



Celebrating 30 years louder than hell: exploring commercial and social 'Host Event Zone' developments of the heavy metal festival Wacken Open Air

Dorothee Bohn & Cecilia de Bernardi

To cite this article: Dorothee Bohn & Cecilia de Bernardi (2020): Celebrating 30 years louder than hell: exploring commercial and social 'Host Event Zone' developments of the heavy metal festival Wacken Open Air, Annals of Leisure Research, DOI: [10.1080/11745398.2020.1825972](https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2020.1825972)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2020.1825972>



© 2020 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



[View supplementary material](#)



Published online: 14 Oct 2020.



[Submit your article to this journal](#)



Article views: 254





[View related articles](#)



[View Crossmark data](#)

Celebrating 30 years louder than hell: exploring commercial and social ‘Host Event Zone’ developments of the heavy metal festival Wacken Open Air

Dorothee Bohn ^a and Cecilia de Bernardi ^b

^aDepartment of Geography, Umeå University, Umeå, Sweden; ^bCentre for Tourism and Leisure Research (CeTLer), School of Technology and Business Studies, Dalarna University, Falun, Sweden

ABSTRACT

Although respective research has proliferated, little attention has been given to the processual nature of festivals. By drawing upon the concept of host event zones, we examine how different spectators perceive the development of the heavy metal festival Wacken Open Air (WOA) with respect to the dynamics between the festival as a temporary place in which visitors enjoy spectacle and ritual, a commercial site and the everyday living space of local inhabitants. WOA has grown in 30 years from an initiative by a few friends for devoted metal fans into an internationally renowned music mega-event. WOA represents a consumption mediated ‘peaceful utopia’ where festivalgoers find social meaningfulness in neo-tribes. However, the accelerating mainstream appeal of Wacken Open Air for a non-metal fan audience, which significantly spurred by the media, challenges both regular attendees’ experience of this idealized space and the relationship between the host community and the festival.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 21 August 2020
Accepted 3 September 2020


KEYWORDS

Music festival; host event zone (HEZ); Wacken Open Air Festival; heavy metal; neo-tribes

Introduction

Since pre-modern times, festivals are an important part of European cultures as recurrent events ‘in which members of a community participate in order to affirm and celebrate various social, religious, ethnic, national, linguistic, or historical bonds’ (Bennett, Taylor, and Woodward 2014, 1). Within the rise of post-industrial economies and mass consumerism from the 1950s onwards, the role of festivals shifted. Attending music and cultural events became a social mainstream activity of leisure time mobility (Anderton 2018) while hosting festivals grew into a vital economic regeneration policy for urban and rural areas aiming at absorbing the decline in primary and secondary sectors (Richards, Marques, and Mein 2015). Metropolitan places began to compete for mobile capital and consumers based on physically upgraded cityscapes and an ever increasing entertainment and spectacle inventory (Harvey 2001). Regarding rural places, festivalization emerged as a distinct strategy for fostering both aggregate, long-term economic

CONTACT Dorothee Bohn  dorothee.bohn@umu.se

 Supplemental data for this article can be accessed at <https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2020.1825972>

© 2020 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way.

development, for instance through the establishment of tourism, as well as social capital (Moscardo 2007; Ziakas 2013; Kwiatkowski et al. 2020).

Moreover, music festivals became essential for the global entertainment industries in terms of compensating decreasing revenues in record sales due to streaming services with tickets and merchandize retail (Dewenter, Haucap, and Wenzel 2012). Corporate sponsorship at these events is a profitable business because brands can easily access a large target audience that is in a joyful mood (Anderton 2011). Festival gigs are advantageous for artists because of a generally higher pay, larger crowds, and the opportunity to gain recognition beyond an already existing fan-base (Gibson 2007). The downside is, however, that the festival landscape is becoming increasingly competitive and concentrated in a few large event corporations, which control the market (Morey et al. 2014). These firms offer huge fees for headliners but frequently force newcomers and less popular bands to pay to perform (Rojek 2013). Options for bands to escape commercialization pressures are increasingly limited because even alternative genres follow the route of festivalization (Anderton 2018).

Essential for music festivals is the place where the happening is realized. Mainly public spaces, such as town squares, parks or public facilities are turned into event venues (Spracklen 2016) and thus, festivals take place in close proximity to local communities. This might provide not only economic opportunities for the population but foster also social capital, pride, community ties, and creativity (Moscardo 2007; Kwiatkowski et al. 2020). Nonetheless, extreme commercialization driven by extra-regional corporations that bypasses resident businesses (Duignan and Pappalepore 2019) in addition to increased criminal activity and the alienation of the local public (Arcodia and Whitford 2006) have been highlighted as the main negative effects on event hosts. Inclusiveness of local stakeholders is therefore a key tenet of event sustainability (Duignan, Pappalepore, and Everett 2019).

The festival conceptualized simultaneously as a special temporary place in which visitors enjoy spectacle and ritual, businesses of all sizes try to make profits, but which is still the everyday living space of local inhabitants, has not gained much research attention (Wilson et al. 2017). This study draws therefore upon the notion of Host Event Zone (HEZ) in order to explore the intersection of attendees' experiences, commercial space and lived community environment of a festival. The HEZ concept found so far mostly application in the mega-event literature and denotes the temporary creation of exclusive zones, which transform public spaces into controlled and safe sites of consumption (McGillivray and Frew 2015; Duignan and Pappalepore 2019; Duignan, Pappalepore, and Everett 2019; McGillivray, Duignan, and Mielke 2019). Unlike the common scope of utilizing HEZ conceptualizations in urban settings, we employ this framework for analysing the Wacken Open Air festival (WOA) in rural Germany, which is nowadays one of the world's largest heavy metal events. Although festivals are often hosted in the countryside (Anderton 2018), respective research connects these settings usually to small-scale happenings while the predominant focus of mega-event research lies on urban contexts (Kwiatkowski et al. 2020).

Wacken Open Air premiered in 1990 as an initiative of a few friends with a self-built stage in a gravel pit in rural northern Germany. Ever since, the small happening with 800 visitors has grown into an annual music mega-event that sells 75,000 tickets and a successful brand (Fründt August 3, 2019). The festival received its name from the small

countryside village of Wacken, which hosts the event every year. This festival offers therefore an interesting context for studying the dynamics between local place, visitor experience and commercial development because it has grown organically from inside the host area and the whole region benefits economically as well as socio-culturally from this music event.

Based on a qualitative study design, we examine how spectators experience and portray the development of WOA as a distinctive HEZ, in which heavy metal fandom, the local community space, and global commerciality are negotiated. The term spectators refers in this case to regular WOA festivalgoers but also to the media, book authors, and producers of documentaries. Literature, press, and film portrayals of WOA are not only informative sources but are also instrumental in shaping public discourses of events (Anderton 2020). Empirical materials consist therefore of an online survey among devoted fans, fieldnotes from participating in the festival in 2018 and 2019, social media posts, various newspaper reports and a documentary about the Wacken village and the festival. The analysis is driven by the following research questions:

- How do different spectators perceive and engage in WOA as a host event zone in between a heavily commercial music and entertainment industry and non-commodified social encounters?
- How do these spectators view the role of the local host population in the event?

This study expands the HEZ conceptualization first in terms of adding a rural dimension and secondly by addressing how different spectators experience the event zone as a commercial and social site. So far, HEZ related research has largely focused on public planning and political economy aspects while there are not many insights into various spectators' perceptions of social interaction and consumption in these designated zones in addition to the role of the local host community.

The literature review introduces first heavy metal music and commercial as well as social aspects of contemporary festivals before charting the host event zone research. In order to link these issues to our case, we present then the Wacken Open Air. The method section outlines data collection and analysis procedures while we focus in the subsequent findings section on the physical and the social aspects of WOA as host event zone. In the final section, we conclude and discuss our findings in the wider context of festival research.

Heavy metal music

Heavy metal emerged in the industrial, working-class neighbourhoods in England in the late 1960s and offered empowerment for the disenfranchised (Harrison 2010). Characteristic for this music style are distorted guitars, a dense bass and drum sound, a high volume, and often hoarsely growled vocals (Morris 2015). During the 1980s, heavy metal entered mainstream culture and advanced to the top selling genre of the era (Walser 1993) and embraces a more diverse spectrum of sub-genres than any other contemporary popular music style (Brown 2016). In addition to hip hop, heavy metal has been also one of the most controversially debated genres and was frequently subject to harsh 'societal disapproval, occasional moral panics, censorship, and even government

harassment and violence' (Wallach, Berger, and Greene 2011, 4). Especially the link to Satanism has sparked fears in popular media that metal leads the youth astray (Kahn-Harris 2007) even though only a tiny minority of metal fans engages in such practices (Guibert 2015). Moreover, heavy metal has been regularly portrayed as a type of music for a low-class, white and male audience (Brown 2016) but the present-day scene recruits diverse audiences comprised of both blue and white collar workers (Kahn-Harris 2007). Spracklen (2016, 41) writes that 'heavy metal is profoundly global, a Northern popular culture form that has spread across the world an ideology of individualism and belonging that appeals to the middle class, urban secularists and liberals in the South'. Although heavy metal is generally male dominated, women find empowerment in the scene too because it offers, in addition to enjoyment of the music, the possibility for transcending orthodoxies of gender, class, and ethnicity (Patterson 2016).

A key theme of genre-related research focuses on the tension between extensive commercialization of heavy metal and fans' values of rebellion and nonconformity to mainstream lifestyles (Smialek 2016). Social dissent and individualism are highly prized among metal enthusiasts (Kahn-Harris 2007) and appear often in song lyrics that are driven by motifs such as 'the rejection of modern life, Christian values, and especially industrial technology' (Morris 2015, 293). Nonetheless, heavy metal is, albeit with the exception of some underground operations, firmly embedded in the global music industry and follows its pervasive market logic (Brown 2016).

Heavy metal festivals: commercialization and social meaningfulness

During the 1960s, outdoor music events emerged as a gathering place for the youth who sought emancipation from dominant social norms and politics of the parent generation through the free celebration of sex, drugs, and rock and roll (Gebhardt 2015). Nowadays, festivals are an integral part of mainstream consumer culture and a key business in the increasingly saturated tourism and leisure industries (Lopez and Leenders 2019). Management strategies for gaining an edge in this highly competitive environment focus on attracting a broader and wealthier audience through an upgraded infrastructure and target-market specific lifestyle branding in addition to lobbying for public funding, or staging top acts (Anderton 2018). Characteristic for contemporary festivals is therefore a highly commercialized and professionalized service environment that offers plenty of auxiliary entertainment, glamping, and shopping possibilities (Morey et al. 2014). Spracklen (2016) exemplifies these issues on the case of the Bloodstock festival in the UK, which transformed from a rather small power and traditional heavy metal event for a devoted fan base into a happening with mainstream appeal.

However, for heavy metal fans, festival participation occupies a key role in experiencing and celebrating their fandom which often signifies not only a music taste but constitutes also a lifestyle (Kahn-Harris 2007; Kinnunen, Honkanen, and Karjalainen 2020). This phenomenon is generally attributed to the pervasive effects of late modernity and global capitalism where traditional, large-scale community structures dissolved and became replaced by consumerism as a means to identity creation and social belonging (Giddens 1991; Morey et al. 2014; Spracklen 2016). Heavy metal music and rock festival research draws therefore particularly upon Maffesoli's (1996) concept of neo-tribes in order to comprehend the fan (Kahn-Harris 2007; Tjora 2016; Kinnunen, Honkanen, and

Karjalainen 2020). Maffesoli (1996) argues that people find social meaningfulness and identity in tribe-like structures that are rooted in distinct consumer interests and practices. This conceptualization overlaps significantly with fandom, which is described as 'an alternative social community' (Jenkins 1992, 213). Neo-tribes provide an escape from daily life because individuals can engage in playful activities with like-minded people and receive the 'ability to express their true selves in a non-judgmental environment' (Vorobjovas-Pinta 2018, 75). Albeit the distinction to other groups based on specific rituals and symbol systems is essential, Maffesoli (1996) stresses that people may be simultaneously part of many different tribes over the course of a lifetime and identification with a certain group might be just temporarily.

The festival is an essential place for metal neo-tribes where they can enact their lifestyle choices and feel social belonging (Spracklen 2016). A sense of community arises also through sharing a symbol system and a dress code such as black clothing, long hair, tattoos, cut-offs with band patches, and band shirts (Hinrichs 2011). Moreover, metal fans are very loyal festival patrons and the genre-specific crowds have been traditionally rather homogenous (Kinnunen, Honkanen, and Karjalainen 2020). Yet, there is a growing group of attendees comprised of people who are not interested in the music but attend because of the spectacle (Guibert 2019). Devoted fans often perceive these 'tourists' as a nuisance because they ignore the metal community's codes of conduct and disturb the ritual as well as the peacefulness of the event through inadequate behaviour (Spracklen 2016; Tjora 2016). Indeed, metal festivals are renowned for a peaceful environment even though the music is driven by violent leitmotifs and moshing in front of the stage appears violent (Charbonnier 2018). Guibert (2015, 16) even argues that the metal audience is generally pacific, police and security are happy to work at metal festivals because 'nothing happens' and host communities perceive the fans as funny, nice, and orderly.

A persistent gap in current festival research relates to how these social-experiential aspects are processually linked to the festival as a commercial zone, the wider socio-economic context of host area, and the influence of other actors on the development of a festival (Wilson et al. 2017). The same holds for heavy metal research which has focused more on the fan and the scene than on exploring the genre's wider relationships and implications (see Brown et al. 2016). Hence, this study employs the notion of host event zones (HEZ) as a conceptual framework for examining the commercial and social developments of the Wacken Open Air festival.

Host event zones (HEZ)

Originally developed in the context of mega-events like the Olympic games, HEZs describe both the processes of how public space is turned into controlled sites of consumption and the effects of this zoning on local structures, businesses, and people (McGillivray and Frew 2015; Duignan and Pappalepore 2019; Duignan, Pappalepore, and Everett 2019; McGillivray, Duignan, and Mielke 2019). Characteristic for these temporary mega-event zones is that extra-local organizations, such as the International Olympic Committee and selected global sponsor corporations, impose a set of own rules and regulations upon the host location, sanctioned by the state's administration, in order to maximise profits for the involved organizations (Gaffney 2019). This manifests in alterations of the urban public space with respect to zoning, the direction of public flows, setting up

global brandscapes, and the orchestration of the event's media image that is in accordance with organization's goals and values (McGillivray, Duignan, and Mielke 2019). However, Müller (2011) highlights in the case of the Olympic Winter games in Sochi that Russia's strong state dirigisme steered the development of a distinct HEZ instead of mere corporate interests.

Event spectators are systematically steered in a HEZ to designated sites where corporate sponsors hold exclusive rights to product sales while local businesses are often locked out from operating in these spaces even though economic benefits for residentary firms are a dominant argument for placing a mega-event bid (Duignan and Pappalepore 2019). The 2014 FIFA World Cup in São Paulo is often used as a counter example because community brokers and officials managed to negotiated sales rights for local vendors, but Hummel (2018) illustrates that also local power structures hindered merchants, who were normally selling around the event areas but were not direct acquaintances of the brokers, from doing business.

For local communities, the erection of a HEZ results frequently in access regulations that are in favour of a spending tourist, but limits or prevents residents' free movement (Osborn and Smith 2016) often through extensive surveillance and publicly financed security (Klauser 2013). Moreover, there remain usually problematic social, spatial, and ecological legacies for the hosts in the aftermath of large happenings (Eshuis, Pel, and Coca-Stefaniak 2019) because the mega-event business model is firmly embedded in global capital accumulation (Harvey 2001). Gaffney (2019, 278) summarizes that accommodating a series of large-scale events resulted for Rio in 'a transfer of resources from the public to the private spheres' and accelerated uneven urban development through the privatization of public spaces, the creation of a highly localized transportation infrastructure, gentrification, and securitization.

Wacken: heavy metal festival and rural village

The heavy metal festival Wacken differs as a HEZ from above described cases. For thirty years, the festival has been organized during August in the same rural village in northern Germany and WOA has grown organically from within the community. Nevertheless, the festival turns the village that counts 1800 people temporarily into the third largest city in the whole federal state of Schleswig-Holstein (Schaar August 4, 2019).

Wacken is located 75 km northwest of Hamburg and is well connected to major highways, the international Hamburg airport and the train station in Itzehoe. These transportation linkages are a key factor that contributed to the growth of the festival (Hinrichs 2011). Most German attendees travel by car directly to the campground and pitch their tents beside their vehicles. For international travellers, it is easy to reach Wacken by busses which shuttle regularly between the airport and the train station in Itzehoe.

The festival comprises approximately a 240 ha area that is divided into the stage area and camping zones. An extensive network of public and private actors is necessary to build and operate the festival environment. For instance, the German Army provides mobile heavy duty roads for the stage equipment delivery trucks, 900 paramedics and 300 policemen and policewomen from all over Germany volunteer to be on duty at WOA, there are about 500 food and merchandize stalls, 5000 litres of beer are served daily, over 150 bands perform on the eight stages, and 600 tons of waste are generated

each year (Fröhlich August 22, 2018). Despite the size, alcohol consumption and abandon, WOA is famous for its peaceful atmosphere and low crime rate (Hinrichs 2011; Polizeidirektion Itzehoe 2018).

Locals were always involved in organizing the event and the whole area benefits economically from WOA (Hinrichs 2011; Schaar August 4, 2019). Residents rent out spare rooms, erect bars in their yards, collect deposit cans, sell all kinds of merchandize or offer breakfast for festival goers (Figure 1). Some people even let their plots for professional beer- and food stall operators and the party atmosphere on Wacken's main street attracts people from nearby villages and festivalgoers alike (Schöwe 2012). Hinrichs (2011) highlights that locals support the festival also because of its social component. Residents often spend their time in the front yards, observing and talking to the people passing by. The WOA organizers secure the locals' approval of the event by giving out one-day resident festival tickets for a ten Euro fee and by investments in Wacken's infrastructure (Schöwe 2012). Overall, the village has embraced the festival and heavy metal (Figure 2); it calls itself even 'heavy metal town' and stickers and magnets of Wacken's town sign are popular souvenirs for fans.

The festival organizers developed a quite extensive business portfolio, which includes several different firms for event organization, marketing, business management, ticketing, tourism and hospitality plus tour management (ICS GmbH, n.d.). WOA is clearly the flagship of this firm network, which has an annual turnover of 25 million Euro and provides work for 80 full-time employees (Fründt August 3, 2019). The festival organizers operate also several non-profit initiatives. The most famous is the Metal Battle, a global competition for newcomer bands that allows the winners to perform at WOA. Other initiatives focus on the support of young metal bands and on the sponsorship of blood and bone marrow donations plus a cancer charity (Wacken.com, n.d.).



Figure 1. Local sales stall in Wacken. Source: authors.



Figure 2. Photo booth in Wacken. Festivalgoers can show that they have visited Wacken the ‘heavy metal town’. Source: authors.

Over the years, WOA has become globally known as the mecca of heavy metal and cultivated a strong fan base for whom the festival constitutes an integral part of their lifestyle (Schöwe 2012; Wojcik 2019). Furthermore, WOA is not only famous in metal circles but has also become a pop-culture sensation (Badenhop August 7, 2019). This manifests in a considerable amount of books, and documentaries about the festival (see Appendix 1) as well as in the massive media attention Wacken receives. Indeed, the online editions of many German news outlets offer a WOA festival live ticker and real-time weather reports (e.g. Augsburgener Allgemeine August 3, 2019). Even the global stock photo provider Getty Images as well as the multimedia information supplier Reuters offer WOA related content and photos for purchase on their platforms.

Methods

In order to gain thorough insights into how various spectators perceive and influence WOA as a host event zone in between a heavily commercial music and entertainment industry, social encounters and a local living space, we chose a qualitative research approach based on triangulation. Specifically, we employed data as well as investigator triangulation as a means to increase rigour and trustworthiness of the analysis (Patton 1999). With respect to data triangulation, we collected various German and English language materials produced by different WOA spectators. In particular, the data set includes regular festivalgoers’ opinions gathered through an open-ended questionnaire and social media online comments, our own festival observations from 2018 and 2019 recorded in fieldnotes, a documentary, a book, and numerous press articles. This data encompasses pre-, peri-, and post-phases of the festival. The investigator triangulation was accomplished by each of us focussing on one language in order to cross-check the emerging findings. We incorporated English language materials because we wanted to capture at least some of the international visitors’ voices who account for about one third of WOA festivalgoers (Schöwe 2012).

Regarding the analysis of all empirical materials, we made use of an abductive approach to qualitative content analysis. Unlike deductive or inductive content analyses, abduction develops along a constant dialogue between the data and the coding matrix (Meyer and Lunnay 2013). The initial coding matrix was built upon categories derived from the relevant literature but was adapted during the analysis process to include also themes emerging from the data. All obtained research materials, described in the following sections, were coded in the same manner and codes were subsequently merged into themes (Graneheim, Lindgren, and Lundman 2017).

Open-ended questionnaire

An open-ended questionnaire was circulated in English and German in two WOA-dedicated Facebook groups after permission was granted. Moreover, the questionnaire was shared via Instagram. We chose an open-ended questionnaire in order to gain in-depth and individual insights into the perceptions of regular WOA festivalgoers (McGuirk and O'Neill 2005). The respondents were informed about their rights and invited to receive further information regarding the results of the survey. We asked the respondents to describe

- How do they perceive social and physical aspects of WOA
- Their motivations for attending the festival regularly
- Their habits while being on site
- Their perceived changes of WOA
- Their relations to the local population

We obtained 98 filled questionnaires, of which are 84 in German and 14 in English. In the analysis section, the individual questionnaires are referred to as R1 to R84 German and R1 to R14 English. R stands for respondent.

Online comments

As an amendment to the questionnaires, we retrieved online comments from three WOA-dedicated Facebook groups in English and German between 2018 and 2020. The analysis of online fora discussions of fans regarding music festivals has been employed by Spracklen (2016) in his elaboration of the Bloodstock metal festival and by Williams (2015) who looked into how the fandom of the band U2 is constructed. Netnographic methods aim at studying 'the cultures and communities that emerge from Internet-based communications' (Mkono and Markwell 2014, 289). Online communities are of growing importance for festivals in terms of marketing but also regarding the possibility for devotees to keep the festival alive in pre- and post-event stages (Anderton 2018).

Observations and media materials

We visited WOA in 2018 and 2019, and we documented our impressions and conversations with festivalgoers. These fieldnotes and pictures provide personal, on-site insights into the festival. As mentioned, the media, writers and film makers are also important

mediators and spectators of WOA. Thus, we analysed 37 German and 30 international English language articles published in quality, middle-market, and tabloid newspapers plus 17 pieces issued in music magazines that thematise the festival (see Appendix 2). Additionally, we studied Schöwe's (2012) book 'Wacken Roll' that recounts the history of WOA and Cho's (2007) documentary 'Full Metal Village'. The analysis of videos, called videography, is similar to content analysis that focuses on emerging themes (Pennington 2016). In order to capture these emerging themes, we devised a coding sheet comprised of 15-minutes timeslots.

Findings

This section addresses first the physical dimension of WOA as a HEZ before outlining how different spectators frame the festival's social event zone. This division is somewhat artificial because both HEZ aspects are intimately connected and contribute to the impression of Ozzy Osbourne who allegedly described Wacken Open Air as the 'heavy metal Disneyland' (Langener 2017).

Wacken- the physical HEZ

Entertainment infrastructure and festival organization

Wacken's 'festival area is huge' (R43 German) and there is 'something for everyone, whether it be bands or framework program' (R30 German) are typical statements of how spectators describe the contemporary WOA. During its 30 years of existence, WOA has developed profoundly as a host event zone. The infrastructure expanded in terms of a greater entertainment and consumption offering and improved service groundwork, such as toilets, showers and camp site amenities, 'made the festival more comfortable' (R25 German) as many questionnaire respondents highlighted. These infrastructural upgrades are often attributed to the responsiveness of the event organizers who 'listen to their customers' (R3 German). People's satisfaction with the event zone of WOA, which is rated 'better than any UK festival' (R5 English) and 'almost perfect' (R13 German), is contrary to the common conception that festivals 'cut as many corners as possible' in order to make profits (Spracklen 2016, 46). While most of the WOA's festival operations are conducted by local and regional companies (Fründt 2019), global capital is gaining influence. The news that the American investor Providence Equity Partners with its daughter company Superstruct Entertainment, a global mega-event organizer, entered a partnership with the WOA promoter ICS GmbH in 2019 (Wacken.com 2019) caused a stir among fans in social media. People expressed concerns that the focus on metal music and the good fan-organizer relationship is going to diminish in favour of harsher efforts to profit-making (Comments on a post August 17, 2019).

Regarding the music, WOA offers a wide spectrum of metal on eight stages. The breadth of 'young bands, old bands, heavy, death, black, thrash, power metal' (R5 German) and the 'development of the new bands via the Metal battle and the inclusion of diversity in general' (R11 English) are attractive for heavy metal enthusiasts who like to discover new bands (R13 German) but features also acts for those whose music taste is very specialized. The Metal Battle is also an important component that consolidates WOA's status as the 'mecca of heavy metal' (Wojcik 2019). On the one hand, the

competition provides newcomer bands an international performance platform while on the other, it spurs publicity for WOA because national and regional news outlets from all around the world feature reports when a young band from their country or region won the Metal Battle and can travel to Wacken such as the band Godless from Hyderabad, India (Vivek May 18, 2018).

In addition to the vast amount of music performances, WOA encompasses nowadays also auxiliary entertainment, sponsor, and food court zones like any other larger festival (Szmigin et al. 2017). Some questionnaire respondents highlighted their appreciation for these versatile zones (R29 German) and other pointed out that different areas are favourable in the sense that 'one doesn't get overrun by the mass of people as all spreads out a bit' (R13 German). Other people characterized the medieval themed and gaming areas as 'falderal, which is not necessary for the existence of a metal festival' (R26 German). The presence of sponsors is described by many as an epitomization of accelerating commercialization (R3 English) but other people echoed Anderton's findings (2011) that sponsors are nowadays somewhat necessary because tickets would be more expensive without sponsorship given the rising costs for artist fees, security, or on-site technologies, such as stage illuminations and video screens (Comments on a post August 24, 2017). Nonetheless, many respondents demurred the growing 'carnival character' of WOA and a 'back to the roots' wish is often expressed in online discussions (Post August 10, 2019).

WOA is not only realized by the commercial organizer, but the local community is significantly involved in ordering and operating the physical festival site. Media articles (e.g. Stern.de 2019) and documentaries (e.g. Cho 2007) portray the festival usually as a wild and exotic antithesis to the village of Wacken, which is a countryside idyll where nothing much happens throughout the year. Yet, the local population is predominantly in support of the festival and they stem the event with their famous northern German humour and serenity (Schöwe 2012). Cho (2007) focuses in her documentary particularly on the local farmer Uwe Trede, who became a key figure in shaping the physical HEZ because he provided his fields for the event and camping areas and he negotiated additional land-use rights for the festival with nearby farmers. Due to Cho's (2007) portrayal of Trede and his wit, he reached fame among the festivalgoers and the media alike (Schöwe 2012).

Consumption infrastructure

Consumption belongs to the WOA festival experience. Especially WOA brand merchandise and the annual edition of t-shirts featuring the festival's famous bullhead logo is on most visitors' shopping list. Festivalgoers often lament that the queues in front of the sale stalls are too long and that some versions of the WOA t-shirt are sold out quickly (e.g. R27 German). These insights are congruent to the findings of Kinnunen, Honkanen, and Karjalainen's (2020) study on the characteristics of the Finnish metal festival attendee. They emphasize that Finland's largest metal festival Tuska sells more merchandise than any other Finnish festival and that metal fans are more annoyed by queuing than other festivalgoers (Kinnunen, Honkanen, and Karjalainen 2020). The t-shirt is a particularly important item for metalheads in order to display their identification with the community as Spracklen (2016) explains.

A major change in the consumption landscape of WOA concerns the establishment of a big supermarket between the stage and camping areas in 2019. Questionnaire respondents stated that 'Kaufland [name of the supermarket] was the icing on the cake' of well executed organization because 'one could have arrived without anything and get there everything needed' (R25 German). While many people shared this sentiment that the on-site store made their festival experience more convenient, other respondents, especially long-time WOA visitors, expressed their concern that the host village might be cut off from the festival (R62 German). Prior to 2019, festivalgoers had to flog to the local village shops in order to buy groceries and many made also use of different services provided by the locals. A newspaper article thematizes the competing position of the supermarket and highlights that the locals experienced a slump in sales (Schaar August 4, 2019).

Wacken- the social HEZ

Wacken the village

The concerns raised regarding increased zoning refer not only to the potential economic losses for the locals but also to a depletion of the charm and atmosphere of the festival. Even though the village is located at the fringe space of the festival area, it is a significant part of the host event zone. For many attendees it has become a custom to visit the village on Tuesday and Wednesday when the camping area is already opened but the festival is not yet officially inaugurated (R26 German). Some questionnaire respondents told about how they 'stayed out late boozing in the village with the music society' (R17 German), others emphasized that friendships developed (R16 German), and R8 English wrote that:

the Wacken village and the locals there are a big part of the festival. It shows that there is inclusion and tolerance possible even if you dislike the music itself [...]. Without the tolerance of the locals in Wacken the festival would have never grown so far.

This kind of meta-sociality (Anderton 2018) between locals and visitors seems to be a characteristic feature of WOA, as it has not been identified as an important aspect of festivals in similar research settings (Spracklen 2016; Szmigin et al. 2017; Kinnunen, Honkanen, and Karjalainen 2020). There are also examples that the social interaction is mutually valued and that residents can take part in HEZ (Figure 3). In an online post, a local tells about how running a bar during the festival time provided empowerment and a sense of community for her (August 2, 2019). Moreover, Schöwe (2012) recounts in his book 'Wacken Roll' many anecdotes how friendships formed the story of a local family who started in the mid-90s to celebrate a little party in their front yard during the festival period. Over the years, more and more festivalgoers joined the annual celebration and the party at the house 'Mainstreet 49' rose to international fame (Figure 4). Hence, the festival results not only in economic benefits for the locals but holds also positive social effects (Kwiatkowski et al. 2020). With respect to the importance of the festival for the regional community, R84 German wrote that WOA 'is a part of the history of Schleswig-Holstein' [the federal state]. This was acknowledged at the political level too. In December 2019, the two festival founders and CEOs Thomas Jensen and Holger Hübner received Schleswig-Holstein's order of merit handed by the state's Christian Democratic Premier (NDR December 10, 2019).



Figure 3. Sign in the festival area that says: ‘thanks to all, who turn a village into a lifestyle’. Source: authors.

Nevertheless, some festival attendees stressed that they never go to the village because ‘of the long ways you have to walk’ (R7 English) or that it is unimportant for them because ‘it has nothing to do with the festival directly’ (R10 German). One person



Figure 4. The famous party house ‘Mainsteeet 49’ welcomes the festivalgoers. Source: authors.

wrote online about his frustration regarding increasing commercialization practices at the festival and in the village plus the inaccessibility of the community because of the heavy fencing (Post July 31, 2019). A local elaborated in a lengthy reply that the barriers around properties and roads are necessary for residents in order to hinder festivalgoers from defecating in their yards and to be able leave their homes and go to work (Comment on a post July 31, 2019). Thus, the host event zoning of Wacken is also designed in favour of the local population instead of merely guiding visitor to designated consumption sites as it is usually the case for travelling mega-events (see McGillivray, Duignan, and Mielke 2019).

Social meaningfulness of WOA

In online discussions as well as in the questionnaire's responses it becomes evident that regular festival goers perceive WOA also as a social space that enables freedom from mundane life and celebrating community. This phenomenon has been identified as a main motivation for festival participation in addition to the enjoyment of music performances (Tjora 2016; Szmigin et al. 2017; Kinnunen, Honkanen, and Karjalainen 2020). Many questionnaire respondents highlighted that attending WOA feels like 'coming home' and offers an 'escape from everyday life' (R4 German). R25 German explained that the festival week 'is the week during the year in which I can simply relax thoroughly. No worries, no fears and my best friends are there'. The most WOA visitors attend with partners, family members, and friends while travelling alone is also not a problem because 'one can catch up quickly with fellow festivalgoers' (R72 German). For families, WOA means spending quality time together (R46 German). Some respondents were introduced to metal music by their parents (R79 German) and others convinced their parents to accompany them to WOA (R27 German). Another frequently mentioned motivation for attending WOA is for the partner's sake:

Until now I have been there with my husband because he is a metal fan. Well, I came along because of him. I for myself think that the atmosphere/vibe is great. And particularly everybody is allowed to be, like he/she is. It does not matter if one is tall or short, fat or skinny, young or old. Everybody has fun together. Sadly my husband died last year because of cancer. In 2020 I'll go alone in order to remember the shared WOA visits intensively. (R34 German.) [Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, WOA was cancelled in 2020].

The term 'family' is often employed when referring to WOA's 'loud, friendly, helpful, funny and tolerant' festival crowd (R19 German). For instance, R72 German highlights in her questionnaire response that the social bonds formed at WOA had a lasting effect on her life:

The most people at wacken [sic] are like a big family. I have met people who were temporarily very important to me, who have shaped me and my life. Wacken has made me that what I am now.

Previous research (e.g. Kinnunen, Honkanen, and Karjalainen 2020) has often connected these meaningful forms of social interaction based on shared consumption lifestyles to Maffesoli's (1996) concept of neo-tribes. A key characteristic of neo-tribes is according to Vorobjovas-Pinta (2018) a non-judgmental milieu for like-minded people. Both, the WOA organizers as well as the devoted fan base emphasize the openness and inclusiveness of the festival environment (e.g. R41 German). An example is a social media post (August 27, 2019) in which a person enquired about the gay friendliness of

WOA and 134 people explained that ‘Wacken is nearly open for anything’ and ‘metal is for everyone’, but also ‘come as you are. Nobody cares and nobody judges you ...!’.

We experienced this neo-tribe phenomenon, which materializes particularly at the camp ground, during our participations as well. Neo-tribe groups erect usually own zones inside the larger HEZ in form of rather sophisticated camps (see Schöwe 2012; Figure 5). Nonetheless, these spaces are often permeable for other people. For instance, we were instantly approached by our camp neighbours who invited us to join them for a drink and a chat. They were a group of about 15 people who got to know each other at WOA and meet up every year at the same spot on the camp ground in order to celebrate the festival together. Although the group comprised exclusively members of the middle class, the individuals differed in their personalities and age but shared a passion for heavy metal. WOA offers them a platform where they can leave daily-life pressures temporarily behind and enjoy measured abandon in a community based on shared consumption preferences. R24 German characterized WOA as a host event zone therefore as ‘a peaceful utopia’. Spracklen (2016) employed the notion of utopia in relation to the Bloodstock metal festival as well in order to emphasize fans’ alienation from society and their quest for finding meaningfulness in idealized spaces. Nevertheless, such utopia, requires perpetuation through artful enactment.

Tourists and mainstream popularization

For devoted WOA-goers, a major threat to their cherished ‘utopia’ derives from the growing amount of ‘festival tourists’ conquering their ‘holy ground’. These people are ‘annoying’ (R57 German), ‘disturb the peaceful togetherness’ (R35 German), ‘ignore the rules’ (R9 English) and they have ‘nothing to do with metal, [they] listen to techno or schlager music at the campground’ (R5 German). Given the traditional homogeneity of the metal audience, which epitomizes in a standard black dress code, it is easy to spot the ‘tourists’ in the crowd. Unlike metal fans, who dress up uniformly in order to



Figure 5. A neo-tribes’ camp inside WOA’s camping area. Source: authors.

display group identity, 'tourists' wear all kinds of colourful and individualized costumes often with the aim to draw attention to themselves (Szmigin et al. 2017; R17 German). We noticed particularly during the 2019 edition of WOA many people in non-metal attire who made efforts to stand out of the crowd and become a spectacle in their own right. Our impressions are in stark contrast to Cho's (2007) documentary that was shot 12 years earlier and contains a few scenes where the camera pans over an entirely homogenous audience. Hence, regular WOA attendees voiced their concerns that the original metal fan target group might become marginal due to the influx of an audience that pursues divergent ideas of experiencing the festival (R21 German). Spracklen (2016, 49) calls this circumstance the 'existential despair' of devotees as they fear that their idealized space might lose its inscribed meaningfulness.

Questionnaire respondents blamed accelerating mainstreamisation not only on the constantly growing HEZ entertainment facilities, but also on the vast mass-media attention that Wacken receives (R76 German). Especially reports about non-metal fans visiting the festival are common, for instance the annual trip of nursing home elderlies to WOA is featured in a few German newspapers (e.g. Berliner Morgenpost July 31, 2019). In 2018, a story of two seniors, who escaped from their retirement home in order to party at WOA, made headlines around the world (e.g. Bever and Noack 2018). The BBC (August 6, 2018) titled the story 'Wacken festival: Ageing metalheads escape care home for moshing' but the incident was later denounced for recounting the occurrence wrongly. The local police clarified in a statement that two patients from a mental health institution were found at Wacken village where they had a few drinks but neither did they show any interest in metal nor did they attempt to enter the festival area (Staudenmaier December 15, 2018).

For some long-term WOA attendees like Badenhop (August 7, 2019), the inflow of spectacle-seeking people and travel groups that are brought to the village during the festival week for gazing at the 'weird metalheads' is a nuisance and led him to terminate further visits. Other fans share this sentiment that WOA's pop culture status damages its metal festival essence. One survey respondent (R57 German) answered cynically to the question regarding the success of WOA: 'the doing to death of a cult status, which is today only a shadow of its former self'. In the online discussions, however, there is a strong tendency towards ending all critical debates of the development of WOA as an event zone by 'love it or leave it' comments or by pointing out metal fans' tolerance of others. One person remarked: 'I find it egoistic if I dictate how a festival has to be ... Wacken is good as it is' (Comment on a post August 10, 2019).

Discussion and conclusions

WOA has developed throughout its 30-year history from a small festival organized by a few friends into an internationally renowned mega-event. As such, the physical HEZ has become 'a managed experiential consumption environment' (Szmigin et al. 2017, 5). As most other commercial music festivals, WOA follows the global trend of increased sponsorship, international firm fusions and establishing new market opportunities (Anderton 2018). Improvements in the infrastructure have enhanced the comfort of the festival for regular WOA attendees. Regarding the diversification of the entertainment offer, people are of two minds. A great variety of bands is appreciated by loyal festival-goers, but auxiliary acts and amusement facilities are unnecessary for purist metal fans

while visitors who are interested in a broader entertainment offering rate these developments positively. The latest addition, a supermarket provided by large retail corporation on-site, was generally well-received by festivalgoers although some spectators perceived this facility as a distinct zoning mechanism that bears the danger of closing out the Wacken village. Prior to 2019, festival attendees had to source groceries mostly from the village shops.

Nowhere in our empirical materials emerged a categorical distaste for conventional consumerism or a refusal to take part in it. Thus, Miles' (1998, 1) observation that consumption has 'become part and parcel of the very fabric of modern life' is also characteristic for the festival as a HEZ and its middle-class fan base. Nevertheless, the host event zone of WOA entails also a social dimension which is not only pivotal for the festival's famous atmosphere but is of emotional and symbolic significance for many regular attendees as their life histories have become inextricably connected to WOA. Thus, Ozzy Osbourne's alleged characterization of Wacken as a heavy metal Disneyland (Langener August 01, 2017) applies not only to the ever-improving consumption possibilities of the physical HEZ but also to WOA as an idealized space where festivalgoers can find escape from the pressures of ordinary life and experience social meaningfulness in neo-tribes which are comprised of like-minded people.

Yet, accelerating mainstreamisation, in which media is significantly involved, endangers the peaceful utopia of WOA in terms of an influx of a new audience which does not comply with the rules of the original festival-tribe and follows diverging ideas of spectacle and performance. Devoted Wacken fans handle this by either insisting on heavy metal's tolerance of different people and the HEZ as a space for everyone, or by terminating further visits. Thus, sales-out allegations are raised predominantly by devoted fans when market-driven developments infringe their desire for meaningful social interaction. Commercial changes of the physical HEZ are problematized to a lesser extent because a festival is a mass-mediated event and attendees are firmly embedded in contemporary consumer culture (Spracklen 2016).

The main difference of WOA to mega-events described in the HEZ literature refers to the role of local people and businesses in the execution of the festival. Locals were from the beginning economically, socially, and organizationally involved in WOA. The village itself contributes much to the flair of the festival and has become an internationally renowned synonym for heavy metal. However, as a commercial enterprise, WOA is not immune to global consumer trends and corporate practices. Some spectators perceive these developments in terms of a distinct zoning that bears the danger of closing out the Wacken village. While many regular WOA attendees use the services offered by locals and appreciate the hospitality of Wacken's inhabitants, there is also a considerable amount of people who does not care about the place and its population. For them, the immediate commercial festival environment, its service offering, and socialization within this zone constitute the decisive aspects of a warranted festival experience.

These issues touch also upon the concerns raised in the HEZ literature regarding the creation of more equitable relationships between mega-events, local businesses and residents (e.g. Gaffney 2019). A viable addition to existing studies that adopt political economy perspectives to public planning of commercial event zoning, might be a simultaneous focus on actual event consumption and its underlying social dimensions. These insights might be relevant in pinpointing the limits of ethical consumption and corporate

social responsibility (CSR) as means to sustainable policy making under contemporary capitalism (de Carvalho and Do Amaral Ferreira 2020). Overall, the HEZ conceptualization offers fertile grounds for studying the processual nature of festivals in the intersection of global, corporate interests, political environments, consumer culture, and the realities of host populations.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their invaluable comments.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributors

Dorothee Bohn is a PhD candidate in Human Geography at Umeå University, Umeå, Sweden. She is a member of the Formas funded research project 'Climate Change and the Double Amplifications of Arctic Tourism: Challenges and Potential Solutions for Tourism and Sustainable Development in an Arctic Context'. In her dissertation, Dorothee adopts a geopolitical lens to the effects of multi-scalar tourism governance on society, economy, and environment in the European Arctic. Additionally, she is interested in expanding her previous research on labour relations in the service sector and tourism evaluation.

Cecilia de Bernardi holds a PhD in Tourism Research from the University of Lapland and currently works as a lecturer at the Centre for Tourism and Leisure Research (CeTLer) at Dalarna University in Sweden. Her publications concentrate mostly on the conceptualisation of authenticity in Indigenous tourism and heritage, especially regarding marketing communication. She has also authored and co-authored publications on philosophical issues in academic work, effects of Airbnb accommodation on urban areas and on tourism policy related to winter tourism and work in the Nordic countries. Cecilia has several research interests, both closely related to her discipline, tourism, but also just pertaining to the philosophical approach critical realism.

ORCID

Dorothee Bohn  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9939-2048>

Cecilia de Bernardi  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1400-0357>

References

- Anderton, Chris. 2011. "Music Festival Sponsorship: Between Commerce and Carnival." *Arts Marketing: An International Journal* 1 (2): 145–158. doi:10.1108/20442081111180368.
- Anderton, Chris. 2018. *Music Festivals in the UK. Beyond the Carnavalesque*. London: Routledge.
- Anderton, Chris. 2020. "From Woodstock to Glastonbury to the Isle of Wight: The Role of Festival Films in the Construction of the Countercultural Carnavalesque." *Popular Music and Society* 43 (2): 201–215. doi:10.1080/03007766.2019.1687670.
- Arcodia, Charles, and Michelle Whitford. 2006. "Festival Attendance and the Development of Social Capital." *Journal of Convention & Event Tourism* 8 (2): 1–18. doi:10.1300/J452v08n02_01.
- Bennett, Andy, Jodie Taylor, and Ian Woodward. 2014. "Introduction." In *The Festivalization of Culture*, edited by Andy Bennett, Jodie Taylor, and Ian Woodward, 1–11. Farnham: Ashgate.

- Bever, Lindsey and Rick, Noack. 2018. "Two elderly men went missing. They were found at the world's biggest heavy metal festival." *Washington Post*, August 6. Accessed July 10, 2020. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2018/08/06/two-elderly-men-went-missing-they-were-found-at-the-worlds-biggest-heavy-metal-festival/>
- Brown, Andy R. 2016. "Everything Louder Than Everyone Else: The Origins and Persistence of Heavy Metal Music and Its Global Cultural Impact." In *The SAGE Handbook of Popular Music*, edited by Andy Bennett, and Steve Waksman, 261–277. London: Sage.
- Brown, Andy R., Karl Spracklen, Keith Kahn-Harris, and Niall W.R. Scott, eds. 2016. *Global Metal Music and Culture. Current Directions in Metal Studies*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Charbonnier, Corentin. 2018. "Le Hellfest, un espace de violences ritualisées." *Criminocorpus. Revue d'Histoire de la justice, des crimes et des peines*.
- Cho, Sung Hyung. 2007. *Dir. Full Metal Village*. Berlin, Hamburg, Strasbourg, Germany: Flying Moon Filmproduktion, Norddeutscher Rundfunk (NDR), ARTE, 2012. DVD.
- de Carvalho, Diógenes Faria, and Vitor Hugo Do Amaral Ferreira. 2020. "Sustainable Consumption and Brazilian Consumer Behaviour." In *Sustainable Consumption*, edited by Alberto Amaral Junior, Lucila de Almeida, and Luciane Klein Vieira, 63–75. Cham: Springer.
- Dewenter, Ralf, Justus Haucap, and Tobias Wenzel. 2012. "On File Sharing with Indirect Network Effects Between Concert Ticket Sales and Music Recordings." *Journal of Media Economics* 25 (3): 168–178. doi:10.1080/08997764.2012.700974.
- Duignan, Michael B, and Ilaria Pappalepore. 2019. "Visitor (Im)Mobility, Leisure Consumption and Mega-Event Impact: The Territorialisation of Greenwich and Small Business Exclusion at the London 2012 Olympics." *Leisure Studies* 38 (2): 160–174. doi:10.1080/02614367.2019.1572212.
- Duignan, Michael B, Ilaria Pappalepore, and Sally Everett. 2019. "The 'Summer of Discontent': Exclusion and Communal Resistance at the London 2012 Olympics." *Tourism Management* 70: 355–367. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2018.08.029.
- Eshuis, Jasper, Bonno Pel, and J Andres Coca-Stefaniak. 2019. "From Ephemeral Events to Multiple Legacies: An International Comparison of Festival Demarcations and Management Approaches." *Event Management*, November. doi:10.3727/152599519X15506259856192.
- Fründt, Steffen. 2019. "Das Unternehmen Wacken stößt an seine Grenzen." *Welt*, August 3. Accessed January 28, 2020. <https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article197916519/Wacken-2019-Neue-Plaene-fuer-Heavy-Metal-Fans.html>
- Gaffney, Christopher. 2019. "Can We Blame It on Rio?" *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 38 (3): 267–283. doi:10.1111/blar.12748.
- Gebhardt, Nicholas. 2015. 'Let There Be Rock!' Myth and Ideology in the Rock Festivals of the Transatlantic Counterculture. *The Pop Festival: History, Music, Media, Culture*, edited by George McKay, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015, pp. 49–59.
- Gibson, Chris. 2007. "Music Festivals: Transformations in Non-Metropolitan Places, and in Creative Work." *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture and Policy* 123 (1): 65–81. doi:10.1177/1329878X0712300108.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Graneheim, Ulla H., Britt Marie Lindgren, and Berit Lundman. 2017. "Methodological Challenges in Qualitative Content Analysis: A Discussion Paper." *Nurse Education Today* 56 (May): 29–34. doi:10.1016/j.nedt.2017.06.002.
- Guibert, Christophe. 2015. "Représentations et usages sociaux de la musique metal". *Volume!La revue des musiques populaires [En ligne]*, 11: 2. <http://journals.openedition.org/volume/4427>.
- Guibert, Jérôme. 2019. "Le Hellfest, arène discursive. Sociologie des festivals de musique live comme sphères publiques." *Criminocorpus. Revue d'Histoire de la justice, des crimes et des peines*.
- Harrison, Leigh M. 2010. "Factory Music: How the Industrial Geography and Working-Class Environment of Post-War Birmingham Fostered the Birth of Heavy Metal." *Journal of Social History* 44 (1): 145–158. doi:10.2307/40802112.
- Harvey, David. 2001. *Spaces of Capital. Towards a Critical Geography*. New York: Routledge.
- Hinrichs, Peter. 2011. *Wacken. Ein Dorf Wird Zur Metropole Und Marke*. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag.
- Hummel, Calla. 2018. "Do Poor Citizens Benefit from Mega-Events? São Paulo's Street Vendors and the 2014 FIFA World Cup." *Latin American Politics and Society* 60 (4): 26–48. doi:10.1017/lap.2018.40.

- ICS GmbH. n.d. "ICS Network." Accessed February 4, 2020. <https://www.ics-int.com/>.
- Jenkins, Henry. 1992. "Strangers No More, We Sing': Filking and the Social Construction of the Science Fiction Fan Community." In *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, edited by Lisa A. Lewis, 208–236. London: Routledge.
- Kahn-Harris, Keith. 2007. *Extreme Metal: Music and Culture on the Edge*. Oxford: Berg.
- Kinnunen, Maarit, Antti Honkanen, and Toni-Matti Karjalainen. 2020. "The Characteristics of a Finnish Metal Fan: Comparative Study on Music Festival Attendees." *Metal Music Studies* 6 (2): 215–236. doi:10.1386/mms_00014_1.
- Klauser, Francisco. 2013. "Spatialities of Security and Surveillance: Managing Spaces, Separations and Circulations at Sport Mega Events." *Geoforum; Journal of Physical, Human, and Regional Geosciences* 49: 289–298. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2012.11.011.
- Kwiatkowski, Grzegorz, Ove Oklevik, Anne-Mette Hjalager, and Helene Maristuen. 2020. "The Assemblers of Rural Festivals: Organizers, Visitors and Locals." *European Planning Studies* 28 (2): 255–272. doi:10.1080/09654313.2019.1651829.
- Langener, Wolfgang. 2017. "Wacken: Warum die Heavy-Metal-Welt jedes Jahr in ein kleines Dorf pilgert." *Augsburger Allgemeine*, August 1. Accessed July 10, 2020. <https://www.augsburger-allgemeine.de/panorama/Wacken-Warum-die-Heavy-Metal-Welt-jedes-Jahr-in-ein-kleines-Dorf-pilgert-id42265691.html>
- Lopez, Carmen, and Mark A. A. M. Leenders. 2019. "Building a Local Identity Through Sellout Crowds: The Impact of Brand Popularity, Brand Similarity, and Brand Diversity of Music Festivals." *Journal of Strategic Marketing* 27 (5): 435–450. doi:10.1080/0965254X.2018.1430055.
- Maffesoli, Michel. 1996. *The Time of the Tribes*. London: Sage.
- McGillivray, David, Michael B Duignan, and Eduardo Mielke. 2019. "Mega Sport Events and Spatial Management: Zoning Space Across Rio's 2016 Olympic City." *Annals of Leisure Research*, 1–24. doi:10.1080/11745398.2019.1607509.
- McGillivray, David, and Matt Frew. 2015. "From Fan Parks to Live Sites: Mega Events and the Territorialisation of Urban Space." *Urban Studies* 52 (14): 2649–2663. doi:10.1177/0042098014550456.
- McGuirk, Pauline M. and Philip O'Neill. 2005. "Using Questionnaires in Qualitative Human Geography." In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, edited by Iain Hay, 147–162. South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Meyer, Samantha B, and Belinda Lunnay. 2013. "The Application of Abductive and Retroductive Inference for the Design and Analysis of Theory-Driven Sociological Research." *Sociological Research Online* 18 (1): 12. <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/18/1/12.html>.
- Miles, Stephen. 1998. *Consumerism – as a Way of Life*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Mkono, Muchazondida, and Kevin Markwell. 2014. "The Application of Netnography in Tourism Studies." *Annals of Tourism Research* 48: 289–291. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2014.07.005.
- Morey, Yvette, Andrew Bengry-Howell, Christine Griffin, Isabelle Szmigin, and Sarah Riley. 2014. "Festivals 2.0: Consuming, Producing and Participating in the Extended Festival Experience." In *The Festivalization of Culture*, edited by Andy Bennett, Jodie Taylor, and Ian Woodward, 251–258. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Morris, Martin. 2015. "Extreme Heavy Metal Music and Critical Theory." *The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory* 90 (4): 285–303. doi:10.1080/00168890.2015.1096167.
- Moscardo, Gianna. 2007. "Analyzing the Role of Festivals and Events in Regional Development." *Event Management* 11 (1-2). doi:10.3727/152599508783943255.
- Müller, Martin. 2011. "State Dirigisme in Megaprojects: Governing the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 43 (9): 2091–2108. doi:10.1068/a43284.
- Osborn, Guy, and Andrew Smith. 2016. "Olympic Brandscapes: London 2012 and the Seeping Commercialisation of Public Space." In *The London Olympics and Urban Development: The Mega-Event City*, edited by G. Poynter, V. Viehoff, and Y. Li, 139–153. Abingdon, NY: Routledge.
- Patterson, Jamie E. 2016. "'Getting My Soul Back': Empowerment Narratives and Identities among Women in Extreme Metal in North Carolina." In *Global Metal Music and Culture. Current Direction in Metal Studies*, edited by Andy R. Brown, Karl Spracklen, Keith Kahn-Harris, and Niall W.R. Scott, 245–260. Abingdon: Routledge.

- Patton, Michael Q. 1999. "Enhancing the Quality and Credibility of Qualitative Analysis." *Health Services Research* 34 (5 Pt 2): 1189–1208. <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/10591279>.
- Pennington, Diane Rasmussen. 2016. "Coding of Non-Text Data." In *The SAGE Handbook of Social Media Research Methods*, 232–250. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. doi:10.4135/9781473983847.n15.
- Polizeidirektion Itzehoe. 2018. "Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik 2018. Kreis Steinburg." Accessed January 28, 2020. https://www.schleswig-holstein.de/DE/Landesregierung/POLIZEI/DasSindWir/PDen/Itzehoe/_downloads/pks/pks_steinburg_2018.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=2.
- Richards, Greg, Lénia Marques, and Karen Mein. 2015. "Introduction. Designing Events, Events as a Design Strategy." In *Event Design. Social Perspectives and Practices*, edited by Greg Richards, Lénia Marques, and Karen Mein, 1–13. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Roberts, Margaret E., Brandon M. Stewart, Dustin Tingley, Christopher Lucas, Jetson Leder-Luis, Shana Kushner, Gadarian, Bethany Albertson, and David G. Rand. 2014. "Structural Topic Models for Open-Ended Survey Responses." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (4): 1064–1082.
- Rojek, Chris. 2013. *Event Power*. London: Sage.
- Schöwe, Andreas. 2012. *Wacken Roll*. Höfen: Hannibal Verlag.
- Smialek, Eric. 2016. "The Unforgiven: A Reception Study of Metallica Fans and 'Sell-Out' Accusations." In *Global Metal Music and Culture. Current Direction in Metal Studies*, edited by Andy R. Brown, Karl Spracklen, Keith Kahn-Harris, and Niall W.R. Scott, 106–124. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Spracklen, Karl. 2016. "Framing Identities and Mobilities in Heavy Metal Music Festival Events." In *Event Mobilities: Politics, Performance and Place*, edited by Kevin Hannam, Mary Mostafanzhad, and Jillian Rickly, 40–51. London: Routledge.
- Stern.de. 2019. "Zehn Fakten über den Metal-Kult." *Stern*. Accessed July 11, 2020. <https://www.stern.de/kultur/wacken-open-air-2019--zehn-fakten-ueber-den-metal-kult-8827924.html>
- Szmigin, Isabelle, Andrew Bengry-Howell, Yvette Morey, Christine Griffin, and Sarah Riley. 2017. "Socio-Spatial Authenticity at Co-Created Music Festivals." *Annals of Tourism Research* 63: 1–11. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2016.12.007.
- Tjora, Aksel. 2016. "The Social Rhythm of the Rock Music Festival." *Popular Music* 35 (January): 64–83. doi:10.1017/S026114301500080X.
- Vorobjovas-Pinta, Oskaras. 2018. "It's Been Nice, But We're Going Back to Our Lives': Neo-Tribalism and the Role of Space in a Gay Resort." In *Neo-Tribes – Consumption, Leisure and Tourism*, edited by Anne Hardy, Andy Bennett, and Brady Robards, 71–87. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Wacken.com. 2019. "Superstruct Enters into a Partnership with International Concert Service." Accessed January 28, 2020. <https://www.wacken.com/en/news-details/superstruct-enters-into-a-partnership-with-international-concert-service/>.
- Wacken.com. n.d. "Wacken Community." Accessed July 7, 2020. <https://www.wacken.com/de/community/>.
- Wallach, Jeremy, Harris M. Berger, and Paul D. Greene. 2011. "Affective Overdrive, Scene Dynamics, and Identity in the Global Metal Scene." In *Metal Rules the Globe Heavy Metal Music Around the World*, edited by Jeremy Wallach, Harris M. Berger, and Paul D. Greene, 3–33. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Walser, Rober. 1993. *Running with the Devil. Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Williams, Michael. 2015. "'One But Not the Same': U2 Concerts, Community and Cultural Identity." In *Identity Discourses and Communities in International Events, Festivals and Spectacles*, edited by Udo Merkel, 242–259. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wilson, Juliette, Norin Arshed, Eleanor Shaw, and Tobias Pret. 2017. "Expanding the Domain of Festival Research: A Review and Research Agenda." *International Journal of Management Reviews* 19 (2): 195–213. doi:10.1111/ijmr.12093.

- Wojcik, Nadine. 2019. "30 Years of Wacken: How a Village Became a Heavy Metal Mecca." *Deutsche Welle*. Accessed July 7, 2020. <https://www.dw.com/en/30-years-of-wacken-how-a-village-became-a-heavy-metal-mecca/g-49839650>
- Ziakas, Vassilios. 2013. *Event Portfolio Planning and Management: A Holistic Approach*. Abingdon: Routledge.