“One Night in Hackney”: From Punk Kids to Cyberdogs

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This is the story of a young girl who visited London for the first time. In 2017 she moved to the south of England and happened to live in the Borough of Hackney in the east end of the English capital city. There, she came to share a flat with a thirty-eight-year-old independent DJ nicknamed Tago. The man, as an eccentric sheriff from The Legend of Kaspar Hauser, taught her the art of DJing and introduced her to techno music. Quickly, the girl got interested in this genre and started to develop her own library and skills in mixing. At some point, he made her listen to the local anthem of “One Night in Hackney”. With this track, they have both developed a real attachment to their neighbourhood while spending nights chatting about it and incorporating it to their own sets.

This is the story that led me to write this essay about the specificity of the techno scene in the Borough of Hackney. Even though the English acid house scene and its fans calmed down and reintegrated London’s clubland in the late 1990s and early 2000s after the police repression that followed the excesses of the 1992 edition of the Castlemorton free festival, Hackney remained an oddity and a rebel in the city’s electronic music scene. As a punk child, it has always been faithful to the underground background of techno music whilst developing its own subgenres using London’s typical acid house sounds from the 1990s dance music, such as acid techno of which the Dynamo City’s track mentioned above is a good example.

By using these latter’s track and looking at the history of the techno music movement in Detroit and London—thanks to Techno Rebels and Generation Ecstasy respectively written by Dan Sicko and Simon Reynolds—I will try to understand the particularity of acid techno as a crossroads influenced by both the techno music coming from the American city of Detroit and the rave and warehouse parties culture from the English capital city in the area of east London and more specifically of Hackney.

I have then decided to study, in a first part, the production context and the origins of acid techno to analyse the track “One Night in Hackney” and try to understand its technical elements as a legacy of the techno, punk rock, and acid house scenes. In a second part, I
will focus on the English legacy of the rave culture of the early 1990s in warehouse parties of east London, especially the use of drugs which is now linked to the techno environment, and I will look at how the people attending those events have taken the social codes surrounding techno music to their ownership and have transformed them. Eventually, it seems interesting to question the geographical area in which acid techno is produced and to compare it with Detroit, in order to understand this evolution of British dance music as a cultural and identity tribute to its past and as a resistance force against the gentrification phenomenon which is now striking east London.

A crossroads between punk rock, Detroit techno and acid house

Founded in Hackney in 1993 by three friends—Chris Knowles, Julian Sandell and Aaron Northmore—the Stay Up Forever Records label has quickly become a pioneer in the domain of acid techno as the three men have actually created and developed this new subgenre. The three young producers met during the year 1990 while they were squatting at the same abandoned places in the London Borough of Hackney. As they were living and evolving in this underground milieu, they naturally came to make electronic music with a punk rock background as Chris Knowles mentions in an interview that he gave to the Venezuelan online electronic music channel DJProfile.TV on 16 December 2015.

We were back in London and I met Julian and Aaron. We started DJing together because we came from the same punk rock scene and we didn’t really know much about electronic music and we didn’t know much about DJing, but we really got interested in electronic music. And together we started doing parties and learning to DJ to a scene of people that were really not ravers. And from that, we did a few parties and then we really got locked into it and that’s how it started for us.

Knowles, who was also playing in a punk rock band at that time, got disappointed by this scene and the complexity in producing and distributing this music which was getting more and more commercial. “In the ‘80s, I got really disillusioned with playing in bands. We got a deal and got some problems with our record company and stuff. And at the same time, I started to listen more to electronica,” says Knowles. There is no doubt that even though they were attracted by the freedom implied by the electronic music DIY aspect, the three self-called Liberators remained faithful to their punk rock origins while creating the samples that they would use in the composition of their acid techno tracks as a means to differentiate themselves from the acid house movement that was enjoying an increasing popularity among the 1990s London audience.

This aspect of acid techno is particularly noticeable in “One Night in Hackney”, a track composed by Dynamo City, a duo formed by DJs Chris Knowles (aka Chris Liberator) and Henry Cullin (aka D.A.V.E. The Drummer) and released in January 2004 by the Stay Up Forever Records label. Indeed, this parody of Oliver Chesler’s (aka The Horrorist) 1996 “One Night in New York City”, in which a narrator tells us the story of a young naïve man who happens to party in “an old abandoned warehouse” in Hackney during his first time in London, demonstrates the qualities of acid techno as a “darkcore” meeting point between techno, acid house and punk rock music. It seems quite tricky to deal with the musical aspects of techno in general, especially in terms of melody as this genre is mainly based on mixed sampled sounds of drums and bass that are so modified that it is hard to find their origins. Even though some DJs make their samples recognizable, like David
August who used melodies and an a cappella song from David Lynch’s *Mulholland Drive* in his live session at the Boiler Room in Berlin\(^8\), most DJs in their own tracks tend to erase any distinctive character from the sounds they have used to make them, and Chris Liberator and D.A.V.E. The Drummer are no exception to this rule. It seems difficult to describe precisely the sound of techno music. This is maybe why, most of the time, critics and scholars use clear terms like “murky and grim” (Sicko 44) or “the mechanistic repetition, the synthetic and electronic textures” (Reynolds 24), that may look quite vague and that hardly evoke anything for the neophytes and even for the listener who has no clue about electronically composed music. I will not be an exception in this paper, though I will try to explain a few technical aspects of “One Night in Hackney” and the effect they produce on the listener.

Among the endless list of devices used by Chris Liberator and D.A.V.E. The Drummer to create their tracks, two of them are particularly recognizable in “One Night in Hackney”—the Roland TB-303 bass synthesizer and the Roland TR-909 rhythm composer. The first one is an indispensable tool in the making of the acid sound which has been democratized by Chicago’s acid house scene in the 1990s. According to the description made on the Roland online shop:

> The TB-303 was imbued with three vital functions that combined to create its unique, slippery “acid” sound: the basic-yet-almost-impenetrable step sequencer, the Accent that punched accented notes to greater heights, and that inimitable Slide function that didn’t remotely emulate the sound of a fretless bass. (“Roland TB-303 Acid House Flashback”)

These functions are materialized by six knobs at the top of the machine.


In other words, these six knobs, when turned to their maximum level, combined with the oscillator in square wave position, create a distorted, saturated, squelchy bass sound. This, added to the very artificial drums sounds produced by the Roland TR-909, gives a grainy touch to the track that we can also find in punk rock music. All these samples,
which follow the classic 4/4 techno pattern, may have been mixed around 145 BPM (beats per minutes) by the two DJs which is typical of acid techno that is generally mixed between 145 BPM and 155 BPM and thus faster than techno music or acid house which are mixed between 118 and 135 BPM. When I say “may,” it is because most DJ software programs like Serato or Virtual DJ naturally read the track at 145.41 BPM. This odd number might be due to the echo and reverb effects that Christ Liberator and D.A.V.E. The Drummer have applied onto the hi-hat, and the snare samples which may have initially been recorded at a faster tempo than the other samples composing the track. Even if it does not create a delay, this effect seems to be a good illustration of Ansgar Jerrentrup saying that “the amount of delay in the rhythm can be adjusted so that the selected impulse is repeated completely outside of the basic meter, and thus is able to sound confusing and forced.” (Jerrentrup). There is no doubt indeed that this track is somehow disorienting, and its mixed raw, fat and heavy samples are very hard to be distinguished because of the distortion operated on them. The listener may be lost in this amount of sounds and grinds which may make his brain disjunct as he cannot identify the sounds anymore. Some may even feel uncomfortable as they only perceive this track as an accumulation of unpleasant, nasty noises. The feeling of uncanny can be found back in the late 1992 “darkside” or “darkcore” movement in the British electronic music scene which was experimenting with the sounds and going further in the use of samples to translate the feeling of awkwardness felt by the ravers who were overdoing drugs. These latter frequently suffered from deep dark side effects such as confusion, depression, anxiety or even paranoia and auditory hallucinations (Reynolds 207). “Darkside” tracks artificially tried to reproduce this experience with sounds. Simon Reynolds has technically described the “darkcore” movement:

The darkside producers gave their breakbeats a brittle, metallic sound, like scuttling claws; they layered beats to form a dense mesh of convoluted, convulsive polyrhythms, inducing a febrile feel of in-the-pocket funk and out-of-body delirium. [...] Harking back to the heavily treated timbres of fifties musique concrète and post-punk industrial music, darkside’s repertoire of noises abducted the listener into the auto-hallucinatory malaise of schizophrenia. (Reynolds, 207-208)

This schizophrenic feeling is produced in “One Night in Hackney” by the multiplicity of rhythms and the sampled voice of Chris Liberator on which the echo and reverb effects are applied to make it sound like a demoniac, ghostly voice coming almost from another world. These different effects are actually a way for acid techno music producers to keep the dancers active and to stimulate their brain activity along their sets.

There is no doubt that acid techno and its peculiar polyphony voluntarily reduced to a noisy effect has been influenced by “darkcore”. If both subgenres—which imitate the distorted and unclear sound of punk rock songs—may be interpreted as an opposition to rave culture and its excesses, London acid techno can rather be understood as an evolution of it.

“The London Sound”: a musical evolution of British rave culture

In May 1992, Castlemorton free festival for travellers hosted almost twenty thousand ravers in quest of a new promised land countering the United Kingdom’s conservative
legal restrictions on clubbing. The one-week-long acid house and techno party happened
to be a meeting point for posh clubbers who wanted to expand the party above clubland
limits and punk rock underground travellers who already knew a bit about electronic
music and got introduced to the rave phenomenon. However, as the BBC mentions:

What started out as a small free festival for travellers not only went down in history
as the biggest illegal rave ever held in the UK, but resulted in a trial costing £ 4m
and the passing of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act. (Chester)

14 Section 63, part V of the Act aims to facilitate police intervention when it aims to prevent
or stop:
A gathering on land in the open air of 100 or more persons (whether or not
trespassers) at which amplified music is played during the night (with or without
intermissions) and is such as, by reason of its loudness and duration and the time at
which it is played, is likely to cause serious distress to the inhabitants of the
locality. (Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, part V sec. 63)

15 It is specified that “music” includes sounds wholly or predominantly characterised by the
emission of a succession of repetitive beats.” (Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994,
part V sec. 63). This last statement not only aims to prevent raves in which techno music
would be played but even questions the very quality of this genre as a form of music, thus
confirming more or less the previous remarks about its readability and its impermeability
to some people’s ear.

16 During the following years though, the legal restrictions on clubland in the United
Kingdom have been released and the massive united crowd from Castlemorton split. The
posh acid house ravers gradually went back to clubs as punk backgrounded people went
back to warehouses to develop their own style of dance music aiming to differentiate
themselves from the first ones. As Knowles says:

We were interested in electronic music, but we were like not punks, but we were
from an underground squatting scene. We weren’t like ravers. The ravers that came
out in 1989-1990, they liked house music and rave music. They were of a kind of
person that wasn’t really the kind of people we were. We went to raves, we loved it,
but people were quite well dressed, and we were quite crusty looking, like not
dressed up, not fashion people. So, when we started doing our parties, we were
doing it for the kind of people that we were. Not ravers. But as you know, in the
history of rave that soon flourished in England in 1991-1992, there was a lot of big
parties for more people like us. The whole underground rave scene started, and this
became a massive thing as well. But yeah, definitely, we weren’t from the same
building blocks.11

17 Those prejudices could be seen on the other side of the British electronic scene as well.
“Despite their populist rhetoric and antagonism toward traditional clubland elitism, the
original Balearic scenesters were horrified by the arrival of the great unwashed and
unhip,” Reynolds says (Reynolds 68). Even though they shared a short moment of
communion, the dichotomy between elitist clubbers/ravers and warehouse party-goers
remained and increased as British rave culture conformed itself to establishment and
club business. At the same time, warehouse electronic music producers started to develop
a new self-conscious subgenre in techno music based on the anti-establishment
philosophy inherited from the punk rock culture, and a “drug-based culture” influenced
by the British acid house music scene.

18 This “drug-based” anti-establishment culture is particularly noticeable in Chris
Liberator’s and D.A.V.E. The Drummer’s “One Night in Hackney” as the main protagonist
is ending his story by taking “ecstasy”, “ketamine”, “cocaine”, “speed”, “acids” and
drinking “fifteen cans of Stella” and laughing with another man that he has just met and that he calls “dude”. There is a real contrast between the general dark tone of this track and the casualness surrounding the topic of drug consumption. The latter is rather introduced as a way for the characters to socialize and to befriend. This behaviour, quite common in these parties, led me to question the effect of techno music on social interactions. According to Jean-Michel Vives’ and Jacques Cabassut’s work, techno music—which is based on a continuity of timbres and rhythms as I have formerly mentioned—would be a way for its listeners to find access to the original voice as an object free from any meaning, and thus it would imprison them into the direct materiality of sound. In their article “Les enjeux vocaux de la dynamique subjective rencontrée à l’occasion du rassemblement adolescent techno”, they write: “la techno, en comblant le sujet, noie ce dernier dans un rapport jouissif du bios du corps qui ne saurait à lui seul faire lien social.” (Vives and Cabassut). Techno music thus seems to be a factor in party-goers’ isolation. Indeed, sober techno listeners tend to act as if they were hypnotized by the music. They are plunged into a functional dancing trance by the rhythms and the sounds and they do not even pay attention to what is around them. Moreover, this isolation may have been increased by a traditional English puritanism that had been revived since the 1980s by the conservative policies of both Margaret Thatcher and John Major. Drugs such as ecstasy and MDMA, which were introduced in the UK by acid house DJs and rich rave attendees who discovered it in Ibiza, were appropriated by people coming from the underground scene as a cure to social inhibition induced by techno music. It is interesting to notice that “MDMA is known to evoke experiences of empathy and compassion.” (McDaniel). The quest for empathy might be interpreted as a way for party-goers to share a communal feeling and to create a united marginalized group outside society, thus confirming Simon Reynolds’ point of view when he writes that “warehouse party offered rare opportunities for the working class to experience a sense of collective identity, to belong to a ‘we’ rather than an atomized impotent ‘I’.” (Reynolds 64).

As these drugs were becoming less popular in a calmer clubland especially because of tabloids’ reports, the very same MDMA and ecstasy were adopted by the warehouses regular people. I want to argue that the social link created by such drugs surrounding the acid techno played in the warehouse environment is actually a way for people who attend these parties to empower themselves as an anti-establishment force against the gentrification movement in the English capital city that tries to claim ownership of their territory.

A uniting cultural force against gentrification

Undoubtedly, the need of feeling a collective identity shared by deprived people in order to resist well-off youth has been taken into account by the Belleville Three in their creative process surrounding the original techno sound. When they met in the suburbs of Detroit in the United States, in the early 1980s, Juan Atkins, Derrick May and Kevin Saunderson—three young African-American musicians who got inspired by German rock band Kraftwerk’s electronic sounds, and Alvin Toffler’s future theory developed in The Third Wave—took over the use of electronic devices to produce a new form of electronic music that would differentiate them from the music played by students in Detroit’s high school social clubs’ parties. The members of these social clubs, who had displaced the parties into the suburban areas of Detroit to free themselves from clubbing, were
horrified by the unprivileged people who attended their parties, and they gradually started to apply the traditional forms of racism and classism that were dividing the city at that time.

The craftsman quality of electronic music blended with the idea “[...] that technology need not be big, costly, or complex in order to be ‘sophisticated,’”(Alvin Toffler cited by Sicko 12) have certainly motivated this deprived generation to take Detroit’s past glory back. Indeed, the city, which had been the flower of the American car industry, had been abandoned during the deindustrialization period, and fragmented because of the lack of public transport. The different neighbourhoods suffered from racial, social and class prejudices coming from the others. However, people from Detroit, who were left on the sidelines of American economic development, shared a same feeling of abandonment as they were “dehumanized and disempowered.” (Sicko 35). As Reynolds mentions, “Atkins and May both attribute the dreaminess of Detroit techno to the desolation of the city, which May describes in terms of a sensory and cultural deprivation.” (Reynolds 21).

Techno music thus appears to be a paradoxical home-made music influenced by the vestiges of the industrial era. The cultural deprivation of Detroit can be explained by the fact that the city was almost only based on the automobile industry and the plants that were composing it. The car industry was the only cultural factor that united Detroit’s population. Thus, when the latter died, so did the feeling of belonging to a community for the inhabitants. It seems then natural that the Belleville Three, who shared a feeling of attachment to the urban milieu they had all experienced, used this industrial, cultural, and architectural legacy as a source for their creativity, resorting to mechanical sounds, hammer-like beats and strident high-pitched samples evoking the factory environment. Techno music can then be understood as a way to revive a collective memory, whilst creating a new form of culture. It is an empowering force creating communities on given territories. Thanks to techno, people that were formerly divided in individual entities were then reunited around a shared cultural element giving them a feeling of identity and a sense of belonging. Techno seems to be linked to the space in which it was developed. This is what makes Detroit’s electronic music unique and differentiates it from its European subgenres that are mostly linked to the fall of Berlin’s wall.

This link between space and music was pursued by Chris Liberator who decided to remain in London after the Castlemorton events and the police repressions that led a lot of techno lovers to go into exile in France where they spread the teknivals’ and free parties’ subculture. “We [did not] want to go to France, and our music [was] not going to become what we [wanted] to do. [...] We stayed in London and the London sound was acid techno.”(13) However, regarding Hackney’s acid techno, it is possible to find a form of specificity and exception. Indeed, the history of this music—which had been influenced by the English acid house culture inherited from Chicago’s house music, and from punk rock music—is pretty close to Detroit’s. This might be due to Hackney’s rather similar geographical and architectural environment. Indeed, the London Borough of Hackney, located in the east end, has been marked by industrialization and the spread of factories since the 18th century. The area was then divided between plants in Hackney Wick—in the east—and a dormitory-town in the central and southern parts of the neighbourhood. The “multi-ethnic class borough” (Brown), that was only united around its industrial activities, was highly suffering from poverty. All those social and economic problems increased with the deindustrialization that struck the area during the 1960s. As Juliet Davis says:
The departure of firms may have in some senses reflected the fulfilment of the industrial decentralization dreams laid down in earlier decades, but the unplanned effect from the early 1980s was unemployment and a new kind of economic marginality. (Davis)

Hackney was then divided between different populaces who fragmented themselves as the unique commune cultural and economic element binding them together fell apart. Whence, the borough that had been abandoned by the rest of the city became a squatting place for the underground people who were inspired by this along with acid house and Detroit’s techno music, and who started to create a new electronic subculture. Nevertheless, unlike Detroit’s techno or London’s acid house, Hackney’s acid techno became tainted with a darker touch, partly inherited from its punk background which certainly reflects the disillusionment experienced by the inhabitants of the borough at that time. This musical characteristic may have played a significant part in the union between the different populaces crossing the barriers of race, class and gender as they were meeting and partying together in warehouses.

Acid techno, which played the initial role of federating warehouse culture in this borough and was offering a possibility for its people to escape from their reality during party times, opened a new dimension in this area. For the past few years, the London Borough of Hackney has been facing a gradual movement of gentrification. A new wealthy population is then investing this space and the consequence of such a phenomenon, even though it increases the quality of life in the neighbourhood, results in a displacement of local populations. Hence, acid techno—and more specifically the anthem of “One Night in Hackney”, which celebrates warehouse culture—has become a resistance power for natives of this part of London. As Kimberley Brown explains:

With a [symbolic cultural] practice [...] the young people can potentially claim a material right to Hackney that extends beyond their moral claim, imagined spaces of the ethnic community and/or shared cultural history and experience. (Brown)

Indeed, acid techno, by popularizing warehouse parties for the inhabitants of Hackney, has indirectly given to these people the ownership of these particular spaces.

In this essay I have tried to show that the acid techno scene founded by the Liberators with the Stay Up Forever Records label is based on a self-conscious scene that has exploited the technical and musical characteristics of London acid house and the philosophy linking techno to its environment borrowed from Detroit. The combination of both criteria allowed them to empower the local population of Hackney as they remained faithful to this borough and have based their headquarters at E9 6QH. Their love for this eastern part of London is shown by their 2004 track of “One Night in Hackney” in which they celebrate the culture of warehouse parties which has become a resistance force for the natives from this neighbourhood against clubland elitism and gentrification.

However, with the globalization and the diffusion of techno music and its subgenres around the world, it seems interesting to study the impact of what Chris Liberator calls the “London sound” and its paradoxical effects on foreign people who find a resonance in it and yet do not live in Hackney or even in London.
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NOTES

1. La Leggenda di Kaspar Hauser, dir. Davide Manuli, Blue Film, Shooting Hope, 2013. This science fiction feature film tells the story of Kaspar Hauser (Silvia Calderoni), a young man who mysteriously washes up on an island in an unknown world. He is taken in by a sheriff (Vincent Gallo) who is going to protect him and to teach him how to become a DJ.


5. See the section “About Us” of the Stay Up Forever Record label online shop.

6. The three DJs are generally called by their stage names, Chris Liberator, Julian Liberator and Aaron Liberator. Their real names are quite hard to find, yet, Harry Sword mentions them in his article “Where Techno Met Punk: London’s Acid Techno Underground of the ‘90s”.


9. In this track, The Horrorist already used a narrative voice to tell a darker story than the one of the young man in Hackney as an underage girl is raped by “a really cute guy” that she met during a party in a club of New York City.


10. In his live session at the Boiler Room in 2014, David August used the “Mulholland Drive” track composed by Angelo Badalamenti for David Lynch’s film of the same name to introduce his set, and later he remixed the song “Llorando” interpreted by Rebekah Del Rio in the very same movie.


12. “The techno-rebels contend that technology need not be big, costly, or complex in order to be ‘sophisticated.’”


ABSTRACTS

This essay focuses on the acid techno movement initiated by the Stay Up Forever Records label in the early 1990s in the United Kingdom. Through the analysis of the emblematic track “One Night in Hackney”, composed by Dynamo City, the present study will explore the particularities of this subgenre of Detroit’s techno music. As a hybrid child of both London’s acid house and the underground punk rock scene, this new musical trend is part of the philosophical legacy which links techno music to the Motor City’s abandoned urban space in which it saw the light of day. Considering the tragical fates of both Detroit and Hackney faced with deindustrialization, one may then interpret acid techno as a unifying force for the inhabitants of this borough of London, which would thus allow them to assert a cultural claim on this space and to fight against the gentrification phenomenon which is now striking the eastern area of the English capital city.

Cet essai porte sur le mouvement acid techno fondé par le label Stay Up Forever Records au début des années 1990 au Royaume-Uni. A travers l’analyse technique du morceau emblématique « One Night in Hackney », composé par Dynamo City, la présente étude se propose d’explorer les spécificités de ce sous-genre de la musique techno de Détroit. Enfant hybride de l’acid house londonienne et de la scène underground de la musique punk rock, ce nouveau courant musical s’inscrit dans l’héritage philosophique liant la techno à l’espace urbain délaissé de la Motor City dans laquelle elle vit le jour. Si l’on considère les destins tragiques et similaires de Détroit et de Hackney face à la désindustrialisation, il semble alors possible d’interpréter l’acid techno comme une force unificatrice pour les habitants de ce quartier de Londres, leur permettant, ainsi, d’affirmer une propriété culturelle sur cet espace et de lutter contre le phénomène de gentrification qui touche actuellement l’est de la capitale anglaise.

INDEX

Mots-clés: musique, techno, acid techno, Londres, Hackney, Detroit, Castlemorton, rave, entrepôt, gentrification

Keywords: music, techno music, acid techno, London, Hackney, Detroit, Castlemorton, rave, warehouse, gentrification


Subjects: Music