

The Pop Festival

History, Music,
Media, Culture

**EDITED BY
GEORGE MCKAY**

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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

Zürich and the Technoparade in Paris, borrowed extensively from the Love Parade's aesthetics and structures. It thus became the symbolic originator of a specific form of EDM party, primarily based in Europe, that saw its rise in the 1990s and decline in the 2000s.

On 24 July 2010, the Love Parade's history came, however, to a horrific and abrupt end. Several hours after the event began in the city of Duisburg, overcrowding at its main entrance resulted in a panic and stampede, which caused the deaths of twenty-one people and the injuring of hundreds more. With a tragedy of this magnitude, a shadow has been cast across the Love Parade's legacy. It now stands in the popular imagination as an exemplary annual event whose existence was perpetually in crisis and whose future was never certain, but which, in the end, lived beyond its time. When the definitive cancelling of the event by its de facto owner, Rainer Schaller, was announced the day after the tragedy, the debate regarding the Love Parade's definitive meaning for our time began (T-online Nachrichten 2010). The legal procedures regarding accountability and criminal actions occurring around the panic in Duisburg are also ongoing.¹ However, this chapter does not address these legal ramifications or criminal procedures. As authors who have experienced the Love Parade in Berlin and the Ruhr Valley, we seek rather to clarify how the Love Parade came to be held in the city of Duisburg and to provide an overview of the parade's history within the framework of pop festivals.

The chapter is divided into three sections. We begin with an introduction to the Love Parade's Berlin history and the transforming interests involved in moving the parade to the Ruhr Valley. We also explain the economic and cultural context of the Rhine-Ruhr metropolitan region. Second, we focus on the Ruhr Valley Love Parade history and the city of Duisburg. This investigation addresses Duisburg's hosting of the Love Parade in the context of the Ruhr Valley's status as the 2010 European Capital of Culture, under the title 'RUHR.2010' (see Hitzler et al. 2012, RUHR2010 website), as well as the tragedy of 24 July 2010. In the final section, we offer some conclusions regarding the Love Parade's history in the context of 'eventization' theory, to understand the role that mass gatherings such as the Love Parade play in marketing cities and regions with cultural capital and tourism, while also addressing the continuous and arguably increasing importance of EDM festivals in the twenty-first century.

Love Parade history: Berlin, the Ruhr Valley and event economics

The Love Parade began on a rainy summer's day, 1 July, in the fortuitous year of 1989, just a few months before the Berlin Wall came down (on 9 November), which resulted in Germany's official reunification on

3 October 1990. A two-truck 'sound system', with 150 people attending this underground parade, announced a new form of party within the developing Berlin techno scene. The first parade (and subsequent parades until 1995) took place along the Kurfürstendamm, the main shopping street in West Berlin. The parade was thus established during the musical-historical crossroads following the 1988–89 acid house trend in West Germany (and West Berlin) and leading to the early 1990s techno-rave popular explosion in the newly united Germany. The idea of the 'Love Parade' derived from Dr Motte, a Berlin acid house DJ who wanted to have a free and open party on the streets where people could gather and 'be themselves' through dance, fun and spectacle. The partiers that year demonstrated under the quite playful slogan, 'Friede, Freude, Eierkuchen' (Peace, Joy, Pancakes), a discursive attitudinality that arguably reflected also the cheeky combination of 'Love' with the political and military traditions of 'Parade'.

It was hardly expected during this inauspicious beginning that the parade would develop into the flagship event for the German techno scene as early as 1991 (see Figure 30). During that year, the regional EDM scenes from across Germany (including Frankfurt, Cologne and others) gathered at a single event, the Love Parade, for the first time (see Meyer 2001; Sextro and Wick 2008). The parade grew rapidly from 6,000 participants in 1991 to an extraordinary 750,000 in 1996, which was the year the Love Parade transferred from the Kurfürstendamm in West Berlin to the Straße des 17. Juni. This rapid development also occurred in parallel with the establishing of Berlin techno clubs and parties along a new 'club mile', many of which were located in the free spaces that had opened up in East Berlin during the



FIGURE 30 *The Love Parade, Berlin, 1998: 'The flagship event for the German techno scene'.*

early 1990s (Nye 2009a; Rapp 2009). The Straße des 17. Juni is a major thoroughfare; while still located in West Berlin, this street leads to the Brandenburg Gate, a monument along the former East–West border. On the other side of the Brandenburg Gate, the thoroughfare continues into former East Berlin under a more famous name: Unter den Linden. This move to the former border reflected in urban geography the symbolic development of the parade into the pop symbol of a newly united Berlin and a newly united Germany. The festival eventually grew to become the largest electronic music festival in the world, with a peak attendance of 1.5 million in 1999. Echoing Woodstock decades earlier, it was even described, in *Der Spiegel* newspaper, as the ‘symbol of a generation’ (Beyer et al. 1999).

Indeed, by the time of its move, the Love Parade had become a hybrid pop festival beyond its original form as a ‘techno parade’. It retained a playful, and minimal, use of political language through official yearly mottos (1997’s ‘Let the Sunshine in Your Heart’, or 1998’s ‘One World, One Future’, for instance) and the legal designation of a demonstration through Dr Motte’s annual, and short, speeches (often just a few minutes long) during the event. Along with the parade, media and cultural industries began to develop. For example, each year the parade was broadcast live on VIVA, Germany’s music television equivalent to MTV; as a result, numerous videos of Love Parade DJ-sets remain available on YouTube. Various kinds of media were also produced in connection with the parade, from CD compilations to Love Parade ‘anthems’, to a feature film called *be. Angeled* (Nye 2009a).

The parade itself split into two parts. During the day, the parade format was retained to the extent that numerous sound systems, or ‘love mobiles’, sponsored by clubs, labels or pop media organizations, had DJs playing varieties of EDM. These would run along the Straße des 17. Juni and around a Prussian monument known as the Siegessäule (Victory Column), which was at the centre of the thoroughfare and thus became the de facto symbol of the Love Parade. Shortly before sunset, the various love mobiles were linked up with the main stage for the so-called *Abschlusskundgebung* (closing rally). The linked sound systems represented a symbolic experience of greater unity with the main stage at the Siegessäule. Sets by star DJs followed in rapid succession, with the main focus on the stage rather than the parade. The passage into night also allowed for an extraordinary light show to be broadcast both from the trucks and the main stage. The Love Parade developed into a kind of hybrid event that mixed parade, outdoor festival and media spectacle. The closing ceremony would be followed by the dispersing of the masses, usually to various techno parties, and the soundscape across Berlin itself that night made it feel like a techno city. Techno was played in all possible venues: restaurants, cafes, the U-Bahn and various impromptu DJ sound systems in the streets and parks. Numerous special club and rave events of the so-called Love Week were organized in the days leading up to and following the parade.

The parade’s long history on the Straße des 17. Juni (1996–2003, 2006) had both symbolic and organizational benefits. First, it took place in front of the Brandenburg Gate, which had become a symbol of German and European division during the Cold War. Thus, the parade became associated with a monument identifiable to numerous German and international tourists (Nye 2009a). As seen in Figure 31, the party’s pop play with these monuments is evident, for example, in the music video to an anthem with which the parade remains strongly identified: Da Hool’s ‘Meet her at the Love Parade’ (Da Hool 1997). The Straße des 17. Juni is also located in the Tiergarten, Berlin’s central park, which ensured that overcrowding was not a great concern. The park grounds allowed people to come and go from the parade as they wished. This use of space, however, also caused anger and debate regarding the damage to the gardens each year and the mass amounts of rubbish; indeed, the greatest criticism of the parade at this time focused on its commercialization and the antisocial behaviour, the mass beer consumption and resulting urine in the park.

For these and a variety of others (legal, economic and popular) reasons, conflicts regarding the event’s presence in Berlin remained constant. Eventually, the possibility of holding the Love Parade in Berlin came to a definitive end in early 2007. Completing a long process of commercial distancing from the Berlin techno scene, the new organizer of the event was the Lopavent GmbH, a subsidiary of a German fitness club chain, McFit. The owner, Rainer Schaller, had set up Lopavent after he bought the Love Parade name from Dr Motte and four co-owners in 2006. Thereafter, the Love Parade became an event organized in order to promote the McFit brand. Lopavent still managed to organize the Love Parade in Berlin in 2006. However, by 2007, Lopavent became interested in moving the event to the Ruhr Valley, a major industrial area that was part of the metropolitan region of the Rhine-Ruhr. Consisting of roughly 11 million people, the Rhine-Ruhr is by far the largest metropolitan region in Germany; in fact, it is roughly



FIGURE 31 Da Hool, ‘Meet her at the Love Parade’ (1997) video: The Love Parade’s ‘pop play’, dancing in front of the Brandenburg Gate.

double the size of Berlin. The commercial and cultural benefits of moving the parade to the Ruhr Valley quickly became clear; in February 2007, the end of the long Berlin history of the Love Parade was finally announced, and a five-year plan for the Love Parade to tour different Ruhr cities each year (see Heissmeyer 2007 for the five-year plan).

Relocating around the Ruhr Valley seemed to offer many benefits for Lopavent's plans for securing the Love Parade's future. These involve three key aspects. First, this *polycentric* metropolitan region was markedly different from Berlin; it even necessitated that the Love Parade take place in various cities within the Ruhr Valley. This Berlin event thus transformed into a travelling carnival. In this way, Lopavent could avoid suspicion that, in leaving Berlin, it had to settle for a 'second best' German city (such as Hamburg or Munich). Indeed, the move to the Ruhr Valley seemed to be a conscious decision to fundamentally reimagine the Love Parade. Second, the negotiations confirmed that the managers from business, the media, politics and culture were interested in, indeed enthusiastic about, bringing the Love Parade to the Ruhr Valley. Third, the Ruhr region had already gained considerable prestige, because the city of Essen was to be the European Capital of Culture for 2010. The nomination of Essen was, in effect, the occasion for promoting the entire region as a cultural Ruhr Metropolis. By pooling their resources and embracing a marketing strategy of symbolic monocentrism, these cities could challenge the regional dominance of the Rhine cities (Cologne and Düsseldorf). Finally, it seemed as though the *Ruhrzeit* (so-called Ruhr time) had arrived.

The idea that had been manifested, the Ruhr Metropolis, appeared to be the ideal surroundings for the Love Parade. The following cities were chosen as its future sites: Essen (2007), Dortmund (2008), Bochum (2009), Duisburg (2010) and Gelsenkirchen (2011). This meant that a five-year plan now existed that would secure both the cultural promotion of the Ruhr Valley and, finally, the future of the Love Parade. After all, the Love Parade had been in various stages of crisis throughout its long history in Berlin, despite the economic and cultural benefits it had given the capital following unification. These crises included cancellations of the parade in 2004 and 2005, which almost ended the event permanently. In contrast, the Ruhr parades could securely garner anticipation, with the apparent support of welcoming cities, for a grand finale of the European Capital of Culture celebrations during RUHR.2010.

The Ruhr parades and the Duisburg tragedy

On 25 August 2007, with the sloganizing certainty that 'Love is Everywhere', the parade's new advance through the Ruhr Metropolis began: first in Essen. As had happened during its Berlin years, the official figures of the Love Parade attendance were exaggerated. Yet, with pressure for success and

marketing sensations, the Love Parade figures quickly increased to the point of systematic falsification during the Ruhr years.² It was widely reported in the media that up to 1.2 million party people attended the Love Parade in Essen (unofficial statistics of 400,000 are more reasonable). With a split structure comparable to the Berlin Love Parades, the love mobiles headed through the city during the day, up to the main square. A successful 'closing rally' at the prize-winning main stage helped to quell longings for a return to the Berlin Victory Column. By the end of the parade, worries that had been prominent in the media – such as that the parade could be a quantitative disaster in terms of attendees or a qualitative debacle in terms of party organization – proved unfounded.

Completely enthused by the precedent established by Essen, the Dortmund city authorities began to plan for 2008. For the 'Highway of Love', they blocked an entire section of the major route, the B1/A40. The start of the parade was delayed considerably by rain, but when it began, a resounding sound-exhaust was emitted along the Ruhr highway. The masses of partying people seemed endless, both on the freeway and in front of the two-storey main stage. With these great results, the extraordinary figure of 1.6 million visitors was announced, suspiciously 100,000 more than the 1.5 million record set by the 1999 Love Parade. While clearly a PR stunt (actual figures of 'only' 500,000 are more reasonable), the elation of the organizers was patent. However, after these successes in creating what looked like a successful new travelling tradition of the Love Parade, the following year it was suddenly cancelled when the Bochum city authorities withdrew their support and organization, daunted by the prospect of a reported 1 million party-goers turning up to their small city for Europe's largest rave.

For the numerous supporters of the Love Parade, including the organizers of the European Capital of Culture RUHR.2010 events, and those with a vision of the Ruhr Metropolis, this was a new and unexpected blow. After the Love Parade's future had finally seemed secure after years of crisis, it was once again cancelled. Thus, the thanks to Duisburg was considerable when the city confirmed it would indeed still host the 2010 Love Parade, as originally agreed, even though it also did not appear to have the capacity to handle the event. Duisburg was immediately swept up by supportive and powerful interests, so that the Ruhr Valley would not suffer the disgrace of rejecting one of the largest pop festivals in Europe during the same year as RUHR.2010. In the following months, the technical, logistical and financial wheels were set in motion to transform Duisburg, in particular, the ruins of the Duisburger Güterbahnhof (the Duisburg train depot).

This large industrial field, about a mile south of the Duisburg train station, was to be developed into a usable site for the 'Art of Love', the Love Parade 2010 (Figure 32). Observers and fans were at first irritated that no actual parade was planned through the city centre. Rather, a considerably reduced number of floats would drive in a circle around the massive industrial fields of the depot, which was itself to be fenced in because of a



FIGURE 32 *The location for Love Parade 2010, on disused post-industrial ground behind Duisburg railway station.*

range of technical and legal reasons. In this form, it appeared that the Love Parade had finally diminished into the mere semblance of a techno parade. The official justification was that the compact urban structure of Duisburg did not allow for any alternative. The Güterbahnhof was the only site large enough to accommodate the anticipated mass of ravers and party-goers.

After Bochum, Duisburg was the smallest and the least recognizable city that had ever been considered for the Love Parade. The compact urban structure and lack of administrative resources thus presented considerable challenges and new risks. As charted above, the Love Parade ran smoothly for its many years in Berlin's *Tiergarten*, and it took place in the two major cities of the Ruhr Valley: Essen and Dortmund. Dortmund, especially, had developed a reputation for electronic music events that made its hosting of the Love Parade seem logical and practical. Since 1995, Dortmund's Westfalenhallen, or Westphalia Halls, were host to the oldest annual mega-rave in Germany: the Mayday. Similarly, an electronic music festival, Juicy Beats, had taken place annually in the Westfalenpark since 1996. Each of these sites was ideal for the after-hour parties following the Love Parade 2008.

Duisburg, however, was beset by considerable challenges. While the Ruhr Valley has suffered from a declining population and unemployment since the early 1960s, Duisburg had been particularly hard hit. These struggles aside, the importance of Duisburg as a logistic and industrial area should not be discounted. Duisburg is one of the world's major steel cities, home to Thyssen-Krupp, and it also boasts the largest inland harbour in Europe. Nevertheless, Duisburg provided challenges not present in Essen, Dortmund or Berlin. For a city with such economic and cultural issues, it was of utmost importance to Duisburg that the Love Parade be successful. The event was both a marketing platform in the effort to attract 'youth culture' and a source

of considerable tourism for the industrial city. Moreover, this event was to take place in the year of RUHR.2010, which represented the opportunity for Duisburg to become fully integrated into the new Ruhr Metropolis, while stealing the spotlight from more prominent cities. In short, the pressures were extraordinary.

So in the early afternoon of 24 July 2010, despite many unanswered logistical issues, the arrival of the expected party masses in Duisburg began. Shortly after 4 p.m., there was an official announcement that 1.4 million visitors were expected. It seemed to be an extraordinary triumph for the city. The realistic figures are now estimated at around 300,000; nevertheless, until the moment the panic began at approximately 4.40 p.m., the jubilation in Duisburg seemed apparent. What followed was a chaotic unfolding of events and reports that were deeply troubling, even traumatic, for all who were personally involved in some capacity. As attendees tried to escape overcrowding by reaching a narrow staircase at the main entrance, a stampede resulted in hundreds of injuries and the deaths of twenty-one people.³ This disaster also resulted in trauma for many of the survivors and, as mentioned, serious legal actions against multiple parties connected to the organizers, the police and the city government, which are ongoing.

Such a horrific end to the history of the Love Parade in the Ruhr Valley has further resulted in a plethora of cultural accusations and interpretations. It was later linked by many, including the original founder of the Love Parade, Dr Motte, to the gradual distancing of a cult-event from its original idealistic intentions (The Local website 2010). It had been transformed and reorganized to suit the complex materialistic calculations of entrepreneurs, media organizations and city politicians – as Dr Motte put it in the wake of the disaster, 'It is the fault of the organizers. ... It is just about making money; the organizers did not show the slightest feeling of responsibility for the people' (quoted in The Local website 2010).

In 2007 and 2008, the Love Parade had been the exemplary pop event representing the new cool cultural vision of the Ruhr Metropolis. This vision utilized the reputation of the Love Parade, following its internationalization in 2001, as an event linked to major global cities. However, the Ruhr officials and media organizations were also fooling themselves if they believed that the Love Parade would bring the Ruhr Valley cultural prestige. In fact, the Love Parade's move to the Ruhr Valley was at once an economic benefit and a cultural liability. Arguably, the prestige of the Love Parade had already run its course, and, for many EDM and carnival purists, it had become the object of ridicule for its commercial compromises. After all, they would point out, to maximize profits, sponsorship and media partnership deals (even with the notorious German tabloid, *Bild*) had been made, while for the McFit fitness chain itself, the Love Parade was seen as a marketing event suited for the chain – combining the twin-functionality of EDM as music for dance clubs and fitness clubs – while offering mainstream youth and other party-goers relaxing summer fun.

Yet the Love Parade, these criticisms aside, remained one of the few music events of such social-political dimensions as to claim the representative spotlight of an entire generation. That it became representative of the German techno scene during the 1990s was its achievement and its scourge. Indeed, in the 2000s, a gradual alienation occurred between the Love Parade and the techno scene, including its more popular wings. Dr Motte, the founder of the Love Parade, transformed already by 2006 into one of its most outspoken critics. It remained an EDM festival musically, yet many branches of the techno scene no longer identified the parade as a relevant techno festival. Rather, media attention during the 2000s became focused on Berlin club culture and its new international scene of 'easyjetset' tourism (Rapp 2009; Nye 2009b). The major techno magazines located in Berlin, primarily *Groove* and *De:Bug*, contained virtually no reports on the Love Parade following 2003, although regional ones, such as the Rhine-Ruhr-based *Raveline*, did continue to feature the Love Parade. The aura of the Love Parade appeared to have dissolved into a hollow ritual, where its pop fun had turned into a bad mix of cynicism and sarcasm.

Since the catastrophe, in which twenty-one people died, the question of the Love Parade's hollow aura has been heightened to include issues of self-deception in relation to both moral and legal responsibilities. Still, over the course of its twenty-one years history, it seemed almost miraculous that an annual event of this size was carried out eighteen times seemingly without a hitch. However, the transformation of the Love Parade into a travelling carnival ultimately posed new risks. The feature of constant geographic novelty meant that the Love Parade would take place on untested grounds and sites every single year. For an event of this size, this presented logistical challenges each year that eventually resulted in terrible mistakes at the Love Parade Duisburg.

Eventization: The continuation of the EDM festival

Placed in the larger context of popular culture at the turn of the millennium, the Love Parade can be considered within the structure of 'events' (Gebhardt et al. 2000). An event, understood sociologically, pertains to social gatherings that are systematically marketed as necessary for people to attend in order to have a unique 'experience'. Entertainment industries, of which the Love Parade was a part, offer an 'experience' consisting of profane 'fun' that is marketed as self-expression free from specific rituals and political ties (Gebhardt et al. 2000). Mass events like the Love Parade operate on a double marketing strategy of connecting to specific scenes and traditions (techno and rave culture) while promising that the event will be a unique experience for all (we might here consider the 2,000 motto, 'One World, One Loveparade').

In whatever way the event is marketed, it is simply *not to be missed*. Cities and regions thus view events as ideal means to attract both media attention and visitors.

The Love Parade was an event with far greater potential for visitors than the mere techno scene itself offered. Indeed, in virtually every economic aspect and media practice, the Love Parade had been transformed into a *public event*. To be sure, aside from its early period (1989–91), the Love Parade had been a public event both in Berlin and the Ruhr Valley. It transformed within a few short years from a totally unobserved, small and alternative techno parade to a mass event that was reported on the world over. While the Love Parade changed its motto each year, it kept its basic idea: individuals from all corners of the world gather in a single place to party, dance and have 'fun'. The only limitation was the specific type of music on offer. This propagated a universal sense of what a 'participant' could be. It is important to remember that the Love Parade charged no entrance fee and had no door policy. In this sense, it was in its conception a public event in a fundamental form, although it did maintain links with the edgier techno scene: in Berlin, for example, as noted, there developed a Love Week of techno events that accompanied the Love Parade.

At mass events, there is always the potential that panic or other catastrophes can occur. A disaster on the scale of Duisburg might lead one to expect major changes in event planning. After all, the trust of city and local authorities would be shaken, especially the assumption that events are the best option for promoting economic growth and cultural prestige. However, the only major change in events that the Duisburg tragedy directly caused was the definitive cancelling of the Love Parade and a partial decline and avoidance by sponsors, of new techno parades; an attempted replacement, in particular the B-Parade proposed for Berlin in 2012, was itself cancelled. In fact, the Fuck Parade, a small anti-Love Parade started by the critical wings of the Berlin scene in 1997, is the only remaining 'techno parade' in Berlin (see Kutschbach 2013 for a report). Nevertheless, established techno parades of similar size, notably the Street Parade in Zürich, continue (see The Local website 2014 for a report on the 'million party-goers' at the 2014 Street Parade in Zürich).

Moreover, the Berlin Love Parade helped to establish the reputation of the Straße des 17. Juni as a place for mass events that continues to this day; recent and current events on this street include public screenings for major international football tournaments at the *Fanmeile* (fan mile), and Berlin's Pride Parade (the Christopher Street Day Parade), which boasts a considerable number of techno floats. One newspaper report of the football *Fanmeile* was even headlined: 'Like the Love Parade with football' (Brennberger 2012). Though the techno parade is now not the preferred form of event, the multi-day and mid-sized dance festival continues to have an extraordinary, and growing, presence throughout Europe. In part, this form is preferred because security and logistics can be better managed on

long-established, ticketed and regulated festival grounds. In Germany alone, this includes major annual festivals: Mayday (since 1991), Time Warp (since 1994), Nature One (since 1995), Melt (since 1997), Fusion (since 1997) and many more. Dance festival polls and reports continue to be featured in techno magazines and online publications, from *Faze* to *Resident Advisor*, which has even included a *monthly* Top ten list of dance festivals since 2007 (Resident Advisor 2014). International EDM festivals have also grown immensely in recent years, from the United States to Brazil to Korea, which has caused increased competition, rising prices and critical reports in the German press (e.g. see Hartmann 2013; Waltz 2014).

For officials and local authorities, mass events, including EDM festivals, appear to remain the only alternative because everyday life in late modern society has already become *eventized*. Indeed, eventization has turned into a routine aspect of modernity similar in ways to pluralization (Berger and Luckmann 1995), individualization (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002), optionalization (Gross 1994), commercialization (Prisching 2006), globalization (Beck 1999) and mediatization (Krotz 2007). Eventization is, in other words, the strongest manifestation of what the Bamberg sociologist Gerhard Schulze has called our 'experience rationality' (Schulze 1992), which he later analysed as an 'event culture' (Schulze 1999). In the German context, this has led to repeated critiques of the perceived problem of the hedonistic 'society of fun' (*Spaßgesellschaft*) (Hepp and Vogelsang 2003). These critiques against the amoral sale and consumption of abstract 'fun' arise, however, within a context in which events are the primary basis by which cities and regions, including the Ruhr Valley, market their worth and quality of life to their customer-citizens; for the music industry as well, the decline in recording profits has resulted in an increased emphasis, and dependence, on festival culture.

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Notes

- 1 Reports regarding official legal proceedings began in January 2011: <http://www.badische-zeitung.de/panorama/loveparade-katastrophe-16-personen-im-visier-40204959.html>. Accessed 14 September 2014. In July 2014, the first civil lawsuit was filed against three parties: the city of Duisburg, Rainer Schaller and Lopavent, and the state of North Rhine-Westphalia: <http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/2014-07/loveparade-klage-duisburg>. Accessed 14 September 2014.

- 2 http://www.rp-online.de/niederrheinnord/duisburg/loveparade/Alle-Loveparade-Zahlen-gefaelscht_aid_887726.html. Accessed 14 September 2014. A thirty-four-page report was released after the Duisburg catastrophe acknowledging the systematic inflating of attendance numbers during the Ruhr years.
- 3 For more information, a video 'documentary' by Lopavent contains images of the location and timeline of the events, though this should be viewed with the knowledge that it serves Lopavent's legal interests of assigning the blame to the police: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8y73-7IFBNE&list=UULmsa1MvDRyVXsvCld8LMzQ>. Accessed 14 September 2014. A more thorough documentary by *Der Spiegel* also exists: <http://www.spiegel.tv/filme/loveparade-duisburg/>. Accessed 14 September 2014.

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CHAPTER NINE

Protestival: Global days of action and carnivalized politics at the turn of the millennium¹

Graham St John

In carnival the body is always changing, constantly becoming, eternally unfinished. Inseparable from nature and fused to other bodies around it, the body remembers that it is not a detached, atomized becoming, as it allows its erotic impulses to jump from body to body, sound to sound, mask to mask, to swirl across the street, filling every nook and cranny, every fold of flesh. During the carnival the body, with its pleasures and desires, can be found everywhere, luxuriating in its freedom and inverting the everyday.

WE ARE EVERYWHERE (AINGER ET AL. 2003, 175–6)

Introduction: Carnivalized politics

On 16 May (M16) 1998 a Global Street Party took place in thirty cities on five continents coinciding with the Group of Eight (G8) summit in Birmingham, England, and the following week's World Trade Organization (WTO) ministerial in Geneva. This was the first Global Day of Action, a