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CHAPTER SEVEN

Festival bodies: The corporeality of the contemporary music festival scene in Australia

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*... if you're a festival head, then you already know the plan
Go and pack up all your shit cause you're going on a trip
For those summer days.*

PEZ, FEAT. 360 AND HAILEY CRAMER, 'THE FESTIVAL SONG' (2008)

In this chapter we explore how the embodied experiences enabled or produced through participation in music festivals can create a sense of belonging and identification with a larger music scene, for festival-goers, while also exploring the Australian aspects of these experiences. The embodiment of the festival experience is grounded not only in the sensate dimensions of the physical, biological body, but is also connected and bound to the social and emotional aspects of the festival scene. These emotional, social and physical aspects of experience are all vital elements in festival-goers' identity formation and allow for affective social connections as well as the development of neo-tribal sociality. By examining the corporeality involved in the experience of the mosh pit, as well as the embodiment of heat, this chapter investigates the relationship between the body and the festival environment.

We draw on ethnographic research conducted at Australian youth-oriented music festivals between 2003 and 2014 to provide empirical insight into the corporeality festival-goers experience during a music festival. These events are considered youth oriented for several reasons; first, researchers observed primarily young people at the event, generally ranging in age from 18 to 30 years. Second, these festivals are clearly oriented towards young people which is shown in a range of details, including the styles of music, as well as the imagery and language used in the promotional material. For example, festival advertisements often incorporate imagery that clearly denotes youth and even childhood, such as a carnival, candy and cartoon pirates. The festivals researched included: Big Day Out, Homebake, Splendour in the Grass, Livid, Falls Festival, St Jerome's Laneway and Soundwave. These festivals vary in terms of the styles of music performed, the size of the audience, the size of the festival space and the environment in which they are each held.

Of course, fieldwork, in itself, is an embodied activity (Coffey 1999). The authors have drawn on their own embodied experience of participating in the Australian music festival scene, in addition to interviews with festival-goers. It is important to acknowledge the position of the authors in relation to this research particularly in terms of their 'insider status' (Bennett 2003; Cummings 2006). Both the authors are fans of the researched festivals, under thirty-five years old, Anglo-Saxon, able-bodied and female. Although some Australian music festivals, such as Soundwave, have male-dominated audiences, these are spaces filled predominantly with young, white bodies (as shown in Figure 26) and as such both researchers can be understood



FIGURE 26 *The Australian festival space is 'filled predominantly with young white bodies': festival-goer at Future Music Festival, Sydney 2013.*

as insiders, holding the relevant knowledge, as well as possessing the 'normal' or 'usual' festival body. An examination of embodiment at festivals within Australia must first begin with a consideration of the theoretical underpinnings of this concept.

Embodiment and popular music studies

For popular music studies an examination of the sensate experience and aesthetic ideological systems are essential to understanding the embodiment of musical festivals and the resultant community (Shank 1994). The concept of embodiment has been used to unravel entrenched dualisms, such as that of mind/body, nature/culture and subject/object, which suggests that experience and knowledge are always located in and produced by the body (Shilling 2007). As Levin (1999) discusses thinking takes place in our eyes, feet, hands – the flesh, which is lived and through which, cognition, action and behaviour are informed.

Here the body is not understood as a separate, static or contained entity, but instead transformed by culture and open to its surrounds. As Merleau-Ponty (2002) suggests, individuals know themselves only through their position in and interaction with the world. It is through our surrounds that we know our bodies and through our bodies that we know our surrounds. The body and environment unfold in a continual process of being and becoming. This inextricable entwinement of the body and its environment is experienced and understood through the senses. It is through sensorial experience that individuals are emotionally enmeshed with their environment, which, equally intricate and expansive, includes among other things the human and the non-human, the natural and the constructed, the permanent and the fleeting (Milton 2007). Indeed, all human life is bound to emotion – 'the relational flows, fluxes or currents between people, places' and things (Bondi et al. 2005, 3).

Fundamentally, bodies are bound not only to their environment, but also to the society and culture in which they exist. The senses demonstrate this relationship, considering the body's perceptual capacities to be bound to the five sense organs is not natural, universal or neutral (Classen 1993; Howes 2005). Rather, this conceptualization of the body emerged from the Aristotelian tradition and has continued to dominate Western thought. Within this tradition, perceptual experience is delegated to specific regions of the body – the eyes, ears, skin, nose and mouth. Moreover, sense experience and the information it generates are hierarchically ordered. This ranking of the senses creates what Classen (1993) describes as different modes of consciousness. The way in which we perceive, experience and understand our world and body is determined primarily through the mode of consciousness our society positions as dominant. In Western societies, sight is hierarchically positioned above hearing, touch, smell and taste (Ingold 2000). However,

recent works in the field of embodiment, which focus specifically upon the senses, are 'supplanting other paradigms and challenging conventional theories of representation' (Cranny-Francis 2013, 10).

According to Cranny-Francis (2013, 10) the past decade has seen the emergence and development of 'sensory studies as a research field'. Significantly, 'contemporary theorists, psychologists and neuroscientists have specified other senses' such as vestibular sense or the sense of balance and proprioception which relates to the internal sense of the body's movement (Cranny-Francis 2013, 13). These developments are important as they open up the body for further investigation and allow for a broader and more in-depth understanding of how the body unfolds in its environment.

Despite the increased interest in the body and the increasingly complex conceptualizations of embodied experience that have been generated, the body remains absent in certain areas of contemporary inquiry – the study of popular music, and in particular the music festival is one such area. As Johnson (2013, 101) writes, a 'fundamental physicality' is involved in the experience of music. Yet, 'there are significant gaps in popular music studies', perhaps summarized best as 'the case of the missing body' (Johnson 2013, 106). One study which does incorporate the idea of the sensate dimensions of experience is Wendy Fonarow's (2006) ethnographic account of the British indie music scene. For Fonarow, embodiment relates to understanding human activities as an incorporation of the biological, psychological and cultural. She considers the body in terms of both the physical and the communicative aspects of interaction. She examined how the body is used and read by participants during music events. She observed the way bodies position themselves within the environment or space of the musical performance, for example, where audience members stand in relation to the stage during events. Younger people are at the front, where they can mosh and dance and be close to the band, whereas older people tend to stand towards the back where they can drink and watch the band. She also investigated non-verbal communication at these events; for example, the wearing of a back stage pass: is it displayed overtly or covertly? The overt display of the pass demonstrates the wearer's special connection privileges, while covert wearing suggests that the person is just another member of the audience.

A recent study by Duffy (2014) has captured how 'festivalization' may relate to the body. Festivalization refers to the processes through which communal ideas of identity and belonging are formed through the shared understandings and practices of agency, time and space (Duffy 2014). Duffy investigated the emotional ecology of two cultural music festivals in Australia. In particular, she examined how sound impacted on the body and what this meant in terms of the processes of subjectivity and identity formation. She argued that by attending the festivals participants engaged in an experiential process, which opens the body to the sights, sounds, smells, experiences and feeling aroused by the festival. She argued that emotional and affective responses are integral parts of identity formation and social

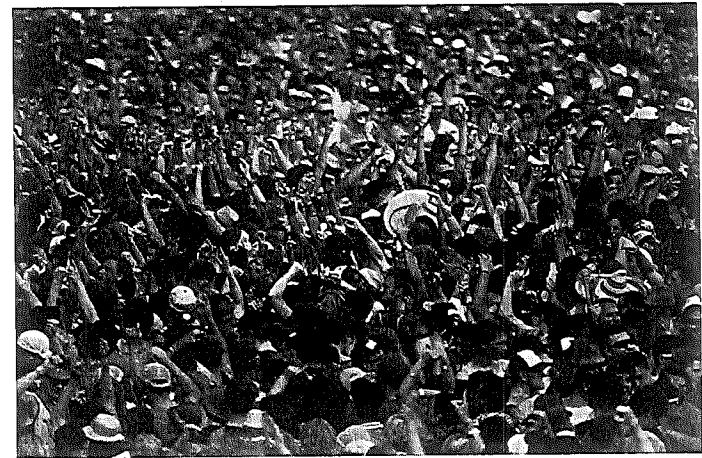


FIGURE 27 *'The intensity of the festival experience creates a sense of connectedness and belonging': The crowd at Big Day Out, Sydney, 2013.*

connection for festival-goers. They are feelings and means by which 'we' create togetherness and a sense of belonging. Her study mainly uses the sense of 'sound' to explore this connection, as 'sound can be both participatory and alienating – it evokes a bodily way of being in the world, you can loose yourself in the music or feel isolated and disruptive by the music' (Duffy 2014, 231).

This 'we' is a type, which Maffesoli (1996) refers to as a neo-tribe or emotional community that are bonded together through collectively shared thoughts, feelings, emotions and experiences (Cummings 2006, 2007). For festival-goers festivals are not only about leisure and pleasure; these spaces contain meaning as the intensity of the festival experience creates a sense of connectedness and belonging to scene within which they can experiment and express their identity (Cummings 2007) (Figure 27). Festival-goers often express their identity through their physical bodies and spectacle, such as wearing certain clothing, adorning their bodies with tattoos and outrageous hairstyles (Finkel 2009). While the physical embodiment of youth culture or neo-tribal alliances has been well documented in previous studies (McRobbie 1994; Cummings 2006; Anderton 2009), little attention has been given to the embodied sensual experience of attending a festival.

Moshing as part of the festival rhythm

The crowd roared and cheered, clapping their hands above their heads as the band walked on stage. The lead guitarist struck the first chord and the music began. From my elevated position I surveyed the growing crowd,

as they began to move. The mass of people were rising and falling like rolling waves in the sea. They sang as they jumped up and down in time to the music. Then, a lone sweaty body emerged from the ocean, elevated on the outstretched hands floating above the bouncing heads as he is passed along toward the stage. He stretched his arms toward the band, forming his hands into a sign language known only to him and then he gave an almighty shout, 'Rock and roll!' He was caught and dragged safely down over the front barricade by the security guards. As the song reached its crescendo, more bodies arose from the ocean of people. Girls and shirtless guys with tribal tattoos in black ink surfed above the crowd. Feet, legs, arms flew in every direction as the dust rose and engulfed the crowd. Finally the song ended and the dust settled for a brief moment as the sweat-saturated crowd cheered clapped, and grabbed a breath of air in anticipation of the next song. (Field notes, JC, 2005)

Lefebvre suggests that the conscious and unconscious perceptions we have of our bodily rhythms means we think with our bodies 'not only in the abstract, but in lived temporality' (cited in Duffy 2014). As Ehrenreich (cited in Duffy 2014, 231) argues 'to submit, bodily, to the music through dance [or moshing as described above] is to be incorporated into the community in a way far deeper than shared myth or common custom can achieve'. It is this corporeal shared experience that creates a sense of sociality and feeling of belonging for festival-goers.

The mosh pit is an example of the embodiment of this sense of belonging, as Penny (festival-goer aged twenty-three) describes.

It's funny [because] it's a kind, a communist sort of atmosphere, you're all in it together but at the same time it's very vicious like everyone's got their elbows out marking out their own space. I never saw anybody fall over without three hands reach down to pull [him or her] up. I suppose it's like self-preservation as well because if someone goes down and no one helps them up someone else is gunna fall over and it's gunna be terrible but yeah.

The contradictory nature of the mosh pit, as both a place of violence and solidarity, is interesting, as it contains a kind of mosh pit etiquette wherein the festival-goers look after one another and try to ensure a level of safety within the chaos, as Finn (festival-goer aged nineteen) notes:

When they would start those circle moshes when people would just run wildly in the middle of a circle and bash into each other. But when someone would fall over and they would help them straight back up and I kind of thought I that's a bit weird like there trying to bash each other up but they're still looking out for each other.

Music provides individuals with an 'intensely subjective sense of being social' (Frith 1996, 273). This intense engagement with the music by festival-goers in the mosh pit can create a sense of neo-tribal sociality and belonging. Such behaviour, which transcends what is expected and acceptable in everyday life, such as wild running and bodies bashing and jumping into each other, while viewed by non-festival-goers as eccentric and inappropriate, does create a sociality for the festival-goers. The field notes starting this section demonstrate this sociality and embodied sense of being, in and with the crowd. Interestingly, crowd surfing is officially banned at many festivals, as the activity is extremely dangerous and often results in injury; yet the practice is still common place during festivals (Tsitsos 1999; Ambrose 2001). In 2001, at Sydney's Big Day Out the actual rather than potential danger of mosh pits was demonstrated with tragic consequences when festival-goer Jessica Michalik was killed in a crowd surge during a performance by American band Limp Bizkit (Figure 28).

Furthermore, the mosh pit is an extremely hot environment and the bodies as described above are often saturated in sweat. The embodied experience of heat, which occurs at many live music events, can be considered as one way in which Australia's environment is entwined with and experienced through many Australian music festivals. Heat provides or produces festival experiences that can impact significantly upon the embodied experiences of festival-goers and as such warrants examination here.

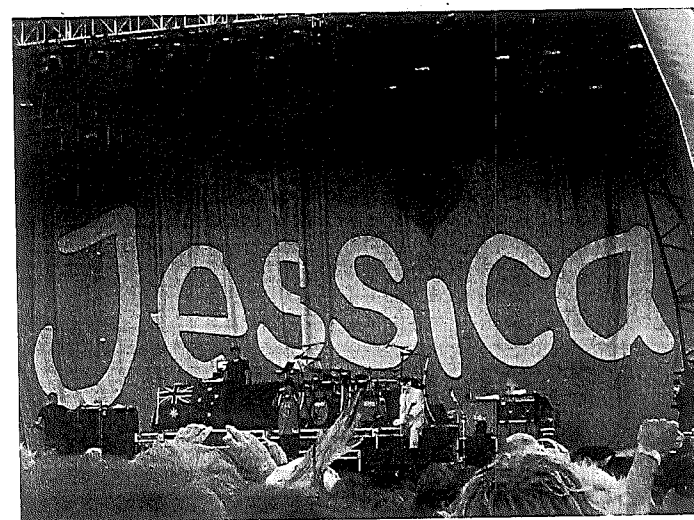


FIGURE 28 Soundwave Festival 2012, Melbourne. Limp Bizkit return to pay tribute to fan Jessica Michalik who had died as a result of injuries in the mosh pit at Big Day Out in 2001.

The Australian music festival scene

Hand in hand, it goes together. It's hot, summer, have a nice cold beer or four or five. [Paul, festival-goer, aged twenty]

Contemporary Australian music festivals occur throughout the year, in a wide range of environments. They are held in both urban and rural (Gibson and Connell 2011) locations, from the sun-baked concrete and searing heat of urban festivals like the Big Day Out and Soundwave, to the tranquil bush campsites of rural festivals like Splendour in the Grass. The festivals are a mixture of one-day touring events such as St Jerome's Laneway and multi-day camping events like Falls festival. Moreover, the varied locations and times of year produce highly varied weather conditions; as such while researching these festivals the authors have experienced record-breaking heat, torrential rain, swamp-like fields of mud, icy winter nights and lightning storms. However, Australian music festivals are held mainly during summer, and so these events are commonly associated with the embodied experience of heat. This was evidenced through participant responses, which is examined here. Moreover, the association of heat with music festivals has occurred since festivals were first held in Australia.

The Australian festival scene dates back to the open-air festival of Love Peace and Music held on pastoral lands in Ourimbah New South Wales in 1970, which was a Woodstock-like festival heavily influenced by the counterculture of the 1960s. The next major Australian music festival, Sunbury (which took place annually from 1972 to 1974), was held on farmland near Melbourne, Victoria. Unlike its predecessor the festival was heavily dominated by 'heat, dust and hard sweaty guitar' (Cockington 2001). These environmental factors continue to contribute significantly to the experiences of festival-goers, often shaping their practices during the festival, as well as their memories of the event. The embodied experience of heat, at one and the same time, evidences the inescapable entwinement of individuals and their surrounds, pulls attention from those surrounds back towards the body, penetrates the body and reconfigures the festival-goer's emotional engagement with the space. Moreover, the experience of heat demonstrates the complexity and multiplicity of the corporeal capacity of touch and its inseparability from the body as a whole entity.

It must be noted that the embodied experience of heat is not simply an innate response to external stimuli. Rather, heat imprints upon different bodies in different ways. Two attendees who spoke to us about heat considered it to be only mildly irritating, though for several other participants, the embodiment of heat profoundly impacted upon the experience of these events. Thus, the experience of heat demonstrates the diverse ways in which the environment presses upon bodies and the diverse ways in which this interaction is felt and understood. Heat was discussed most commonly by participants in terms of negative experiences. The negative effect that heat had upon participants

is not simply related to their individual physiological responses to heat, but instead evidences the body as a physical, social and emotional entity. The understanding of heat produced by Western cultures demonstrates entrenched concerns that relate to the relationship between individuals and certain aspects of the natural environment – perhaps exemplified outside an Australian context in the aptly named Burning Man gathering in the American desert.

The embodied experience of heat is most often associated with tactility and experienced through the skin. In recent years, as interest in the senses has grown, the corporeal capacity of touch has begun to receive significant scholarly attention. Despite this there seems to be few academic accounts of the embodied experience of heat. Further, although the skin enables and produces tactile experience, Benthien (2002) suggests this region of the body has been relatively neglected in scholarly texts. Indeed some recent examinations of the senses and touch focus more generally upon this corporeal capacity, without providing an in-depth account of the skin. Also, the weather, an element of our natural environment, which provides tactile stimulation, is often ignored in scholarly accounts that consider the interaction between the individual and the environment (Ingold 2000). In everyday life, through design and architecture, the weather is often experienced at a distance (Howes 2005; Waitt 2014); however, during a festival attendees are exposed to the weather for long periods of time. Indeed for some festival cultures, the impact of weather, its variability and capacity to change landscape, is a pivotal issue (we might think of Glastonbury Festival in England, divided in memory and public perception into the mud and the dry years – see Figure 29).



FIGURE 29 Glastonbury Festival 2007 – one of the 'mud years'.

So, the weather does not merely swirl above, in the periphery; rather it shapes the experiences of festival-goers. When Marion (festival-goer aged twenty-six) was asked about negative experiences at live music events, she discussed the weather and in particular the heat of Big Day Out.

It was boiling hot and I got sunburnt ... that made me feel weary throughout the day and ... [I was] just physically feeling exhausted from the heat ... it was just horrible.

At festivals the tactile neutrality of everyday life is replaced by dynamic weather conditions, unavoidable and uncontrollable. Extreme tactile stimulation was produced by the 'boiling hot day', and Marion's body is transformed by the space, made 'weary' and 'exhausted' by the heat. Tim (festival-goer aged twenty-five) reflected similar concerns through his discussion of heat. For him the tactile experience of the natural environment at festivals was particularly intense and deeply effected his emotional connection to the space.

[At] outdoor festivals usually I'm cranky and sunburnt and hating all the shirtless men who are touching me ... I think at the summer festivals because it's so hot and so horrible to be out in the heat there's this underlying anger, like everyone's just walking around a bit angry.

Tim understands this embodied experience of the Australian summer at a festival to be a collective or shared experience. The way heat is absorbed by or impinges upon different bodies can vary immensely, yet Tim projects his own response to the weather conditions onto the bodies that surround him. Exposure to the sun simultaneously evidences the skin as a place of encounter, where an element of the natural environment – the sun – touches the body, and as a porous conduit through which heat enters and affects the body, physically and emotionally. Moreover, Tim's comments relating to shirtless men reflected a common concern for participants with bare skin and in particular sweaty skin.

Sweaty bodies

... Squished together with 20,000–50,000 other sweaty people you don't know ... confronting yet uniting. (Howarth 2006)

At festivals thousands of bodies move throughout the event site, and at Australian festivals these bodies are often hot and sweaty. Personal space is often limited and so bare, often-sweaty skin comes into contact with the bodies of others. This physical interaction, between skin and sweaty skin,

produced emotional responses by participants. Despite the commonality of sweat within these spaces, festival-goers often viewed sweaty bodies as undesirable and abhorrent:

it hinders the rest of my experience ... the super-, super-sweaty people that just rub up against you, like if you're wearing a shirt that's fine, everybody's going to get a bit sweaty, but when it's the actual sweat coming straight off someone onto you, that puts a bit of a literal dampener on your experience. (Sally, festival-goer aged twenty-five)

Smith and Davidson's discussion of the nature/culture dualism in relation to bare skin is relevant here, as they believe a key facet of the modern Western symbolic order is the 'boundary it constructs and relies upon between nature and culture' (2006, 47). The primitive, disordered and often chaotic natural environment poses a threat to the civilized, ordered, modern self. Through the uninvited contact of certain elements of nature with bare skin, this threat is felt (Smith and Davidson 2006). Sweat could be understood here as posing a similar threat to the embodied experience of the self, particularly for contemporary youths.

According to Waitt, 'bodily fluids are often considered a dirty topic' (2014, 6). Indeed, within the social sciences sweat is commonly conceptualized as dirt; sweat is 'matter out of place' (Waitt 2014, 3). This substance, which oozes out from the inside, sits upon the skin and through touch can be transferred to another. As Waitt suggests, 'rendered as dirt, sweat is understood as a potential source of contamination' (2014, 3). This notion was reflected in the comments of Peter (festival-goer aged nineteen) who said, 'it's so hot and it's pretty disgusting there's so many people and they're all sweating'. This perception of sweat as dirty was also articulated by Eric (festival-goer aged twenty-one):

you know Big Day Out is synonymous with sweaty people ... that's why you buy a new t-shirt when you go to Big Day Out mate, because you've just got fat people sweat all over you and you wanna get rid of that shit.

For Eric, sweat is both expected and unacceptable. He finds the sweat of others, particularly 'fat people', so undesirable he replaces his t-shirt in an attempt to 'get rid' of that which he understands as a contaminating element. So, within certain live music spaces, the touch of sweat from another's body is unavoidable and highly undesirable. Potential contact with sweat triggers feelings of disgust. The natural element of sweat represents the uncivilized, uncontrollable interior of the body and as such, contact with it transgresses the experience of the ordered, modern self. Festival spaces as sites in which everyday norms are transgressed has also been discussed in relation to the carnivalesque.

Corporeality, the carnivalesque and the festivalization of everyday life

During music festivals attendees are exposed, for long periods of time, to a sensory environment that is rich and varied. Sensory engagement in everyday life is often mundane, routine and comfortable (Howes 2005). But the festival space is full of sounds, sights and bodily experiences that can be had only within the festival space. Festivals are replete with overwhelming stimulus. Music flows, rages or pumps through the space, the hum of the crowd is constant, bright lights flash, graphic artworks and huge media screens are seen throughout the site, aromatic smells from food stalls mix with that of stale beer, cigarettes and sweat, the tastes of Australian festival food such as gozleme, fairy floss and Bundaberg rum touch the tongue throughout the day, the skin registers the heat of the sun, the constant brushing and bumping into other bodies and in the stomach a twinge of excitement and joy may be felt as you watch your favourite act.

Festivals provide sensory stimulation unlike that experienced through everyday activities. The experience is understood as a kind of freedom from the mundane routines of everyday life and the heightened sensory environment provided by festival spaces has prompted some theorists to draw a connection between contemporary festivals and the carnivalesque. According to Anderton contemporary music festivals are 'a time during which the normal rules of social hierarchy and acceptable behaviour are suspended or inverted' (Anderton 2009). This is exemplified by the 'loud music, colourful and outlandish clothing, muddy fields, drugs, alcohol, sexual freedom and so on – which are both celebrated and denounced in the media portrayal and advertising of festivals to this day – offer carnivalesque liberation from social norms' (Anderton 2009).

However, although transgressions of social norms are tolerated within the festival space, following Bakhtin (1984), of course, with carnival there are limits and boundaries as to just how far that transgression can go. Festivals may appear to be the 'epitome of disorder' from the outside, but order is constantly 'provisional local and specific and not something that can be avoided all together' (Hetherington 2000, 57). Confirming some limits to carnival excess, festival-goer Sally discussed her understanding of the mosh pit etiquette:

just being considerate, jump around and sing along, that's fine, but yeah just don't do anything out of the ordinary, like not being violent on purpose, if you're taller than someone and you can move to accommodate someone behind you then that's sweet.

Similarly, and with its own corporeal resonance, the long-standing Meredith Music Festivals overtly present what they term a 'no dickhead policy' (Meredith Music Festival 2014) through which festival-goers are encouraged

to be self-regulatory, 'politely informing' their fellow festival-goers that certain behaviours are not admired or appreciated.

Although festivals provide unique (even if repeated) experiences, which vary significantly to that of everyday life, these experiences and the way in which they affect the individual, physically, emotionally and socially are not all contained to the festival site. Rather, embodied experiences triggered or enabled through festivals can occur beyond the time and space of the actual event. This festivalization refers to the process by which the boundaries between the festival event and its geographical and social context 'spill out' beyond its temporal and spatial boundaries (Roche 2011; Duffy 2014). Duffy suggests that 'festivalisation processes draw on collective understandings and practices of space, time and agency, which are then deployed so as to shape communal notions of identity and belonging' (Duffy 2014, 230). For Roche, events are internalized into a community's calendar of 'memorable and narratable pasts, with the sociocultural rhythm of life in the present, and with anticipated futures' (Roche 2011, 127–8). For the youth attending Australian music festivals, this incorporation of the festivals into their social 'calendar' is an example of the festivalization of the everyday. Thus festival-goers carefully plan festival attendance: saving up enough money for a ticket, buying tickets months in advance of the event, booking accommodation and all this before the announcement of the band line-up. There is a sense of anticipation, celebration, pleasure and fun that can be linked to the embodied experience of festival attendance. Before the event festival-goers share information, like or comment on festival pages on Facebook or follow festival organizers on Twitter, as well as share photos and videos, checking-in or updating their status both during and after the event, and as such the spatial and temporal boundaries of these events become increasingly fluid, by means which include social media.

Festivals, though providing distinct experiences from everyday life, are not contained events, easily separated from everyday life. Rather, the spatial and temporal boundaries of these events extend into the everyday. Recent academic accounts reflect this notion and add complexity to considerations of these events. Giorgi and Sassatelli (2011) assert the ways in which they are intimately embedded within the public sphere as normative and at times transformative processes. As the lyrics to Pez's Australian hit from 2008 'The festival song' (Pez 2008) used above demonstrate, there is an innate sense of community of 'festival heads' and 'knowing the plan'. This insider knowledge creates a sociality between festival-goers and their everyday lives as they both plan *and* remember their festival experience.

Conclusion

Music festivals provide a space that draw attention to one's bodily experience and the bodies of others. Through the shifting, fleeting nature of the space, the

body is enlivened within these spaces as 'live bodies perform for live bodies' (Johnson 2013, 101). The corporeal experience of the festival contains a distinctive temporality and spatiality, which creates a heightened sensuality that imprints upon the body. Music festivals are spaces which allow for the interaction of live bodies, between performers and the audience or among festival-goers themselves. The tribal nature of the festival space allows for a form of togetherness that draws attention to the entwinement of mind and body, thought and feeling. The sensory body allows a corporeal connection to the collective consciousness that lingers in the air at the festival, the feel or vibe of the event, that which is indescribable, yet palpable. As we have seen, with the rapid growth of contemporary music festivals in Australia and around the globe, researchers explore festival practices and histories as well as the festivalization of the everyday. Festival-goers develop sociality through the embodied experience of participating in a music festival. This sensate dimension is produced through a combination of affective responses to the sights, sounds, smells, experiences and feelings of the festival. In this chapter we have attempted to go beyond the literature, which privileges the discussion of body in response of the 'sound' of music. It has captured bodily response to the environment of the festival through the examples of moshing and the feel of sweat on the skin, which endeavours to add new understandings of the body in popular music studies.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

The Love Parade: European techno, the EDM festival and the tragedy in Duisburg

Sean Nye and Ronald Hitzler

Over the course of its 21-year history (1989–2010), the Love Parade grew to become, for a number of years, the largest and most famous electronic music event in Germany and all of Europe. The event was staged on a total of nineteen occasions in Germany – sixteen times in Berlin (1989–2003, 2006), the city with which the event remains most closely associated, and three times in the Ruhr Valley (2007, 2008 and 2010) (see Meyer 2001; Nye 2009a and, for images and interviews, Loveparade 2003). Over the course of this history, from 2001 on, the Love Parade name was globalized and used for affiliated mass events in numerous cities (Tel Aviv, San Francisco, Vienna, Cape Town, Santiago de Chile and Mexico City).

The Love Parade was also the first 'techno parade' event of its kind in Europe, and the most famous techno parade in the world. Techno parades are a specific form of electronic dance music (EDM) festival, consisting of a caravan of trucks that drive through the main streets of a major metropolitan area. The trucks are equipped with sound systems, from which DJs play techno, or EDM. The aesthetics of techno parades grew out of a combination of rave and free festival culture, while borrowing from the aesthetics and structures within the larger history of festival parades, such as Carnival and Pride Parades (Johnston 2005; Nye 2009a). Yet the Love Parade became its own original. The techno parades that followed in its wake, both in Germany, such as Generation Move in Hamburg and Reincarnation in Hannover, and internationally, such as the Street Parade in