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Breaching the Divide: Techno City Berlin.

Music has often been linked to place, not only with regard to a geographical location but also to a certain group of people or a lifestyle. In the case of Electronic Dance Music (EDM), some genres are known to have originated from particular areas such as Dutch Gabber, trance from Goa or techno from Detroit. Occasionally, as is the case with techno, the origin of a particular genre is debated (the Germans like to claim this genre too). And yet a geographical connotation seems to help people identify a certain sound, especially in times when the classification of subgenres within EDM presents us with an overwhelming variety of supposedly distinctive sounds. It becomes harder to define the music by its traditional features such as instrumentation, notation or compositional methods and one has to wonder whether the definition of genre should include aspects that only indirectly contribute to the production of sound: aspects such as social conditions, cultural backgrounds or economic changes.

Berlin is considered one of the most vibrant musical cities in western society. It is a unique city not least because of its role in German and European history. It is this history that has helped to create a sound that is unmistakable: Berlin techno. At a time when other countries and cities lament the death of EDM and clubculture, Berlin is a progressive example of musical development. It is a city that seems to be able to permanently reinvent itself and its culture, and part of this energetic process is its Electronic Dance Music Culture (EDCM). Long-established nightclubs such as Tresor and Watergate are complemented by newly created spaces that help not only to keep clubculture alive but also to continuously modify and renew the genre. New locations such as Berghain, which was voted the world's best nightclub in 2008 by DJ Mag, and Bar 25/Kater Holzig, an after-hour location near the river Spree, are already infamous locations of

Berlin's nightlife, popular amongst Germans and tourists alike. Also, because of its unique character, many artists move to Berlin. It is a site of creative didactics that provide the space and networks to develop cultural ideas and experiment with new forms or conventions of culture. The migration of musicians, artists and DJs, including Richie Hawtin, Peaches, Paul van Dyk, Ricardo Villalobos, DJ Hell and Len Faki, to name but a few, is evidence of this trend. This ongoing process creates a global atmosphere in the city that allows the individuals who create Berlin's musical landscape to draw on a wide range of influences. The question that arises is how this very global mix of influences has been used to create a sound that is associated with Berlin.

This chapter argues that the latest evolutionary step of techno has only been possible because Berlin's position in history, and the city's subsequent social development provided unique conditions for musical exploration, identification and progression. Berlin's culture today still profits from its post-1989 culture clash and, as such, is able to motivate, rejuvenate and re-energise its own cultural forces in a way that Detroit, the city of techno, has never been able to do. When talking about EDM, Berlin and Detroit are often mentioned as intrinsically linked cities, not least because of the nightclubs Tresor's connection to Jeff Mills, Derek May, and Underground Resistance.¹ It has been argued that Berlin in general and Tresor in particular provided Mills with the space and audience that revived the career of Detroit's most famous DJ (Sicko 173). The political, social and cultural conditions of Detroit after Motown's move to Los Angeles have been referred to in order to explain a form of musical deprivation of Detroit and a subsequent reorientation of some of its musicians. As the narrative of techno has been documented and discussed voluminously (Albiez, Reynolds, Sicko), this comparative study aims to explore not the evolution of a musical genre but rather its links to specific geographic locations and their social, political and cultural structure. At a time when Detroit techno is considered to be a historical reference, not only of a particular musical sound of the past

¹ Tresor's second compilation from 1993 was called: Berlin – Detroit. A techno alliance.

but also of specific political and economic conditions, the emergence of Berlin techno with its distinctive sound is worth analysing, as it reflects the musical progress of the here and now as much as it reflects the political, cultural and economic situation of Berlin.

After looking at the situation of Detroit today, I compare the cultural conditions of Detroit with those of Berlin. By discussing particular historical aspects of both cities, the notion of the constructivist moment by Barrett Watten (2003) is introduced to link the emergence of creativity with the architectural rupture of a cityscape. Drawing on this idea, the experience of rupture, which can be recognised in the history of Detroit as well as contemporary Berlin, is interpreted as an opportunity for creative forces to develop. Finally, the advantageous conditions that have made Berlin a creative hub are discussed. Thriving off ever-developing cultural networks, Tammy Anderson's model of restoration, preservation and adaptation (119-131) is applied to Berlin in order to show that this city is able to take techno a long way into the twenty-first century.

Detroit is commonly known as the home of the American car industry. One could argue that the modern history of American black music in Detroit started during the migration process in the first half of the twentieth century, which was initiated by the huge demand for cheap manual labour and a belief that Detroit could fulfil the American dream. With the arrival of John Lee Hooker in the city in 1948, Detroit had found its first musical hero – a musician whose simple style was imitated and developed by generations of artists (*Motor City's Burning*).

It has previously been argued that because the techno that came out of Detroit was based on European aesthetics and drew heavily on bands such as Kraftwerk, the music has to be considered post-soul (Albiez 132). Although that could mean that the aesthetics of Detroit's musical narrative is disjointed between early soul and the Motown sound on the one hand, and the EDM productions of Juan Atkins, Derek May and later producers on the other, I argue that the musical heritage of a city such as Detroit could not have been established without a geographical, cultural and political contextualisation of

early soul². The racial divide of the city influenced the development of a futuristic and dystopian aesthetic as much as the class division among the African American population in Detroit (Motor city's burning). A city that used to be predominantly white and was in dire need of a workforce, had to deal with an influx of African American labourers. The racial segregation could be noticed not only in the motor companies with regards to types of labour but also in the city itself. The geographical segregation that followed the 1967 race riots (Flamm) is partly responsible for the recognition of a constructivist moment in Detroit (discussed below). The politicisation of musical material after the race riots (Marvin Gaye, MC5, George Clinton), the diversification of Motown and its move to LA in 1972, contributed to or were proof of a new atmosphere in Detroit – not only industrially but also musically, socially and politically. A recent re-branding campaign that attempts to shift the focus away from Detroit, the Motor City towards Detroit the Techno City (Lang), shows the desire to leave the industrial identity behind and focus on a post-industrial identity with specific reference to musical production.

The industrial/post-industrial shift is particularly interesting when discussing the musical development of Berlin. Although Berlin was never an economic or financial centre within Germany, it was once an industrial centre, though it is no longer. Instead, as it shifts towards being a service-oriented entity it fits into a global post-industrial trend. The fact that Berlin has not managed to become a 'true' global city (defined as a strategic centre (Kraetke 21)), combined with its post-industrial readjustments, align it with Detroit to some extent. Both cities seem to have an enormous creative potential. Although Detroit techno might not be as dominant within the city's cultural scene, creative output is thriving (Flamm). Although lacking the characteristics that would make Berlin a global player in an economic sense, the impact of the city's cultural production has a global influence on artists from all backgrounds. Berlin's diverse pool of international cultural immigrants is, contrary to Detroit's local/national development of cultural networks, far from

² Early soul is referred to as the music made by African-Americans who migrated to Detroit in order to work for one of the major car companies

monocultural. Stefan Kraetke suggests that 'in terms of the urban social fabric, Berlin is a globalised city with an internationally mixed population as well as a city with growing socio-spatial divides' (21).

However, despite its international flair, a geographical segregation based on social classes is also evident in Berlin, another dimension it shares with Detroit. Although in the former the social divide is not so much based on colour, the economic background is nevertheless important. That said, cultural clusters exist all over the city including the city's most central districts. As will be shown, the reasons for such widespread cultural activities are based on historical as well as economic factors.

Berlin's version of techno has been described as incorporating the volume and hard energy of techno, but with decreasing tempo, so that a meditative depth is created (Trapp 123-4). This sound is the result of a unique historical development. Berlin's relationship with techno cannot be described as starting with the fall of the Berlin wall, but with *Glasnost* and *Perestroika*, a set of political reforms that allowed for more political transparency and democratisation. Initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1984/85 in the Soviet Union, the GDR as a close ally and former Russian-occupied part of post-war Germany, was affected by this development, not least because of the promoted openness that eventually led to German unification in 1989. Without the political reforms of 1984/85 radio presenter Monika Detl would not have been able to play Imperialist music on East-German radio station called DT64. Detl, who had started broadcasting the new Motown sound (Lang 1996), connects Detroit and Berlin on an aesthetic level that is similar to the European musical influences that Atkins and May drew on in the early 1980s and show a cross-fertilisation of sound. Without these reforms young people in East Berlin would not have been able to listen unprosecuted to radio stations based in West Berlin. Because of the state control of the youth via organisations it cannot be assumed, however, that sites of resistance were non-existent. On the one hand, the body and its appearance used to be a primary location of resistance, forming style groups that, on the other, subverted particular geographical locations (Smith 292). In this regard, an appropriation of space was known to

and practised by both West and East German youth, if in different ways and to varying degrees of visibility and impact.

Because of Berlin's special status as a capitalist city on communist soil, young people were exempt from *Wehrdienst* (West German military service). This historical situation meant that there was a permanent migration of young people to West Berlin. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the reasons for young people wanting to move to Berlin have changed, but the existence of three universities and cheap rental conditions in a country that prefers renting to buying property might be as appealing as the prospect of avoiding *Wehrdienst* was previously. In fact, Berlin is not only one of the cheapest cities in Germany, it is also one of the cheapest in Europe.

I want to argue here that in practising a form of conscientious objection, the people moving to West Berlin shared certain characteristics. Political activism and subversion were part of many people's lives. The squatting of industrial ruins as well as empty living space was common in Berlin and it is still practised today. However, the *Senat* (Berlin's local government) is keen to sell the often lucrative properties close to where the wall once stood as they are in now sought-after city centre locations. A culture of squatting was established long before techno became popular in Berlin. And yet, these cultural practices helped to establish an atmosphere of secrecy and conspiracy that contributed to the collective identity of early techno fans (Rossmann LOC/1.0/CLU/2.3/E-W). This fact becomes relevant when discussing the Berlin sound, as many DJs state that the audience is one of the main reasons why they enjoy performing in places like Berghain, and also why they are happy to return to Berlin (O'Burns).

It is impossible to answer why techno happened in Detroit and why it is now happening in Berlin. An attempt could be made to show that certain conditions have to be met for creative clusters to be formed. Barrett Watten introduces the notion of a constructivist moment as a force that helps release creative powers when he says that:

The constructivist moment is an elusive transition in the unfolding work of culture in which social negativity – the experience of rupture, an act of refusal –

invokes a fantasmatic future – a horizon of possibility, an imagination of participation. (183)

Watten uses the example of Detroit techno to show that although rupture can take various forms it has to be visible to the eye. The stark contrast between the urban architecture of downtown and the suburbs is described in order to explain the processes underlying the release of creativity. Downtown Detroit is today perceived as a ghost town with many buildings abandoned, streets emptied of trade and social life, and the population migrating out of this depressed part of the city (Braun, Flamm). Rupture in this sense highlights differences with regard to architecture, housing, and social institutions. Although it is not specified whether rupture has to include the recognition of vacant space and its possible appropriation, it would be logical to assume that crises in such spaces allows creative forces to productively imagine change. Abandoned space exists in both cities and it has been used in different ways to reclaim parts of the city. In Detroit, artistic migration has led to initiatives such as the Heidelberg Project or Design 99, a cooperative of artists that run a housing project (Flamm). Watten links the minimal, de-humanised and de-localised nature of techno to the previously industrial character of the city. At the same time he refers to a particular kind of community that, contrary to many people's assumptions, is not necessarily in opposition to dominant or more popular youth cultures, but exists by not defining its own creative limits:

Rather, there is a kind of studied refusal of a necessary or hierarchical order in Detroit techno that has important cultural resonances for a notion of community that is not going to be, in the foreseeable future, completely assimilated even as it refuses to be seen locked out from the dominant culture (with its technology) that surrounds it. (195)

This unwillingness to define creativity can be seen in other projects in downtown Detroit, namely the Garden Resource Program Collaborative. With the out-migration of half the population of Detroit and subsequent availability of land, this initiative has started to create urban gardens. This very innovative approach to reclaiming land

could be interpreted as the sort of creativity that does not oppose the dominant culture but, at the same time, secures a niche position.

The creative forces that shape not only the sound of Berlin but of the world, are known to push boundaries and advance our understanding of sound: musically and aesthetically (Barry Egan: *Tales from Berlin*). If the music, then, is a reflection of its surroundings on the one hand, and of the community on the other, it must be possible to find parallels between Detroit and Berlin, their versions of techno and their scenes. Drawing on the idea of rupture, it needs to be established whereabouts in Berlin this can be experienced. The districts that are known for hosting techno club nights are often gentrified and do not on the whole lead to the sense of rupture Watten describes. Even the merger of distinct East and West German architecture in places where negotiation was necessary has ended. This is particularly evident in places such as the Potsdamer Platz or Friedrichstrasse, spaces that due to their geography are considered central sites in the capital. However, because of the death strip that divided Berlin, there are still areas in the city that form a stark contrast to their surroundings. The death strip was 10 metres wide, and in separating East Berlin from West Berlin it included districts that are now considered to be the heart of Berlin: Mitte, Kreuzberg, Friedrichshain. These districts are popular with both investors and tourists as they are central, contain many artefacts of modern history, and have development potential as a result of their previous neglect.

One of the economic processes that started as a result of interest in the new central districts of Berlin is the renegotiation of space. Many Nonprofit Organisations NPOs or cultural organisations used to be able to negotiate cheap rental agreements with the Senat or Treuhand. In a bankrupt city in urgent need of a cash injection such rental agreements became rare, not least because previously vacant space was being sold. The end of cheap tenancy agreements between nightclubs and owners of derelict industrial ruins meant that clubs or organisers had to find new spaces. Often, this could have been a problem in the inner city. However, the availability of space on the former death strip led to the clubbing phenomenon known as *Clubmeile*: a not yet developed area along the river Spree in which

buildings or sites have been reappropriated to facilitate long and loud club nights. Rapp (30-1) identified two such areas: in the early nineties creative clusters established themselves between Friedrichstrasse (formerly East) and Potsdamer Platz (part of the death strip). After Potsdamer Platz had become a playing field for a number of architects, and the area had been completely inhabited with buildings, and made fully accessible by means of public transport, the progressive cultural forces of the city moved on. Today, most of the techno clubs are located in either Kreuzberg or Friedrichshain, districts that are adjacent to but separated by the Spree, the river that, in this part of the city, also marked the border between East and West. Although attractive for investors (central location and river views), the space immediately along the river still lies relatively idle. Here, the rupture can be seen and experienced: high-rise buildings versus waste land, old industrial ruins versus modern glass constructions, space versus narrowness, commercial footfall versus daytime abandonment and silence. This, of course, changes when the night-time economy takes over and turns the wasteland into one of the busiest parts of the city: burger vans, taxi pools and thousands of people liven it up and completely change its daytime character. One could argue that, at night, the rupture is particularly strong, contrasting the busy *Clubmeile* with residential areas surrounding it.

With rupture being visible along the markers of the Berlin wall one could argue that there is no need to worry about the creative hubs needed for the survival of techno in Berlin. However, Detroit's musical history shows that the relationship between a city and its music cannot be assumed to be stable and flourishing. Tammy Anderson's discussion on the forces behind a scene's trajectory and the cultural work that has to be done in order to produce both change and stability can help to frame the following discussion of a techno scene's survival, for both Detroit and Berlin. Anderson's analysis is based on Philadelphia's rave scene, where she suggests that the forces affecting and shaping the scene are strongly connected to the legal and cultural practices of the USA. First, she outlines, the general schism between the early techno generation (identified as Generation X) and a new Generation Y, the latter of which is tied to commercialisation of the scene. Anderson argues that the PLUR (Peace Love Unity

Respect) ethos that was established on the back of a troubled economy saw young people move away from a corporate culture towards alternative lifestyles and forms of organisation. Also, the alienation felt by Generation X is no longer apparent for Generation Y, thus allowing for a rethink of values and a possible reattachment to the mainstream. In the case of Berlin both forms of culture happily coexist. Although no longer running in Berlin, the success of events like the Love Parade and Mayday allowed entry into the cultural mainstream. These events attracted millions of ravers and the line-up consisted mainly of superstar DJs.

At the same time, alternative networks of organisation and distribution continue to flourish in Berlin. The claiming of politically and commercially unmarked space that was available after the fall of the Wall (Richard and Kruger 166) formed the starting point for the development of alternative cultural clusters. The first locations where EDM was played were occupied by squatters, as post-industrial and de-realised spaces were aplenty in East Berlin. As noted above, squatting has a strong tradition in Berlin, though the bankrupt *Senat* is still eager to sell the squatted properties now located in central locations. It has been argued that it was the secrecy involved in these developments that formed a strong bond between lovers of EDM:

Das Gefühl, sich mitten im fremden Osten auf einem fremden Grundstück zu bewegen, verband alle Beteiligten zu einer Gruppe von Verschwörern, die aufgrund geheimnisvoller Rituale zusammengetroffen waren.

The sensation of entering foreign property in the middle of East Berlin made all participants feel part of a group of conspirators unified by its secret rituals [translation by the author].

(Rossmann LOC/1.0/CLU/2.3/E-W)

Demographically, some of the original organisers of these illegal or semi-legal events might have entered parenthood and found fulfilment in full-time jobs. And yet, veterans such as the event organiser Dimitri Hegeman are still successful and continue to shape the techno landscape of Berlin. Now running the Panorama bar in Berghain, he also once owned the famous Tresor. While recent ventures by

Hegemann seem to be more commercial, the aesthetics of a venture being underground can not only be seen by the choice of venue (the original Tresor closed in 2005, with the new Tresor located in a disused power station in the middle of Berlin), but also by the arrangement of the DJ booths, features such as lights (especially strobe lights and the absence of other lights), and door policies.

Hegemann makes it very clear that for him, the music has to be reflected in the type of building as well as the interior, so that the “soul” of the place is not lost (Houston). Because of this careful search for locations and the successful recreation of space, Hegemann is also convinced that Berlin will maintain its position of being a creative hotspot. Creating a club’s narrative³ and positioning it within a strong musical and geographical framework allows new recruits to the scene to experience and appreciate old aesthetics and new musical developments at the same time. This kind of “preservation” work, as defined by Anderson is welcome when trying to help a scene to survive.

What Anderson identifies as schism might refer to certain mainstream cultural or social values, but there are aspects of the EDM scene in Berlin that clearly show the presence of an underground ethos⁴, for example the lack of door signs at club entries such as Watergate or the infamous Bar 25. Films such as *SubBerlin – Underground United* (2008) and *Berlin Calling* (2008) as well as Tobias Rapp’s *Lost and Sound* are all evidence of a new musical development in Berlin that works on two different levels: the legal, corporate level, and the aforementioned sphere of exclusivity, secrecy, away from headlines and media coverage, the alternative, the marginal, the progressive part of the scene. Berghain, for example, has a strict policy of not permitting any visual media coverage inside the club. A similar policy existed for Tresor and it is well known that the media hype around this policy has helped to shape the image of both clubs so

³ See *SubBerlin: The Story of Tresor*

⁴ Underground is here understood as an alternative to commercial culture. The existence or non-existence of an underground/mainstream dichotomy is not being discussed.

far, albeit for different reasons. It is obvious that this part of the scene cannot be classed as underground; nor is it mainstream. However, it is important for the survival of any music scene. Despite or perhaps because of EDM enthusiasts such as Hegemann and others, the EDM scene in Berlin is thriving and expanding. This interesting mix of old and new clubs, location changes, and an inherited reputation that needs to be lived up to, ensure that what Graham St John calls the 'vibe' (2009, 93-9) continues and evolves, allowing the EDM scene to establish networks with which it takes control over not only the clubs, but also over publishing and distribution of music. Many organisers ventured into areas close to the core business by running club nights, booking agencies, advertising agencies, and Kunstvereine (member based art societies with exhibition spaces) simultaneously. The story of E-Werk is such an example. When a permanent location for regular club nights was finally found and tenancy agreements could be signed, the resulting ventures reflected the aim not necessarily of maximising profit, but of being able to run the ventures autonomously and not be dependent on emerging industry-led commercial raves. (Rossmann LOC/1.0/CLU/2.3/E-W). For instance, the Ostgut Ton label and Berghain are intrinsically linked institutions (Ostgut is owned by Berghain). Given the original connection of Panorama Bar (formerly Ostgut) and Ostgut Ton, two ventures that share the same name were born out of a similar idea of alternative networking and distribution, independent production and direct artist bookings. With such close-knit networks the survival of the scene is much more likely, as it is the scene's protagonists that shape the future.

In Berlin, it is perhaps this continuation, this never-ending process of the creation of culture and cultural entities (Anderson 88) that permits a certain degree of commercialisation without damaging authentic aspects of EDMC. Anderson's argument that the commercialisation of raves and the professionalisation of the DJ led to scene stagnation (92) cannot be said about Berlin. Berghain DJs are very professional: they are highly sought after, produce CDs, and help brand their club as well as their label (Ostgut). Berghain DJs are crucial to the progressive techno image and sound that Berlin offers. DJs such as Marcel Dettmann or Ben Klock have managed the balancing act of being creative, progressive and professional at the

same time. Why this is possible in a place like Berlin might be linked to the city as much as to other aspects, including formal social control (102).

In the USA, changes to the legal system with regard to drug consumption, for example the Illicit Anti-Drug Proliferation Act (also known as the Rave Act), passed in 2003, have made it difficult for club owners to run EDM events, as they are held responsible for the drugs that are consumed on their premises. Berlin, in contrast, is a more liberal city. No commercial venture is made responsible for an individual's action.

Cultural 'Otherness' has been identified by Anderson as one of the forces that destroyed the rave scene in Philadelphia. This is not at all the case in Berlin. Indeed, it has been argued that one of the reasons why techno became so popular in Germany is not only the strong link to the English and American culture, but the variety of sounds and styles that the genre offers (Richard and Kruger 162-3). The multitude of sounds that exist in Berlin might make it easy for young people to reject a particular lifestyle or aesthetic that is associated with a sound. At the same time, however, the diverse musical landscape of Berlin has enabled young people not only to find their niche but also to practise respect and openness to other musical forms. This is not least the result of the cultural clash after the collapse of the Berlin Wall.

Despite East Berliners being able to listen to radio stations based in West Berlin and, subsequently, being influenced by the musical programmes of stations such as RIAS, the political frustration and/or need to celebrate oneself (Hegemann LOC/1.0/CLU/2.12/TRE) that was felt in the East had to be expressed physically and mentally (SubBerlin). This highly energetic cultural force from East Berlin met a particular socio-economic group of young people from the West who had chosen to live in the city, not because of its geographical location, but because of its unique political status. The *Rucksackberliner* (people who decided to move to Berlin rather than those who were born there) have been described by various artists, for example Blixa Bargeld from Einstürzende Neubauten, as particularly creative on the one hand, and left-wing, politically challenging and anti-authoritarian on the other (*Tales from Berlin*). The degree to

which young people in Berlin are happy to be musically educated, therefore, is quite high. When interviewed about Berlin's audience, some DJs refer to the openness and flexibility with which clubbers welcome EDM artists in the capital (O'Burns). One could argue that it is this particular mixture or synergy of values, morals and aesthetics that makes the Berlin audience so unique in their reception of music, and also in their tolerance of alternative lifestyles. With the continuing recruitment of young people into the EDM scene, an alignment to cultural and social changes is ensured and levels of deviancy are adapted to current conditions. One such example is the way in which locations for clubs are identified and occupied. Immediately after the Berlin Wall came down, many club events were run illegally (such as Ufo, Tekknozid and Planet). This was possible partly because previously state-run buildings or businesses were vacated without a new owners or management. This resistant attitude towards authority changed once the owners of buildings or sites were identified (in the case of Berlin, through the *Treuhand*) and cheap rental agreements signed.

This adjusted level of deviancy is a reaction to the changing culture in Berlin. Although some could argue that such tenancy agreements are the beginnings of a commercialisation process, or that youth culture is 'selling out', institutions like Bar 25 will, because of their very nature, be happy to move on, to dissolve, to close. In this particular example, Bar 25 closed in 2010 but re-opened in 2011 under a new name and with the addition of a restaurant in Kreuzberg, on the other side of the river). Again, cultural work in Berlin is taking place on two levels: the uncompromising underground attitude with which cultural clusters are run complement a more commercially organised EDM culture that, in turn, enables more subversive event locations to exist. If Anderson's fear of a deviant youth culture endangering its own existence by being too resistant is taken into consideration, then such adjustments on the one hand, and the *Senat's* tolerance of a squatting culture on the other, guarantee a survival of the EDM scene in Berlin. Anderson's proposal for the survival of a scene includes restoration work; authenticity as part of such work, is permanently created by referencing the musical narrative of Berlin. When Hegemann organised the Atonal Festival in 1982, he changed

both the location (SO36) and the content of the festival. By inviting electronic music artists from the popular sphere such as 808 State or Einstürzende Neubauten, rather than relying, for example, on performances from artists that were established in the history of serious music (deriving from Schoenberg or the Futurists), Hegemann paved the way for experiments to take place and for creative collaborations to naturally evolve. Focussing on the (re)creation of an authentic sound as well as finding authentic locations, young people in Berlin are busy restoring the EDM scene.

A final force Anderson identifies with regard to a music scene's life cycle is genre fragmentation. It was suggested earlier that a scene that is closely related to a musical genre might attempt to escape commercialisation by diversifying. However, because the musical landscape of Berlin caters for both a commercial market and a niche audience genre fragmentation can be interpreted not only as a natural part of a scene's development, but also as a positive force that allows new musical talent to be heard, acknowledged and appreciated.

In conclusion, techno is a musical genre of EDM that is difficult to define. By including aspects of geography, both Detroit and Berlin are recognised as cities that helped and continue to help shape the sound of techno. In identifying sites of rupture, I show that distinct historical moments in both cities led to similar conditions, not only socially but also culturally. However, applying Tammy Anderson's model of the survival of scenes, I argue that techno is going to survive in Berlin by its propensity to continuously renew and reinvent itself.

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