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**Understanding Olympic Bid Decisions:
Factors Influencing the 2024 Games**

English

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Abstract

Our research aims to answer the question: “What factors influenced countries in their decision-making outcome regarding their Olympics bids, specifically for the 2024 Games?”. We review research literature on the impacts of hosting the Summer Olympic Games. The objective of the research is to inform Olympic holders about the factors that can affect their bidding decision given the current downtrend in the number of bidding countries. We review research literature on multiple impacts of the Olympic including economic, social, environmental and political aspects. By employing qualitative and quantitative methods, including case study methods and comparative analysis, we conclude the further factors that also attributing to the decision-making process are cost concern, incomprehensive evaluation, uncertainties and public opinion. We investigate the bid decisions of Paris (France), Los Angeles (USA), Budapest (Hungary), Rome (Italy), and Hamburg (Germany) within Olympic 2024 and ranking the impacts of each factors. Findings indicate that while economic considerations have the least impact, social factors are considered the most predominant, followed by political factors in shaping bid outcomes.

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I. Introduction

The Olympic Games are considered the most prestigious sporting events on earth. The events have gained enormous attention with billions of viewers: The Tokyo Games 2020 was watched by more than 3 billion viewers (International Olympic Committee, 2021) while the Rio Games 2016 got half of the world population watching during its time (International Olympic Committee, 2016). Established by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1896, the modern Olympics aim to unite athletes from around the world in a spirit of friendship, solidarity, and fair play. The Games emphasize physical fitness, healthy competition, and the pursuit of excellence, transcending political, cultural, and social boundaries. At its core, the Olympics celebrate human potential and inspire individuals to achieve their personal best in sports and in life. However, hosting the Olympic Games extends beyond these ideals. As noted by the IOC, “Hosting the Olympic Games generates powerful economic benefits. It enables a region and country to develop: the knowledge and skills of their workforce and volunteers; career opportunities; the tourism and events industry; the business sector; their global profile; and diplomatic relations” (International Olympic Committee, 2024). These economic benefits can leave a lasting legacy for the host nation. Every “Olympic” from now on will be referred as Summer Olympic, unless explicitly stated otherwise.

In addition to the economic benefits, hosting the Olympics also has cultural and environmental impacts. Cities competing to host the Games highlight their natural advantages - like their climate, beautiful landscapes, and easy access to venues - along with cultural highlights such as historic sites, local art and traditions, and the way people live and interact. The overall quality of life and the skills of the local workforce, which are important for long-term growth, play a crucial role in a city’s bid to host the Olympics. These factors make the Games not just a sporting event but a global cultural celebration with lasting value. The Games provide a sense of belonging, the need for social identity and recognition of a complex and diverse community we are living in.

In the past, it was a highly competitive process to bid for hosting the Olympic Games, with numerous countries vying for the prestige associated with winning the bid. For instance, the bidding process for the 2004 and 2008 Olympics saw intense competition, with up to ten prominent nations competing. However, in recent years, the dynamics have shifted dramatically. In a notable example, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) awarded the 2028 Summer Games to Los Angeles without even opening a formal bidding process. This decision reflected the increasingly

challenging task of securing willing and capable host cities. In the same bidding cycle, three out of the five original contenders - Budapest, Hamburg, and Rome - withdraw from the race, leaving only Paris and Los Angeles. The IOC's decision to forgo the traditional bidding process underscores the significant challenges it now faces in attracting future hosts.

There has been a decline in the number of cities seeking to host the Olympic Games, with several cities withdrawing from the bid process. This paper examines the trend of countries withdrawing from the Olympic hosting bidding process, focusing on one primary question: "What factors influenced countries in their decision-making outcome regarding their Olympics bids, specifically for the 2024 Games?". The objective of this research is informing Olympic organizer about the factors that should be considered during bidding decision-making process. We hypothesize that economic considerations are the most critical factor in determining a country's decision to host the event while assuming that other factors become relevant only when the event impacts the economic aspect of hosting.

Our comprehensive literature review assesses economic, social, and political impacts of hosting the Olympics, which will provide us with a base to indicate the reasons behind the declining in the number of bidding countries. Subsequently, an analysis of the 2024 Olympics candidate countries - Hamburg, Rome, Budapest, Los Angeles, Paris - sheds light on why they are withdrawing from hosting such event. Finally, the paper compares the result between reality analysis and popular literature reviews. This research ultimately aims to examine the validity of the raised hypothesis.

The methodology used in this research relies on a combination of approaches, all grounded in secondary data. The data for this research spans from 1896, marking the beginning of the modern Olympic era, with a primary focus on 21st-century data to capture recent trends. A comprehensive literature review examines existing research on the economic, social, and political impacts of hosting the Olympic Games. For analysis, quantitative methods are employed to indicate the declining trends in the number of bidding countries, while qualitative method help analysis impacts, such as economic, political and social dynamics. To substantiate the findings, a case study methodology is applied to analyze the bidding processes and outcomes of cities vying for the 2024 Olympics, including Paris, Hamburg, Budapest, Rome, and Los Angeles. This approach allows for a detailed exploration of each city's unique circumstances and decision-making processes.

II. Olympic Games review

II.1. The Olympic

Large-scale sporting events, such as the Olympic Games, are often characterized by their ability to generate widespread enthusiasm and bring about significant infrastructure improvements to host cities (Herguner, 2015).

The Olympic Games, with a history spanning over 2,000 years, represent a profound intersection of sport and culture. Originating in Ancient Greece, the Games were held every four years in honor of Zeus, and even in antiquity, they embodied values such as peace, as warring states observed a truce during the competitions - a tradition that continues today with the United Nations' adoption of the Olympic Truce. The first written records of the Games date back to 776 BC, marking the beginning of the tradition of measuring time by Olympiads. However, in 393 AD, the Roman Emperor Theodosius I banned the Games due to their pagan associations, leading to a long hiatus until their revival in the modern era. In 1894, Baron Pierre de Coubertin spearheaded the revival of the Olympic Games through the first Olympic Congress in Paris, establishing the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and laying the foundation for the modern Olympic movement. The first modern Games were held in Athens in 1896, and by 1900, women, led by pioneers like Charlotte Cooper, were allowed to compete for the first time. Over the years, the Olympics have evolved significantly, introducing the now-familiar medal system in 1904, the inclusion of the Olympic flame in 1936, and the establishment of the Paralympic Games in 1960. The Olympic Charter, updated multiple times, now emphasizes principles such as gender equality, anti-discrimination, and the promotion of peace, reflecting the Games' transformation into a global celebration of unity, athleticism, and human excellence. Today, the Olympic movement boasts 206 National Olympic Committees, demonstrating its universal reach and enduring relevance.

II.2. Choosing the host for Olympic Games

Electing Olympic hosts is done by the International Olympic Committee, hereby IOC. The IOC is a non-profit, independent international organization founded in 1894 for the mission of promoting Olympism and leading Olympic movement. The National Olympic Committee (NOC) represents the country participating in the Olympic Games and promotes Olympic Movement under the leadership of the IOC.

The IOC is open to discussion with any cities or countries and their respective NOCs that are interested in hosting the Olympic Games. The interested countries will then start dialogues with the IOC presenting its Olympic project without any financial guarantees. The IOC will assess the project and share the country project's report with the Future Host Commission. If the result is positive from both IOC and the Commission, the Commission may recommend the Executive Board to open a Targeted Dialog with the potential nations as Preferred Hosts. Each Preferred Host will respond to the Future Host Questionnaire and provide guarantees to support the Olympic project. One or more Preferred Hosts will be eligible for election by the IOC session at the end of Targeted Dialogue. The members of the IOC will then meet at their Session to choose the hosts by secret ballot (International Olympic Committee, 2019).

II.3. New hosting model for Olympic Games

Hosting the Olympics has often resulted in the construction of large-scale infrastructure projects including specialized stadiums, arenas, and athlete housing, etc. While impressive during the Games, they became costly and wasteful burdens once the event was over. These “white elephants” as they're often called, left cities like Athens with underutilized venues that required high maintenance costs for minimal benefit (Papanikolaou, 2013). In recent years, the International Olympic Committee (IOC, 2023) has restructured its approach to selecting and preparing host cities for the Olympic Games. Since adopting Olympic Agenda 2020 in 2014, this shift emerged as a response to increasing public resistance, financial challenges, and environmental concerns associated with hosting the Olympics. This new model aims to make the Olympics more sustainable, economically viable, and community oriented. Under the new approach, countries bidding to host the Olympics are evaluated based on several key elements that align with its commitment to sustainability and legacy. These criteria include geopolitical, socio-economic, human development, and environmental conditions, which help to ensure that host cities are positioned to meet the challenges of the Games and achieve lasting benefits. Additionally, the IOC examines each city's vision and venue masterplan to determine the feasibility of hosting the Games within the city's existing infrastructure and planned developments. The IOC's revised hosting model now mandates that cities use as many existing and temporary venues as possible, building new ones only when there is a clear, lasting community benefit. Moreover, events can be spread across multiple cities, regions, or even countries, allowing for a more flexible approach that fits regional development plans and aligns with sustainable growth. Political, public support and

funding strategy are another crucial factor that essential for the smooth execution of the Games and for fostering community pride. Finally, logistical capabilities, such as sports event experience, accommodation capacity, transportation infrastructure, and safety measures, are thoroughly evaluated to ensure that the city can host a successful and secure Olympic event (IOC, 2020). This alternative approach has been applied to the bidding case of Olympic 2024.

III. Impacts of Hosting the Olympics

III.1. Economic impacts

Mega-events, such as the Olympics and World Cup, are frequently discussed for their substantial economic impact (Hiller, 2006). The scale of the economic impact from mega-events depends on a variety of factors, including the natural conditions of the local market and the social context surrounding the event. The economies of host countries are considered to be improve after the announcement that they will host the games (Chong and Hui, 2012). This improvement can be explained by frequently mentioned areas such as investment and contribution, tourism, country image and job creations.

Cities hosting upcoming Olympics, including Paris (2024), Milano Cortina (2026), Los Angeles (2028), and Brisbane (2032), are expected to derive benefits that exceed the financial commitments required by the International Olympic Committee as follow:

		Estimated economic benefits in local currency	Estimated economic benefits in USD
Summer Games	Paris 2024	EUR 6.7-11.1 BN	USD 7.4 – 12.2 BN (1 EUR = 1.10 USD)
	Los Angeles 2028	USD 18.3 BN	USD 18.3 BN
	Brisbane 2032	AUD 17.6 BN	USD 13.4 BN (1 AUD = 0.76 USD)

Table 1: Predicted economic benefits of the Olympic Games

(International Olympic Committee, 2024)

The presence of Olympic Game increased investment, tourism and employment for the country hosting for it. The International Olympic Committee also (IOC) makes substantial contributions

to host countries, not only through direct financial support but also by providing services and ongoing assistance. These contributions can positively influence both regional and national economies, generating additional revenue streams that may benefit the government. By alleviating some of the financial burdens associated with hosting, such as infrastructure and accommodation costs, the IOC's support can help offset public expenditures required for hosting the Games.

	Olympic and Paralympic Games	Contribution in cash, services and in value-in-kind by the International Olympic Committee
Summer Games	Paris 2024	USD 1.7 BN
	Los Angeles 2028	USD 1.8 BN
	Brisbane 2032	USD 1.8 BN

Table 2: Contribution by the International Olympic Committee to the success of the Olympic and Paralympic Games

(International Olympic Committee, 2024)

By attracting investment and enhancing global prestige, mega-events foster confidence in the host city, often encouraging private investment. This influx helps upgrade city infrastructure and other facilities, while also positioning the host location as a desirable business and tourism destination (Scandizzo and Pierleoni, 2017).

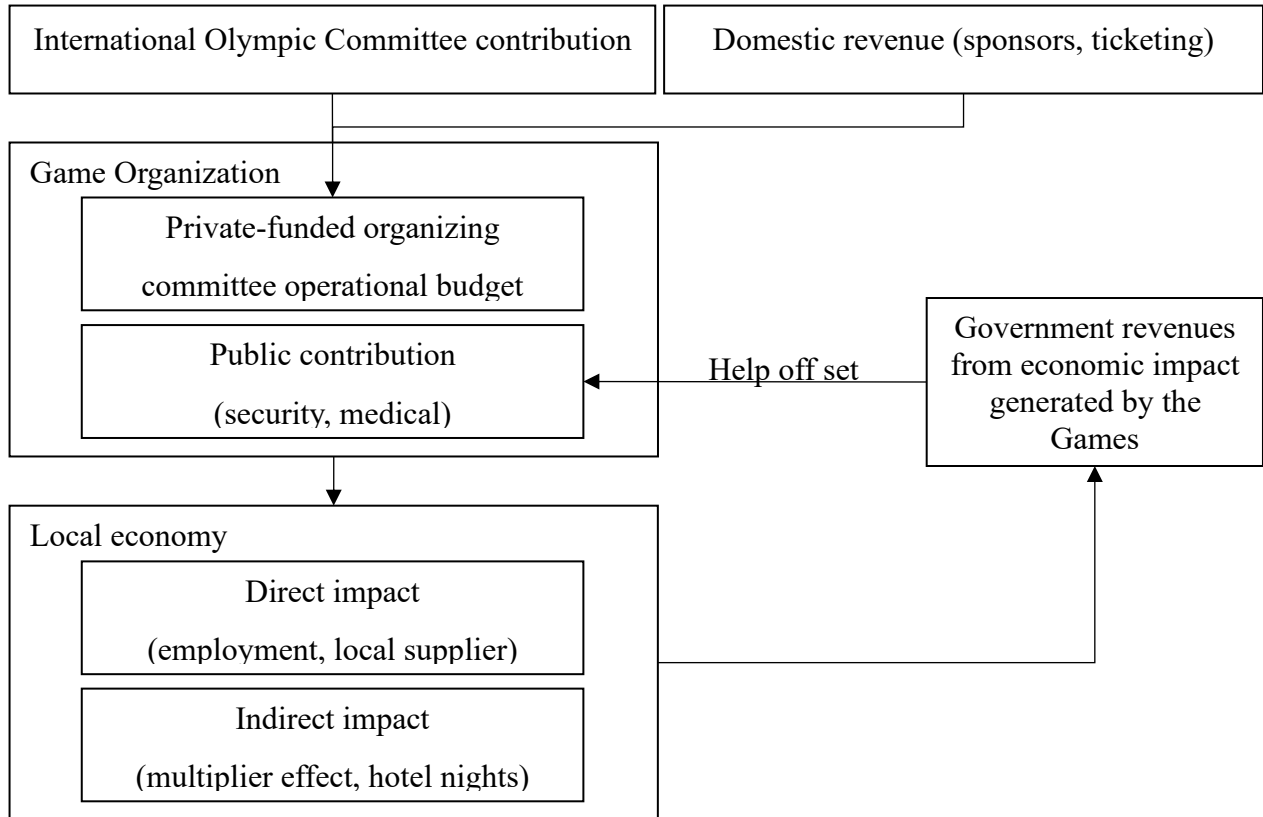


Figure 1: How Olympic and Paralympic Games-related investment stimulates the economy and generates government revenues

(International Olympic Committee, 2024)

Müller and Moesch (2010) suggest that mega-events, particularly the Olympic Games, can have substantial economic impacts, primarily through tourism. The Olympics serve as a catalyst for both domestic and international tourism, elevating the host city's profile and enhancing its brand appeal. A positive image of the destination, as evidenced in various studies, can increase potential tourists' intention to visit, thereby generating economic benefits for the region (Pike and Ryan, 2004). Furthermore, hosting the Games influences international perceptions of the host nation, often impacting consumer behaviors such as purchase intentions, due to the enhanced brand image of the country (Sun and Paswan, 2012). The surge in studies on the Olympics' economic impact following the 2008 Beijing Games illustrates the significant global interest in understanding these outcomes, particularly in China, which has the largest volume of such literature (Ferreira, Lourenço, Giraldi, and Oliveira, 2018). Li, Blake, and Thomas (2013) found that while the economic benefits of the Beijing Olympics were notable, they were primarily concentrated within

the tourism sector and did not substantially affect the overall economy. The opening ceremony in Beijing served as a showcase of Chinese culture, offering a political platform for China to demonstrate its capabilities as a host and underscore its rapid economic growth, thus bolstering its international image and earning respect globally. Hosting the Olympics also has the potential to revitalize host cities as cultural destinations. For instance, Athens experienced a rejuvenation of its tourism sector post-Games, with improvements in infrastructure, service quality, and new market opportunities (Boukas et al., 2012). According to the International Olympic Committee (IOC), several Games have achieved significant successes in tourism, further solidifying the Olympics as an event with potential long-term benefits for host cities and nations.

Summer Games	
London 2012	The average spent by people who visited London for the Games, or who attended a ticketed event, was 1.3K GBP; double the spend by other visitors.
Rio 2016	Tourism in Brazil during the year of the Games generated 6.2 BN USD; a 6.2% increase on the previous year.
Paris 2024	The median estimated impact of the Games on the French economy from 2017 to 2034 will be 2.8BN EUR. Estimated range: 1.4BN to 3.5 BN.

Table 3: Tourism benefits of hosting the Olympic Games

(International Olympic Committee, 2024)

The economic contributions of mega-sporting events, such as the Olympics and the FIFA World Cup, are often assessed based on their potential to stimulate investment and economic activity within the host region. These events raise the profile of the host city or region, positioning it as a notable tourism destination, which can subsequently draw in greater investment, attract visitors, and contribute to economic growth through job creation (Johnson, 2020). The expansion in tourism following the Games typically necessitates an increase in the local workforce to meet the rising demand for services. This surge, in turn, stimulates economic activity not only through direct employment related to event organization but also through increased demand in the tourism, retail, and construction industries (Malfas, Theodoraki, and Houlihan, 2003).

In some cases, these events have generated significant temporary employment. For example, the Salt Lake City Olympics created between 4,000 and 7,000 jobs, a tangible boost to the local economy (Baumann et al., 2016). Research further indicates that the award of the Olympics has correlated with short-term increases in employment growth rates in places like Fulton County, Georgia, and Salt Lake County, Utah. However, contrasting effects were observed in Los Angeles County, California, which experienced a decrease in employment growth following its selection as the host for the 1984 Olympics (Johnson, 2020). While these jobs are often temporary, the infrastructure and economic conditions created by such events can also lead to more enduring employment opportunities, particularly in sectors that benefit from the expanded infrastructure and improved facilities (Scandizzo and Pierleoni, 2017).

Summer Games	
London 2012	From 2010 to 2017, 110K jobs were created in the six boroughs surrounding Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in East London
Rio 2016	Some 2.2K micro and small businesses were awarded 390M BRL in contracts, creating 18K jobs
Paris 2024	For the organization of the Olympic and Paralympic Games, 181K jobs will be mobilized, with measures to give equal opportunities to unemployed people and other disadvantaged groups

Table 4: Job creation and business growth linked to hosting the Olympic Games

(International Olympic Committee, 2024)

Before Paris 2024, it was expected to have a long-term and widespread positive impact on jobseekers and small businesses in France. The resources focus on Paris 2024’s commitments to promote employment and equal opportunity, including the creation of over 150,000 jobs, increased training opportunities and connecting jobseekers with Games-related career opportunities (International Olympic Committee, 2024). IOC also highlighted initiatives to support employment and social reintegration, particularly for the long-term unemployed, young people and women. After the big event, according to Statista, the commitment was fulfilled, created a positive social legacy, encouraging inclusive participation and benefiting society as a whole.

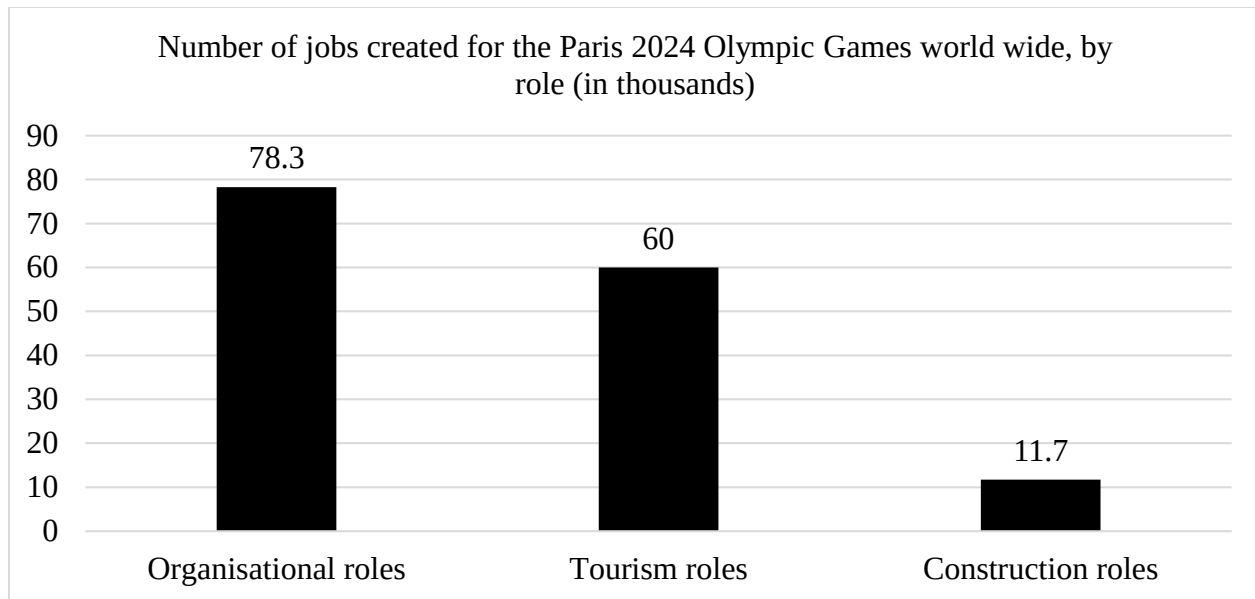


Figure 32: Number of jobs created for the Paris 2024 Olympic Games worldwide,
by role (in thousands)

(Statista, 2024)

Despite the potential benefits, hosting mega-sporting events like the Olympics also carries substantial risks and costs, which can complicate the long-term economic impact. The overall effect on GDP remains uncertain and typically requires a rigorous case-by-case analysis to determine the true extent of benefits (Li et al., 2013). While hosting can initially enhance the city's global image, post-event evaluations often reveal a decline in the perceived benefits (Heslop et al., 2010). A critical risk associated with hosting is the significant debt burden that may accrue, as cities often bear the full cost of organizing the event, even though the International Olympic Committee may provide limited funding to help offset expenses (Scandizzo and Pierleoni, 2017; Baade and Matheson, 2016). High cost and cost overrun have been argued to threaten the economic sustainability of the Games (Müller et al. 2021).

The financial impact of hosting frequently exceeds initial budget forecasts due to unforeseen costs, unnecessary spending, and sometimes lower-than-expected ticket sales, which can lead to an economic strain on the host city (Baade and Matheson, 2016; Ferreira et al., 2018). For example, while the 2008 Beijing Olympics did generate economic benefits, the scale of impact was limited relative to the overall size of China's economy (Li et al., 2013). Johnson (2020) supports this view,

arguing that the positive economic outcomes, while real, are generally insufficient to justify the high costs involved. Often, investments are skewed toward sports venues rather than infrastructure with broader, long-term utility (Baade and Matheson, 2016). The issue raises questions about whether alternative investments might yield more substantial returns than hosting such high-cost events.

In the tourism sector, the economic cycle surrounding the Olympics typically stimulates a notable increase in visitor numbers, which often accelerates growth in the industry. However, a comparison of tourism statistics for the 2008 Beijing Olympics reveals that Beijing's growth rates did not significantly diverge from national trends, and in certain years were even lower than the national average (Zhao, 2010). This suggests that the anticipated "Olympic effect" had a limited impact on Beijing's tourism sector during the preparation stage. Similarly, the Olympics generated thousands of temporary jobs in Southern California, yet this surge did not lead to substantial long-term economic benefits (Zhao, 2010). In the case of the 1992 Barcelona Olympics, the local hotel industry experienced a nearly 60% decline in performance within two years after the Games, due to a significant oversupply of accommodations following the event. The sharp drop in tourist numbers post-Olympics led to a decrease in demand for hotel stays.

Although mega-events like the Olympics are known to create jobs, it is essential to consider the nature and longevity of these roles. In analyzing Cape Town's 2004 Olympic bid, Hiller observed that the majority of jobs projected would have been low-wage and short-term (Malfas et al., 2003). Johnson's study (2020) further substantiates this by presenting evidence of decreased employment growth following the Olympics, contrary to previous literature which had reported either positive or neutral outcomes.

Overall, predictions made before hosting the Games often prove overly optimistic when compared with actual data, as post-event studies consistently find that economic impacts tend to be minimal or fall significantly short of expectations (Baade and Matheson, 2016).

III.2. Social and environment impacts

III.2.1. Social impacts

There has been a rich literature examining the social impacts of hosting the Olympic with both advantages and disadvantages are extensively discussed. However, there is a limited number of

proposed theoretical frameworks to explain the comprehensive social influences of Olympic on the host city or country such as the work of Silvestre (2008). Additionally, there is a limited number of research discussing the general social impacts of hosting the Olympics with multiple examples from different Games (such as of Scandizzo et Pierleoni (2017)) while most findings focus on exploring the impact of one or limited amount of Olympics Game.

On one hand, many researchers state the positive impacts of Olympic in the host countries. Silvestre (2008) in the attempt to create a framework for mega-event's social impact states that hosting Olympic is a critical opportunity for the city to raise its image, acquire prestige and status enhancement in global playground. Examples for this effect are Olympic Game in Seoul 1988 to improve the city's image its economic progress to an international audience, Olympic 1996 aspired Atlanta to become the Capital of New South, and Rio de Janeiro 2016 aimed to 'rebirth as the cultural and tourist crown jewel of South America'. The finding of Ribeiro et al (2020) shows similar results, indicating that residents were positively impacted with the international recognition of Rio de Janeiro after the Olympic Games. Gursoy et al (2011) also shows that mega events tend to have long-term impact for host cities and communities, such increased international recognition and improving host community's image and quality of life.

Scandizzo et Pierleoni (2017) state that the Games create valuable opportunity to improve the host community's ability in organizing, planning and executing ability, with the example of Sydney Games in 2000 when enterprises in sport sector took part in designing modern facilities and services to serve the Games. The research of Gratton and Dobson, as stated in Scandizzo and Pierleoni (2017) shows that hosting Olympic Games lays long-term beneficial consequences in terms of social effects on the host city and region, including promoting patriotism and a sense of community belonging.

Shokri et al (2013) in the study of Olympic Games impacts on the host cities with focus on London 2012 case, finding that the most positive social effects of major sporting events, here is the case of Olympic, boost national pride. Also with the Olympic London, Dolan et al., (2019) points out the positive impacts for residents, such as life satisfaction and happiness in the short run, of hosting and little evidence for heterogeneous effects among different age groups or gender. Study of Gursoy et al (2011) in the case of Beijing Olympic 2008 shows similar positive effect. Hosting the Olympic can also promote the practice of sports and fostering sport education is another beneficial

social consequence of Olympic on host cities and regions (Scandizzo and Pierleoni, 2017; Rosenblum, 2009)

Other research indicates the uncertainty of the Olympics' impact. The research of Rosenblum (2009) contrasts with Shokri et al (2013) as it points out that Londoners believe that London Olympics are not as beneficial as they are made out to be, and together with a higher cost than original plans. This results in people doubts of Olympic benefits as shown in many surveys propose that most local citizens do not feel the benefit of hosting to their regions. Research of Hover et al (2016) examining social impact of sport events shows uncertainty: while there are indeed feelings of excitement and pleasure, a considerable section of the population does not pay huge attention to sports. Some people may even have unfavorable experiences such as roadblocks, traffic problems, litter and noise disturbance. Citizens may also feel uncertainty about the Games' social impact and pay-off.

On the other hand, there is also a wide range of literature claiming the negative social impacts of hosting the Olympics Game. Scandizzo and Pierleoni (2017) suggest that marketing activities during the Games may be personal or private and the Games' consequences are potential increase in crime and social displacement. The research of Rosenblum (2009) and Brodowicz (2024) supports this finding, arguing that Olympic creates displacement of residents because of many neighborhoods' destruction for building new Olympic venues such as in the case of Olympic Atlanta 1996.

Other potential negative social consequences are social inequality and increased crime rates (Brodowicz, 2024; Hippke and Krieger, 2015). Hippke and Krieger (2015) also suggests that the Olympic Games can cause additional traffic volume, disturbances and overcrowding to local community, bring cultural conflict into the city and the unequal distribution of wealth when the Olympics benefit the prosperous citizens, especially in the housing problems.

III.2.2. Environment

As environmental issue has gained significant attention since few decades ago, it is important to mention the environmental impacts of hosting a mega-event like the Olympic. Chalkley, as cited by Scandizzo et Pierleoni (2017), noted there was not much attention to the environment topics until the year of 1994, the International Olympic Committee and UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme) began to pay more attention to sustainable development. The discussion

surrounding the topic of Olympic's environmental influences has been characterized with different arguments and findings highlighting both positive and negative aspects.

There is a considerable number of arguments claiming for the positive environmental effect of hosting the Olympic. For example, Scandizzo and Pierleoni (2017) argues that hosting the Game creates lasting environmental benefits on the host city. They do not deny the Games' pressure on the environment such as traffic, waste and water problem, but strongly support that they can lead to environmental benefits including new standards in construction industry, the introduction of new novel technologies such as renewable sources of energy, improvements in the water and waste management. Cerezo-Esteve et al. (2022) indicates that one of the most frequent impacts of giga-event studies is the reduction of air pollution as shown in the case of Athens 2004 and Beijing 2008 Olympic Games (after the game, however, the air pollution level of Beijing returned to the level pre-Olympic) In the evaluation of different Olympic Games of Konstantaki (2018), from Olympics 1996 to 2016, there are 4 Games that create positive environmental impacts and 2 negative games, which are Athens and Rio de Janeiro Olympics. In general, the positive impacts listed are waste recycling and increased forestation, while pollution is cited as the most common negative consequences.

In contrast, other part of scholars points out the off-putting effects that can occur when hosting the Olympic. As indicated by Zhang and Liu (2022), in most cases of Olympic hosts, the host city has to carry great ecological pressure as thousands of people flood to the Olympic area. Rosenblum (2009) suggests that while it can bring some improvement in the short-term, it creates a large amount of Carbon Monoxide emissions, as well as waste. Brodowicz (2024) points out that Olympics lead to the destruction of natural habitats for serving the Games (cases of 1996 Atlanta, 2000 Sydney Olympics and Canada Winter Olympic), increased pollution and waste as well as increased Energy Consumption (the case of building new power plants in 2004 Athens Olympics and 2008 Beijing Olympics, 2016 Rio de Janeiro Summer Olympics). Ceccon et al. (2024) concludes that both in the preparation and organizing phases of the Olympic, there is a significant increase in the host countries' carbon emissions; however, the countries do not maintain such high levels of emissions after the Games.

III.3. Political impacts

The Olympics are meant to be a stage where athletes from around the world compete without political interference (Brown & Ward, 2024). This intention is backed by Rule 50 in the Olympic charter which highlighted “No kind of demonstration or political, religious or racial propaganda is permitted in any Olympic sites, venues or other areas” (IOC, 2019). It reinforces the International Olympic Committee’s (IOC) vision of keeping the Games neutral. IOC President - Thomas Bach also supported this stance, emphasized that Olympics should not be used as instruments in political agendas (Reuters, 2023). However, Allen Guttman (2002) pointed out that the very inception of modern Olympics, held in Athens in 1896, were influenced by politics. The Olympics have always carried political significance and politics remained a powerful force shaping nearly every dimension of the Games including the bidding process, media coverage, protests, organizational decisions, etc., (Grix, 2013).

States have a long history of using sports to achieve non-sporting purposes that called “sports diplomacy” (Grix & Brannagan, 2024) . According to Muray (2012), sport diplomacy is a practice where governments utilize athletes, sporting events, and sports organizations to engage with foreign audiences and cultivate a favorable image that aligns with their policy goals. One critical aspect of sport diplomacy is soft power. Hosting countries were offered valuable opportunities that leveraging the global stage to showcase themselves, enhance their image, increased trade and wield soft power (Almeida et al., 2013). In the context of international politics, soft power refers to the ability to influence and shape perceptions through the appeal of cultural and political values rather than through coercion (Grix & Brannagan, 2024). Host countries have access to rare media reach and worldwide prestige, allowing them to promote their culture, influence, and redefine their global standing. For instance, the 2008 Beijing Olympics marked China risen to a global superpower. The opening ceremony, offering a mix of ancient tradition and the new, modern nation with 1.5 billion global audiences contributed to change the public image of the whole country (Chen, 2010). Hosted shortly before the global financial crisis that devastated Western economies, China still had ability to spent 43 billion USD on state-of-the-art Olympic facilities, like the iconic Bird’s Nest Stadium, showed economic resilience and commitment to global prominence of this country (IOC, 2009). Moreover, The Games served as a profitable venture for multinational corporations in OECD countries, which gained substantial exposure through sponsorships, opening up the Chinese market to further foreign investment.

The Games are often attended by heads of state and government officials, who use the occasion to hold informal diplomatic meetings, strengthen bilateral relations, and even ease tensions (Almeida et al., 2013). Leaders from countries with strained relationships may use the Olympics as a venue for dialogue, using the universal language of sports as common ground. This was particularly evident at the 2018 Olympics in Pyeongchang, where North and South Korea's decision to compete together in select sports sent a strong message of cooperation to the world (Levkowitz, 2018).

In addition, the Olympics have also been used to send powerful diplomatic signals through opening and closing ceremonies, with host nations often leveraging these platforms to communicate national values or assert political ideologies (Grix and Brannagan, 2024). History has shown that the Olympics have become more than just a sporting event – they have turned several times into a stage for protest and a show of ideological strength. Moreover, protest at the Olympic Games is not limited to the political actions of governments, it also serves for athletes to express their opposition to social injustices or critique their own governments. During the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, Tommie Smith and John Carlos - who won gold and bronze in the 200m race - used their medal ceremony to deliver the Black Power salute while the U.S. national anthem played, protesting racial discrimination in the United States (Osmon, 2010). The Cold War was a period when the impact of mega events like the Olympics on global politics became clear, especially with the 1980 Olympic in Moscow and the 1984 Olympic in Los Angeles presenting rival visions of political order (Eaton, 2016). These events marked one of the largest political statements in Olympic history which was the boycott. According to Horne and Whannel (2020), boycotts at the Olympic Games have primarily taken place for three key reasons: during the Cold War, due to issues related to apartheid, race, or imperialism, and because of political or ideological divisions between nations. Throughout the 20th century, Olympic boycotts became more common with several notable boycotts at events like the 1952 Helsinki Games, the 1964 Tokyo Games, the 1972 Munich Games, ect., (Horne and Whannel, 2020). The most significant instance occurred in 1980 when the United States led a boycott of the Moscow Olympics against the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan. More than 60 nations joined this boycott, all choosing to withdraw from the Olympic Moscow as a collective condemnation of Soviet actions. In response, the Soviet Union and several Eastern Bloc countries boycotted the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, framing their absence as a counter-protest and further intensifying Cold War tensions (Britannica, 2018). Olympic boycotts have emerged as a significant means for nations to express disapproval on the

global stage, drawing attention to concerns related to human rights and various social issues. Moreover, this also demonstrates another political purpose of the Olympics as a platform to protest the political actions of others.

On the other hand, according to DeLisle (2008), the “Olympic effect” might not materialize as expected, and using the Games to boost a nation’s image or influence on the world stage with the intense media attention may not always give the desired outcomes. While a well-organized and successful Olympic Games can elevate a country soft power, any issues, such as logistical failures, security concerns, political controversies, or human rights violations, might attract significant criticism and overshadow the positive aspects (Grix, 2013). Thomas Carter (2012) mentioned the Los Angeles Olympics with “transforming the Olympics from a celebration of the human spirit into a money-making machine”. Not just the Games in the United States, the Munich Olympics of 1972 are often remembered for the terrorist attack that led to the tragic deaths of 11 Israeli athletes. The tragedy in Munich also highlighted significant concerns about security risks in organizing large-scale events. Moreover, it effected host countries’ international reputation, highlighting the potential fallout when the Olympics reveal a host country’s vulnerabilities instead of reinforcing its strengths.

Beyond boosting nation’s image and influence, many studies also highlighted the Olympics as a tool for sports diplomacy, enabling governments to engage in “sportswashing” (Brown & Ward, 2024). This term is also an aspect of sports diplomacy, where governments use mega sport event to enhance their reputation but simultaneously masking negative aspects or controversies behind the scenes. In Brown & Ward research (2024), they emphasized that authoritarian regimes, often characterized by human rights abuses, restrictions on democratic freedoms, and the suppression of dissent, have increasingly used sports to improve their global image. The platform provided by major events like the Olympics, World Cups, and other international competitions allows these governments to project an image of stability, prosperity, and legitimacy, despite the harsh realities of their domestic policies. Finally, there is considerable controversy surrounding the internal make-up, lobbying and politics of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) have impacted on Olympic Games outcomes. Following corruption scandals in the 1990s, the IOC implemented a series of reforms addressing issues such as the organization’s structure, athlete and sport-related matters, the host city selection process, financial control, transparency, and membership. However,

critics argue that the IOC remains manipulative, overly promotional, and fundamentally unchanged, with the reforms failing to address the deeper issues of corruption and political influence (Horne and Whannel, 2020).

In general, assessing the political impact of the Olympics is a complex issue, since it is challenging to measure such effects accurately. These impacts have evolved considerably since the early 1900s. Today, the politics of the Olympics are primarily centered around issues such as containment, including concerns over terrorism, security, surveillance, and civil rights, particularly in relation to restrictions on freedom of movement and expression. Additionally, human rights concerns including the right to freedom from eviction and access to adequate housing, have also become key topics in Olympic discussions (Harvey et al., 2014).

IV. Potential factors affecting the number of bidding countries

By examining multiple literature reviews where various positive and negative aspects of Olympic bidding is discussed, we try to formulate our claims and perspectives based on the literature, which may additionally explain fluctuations in the number of countries submitting bids.

IV.1. Cost concern

The significant characteristic of hosting the Olympics has been documented as high costs and cost overruns, with research by Flyvbjerg et al. (2012, 2016, and 2021) highlighting this trend. As highlighted in the literature, hosting the Olympic Games provides host countries with opportunities for tourism growth and infrastructure development. However, these impacts are often limited to short-term boosts that may not yield sustained long-term benefits. Consequently, post-Games, many facilities remain underutilized or are abandoned, shifting from potential assets to financial liabilities for host nations. Understanding the magnitude of these cost overruns compared to the original budget is essential for assessing financial risk, particularly for prospective host cities. For cities in small or economically vulnerable countries, this reality underscores the importance of having a realistic picture of costs and associated risks before considering hosting the Games. This can help prevent situations where limited resources are overstretched, potentially affecting the host country's broader economy.

Games Edition	Nominal	Real
Sydney 2000	108%	90%
Athens 2004	97%	49%
Beijing 2008	35%	2%
London 2012	108%	76%
Rio 2016	673%	352%
Tokyo 2020	146%	115%

Table 5: Cost overruns of the Olympic Games 2000-2020

(Budzier and Flyvbjerg, 2024)

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) encourages host cities to minimize new construction and leverage existing facilities wherever possible. Paris 2024 represents the first Olympics to fully adopt this approach, and while initial costs appear lower, similar patterns of cost overruns are still emerging. This suggests that, despite reduced construction demands, the challenge of accurately estimating and containing total costs remains a persistent issue. In alignment with Budzier and Flyvbjerg (2024), it was concluded that all Olympic Games (100%) experience cost overruns. These findings highlight the financial risks and challenges that host cities and their governments must anticipate and address. This trend has clearly contributed to a decline in the number of countries bidding to host the Olympics. For many, hosting has become a risky investment with minimal, if any, profitability, making it increasingly unattractive for potential host nations.

IV.2. Incomprehensive evaluation

The impacts of hosting the Olympic Games are complex and dynamic, necessitating extensive research to fully understand the scope and implications. This task is particularly challenging due to the limited availability of Olympic-related data, which is often not publicly accessible, and the lack of transparency in the methodologies used for impact assessments. Moreover, the effects of hosting the Olympics can vary significantly depending on the host country's economic context, infrastructure, and governance structures. What may be beneficial in one setting might not be applicable or achievable in another, highlighting the importance of considering contextual factors in any evaluation of the Games' impacts.

Accurate assessment of these impacts requires experienced decision-makers who can effectively analyze complex data. A key challenge in this area is the need for improved data quality, which demands a commitment to transparency - a principle that has not historically been a priority for the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Although some progress has been made, the tendency to underestimate the costs associated with hosting the Games persists, underscoring the need for more realistic and accountable budget projections.

Additionally, Olympic downplaying decisions are often shaped by political motivations, with governments frequently downplaying or underreporting potential costs and challenges in order to maintain public support or avoid political backlash. This further complicates the accurate evaluation of the Games' impacts, as political interests can obscure a comprehensive and objective assessment.

IV.3. Uncertainties

The bid process for hosting the Olympic Games typically begins seven years before the official event is scheduled to take place. While this extended timeframe is essential for the meticulous planning and preparation required to host such a large-scale, complex event, it also introduces significant uncertainty. The long gap between the announcement of the host city and the actual Games creates challenges for both the organizers and the stakeholders involved in the event. This uncertainty is particularly evident when unforeseen global events disrupt the initial plans, as was the case with the COVID-19 pandemic.

The COVID-19 pandemic emerged just months before the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games, highlighting the vulnerabilities of an extended planning cycle. The rapid onset of the pandemic forced the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the host city to make difficult decisions regarding the postponement of the event, which had never occurred in the modern history of the Games. The postponement required extensive logistical adjustments, including rescheduling of venues, re-evaluation of health and safety protocols, and recalibration of the financial investments made by sponsors, governments, and other stakeholders.

This unexpected global crisis demonstrated how external factors, which are impossible to anticipate during the initial bidding process, can significantly impact the preparation and execution of the Olympics. While the long bidding period allows time for detailed planning and infrastructure development, it also increases the risk of unforeseen disruptions. Such events, like the pandemic,

require substantial additional effort, resources, and adaptability, potentially exceeding initial expectations and adding layers of complexity to the Games' realization.

Therefore, the long timeline for Olympic preparation is necessary for a successful event, it also requires careful consideration of potential risks and the flexibility to adapt to rapidly changing global circumstances. The experience of the COVID-19 pandemic underscores the importance of creating contingency plans that address such uncertainties, ensuring the resilience of the Games, even in the face of unexpected challenges.

IV.4. Public opinion

In the past, the decision to host the Olympics was mainly made from the top down, with minimal involvement from the public, however, public opinion is now playing an increasingly vital role in assessing and determining the value of hosting the Games (Hiller and Wanner, 2016). Public opinion plays a critical role in shaping the bidding and hosting processes for the Olympic Games, as community support or opposition can significantly influence a city's decision to move forward or withdraw. Recent cases, such as those of Budapest in Hungary and Hamburg in Germany, which will be discussed further in the VI chapter, illustrate that opposition from local communities can lead to the withdrawal of Olympic bids even before the Games are held. These instances highlight a growing skepticism among residents who, although they have not experienced hosting firsthand, are influenced by observed impacts on other host cities, media reports, and potential disruptions to local life.

In successful bids, such as that of Paris for the 2024 Olympics, there have been notable tensions between national decision-makers and local communities. This friction often stems from a perception among residents that the government's priorities are skewed toward enhancing international prestige rather than addressing the needs of its own citizens. This can be considered in the case of Paris, where locals are taken away from their accommodation without contingency plan. The perception that government actions are primarily aimed at elevating the nation's image on the global stage can lead to disillusionment, as locals may feel their concerns and well-being are being overshadowed by external objectives. This perception is compounded by broader socio-political dynamics, where governments are frequently held accountable for the nation's economic and social issues. Consequently, citizens may more readily recall and emphasize perceived failures

or negative impacts, particularly when these are linked to large government spending projects like the Olympics.

Public opinion on hosting the Games is especially sensitive and dynamic, often subject to shifts over the lengthy bidding and preparation period. During the seven-year gap between winning a bid and the event itself, changing socio-economic conditions, political climates, and even unforeseen global events can alter public sentiment unexpectedly and, at times, rapidly. Even in the span of a single year - or sometimes overnight - public support can wane or grow as residents become more aware of the financial and social implications of hosting. The finding of Ribeiro et al. (2020) claiming that citizens' perceptions about social impact may change over time, supports our hypothesis to a certain extent. This fluctuation poses a challenge for national decision-makers, as public opinion is difficult to predict and often resistant to straightforward forecasting models. To manage this, it is essential that policymakers recognize the nuanced and evolving nature of public opinion, particularly the role of information sensitivity and how it impacts community attitudes over time.

It is also important to note that residents' concerns are not unfounded. The financial burden of hosting the Olympic Games has been a well-documented reality (Flyvbjerg et al. 2012; 2016; 2021), with numerous case studies showing cost overruns and long-term debt for host cities. These economic strains are often well-publicized and accessible to the public, reinforcing perceptions that hosting the Games may entail more negative than positive outcomes. The perception of financial strain may lead residents to focus on the potential downsides of hosting, especially if they feel their local benefits are diminished by the reallocation of resources toward Olympic-related expenditures. While some of this perception may be rooted in general skepticism of government actions, it is further supported by the trend of cost overruns and economic challenges faced by previous hosts.

In conclusion, public opinion on hosting the Olympics is a complex and influential factor that can impact the success of a city's bid and the overall atmosphere in the lead-up to the Games. National decision-makers must consider the implications of evolving public sentiment and actively engage with local communities to foster transparency and address concerns. By understanding the potential for rapid shifts in public opinion and the underlying reasons for these views,

policymakers can better anticipate challenges, build public support, and mitigate the socio-economic concerns that may arise during the bidding and hosting phases of the Olympic Games.

V. Countries are withdrawing from Olympic hosting bidding process

V.1. Declining in the number of bidding countries

Authors gather data from various sources to compile a dataset indicating a decline in the number of countries bidding to host the Olympic Games. This trend can be attributed to several factors which will be discussed later in the paper. This collected data allows open the need for an analysis of how economic, social, and political considerations influence countries' willingness to bid and the overall appeal of hosting the Games.

Each number presented for each country under each round are simply called votes. Eligible IOC members cast one vote per round for a candidate city. Votes from abstentions, non-participating members, and invalid entries are excluded from the majority calculation. If no city achieves an absolute majority in the first round, successive rounds continue, with the lowest-scoring city eliminated each time. The name of the eliminated city is announced immediately and voting resumes. In the final round, the city with the most votes wins. The IOC President formally announces the selected city, and the NOC and city representatives then sign the Host City Contract.

Game	Date	Total number of applicants	Total number of bidding countries	Bidding country	Bidding city	Round					Winner
						1	2	3	4	5	
Olympic 2000	23 September 1993	8	5	Sydney	Australia	30	30	37	45	-	Australia - Sydney
				China	Beijing	32	37	40	43	-	
				United Kingdom	Manchester	11	13	11	-	-	
				Germany	Berlin	9	9	-	-	-	
				Turkey	Istanbul	7	-	-	-	-	
				Brazil	Brasilia	Withdrew					
				Italy	Milan	Withdrew					
				Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Withdrew					
Olympic 2004	5 September 1997	10	5	Athens	Greece	32	(-)	38	52	66	Athens - Greece
				Rome	Italy	23	(-)	28	35	41	
				Cape Town	South Africa	16	(62)	22	20	-	
				Stockholm	Sweden	20	(-)	19	-	-	
				Buenos Aires	Argentina	16	(44)	-	-	-	
				Istanbul	Turkey	-	-	-	-	-	
				Lille	France	-	-	-	-	-	
				Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	-	-	-	-	-	
				Saint Petersburg	Puerto Rico	-	-	-	-	-	
				Seville	Spain	-	-	-	-	-	
Olympic 2008	13 July 2001	10	5	Beijing	China	44	56	-	-	-	Beijing - China
				Toronto	Canada	20	22	-	-	-	
				Paris	France	15	18	-	-	-	

				Istanbul	Turkey	17	9	-	-	-	
				Osaka	Japan	6	-	-	-	-	
				Bangkok	Thailand	-	-	-	-	-	
				Cairo	Egypt	-	-	-	-	-	
				Havana	Cuba	-	-	-	-	-	
				Kuala Lumpur	Malaysia	-	-	-	-	-	
				Seville	Spain	-	-	-	-	-	
Olympic 2012	6 July 2005	9	5	London	United Kingdom	22	27	39	54		London – United Kingdom
				Paris	France	21	25	33	50		
				Madrid	Spain	20	32	31	-		
				New York City	United States	19	16	-	-		
				Moscow	Russia	15	-	-	-		
				Havana	Cuba	-	-	-	-		
				Istanbul	Turkey	-	-	-	-		
				Leipzig	Germany	-	-	-	-		
				Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	-	-	-	-		
Olympic 2016	2 October 2009	7	4	Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	26	46	66			Rio de Janeiro - Brazil
				Madrid	Spain	28	29	32			
				Tokyo	Japan	22	20	-			
				Chicago	United States	18	-	-			
				Baku	Azerbaijan	-	-	-			
				Doha	Qatar	-	-	-			
				Prague	Czech Republic	-	-	-			
		6	3	Tokyo	Japan	42	(-)	60			

Olympic 2020	7 September 2013			Istanbul	Turkey	26	(49)	36			Tokyo - Japan
				Madrid	Spain	26	(45)	-			
				Baku	Azerbaijan	-	(-)	-			
				Doha	Qatar	-	(-)	-			
				Rome	Italy	Withdrew					
Olympic 2024	13 September 2017	5	0	Paris	France	Unanimous					Paris - France
				Los Angeles	United States	Withdrew, selected for Olympic 2028					
				Budapest	Hungary	Withdrew					
				Hamburg	Germany	Withdrew					
				Rome	Italy	Withdrew					
Olympic 2028	13 September 2017	1	0	Los Angeles	United States	Unanimous					Los Angeles – United States
Olympic 2032	21 July 2021	1	0	Brisbane	Australia	Vote: 72 Support; 5 Abstain, 3 Abstention (93.5% of valid votes)					Brisbane - Australia

Table 6: Host election results from Olympic 2000 to Olympic 2032

(Olympic World Library, 2024; GamesBids, 2024; International Olympic Committee, 2022; Olympedia, 2024)

Notes:

- In Olympic 2004, in Round 2, due to a tie-breaker in first-round tie between Cape Town and Buenos Aires, only Cape Town and Buenos Aires bid in that round.
- In Olympic 2020, in Round 2, due to a tie-breaker in first-round tie between Istanbul and Madrid, only Istanbul and Madrid bid in that round.

Trend of in total number of applicants and bidding countries for the Olympic Games from 2000 to 2032

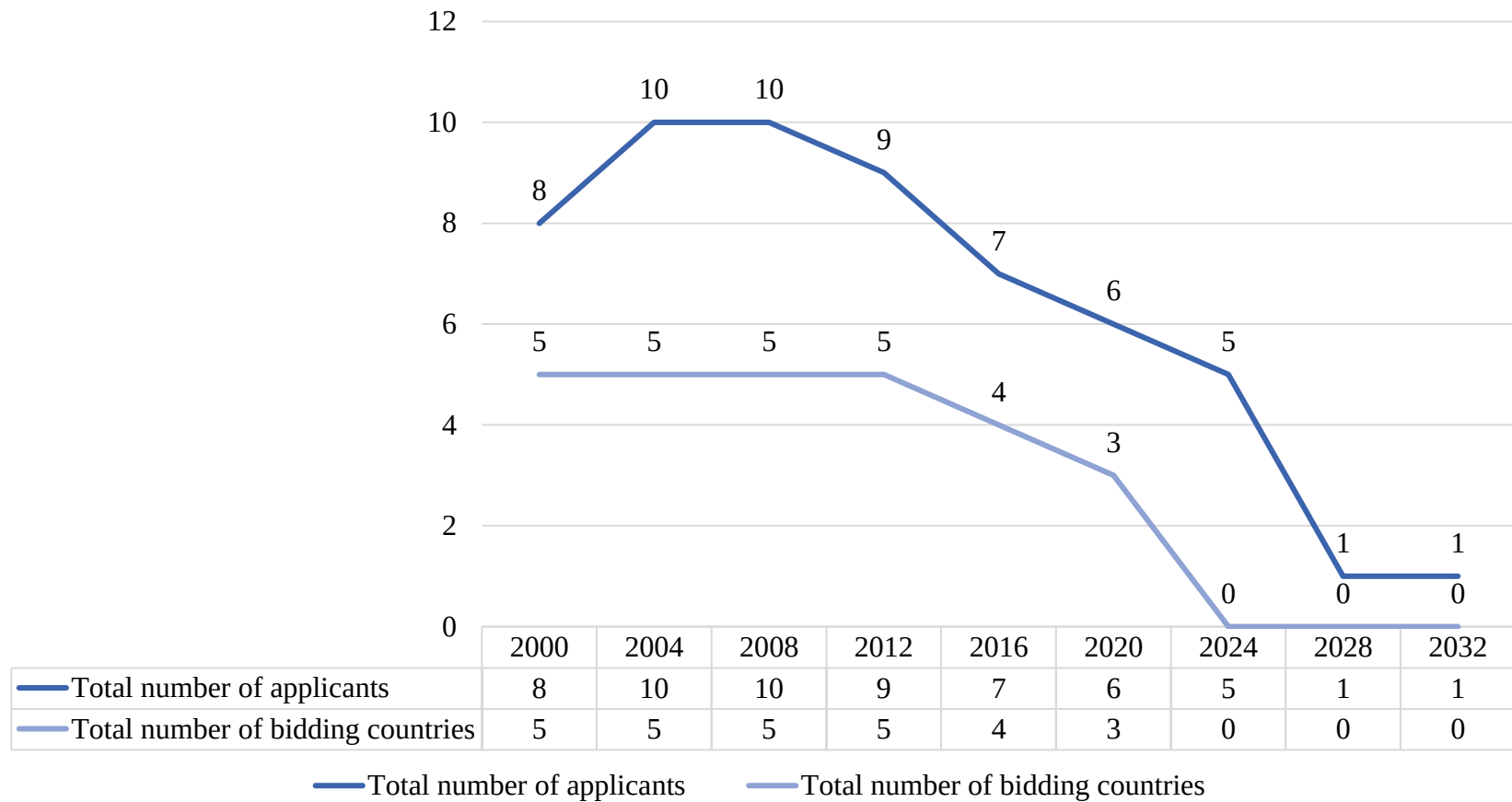


Figure 3: Trend of in total number of applicants and bidding countries for the Olympic Games from 2000 to 2032

(Olympic World Library, 2024; GamesBids, 2024; International Olympic Committee, 2022; Olympedia, 2024)

V.2. The bidding case of Olympic 2024

The 2017 Olympic bidding process marked a significant turning point, with an unprecedented decline in the number of cities willing to host the Games. Initially, five candidate cities - Budapest, Hamburg, Los Angeles, Paris, and Rome - submitted bids for the 2024 Olympics. However, as financial, logistical, and social concerns surrounding hosting responsibilities grew, three cities withdrew, leaving Paris and Los Angeles as the final contenders. In response to these withdrawals, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) took the extraordinary step of awarding both the 2024 and 2028 Games simultaneously, with Paris designated to host the 2024 Games and Los Angeles the 2028 Games. This decision was intended to address mounting uncertainties and sustain interest among future host cities.

The high number of withdrawals in this cycle underscores a broader trend of hesitation among cities regarding Olympic bids - a trend that may be attributed to the increasing costs and complex socioeconomic impacts of hosting. Recognizing this, the IOC introduced a series of reforms in 2017 aimed at enhancing the bidding process and alleviating the challenges faced by potential host cities. This trend raises fundamental questions about the long-term sustainability and desirability of hosting the Olympics.

While the impacts of hosting the Games have been widely studied, existing literature has not specifically addressed this recent decline in interest among potential host cities. Additionally, with the Paris 2024 Games recently concluded, a comprehensive assessment of its outcomes has yet to be conducted. This study aims to analyze the 2017 bidding cycle and the subsequent Paris 2024 Olympics to identify specific factors contributing to cities' reluctance to bid.

V.3. Analysis methodology

Based on the data, the issue under investigation is ongoing and may be attributed to several previously discussed factors. However, the year 2024 stands out as it records an unprecedented number of candidate withdrawals from the bidding process, a phenomenon not addressed in earlier studies. This unusual pattern raises questions about what specific circumstances have led to this wave of withdrawals.

To investigate, the second half of this research focuses on a detailed analysis of five real case studies from the bidding process for the 2024 Summer Olympics. Through this case-based examination, we explore each candidate's withdrawal decision in depth, analyzing potential

underlying factors. At the conclusion of this case study analysis, we employ quantitative and comparative methodologies to rank the impact of each identified factor on the withdrawal decisions, as well as on Paris's decision to remain as the organizing city.

These findings aim to show the most influential factors guiding candidates' hosting decisions, particularly to test our initial hypothesis that economic considerations are paramount in the decision-making process.

VI. Analysis of candidates for Olympic 2024

The initial candidates announced for hosting the Olympic Games included Budapest, Hamburg, Los Angeles, Paris, and Rome. However, during the bidding process, several cities withdrew their applications, citing various challenges and concerns. To ensure that future Olympic Games would be hosted by capable and committed cities, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) ultimately selected Paris for the 2024 Olympics and Los Angeles for the 2028 Olympics. This strategic decision by the IOC aimed to address the difficulties in attracting willing and qualified host cities, thereby safeguarding the successful organization and execution of the Games.

VI.1. Hamburg – Germany

Germany is the largest economy in Europe and the most populous nation in the European Union. The country has both regional and global impact in terms of economics, politics and sustainability. Germany is a democratic and federal parliamentary republic country. City of Hamburg is located in the northern part of Germany. It is the country's largest port and commercial center. The Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg is both a municipality and a city-state within the Federal Republic of Germany.

Germany experiences 3 times becoming the host of Olympic Games: 2 times in 1936 for both Summer and Winter Games and 1 time for 1972 Summer Games. While the 1936 Summer Games hosted in Berlin was misused as a propaganda tool for Nazi party of Adolf Hitler - the same year Garmisch-Partenkirchen hosted the Winter Olympics with controversy of Nazi's exclusion of Jewish athletes from the national team, the 1972 Summer Olympics in Munich was marked by a deadly attack by Palestinian shooters on Israeli athletes.

Looking into the past, there have been several unsuccessful attempts of German bids with both Summer and Winter Games, including the 2020, 2012 and 2000 Summer Olympics, 2012, the

2022, 1992 and 1960 Winter Games. Among these failures, the bids for the 2022 Winter Games in Munich and the 2024 Summer Games in Hamburg were aborted due to the lack of support of the local public, reflected by local referendums (Gerstenberger, 2023; Bourbillères et al, 2021).

In terms of politics, Bourbillères et al. (2021) indicates that it is necessary to hold a referendum to decide whether to host any kind of large-scale event in Germany, especially such event that involves in a considerable economic participation by the host community. It is notable that the necessary recourse to referendums in local level is evolution of German democratic processes. As stated by Bourbillères et al. (2021), direct democracy has been promoted at local level (including the right to initiate a local referendum) while such involvement is missing at the national level. This phenomenon comes from historical reason that Germany wanted to avoid the experience it went through during the 1930s period associated with Hitler's accession to power.

Among the candidates, Hamburg is the first city to leave the race to host Olympic 2024 announcing its withdrawal in 2015. Initially, a poll was taken in March 2015 showing 64% support the hosting of the games, However, it turned out that in the official November referendum, Hamburg residents opposed the city's bid where opponents to the bid won with 51.6% vote. ESPN (2015) states that public support seemed to be affected by several serious issues, including the refugee crisis; the Paris attacks; and a number of scandals in the sports sector in both local and global context. Michael Vesper, chairman head of the German Olympic Sports Confederation (DOSB), as written by BBC (2015), also believed that such issues had played a part in the negative result. Concerns of rising rents and not-yet-settled financial plans were the arguments of local activists and they believed that the funds could be better spent. According to BBC (2015), the outcome was a setback for German sporting sector. The estimated cost of hosting the games in Hamburg and Kiel was 11.2 billion euros (\$11.9 billion). Among the cost, Hamburg would contribute 1.2 billion euros (\$1.3 billion).

The context in Germany and the world when Germany started its Olympics bid can shed light to understand the rejection of residents towards this mega-event. Back to the year of 2015, before the referendum was taken place, German Chancellor Angela Merkel allowed thousands of asylum seekers to cross the border into Germany, leading to an unprecedented migration crisis in the country. The policy brought about benefits when Germany had the lowest birthrate in the world and the country needed more people. However, this welcoming policy obviously came with the costs –

Merkel allowed more than 6 billion euros (around \$6.8 billion) to allocate for housing and care for 800,000 new refugee applicants within the year. Even though the Chancellor has promised that she will not raise taxes to cover the expected cost, her political allies were not that content, and part of the society was fearful and angry about the influx (Shubert, 2015). Global events such as Paris terrorist attacks in November 2015 with at least 130 people possibly had negative effects on the Hamburg citizens' mood for the Olympic. Scandals at international sports organizations including FIFA and the IAAF, as well as Germany's national football federation, have also been blamed for Hamburg's refusal on Olympics (Bohne, 2015).

On the other hand, a possible reason for people's disagreement could be drawn from past experience of Hamburg citizens in organizing big projects. The city's previous large-scale project, the Elbphilharmonie, could have played a decisive role in the failure result of the referendum (Bohne, 2015; Bourbillères et al, 2021). The Elbphilharmonie construction started in 2007 and was expected to establish Hamburg influential position in the world's classical music field and help the city earn international acclaim. The landmark opening was way behind the original schedule with countless temporary building stops. The estimated cost went tenfold from initial 77 million euros to 865 million. Bohne (2015) claims that people of Hamburg have lost trust in the ability of the organizing bodies to deliver large-scale projects and that the financial burden was too large for recognizing the development that hosting the Olympics could contribute to the city. This aligns with the research of Hippke. and Krieger (2015) claiming that German residents' decision towards the Olympic bid has a strong connection to their perception of incurring costs usually exceeding the originally planned sum. The housing problem in Hamburg, underlying the conflict of interests between different groups of people, can be another reason for the German bid failure. According to Bohne (2015), Hamburg needed affordable housing more than just new sport infrastructure. It is increasingly difficult for lower-income groups, students and immigrants to find affordable homes in central locations because rents in the city have been rising sharply.

This associates with the fact that social inequality and wealth gap still exists in Hamburg. In the people's perception, the city is divided between the richer areas in the north of the river Elbe and the southern areas which is viewed as a lower-income population with higher shares of unemployment (Maennig, 2017). The projected Hamburg Olympic Center is supposed to be located in Kleiner Grasbrook and it showed that rejection of the Olympics was most prevalent in

the neighboring area of Kleiner Grasbrook and in the southern part of Hamburg. Voters may expect rising rents and real estate prices especially in the proximity of new Olympic facilities. Therefore, it is important to differentiate between home voters and lease voters in a referendum (Maennig, 2017). Bourbillères et al (2021) reports that the “NOlympia” movement was initially created by a group of citizens living in the district that was most affected by the project, joined by people from the city center, students and activists from social movements. The accumulation of several small movements had made the campaign successful.

Finally, Scheu and Preuss (2018) consider the perception of positive large-scale sport event legacies as the most impactful predictor of support when examining the case of Hamburg. They also suggest that residents believe that the Games come with great costs but no personal benefit from hosting them, resulting in a negative attitude in the people’s perceptions. Furthermore, Hippke and Krieger (2015) claim that the declining reputation of the IOC also plays a part in German residents’ reject decision regarding Olympic bid. They consider IOC lacks transparency in planning and diplomacy and hinders possibility of terrorism.

VI.2. Rome – Italy

Italy has a significant role in the European Union as one of its founding members and a major economic force. The country is known for its strong industrial sector, which includes automotive, fashion and machinery. Rome, as the capital, is not only the political and cultural heart of Italy but also plays a role in the country’s economy. As the political nerve center, Rome influences national and international policy through its legislative, executive, and judicial branches. Moreover, this city is known as the “Eternal City” for several world-renowned landmarks like the Colosseum, the Roman Forum, and the spiritual center of Vatican City.

When it comes to the Olympics, Italy has a long and proud history. Rome hosted the Summer Olympics in 1960, an event that transformed the city with modern infrastructure and put it on the global stage. Over the years, the city has made multiple bids to host the event again. Rome Olympics bid in 1924, 1936, 1944, and 2004 all were unsuccessful. The most recent was the 2020 Games but the city withdrew due to financial challenges. In December 2014, Italy became the first nation to officially announce its bid for the 2024 Games in Rome. The bid 2024 was launched by Prime Minister Matteo Renzi with significant support by Giovanni Malagò, president of the National Italian Olympic Committee (CONI), and Minister of Sports Luca Lotti. By September

2015, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) officially recognized Rome as a candidate city, marking an important step in Italy's ambitious effort to host the Olympics Summer Games 2024. (IOC,2019)

The project was expected to cost 5.3 billion Euros (6 billion USD), with about 70% of the games to be held at already-existing sites and 2.1 billion Euros for the construction of permanent venues and the balance for temporary venues (BBC, 2016). Moreover, Rome has a well-established history of hosting major international sporting events such as 1960 Olympics, 1990 FIFA World Cup, ect that offered the great advantages with existing infrastructure such as the Stadio Olimpico and Olympic swimming facilities and much of the infrastructure it needed from the 1960 Games. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) could offer Rome a chance to reduce the financial burden by allowing events to be spread across various locations throughout Italy and incorporating temporary venues for sports like boxing and gymnastics. Rome's Olympic bid fund primarily intended to be used for new public infrastructure that would increase the city's overall connectivity. This includes building additional metro lines, extending bike lanes and roadways, and improving the airport's connection to the city center. In an interview with The Associated Press, bid chairman Luca Cordero di Montezemolo revealed that the proposal was started by the Italian National Olympic Committee (CONI) focusing on Rome's most famous historical landmarks with events such as a cycling sprint alongside the Roman Forum, beach volleyball at the Circus Maximus, and a marathon passing through St. Peter's Square, culminating under the Arch of Constantine. When Rome submitted its bid in 2014, the city attracted cross-party political support and the full backing of the city's local bureaucracy with a large majority of council members expressing their support. However, ahead of the second round selection, the mayor Ignazio Marino (Italian Democratic Party) resigned due to allegations of corruption. Virginia Raggi became the Mayor of Rome in June 2016 with 67% of votes against 33% for the Democratic Party candidate Roberto Giachetti who supported the bid (Bourbillères et al., 2021). In September 2016 Rome also decided to withdraw its application after the mayor of Rome and the city council did not support the thought of hosting the games.

At the time Rome applied for the 2024 Olympic bid, Italy was grappling with financial instability and a high national debt with 2.1 trillion Euro (131.1% of GDP) in January 2014 (Emsden & Zampano, 2014). Italy needs to rollover 550 billion Euro of debt over 2014 - 2016 (Panizza, 2015).

Rome was 13 billion euros in debt with several significant challenges such as public services collapse, massive corruption, cash resources were nearly exhausted and a slow economic recovery (Bourbillères et al., 2021). However, Prime Minister Matteo Renzi expressed that the Olympic bid would be an opportunity for attracting new investments and lift the country's spirits when Italy needed it most. Therefore, economics was not the main reason for the withdrawing at the beginning, the bid was still proposed and backed by politicians, even though Rome was facing a difficult economic situation at the time. Moreover, The Roma 2024 committee and Giovanni Malagò, head of the Italian Olympic Committee, expressed significant disappointment with the city council's withdrawing decision. Malagò claimed that "a new political force is unwilling to accept the challenge of modernisation", highlighting what he viewed as a missed opportunity for progress. The Games might have a significant positive economic impact, with estimates indicating that it would have generated millions of jobs and increased Rome's GDP by \$1.7 billion (£1.3 billion; €1.5 billion). For those who felt that the Olympics had the power to help the city, the decision was tragic.

Changing in the political apparatus was considered as a dièct and the most important reason behind Rome's bid case. Only after Virginia Raggi took office as mayor, the proposal to reject Rome's Olympic bid was swiftly passed by the city council. Virginia Raggi came from the populist Five Star Movement, which has strongly opposed a bid for the Games and during the election campaign she also made many arguments against this bidding. Virginia Raggi argued that Rome was already overwhelmed by serious problems, including widespread corruption, inadequate public services, and a waste management crisis that left the city struggling to collect its garbage. Deep in debt, Rome could not afford the added financial strain of hosting the Summer Games, which she believed would bury the city under even more debt and unnecessary construction. Raggi also pointed out that the loans taken out for the 1960 Olympics were still unpaid, and more large-scale infrastructure projects would only create a financial black hole, potentially bankrupting Rome and stalling essential urban renewal. She instead proposed what she described as "a much more ambitious project for Rome than the one for the 2024 Games" - a plan aimed at "upgrading public services and giving citizens a city as modern and functional as any other European capital" (Dampf, 2016). The Five Star Movement, which held 29 of the 48 council seats, unanimously supported Raggi's decision, with all 29 members voting in favor of the rejection. Additionally, one vote came from an opposition party member, while six council members were absent from the

session. It emphasized the influence of local politics and local policies on the decision making during the organization of a major sporting event.

The situation also might derived from the complex landscape of Italian sports policy, where different interests often intersect and sometimes conflict. In addition to the Italian National Olympic Committee (CONI) and politicians, another influential entity was the Unione Italiana Sport per Tutti (UISP), which advocates for social and inclusive sport. This goal often contrasts with organizations that focus on elite, competitive sports and large-scale international events. Gianluca Di Girolami, a member of UISP's national committee, supported Five Star Movement's success, which aligned with a broader consensus that implicitly endorsed withdrawing the bid. Therefore, the alliances with different interests also influenced the bidding process and the competing visions of Italian sports policy - balancing global sporting ambitions with grassroots, inclusive social values.

A deeper reason behind the election decision and the bid's withdrawing was the people's trust in the city's political apparatus. According to openDemocracy (2017), the election of Five Star Movement candidates represented a public response against an ineffective and corrupt government. Many voters were willing to bet on M5S politicians, a populist party that is seen as inexperienced but less corrupt and more in touch with the needs and daily problems of the people. People did not directly oppose hosting the Olympics with no protests at the beginning, but after Raggi's campaign, their voting for her and Five Star Movement significantly contributed to the Rome's rejection of the 2024 Summer Olympics bid. This opposition, focused on the impact the bid could have on the daily lives of Romans, was crucial to Five Star Movement's electoral victory (openDemocracy, 2017).

Finally, the Olympic bidding and its political implications have transcended the realm of sports and conventional ideological lines. Five Star Movement used their opposition to resonate with voters concerned about the potential financial strain and disruption from large-scale construction projects, which led to their electoral victory (openDemocracy, 2017). This highlights how major events like the Olympics are not just about policy decisions but also about seizing political opportunities to further electoral goals. In this case, the local political context played a key role in determining whether the bid was accepted or rejected, with support or opposition shaped more by strategic political considerations than by ideological consistency.

VI.3. Budapest – Hungary

Hungary is a high-income country located in the central of Europe. It is a parliamentary republic nation: the prime minister who is the head of government exercises executive power while the president's primary responsibilities are representative. Since the beginning of the century, the leading party of Hungary is Fidesz party, a right-wing party with Prime Minister Viktor Orbán as a leader. According to Garamvölgyi and Dóczy (2021), sport has played a strategic role in national policy of Hungary since 2010 which has received considerable political and financial support. However, companies involving in sports sector started to take advantage of the tax credits.

Despite being small in population scale, Hungary is a strong sporting country and usually in the top countries winning most medals in Olympic Games. As stated by Bourbillères et al (2021), Hungary is the country with the most Olympic medals but have never organized the Games. The capital city of Budapest is also one of the few cities with the most submitted bids but did not win any race. Prime Minister Viktor Orbán believes that it is the right time for Budapest to host the Olympic Games in 2024 (MTI, 2016).

According to Dunai (2017), however, Budapest was the next city withdrawing its bid to host Olympic 2024 following Hamburg, Boston and Rome. In 2015, Budapest mayor Istvan Tarlos had rejected calls for a referendum on the issue of hosting Olympic, arguing that people had inadequate information about the bid even though a 1,372-page feasibility study was already published publicly at that time. However, in 2017, he had suggested the city might quit the race after local opponents of the bid submitted more than a quarter of a million signatures in a petition calling for local referendum in Budapest on the issue. The 250.000 signatures, collected within only a month, were considered a great success against the bid as it surpasses the threshold of only 138.000 signatures by Budapest residents in order to hold a referendum (Stefan, 2017). Polls showed an increasing number of Hungarians rejecting the bid, and a group of young professionals and students took the streets to begin campaigning for a referendum.

Dunai (2017) reports that the opponent is led by the “Momentum” movement, which considered a bid for the Games an unaffordable splurge that would lead to corruption - a big problem that already exists in the country. While Momentum movement had collected enough signatures to force a referendum, before one referendum could be organized, the Budapest city council, HOC and the government ended the bid themselves. Momentum president Andras Fekete-Gyor, who

was one of the original founders of the group, criticized this actions of the governance bodies to be a cowardly and betrayed behavior (France 24, 2017). Főző (2017) notes that the political environment during the campaign seemed relatively stable with no changes in the government and the governing party received majority support.

Momentum was founded in 2015 by a group of students born around 1989 when the Communist regime collapsed and became a parliament party in 2022. It aims to solve Hungary's political problems and to create a new political community. Back to its NOlympia campaign, Momentum advocates spending the huge budget for the Games on more important sectors including healthcare and education, gaining support from leftist and opposition parties. In addition, the Movement was also supported by other countries' anti-Olympics movement, particularly Boston and Hamburg (Főző, 2019).

The reason for Budapest citizen's rejection of becoming an Olympic host lays on financial problem, which then leads to protest movement of the people. According to Stefan (2017), the Budapest Olympics was estimated to cost 774 billion Hungarian Forints (less than the third of the average cost of the Summer Games), which is 2,5 billion euro without the infrastructural developments. Adding the necessary infrastructure, the number was estimated as 7.000 billion Forints, which is the equivalent of 22.6 billion euro. Momentum movement, while did not go against Olympics or sports, considered that it could be spent on more vital areas that have major deficiencies and lack of funding like health care and education (Stefan, 2017; Főző, 2019; Smith et al, 2019). Another argument mentioned by Főző (2019) raised the possibility of financial risk and that it was underestimated by the government.

Other possible reasons for Budapest failure are communication mistakes from government side, fear of corruption, and that the bid itself is not a rational choice but rather emotional. Regarding communication problem, majority of Hungarian people was not aware of the IOC's Agenda2020 reform program and the possible benefits of a Budapest Olympic (Polcsik et al, 2019; Stefan, 2017). Polcsik et al (2019) points out that only the negative consequences of the Olympic Games of the past two decades were emphasized in communication of certain parties and the media, especially the danger of corruption. As a result, this could worsen the fear of public towards corruption. The Momentum also campaigned that large scale corruption would accompany the Budapest Olympics. Stefan (2017) points out that the result of collecting-signature movement

shows strong nation-wide anti-government support. Finally, the bid decision of Budapest may be more emotional than rational. The country as well as the ruling party love sports and proud of Hungary's achievement in the field of sport. Budapest bid may be built only on the thought that Hungary as a truly Olympic nation deserves to host the Games, as observed by Stefan (2017) through the Pál Schmitt's interview of the matter.

VI.4. Los Angeles – United States

The United States is the world's largest economy, with a diverse and highly developed economic structure including technology, finance, healthcare, manufacturing, agriculture, and services. U.S. benefits from its large consumer market, advanced infrastructure, and a highly skilled workforce, positioning it as a central player in international trade and global affairs. Los Angeles, the second-largest city in the United States, is a major player in the country's economy. With its diverse industries, LA stands out as a global hub for entertainment, technology, international trade, and tourism.

Since the modern Olympic Games first took place in Athens in 1896, cities in the United States have tried 36 times in bidding to host the Summer Games. Los Angeles has submitted their bids 9 times, successfully getting the right to host the event three times in 1932, 1984 and a third time coming up in 2028. Los Angeles' journey to hosting the 2028 Olympic Games actually started with a bid for the 2024 Games on August 17, 2012. The LA City Council asked the Southern California Committee for the Olympic Games (SCCOG) to explore whether the city should move forward with an Olympic bid (Kassens Noor, 2020). In December 2014, four cities including Los Angeles, Boston, San Francisco, and Washington, DC submitted their initial bids to the U.S. Olympic & Paralympic Committee (USOC). By January 8, 2015, the USOC had chosen Boston over Los Angeles bidding for the 2024 Olympic Games because they believed the IOC would favor a less conventional option. The USOC was reported to have chosen a city that lacked the determination and financial resources needed to seriously pursue hosting the 2024 Olympics. Boston withdrew from the race to host the 2024 Olympics in the face of mounting political and public opposition to a bid. Among the remaining three cities, Los Angeles stood out with a clear advantage in terms of facilities, amenities, and profitability. On July 28, 2015, the USOC reached out to Los Angeles to step in as a replacement bidder for the 2024 Summer Olympics. On 1 September 2015, International Olympic Committee (IOC) officially recognized Los Angeles for Olympic 2024 bid after unanimous voting of the City Council. On September 13, 2017, after considering all factors

and following the withdrawal of three cities - Hamburg, Rome, and Budapest - the International Olympic Committee officially announced that Paris would host the 2024 Olympics, while Los Angeles would be responsible for the 2028 Games. The withdrawal of three cities and the declining interest among others in bidding for the Olympics likely played a significant role in the International Olympic Committee's decision. In response to this situation, the IOC had to adjust its selection process, ultimately awarding hosting rights to both Paris for 2024 and Los Angeles for 2028 a chance to secure the hosting locations for the upcoming Games.

First, the growing economic background and existing advanced infrastructure from two previous Olympic Games were the key reasons for this city launching their bid. From 2013 to 2015, Los Angeles saw steady economic recovery. The city's economy also shifted, with changes in where and how business was happening. As the country bounced back from the Great Recession, there was a noticeable revival in the inner city. In Los Angeles, this showed up in more amenities and upscale housing in downtown, along with a new generation of talent moving into and revitalizing neighborhoods on the east side (Nickelsburg and Yu, 2015). Moreover, Los Angeles is known as a city that thrives in both arts and sports with the local community's strong enthusiasm. The city has made substantial investments in sports, boasting top-notch training facilities for athletes and a variety of professional sports teams, further strengthened this reputation. According to LA24 (2014), as of December 2014, Los Angeles planned to allocate 4.5 billion USD for the initial bid book expenses. Within the OCOG budget, the Los Angeles Exploratory Committee estimated that venue costs would total \$1.23 billion USD. By the end of 2016 (LA24, 2016), Los Angeles' original bid budget had grown to 5.3 billion USD and before submitting the bid to the IOC, LA24 added an additional 50 USD million for athlete innovation (LA24, 2017). The bid emphasized reducing costs by utilizing the city's existing facilities, many of which had been used for previous Olympic Games. Around 85% of the venues were already in place or planned anyways in short travel distance from the Olympic Village. A total of 31 venues across five clusters around the region were selected for the sporting events. Therefore, stable finances and existing facilities ensure that Los Angeles could effectively manage its budget for organizing the event and significantly reducing the costs. The development of the city was considered to offer the opportunity to gain more than it spends, enhancing the global image through the Olympics.

Another key advantage to foster the bidding launch was minimal local opposition to hosting the Games - practically nonexistent and not a significant hurdle during the bidding process. Even if some resistance had emerged, it was manageable, as “the deadlines for any opponents of the Games to place an initiative on the ballot for these elections have elapsed” and “The City of Los Angeles is not required by law to carry out any referendum to bid, organize, or host the 2024 Games” (Kassens Noor, 2020). This low resistance towards the bidding Olympics in Los Angeles can be attributed to two main factors: the deep integration of the Olympics into the city’s identity and the positive legacy of its previous Olympic successes, which fostered widespread public approval and acceptance. Los Angeles had a proven track record in having successfully hosted the Olympics twice along with numerous other major events and leaving a significant legacy. This experience offered the city council and management valuable experience in organizing large-scale sporting events that gain trust from their citizen. Moreover, Los Angeles residents are famous for their apathy towards local politics and this socio-political context has paralyzed the general protest movement including the hosting of the Games.

Strong leadership support also played a pivotal role in driving Los Angeles’ successful bid. Before the bidding, many countries and cities had lost interest in hosting the Olympics due to the significant risks involved with these large-scale events including public opposition and the issue of “white elephants” - expensive venues and infrastructure left unused after the Games. However, The mayor and city council showed strong support for the bid, and the political landscape in Los Angeles was considered stable. This stability was underscored by the fact that “there is no possibility that any upcoming election before December 2015 could result in any restrictions on Los Angeles’ ability to bid, organize, or host the Games” (Kassens Noor, 2020). Just a few months after the city council decided to explore the possibility of hosting the Olympics, by January 2013, SCCOG had already built a solid coalition of influential figures from business, sports, and the community to back the plan. (LA24, 2016). It is not difficult to explain the reason behind the strong supportive of the city’s leaders in this bidding for Olympic especially with the positive impact of the previous two Olympic Games in 1932 and 1984. Both events brought significant benefits and left lasting legacies to Los Angeles. The 1932 Olympics, in particular gave Los Angeles an international reputation as a trendy, emerging, and growing city, firmly establishing itself as a global center for sports, fashion, and show business. During this time, the American film industry leveraged the Olympics to gain worldwide attention. Hollywood-based television stations

broadcasted the event, generating a profit of 1.5 million USD (Keys, 2006). The Olympic Games 1986 contributed to reshape Los Angeles' image from the 1932 Games, presenting the city as young, trendy, and full of energy. It also sparked a wave of tourism, drawing visitors from around the world, while generating millions of jobs and boosting the local economy. Moreover, the city expects to generate \$4.67 billion USD in revenue from the Games, with funds coming from various sources such as ticket sales, sponsorships, and broadcasting fees, not including the additional profits from local businesses during the event. Therefore, hosting the Olympics is not just a point of pride for the city, but also a significant financial investment with long-term returns. Mayor Eric Garcetti also emphasized that this city "is the world's greatest stage" and hosting Olympic "is a quest Los Angeles was made for". This is clearly reflected in the city's persistence since Los Angeles has bid a total of nine times to secure to host of the Summer Olympic Games.

VI.5. Paris – France

The Paris Olympics took place from July 26 to August 11, 2024, marking France's second time hosting the Summer Olympics exactly 100 years after the last time, in the same city. With this, Paris becomes the second city to host the Summer Olympics three times, following London in 2012. During the summer, Paris and other locations across France welcomed 10,500 Olympians across 32 sports and over 4,000 Paralympians competing in 22 sports (International Olympic Committee, 2024).

Hosting the Games after a century, Paris aimed to set a new standard, branding these Olympics as the "greenest" yet. The city adopted renewable energy sources, incorporated plant-based food options, and utilized rented sports equipment as part of its effort to reduce the event's environmental impact. The stakes were high, and Paris sought to demonstrate a different, more sustainable approach to hosting the Olympics.

VI.5.1. Paris bidding process

On June 23, 2015, Paris officially announced its intention to bid for the 2024 Olympic Games. This decision came at a time when France's economy was experiencing relatively slow growth. By the end of 2014, the national economic wealth was valued at EUR 13,064 billion, equivalent to 7.5 times the country's net domestic product for that year. However, after nearly two years of economic stagnation (with a -0.4% growth rate in 2013 and -0.1% in 2012), France's economic wealth declined by 1.8% compared to the end of 2013 (Humbertclaude and Monteil, 2016). Additionally,

foreign trade had a negative impact on GDP growth due to imports exceeding exports, and investment across sectors declined by 1.2% in 2014, compared to a 0.6% decrease in 2013 (Biausque, Larrieu, and Sutter, 2015).

Given the economic situation, on November 8, 2014, Paris Mayor Anne Hidalgo expressed concerns that hosting the 2024 Olympics could be financially burdensome for the city: "We are in a financial and budgetary position today that does not allow me to say that I am making this bid."; "This race of "we want always more" creates some white elephants and debts for the cities. This is not something acceptable anymore." She was wary of the high cost of submitting a bid, having missed out after attempts in 1992, 2008, 2012. Hidalgo said it was unacceptable to hurt the city by bidding for the Games and being unsuccessful.

In contrast, French President François Hollande publicly supported Paris's potential bid to host the 2024 Olympics. He advocated for Paris's candidacy, highlighting the various advantages of hosting the Games such as the excitement the event would inspire across the country and the potential for job creation as key benefits, viewing the Olympics as a catalyst for economic and social energy despite the challenging economic climate.

After the nation was shaken by the tragic murders of 17 people in 2015, conducted by gunmen claiming allegiance to al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, the prospect of hosting the Olympic Games for the first time since 1924 became a symbol of resilience and unity. "I said to myself that things were really, really, really bad, and that we absolutely had to find something that also provides perspective, momentum, to young people, to the country. And the Games can be this unifying moment" - Anne Hidalgo (Euronews, 2023). The Islamist attacks in Paris in January 2015, along with the potential contribution of EUR 1.8 billion from the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to support the Games, influenced Paris Mayor Anne Hidalgo to reconsider her stance. (France 24, 2015). In March 2015, Hidalgo gave her blessing to a bid for 2024.

On 13 April 2015, the council of Paris approved the candidacy, making Paris an applicant. Since then, Mayor Hidalgo has been a strong supporter of the Parisian bid. Mayor Hidalgo and French president François Hollande went to Rio de Janeiro during the 2016 Summer Olympics to promote the Parisian bid. "It's my responsibility to be here, in Rio, to meet the maximum number of representatives of the Olympic movement and to convince them that Paris is the best choice and France the best destination," said Hollande (RFI, 2016)

VI.5.2. The successful third bid

Paris's journey to hosting the 2024 Olympic Games, after unsuccessful bids for 2008 and 2012, reflects a commitment to aligning with the IOC's Olympic Agenda 2020 and the New Norm. These frameworks emphasized flexibility, efficiency, and sustainability - core principles that Paris 2024 adopted comprehensively, setting it apart from previous bids. According to Jastrzabek (2023), the Paris bid incorporated unique elements that distinguished it from others, focusing on sustainable practices, community integration, and long-term urban development. These factors likely contributed to its successful selection, showcasing Paris as a model for the IOC's modernized vision of hosting the Games.

Paris 2024 stands out as a unique Olympic bid, facing only one competitor, Los Angeles, which ultimately became the host city for the 2028 Games. Paris budgeted about \$8 billion for the 2024 Olympics when it won its bid in 2017, primarily funded through public financing (Jastrzabek, 2023), which was at an average amount of previous bids, Paris 2024 focused on creating a lasting legacy for the city and surrounding areas. Key investments in Saint-Denis aimed to transform one of the region's most diverse and underserved areas, converting the Olympic Village into much-needed housing, improving transport links, and progressing toward Europe's first sustainable ecoregion. These initiatives also fostered social progress, focusing on inclusion and civic engagement to leave a meaningful, long-term impact.

The Games' projects aligned seamlessly with the broader Paris Region development strategy, supporting initiatives like the 2030 masterplan, Grand Paris strategies, and improved transport infrastructure. This integration ensured that the Olympic investments contribute to sustainable urban growth, enhancing quality of life for years to come. Sustainability was embedded in every aspect of Paris 2024, with initiatives such as the Paris 2024 Environmental Excellence Strategy and ISO 20121 certification, which set a new standard for sustainability in international sports.

In support of sustainable mobility, Paris 2024 aimed for 100% spectator travel via public transport, with enhanced links like the Grand Paris Express connecting Seine-Saint-Denis to central Paris. These improvements not only aligned with the Games' green goals but also established stronger infrastructure for the future, underscoring Paris 2024's role as a model of responsible, community-focused event planning.

The Paris 2024 Olympic Games embodied the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) new vision, offering a clear example of efforts to mitigate the challenges frequently associated with hosting the Games, such as excessive spending from competitive bidding. With Paris as the chosen host, the IOC aims to demonstrate a more sustainable and socially beneficial approach, countering skepticism about the event's value and reputation. This choice also signals the IOC's commitment to making the Games accessible and manageable, encouraging cities to continue bidding in future cycles without fear of excessive financial burdens or unattainable expectations.

VI.5.3. After the Games

a. Economic aspect recap

France's GDP grew by 0.4 percent in the July-September quarter, a rise attributed by statistics agency Insee (2015) to increased consumption during the Paris Olympics and Paralympics (France 24, 2024). However, while the economic scale of the Olympics has expanded, so too have the associated costs. The Paris Olympics and Paralympics budget for facilities and operations is now estimated at \$9.7 billion, with \$1.5 billion allocated for cleaning the Seine for swimming events—a project that has exceeded its original cost by 21.25% in real terms. Nevertheless, Paris has managed to stay closer to its original budget than many previous Games. For example, the 2008 Beijing Olympics generated \$3.6 billion in revenue but cost over \$40 billion, while Tokyo's delayed Olympics produced \$5.8 billion in revenue against \$13 billion in expenses (SSBM Geneva, 2024). Although the IOC's recent policy encourages reusing existing venues to cut costs, this has had only limited success for Paris 2024.

The IOC frequently highlights the economic benefits of hosting the Olympics, yet it seems to downplay the significant financial burdens faced by host countries. As part of their bid, host cities and governments are required by the Olympic Host Contract to guarantee coverage of any budget overruns. While hosts typically allocate a contingency of 10-15%, Paris 2024's costs have already surpassed this buffer. The IOC's independent study projected that the Games could generate between \$7.3 billion and \$12 billion from 2018 to 2034 through tourism and construction. However, the lack of a transparent, published analysis of the actual cash flows resulting from the Paris Olympics has raised questions about the reliability of these estimates.

Given the considerable financial strain the Olympics often imposes, it is unsurprising that formal bids to host the Games have declined steadily over the past decade.

b. Environmental aspect recap

The Paris 2024 Olympics emphasized using existing venues and infrastructure, minimizing the need for costly new facilities. An estimated 80 to 95 percent of venues for the Paris Games were pre-existing structures, a major success in line with recommendations from mega-event scholars (Wolfe, 2024). Most new venues in Paris, like the Grand Palais Éphémère, were temporary and will be dismantled post-Games. This approach of prioritizing existing structures and utilizing temporary constructions where necessary represents a model for future Olympics.

Paris 2024 has also implemented an ambitious climate strategy: set a carbon budget and calculate its projected carbon footprint in advance. The Games have joined the United Nations' "Sport for Climate Action" initiative and aim to set new sustainability benchmarks, with a target of reducing CO₂ emissions by 50% compared to previous Games. Yet, measuring Paris's carbon reduction achievements against past Olympics is complicated by variations in emissions calculation methods.

These reforms represent efforts to reduce the environmental and economic impact of hosting, restore enthusiasm for the Games, and establish a sustainable framework for future Olympics.

c. Social aspect recap

Organizers aimed to make the 2024 Olympic Games the most gender-balanced in history (UN Women, 2024). While they targeted equal representation between male and female athletes, the goal was likely just missed, with women expected to comprise close to 49% of competitors - a slight increase from Tokyo 2020 (Hellings, Cantekin, Melmed, Abdelgelil, 2024). Many national teams sent more women athletes than men to Paris 2024. Team GB and Team USA were among these, and Guam had the highest proportion of women athletes at 87.5% (seven of eight athletes) (Hellings, Cantekin, Melmed, Abdelgelil, 2024).

Recent reforms by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) have taken steps to mitigate some of the adverse impacts on host cities and communities. However, in the Paris suburbs, particularly the "nine-three" (neuf-trois) banlieue, Olympic-related projects have significantly impacted local communities. Approximately 400 migrant workers were displaced to accommodate the Olympic Village, a move that locals fear may lead to the area's gentrification (Wolfe, 2024). Alongside these evictions, at least sixty squats near Olympic sites were cleared under a new law that increases fines and expedites legal proceedings for occupying public spaces (Wolfe, 2024). Some view these

actions as necessary urban improvement, yet others criticize them as inhumane, highlighting the lack of affordable housing for those displaced. Critics argue this is part of a broader trend in host cities of “hiding the undesirables” ahead of the global event. Similar displacement was noted in Vancouver 2010 and London 2012, where marginalized residents were removed from public view in the lead-up to the Olympics. This displacement impact follows previous findings of Rosenblum (2009) and Brodowicz (2024).

As part of a long-term plan to revitalize the Pleyel district, transforming it into a business and entertainment hub, transportation infrastructure has been expanded and metro and train services improved, with the Olympics serving as a political catalyst for these projects. These plans are contentious among locals, particularly the new highway interchange that runs alongside a school. Residents are concerned that increased traffic will expose children to harmful and illegal pollution levels.

Local officials’ apparent reluctance to address residents’ concerns, especially in the nine-three, has intensified the negative impacts of hosting the Olympics. The feeling of public’ uncertainty has been examined, such as in the research of Hover et al (2016) and Rosenblum (2009). Public perception of the government’s efforts to stage such a large event has been affected, as many feel the state prioritizes transient gains for the Olympics over long-term welfare for residents. A prominent example is the substantial state investment to improve the Seine’s water quality to meet athletes’ needs. The government opted to upgrade the river rather than construct a new swimming facility, demonstrating cost-saving intentions. However, this has raised public criticism, as the Seine has been closed to swimming since 1923 due to pollution, and only now, with the Olympics approaching, has the government prioritized improvement.

Journalist Jade Lindgaard, author of *Paris 2024: A City in the Face of Olympic Violence*, argues that Paris missed a chance to rally community support in cleaning the Seine. Despite accelerated efforts, the Seine’s water quality still falls short of expected standards. Lindgaard notes that media coverage on the Seine cleanup has often been sensationalist or scandal-focused, while a meaningful public conversation

about the river’s future has been overlooked. Important questions remain unaddressed, such as “Why is it polluted? How can we change our habits to improve it?” Without the pressure of the Olympics, the drive to restore the Seine may fade, and public interest in discussing urban

ecological issues could decline, with the public perceiving the state's efforts as Olympics-driven rather than citizen-focused.

VII. Comparison between five bidding applicants of Olympic 2024

From what have been analyzed in the case of five cities, we suggest three primary factors determining the decision whether to continue or cease the Olympic bid, including economic, political and social impacts while environmental effect appear to have a minimum role in the decision-making process of these candidates. We try to rank the most influential factor shaping the candidates' choices based on their distinctive characteristics and environment in the scale from 1 to 3, with 1 emphasis the least impactful and 3 for the most impactful factors. We then take the sum of points for each factor and rank them to determine which factors generally have the most substantial effect.

City - Country	Economic factors	Political factors	Social factors	Reason
Hamburg - Germany	2	1	3	Public opinion through referendum
Rome - Italy	1	3	2	New mayor came to power
Budapest – Hungary	2	1	3	Public opinion – the Momentum movement
Los Angeles - USA	3	2	1	Stable economy and existing infrastructure
Paris - France	1	3	2	President and the Mayor made the final decision
Total point	9	10	11	

Table 7: Impacts ranking for Summer Olympic 2024

(Authors generated)

For Hamburg, we consider social factors the most influential impact because the referendum, representing public opinion, is the decisive factor to discontinue the city's bid. Hamburg's citizens were affected by the negative image of the previous large-scale project, the concern for housing

problems, huge refugee waves as well as the negative mood from Paris attack and scandals in sport sector. Economic factor is ranked second because the German economy, while still experienced economic stability, had to bear the cost for the refugee crisis. The political impact may have negligible influence because of its stability.

Subsequently, we consider that it was the change in the political apparatus that sealed the fate of Rome's Olympic 2024 aspirations. When the new mayor and her party came into power, they shifted the city's priorities and viewed the Olympics as an unnecessary financial risk. Issues related to social factors were the second most influential aspect. Although there were no widespread demonstrations or protests against the bid, the election results - votes for the new mayor and her party - partially indicated public skepticism. Moreover, while concerns such as public debt and insufficient public services existed and were leveraged during the mayor's campaign, they were not major considerations during the initial bid phase.

In the case of Budapest, social factors also appear to have the biggest influence. The Momentum movement is the driving force for the city's withdrawal from the race without proceeding to a referendum. The movement argues that the Olympic would not be a prudent financial decision and it could stimulate corruption issue. Economic variables play a notable role, mainly because of huge investment in infrastructure development for the Games, which prompted the opponent's campaign. The political environment during the period was stable, suggesting its minor role in the decision.

Los Angeles had several advantages that strengthened its decision-making and bidding process. The city's stable economy and existing infrastructure from hosting two previous Olympics were arguably the most critical factors. This allowed Los Angeles to afford to host the Games while using current facilities to significantly cut costs. Additionally, the bid enjoyed strong support from both the city's mayor and national political leaders. Unlike in other cities, public opposition was minimal, which made advancing the bid much easier.

For Paris, the primary factor influencing France's bidding decision was political, while economic considerations played a relatively minor role. Social factors, however, emerged as a natural impactful element in the decision-making process. Initially, economic factors were considered, yet the final decision was influenced significantly by a tragic event highlighting social instability. Consequently, social considerations took on heightened importance. The ultimate decision was

made following consultations with the president and the mayor, with limited or minimal influence from public opinion.

From the analysis, the most important thing that is well considered in the research is that each country has a unique context and set of complexities that cannot be fully replicated. This claim is supported by the data gathered, as each country has distinct rankings across various factors. A factor that is highly significant for one country may have only a minor impact on another. According to the final results, the economic factor scored 9 points, the political factor scored 10, and the social factor scored 11. The small differences between these scores suggest that, while certain factors may have a slightly higher impact than others, the overall effect is relatively balanced, and these factors are likely interrelated.

In our ranking, economic considerations received the lowest rank, scoring 9 points and indicating a relatively smaller impact (1 point) in the case of Rome and Italy when put in comparison with remaining two factors. Generally, economic factors are among the first considerations for decision-makers and are often cited as a primary justification for actions influenced by political motivations. For instance, in Rome's case, the city's mayor highlighted economic concerns as the rationale for withdrawing from the Olympic bid, citing the need to prioritize national welfare.

Economic issues are closely tied to the local population's quality of life, making them more visible and relatable to residents. The level of government debt and required investments can significantly influence economic health, as hosting the Olympics represents a substantial financial commitment. However, the applicant cities in this analysis are all from developed economies, with the majority (four out of five) having previous Olympic hosting experience. Their economies are relatively stable, and they possess the resources to organize such an event if desired. Nonetheless, these nations may be reluctant to take on additional financial pressures given other existing priorities. Consequently, economic factors did not serve as a major deterrent for most of the candidates, with the exception of Los Angeles. The United States, being relatively stable and economically developed, is mainly concerned with the scale and scope of the event rather than its feasibility. None of the countries wants to incur additional planned debt, especially as economic concerns were quickly put aside in Paris due to more pressing social issues during the time of bid applying.

Although economic impacts might seem secondary in this case, they cannot be entirely overlooked, as they often underpin other challenges. For example, significant economic strain could lead to

political disagreements over governance and policies. Additionally, if a substantial economic burden were imposed on local populations, there could be public protests, especially if the resources invested in the event do not directly benefit the majority of residents, which can be seen in the case of Budapest. This potential backlash refines our initial hypothesis, which posited that economic factors would be paramount. Literature often emphasizes economic considerations due to their visibility and measurability. However, based on our ranking, economic factors appear less influential compared to other concerns, reflecting a global shift towards stability and safety in lifestyle preferences. Despite the risk of overspending, these countries have hosted the Olympics multiple times, indicating that they are willing to bear certain economic risks for strategic reasons.

When looking at why some countries choose not to participate or end up withdrawing from the Olympic bidding process, many studies focus on the negative effects that follow after the Games. However, the political aspect is more nuanced complex than often discussed, especially when we look at the bidding process for the 2024 Olympics. The negative political impact after the Olympics is not a major concern during the bidding phase for most countries, the role of politics is significant in a different way. Political considerations are often central to the decision-making process and can either drive or halt a bid from the beginning, highlighting how politics affects the process even before the Olympics take place. In the table, the political factor's score of 10 in analysis tables points to a moderate level of influence. This was especially clear in cases like Rome's withdrawal and Paris's successful bid, where the final decision rested with the Mayor. The situation in Rome also highlights how politics surrounding an Olympic bid can go beyond sports. It shows that mega-events like the Olympics can be used as political tools, with parties or organizations may use the event as a tool to draw public support or advance their agendas.

It can be concluded that in the case of Olympic 2024, social factors are the primary drivers for countries' decisions to leave the bid for hosting the Games, especially in the case of Hamburg and Budapest. Among different social influences, public opinion seems to be the most influential factor as it prompts the quitting of Hamburg directly via the referendum, and Budapest's withdrawal with the Momentum movement. Public sentiment also significantly contributes to the decision to bid for Paris which aims to improve the people' mood and indirectly affects the withdrawing choice of Rome since the citizens elect the new mayor. Given that all bidding candidates are democratic countries, it seems unsurprising that public opinion held such weight. This finding may suggest

that for candidate countries, especially democratic countries, convincing their citizens about the benefits of hosting Olympic is pivotal. This aligns with previous finding of Hiller and Wanner (2016) and Ribeiro et al (2020) in the public opinion's implication. In addition, other social factors relevant to each country's specific context, such as housing (case of Hamburg), education and healthcare system (case of Budapest), negative atmosphere among the people (case of Paris), should also be carefully considered in the decision-making process.

VIII. Conclusion

The bidding process for selecting host countries for the Olympic Games has undergone significant changes, diverging markedly from its traditional structure. Observing recent trends, it is apparent that the "golden era" of the Olympic Games may be giving way to a period of reckoning, one in which the realities surrounding the event's financial and social implications are increasingly apparent. A notable decline in the number of bidding countries has led the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to an unprecedented decision: selecting two hosts simultaneously due to a lack of applicants. This shift raises a question that will be answer in our research: "What factors influenced countries in their decision-making outcome regarding their Olympics bids, specifically for the 2024 Games?"

The research evaluates economic, social and political factors that influence the decision-making and experiences of Olympic host cities. While hosting the Olympics brings prospective benefits, such as tourism, infrastructure expansion, and global recognition, these advantages often incur substantial costs, presenting financial and social challenges that discourage new bids. A significant finding, supported by Budzier and Flyvbjerg (2024) research, is the consistent pattern of cost overruns. To date, all Olympic events have exceeded their initial budgets, with the resulting financial burdens often transforming legacy facilities into liabilities rather than sustainable assets.

In addition to financial difficulties, the study highlights challenges in assessing the broader impacts of hosting the Olympics, given the limited availability of transparent and comprehensive data. Socio-economic, cultural, and political impacts vary widely depending on the host country's context, complicating efforts to assess the Olympics' legacy accurately. Additionally, political motives frequently influence bidding and hosting, often leading governments to downplay costs and challenges to retain public support, further obscuring objective evaluations. Enhancing data

accessibility and transparency, particularly on the part of the IOC, would enable prospective hosts to make better-informed decisions regarding the feasibility of bidding.

The lengthy bidding and preparation process, which generally spans seven years, adds further complexity by increasing exposure to unforeseen risks. The COVID-19 pandemic, which disrupted the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, illustrates the vulnerabilities inherent in a long preparation cycle. This incident exemplifies the need for host cities to develop adaptable, resilient plans capable of withstanding global crises and other unanticipated challenges.

Public opinion has also emerged as a decisive factor in the study, exerting significant influence on bidding and hosting viability. Growing public skepticism, driven by visible examples of financial strain and social disruption in past hosts, often leads to community opposition and can even result in bid withdrawals, as seen in the cases of Budapest and Hamburg. The opposition experienced during successful bids, such as Paris 2024, reveals an underlying tension between government aspirations for international prestige and local priorities. These instances highlight the importance of public sentiment, which tends to evolve over time, especially given the long gap between bid confirmation and the actual Games. This fluctuation in public opinion underscores the need for policymakers to engage in transparent communication with communities and address local concerns.

To deepen our analysis, we examine the reality case of 5 candidates for the Olympic 2024 that are: Hamburg – Germany, Rome – Italy, Budapest – Hungary, Los Angeles – United State. The analysis was conducted the context of the bidding process for each country, reasons for their decisions and finalized by generating a comparison table where we rank the significance of the impact factor on the bidding decision of those countries. The final results are calculated and considered based on valid explanation. While there is a slight variation between the factors' final score implying their individual significance, it indicates that social factors have the most significant impact on the decision. In the case of the 2024 Olympics, social factors—especially public opinion—were primary drivers behind countries' decisions to withdraw from hosting, as seen in Hamburg's referendum and Budapest's Momentum movement. These findings emphasize the importance of gaining public support for Olympic bids, particularly in democratic nations, echoing the research of Hiller and Wanner (2016) and Ribeiro et al. (2020). At the same time it also reveals economic considerations had a relatively minor impact on decisions to withdraw from the 2024 Olympic bid,

particularly for developed countries with stable economies and prior hosting experience, where social factors often outweighed financial concerns. This finding refines our initial hypothesis, highlighting a potential shift in priorities toward public sentiment and social stability over economic justifications for hosting the Games.

Overall, this research provides a novel analysis of the declining trend in the number of countries bidding to host the Olympic Games, attributing this shift not only to well-documented economic, social, environmental and political challenges but also to uncertainties, lack of transparency, difficulties in evaluating and growing public resistance and evolving local sentiments. Through a comprehensive data table illustrating this downward trend, we reveal the increasing influence of public opinion as a deterrent to Olympic bids - an area largely overlooked in prior studies. Furthermore, after analyzing the bidding processes of five countries for the 2024 Olympic Games, we created a table (Table 7) ranking the key factors that influenced the decision-making process. The final result reveals that social factors were the most influential in shaping the decision.

By examining Paris 2024, the first Games under the International Olympic Committee's revised hosting model, we explore how new policies aimed at enhancing sustainability, cost-efficiency, and community engagement address local concerns. The case of Olympic 2024 highlights the importance of public opinion and local resistance, which has become a pivotal factor in host selection and a key challenge for the IOC in maintaining the Games' global appeal. This study not only broadens the understanding of declining bid trends but also underscores the importance of aligning future Olympic strategies with public sentiment, marking a shift from the impact of conventional factors to the social acceptability of hosting the Olympics.

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