points out that 90% of the world's population still has prejudices against women (UN News, 2023) so that gender inequality remains an obstacle to global development (DUTTAGUPTA et al, 2017).

Discrimination and gender-based violence against women harm, not only the physical and mental health and general well-being of this group, they violate the principles of the rule of law, by undermining the fair and equitable application of laws, they represent a threat to the commitment of the international community to protect human rights due to the repeated failure to comply with the right to equality, as well as democracy itself.

Given the difficulty in recognizing human rights guaranteed for decades, the desire for research arises. What can a simple spectator do to help that a human right already recognized is finally implemented?

The German philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas presents us with the imposition of the "paradigm shift" between "subjectivity and intersubjectivity". By becoming a participant, the spectator ceases to accept "instrumental action" and goes "towards communicative action", the exchange "from monological reason to dialogical reason" (FREITAG, 1995, pp.150).

For the author, the Declaration of Human Rights provides humanity with "a new normative self-understanding" and "a new historical consciousness" (HABERMAS, 2023, pp.32), which has not yet been realized. Human rights imply participatory actions, both for "living generations" and for "future" generations, given the existence of a "self-obligation to actively expand universal rights" and the understanding of these same rights as "unsaturated norms", that is, not yet fully achieved (HABERMAS, 2023, pp.33).

The spectator, in search of actions of political citizenship, must access the public sphere, existing in all democracies, "between civil society and the political system" (HABERMAS, 2023, pp.28). However, for the political formation of public opinion and will to be externalized, it is necessary for the public sphere to have "facilitating channels" (HABERMAS, 2006, pp.419) for deliberation.

The difficulty of creating such channels is the result of bureaucratization and monetization, social pathologies of modernity, which transform political language marked by the "unevenness between the expertise of political experts and the receptivity of citizens' civic common sense" (HABERMAS, 2023, pp.118).

Refusing the disparity of language and political understanding is one of the pillars of the paradigmatic change proposed by Habermas, the understanding, hitherto unknown, that "it is simply not true that complex political considerations cannot be translated into the language of the daily understanding of interested citizens (that is, of everyone) - otherwise they would not be political considerations" (HABERMAS, 2023, pps.118-119).

In order to discuss and deepen the questions posed here, we will first discuss aspects of Habermasian theory in order to unveil the systemic failures of contemporary society that allow the perpetuation of gender inequality, we call this item theoretical synthesis. Then, we will present the materials and methods of the research, at this point it should be noted that we will analyze gender inequality from a concrete case, the 2023 FIFA Women's Football Cup, using media framing, social auditing and deliberative permeability as analysis tools, the data will be analyzed by the Habermasian framework.

THEORETICAL SYNTHESIS

The contextualization of the theme within the existing theoretical debate involves the analysis of parts of the work of the German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas. In this way, its proposal of systemic society, the facilitating channels of the public sphere that we seek to map here, the assumptions of validity of the discourse that will be used in

the analysis of the results and the approximation between third generation rights and the concept of corporate governance will be addressed.

HABERMAS AND SYSTEMS THINKING

Systems thinking is pointed out as "the new paradigm of science" because it corresponds to "a way of thinking" that implies the joint assumption of "the three new assumptions" of "contemporary epistemologies, which are:

- a) the "complexity paradigm": which assumes "complex thinking" and "networking" and considers that the relationships established between the elements of a group affect the system as a whole;
- b) the "paradigm of instability": which assumes "uncontrollability", "unpredictability" and, therefore, "autonomy" or autopoiesis as a systemic assumption, and
- c) the "paradigm of intersubjectivity": in which when analyzing systems the "observer" participates in the "experience" of co-construction" of the solutions found. (VASCONCELLOS, 2018, pp.154)
- d) Under systems thinking, "human social systems" are distinguishable between systems of "institutions" and social "systems of interconstitution", which can have their emergencies made possible by "social technologies" (VASCONCELLOS, 2018, pp.252).

The systemic thinking proposed by Habermas suggests society as "an entity that, in the course of its evolution, differentiates itself in two ways: as a system and as a lifeworld" (HABERMAS, 2012b, pp.275). The system seeks the "institutionalization of money and power" (HABERMAS, 2022b, pp.1142) while in the "world of life" it represents spontaneous everyday relationships.

A system is composed of "elements, interconnections, and function or purpose" (MEADOWS, 2022, pp.25) and it is in this distinction that Habermas' proposal gains innovative weight. As a social system, the system, composed of the capitalist organization, the "money system" and the bureaucratic-legal organization of the States, the "power system" is linked to the purpose of the social macro system, which is democracy, since the "systemic evolution is measured by the increase in the capacity of control" of citizens, "of a society" (HABERMAS, 2012b, pp.275).

For the author, popular "participation", pleaded by "deliberative politics", in systemic analysis, ceases to be a "high ideal" and becomes a "prerequisite for the existence of any

democracy worthy of the name" (BETTINE, 2021, pp.36), given its correspondence to the function of the system itself.

From this moment on, the "burden of social integration", the process by which people interact and form public opinion, political cohesion, build relationships, values and norms, falls heavily on "political citizenship". "Integration through citizenship, in turn", with the international recognition of human rights, "separates itself from national ties" and needs to be conquered, increasingly, through the "mobilization of political education, opinion, and will (HABERMAS, 2023, pp.118).

Such mobilization takes place in the public sphere "an adequate network for the communication of contents, positions and opinions", where the "communication flows (are) filtered and synthesized, to the point of being condensed into public opinions" (HABERMAS, 1997b, pp. 91-92), which are finally aligned with specific political and social themes.

As a communicational structure rooted in the world of life through civil society, the public sphere, which should follow a communicative language, absorbs the "tension between capitalism", "administrative power", and "democracy" (HABERMAS, 2022b, pp. 676-677).

In this way, "the money and power systems" with functions and purposes different from the "symbolic and normative horizon of society", aimed at monetization and bureaucratization, "interconnect with each other" and colonize the world of life, "invade the central spheres of the social, cultural and psychological reproduction of socialized individuals", at the price of countless forms of social pathology, phenomena of crisis, of resistance, also triggering numerous types of protest (HABERMAS, 2022b, pp. 668-669).

The utopian energy to mobilize the antagonistic praxis of pathologies in a systemic society falls on the paradigm of intersubjectivity: the spectator of women's soccer must become a citizen and participate directly in the experience of communicative (co)construction.

THE ADAPTATION OF HABERMAS' CRITICAL THEORY TO BRAZIL

The Theory of Communicative Action is valid under the assumption that consciousness, in systems thinking, begins with the recognition of language games, an act already performed by theorists-practitioners since the 1960s, because "colonialism and the landowner economy" considered "pre-capitalist formations", force Critical Theory to be

adopted locally "as a method, and not as a doctrinal set" (DELLA TORRE, 2023). This allows for the understanding that, in the hands of the marginalized, language games can be used to subvert established power structures.

Understanding impediments or limitations of the use of Theory in Latin America is a "symptom of how the lower part of the world is still perceived as a non-Western, pre-capitalist social formation, alien to modernity and excluded from it." (DELLA TORRE, 2023). This pervasive "sociological misconception" illustrates how such regions continue to be viewed in a distorted way, perpetuating exclusion from modernity and collective human emancipation.

Similarly, the claim that foreign theories cannot be applied in Brazil ignores the fact that, with the colonization of the lifeworld, there is no longer a clear distinction between "outside" and "inside." Global influences and interconnections shape and transform all societies, eliminating the rigid barriers between theoretical and practical contexts. Therefore, rejecting foreign theories on the basis of geographical location is not only counterproductive and flawed in recognizing the reality of global interdependence, but also prejudiced against universal emancipation, the last possible desire in the non-teleological rationality that aims to vivify democracy.

From the perspective of the social world, critical theory, reinterpreted and adapted to contexts outside Europe, not only emancipates the "critical theory of the present to the understanding of the systemic nature of capitalism", (DELLA TORRE, 2023) but also tests its universality.

In this way, a strategy for the communicative common good is also necessary, which, in addition to the initiative of the social audit of this study, falls on social actors, because in differentiated and mass societies the effective argumentative dispute depends on "social movements that expand the circle of the public". This dispute "does not occur between absolutely frank actors, but between those who struggle to convince the public", producing "the best argument and creating communicative power" (REPA, 2021, p. 253).

The recognition that in an ideal argumentative dispute, the actors involved are not absolutely frank, without veracity, implies the adoption of strategies for the transparent presentation of arguments, which in communicative rationality, fall on that of truth and correctness in data and facts, so that the best arguments prevail, creating what Habermas calls "communicative power". This power is not coercive, but arises from the legitimacy of arguments accepted by the majority as rational and just.

FACILITATING CHANNELS OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE

As social cohesion becomes increasingly abstract – less and less dependent on concrete, immediate and local factors such as cultural belonging, local communities or specific traditions – and increasingly related to broader concepts such as political citizenship exercised through political participation and shared values that are independent of geographical or cultural boundaries, Social integration requires structural change in the public sphere.

Deliberative democracy is based on the assumption that the purpose of the social system is a democratic process, arising from the "democratic formation of the common will", externalized through communicative procedures and assumptions developed by civil society itself (HABERMAS, 1995, pp.14-15). In this way, state actions, including laws, in order to be legitimate, have to be based on facts from the world of life, discussed communicatively by civil society.

The communication channels for deliberative democracy are of a "must be" nature, that is, they have not yet been created, but they have two critical conditions according to the author: (i) they must be a "self-regulated social communication system", which is independent of the influence of non-social interests and (ii) they must ensure an "adequate feedback between the public sphere and civil society" (HABERMAS, 2006, pp.46).

Such facilitating channels have as their main function "to mobilize and gather relevant issues and necessary information and specify interpretations", to discursively process the contributions "by means of adequate arguments for and against" and finally to generate "rationally motivated yes and no attitudes", determining as a result "procedurally correct decisions" (HABERMAS, 2006, pp. 47-48).

NEOCONSERVATISM

Jürgen Habermas identified neoconservatism in the 1980s as one of the fundamental origins of the crisis of modernity. For the author, neoconservative thinkers aim at the "technocratic interpretation of modern society with the functionalist revaluation of traditional culture" (HABERMAS, 2000, p. 98). In this perspective, social organization occurs based on technical and scientific principles, while broader cultural, ethical and social aspects are disregarded, as culture is interpreted as static, allowing the argument of the resumption of traditional values.

In analyzing modernity and its problems, neoconservatives tend to conclude that "all unpleasant phenomena, not adapted to the image of a compensatory pacified modernity," are the result of the activity of "mediators of meaning," who create the "theocracy of the new class." The confrontations with the neoconservatives include those dedicated to "philosophy and social theory, artists, journalists, activists and social movements" (HABERMAS, 2000, pp.106).

In this perception, scientific progress is not guided by grand ideas or political concerns, but rather by technical advances and practical recommendations, which is close to the German Realpolitik term "realistic politics", in which decisions are made based on pragmatic considerations and national interests rather than ideals or ethical principles. By denying the historical results of the evolution of reason, which could positively shape reality through the association of science and politics, neoconservatives shift discussions to religious and moral arguments.

According to Repa (2021), although determined at the end of the last century, the neoconservative theory elucidated by Habermas still offers "conceptual means to understand the present phenomenon in its global dimension". Nevertheless, we are now experiencing an uncontrolled reactionary movement, "the kind of power that installs itself in the pores of everyday discourses and practices", so that it is up to Habermasian reconstruction "to seek other possibilities for the achievement of the objectives it projects" (REPA, 2021, pp. 258-259).

Faced with the new conservatism, Habermasian theory seeks to create new ways to achieve its goals in the midst of a global scenario marked by the dissemination of reactionary powers that permeate everyday discourses and practices, requiring continuous adaptation to promote a more inclusive and resilient democracy.

Habermas' theory, centered on communicative rationality and deliberative democracy, contrasts sharply with neoconservatism. Neoconservatism challenges the concept of social justice, strategically using some elements, for example, justifying the use of aggressive language by appealing to individual rights, and/or, freedom of expression.

By emphasizing individual rights in a decontextualized manner, neoconservatism contributes to an interpretation of society that often ignores structural inequalities and the needs of marginalized groups, favoring an interpretation that protects existing privileges and resists changes that promote greater equity.

MATERIALS AND METHOD

In order to carefully access the existing possibilities on the "deliberative permeability" of gender equality claims expressed in the 2023 Women's Cup, "systematic procedures" will be employed, namely framing, framing, media and social auditing, with the goal of "obtaining empirical observations" via "data analysis" (LAKATOS, 2003, pp.188). This research is also classified as applied, since it aims to generate knowledge of practical application, using qualitative methods for the means of investigation, in the analysis of discourse according to the Habermasian validity claims and quantitative in the measurement of lean cycle-time. The present research investigates actions directly related to the Sustainable Development Goals "5 - Gender Equality", "Goal 12 - Sustainable Consumption and Production", especially goal 12.6, "the promotion of transparency in business practices" and "Goal 16 - Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions" (UNITED NATIONS BRAZIL, 2023).

FRAMING - MEDIA FRAMING³

For media framing, we analyzed the reports of the 2023 FIFA Women's Cup. The collection took place daily, in the morning, from July 15, 2023 to August 31, 2023. The championship took place in Australia and New Zealand. Six media platforms were selected to ensure a comprehensive and diversified comparative analysis. Brazil (Folha de São Paulo and Uol), Germany (Bild), England (The Guardian), United States (The New York Times) and from the perspective of the host country, Australia (The Sydney Morning Herald).

Initially, 475 (four hundred and seventy-five) reports were selected that addressed human rights or social, political, economic and cultural aspects related to them, thus excluding reports that focus only on the results and details of the games. Subsequently, reports were discarded for not directly discussing gender inequality, leaving 264 (two hundred and sixty-four reports) in the end, distributed as follows: Bild 26, Folha 27, The Sydney Morning Herald 26, The Guardian 63, The New York Times, 21 and Uol 101.

Using the method of Matthes and Kohring, in which framing seeks a "certain pattern in a given text", composed of "several elements", after framing the "isolated elements" "a content analysis" was carried out. Subsequently, "an analysis of the groupings of these

³ General Database - Media Framing - https://drive.google.com/file/d/1zvA0tB-1r9E8HIC4pu_nd0toFPqVASP7/view?usp=sharing

elements" revealed the framing and the systematic grouping of elements found in the analyzed texts. (MATTHES and KOHRING, 2008, p. 263). In this way, the structure of the journalistic narratives was inspected and classified considering the definition of the problem, the actors involved, subtopics, causes, tone and adjectives, and proposed solutions.

The frames, frames, "can be located both in the communicators and in the content of the news, in the culture and in the audiences" because they do not deal "exclusively" with "events" and because they are focused on intersubjective relations. "Framing expresses both the media and society thanks to the isomorphic relationship between thought and external reality" (GARRAZA et al., 2012, p. 110).

The isomorphic relationship implies that the structure or pattern captured can reflect, or resemble "common sense", so that the method captures the "construction of political meaning" and "meaning of public affairs" through the media" (NEUMAN, 1992, pp. 22).

Using the method of Matthes and Kohring (2008), the data were analyzed in terms of validity, taking into account the particular definition of the problem, in this case the claims for recognition of human rights in relation to the right to gender equality expressed in the 2023 FIFA Women's World Cup.

ACTORS IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE FOR THE CASE STUDY

As exposed, this research carried out a social audit, understood as a form of "citizen supervision" (NUESTRA DEMOCRACIA, 2010, pp.113 and POGREBINSCHI, 2023, pp. 50), a "mechanism" through which, "citizens organize and mobilize to evaluate and audit the government's performance and political decisions", (BERTHIN, 2011, pp.20). Its premise is that "the function of representative institutions is to provide information" (POGREBINSCHI, 2023, pp.51), and therefore "access to information and transparency in public actions and policymaking" is the condition for its effectiveness (NUESTRA DEMOCRACIA, 2010, pp.126).

Finally, it is important to emphasize that Social Auditing is seen as a democratic innovation for "creating mechanisms so that each citizen has the availability of public data in the easiest way possible" (MIROFSKY, BEVILACQUA, 2017, pp. 58), thus, it does not have prior support, or requires preliminary authorization from the government or private entities analyzed, based on deliberative understanding.

Within the scope of the active investigation, a preliminary script of questions was prepared for the interviewed entities, based on the information obtained in the media framing and the results of the theoretical investigation.

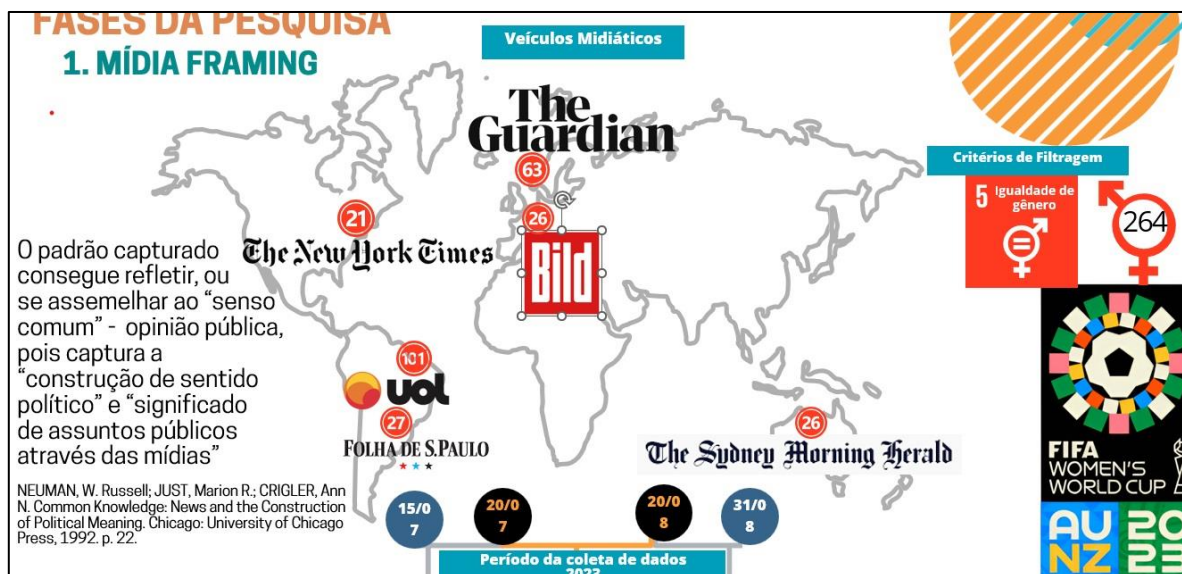
Emails were sent to the political actors in this study. The questions were prepared based on the Reference for the Evaluation of Governance in Public Policies of the Federal Court of Accounts (BRASIL, 2014). It synthetically follows the structure of the central questions and the characteristics evaluated according to this framework.

1. What will be the actions to ensure gender equality in the 2027 World Cup that will be held in Brazil?
2. How are guidelines, objectives, goals and deadlines for the implementation of actions defined?
3. How does social and stakeholder participation (female soccer players) occur?
4. Do the entities that will promote the actions have sufficient capacity and resources?
5. How do government actors act at the federal, state and municipal levels in the implementation of gender equality?
6. Is accountability transparent and effective?

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

BACKGROUND

The frame is based on a structured analysis in a descriptive and quantitative way, based on an overview of the categories in the dimensions of Power System, Money System and Lifeworld, assigning points to each media outlet for each category. The topics of the reports were broken down into eight specific categories, analyzing each report according to these categories. Each report could receive from 1 to 8 points, covering everything from institutional support and working conditions to representativeness and transparency. This approach facilitates the identification of the categories most covered by each outlet, highlighting the focus given by different media to the various aspects of the reports. To facilitate the comparison between different media outlets and categories, the values were normalized to a scale of one hundred. This means that the raw numbers have been adjusted proportionally so that the sum of the occurrences in each vehicle totals 100. This adjustment allowed for an equitable comparison between the different outlets and categories, regardless of the total number of reports analyzed in each case.



Source: Authors



Source: Authors

Cash System (SD)

- Insufficient Funding: Inadequate financial support for teams (SD IF): The Guardian 10% and Folha de São Paulo 8% have the highest scores, highlighting significant inadequate financial support for women's teams, while the coverage of the other newspapers expresses fewer reported problems in this category.
- Dependence on External Sponsorship (SD DP): An item rarely mentioned in general, with The New York Times 4% and The Guardian 3% presenting some

concerns in this area, while UOL 1%, The Sydney Morning Herald 1%, Folha de São Paulo indicate fewer reports about the reverberations in this area.

Power System (SP)

- **Exclusion and Discrimination: Policies that exclude or discriminate (SP ED):** Item with the highest score, led by Bild 39%, suggesting the detection of significant actions of exclusion and discrimination. Folha de São Paulo 34% and UOL 25% also indicate considerable problems. The Sydney Morning Herald 30%, The Guardian 26% and The New York Times 25% have high scores for the survey.
- **Harassment and Safety: Lack of effective measures against harassment and security breaches (AS SS):** UOL 16% and The New York Times 15% stand out with high scores, indicating serious problems with effective measures against harassment and safety of athletes. The Guardian 11% and The Sydney Morning Herald 12% also indicate significant problems, while Bild 2% and Folha de São Paulo did not highlight problems in this area.

Lifeworld (MV)

- **Selective Media Visibility: Insufficient or distorted media coverage (MV MV):** The Guardian's 20% stands out with the highest score, indicating insufficient or distorted coverage, while Folha de São Paulo 15% also shows significant concern. The New York Times 10%, Bild 12%, and UOL 2% have lower scores, indicating less detection of selective visibility issues.
- **Wage inequality: Significant pay disparities (MV DS):** UOL 11% and The Guardian 10% reflect significant pay gaps, while Folha de São Paulo 8% and The New York Times 7% show similar problems reported in this area.
- **Lack of Accountability: Lack of accountability from authorities and clubs (MV FR):** Bild 36% shows a serious failure in accountability, with UOL 29% and Folha de São Paulo 25% also indicating considerable problems. Sydney Morning Herald 28%, The New York Times 15%, and The Guardian 13% have lower but still significant scores.
- **Lack of Transparency: Opaque Communication on Responsibilities and Decisions (MV FT):** The New York Times 17% and UOL 15% suggest opaque communication on responsibilities and decisions. The Sydney Morning Herald

14%, The Guardian 8%, Folha de São Paulo %8 and Bild 2% indicate fewer discussions in this area.

Dimensions	Analysis Categories	Bild	Folha SP	Sidney	Guardian	NYT	UOL
Money System	SD IF	5%	8%	6%	10%	6%	1%
	SD DP	2%	0	1%	3%	4%	1%
System Power	SP SS	2%	0	12%	11%	15%	16%
	SP ED	39%	34%	30%	26%	25%	25%
World of Life Inequality	MV DS	3%	8%	5%	10%	7%	11%
	MV VM	12%	15%	4%	20%	10%	2%
Lifeworld Transparency	MV FT	2%	8%	14%	8%	17%	15%
	MV FR	36%	25%	28%	13%	15%	29%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100	100

Source: Authors

As presented in the method, the framework would have two functions in the construction of this article, the first to formulate questions to be sent to the study entities for the social audit, and the second, to display a photograph of the debate on gender inequality in the public sphere, with the 2023 FIFA Women's Football Cup as its object.

As portrayed in Habermasian theory, contemporary society is experiencing systemic crises, which result from the colonization of the World of Life by the Power and Money Systems. The Habermasian systems are composed of the capitalist organization, the "money system" and the bureaucratic-legal organization of the States, the "power system" (HABERMAS, 2012b, pp.275).

In the concrete case, the money system is represented by FIFA, the intercontinental and national confederations, and the exclusive sponsors of the event. In the Power System, it is the National State itself that sanctions laws to legitimize the actions of the FIFA structure, including the use of the national police apparatus to protect the interests of capitalist organizations.

The Money System perpetuates gender inequality in insufficient funding for women's soccer, as studies by: (a) Lourenço (et al., 2022) who analyzed the 2019 Women's Cup; (b) Martins (et al., 2021) who researched the situation of women in Brazil; (c) Garcia (2018) who discussed women's sports practices and gender inequalities. The framework (SD IF) shows the continuity of this inequality.

- Insufficient Funding: Inadequate financial support to teams (SD IF), we present some data that we consider important. According to a survey released in 2023 by the international union of football players (FIFPro), the difference in clubs'

investments in their women's and men's teams is abysmal. To give you an idea, at Corinthians (the biggest winner of championships), one of the ones that invest the most in the sport, the payroll of the players - current Brazilian champions - is R\$ 170 thousand. Salary expenses with professional players are around R\$ 10 million per month. We take some countries by way of comparison, in France, where women usually find better working conditions in this sport, the contrast is very important: Lyon spends around 285 million euros annually to keep the men's team and 3.5 million euros to keep its athletes, it is important to highlight that the club has the status of the greatest power in women's football. The world scenario reinforces the frame (SD IF), as almost half of the players (49.5%) do not receive a salary to play, nor do they have a formal link with their clubs (47%). About 30% work double shifts to continue on the pitch and 35% do not earn anything to defend their national teams.

- Harassment and Safety: Lack of effective measures against harassment and security breaches (SS AS).

In this context, it is important to understand the social relations of sex and sexual division of labor, understood as inseparable, forming a system. Soccer in Brazil is an important cultural and identity operator, as Simoni Guedes (1998) points out. In other words, it occupies a prominent space in Brazilian society and culture. However, when we talk about Brazilian football, we think of men practicing it. There is an invisibility of women's football. From the moment we discuss women's soccer in the light of labor issues, we need to consider this male hegemony and problematize these elements.

All this discussion sheds light on the reality of women's soccer in Brazil and the experiences of the players' work. The most obvious part is perhaps the legitimacy that men's football has in relation to women's, as we said, when you think of Brazilian football, you think of men. As if they were the only "ball workers". There is a clear relationship of hierarchy between the two footballs, with a considerable abyss between them. It is enough to remember the discussion about the existence of employment contracts, or rather, who is considered a professional and who is not.

- Selective visibility in the Media: Insufficient or distorted coverage in the media (MV VM): It took eight editions of the Women's Soccer World Cup for the Brazilian population to be able to follow the team on open TV. For the first time,

Globo and Band broadcast all of Brazil's matches at the World Cup in France only in 2019.

- Pay Inequality: Significant Pay Disparities (MV DS)

It is worth comparing the survey carried out by the FIFPro Union:

Pay gap in numbers, the 5 highest salaries of men and women by year value in US dollars of 2023.

International Players	Aitana Bonmatí - 1 million	Alexia Putellas - 700 thousand	Sam Kerr - 538 mil	Keira Walsh - 457	Ada Hegerberg - 398 miles
International Players	Cristiano Ronaldo 173 million	Neymar Jr 86 million	Karim Benzema 85 million	Kylian Mbappe 62 million	Lionel Messi 55 million
Players (Brazilians) who play in Brazil	Dudu 2.1 million	Everton Ribeiro 2 million	Rafael Borré 1.8 million	Philippe Coutinho 1.3 million	Yuri Alberto 1.7 million
Players of the Brazilian Women's National Team who competed in the 2023 World Cup	Marta – 150 thousand	Ludimila 80k	Karolin 60 mil	Vitória Yayá 45 thousand	Angelina 40K

Source: Authors, adapted from the FIFPro Union

- Lack of Transparency: Opaque Communication on Responsibilities and Decisions (MV FT)
- Lack of Accountability: Lack of accountability from authorities and clubs (MV FR)

When the entities were asked about the responsibility and decisions to promote gender equality, the answers were evasive, with the following position, that the 2023 World Cup the teams received better awards than the previous edition. Let's go to the comparative analysis. Values in US dollars.

Men's Cup - 2022	Winning team – 42 million	Total prize pools – 400 million.
Women's Cup - 2023	Winning Team – 4 million	Total prize pools – 30 million.

In football, it is evident that women's work has a much lower value than men's in a capitalist and sexist society. The comparison between Marta and Neymar is both didactic and symbolic, as they are two idols of the Brazilian national team, great players, with immensely recognized careers, still in action and occupy the same level if thought comparatively within Brazilian football. However, the salary difference between them is abysmal. The same logic applies to the amounts paid in prizes for the championships. The

Brazilian Women's Championship, of the A1 series, organized by the CBF, had as a prize the equivalent of 1% of the prize paid to the champion of the equivalent men's tournament.

SOCIAL AUDIT

In recent decades there has been a considerable increase in theories, theses, dissertations, scientific and journalistic articles, as well as local and international public policies on the various innovative aspects of democratic participation. The diverse literature addresses theoretical questions about the dynamics of participation, different possibilities of approaches, as well as democratic innovations are approached not only from a legal perspective (BRASIL, 2014), but also from an economic (RIBEIRO, 2013), sociological (MELO and POSSA, 2016) and historical (POGREBINSCHI, 2023) perspective.

Among these contributions, the study "Innovating Democracy?", carried out in collaboration between the WZB Center for Social Sciences in Berlin and the University of Cambridge, published in 2023 as one of the largest studies on the subject today, stands out. Declared as "the first large-scale cross-sectional study on democratic innovations to date" (POGREBINSCHI, 2023), it brings together initiatives from 18 countries, between the years 1990 and 2020, bringing to light more than 3,700 cases of democratic innovations carried out so far in Latin America.

Started in 1989 in Brazil, with the participatory budget of the city of Porto Alegre, democratic innovations are motivated by the "deficit of representation, the absence of the rule of law, and inequality" (POGREBINSCHI, 2023, pp.4) in the region. Defined as "institutions, processes, and mechanisms whose objective is to improve democracy through citizen participation in at least one phase of the political cycle" (POGREBINSCHI, 2023, pp.24), they aim to achieve at least one of the following criteria: "accountability, responsiveness, rule of law, social equality, and political inclusion" (POGREBINSCHI, 2023, pp.58).

The perspectives of the study and the analysis of the state of the art of the research shed light, among other topics, on the problems addressed by democratic innovations, the theoretical bases developed, the profile of the civil society organizations that were part of the initiatives, the public policies that allowed their existence, and their impact (POGREBINSCHI, 2023, pp.2).

However, a critical review of the aforementioned scientific production also reveals the existence of limitations. First, existing research examines, almost exclusively, actions

carried out by collegiate bodies, in "hybrid institutional formats, with the participation of government actors and representatives of civil society organizations" (IPEA, 2018, pp.10). Secondly, there is the requirement that the topic be previously on the agenda of the political arena (POGREBINSCHI, 2023, pp.9), demanding, from the outset, that the citizen is already previously associated with other groups that share the same interest. In addition to practical issues, such prior associations demand political, identity and ideological alignments with entities that can act partially and even "co-opted and clientelistic" (GARCÍA-GUADILLA, 2008).

This excludes from the concept of civil society those who are not associated, or who have not had access to information about collegiate bodies, nor the ability to attend meetings, which even in the Digital Age are limited to the political bubbles of which they are a part.

To carry out this research, several relevant actors were identified both internationally and in the specific Brazilian context. On the international scene, FIFA is the representative of Sistema Poder, the entity responsible for organizing events, determining global guidelines and a source of information.

Category	Nature	International Actors	Motive
International Power System	International Entity	FIFA	Global organization information and guidelines.

In Brazil, the main actor in the money system is the Brazilian Football Confederation (CBF). In addition, government entities, Sistema Poder, such as the Ministry of Sports, the Secretaries of the State of São Paulo and the City of São Paulo are responsible for government policies and support for women's sports. Here is a table and map of identification in the power and money system.

Table - Actors Brazil Power and Money System - Authors

Category	Nature	Actors Brazil	Motive
Power System - Money	National Entity	CBF (Brazilian Football Confederation - National Entity)	National regulations and support for women's football.
	Government Entity	Ministry of Sports (Federal).	Government policies and support for women's sport.
		Secretary of Sports (State – SF) Municipal Secretary of Sports and Leisure (Capital – S)	

Emails were sent to the institutions above, with the questions described in the method, using the Cycle-Time Lean tool as a tool, the steps were as follows:

Table - *Lean Cycle-time* - Research Prototype - prepared by the authors

Entity	Entity Type	Shipping Date	Lead Time (resp. final)	Cycle Nr.	Cycle-Time (dias)	Response Status	Days outside the legal deadline
FIFA	Toilet	13/05/2024	58	1	58	No Responses	28
CBF	Private	13/05/2024	58	1	58	No Responses	28
Ministry of Sport	Public	13/05/2024	58	1	58	No Responses	28
Secretary of Sports	Public	13/05/2024	58	1	58	No Responses	28
Municipal Secretary of Sports and Leisure	Public	13/05/2024	58	1	58	No Responses	28

As the measurement point of the Cycle-time, May 13, 2024 was determined, the date on which emails to responsible entities were forwarded containing the questions of the social audit pointed out in item: 2.2 Actors in the Public Sphere for the Case under Study. Since then, continuous monitoring has been carried out until July 10, 2024, the end of the period stipulated for analysis.

As demonstrated, the absence of response prevents the existence of communicative action and has consequences in the administrative, civil, criminal and international spheres. The inefficiency and lack of transparency of the entities jeopardize the achievement of several UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

CONCLUSION

For Habermas, when "hope in the strength of the political configuration of international society" becomes "waning" there is "a tendency to depoliticize citizens." Disappointment, "in the face of conflicts and blatant social injustices", "grows with each failure on the path to the constitutionalization of international law" (HABERMAS, 2007, p.122).

The objective of this study is to demonstrate the challenges for contemporary society related to gender equality. A current theme, being placed as a Sustainable Development Goal, recent research shows how far we are from this goal. Not even in Western European countries do they present encouraging data on this subject.

Using combined methodologies, and the framing provided the basis for the questions of the social audit, we present a form of combined methods for the study of deliberative policies.

Finally, the lack of transparency in public and private entities, analyzed in this study, reinforces the lack of commitment to gender equality, as well as another Sustainable Development Goal, transparency, accountability.

The limitations of the articles refer to the choice of newspapers researched, the place of production of these newspapers, the entities studied, only one international FIFA and the rest Brazilian. These limitations of the study allow new approaches to be contemplated, bringing to light new perspectives on the framing technique and the analyses in social auditing.

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