

**“My sense of nationality goes totally berserk”**  
**Expressions of glocal consciousness among audiences during**  
**the Tour de France Grand Départ in Denmark**

Mogens Olesen<sup>1</sup> 

1. Department of Nordic Studies and Linguistics, University of Copenhagen, 1165 Copenhagen, Denmark  
olesen@hum.ku.dk

**Abstract**

*When Denmark hosted the Grand Départ of the Tour de France in 2022, the riders were met by huge crowds and a jubilant atmosphere. On Twitter, Danish and international audiences extended this behavior as co-producers of a transmedia sports event of global reach. Using the theoretical framework of a typology depicting four general discursive tweet modes, this study examines the communicative patterns involved as Danish residents shared their experiences and reactions to hosting the Grand Départ. A content analysis of their tweets revealed that the exceptional circumstances of hosting a major sporting event prompted them to focus more on themes surrounding the event than on the actual cycling. A subsequent qualitative analysis of Danish and international tweets focusing on the interplay of global and local themes surrounding the Danish Grand Départ identifies evaluative, participatory, humorous/ironic, and emotional dimensions as central expressions of glocal consciousness.*

**Keywords**

*Sports events; Twitter; Globalization; Glocal consciousness; Discursive tweet modes; Transmedia events.*

## Introduction

In 2016, Danish authorities successfully bid for the hosting right to the start – *the Grand Départ* – of the Tour de France 2021 (subsequently postponed to 2022 due to the COVID-19 pandemic). Using slogans like "The greatest cycling race in the world meets the best cycling city in the world" (wonderfulcopenhagen.dk, 2019), and referring to Denmark as "A cycling nation" (letourcph.dk, 2022), the Danish organizers emphasized how cycling is a central part of Danish culture and identity as well as cycling's importance to a sustainable and healthy way of living. Furthermore, the organizers could point to the general popularity of the Tour de France in Denmark, where the race has been a massive success since the national television channel, TV2, began live coverage in 1990 (Frandsen, 2020).

The Tour de France is the oldest and most prestigious of the so-called Grand Tours in cycling, consisting of 21 stages over three weeks every summer, and it has, over time, become an example of a sporting mega-event (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Billings & Wenner, 2017). Practically since its beginning in 1903, the Tour de France has also been interpreted in broader cultural perspectives (Finceour et al., 2023), including being seen as occasions for expressing national identity. Dauncey & Hare explain how the Tour traditionally has performed and celebrated France and how the media coverage has explored the country's "historical, cultural and political heritage" through the race (Dauncey & Hare, 2003, p. 3). But what happens when the start of the race is relocated to Denmark? How do the Danish residents negotiate national identity through the context of a globalized, French mega event? And how is this interpreted by viewers in other countries?

In the official evaluation report following the Danish *Grand Départ*, the organizers concluded that the event was a economic and social success, pointing to, amongst other factors, a considerable economic effect resulting from foreign and Danish tourists (Geelmuyden Kiese, 2022). According to the report's quantitatively based media analysis, 1.6 million spectators, including approximately 722,000 foreign fans, crowded the three stages in Denmark, while 150 million European TV-viewers followed the race. The Danish viewing numbers were the highest in 25 years, with 685,000 viewers on average (Geelmuyden Kiese, 2022, p. 27), while 67% of the general Danish population described their experience of the Danish Grand Départ as good, and 75% agreed it was a public party. On social media, the evaluation report found that "Tour de France" and "Denmark" were mentioned in an estimated 170,200 posts, with Twitter by far being the platform with most mentions and reach in total (Geelmuyden Kiese, 2022, pp. 36–37).

These findings reflect that the Tour de France is a media event in the traditional sense, characterized by integrative social abilities to draw together large numbers of spectators and media audiences (Dayan & Katz, 1992). Furthermore, the extensive social media activity demonstrates the participatory quality of media events "in the age of global, digital media" (Frandsen et al., 2022), with audiences collectively co-producing the meanings and functions of the Tour as a transmedia sporting event. This article provides a detailed qualitative examination to nuance our understanding of these co-productive interpreta-

tions of the Danish Grand Départ on the Twittersphere during the three Tour stage days in Denmark. To confront this task, the article initially outlines the theoretical framework. This begins by reviewing former studies on sports event hosts and discussing concepts of globalization and glocalization, supplemented by perspectives on media events and sports fans.

The following analysis is organized in two parts. First, tweets written by Danes (either spectators along the route or audience members following the event through various media) are categorized using a content analysis approach (Deacon et al., 2007; Hansen & Machin, 2019). This examination reveals how Twitter became a platform for Danish users to engage in, almost exclusively, positive, integrative perspectives on the event. This included discussing the race and extending the joyful atmosphere experienced along the roads and on TV through expressions of community and nationality. The second part considers the Danish Grand Départ, being a French event hosted by a foreign country, as an ideal case for a qualitative examination (Altheide & Schneider, 2013) of the interplay of local and global perspectives in the context of a mega sporting event. Tweets from international audiences are included in this part of the analysis to compare how glocal themes are expressed by host audiences and by audiences abroad. How did the Danish residents respond to the experience of watching the global Tour spectacle take over their home country? And how did audiences abroad respond to watching a profoundly French sporting mega-event relocated to a relatively distant Northern country?

Central to the first part of the analysis is a typology (Olesen, 2024) for examining the diversity of sports event audiences' use of social media during live broadcasts. This tool distinguishes tweets from sports audiences into four main discursive modes: analytic, reactive, social, and personal tweets. The analytic and reactive modes refer to tweets directly addressing the sporting aspects of the race itself, while the social and personal modes concern tweets that reconstruct and interpret the Tour de France from various contextual perspectives, including national and cultural themes. The primary attention in this analysis is directed at the last two modes due to the focus on glocal themes and because the Danish tweets in particular were dominated by matters surrounding the race, rather than the actual cycling.

The second part of the analysis applies Brannagan and Giullianotti's notion of "glocal consciousness", by which they "refer to how nation-states imagine themselves within the global context and position themselves vis-à-vis processes of globalization" (Brannagan & Giullianotti, 2015, p. 705). In directing this concept to the Tour de France Twittersphere, this study explores ways in which the Tour de France audiences imagine and position themselves, and through the lens of the Twitter typology, the study arrives at distinguishing four different forms of glocal tweets: "Evaluative", "Participatory", "Humorous/Ironic", and "Emotional".

## Local hosts and global events

Hosting a major sporting event is a costly affair. When cities and nations enter the bidding process for winning such hosting rights, it is typically viewed in strategic, geopolitical terms in international contexts (Boykoff, 2022), while nationally the investment is normally accompanied with promises of economic benefits, for instance, from increasing tourism and international recognition. However, such assurances have been called into question by a growing body of literature, often associated with tourism research (e.g., Andreff, 2017; Parra-Camacho et al., 2020; Polcsik & Perényi, 2022). Nielsen et al. report that "consensus among economists is that the overall impact of hosting is marginal at best and is often negative" (Nielsen et al., 2023, p. 128), although they also take possible exception for events like the Tour de France, which do not involve large-scale investments in stadium facilities.

It is important to note that the effects of hosting sporting events come in various forms. In their review of studies on local resident perceptions of hosting sporting events, Polcsik and Perényi (2022) highlight the distinction between short-term impacts and long-term legacies, as well as soft and hard outcomes. Whereas there has been a predominant focus on so-called hard outcomes in the literature, regarding, e.g., economy and infrastructure (Preuss, 2015; Polcsik & Perényi, 2022), soft outcomes such as the social impacts of hosting the Tour de France were addressed by Berridge (2012), who examined London's image promotional activities, and in Bull & Lovell's (2007) studies among local people in the run up to the Tour de France stage in Canterbury, England. Furthermore, Balduck et al. (2011) analysed pre- and post-event perceptions of the Tour de France's visit among residents in the Belgian town of Ghent, while Spracklen (2019) investigated how the Tour's visit to Yorkshire, England in 2014 affected identity negotiations among the locals. These studies found that residents experienced beneficial short-term social impacts such as heightened senses of communality and promotional value to the host city. Among the negative perceived impacts, residents mentioned increased prices and traffic problems.

Polcsik and Perényi (2022) posit that the existing research on resident perceptions concerning sporting events has predominantly applied quantitative methodologies. To achieve more detailed understandings of resident experiences of hosting large sporting events, they call for further qualitative studies. Studying responses shared on social media platforms like Twitter during the event constitutes one way of capturing audience sentiments. As such, this study examines short-term, soft outcomes among Danish and international audiences watching the Tour stages in Denmark, with focus on their negotiations of global and local themes. This perspective is relevant as the globalized scope of major sporting events means that they are habitually occasions where "national identities are (re)produced and challenged" (Vincent & Kian, 2014). Additionally, given that international sporting events "are arenas of emotional bursts" (Babac & Podobnik, 2023), Twitter, affording real-time user conversations and interactions, is an ideal platform for studying such immediate, affective expressions.

### ***Globalization and glocalization***

Giulianotti & Robertson (2004) highlight two underlying aspects of globalization, one being a greater sense of "globality" among social actors, i.e., a heightened consciousness of the world: a state that also was famously captured by Marshall McLuhan's idea of the global village (McLuhan & Powers, 1989). The other aspect refers to the emergence of global media technological infrastructure and increased international mobilization. They proceed to argue that sport "constitutes a vital site for the theorization and empirical exploration of the multidimensional and long-term process of globalization" (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004, p. 546).

A central claim among many globalization researchers is the importance of not conceptualizing globalization as a uniform, homogenized process (Rowe & Hutchins, 2014). Hence, alternative concepts such as "complex globalization" (Roche, 2006) or "glocalization" (Robertson, 1995; Roudometof, 2015, 2016) have been proposed to capture the nuances of the global and the local as two reciprocal processes. For instance, nowadays, the Tour de France is transmitted in a "new global cultural economy" (Appadurai, 1990, p. 296), where it reaches "a wide and diverse multiplicity of audiences and participants" (Hepp & Couldry, 2010, p. 22). And as Palmer notes, the global Tour de France audiences "ultimately moderate their interpretation in ways that resonate strongly with local cultural emphases" (Palmer, 1998, p. 272). Indeed, audience interpretations of sporting events are always inflected by their different cultural and historical situatedness, which not least includes framings of the race in national and local media, resulting in a "multitude of glocalities" (Roudometof, 2015, p. 398).

As Robertson notes, the global not only links localities but "also involves the 'invention' of locality" (1995, p. 35), which in this case is demonstrated by sports audiences highlighting cultural traditions and attributes to promote national and local identities in the global contexts of social media. A "foreign" Grand Départ in the Tour de France, as the one relocated to Denmark in 2022, provides an ideal case for exploring this complex "glocal" interplay which can take place in various forms: as combinations of local and global cultural features (Rowe, 2012) or as local assimilations, adaptations, or transformations of transnational, global trends. Next, we direct attention to the ways digital media have supported such contextualized interpretations.

### **Tour de France: A decentered transmedia event**

As the world's biggest and leading cycling race, the Tour de France qualifies as a huge media event, or a mega-event (Wenner & Billings, 2017). Since 1903, the race has been increasingly influenced by the interrelated processes of mediatization, commercialization, and globalization (Frandsen, 2020). Given the mobile nature of cycling, the Tour has always been particularly reliant upon media coverage. This was acknowledged by the Tour de France director, Christian Prudhomme, when he in 2010 declared, "Newspapers

created the Tour de France, radio made it popular, television made it rich" (McKay, 2015). In the early decades, newspapers told often sprawling, mythologically laden tales of the stages. Since then, radio and especially television became the main channels affording live coverage, whereas in recent years, social media have afforded new participatory and convergent media possibilities, where it has become easy for global, heterogeneous sports audiences to interact with and engage in discussions while following the race (Rowe & Hutchins, 2014).

In Dayan & Katz's (1992) original conception, "media events" were defined as festive modes of mass media coverage of historic occasions in the genres of either contests, coronations, or conquests. Broadcast coverages of sports, belonging to the contest genre, often qualify as media events by being pre-planned, live transmitted interruptions of everyday routines. This is especially demonstrated by live television transmissions' ability to attract huge audiences, promoting integrative senses of community that involve shared norms of viewing and festive rituals. Today, sports events are often followed all around the world, a tendency helped by the rise of digital communication, including satellite and cable technologies and, not least, internet-based social network media. Hence, in today's participatory digital media environment, sports events like the Tour de France have essentially evolved into transmedia events (Bacallao-Pino, 2016; Duncan, 2020; Frandsen et al., 2022; Olesen, 2024).

While events like the Tour de France now enjoy unprecedented global reach, interest is unevenly distributed, and interpretations are situated and divided into camps depending on, for instance, geographical, social, and cultural factors, as well as on media platforms (Rowe & Hutchins, 2014, p. 11). In line with this point, Hepp & Couldry object that "we need to update our understanding of contemporary media events within an analysis of globalized media cultures" (2010, p. 2). The more prominent role afforded to audiences in the age of participatory, global network media challenges "the myth of the mediated centre" (Hepp & Couldry, 2010, p. 9), which applied to Dayan & Katz's original definition. Instead of conceiving of media events as simply enforcing centering, hegemonic messages upon people, Whannel (2006, 2014) suggested the term vortextuality as a more precise term. Vortextuality describes how mega events attract everybody's attention towards specific themes and affairs while still allowing for diverse and locally situated receptions, often expressed on and framed by social media platforms (Frandsen et al., 2022).

Another consequence of the transmedia environment is a reconfiguration of liveness as a principal property of media events (Frandsen et al., 2022). With the emergence of mass media, mediated liveness has become normalized. Today, we are accustomed to live television broadcasts offering the experience of being temporally co-present with major events, thereby affording audiences from afar senses of authenticity and immediacy (Auslander, 2008). While broadcast television is still typically centrally positioned in the media landscape (Hutchins & Sanderson, 2017), the temporality of the internet environment's transmedia events is reconfigured in ways that have been captured by the concept



participatory liveness (Frandsen et al., 2022). This notion specifies the co-existence of different kinds of liveness, including collectively created senses of liveness among users on social media platforms. In all, these trends, the decentred and participatory nature of media events, point to enhanced opportunities for audience engagement where "the integrative, functionalistic idea of the role of media events has been replaced by more performative interpretations" (Frandsen et al., 2022, p. 3).

### ***Participating sports audiences and fans***

Traditionally, audience studies have alternated between conceptions of passive consumers and active agents (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998). Within media studies, this problem has been conceptualized as questions of *what media do to people* and *what people do with media*. The latter question has been the focus in the Uses & Gratification tradition and subsequently within Cultural Studies, most famously outlined by Hall's encoding/decoding model that detailed how audiences actively decode media messages from a dominant, a negotiated, or an oppositional position (Hall, 1973). Of particular relevance in this context, subsequent theoretical studies of media use (Fiske, 1992; Couldry, 2004) have stressed the importance of contextualized understandings of audiences' often mundane, unpredictable, and creative usages of media.

Active audience reception and even participation is also central to sports. Obviously, this is evident with live sports spectators in stadiums or roadside cheering on the athletes. But also, readers, TV-viewers, and more openly, social media users, are actively engaged with sports media content. The primary incentive for television viewers to engage in sports consumption has been identified as following and discovering the outcomes of contests involving their favorite teams and individual athletes (Wenner & Gantz, 1989; Whannel, 1992). In general, sports provide entertainment, dramatic elements, and offer the chance for fans to display their support and establish a sense of identification with the athletes and fellow fans. Typically, fan rituals and identities are developed and shaped in communal settings where sports are consumed with like-minded supporters (Rothenbuhler, 1988).

Gantz & Lewis describe how the internet affords new possibilities for engaging with sports and "allow[s] fans to extend their fandom" (Gantz & Lewis, 2014, p. 26). The level of online engagement exhibited by sports fans varies significantly, ranging from individuals who primarily follow sports-related accounts on social media to those also partaking in discussions and self-presentations as fans, and even to the minority of fans who generate extensive text productions on blogs, fan forums, podcasts, or video, thereby attaining a level of recognition comparable to that of influencers or citizen journalists.

For most sports fans and audiences, though, social media platforms afford the opportunity to extend their everyday experiences of sports, not least by performative participation in fan networks where they discuss ongoing events, share information, as well as potentially engage in parasocial interactions and relations with the teams and athletes

(Kassing & Sanderson, 2010; Sanderson & Kassing, 2014). To support the article’s investigation of Tour de France audiences on Twitter, the next section introduces a typology that outlines four main discursive modes that characterize how audiences use Twitter to participate with sports events.

### Theoretical framework: A typology of discursive tweet modes

Twitter is one of the most popular, and most extensively examined, platforms for sports audiences, having been described, e.g., as a backchannel (Highfield, 2014) and a virtual lounge room (Harrington, 2014; Harrington et al., 2012) where diverse audiences worldwide are able to engage in interpretive, performative, and co-productive activities in open and collaborative manners. Sports and Twitter as a research area has been dominated by perspectives on changing communicative patterns among mass media, athletes, and audiences (e.g., Harrington, 2014; Highfield, 2014; Kassing & Sanderson, 2010; Yan et al., 2019); or on Twitter as a platform for promoting issues of politics, identity, activism, or other forms of contestation (e.g., Meier et al., 2019; Sanderson & Gramlich, 2016; Olesen, 2018; Hagen & Stauff, 2021); or on outright toxic online cultures involving cyberbullying and other discriminatory behaviors (e.g., Glynn & Brown, 2022; MacPherson & Kerr, 2023). In contrast, this study is interested in sports audience culture in a more general sense, examining the main themes and perspectives that engaged the Tour de France spectators and TV-viewers during the Danish Grand Départ.

The typology applied in this case distinguishes four main discursive modes of tweets – the analytic, the reactive, the social, and the personal – which originally were identified in a thematic and discursive study of Twitter activity during an earlier edition of the Tour de France (Olesen, 2024). Aiming to identify types of fan tweets as well as “the dualism of the

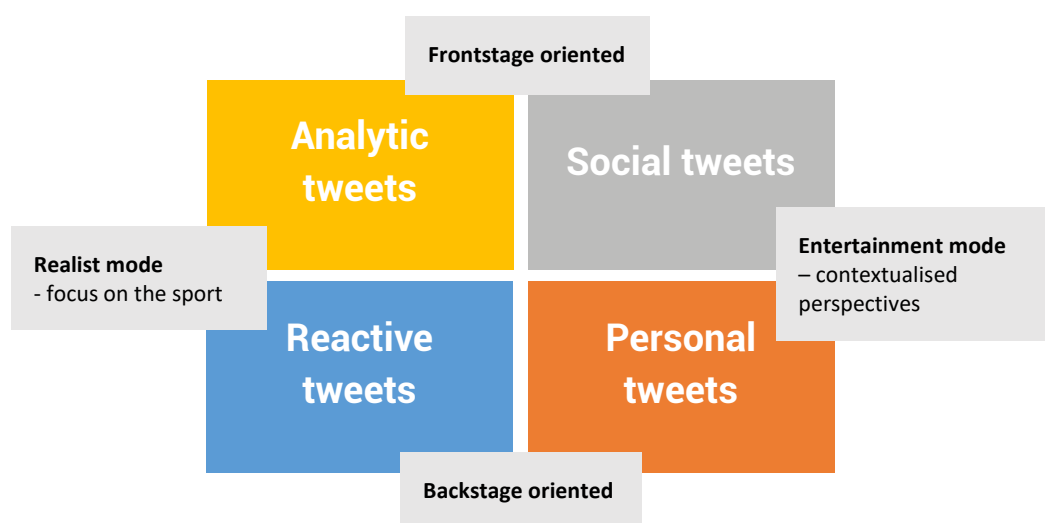


Figure 1: The four main discursive modes of sports audience tweets



integrative biases of broadcast sport events and the fragmented, personalized biases of social media" (Olesen, 2024, p. 235), the typology illustrates how sports audiences engage online with live sporting media events (Figure 1). Thereby, it offers a systematized perspective on the otherwise decentered nature of internet culture. As such, this perspective echoes the idea that on social media, "the flow of content is underlined by deep-rooted patterns of communication" (Trilló et al., 2022, p. 1).

Essentially, the typology presents an analytical framework for detailing how receptions and meaning constructions of global sports events are expressed and mediatized through Twitter and other social media platforms. It combines theoretical concepts of sports broadcast modes with classic theories on social media sociality. Thus, the horizontal dimension reflects Whannel's (1992) identification of two distinct discursive modes of sports television. On the one hand, the journalistic, realist mode focuses on reporting and relaying basic information regarding, e.g., the participants and the outcomes of sports events. On the other hand, the entertainment mode addresses those aspects of the coverage that aim to establish contextual dimensions surrounding the core sports events. These include highlighting individual star performers, noteworthy action sequences, and attaching narratives and mythological qualities to the sporting affairs. The top–bottom dimension reflects social media user motives, applying Goffman's (1959) famous stage categories to distinguish frontstage oriented tweets that can be characterized as considered or strategic performances and self-presentations, in some cases openly addressing the Twitter community. In contrast, backstage oriented tweets have a less rehearsed quality, being more immediate and affective, and typically disclosing personal feelings and contexts.

The matrix contains arrows indicating a continuous discursive field rather than simply four discrete modes. This also means that tweets are defined as non-discrete, potentially combining aspects of more than one discursive mode. With regard to the Tour de France audiences, and as extensively elaborated in the original presentation of the typology (Olesen, 2024), the left part of the figure refers to tweets addressing the race itself. Tweets in the *analytical mode* typically include cycling fans positioning themselves as insightful and competent enthusiasts, commenting on the race in ways similar to professional journalists, experts, and commentators. In contrast, the *reactive mode* contains sudden outbursts of joy, surprise, excitement, agitation, or other forms of affective responses to the race normally associated with fan behavior.

The right part of the matrix includes tweets in social and personal modes that reconstruct and interpret the Tour de France from various contextual perspectives. Given this article's primary interest in expressions of local communality, nationality, and globalization, these modes are central especially to the second part of analysis. Shortly put, the *social tweets* refer to communal and cultural aspects emerging in the wake of the Tour. This involves, e.g., documenting one's participation as a spectator being ready roadside or expressing one's awe and thrill by the sheer size of the event and the spectator turnout. In

general, tweets in this mode typically contribute to performative constructions of social norms and identities among the Tour de France audiences.

In comparison, the *personal tweets* tend to contain themes relating to the private sphere, pointing to the individual Twitter user and the unique perspective and context from which they experience the race. To be clear, as pertains to social media content in general, even such apparently private posts that often reveal personal identity traits will also always contain a performative quality. Hence, the typology describes them as *backstage oriented* rather than backstage per se. Overall, as we shall see below, it is through social and personal tweets that the glocal interplay in audience interpretations of a global sporting mega-event are expressed. But before that, the methodological application of the typology is explained.

## Methods

This study is based on data from Twitter, which has emerged as a popular platform among sports fans (Highfield, 2014; Barbieri, 2021). Two sets of tweets – one in Danish and one in English – containing the hashtags #tdf2022 or #letourdk and published throughout the three opening Tour de France stage days in Denmark from July 1<sup>st</sup> to July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2022, were collected using the official Twitter API. In total, 2,622 tweets in Danish and 8,487 tweets in English were collected. Given the main focus on the Danish audiences, it was decided to reduce the English set by sampling every tenth tweet, resulting in 848 tweets in English. Being a short-term, hashtag-based study, the article focuses on immediate audience expressions and responses during the ongoing event, whereas it cannot say anything about the event's long-term legacy among the audiences.

A hermeneutical approach was applied to the coding and categorization of the tweets. First, the tweets were subjected to a content analysis (Deacon et al., 2007; Hansen & Machin, 2019), in which they were coded deductively to position them in the typology, allowing for each tweet to contain any number of the four discursive tweet modes. For instance, tweets containing tactical reflections on the race were coded as analytical, while tweets displaying joyful spectators were defined as social. To further uncover nuances and trends within the discursive modes, subcategories for each mode were inductively identified. For instance, the analytic mode was divided into subcategories including "media reports" (tweets including links to articles on the race), "forecasts" (tweets with guesses and estimates on the impending stages), and "analysis" (tweets containing evaluative and tactical comments upon the ongoing stages). Main subcategories of the social mode included "mood building" (tweets expressing anticipation and excitement towards watching the stages), "communality" (tweets appreciating and praising the atmosphere and the crowds on the stages or tweets addressing other Twitter users regarding the race), and "local" (tweets mentioning specific localities). The second part of the analysis explored how the glocal interplay elicited by experiencing a French sporting mega-event in Den-

mark were expressed in the Twittersphere. Through qualitative analyses of the tweets, four forms of "glocal consciousness" (Brannagan & Giulianotti, 2015) were identified as nuances to the two contextual, discursive modes.

Questions of reliability are relevant, given the coding was performed singlehandedly by the author. However, it is argued that a satisfactory level of trustworthiness was achieved as the coding process continued until thematic saturation was achieved, meaning that no new themes or subcategories emerged from the examination of further tweets. As always when researching tweets, there is a risk of whole or partial misinterpretation on the part of the researcher due to tweets' short textual form, which often offers little contextual information. However, the sheer number of tweets in the dataset generally compensated for this deficiency. Often, tweets with insufficient information became understandable through similar but more elaborated tweets in the dataset. In the following analysis, the account of the main themes and tweet modes surrounding the Grand Départ in Denmark focuses on the Danish Twitter users, whereas the subsequent investigation compares expressions of glocal consciousness among Danish and international audiences.

### **The Danish Grand Départ in four tweet modes**

The content analysis clearly reveals that the social discursive mode dominates, appearing in 76% (1,432 tweets) of the Danish tweets, while 13% (239) were personal. On the left part of the typology in Figure 1, the analytic counted for 18% (331), while 13% (239) were reactive. Notice that the total amounts to 120%, as the categories are not discreet, meaning that some tweets are coded with more than one discursive mode.

In comparison, the international audience members were relatively more race-oriented, with 37% (311 tweets) coded as analytical tweets containing, e.g., news, forensic discussion, and statistics relating to the ongoing stage. Still, the social mode is the most common, with 42% (353), while there are 7% (63) reactive and 15% (130) personal tweets. As the vast majority of the international audience follows the race from afar, the social aspect is expressed through hashtag-based virtual communities such as #couchpeloton and rituals like celebrating "Happy #TDF2022 Day", and practices like partaking in fantasy team competitions. The higher portion of analytic tweets seems to indicate that for the international audiences, the Danish Grand Départ was more exclusively a sporting event than the public, national event which is reflected in the Danish tweets.

Among the Danish social tweets, three standout subcategories were identified: "local", "mood building", and "community". In total, these subcategories capture how Danes use Twitter to state their participation in the event in front of their TV or at specific localities along the route, being ready and prepared to cheer on the riders. In this way, Twitter serves as a tool for spectators and TV-viewers to extend the event spatially as well as temporally. By contributing to the buildup, they create a sense of participatory liveness whereby they help to generate further buzz around the stages in Denmark.

Article: "My sense of nationality goes totally berserk"

Furthermore, the general sense of community is extended to Twitter as many Danes are directly addressing the crowds in loving terms, tweeting practical information, or asking questions regarding traffic or weather conditions. Especially the rain during stage 1 and the wind conditions on the 17-kilometre-long Great Belt Bridge at the end of stage 2 attracted much attention and discussions concerning eventual effects upon the race. Even the organizers are subject to praise for their ability to make the event run smoothly. As the local themes are explored below, for now it suffices to note that the audiences help establish the race as a media event in Dayan and Katz's (1992) original definition emphasizing its magnitude, exceptionalism, and its socially integrative qualities.

Tweets in the personal mode include people sharing information on the "individual contexts" surrounding their personal Tour experience. Many spectators document their unique experiences by tweets with pictures and videos of, e.g., riders in full flow over the streets of Copenhagen or of homely settings by the TV screen. Another central subcategory is "emotional", referring to the many Danish Twitter users sharing affective responses expressing how they are overwhelmed by joy and pride (Figure 2).

As clarified earlier, most of the Danish tweets did not primarily concern the actual cycling. However, race-oriented tweets, in analytic or reactive modes, increase at decisive points during the stages such as final sprints, crashes, etc. Analytic tweets contain "news", "analyses", and "forecasts" on, e.g., stage winners and the potential influences of the wind at the Great Belt Bridge, while the main reactive subcategories are tweets signaling "awe and admiration" towards the riders' abilities and pace as well as "rooting" tweets cheering the Danish riders on.

In general, the collected tweets also reflect that the Danish Grand Départ was a popular, inclusive event attracting a variety of different audiences ranging from dedicated "aficionado" fans to "casuals" (Rowe & Hutchins, 2014) not usually committed to cycling. For the Danish Twitter users, hosting the Grand Départ Tour presented a chance to



Figure 2: Emotional Danes responding to the sight of the Tour de France travelling through their home country. The tweets translate as: "Grand Départ in Denmark. I weep with joy" (left) and "Bursting with pride" (right).

Article: "My sense of nationality goes totally berserk"

partake in a huge, once-in-a-lifetime experience offline, extended online in a communal celebration of joy and excitement: an opportunity that presumably was made even more attractive coming shortly after COVID lockdown periods.

Inspired by Debord, Palmer stated that "The Tour is a spectacular time" (1998, p. 267). However, the Tour can also be said to constitute a spectacular, nomadic space given the increased commodification and mediatization of the race, which include sponsor caravans and entire media villages covered with visual symbols like yellow and polka-dot designs. As such, Danish cities and landscapes along the route were physically transformed, reflecting a "world of commodity" (Debord, 1967/1995) made to be broadcasted to the global TV audiences. Notably, the invasion of a global sporting mega-event space prompts situated interpretations and appropriations, as classic Tour de France symbols are fused with displays and promotions of Danish culture and identity.

### ***The cycling Tour de France Twittersphere: A positive, inclusive space***

Through the lens of the tweet typology, we get a more nuanced picture of how the spectacular Tour space was extended online. We can conclude that while some were naturally commenting on and reacting to the actual cycling during the stages, most of the Danish Twitter users shared experiences highlighting the exceptional circumstances brought about by the visit of the Tour. The nature of the socially and personally hinged tweets indicate how hosting a sporting mega-event can have positive soft outcomes (Polcsik & Perényi, 2022) in terms of expressing heightened senses of national pride, identity, and in general displaying immediate manifestations of communality.

Before heading to the analysis, a short, general description of the cycling Twittersphere provides important contextualization to the findings. The virtually exclusively positive and joyful atmosphere on Twitter during this event is notable when considering the tribalism that often dominates social media during other sports events. Sports fandom is often associated with divisive and antagonistic behavior between fan groups of different teams and athletes, which has been particularly apparent among football fans (Krøvel & Roksvold, 2012). Increasingly, online hate speech has also become a concern in sports with fans, athletes, and officials being targeted with abuse and sometimes even death threats (Kearns et al., 2023). It is therefore remarkable to find the Twittersphere surrounding the Tour de France to be practically an entirely positive space, with hardly any critique of the race, the organizers, the riders, or other fans to be seen.

A few observations about the nature of cycling in particular might contribute to explaining this. First of all, there is a latent danger element to cycling with the risk of crashes, especially during the time trial of stage 1, where extensive rain caused wet and slippery conditions on the streets of Copenhagen. It seems plausible that experiencing the riders defy such perils affects fans and spectators, spurring them to consider the riders in awe rather than critically. As one TV-viewer gasps: "I am holding my breath at every



Article: “My sense of nationality goes totally berserk”

Damn that was stressful... #TDF2022

Oversætt Tweet

5.15 PM · 2. jul. 2022

Figure 3: A TV-viewer winds down on Twitter after stage 2 of the Tour de France.

corner the riders have to take”. Thus, Twitter becomes a channel for dumping feelings of anxiety and uneasiness after having watched crashes and dramatic sprints (Figure 3).

Another explanation is likely to relate to the relatively low-intense nature of the sport, with long passages of relatively little action. This prompts the audience to divert their attention away from the sporting matters and tweet about contextual aspects surrounding the race – aspects that increasingly are emphasized by the visual strategies of the TV production (Frandsen, 2024) – to express appreciation of the crowds, landscape, media coverage, personal experiences, etc. (Figure 4). These kinds of tweets, belonging to the social and personal modes of the typology, dominate the datasets, and as we explore in the next section, they are generally reflected in expressions of glocal consciousness (Branagan & Giullianotti, 2015).

## Glocal consciousness

Among the Danish Twitter users, glocal consciousness refers to a sense of being on global display and appears in negotiations of “Danishness” in the context of hosting the Tour de France. In some cases, this sense is reflected by tweeting in English, thereby addressing an international audience. Also, it emerges as a tendency to point out special local or Danish traits within the global spectacle of the Tour. For international audiences, glocal consciousness is mostly observed in tweets commenting on the Tour being in Denmark.

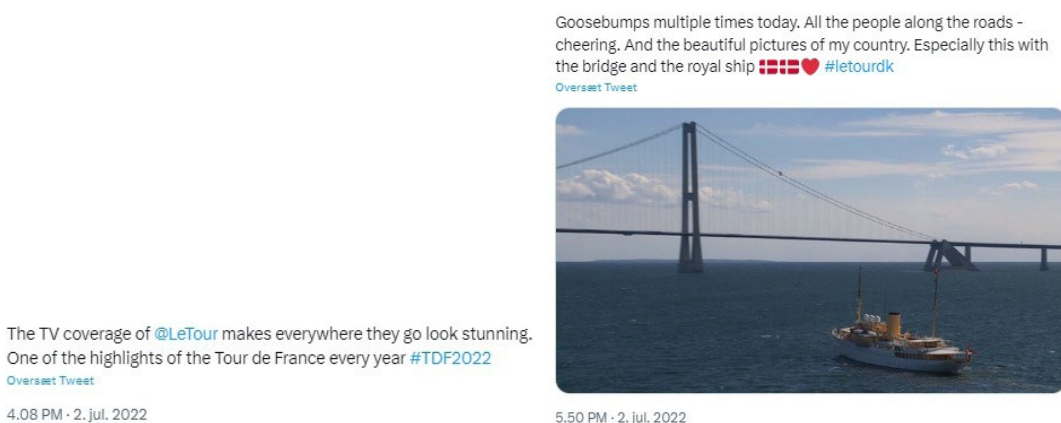


Figure 4: TV-viewers focusing on the televisual qualities of watching the Tour rather than on the race itself.



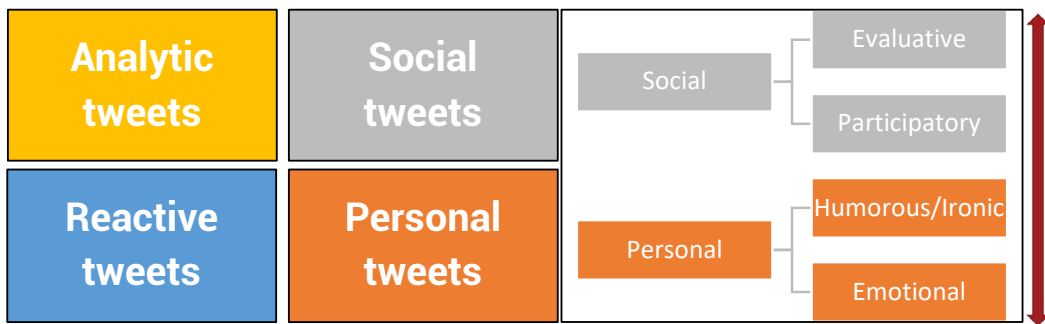


Figure 5: The four types of glocal consciousness positioned along the social-personal tweet mode continuum.

Overall, the data revealed four distinct manifestations of global consciousness, classified as follows: "Evaluative", "Participatory", "Humorous/Ironic", and "Emotional". These four communicative forms provide a new dimension to the typology, adding further gradation along the social-personal continuum (Figure 5), thereby illustrating the article's focus on contextualized perspectives among the audience receptions. Thus, the typology helps provide an organized and nuanced perspective to the ways in which global sporting media events are locally constructed. The following four sections define and analyse each type of glocal consciousness as they are expressed by the Danish and international audiences.

### ***Evaluative tweets***

At the social end of the scale, we find a large portion of evaluative tweets, that is, tweets that somehow assess the event according to various criteria. Given the widespread positivity described above, the tweets are mainly celebratory, which is reflected by tweets saluting the grandiosity of the event itself, the Tour, the riders, and – not least – the Danes' way of showing their enthusiasm on the streets. The local aspect is highlighted through a lot of (self-)admiring tweets that praise Denmark, Copenhagen, and the jubilant atmosphere created by the Danish spectators (Figure 6) and tweets expressing delight in the way the TV-production coverage stylishly displays Denmark to a worldwide audience.

In comparison, the evaluative sentiments among the international audience are also largely positive. Many praise the crowds in Denmark with posts like "The Danish crowds and people are amazing" and "Denmark, you're sensational". And while a few express confusion or even skepticism of the Tour being in Denmark, the jubilant crowds generally have positive responses, with some explicitly supporting the use of non-French Grand Départs: "The crowds in #Denmark for #letour2022 #letourdk are seriously impressive. Proves the worth of @LeTour shifting its start to different countries".

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Sikke en opbakning! Fantastisk Danmark 🇩🇰 #letourdk Verdens bedste cykel publikum! 🇩🇰 #TDF2022  
 12.52 PM · 2. jul. 2022 5.42 PM · 2. jul. 2022

Figure 6: A Dane saluting the crowds: "What a support! Fantastic Denmark" and "World's best cycling spectators".

### Participatory tweets

Another form of glocal consciousness observed is tweets by audiences documenting their own preparations for or participation in the event. The Danish Twitter users often state their specific location, as shown in Figure 7, which also demonstrates typical visual expressions of glocality with juxtapositions of Denmark and the Tour de France through symbols such as flags and colors, and verbally, with Tour de France references alluding to the hills in Odsherred as "mountains" and using the French name "Cote" for Kårup Strandbakke.

In these posts, Danish Twitter users extend the party to the Twittersphere by joyfully presenting themselves as "being there" (Toffoletti et al., 2021) as part of the event. This illustrates how the travelling Tour invokes a spectacular space, a "yellow fever" transforming people and landscape. Even current hot political topics ("No talk about 'elite' or 'common people'") are put on hold.

The international participatory tweets consist of tourists in Denmark following the Tour who share pictures of their experiences, largely similar to the Danish spectators. In some cases, they also provide links to websites with information on Denmark, which indicates the general vortexual quality of media events. Such assimilations towards Denmark are also reflected in playful participatory rituals where people around the world apply

Danskernes opbakning til @LeTour er overvældende. Fantastisk stemning. Søde mennesker i alle aldre. Også på Odsherreds "bjerge". Danmark når det er finest. Ingen snak om "elite" og "folk der er flest". #letourdk #fællesskab #TourdeFrance

Så er vi klar til etape 2. Vi er klar på Côte de Kårup Strandbakke #tdfdk #letourdk #tourtv2 #letour2022



Figure 7: "The Danes' support of @LeTour is overwhelming. Fantastic atmosphere. Kind people of all ages. Also in Odsherred's "mountains". "Denmark at its finest. No talk about 'elite' or 'common people'" (left). "Now we are ready for stage 2. We are ready at Cote de Kårup Strandbakke" (right).

the hashtag #DanishYourName to alter their Twitter user names to something Danish-sounding. Furthermore, both Danish and international audiences express local identities and decentered perspectives through tweets engaging with or commenting on national TV coverage, and commentators thereby only addressing geographically limited communities.

### ***Humorous and ironic tweets***

Moving on to the personal modes, many Danish Twitter users use humorous and ironic tweets to express their personal feelings of disbelief at seeing the Tour on Danish roads. Basically, they react to the spatial discrepancy of watching a spectacular sporting mega-event usually seen on TV and other media invading mundane, well-known localities of their home country. This experience prompts imaginative and witty comments, which includes comparing the one's own mundane cycling and traffic experiences to the professional riders in the same streets and the same undependable Danish weather conditions. Such ironic references to, for instance, cycling in the rain on H.C. Andersen's Boulevard in Copenhagen or using the ticket system at the Great Belt Bridge could also be seen as ways of toning down the hype and media frenzy surrounding the event (Figure 8) and, not least, arresting the tendency for self-celebration among the Danes as observed in the evaluative tweets.

Efter al den smukke natur og historiske områder og bygninger er der massespurt på den legendariske rasteplass ved Nyborg. Mere dansk bliver det ikke 🤔 #letourdk #tourtv2 #tourdk

*Figure 8: "After all that beautiful nature and historic sites and buildings the final sprint takes place at the legendary parking area at Nyborg. As Danish as it gets".*

Another variation of this takes form as ironic comparisons of the flat Danish terrain to the more famous, spectacular mountain challenges in France. Such direct comparisons to France (also seen in Figure 7) elicit self-aware, performative responses that openly negotiate Denmark's suitability as a Tour host. In some cases, this awareness of Danish shortcomings in terms of challenging geography is defended by directing attention to the exceptional crowds and atmosphere (Figure 9).

Overall, these tweets provide alternatives to the social tweets by referencing a topic of general attention from personal, original, and humorous perspectives. This appears to reflect a need among some Danes for distancing oneself from the ubiquitousness of the global event. Naturally, this need is not felt as pertinent among the international audiences, which could explain the general scarcity of ironic and even humorous comments in the English dataset. Aside from recurring remarks jokingly commenting on Denmark's smallness by asking whether "the whole of Denmark has come out to watch the Tour", and jovial references to various cultural phenomena associated with Denmark, such as

Article: "My sense of nationality goes totally berserk"

Verdens mindste forhøjning i landskabet og der er Tourmalet stemning i Lejre #letourdk

*Figure 9: An ironic comparison of a hill in Lejre to the legendary Tour mountain Col de Tourmalet in the French Pyrenees: "The world's smallest elevation in the landscape and there is Tourmalet atmosphere in Lejre".*

Nordic Noir, Hamlet, and Vikings, the personal tweets among the non-Danish audience are generally more earnest and reflective, as we examine in the next section.

### **Emotional tweets**

At the most backstage oriented end of the personal mode, emotional tweets overflow with intense feelings of joy and pride as the Danish Twitter users share their affective and often idiosyncratic responses to the spectacle. These tweets often also include a reactive mode with affective, exclamatory bursts like "WOW" but are mainly personal confessions to being emotionally overwhelmed, even crying at the sights of jubilant spectators, or simply watching the riders glide through well-known locations.

While for Danish Tour "aficionados" the Danish Grand Départ is like "a dream come true", others are "casuals" who reveal having no general interest in cycling. However, either way, the sheer intensity of experiencing an event of this size up close incites personal negotiations of the event that are emotionally charged or – as explained before – reflect a need for distancing oneself through humour or irony. In comparison, the personal tweets from the international audiences are less emotional, although many share excited responses to watching the large Danish crowds. Another kind of personal tweet refers to



*Figure 10: Emotional, personal accounts of watching the Tour at familiar locations: "This is huge! When you have been watching the Tour de France all your life, it is really beautiful and unreal that it is in Copenhagen now" (right).*

earlier experiences of being at the Tour. Notably, several British Twitter users fondly reminisce about their own experiences of hosting the 2014 Grand Départ in Yorkshire. Besides associations to home, the vortextual quality of the Tour also draws many to express personal wishes for being in, or at some point visiting, Denmark, while others describe past visits or share their love for or general knowledge about Denmark.

## Conclusion

This investigation of audience interpretations of the Tour de France's visit to Denmark fell in two parts. First, it clearly demonstrated that the huge, celebratory crowds gathering along the routes were extended and reflected online on Twitter, thereby forming a trans-media event. The festive and jubilant atmosphere was notably distinguished by expressions of national pride and appreciation among the Danish Twitter users. Thus, the Grand Départ showcased sporting events' ability to strengthen the sense of community and shared national identity among people, at least temporarily. While this may not surprise us merely from watching the crowds, by examining the online dimension, this case exhibits a cultural counterexample to the fragmentary tendencies otherwise normally associated with internet culture, especially seen in tribal behavior within politics and sports. The analysis of the discursive tweet modes among the Tour de France audiences revealed that the main portion of the tweets concerned issues external to the actual cycling. More accurately, the Danish Grand Départ constituted a spectacular sporting event providing a unique stage in the limelight for the Danes to highlight various aspects of their local and national identity.

The second part of the study compared how Danish and international tweets reflected the complex glocal interplay between the global grandeur of the Tour and specific local and national perspectives. As a result, four expressions of glocal consciousness were identified in terms of evaluative, participatory, humorous/ironic, and emotional tweets. This revealed how audiences co-produce a global sporting event in combinations of centered and decentered responses. Whereas some Danes in integrative, social tweets emphasize the magnitude of the event and the Danish support, the personal tweets reflect a need for individual ironic distancing, or dumping affective responses to the intense experience of hosting a global sporting event. Internationally, audiences demonstrate the vortextuality of major sporting events through references and assimilations towards Denmark, while decentered receptions of the event are expressed in a "multitude of glocalities" (Roudometof, 2015, p. 398) in virtual communities or as individual interpretations and associations.

As a theoretical perspective on audience studies, the typology of discursive tweet modes proposes a systematic framework for analysing the different ways sports fans uses Twitter to engage in online networks in the context of live sports. To test the wider applicability of the typology as a tool for examining the communicative patterns, themes,



and rituals involved in audiences' co-productive negotiations of sporting events, studies on other types of social media like Instagram or Facebook are needed. As demonstrated by this article, the four tweet modes can function as coordinates that can guide further investigations into the specificities of online sports audience culture, with the four forms of glocal consciousness providing further nuances to studies on the interplay between local and global dimensions in the context of sporting mega-events.

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