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What Happens When You Host World’s Largest Party: The Political Impact of Hosting FIFA’s World Cup

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What Happens When You Host World’s Largest Party: The Political Impact of Hosting FIFA’s World Cup

An Honors Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Honors in Center for International Studies.

By
Braden Green

Under the mentorship of Dr. Darin H. Van Tassell

ABSTRACT
This research effort is a comparative study on the political impact on host countries holding the World Cup. Specifically, are the impacts different for a developed country compared to a developing country? The two case studies in Germany (host of the 2006 World Cup) and South Africa (host of 2010 World Cup) will be analyzed. Such cases offer excellent insight into the amount of political power associated with the World Cup — especially the preceding year of the tournament due to the host country being under a proverbial microscope. Information in this analysis is derived from archival research on electoral trends from two years prior and two years after the tournament was held in Germany and South Africa. I will look to see if the party in power remains in power at both the provincial governments and the federal level. My research supported the hypothesis that the party in power in the developing country continues to have the most seats in Parliamentary from hosting the World Cup. This research can possibly give us insight to other mega sporting events as well.

Thesis Mentor:________________________
Dr. Darin H. Van Tassell

Honors Director:_______________________
Dr. Steven Engel

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Completion of this project could not have been accomplished without the support of my dear friends, Rictavious Bowen, Darrick Jackson, Joshua Okanlawon, George Green, BriAna Holmes, Ashley Sutton and Marnetia ReFour. To Xi Tau Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.- thank you for keeping me focused and on track with my research and composition of findings. I truly appreciate your support! A heartfelt thanks to my grandmother, Loretta Green and uncle Jeffrey Green. Without your inspiring words, I would not have set forth on this academic journey in the first place.

Finally, to my caring, loving and supportive mother, Bridgett, my deepest gratitude. Your encouragement when times were rough are much appreciated and duly noted. It was a great comfort and relief to know you were willing to provide endless words of inspiration as I completed my work. My heartfelt thanks.
Introduction

Could you ever believe that a coup d’etat and the World Cup are one in the same? If one were to contemplate the overarching effect of these occurrences, they would realize that both redefine the balance of a country’s political future on the international and domestic stage. A coup d’etat causes political shifts through violence and military force, while the aftermath of hosting the World Cup incites a more peaceful revolution. This revolution reflects the domestic pressure that is placed upon local leaders in reaction to the global opinion on whether or not the World Cup was a success.

Most people see FIFA’s World Cup tournament as simply a sporting event that occurs every four years, but scholars are much better served to see it as much more than an entertainment story. The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) is the governing body of soccer around the world (see Figure 1).¹ This mega-event originated in 1930 and has only been stopped during the time of World War II. FIFA on many occasions has stated that the World Cup is only a

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sports tournament with no ambitions of causing political influence. FIFA states that the World Cup is a global sporting event that brings the world to a central location, and allows for the best teams from around the world to compete in international competition outside the Olympics format. This tournament brings their fans together to engage in an exchange of cultures while sharing their love for one sport. People from different countries and nations come to celebrate and cheer their respected team to tournament glory. As they simultaneously bring their unique music, cuisine, and culture to exhibit. If you were to walk around and observe the environment, you would notice that while fans from these countries celebrate this experience differently, they all share the same passion. Each person at this event will experience the sheer elation of their team winning a match and the gut wrenching pain of a loss. Witnessing this atmosphere, you are able to revel in the essence of the tournament exemplifying a global society.

Out of all the cultures and countries, no country gets to display their culture more than the host of the tournament. As the host, you place your nation under the proverbial microscope by opening your doors and allowing the world to truly see the fullness of what your country has to offer. The host of the tournament is picked about six to seven years before the tournament takes place so that the proper planning can be arranged. As the host, you become the subject of scrutiny about 4 years prior to when the tournament is to take place at your location, because you are the next stop. Those who experience the most scrutiny are the political figureheads and their respective political party in power. The years preparing for the tournament are integral for the parties in power, because they would be held responsible if the tournament was a failure in the eyes of their citizens.

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An analysis of the political impact of the FIFA World Cup Tournament reveals one challenge facing politicians: do the tournament’s successes and failures cause a shift in parliamentary seats in a developing country and in a developed country. My question is, “What impact does the FIFA World Cup have on the political power dynamics in the host country from two years before to two years after the tournament has occurred?” As I journey to answer this primary question, I will address these secondary questions: Does the success and failure of the World Cup have an affect on the change of Parliamentary seating (shift in political parties) in the host country during the next election year? Is there a difference of trends between local elections and federal elections? Do the trends from the World Cup give us insight into other Mega Sporting Events (ex. Olympics, Super Bowl, etc.)? Does it make more sense to understand sport as one of the four global languages (art, music, food) as opposed to strictly a form of entertainment?

Previous Research on The World Cup: Literature Review

When it comes to the World Cup, everyone enjoys watching the matches and the atmosphere that the tournament brings. There has been research done surrounding many aspects of the tournament like the impact of the tourism industry, the way that the tournament affects the stock market, all the way to the how the tournament affects the political community.

When analyzing the impact of tourism from the World Cup had on host nations, research was found that there was a likely .1% impact on the short-term GDP. There was also an increase in supply prices for the anticipated increase in demand; rising to over
50% higher than the normal price of hotel prices, but the demand was overestimated.³ World Cup tourism had a smaller short-term effect on the economy than expected prior to the tournament, but the international image of South Africa improved dramatically.

Research has also been done on the effects the World Cup and other major sporting events had on the stock market. One argument that was made is that the stock market reaction reflects whether the event creates or destroys economic value for the listed firms in the host country.⁴ Past studies have supported that stock market prices do not show significant change once a country is named a host of a major event. Another argument was that market reaction to nomination news could reflect instead a national positive sentiment caused by pride, self-esteem or joy associated with the fact that the country was chosen to host and sometimes organize an international (most of the times) worldwide broadcasted and recognizably important event.

In addition to the previous research done on the financial affects of the World Cup in specific industries and stock markets, there has been research on how the tournament influences the political realm and national sentiments. The World Cup is not just an international tournament that allows the world to come together and enjoy the world’s most popular sport, for it also acts as a distraction for the workings of domestic governments. The successes and failures of a country’s national team have a big short-term effect on the nation’s mood. Governments could use the successes of the sports team to portray national well being in a positive image, but if the nation’s team did

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poorly in the tournament the citizens could go into a slight depression that opposition
parties would use it to their advantage by blaming the party in power.

Latin America is a great example of a region being impacted by the World Cup.\(^5\)
That research stated that the World Cup is not just an international tournament that allows
the world to come together and enjoy the world’s most popular sport, but it also acts as a
distraction for the workings of domestic governments. The successes and failures of a
country’s national team have a big short-term effect on the nation’s mood. Governments
would use the successes of the sports team to portray national well being in a positive
image, and if the nation’s team did poorly in the tournament that country would go into a
slight depression that opposition parties would use to their advantage.\(^6\)

An example of this impact can be found in Colombia. Colombia had a presidential
runoff the same time as the Italy versus New Zealand match.\(^7\) This high profile match
received a lot of attention from the citizens causing a large abstention rate that works
against the candidate Antanas Mockus, but worked in the favor of the government backed
candidate Juan Manuel Santos. Brazil also was having a presidential election, and the
candidates were tied in the polls. It was believed that a Brazilian victory would give the
government-backed candidate a lot of support especially after current President Luiz
Inacio Lula da Silva gives one of the candidates his personal support. The World Cup
affected Mexico in a different manner. Instead of having an impact on the presidential
elections, it provided a window of distraction that allowed the government to act without

\(^5\) “Commentary: World Cup can have political impact in Latin America.” McClathyDC. n.p. 16 June 2010.
Web. 10 April 2014.


\(^7\) “Commentary: World Cup can have political impact in Latin America.” McClathyDC. n.p., 16 June 2010.
Web. 10 April 2014.
fear of public accountability. The public is more occupied with the soccer matches than the legislation that the government tries to pass.  

There were observations about political unrest within Brazil (the host of the 2014 FIFA World Cup Tournament) and its affect on World Cup preparations. Many protests occurred in the months leading up to the 2012 Confederation Cup and the 2014 World Cup. One of the main reasons for these protests was the misled funding for the tournament. The public was misled to believe that private investors would fund the new stadiums and that the government would then fund the construction and improvements on the nation’s infrastructure. Since this has not been the case so far, many people are criticizing the organization of the events. The lack of organization and issues with stadium construction in Brazil caused discussion of moving the tournament to an alternative host country, but only as a last resort. There is also the discussion of security and having the proper type of protection because there have been cases of brutality from the citizens but as well as from the police officers.

In addition to the research done in Latin America, in 2010 the World Cup was hosted in South Africa making them the first African host of the tournament. This occurrence was monumental in the sports world especially in soccer, because of their dark history of racial injustice. Wallace Chuma examined the framing of Cape Town’s stadium in the media in order to analyze the politics of identity and sports in South

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Africa. He used SMS messages to examine the sentiments surrounding the construction of this stadium for its use during the World Cup semi-final matches. He is looking to see if the messages address just the financial concerns that building this stadium will bring, or will there be cultural and social concerns brought up as well.

There have also been findings that show civil activism and changes in the socio-political balance as a result of the World Cup in South Africa. This research seeks to explore the underlying internal social forces that gave shape to the protests at the time, and the possible influence of the exogenous politics of mega-event social mobilization. It also analyzed the implications and outcomes of these dynamics for longer term socio-political processes in South Africa. These displays of activism fed directly into the political contention that FIFA has tried to fight against. It showed that mega sporting events could have political implications. These activist movements came from the changing of sentiments in the post-apartheid society that is the new South Africa. This research supported the idea that civil activists can use the World Cup as a platform to push their political agendas.

My research also looks at the repercussions of the World Cup, in comparing the political effects of the World Cup for both developing and developed countries. I will determine if the perceived success or failure of the tournament will affect the power of parliamentary seating. This research provides a new perspective of analysis to those


11 Cornelissen, Scarlett. "'Our Struggles Are Bigger Than The World Cup': Civic Activism, State-Society Relations And The Socio-Political Legacies Of The 2010 FIFA World Cup1." British Journal Of Sociology63.2 (2012): 328-348. SocINDEX with Full Text. Web. 7 Mar. 2015. (Why are the tabs off in some of your footnotes but not others? Be sure to fix.)
countries and world leaders who aspire to host this prestigious tournament, and they could see the relative effects that the tournament can have in the event the tournament fails. It also brings the political impact to the local legislative branch and shows how the tournament can affect a particular province, especially since the games are played there.

It is important to explore this particular topic because there is little research on the political impact of the power dynamics in the host country. Most of the research on the World Cup deals with the economic implications and how this tournament helps or hurts the domestic economy. Moreover, FIFA claims that the tournament is not a political ploy and that the tournament is for sheer entertainment and unifying the world in the name of one sport. It is time for us to look at what are the effects on political power dynamics. Even though FIFA claims to have no discernable political influence, it is evident to even the common man that the tournament does create change, this research will give us some solid insight and knowledge on whether or not politics is affected by the World Cup instead of just popular speculation.

**Research Analysis**

The answers to the proposed questions: Does the success and failure of the World Cup have an affect on the change of Parliamentary seating (shift in political parties) in the host country during the next election year? Is there a difference of trends between local elections and federal elections? will be obtained by analyzing the shift in the power dynamics of parliamentary election seating. I will look at the parliamentary seating distribution from the elections in Germany and South Africa before the country was named as the host state for the upcoming tournament. I will then look at the results of the
federal election within the four years leading up to the tournament. This will be my first checkpoint where I can observe the shift in the parliamentary seating. My second checkpoint will be the following election after the tournament has ended. This checkpoint will allow me to see what effect the entire tournament has on the dynamics of parliamentary seating. I can use these three election results to determine if there are any potential trends when it comes to hosting the World Cup. As a result, I will be able to deduce whether developed or developing countries are more politically sensitive to the tournament’s effects.

Theory and Research Design

Analyzing the political impact that the World Cup tournament has on a host country is a monumental task that requires multiple levels of analysis, and years of investigation. I acknowledge that I cannot possibly address the entirety of the phenomenon in this thesis. My plan is to address just one chapter of this potential book, by focusing on the impact the World Cup has on the shift of parliamentary power. I plan to conduct further analysis by comparing the magnitude of the parliamentary seat shift in Germany to South Africa.

I believe that there is a differentiation between the way the World Cup tournament affects federal and local politics in developed countries versus developing ones, due to the disparity in socio-economic stability. The Germany and South Africa are in two stages in economic development so they could respond to this mega event in various manners. This difference in economic development could put extra pressure on the political figureheads to make sure the tournament is a success, or they will be held
more responsible. South Africa being a developing country makes the financial success of major event high priority because the economy might not stable enough to handle a dramatic loss.

In order to test this theory, three assumptions must hold true throughout the analysis. The first assumption is that these states used for the case study have democratic governments that adhere to the results of the election process. A state that lacks a democratic structure would not be obligated to adhere to the results of an election, therefore, they would not feel the pressure of losing their position in government. The second assumption is that all of the citizens that are able to vote participate in the voting process. This assumption is to ensure that the voting result is a representation of the wishes of the public. The third assumption made in this research is that the political parties in power all claim that the World Cup is a beneficial event that will bring prosperity and a positive image on the global stage. It is generally assumed that the reason countries want to become the host for the tournament is because they believe that it will bring revenue as well as a positive global image to the country. Such a belief is what political leaders explain to their citizens in order for them to buy into the idea of hosting the tournament. And if such results fail to materialize, there will be repercussions for lack of results. These assumptions provide the framework to assess my hypothesis that: There is a greater percentage shift in parliamentary seating from the majority party in the developing country than in the developed country.

These hypotheses will be tested by using Germany and South Africa as case studies. Both cases provide two prime examples of both a developed and developing country. I plan on researching the electoral archives of these two countries on both a
federal level and provincial level for three specific time periods. I will be collecting the electoral records for every province that had a stadium that was used for the tournament. Once I collect the names of the provinces, I will look up the electoral records for the election prior to the World Cup occurring in that country to provide a baseline count of the parliamentary seat distribution. Next, I will record the electoral results that are closest to the actual tournament date (within a year of the tournament date). I am using these results in order to gauge the society’s sentiments leading up to the event. The final electoral records that are being analyzed and recorded are the most immediate elections held after the tournament took place. The election after the tournament is the most important record, because this is going to tell you if society was dissatisfied with the government and how they planned for the event. These records will show the shift in parliamentary seating due to the World Cup because the FIFA Financial report will be published to show the profit or deficit accrued from the tournament.

For each election that is recorded and analyzed, I will list the names of the political parties that are present in the province that possess a seat in Parliament. I then record the exact number of seats that are in each political party’s possession and calculate the percentage of total seats each party possesses. This calculation will be expressed as:

$$\frac{\text{# of seats possessed by the political party}}{\text{Total number of seats in Parliament}}$$

Once I have recorded the number of seats and calculated the percentage of total seats each party has, I then calculate the change in seats. This calculation will be done to find the exact amount of seats that were given up and the change in the percentage of possession. This data will be calculated using the following calculations:
\[ \Delta \text{Seats} = \# \text{ of party possessed seats}_y - \# \text{ of party possessed seats}_{y-1} \]

AND

\[ \% \Delta \text{Seats} = \% \text{ of seats possessed by party}_y - \% \text{ of seats possessed by party}_{y-1} \]

My main control variables that are present in this research are the sport tournament itself, governing body of the tournament, media coverage, and the time of the tournament. The variable that is monitored is the change in host country type, which is a developed country (Germany) or developing country (South Africa). The change in the host country encompasses the mindset of the citizens and the governments (federal and provincial). The results of the elections are what are being measured from the effects of the difference in host country types. Once I collect and display the collected data into the appropriate graphs, I will compare and contrast the two countries to determine which of the two is impacted more.

**Political Background: Parliament in Germany & South Africa**

Prior to offering the analysis of voting behavior in these two cases, it is instructive to provide a background in both Germany’s and South Africa’s Parliament with regard to these political parties and their previous successes. Since my research pertains specifically to the shift in parliamentary power, I only focus on describing the structure of each country’s parliament. I will describe how each parliament is structured and how their seats are allocated and distributed among the political parties. There will be further descriptions of the political party that was in power prior to the World Cup being held in that specific country.
Germany

Germany’s Parliament (also known as the Bundestag) is the legislative branch that stands at the center of the country’s political life, and it is the supreme democratic body of the state (See Figure 2).\(^\text{12}\) It is a complex organism whose main responsibility is the legislative process and the scrutiny of the government and its actions.\(^\text{13}\) The Bundestag is a representation of the 299 constituencies that are located within the country. The amount of seats present in the Bundestag is calculated by aggregating the results of the first vote and the second vote together.\(^\text{14}\) When a citizen of Germany goes to vote, they cast two ballots called the First Vote and the Second Vote. Each vote represents half of the Bundestag. The First Vote occurs when a citizen votes for their particular candidate to represent them in Parliament, and the Second Vote is when the voter chooses a party list. That second is the key to determining the total number of seats


as well as relative party strength. In order for a party to be included in the Bundestag, they must receive at least 5% of the second vote or 3 constituent votes.

In order to turn voting results into seats in Parliament the government uses a two stage process called the Sainte-Laguë/Schepers method. Each stage of the process is made up of two calculations. The first stage is used in order to determine the number of seats to be allocated to each Province (See Figure 3).

The first calculation in the first stage is finding the proportion of the total German population that resides in each Province. Then those seats get distributed amongst the party list in each Province by the proportion of second votes each party received. The second stage of the Sainte-Laguë/Schepers method is to determine the minimum amount of seats the political parties have in the Bundestag. This is done for each of the party lists by comparing the number of constituencies it won from the first vote to the number of seats they are entitled to from the second vote. Whichever number is higher becomes that party’s minimum number of seats in that Province. Aggregating all the minimum number

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of seats together for all the Provinces gives you the total minimum number of seats for
the Bundestag.

Through those calculations, you find out that there is a minimum of 598 seats in
the Bundestag, but there are usually more due to the compensation of representation by
using what is known as balance seats. Balance seats are used to ensure that the
distribution of seats in the Bundestag reflects the parties’ share in the second votes and
that no party receives fewer than their minimum number of seats. These seats also see
to it that every party requires about the same number of second votes per seat. Once the
number of seats which each party is entitled to receive across the country has been
determined, the seats are allocated to the parties’ individual Land lists. Each Land list
must receive at least as many seats as the number of constituencies which the party won
in the Land in question. Since the number of balance seats can differ from time to time
the total number of seats in the Bundestag fluctuates. This is how the Bundestag is
constructed and how seats are earned.

The dominant party in the Bundestag at the time of Germany being the World
Cup host was the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The Social Democratic
Party of Germany is one of the two major parties in the country, with the Christian
Democratic Union being its counterpart. The SPD originated in 1875 through the
merging of General German Workers’ Union and the Social Democratic Workers’ Party.
It has continued to have an influential hand German politics for most of the country’s
history as well. Prior to the World Cup season arriving to Germany the SPD maintained

the majority of seats in 2002 election with the decision to not support or endorse the United States’ military action towards Iraq.

South Africa

South African Parliament is organized in a different manner than Germany, because it runs by a bicameral system (National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces). The National Assembly is made up of 400 members and these seats are allocated by the voting of the citizens. This amount of seats a party gains is proportional to the amount of votes that they won in the election. Then there is the National Council of Provinces, which makes of the other half of Parliament.

The National Council of Provinces is responsible for ensuring that provincial interests are taken into account on the national spectrum. The Council consists of 90 representatives, and each province receives ten representatives each to speak on their behalf (See Figure 4). Out of these ten representatives, six of them are permanent and four are considered special guests. The permanent delegates and special guests are chosen differently. The six permanent delegates are voted on by the provincial legislature for

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each particular province. The special guests are comprised of the Premier (leader) of the province and three members of the provincial legislature. My research is focusing more so on the National Assembly when it comes to South Africa since this aspect of Parliament is reliant on the votes of the citizens (See Figure 5).25

There are over 13 political parties that are represented in the National Assembly, and the party that holds the majority is the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC has been the party in power since the restructuring and transition to democracy in 1994. The original name of the party is the South African Native National Congress and the organization was founded on January 8, 1912.26 In the year 2004, the African National Congress possessed over 60% of the seats in the National Assembly.

Did the Party in Power Benefit from Hosting the World Cup?

Now that the background information of the structure and status of the hosting countries pre-World Cup has been given, we can begin to analyze the preceding election results. These results will help us answer the grand question: “Did the party in power benefit from hosting the world cup?”

There will be first a look at the results of the three elections from both countries on the federal level as well as the provincial levels, followed by a discussion comparing the two hosts.

The results of my research can be dichotomized into two grand categories, the developed country (Germany) and the developing country (South Africa). Then each of those categories can be separated further into the national legislature elections and provincial legislature.
elections. The German provinces analyzed contain the cities where the stadiums used for the tournament are located. Thus, the provinces observed are Bavaria (Munich and Nuremberg) (See Figure 5), North Rhine Westphalia (Dortmund, Cologne, and Gelsenkirchen), and Berlin (Berlin). For South Africa, the provinces that will be observed are Western Cape (Capetown), Gauteng (Johannessburg and Pretoria) (See Figure 6), KwaZulu-Natal (Durban). The first sets of results that will be described are for Germany’s Bundestag then followed by each of their three provinces for which data was collected. After data has been rendered for Germany, the data for South Africa and their provinces used will be divulged.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Parties</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian Democratic Union</td>
<td>190 (31.5%)</td>
<td>180 (29.32%)</td>
<td>194 (31.19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Social Union</td>
<td>58 (9.62%)</td>
<td>46 (7.49%)</td>
<td>45 (7.23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Democratic Party</td>
<td>47 (7.79%)</td>
<td>61 (9.93%)</td>
<td>93 (14.95%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Greens</td>
<td>55 (9.12%)</td>
<td>51 (8.3%)</td>
<td>68 (10.93%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party of Democratic Socialism (The Left)</td>
<td>2 (.33%)</td>
<td>54 (8.79%)</td>
<td>76 (12.22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Democratic Party of Germany</td>
<td>251 (41.63%)</td>
<td>222 (36.16%)</td>
<td>146 (23.47%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL SEATS</strong></td>
<td><strong>603</strong></td>
<td><strong>614</strong></td>
<td><strong>622</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When looking at the results in Table 1, notice the exact seat count as well as the percentages of the total number of seats in the Bundestag are represented surrounding the 2006 Germany hosting of the World Cup. Table 1 shows that in the year 2002, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) held the majority in the Bundestag with 251 seats,

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which is 41.63% of the total amount of seats. The Christian Democratic Union (CDU) has the second largest amount of seats with 190, but there is still trying the trails the SPD by 10.13% of the total amount of seats. In 2005, the SPD still held the majority of the seats even though its lead diminished with 222 seats (36.16%) in the Bundestag. The CDU remained as having the second most but also lost seats in this election and only possessed 29.32% of the total seats in the Bundestag. The party in power shifts from the SPD to the CDU in the post-World Cup election in 2009. The Christian Democratic Union became the majority party by procuring 194 seats (31.19%) in the Bundestag, and the Social Democratic Party of Germany drops to possessing only 146 seats (23.47% of the Bundestag).

| Table 2. Bavaria’s Provincial Legislature Election Results |
|-----------------------------------|------|------|------|
| Political Parties                | 2002 | 2005 | 2009 |
| Christian Social Union           | 58 (61.05%) | 46 (51.69%) | 45 (44.55%) |
| Free Democratic Party            | 4 (4.21%) | 9 (10.11%) | 14 (13.86%) |
| The Greens                       | 7 (7.37%) | 7 (7.87%) | 10 (9.90%) |
| Party of Democratic Socialism (The Left) | – | 3 (3.37%) | 6 (5.94%) |
| Social Democratic Party of Germany | 26 (27.37%) | 24 (27.97%) | 16 (15.84%) |
| TOTAL SEATS                      | 95   | 89   | 101  |

Now that the national election results have been displayed, next is a look at the provinces of Bavaria (Table 2), North Rhine Westphalia (Table 3), and Berlin (Table 4) in that order. Bavaria is home to two stadiums used in the tournament and they were located in Munich as well as Nuremburg. Looking at the results of the 2002 election (Table 2) the Christian Social Union hold a rounding majority with 58 seats giving the 61.05% of the total amount of seats in the provincial legislature. The political party with the second most seats is the SPD, but they only hold 26 seats (27.37% of total seats). The Christian Social Union continues to hold the majority with 51.69% of the seats in 2005.
and 44.55% of the seats in 2009. In 2005, the Christian Social Union lost the overwhelming majority by decreasing below 50% of the total seats. The SPD continued to be the party with the second most seats, but during the 2005 and 2009 elections, the Free Democratic Party gained more and more seats and almost became the party with the second most seats.

<table>
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<th>Political Parties</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian Democratic Union</td>
<td>49 (36.57%)</td>
<td>46 (35.38%)</td>
<td>45 (34.88%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Democratic Party</td>
<td>13 (9.70%)</td>
<td>13 (10%)</td>
<td>20 (15.50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Greens</td>
<td>12 (8.96%)</td>
<td>10 (7.69%)</td>
<td>14 (10.85%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party of Democratic Socialism (The Left)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>7 (5.38%)</td>
<td>11 (8.53%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Democratic Party of Germany</td>
<td>60 (44.78%)</td>
<td>54 (41.54%)</td>
<td>39 (30.23%)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL SEATS</strong></td>
<td>134</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The North Rhine Westphalia was home to the Dortmund, Cologne, and Gelsenkirchen locations used in the World Cup. In this province, the SPD and CDU exchange the lead of the majority of seats. In 2002, the SPD possessed 44.78% of the seats in the legislature and the CDU had 36.57%. This margin decreased in 2005 as the SPD had 41.54% and the CDU had 35.38% of the seats. The party in power switched in the 2009 election when the Christian Democratic Union gained 34.88% of the seats and the Social Democratic Party of Germany had 30.23% of the seats. Also, notice the increase of the minority parties gaining more votes as well of the three election periods.
Table 4. Berlin’s Provincial Legislature Election Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Parties</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian Democratic Union</td>
<td>6 (26.09%)</td>
<td>5 (22.73%)</td>
<td>6 (26.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Democratic Party</td>
<td>2 (8.70%)</td>
<td>2 (9.09%)</td>
<td>3 (13.04%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Greens</td>
<td>4 (17.39%)</td>
<td>3 (13.64%)</td>
<td>5 (21.74%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party of Democratic Socialism (The Left)</td>
<td>2 (8.70%)</td>
<td>4 (18.18%)</td>
<td>5 (21.74%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Democratic Party of Germany</td>
<td>9 (39.13%)</td>
<td>8 (36.36%)</td>
<td>4 (17.39%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL SEATS</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Berlin is the third and final province that had a stadium that was used in the World Cup. This province experienced a fluctuating power struggle. In the 2002 election, the SPD held the title as having the most seats with 39.13% of the total seat and the CDU holds 26.09%. In the 2005 election, the SPD remains the lead but the Party of Democratic socialism doubled in their seats obtained. The CDU lost a seat in the 2005 election, but in the 2009 election, they became the party in power procuring 26% of the seats in the legislature. The Greens Party and the Party of Democratic Socialism (The Left) shared the second most seats with five seats (21.74%) each, and the SPD dropped to the fourth most seats with four seats.

South Africa’s National Assembly elections has over 10 parties who earn seats and gain representation. When taking a closer look at the election results for each year in Table 5 notice how the African National Party (African National Congress) has a resounding majority of the seats. In the 2004 election, the African National Congress held 69.75% of the total seat which equates to 279 seats, and the party with the closest amount of seat to them was the Democratic Party (Democratic Alliance) with 28 seats. Over the next two election periods the African National Congress (ANC) lost seats in the National Assembly. They lost 15 seats in the 2009 election, and they lost 15 more in the 2014 election. As they lost their seats the Democratic Alliance steadily gain seats earning 17
more seats in the 2009 election and 22 more seats in 2014. Also there was a major shift in the presence of political parties between the 2009 and 2014 elections. Over five parties (Independent Democrats, New National Party, United Christian Democratic Party, Minority Front, Azanian People’s Organization) that possessed seats after the 2009 election lost all their representation in the election during 2014. Even though some parties lost their presences, other parties gained a presence in the National Assembly. Four parties earned seating in the National Assembly: Economic Freedom Fighters, National Freedom Party, African Independent Congress, and the Agang SA.

Table 5. South African National Assembly Election Results
2010 World Cup Host

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Parties</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African National Party (African National Congress)</td>
<td>279 (69.75%)</td>
<td>264 (66%)</td>
<td>249 (62.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party (Democratic Alliance)</td>
<td>50 (12.5%)</td>
<td>67 (16.75%)</td>
<td>89 (22.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress of the People</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>30 (7.5%)</td>
<td>3 (.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inkatha Freedom Party</td>
<td>28 (7%)</td>
<td>18 (4.5%)</td>
<td>10 (2.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Democratic Movement</td>
<td>9 (2.25%)</td>
<td>4 (1%)</td>
<td>4 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Democrats</td>
<td>7 (1.75%)</td>
<td>4 (1%)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New National Party</td>
<td>7 (1.75%)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Christian Democratic Party</td>
<td>7 (1.75%)</td>
<td>3 (.75%)</td>
<td>3 (.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom Front +(Vryeidsfront Plus)</td>
<td>4 (1%)</td>
<td>4 (1%)</td>
<td>4 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Christian Democratic Party</td>
<td>3 (.75%)</td>
<td>2 (.5%)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan Africanist Congress of Azania</td>
<td>3 (.75%)</td>
<td>1 (.25%)</td>
<td>1 (.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority Front</td>
<td>2 (.5%)</td>
<td>1 (.25%)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azanian People's Organization</td>
<td>1 (.25%)</td>
<td>1 (.25%)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African People's Convention</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1 (.25%)</td>
<td>1 (.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Freedom Fighters</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>25 (6.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Freedom Party</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>6 (1.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Independent Congress</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>3 (.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agang SA</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2 (.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL SEATS</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Western Cape is home to the Capetown location used for the 2010 World Cup tournament. This province experienced a change in parties who held the most seats in the provincial legislature (see Table 6). In 2004, the ANC held the most seats with 19 seats, but this lead changed in the proceeding elections. The Democratic Alliance almost doubled in seat procurement from the election in 2004 to the one in 2009. They went from 12 seats to having the most seats in with 22 seats, as the ANC lost seats (from 19 seats to 14 seats). The Democratic Alliance continued to earn seats as they reached 26 seats in the 2014 election.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Parties</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African National Party (African National Congress)</td>
<td>19 (45.24%)</td>
<td>14 (33.33%)</td>
<td>14 (33.33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party (Democratic Alliance)</td>
<td>12 (28.57%)</td>
<td>22 (52.38%)</td>
<td>26 (61.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Democratic Movement</td>
<td>1 (2.38%)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Democrats</td>
<td>3 (7.14%)</td>
<td>2 (4.76%)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New National Party</td>
<td>5 (11.9%)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Christian Democratic Party</td>
<td>2 (4.76%)</td>
<td>1 (2.38%)</td>
<td>1 (2.38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Freedom Fighters</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1 (2.38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress of the People</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>3 (7.14%)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL Seats</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Parties</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African National Party (African National Congress)</td>
<td>51 (69.86%)</td>
<td>47 (64.38%)</td>
<td>40 (54.79%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party (Democratic Alliance)</td>
<td>15 (20.55%)</td>
<td>16 (21.92%)</td>
<td>23 (31.51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inkatha Freedom Party</td>
<td>2 (2.74%)</td>
<td>1 (1.37%)</td>
<td>1 (1.37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Democratic Movement</td>
<td>1 (1.37%)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Democrats</td>
<td>1 (1.37%)</td>
<td>1 (1.37%)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom Front +(Vryeidsfront Plus)</td>
<td>1 (1.37%)</td>
<td>1 (1.37%)</td>
<td>1 (1.37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan Africanist Congress of Azania</td>
<td>1 (1.37%)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Christian Democratic Party</td>
<td>1 (1.37%)</td>
<td>1 (1.37%)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress of the People</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>6 (8.22%)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Freedom Fighters</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>8 (10.96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL Seats</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gauteng is the province that contained the stadiums located in Johannesburg and Pretoria for the World Cup. Looking at Table 7, one will see the election results for this province. The ANC held 69.86% of the total seats with 51 seats, and the Democratic Alliance held the second most seats with 15 (20.55%) during the 2004 election. In 2009, The disparity gap between the ANC and the Democratic Alliance decreased because the ANC lost four seats while the Democratic Alliance gained one more seat. This trend continued into the 2014 election as well, the ANC only secured 40 seats and the Democratic Alliance gained 23 seats. Even though the ANC lost 11 seats over the past 10 years, they still had the most seats.
The KwaZulu-Natal province is home to the city of Durban where the World Cup was also played. By taking a look at the 2004 election results (see Table 8) you see that the two major parties are the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The ANC holds the most seats with 38, and the Inkatha Freedom Party is close behind them with 30 seats. This close race for the most seats dissipates throughout the next two elections when the ANC gained a commanding lead in seats in the 2009 election with 51 seats, and they kept that lead in the 2014 election as well.

**Comparing The Developed and The Developing Hosts**

When describing the election results of the developed and developing hosts, there were some similarities as well as some alarming differences. These similarities and differences will be described on the national level as well as a provincial level. In addition to the result comparison, I will a look into the possible explanations for these occurrences as well as the explanation as to why this information is important.
The developed country (Germany) and the developing country (South Africa) experienced different trends in their national legislative elections. In the developed country, the presence of the World Cup led to a change in a political party in power. The Social Democratic Party of Germany held the most seats with 41.63% of the total amount, and they ended up losing their place as the party in power over the three-election timeframe. The SPD went from 41.63% of total seats to only 23.47%, while the CDU continue to maintain a percentage of the Bundestag (29-31%). Therefore, the CDU became the new party to have the most seats. On the other hand, the political party in power in the developing country continued to remain in power even though it did suffer 7.5% decrease in seat possession over the three elections period. The African National Congress consistently possessed over 60% of the national seats.

In this case study both of the tournaments held in the host countries were deemed a success by the FIFA organization. The developed country had a change in power while the developing country remained in power poses concerns. This supports my belief that the tournament’s success has more political importance to a developing country than a developed country on a national scaled. The fact that there is less solidarity in a developing country makes hosting the World Cup a greater financial risk then it would be on a developed country, but it also leaves a greater impression on the public when the tournament is a success. The instability of the country and the results of the government’s decision highly influence the voting patterns of its citizens, especially a sports event that puts a country under great scrutiny. A developed country is not as influenced by the

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financial success of the World Cup since the country is more stable, so voters are not as persuaded.

When comparing the provincial election results between the developed country and the developing country, similarities emerge. There were provinces where parties gave up their title of having the most seats and there were provinces that had parties continue to hold the most seats. Both countries had provinces that changed parties in powers and other provinces remained in power. In Germany, two out of the three provinces observed showed a shift in leading political parties, where as only one of the three provinces observed in South Africa suffer from a shift in political parties in power. This pattern shows that the provinces with stadiums used in the World Cup aligned with the national trend.

Even though I have presented you with this data, there is still a margin of skepticism that must be acknowledged. This skepticism is due to variables that were out of our control. One important variable that could affect domestic votes are the international events going on in the world. The World Cup is a global event but there are other events, disasters, and phenomena that occur while the tournament takes place. In addition, there may have been legislature being passed that swayed the opinions of the public that had nothing to do with the tournament. Asking whether legislature or hosting the games are more influencing to the voting patterns of citizens is a research topic all on its own. Even with this margin of error, we are still able to find significance in the data presented.

The information that has been offered is important to those who are interested in becoming a possible World Cup host, whether it be a developed or developing country.
developed country would find this information important if it believed that becoming the host would secure its presences in retaining the majority party, when in fact it would not hold that much of a positive influence. It provides the interested developed country notification if that was their reasoning for becoming a host. Organizing committees value this information because it supports politicians who aspire that becoming the host of the World Cup will help secure their party’s position as the having the most seats. This would be an essential piece of research for all interested parties as well as the selection committee to provide them some information as to how the aftermath might play out.

**Reflection**

As previously stated in the introduction, the overlying question is, “What impact does the FIFA World Cup have on the political power dynamics in the host country from two years before to two years after the tournament has occurred?” As I reflect upon the research and results compiled and discussed, the World Cup has a different impact on host countries depending on the dominant socio-economic structure that country has. The data that has been collected supports my hypothesis of a developing country being more affected than a developed country. The data showed that the political party in the developing party continued to be in power throughout the three election periods surrounding the World Cup. Unfortunately, the political party in power in the developed country lost almost half of their seats thus decreasing its influential power.

When discussing the analysis of the shifting in Parliamentary seating as it is affected by the success of the World Cup on developed and developing countries. Although I have focused intensely on the two case studies, the initial question is about the
developed and developing countries. I must acknowledge there is a need to obtain more case studies in order to give my findings more solidarity. This research could tell us the story of the developed and developing countries or solely describing the specific situations of Germany and South Africa. If the research gives us insight on the big picture, our findings could be augmented and translate to all mega-sporting events such as the Olympics, Rugby World Cup, and World Series Cricket.

This research is not the only form of measurement of the effects for the World Cup. There are multiple chapters waiting to be written on the different methods of analyzing the World Cup, but I just focused on one particular chapter. Focusing on just the parliamentary seating shift allows me the opportunity to address those un-researched avenues later on in my scholastic career. There could be an analysis on whether legislature or hosting the games are more influential to the voting patterns of citizens, because that is a chapter waiting to be explored. Another avenue that could be explored is measuring the political impact of the World Cup through the media and legislature passed. That analysis would continue to dissect the political impact of the World Cup, but through a different perspective. These are topics that will be further explored now that I have dissected the political impact through the Parliamentary-seating shift for political parties. These topics will be those future chapters that will eventually become the book on analyzing the different affects of the World Cup. I have offered you the chapter that supports the concept that developing countries experience more drastic political affects when hosting the World Cup compared to developed countries.
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