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# Not In "Isolation": Joy Division and Cultural Collaborators in Popular Music

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Graduate Program in Popular Music and Culture

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Master of Arts

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#### Abstract

There is a dark mythology surrounding the post-punk band Joy Division that tends to foreground the personal history of lead singer Ian Curtis. However, when evaluating the construction of Joy Division's public image, the contributions of several other important figures must be addressed. This thesis shifts focus onto the peripheral figures who played key roles in the construction and perpetuation of Joy Division's image. The roles of graphic designer Peter Saville, of television presenter and Factory Records founder Tony Wilson, and of photographers Kevin Cummins and Anton Corbijn will stand as examples in this discussion of cultural intermediaries and collaborators in popular music. These individuals helped to shape the image of Joy Division as a serious, melancholic and "authentic" rock band. Examining their unique contributions will illustrate the complex notion of authorship in popular music and the role cultural intermediaries play in the construction of musical meaning and value.

#### **Keywords:**

Cultural intermediaries, social authorship, author function, Joy Division, popular music, post-punk, Manchester, authenticity, graphic design, Peter Saville, music television, Tony Wilson, media photography, Kevin Cummins, Anton Corbijn, melancholy, romanticization.

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#### Introduction

Like many casual fans, my introduction to the Manchester post-punk band Joy Division was through their UK radio charting hit, "Love Will Tear Us Apart." I knew little about the band at the time, but was drawn not only to their music but to the mythology that appeared to surround them. Having been born after May 1980, my perception of Joy Division's music and visual identity has always been shaped by the knowledge of lead singer Ian Curtis's suicide. That month, at just 23 years of age, Curtis hanged himself on the eve of the band's North American tour after allegedly struggling with epilepsy, mental illness and marital issues.<sup>1</sup> As Simon Reynolds points out, the death of the young artist made for instant myth.<sup>2</sup> Joy Division's music is known for its eerie, atmospheric sound and Curtis's dark, introspective lyrics. For many fans, Curtis's suicide seemed to align closely with what he was singing about and, therefore, was considered to be the ultimate stamp of authenticity. Consequently, all facets of the band's bleak public image came to be viewed in relation to the singer's perceived artistic credibility.<sup>3</sup> Their minimalist black and white album sleeves, sombre photographs and minimal press exposure reflected a coherent aesthetic centred on sentiments of melancholy, seriousness and mystery. Jon Savage captured this tendency to experience the band as the authors of their public image, explaining that "Joy Division were a total artwork,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> J. Ruben Valdes Miyares, "When Performance Lost Control: Making Rock History out of Ian Curtis and Joy Division," *Liminalities: A Journal of Performance Studies* 9.4 (November 2013), 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Simon Reynolds, *Rip It Up and Start Again: Postpunk 1978-1984* (Penguin Books: New York, 2005), 118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Miyares (2013), 4; David Church, "Welcome to the Atrocity Exhibition': Ian Curtis, Rock Death and Disability," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 26.4 (Fall 2006): Online.

right down to the record sleeves, the clothes and their posters."<sup>4</sup> However, classifying Joy Division as "a total artwork" fails to acknowledge the multiple cultural intermediaries and collaborators who actively helped to shape this image while Curtis was still alive. As Pierre Bourdieu explains, this foregrounding of the individual tends to ignore the "invisible" social groups and institutions that contribute to the formation of a cultural product and cultural values.<sup>5</sup> This idea of "invisible" institutions will serve as a starting point for my thesis, as I examine several cultural intermediaries who helped to shape Joy Division's image, yet remain largely absent in scholarly work.

It is impossible to ignore the looming presence of Ian Curtis when discussing Joy Division's tragic mythology. However, when evaluating the construction of Joy Division's public image, the contributions of several other important figures must be addres sed. My analysis will differ from previous scholarly work on Joy Division by shifting focus onto the peripheral figures who played key roles in the construction and perpetuation of Joy Division's image. The roles of graphic designer Peter Saville, of television presenter and Factory Records founder Tony Wilson, and of photographers Kevin Cummins and Anton Corbijn will stand as examples in this discussion of cultural intermediaries and collaborators in popular music.

The romanticism surrounding Joy Division is largely centred on Gothic representations of death, melancholy and isolation. Indeed, many scholars recognize Joy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Jon Savage and Deborah Curtis, *So This Is Permanence: Joy Division Lyrics and Notebooks* (Faber & Faber: London, 2014), xxiii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Columbia University Press:New York, 1993), 34-36.

Division as one of the first gothic-leaning bands in popular music history. Unknown *Pleasures* producer Martin Hannett was one of the first individuals to categorize Joy Division's aesthetic within the gothic vein, labelling it "dancing music with gothic overtones" in 1978.<sup>6</sup> One of the earliest references to a "gothic" style in popular music press came in 1979, when Melody Maker music critic Mary Harron branded Joy Division as "20th century gothic."<sup>7</sup> The musical genre of Goth music entered popular music discourse in the early 1980s with pioneer groups like Bauhaus, Siouxsie and the Banshees and the Cure. However, Joy Division stands out amongst these proto-gothic groups, not only for their brooding music, but for their visual representations. The emergence of gothic music marks a distinctive shift from the outward aggression of punk towards more introspective contemplation. While punk often addressed broader social issues and a seething dissatisfaction with the status quo, gothic music looked inward with a sense of isolation and resignation. In his lyrics, Ian Curtis embodied these gothic sensibilities through "descriptions of inner mental states, dark urban spaces and personal detachment."<sup>8</sup> The anxieties portrayed in Joy Division's music often revolved around illness, guilt/shame, isolation, alienation and a sense of loss. Joy Division's melancholic aesthetic is not associated with specific external causes or larger social issues, but rather to deeply personal inner conflicts. Gothic music shared this idea that "the most profound emotions you'll ever feel are the same ones felt by people

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> James Nice, *Shadowplayers: The Rise and Fall of Factory Records* (Aurum: London, 2011), 121. <sup>7</sup> Alexander Carpenter, "The 'Ground Zero' of Goth: Bauhaus, 'Bela Lugosi's Dead' and the Origins of Gothic Rock," *Popular Music and Society* 35.1 (February 2012), 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Atte Oksanen, "Hollow Spaces of Psyche: Gothic Trance-Formation From Joy Division to Diary of Dreams," in *Nostalgia or Perversion? Gothic Rewriting From The Eighteenth Century Until The Present Day* ed. Isabella van Elferen (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle, 2007), 126.

thousands of years ago, the fundamental, eternal experiences of love, death, despair, awe, and dread."<sup>9</sup> Joy Division's ability to resonate with new audiences over time is due largely to their focus on sentiments as fundamental as melancholy and modern anxieties. This holds true for both their music and their visual aesthetics. Through their lyrical, sonic and visual aesthetic, Joy Division created a spectacle out of melancholy, illustrating the longstanding allure of dark subject matter. By examining the ways in which Joy Division's album art, press photographs and carefully cultivated media presence contributed to this romantic image, the role of cultural intermediaries and collaborators will be highlighted.

Howard Becker's *Art Worlds* will provide a foundation for this discussion of cultural intermediaries, as he examines "the complexity of the cooperative networks through which art happens."<sup>10</sup> Becker argues against the tendency to view a work of art as the product of a single maker, deconstructing the artistic process to include even the most basic contributions. Becker urges us to look beyond the "rare and special gift" of the artist to include those individuals who support or facilitate the artistic process, as well as the broader construction of aesthetic value.<sup>11</sup> While Ian Curtis's talent is undeniable, his lyrical prowess and personal history tend to overshadow the contributions of intermediaries responsible for some of Joy Division's most lasting cultural images. As Becker explains, the art world is necessarily reliant on the collective activity of creators, consumers and everyone in between who work together to construct frameworks of

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Simon Reynolds, *Rip It Up and Start Again: Postpunk 1978-1984* (Penguin Books: New York, 2005), 354.
 <sup>10</sup> Howard Becker, *Art Worlds* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1982), 1.
 <sup>11</sup> Ibid: 25.

aesthetic value.<sup>12</sup> Becker's arguments will be supplemented with Michel Foucault's "What Is an Author?", as well as Jason Toynbee's notion of "social authorship."<sup>13</sup> For Foucault, the notion of authorship is constructed by the reader based on the broader discourse surrounding the work. Foucault helps reveal how the complex system of meanings surrounding Joy Division inform our experience of authorship in popular music. Foucault emphasizes that it is how the text is interpreted, communicated and circulated by the audience and by the media that determines our understanding of the author. Finally, Toynbee's notion of "social authorship" looks at how "music making is located both in its own particular domain and in larger social relations at one and the same time."<sup>14</sup> Toynbee refers to the "field of possibles" as the intersection of the author's disposition (social, political, cultural influences) and the conventions of the musical field.<sup>15</sup> As he explains, artistic work is never revolutionary or entirely unprecedented, it is the result of the complex merger of influences, both micro and macro, that shape said work. The author thus becomes "a selector and combiner of voices" that came before them.<sup>16</sup> Toynbee's work will be essential when examining the mystification surrounding Joy Division and the idea of single authorship.

The first chapter of this thesis will focus on graphic designer Peter Saville and how his minimalist album covers helped shape Joy Division's enigmatic image. Toynbee's "field

<sup>13</sup> Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?," trans. Josue V. Harari in *Michel Foucault: Aesthetics, Method and Epistemology*, Volume 2, ed. James Faubion (The New Press: New York, 1994); Jason Toynbee, *Making Popular Music: Musicians, Creativity and Institutions* (Oxford University Press: New York, 2000).
 <sup>14</sup> Toynbee (2000), 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid: 39, 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ibid:40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ibid:43.

of possibles" will also be employed to reveal the greater matrix of influences behind Saville's artistic approach. Concentrating on his designs for Unknown Pleasures, Closer and the "Love Will Tear Us Apart" single sleeves, this chapter will demonstrate how Saville's designs have been incorporated into Joy Division's complex public identity, thereby diminishing Saville's perceived authorship. The second chapter will examine how Factory Records owner and regional television host Tony Wilson's promotion of the band influenced their public reception. Using his position of authority within the Manchester postpunk scene, Wilson was able to influence the circulation of Joy Division's image as a serious, austere band. Through his music television program and his influence as label head, Wilson had a major impact on how Joy Division was presented to audiences. The third and final chapter will look at how Joy Division's sombre black and white press photos have cemented a specific image of the band over time. Focusing on the work of photographers Kevin Cummins and Anton Corbijn, this chapter will use the seminal works of Roland Barthes to demonstrate how these photos interact with the larger matrix of cultural signs and meanings surrounding the band.<sup>17</sup> Together these collaborators and intermediaries helped to shape the image of Joy Division as a serious, melancholic and "authentic" rock band. Examining their unique contributions will illustrate the complex notion of authorship in popular music and the important role cultural intermediaries play in the construction of musical meaning and value.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text*. Trans. Stephen Heath (Fontana Press: London, 1977); Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* trans. Richard Howard (Hill and Wang: New York, 1981).

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#### Chapter 1: Peter Saville and The Melancholic Image of Joy Division

In January 2012, Disney released the short-lived "Waves Mickey Mouse" t-shirt, igniting widespread criticism.<sup>1</sup> Taking inspiration from the minimalist post-punk album design for *Unknown Pleasures*, the shirt featured white pulsar waves in the shape of Mickey's silhouette, set against a black backdrop (Figure 1). In its original online listing, Disney stated, "Inspired by the iconic sleeve of Joy Division's *Unknown Pleasures* album, this Waves Mickey Mouse Tee incorporates Mickey's image within the graphic of the pulse of a star. That's appropriate given few stars have made bigger waves than Mickey!"<sup>2</sup> Facing immediate backlash for appropriating and trivializing an image closely associated with the ill-fated Joy Division, Disney pulled the shirt from their stores a mere 2 days after its release.



Figure 1: Disney "Waves Mickey Mouse" T-Shirt

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Colleen Nika, "Disney Launches a Joy Division Inspired Mickey Mouse Tee," *Rolling Stone* (January 21, 2012): Online.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Adam Bychawski, "Disney Stop Selling Their Joy Division-Inspired Mickey Mouse Shirt," *NME* (January 26, 2012): Online.

Outrage over Disney's use of the cover art stemmed from the intricate web of meanings that have been attached to Joy Division by fans, critics, journalists and various other cultural intermediaries. The Unknown Pleasures design became an essential element in the complex discourse surrounding the band, influencing Joy Division's public image and how they are remembered today. Criticisms levelled against Disney largely centred on the dark history of the band, namely the suicide of lead singer Ian Curtis. References to Curtis "rolling in his grave" over Disney's appropriation also points to particular values that have been tied to the band and to Curtis in particular.<sup>3</sup> Joy Division's reputation as a serious, "artistic" band operating on the fringes of the mainstream has been the prominent interpretation of the band since their inception in the late 1970s. Speaking out against the Disney shirt, a New Musical Express commenter stated, "I'm sure Ian would have been very happy with this, you know, the band's legacy being desecrated by a company that is as far detached from Joy Division's lyrics and messages as can be."<sup>4</sup> Joy Division (later New Order) drummer Stephen Morris expressed similar discontent stating, "I can't imagine any Joy Division fans wearing it. Or anyone for that matter. Clearly, no one investigated the history of the band before coming up with this idea."<sup>5</sup> Prominent music outlets like *Pitchfork* asked, "Does Disney know that the singer of this band hanged himself?! Do they know where the name 'Joy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Tom Breihan, "Weird Merch Alert: Disney's Joy Division T-Shirt," *Stereogum* (January 23, 2012): Online. <sup>4</sup> Adam Bychawski, "Disney Unveils 'Joy Division-Inspired' Mickey Mouse T-Shirt," *NME* (January 23, 2012): Online; Maura Judkis and Melissa Bell, "Joy Division Inspired Disney Shirt: The Backlash," *The Washington Post* (January 24, 2012): Online.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Gregory Adams, "Joy Division Members Divided over Disney's 'Unknown Pleasures' Mickey Tee," *Exclaim* (January 25, 2012): Online.

Division' comes from?!"<sup>6</sup> Inspired by Ka-tzentnik 135633's (Yehiel De-Nur) reference to groups of Jewish women raped by Nazis in the novella, *House of Dolls*, Joy Division's name has very specific cultural historical ties to punk's subversive inversion of Nazi symbolism.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, from their inception members of Joy Division demonstrated a fascination with WWII and Nazi iconography. From their original band name, Warsaw, to the Hitler youth artwork featured on their debut EP, *An Ideal For Living* (1978), Joy Division made reference to the Holocaust on numerous occasions. Joy Division's use of these dark associations will be examined in greater detail in subsequent chapters; however, the centrality of these connections stands in stark contrast to the family-friendly corporation of Disney.

There is history and public memory infused in the sleeve's image that Joy Division fans seek to protect. This reveals an oppositional stance that has been essential in maintaining Joy Division's image as a "serious," indie, countercultural band. Joy Division is a band whose public image is cloaked in darkness—their music, visual representations and personal history embody an aesthetic of melancholia. Reactions to their appropriation for profit by the "Happiest Place on Earth" reveals the greater system of meanings and values attached to the *Unknown Pleasures* sleeve.

The negative reactions to Disney's attempt at incorporation highlight the profound cultural power the *Unknown Pleasures* image retains today. The foregrounding of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Jenn Pelly, "Disney Is Selling a Joy Division Mickey Mouse Shirt," *Pitchfork* (January 23, 2012): Online. <sup>7</sup> Ka-tzetnik 135633 (Yehiel De-Nur), *House of Dolls*, trans. Moshe M. Kohn (Simon & Schuster: New York, 1956); Dick Hebdige, "Style as Homology and Signifying Practice" (1979) in *On Record: Rock, Pop, and the Written Word* eds. Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin (Routledge: New York, 2000), 58.

band's history, and of Ian Curtis in particular, in these criticisms illustrates how the pulsar image is often interpreted as a symbol of Joy Division's identity. The designer of the Unknown Pleasures album sleeve, Peter Saville, is notably absent in these discussions, pointing to the high degree of authorship that is attributed to the band. As theorist Michel Foucault argues, the notion of authorship is born from the dominant discourse surrounding the text.<sup>8</sup> Authorship in popular music is often perceived as a "privileged moment of individualization," minimizing the complex interaction between texts and critical discourse.<sup>9</sup> Foucault refers to the "author function" as the process by which dominant discourse authorizes the author-figure and mediates meaning in the creative sphere.<sup>10</sup> In his seminal work, Art Worlds, Howard Becker similarly argues that it is this "complexity of cooperative networks through which art happens" and the discursive manner in which the texts are circulated and valuated that give them meaning.<sup>11</sup> The Unknown Pleasures image has been absorbed into the complex web of meanings that surrounds Joy Division, including the band's history, their music and lyrics, as well as interpretations formed and perpetuated by cultural intermediaries. It is within this context that the role of designer Peter Saville tends to be overshadowed by the perceived authorship of the band in the construction of their public image.

After Ian Curtis committed suicide in the spring of 1980, the melancholic aura surrounding the band was amplified by romantic notions of authenticity, youth, inner

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?," trans. Josue V. Harari in *Michel Foucault: Aesthetics, Method and Epistemology, Volume 2*, ed. James Faubion (The New Press: New York, 1994), 205. <sup>9</sup> Ibid: 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibid: 212-14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Howard Becker, Art Worlds (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1982), 1.

turmoil and artistic sacrifice. The portrait of Ian as a "tortured artist" was given greater credibility after his death and, in this way, framed all components of Joy Division (their sound, album artwork, lyrics etc.) as potentially an extension of Ian's life and "true inner self." These accounts tend to privilege the individual life of Ian Curtis in their portrayal, placing him within the narrative of young death in rock and roll. As Pierre Bourdieu explains, this foregrounding of the individual tends to ignore the invisible social groups and institutions that contribute to the formation of cultural products and cultural values.<sup>12</sup>

Saville's creative work became part of the band's identity, taking on especially powerful cultural connotations in the wake of Curtis' suicide. As Laura Ahonen argues, there is a notion of "single authorship" privileged in the marketing and promotion of music products.<sup>13</sup> Designs linked to, but not solely created by, the artist (record sleeves, t-shirts, music videos etc.) are often directly associated with the artistic vision of the musician and thereby are frequently presumed to have been directly authored by the band. Thus, the cultural workers responsible for these creations tend to be overshadowed by the public persona of the musician. Saville's authorship is not retained in understandings of his cultural products within the realm of popular consumption, unless consumers were to engage in deeper research on their commodities. The album artwork of *Unknown Pleasures* is associated with Joy Division first and foremost. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* ed. Randal Johnson (Columbia University Press: New York, 1993), 29-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Laura Ahonen, "Mediated Stardom, Constructed Images: The Value and Functioning of Authorship in Popular Music," in *Music, Meaning and Media* eds. Erkki Pekkila, David Neumeyer and Richard Littlefield (Finland: The International Semiotics Institute, 2006): 167-172.

identity of "serious" rock bands like Joy Division are often believed to be a natural emanation of singular authorship.

The Unknown Pleasures album art represents of a larger matrix of social and cultural connotations developed through popular discourse. For Joy Division fans, the image invokes specific meanings (personal, cultural, historical etc.) that are rooted in their individual associations with the band, as well as the broader portrayals of Joy Division's sombre past. Examining Peter Saville's role as a creative agent will demonstrate the important part he played in developing the perceived authenticity of Joy Division's dark image. Through this discussion, the power of the visual image in popular music and its ability to invoke particular values and meanings will be highlighted. Additionally, examining the broader system of influences surrounding Saville's designs will reveal frameworks of authenticity rooted in oppositional definitions: art/commerce, seriousness/triviality, complexity/accessibility, contemplation/entertainment etc. Looking first at the artistic evolution of album covers in rock and roll history, then specifically at sleeves designed by Saville at Factory Records, this chapter will showcase the active role of peripheral creative agents in popular music.

#### Peter Saville, Graphic Design and Social Authorship

Born in Manchester in 1955, Peter Saville's aesthetic as a graphic designer was influenced by the highly stylized looks of both the glam rock and punk rock movements. It was glam-rock bands like Roxy Music, who stressed the importance of visual representation across all facets of their public persona, which informed Saville's artistic

development into the realm of popular music. As Saville expressed it, "Roxy were the single biggest influence in my life—from hairdressing to fine art all points were covered... they were the guintessential living expression of Pop Art."<sup>14</sup> As a "meticulously considered and presented montage of cultural forms," Roxy Music embodied the merging of influences that characterized popular music in the UK in the 1960s.<sup>15</sup> It was during this period that networks of art-student friendships emerged within the realm of popular music, creating a dynamic multidisciplinary exchange. The fields of visual arts, fashion, philosophy, avant-garde music and various other art forms intersected to create art forms inspired by a multitude of authors.<sup>16</sup> Bryan Ferry had studied under Pop Art pioneer Richard Hamilton at Newcastle University in the mid-1960s and would become an essential influence in Roxy's Modernist fusion of "art, design, media and popular culture."<sup>17</sup> Like Bryan Ferry, Peter Saville's aesthetic was informed by a broad range of artistic and intellectual movements which he applied to his album designs. The merger of eclectic influences was essential to Saville's approach to Joy Division's album covers. From the work of Roxy Music arose an awareness of the "creative action" involved in visual representation of bands. For Peter Saville graphic design was a tool for fusing design elements, experimenting with influence, past and present, to create designs representative of bands.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Rick Poynor, "Reputations: Peter Saville," Eye Magazine 17.5 (1995): Online.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Michael Bracewell, Roxy: The Band That Invented an Era (Faber & Faber: London, 2007), 4.
 <sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid:57.

Studying graphic design at Manchester Polytechnic in the late 1970s, Saville was also profoundly influenced by Herbert Spencer's landmark book *Pioneers of Modern Typography*. In particular, Saville drew inspiration from the early twentieth-century German typographer Jan Tschichold whose emphasis on 'functional' sans serif typeface, use of lines and value of space can be seen in Saville's early work with Factory Records. Tschichold's *New Typography (Die Neue Typographie*, 1928) opposed the heavily adorned typography prevalent in Nazi publications during this period, instead incorporating Modern Bauhaus design principles of clean lines and simplified page layouts.<sup>18</sup> Fellow Polytechnic student Malcolm Garrett also began incorporating elements of Modernist design in his album sleeves for the Manchester punk band the Buzzcocks. Much like rock music at this time, graphic design was predominately a youth culture in the 1970s. Graphic design was an especially interdisciplinary art form, "[synthesizing] influences from Pop Art to new wave, spliced with an aggressive new digital aesthetic."<sup>19</sup>

This intersection of influences and conditions of creative production demonstrate what Jason Toynbee refers to as the "field of possibles."<sup>20</sup> Saville's designs, as innovative and artistic as they were, were not created alone. Rather, Saville's "artistic disposition" was informed by the social conditions leading up to his creative work, as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Shannon Kelly Proulx, *Early Twentieth-Century Avant-Garde Book Design: An Agentive Vehicle for Social Change* (Iowa State University: Ames, 2008), 78-81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Rick Poyner, *Communicate: Independent British Graphic Design Since the Sixties* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 2004), 120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Jason Toynbee, *Making Popular Music: Musicians, Creativity and Institutions* (Oxford University Press: New York, 2000), 40.

well as the "field of works" (within the realms of both graphic design and popular music) that directed his designs. Drawing from the "heritage accumulated by collective work," Saville's creative agency arose from his selection and merger of design elements to create something distinct within the sphere of popular music.<sup>21</sup> Saville explained that he saw Modern design principles as being reflective of "the New Wave that was evolving out of punk. In this, as it seemed at the time, obscure byway of graphic design history, I saw a look for the new, cold mold of 1977-78."<sup>22</sup> Briefly examining the progression of rock album designs beginning in the 1950s will demonstrate how Saville worked within the confines of popular music traditions, while also carving out his own distinct aesthetic that helped shape the identities of bands like Joy Division.

Taking cues from popular movie posters, early rock and roll album covers often featured face shots of the artists.<sup>23</sup> As a product of mass consumption, popular music came to rely on iconography as a means of attracting consumers in a competitive market. With the rapid expansion of mass communication through new media forms (namely film and television), visual image became a major element in artist stardom.

By the mid-1960s, rock musicians began to claim artistic control over the design of their album covers. The shift toward more "artistic" and concept-based cover art was influenced by the close relationship between art schools and rock bands in the late 1960s, especially in Britain. As graphic design scholar Rick Poyner explains, Britain's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Toynbee (2000), 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Rick Poynor, "Reputations: Peter Saville," Eye Magazine 17.5 (1995): Online.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Steve Jones and Martin Sorger, "Covering Music: A Brief History and Analysis of Album Cover Design," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 11-12.1 (March 1999):75.

"new wave" of designers in the 1960s and 70s identified with youth culture and popular music much more than their U.S counterparts.<sup>24</sup> Visual communication became intertwined with the worlds of art, music and fashion in this process of creative osmosis. A musician's "artistry" was now valued across new spectrums and there was an expectation of aesthetic consistency across all platforms. Howard Becker argues that "a coherent and defensible aesthetic helps to stabilize values" in the artistic sphere.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, maintaining aesthetic consistency through visual representation became an important means of projecting a sense of "authenticity." Album artwork came to be viewed as an extension not only of the musician, but of their artistic merit. The packaging of music extended beyond its protective function to become an important element of the public representation of the artist.

In an effort to align themselves with these young designers, musicians sought to elevate the artistic credibility of their album covers.<sup>26</sup> As Luca Beatrice explains, "pop music gives popularity to art, and art pays back the favor with intellectual value."<sup>27</sup> Many scholars point to the Beatles as the forerunners in this shift towards more "experimental" rock covers with *Revolver* (1966), *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967), among others.<sup>28</sup> Designed by Pop artist Peter Blake, the *Sqt. Pepper* sleeve

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Rick Poynor, *No More Rules: Graphic Design and Postmodernism* (Laurence King Publishing: London, 2003): 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Howard Becker, *Art Worlds* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1982), 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Alberto Campo, "The Illustrated Sound" in *Sound & Vision* ed. Luca Beatrice (Grafiche Damiani: Bologna, 2007), 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Luca Beatrice, *Sound & Vision* (Grafiche Damiani: Bologna, 2007): 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ian Inglis, "Nothing You Can See That Isn't Shown': The Album Covers of the Beatles," *Popular Music* 20.1 (Jan 2001): 88-89; Steve Jones and Martin Sorger, "Covering Music: A Brief History and Analysis of Album Cover Design," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 11-12.1 (March 1999): 76-77; Luca Beatrice, *Sound & Vision*, (Grafiche Damiani: Bologna, 2007): 12.

represents a shift towards greater artistic experimentation and the elevation of the record cover as an object of desire.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, the punk rock movement allowed for a more independent, DIY approach to album art. Influenced by the ideologies of Situationism and the Dada art movement, punk album art embraced elements of collage, "ransomnote" typography and shocking imagery. There was a deliberate emphasis on low quality production and crude rendering that "exemplified a persistent refusal to engage in sophisticated design values."<sup>29</sup> During this period, graphic design emerged as a tool for countercultural expression and for the manipulation of traditional symbols.<sup>30</sup> Punk "cut up popular graphics through appropriation and pastiche," often seeking to unsettle the "proto-Thatcherite wasteland" of the mid-1970s.<sup>31</sup> This "visual contrariness" aimed to subvert mainstream design standards by applying crude patchwork elements intended to reflect the hostility at the heart of the British punk rock movement.<sup>32</sup>

Although influenced by album art of the punk movement, Peter Saville took a different approach to the design of the *Unknown Pleasures* cover. Embracing the starkness of early twentieth-century modern design, Saville's early work with Factory Records demonstrated reserved, clean layouts that he believed captured the coldness of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Russell Bestley and Ian Noble, "Punk Uncovered: An Unofficial History of Provincial Opposition," *Eye* 33.9 (Autumn 1999): Online.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ian Lowey and Suzy Prince, *The Graphic Art of the Underground: A Countercultural History* (Bloomsbury Publishing: New York, 2014), 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Tara Brabazon, *Thinking Popular Culture: War, Terrorism and Writing* (Ashgate: University of Brighton, 2008), 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Bestley and Noble (1999): Online.

new wave.<sup>33</sup> Pushing against the "unsophisticated" graphics of punk, Saville's covers were methodological in their use of space and cold black and white aesthetic. Finding a way to rearticulate the codes of graphic communications, Saville admitted he hated the idea of his work looking like a record cover. It was this desire to foreground the artistry of his work and minimize its commercial intentions that would enhance the subcultural authenticity of Saville's sleeves.

#### Factory Records

In the late 1970s, Peter Saville was studying graphic design at Manchester Polytechnic when he was introduced to television presenter and local celebrity Tony Wilson. Wilson had recently formed the small independent music label Factory Records alongside partner Alan Erasmus, operating out of Erasmus' apartment in Didsbury. As a novice graphic design student, Saville became Factory's in-house art director in 1978 providing the label with its distinctive visual aesthetic. Adopting punk's DIY manifesto, Factory Records was interested in preserving the local character of Manchester's new wave in an autonomous manner. Factory artists were given the unprecedented deal of a 50/50 profit split, control over their masters and complete creative freedom.<sup>34</sup> Inspired by Situationist ideas, Wilson extended his "slightly anarchistic" leanings to the operation of the label, boasting that "the company owns nothing, the musicians own their music and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Rick Poynor, "Reputations: Peter Saville," Eye Magazine 17.5 (1995): Online.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Alan O'Connor, *Punk Record Labels and the Struggle for Autonomy: The Emergence of DIY* (Lexington Books: New York, 2008), 19; Simon Reynolds, *Rip It Up and Start Again: Postpunk 1978*-1984 (Penguin Books: London, 2005): 30.

everything they do, and all artists have the freedom to fuck off."<sup>35</sup> Factory's indie ethos was also extended to its artists, providing them with a countercultural image backed by their radical label. The internal structure of Factory was similarly laissez-faire with Wilson, Erasmus and Saville each responsible for their own departments—Wilson provided funding and signed artists, Erasmus handled the everyday operations of the label and Saville served as art director. With equal partnership and creative freedom, the label allowed for an increased sense of independent work. As Saville explained, "there was no office and no jobs at Factory, everybody operated independently. There were no gatekeepers, I didn't have to say to anybody, 'can I do this?'"<sup>36</sup>

Saville's first assignment as a member of Factory was to design a poster advertising a series of Factory club nights in May and June 1978 (Figure 2). With the closure of Manchester's beloved, albeit dilapidated, underground punk club Electric Circus in October 1977, there was a clear void in the Manchester scene. Launching their own new wave club night in 1978, Wilson and Erasmus aimed to fill this gap in the market. Located amongst grim concrete high-rises, the Russell Club, previously a West Indian night-spot, played host to the Factory nights for four Friday nights in May and June.<sup>37</sup>

This original Factory product illustrates the underlying tension in the label's visual identity: Wilson continuously sought to define Factory against the capitalist mainstream, emphasizing Factory's artistic merit, even as the label adopted a number of corporate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> John Harris, "It Seemed Correctly Anarchist Not to Want to be Rich," in *The Last Party: Britpop, Blair and the Demise of English Rock* (Fourth Estate: New York, 2003): 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> "Peter Saville: Iconic Factory Designer," *Clash Magazine* (Jan 5, 2008): Online.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> James Nice, *Shadowplayers: The Rise and Fall of Factory Records* (Aurum Press: London, 2010), 33.

design practices. For the Factory poster Saville used an industrial safety sign taken from Manchester Polytechnic which features a symbol of a vibrating head with the words "use hearing protection" underneath. The *op-art* layering effect gives the image a pulsating appearance, perhaps suggesting intense live energy, noisiness and vibrating guitars. With his fingers in his ears, the image of the worker further enhances these associations with loud rock music. In "Art Vs Technology" Simon Frith posits that "the continuing core of rock ideology is that raw sounds are more authentic than cooked sounds."<sup>38</sup> Saville's poster design seems to express this value of raw live sounds, emphasizing industrial associations in order to characterize the music of Factory. Many scholars have drawn associations between Joy Division and post-industrial Manchester, illustrating lyrical themes of alienation and isolation and cold, echo heavy sounds. The *Unknown Pleasures* track "Interzone" (1979) captures this sense of urban listlessness, as lan's baritone voice sings "Down the dark streets, the houses looked the same/ Getting darker now, faces look the same/ And I walked round and round."

The vibrant yellow background with black and white accents also reflects the visual codes of industrial safety and the "functional" typography central to Jan Tschichold's design principles. Tschichold's *New Typography*, which drew heavily from Bauhaus traditions, emphasized clean spacing, asymmetric configurations and modern sans serif typeface.<sup>39</sup> The influence of *New Typography* on Saville's early Factory designs can be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Simon Frith, *Taking Popular Music Seriously: Selected Essays* (Ashgate: Great Britain, 2007), 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> David Raizman, *History of Modern Design: Graphics and Products since the Industrial Revolution* (Laurence King Publishing: London, 2003), 192-94.

seen clearly in the first club poster which replicated several aspects of Tschichold's brochure for his landmark book (figures 2, 3). Tschichold's calculated use of blank space, block lines, sans serif font and even the striking yellow and black colouring are represented in Saville's poster design. The ironic reframing of industrial iconography within this context demonstrates Factory's consistent subversion of corporate design. The tension and dialogue between seemingly opposing ideas gave Factory a distinctly modern aesthetic, while commenting on the perceived corporatization of the UK music industry. Saville's poster also illustrates the label's overt branding practices, foregrounding the Factory name above their artists. The Factory "brand" relied on visual representations to communicate their ironic position as an industrial music factory, seemingly critiquing the commodity-oriented music industry. Through their visual artefacts, Factory demonstrates the complexities of claiming "authenticity" via artistic merit in an "era of cultural-industrial reproduction."<sup>40</sup> While Factory's modernist reframing of industrial imagery points to ironic opposition to the larger mainstream music industry, Factory still operated within this system and engaged in the commoditization of cultural products.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Robert Miklitsch, *From Hegel to Madonna: Towards a General Economy of Commodity Fetishism* (University of New York Press: New York, 1998), 34.

#### **VORZUGS-ANGEBOT**

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#### JAN TSCHICHOLD

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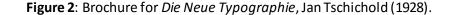
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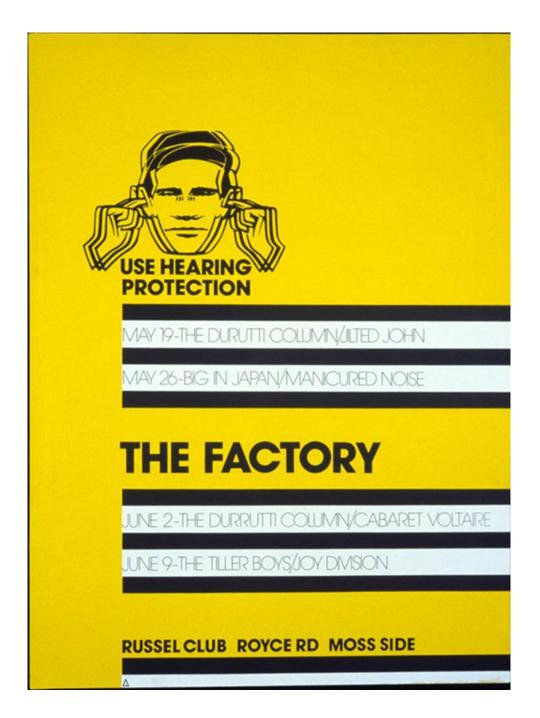


Figure 3: FAC-1The Factory (Club No.2), (May 1978).

From the outset Factory Records proved to be a music company that valued design and visual communication just as much as (if not more than) the music itself.<sup>41</sup> Physical artefacts were given a tremendous sense of importance at Factory Records, providing the label its distinctive visual identity. Factory's first release, A Factory Sample (1979), was a compilation album featuring the label's main artists: Durutti Column, John Dowie, Cabaret Voltaire and Joy Division. The double EP package was printed on silver rice paper and sealed in a plastic bag, giving the album a metallic look (Figure 4). There is a repetition of industrial themes with the image of a worker on the front cover, which Saville lifted from an advisory leaflet for noise control issued by the Property Services Agency (Figure 5). The inside panels of the album resemble a corporate invoice with each band heading a separate column. The use of thick block lines, clean sans serif typeface and overall measured graphic layout points back to Tschichold's emphasis on clarity and precision in design. The first objective of New Typography was "to develop its visible form out of the functions of the text [...] to give pure and direct expression to the contents of whatever is printed."42 For Tschichold, it is up to the designer to express the "logical relationship of emphasis and value [...] clearly and visibly, through type sizes and weight, arrangement of lines, use of color, photography etc."43 Unlike punk design, which pushed against the mainstream by using chaotic, unsettling design elements, Saville's designs embraced control in their presentation. The distinctly Modernist design

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ian Lowey and Suzy Prince, *The Graphic Art of the Underground: A Countercultural History* (Bloomsbury Publishing: New York, 2014), 114; Dominic Molon, *Sympathy For The Devil: Art and Rock and Roll Since 1967* (Museum of Contemporary Art: Chicago, 2008), 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Helen Armstrong, *Graphic Design Theory: Readings from the Field* (Princeton Architectural Press: New York, 2009), 36.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid:37.

of *A Factory Sample* illustrates how the label adopted "mainstream" branding practices through the clear accentuation of the label's name and corporate themes.

By the 1970s, mainstream rock had become a bloated, big business industry.<sup>44</sup> By appropriating a corporate aesthetic, Peter Saville was able to highlight the hypocrisies of the capitalist music industry and, through this transparency, reveal the tension between art and commerce.<sup>45</sup> Deconstructing the capitalist nature of the music industry and laying it bare for the audience to see, Factory's visual identity centred on these overt corporate design elements. Like Roxy Music, it was Factory's "fusion of opposites" which proved to be "the common denominator of their vehement modernity."<sup>46</sup> Still operating within consumer capitalism, Factory relied heavily on their physical artefacts to prove the label's (and by extension its artists') artistic credibility via Peter Saville's inhouse designs.<sup>47</sup> For Factory, album sleeves served a greater purpose than protecting records—they were serious, artistic artefacts. The art/commerce dichotomy invoked by Factory was also reflected in all aspects of Joy Division's public image, shaped largely by the cultural intermediaries working out of Factory Records.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Lain Ellis, *Rebels Wit Attitude: Subversive Rock Humorists* (Publishers Group West: Berkeley, 2008), 143-44.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Tara Brabazon, *Thinking Popular Culture: War, Terrorism and Writing* (Ashgate: London, 2008), 89.
 <sup>46</sup> Bracewell (2007): 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Keir Keightley, "Reconsidering Rock," *The Cambridge Companion to Rock and Pop* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 111, 127-134.



Figure 4: FAC-2A Factory Sample (January 1979).

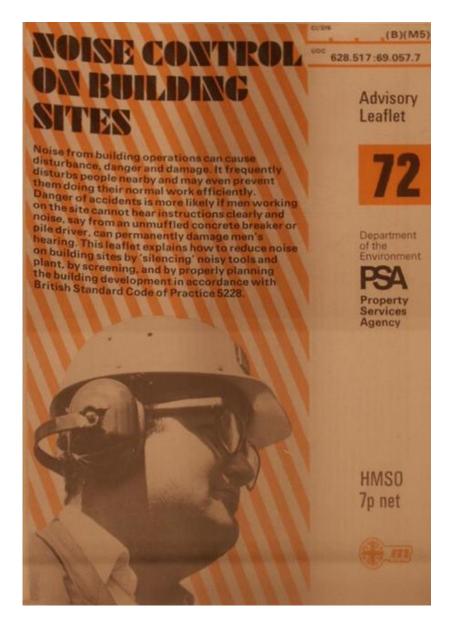


Figure 5: Leaflet for noise control on building sites issued with the Property Services Agency (1972).

Factory Records did not use album sleeves solely as a means of marketing their artists, but also as a reflection of the label's overall aesthetic. It was Wilson's desire to be perceived as an "aesthetic provocateur" combined with Saville's creative freedom as art director that fuelled Factory's visual crusade. The importance that was placed on Factory's physical artefacts is reflected in the dedicated archiving of all Factory

creations. The first Factory club poster was designated 'FAC 1', the first artefact in the label's extensive catalogue. From that point, Factory would methodically number every item with the prefix 'FAC' (full length sound recordings were typically labelled as 'FACT'). The numbering of works is a longstanding practice in the art world that gained prominence with reproductive printmaking as early as the 17th century.<sup>48</sup> By the twentieth century modern print media technologies had revolutionized the art world, increasing the practice of print reproduction and mass circulation. In particular, the American pop art scene of the 1950s embraced the "serial production" of art, presenting art as a reproducible consumer product.<sup>49</sup> In this way, pop art emphasized the system of consumer capitalism surrounding the art world during the mid-twentieth century. Artists like Andy Warhol were able to use their art to critique consumerism by exposing "how images are manufactured and reproduced on a massive scale and in the process blur the line between commodity and art."<sup>50</sup> Like Warhol, Factory Records mimicked serial production by numbering every item released under the label, perhaps referencing the mass reproduction of albums in the music industry. Creating an aesthetic rooted in standardization and brand awareness, Factory Records was able to use corporate design techniques in a subversive manner by highlighting the capitalist nature of the larger music industry in the late 1970s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Anthony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1996), 51-52.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Annamma Joy and John Sherry, "Disentangling the Paradoxical Alliances Between Art Market and Art World," *Consumption Markets & Culture* 6.3 (September 2003), 172.
 <sup>50</sup> Ibid.

Factory's practice of cataloguing also presented releases as part of a collection. With every Factory artefact generally numbered in chronological order, the label encouraged individual collection and cataloguing by fans, thereby increasing the perceived value of Factory releases. From albums, to posters, TV specials and unreleased design concepts, these numbered artefacts served as a *catalogue raisonné* for the label. The meticulous cataloguing of Factory works influences the audience to view these items as more than posters or album covers, but distinguished works of art in their own right. These visual artefacts became an important vehicle for expressing Factory's indie ideology and, by extension, framing perceptions of their artists.

#### **Unknown** Pleasures

In April 1979, Joy Division recorded their first full-length album, *Unknown Pleasures*, with legendary producer Martin Hannett. *Unknown Pleasures* would become one of the most influential and critically acclaimed albums of all time, distinguished by its dark, atmospheric sound and Curtis' raw, introspective lyrics. The infamous *Unknown Pleasures* cover is often viewed as a reflection of the album's austere sonic aesthetic with its minimalist monochromatic design. Joy Division guitarist, Bernard Sumner, approached Saville during the recording process with the pulsar image he found in a 1977 copy of the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Astronomy*. The image depicted the plotted wave formations of a star collapsing (formally referred to as CP 1919), first published in the 1971 edition of *Scientific American* (Figure 6). The aestheticization of scientific data demonstrates Saville's tendency to appropriate typically anti-rock'n'roll imagery. Applying a distinctly white-collar symbol, the design goes against rock's working-class

roots, especially during the tail-end of UK's punk movement. Saville's repositioning of a scientific graphic and overall minimalist design represented a striking shift towards the new wave.

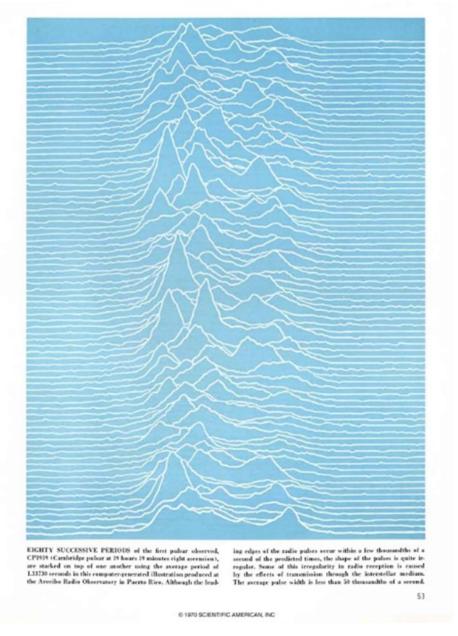


Figure 6: "The Nature of Pulsars," Scientific American 224.1 (Jan. 1971): 53.

Saville's creative application of the image as album artwork, his inversion of colours (previous depictions were black waves on white background and white waves on blue background), and the scale and positioning of the pulsar gave the sleeve its iconic enigmatic style (Figure 7). Saville's design is much more nuanced than simply copying the pulsar image. The powerful use of black portrays the pulsar graphic like a star in the depths of the night sky, perhaps referencing the image's astronomical origins. The exclusion of Joy Division's name and the decision to leave out the track listing further enhances the mystery of the album. Rather than the traditional A/B side designation, the record was labelled 'inside' and 'outside.' The contrast of 'inside' and 'outside,' of the internal and external, suggests the central themes of existentialism and urban alienation prominent throughout Curtis' lyrics. 'Outside' could be viewed in terms of the alienation and loneliness expressed by Curtis on tracks like "I Remember Nothing" and "Interzone," which express feelings of solitude and distant yearning. The 'inside' echoes the internal state on songs like "She's Lost Control" and "Day of the Lords." Although a small detail in the album packaging, the labelling of the record sides as 'inside' and 'outside' present the record as more than a generic 'A/B' product. Instead, the labelling beckons the listener into the idiosyncratic world of Joy Division, to experience the album on a deeper level.

In an era characterized by visual excess and flamboyance, the minimalism of the *Unknown Pleasures* sleeve imparted a sense of seriousness—a silence that demanded attention. Indeed, the sleeve's semiotic power derives largely from its enigmatic appearance. The design's ability to inspire seemingly endless interpretations makes it

extremely effective as a sacred artefact. Saville's design successfully blurs the distinctions between science and art, familiar and strange, design and commodity.<sup>51</sup>



Figure 7: FACT-10 Unknown Pleasures (1979).

Taking inspiration from postmodern minimalism and the repurposing of symbols,

Saville approached design as an opportunity to involve the consumer in the process of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> William Macauley, "Pulsars, Pills, and Post-Punk: Designed for Unknown Pleasures," *The Science and Entertainment Laboratory* (November 4, 2014): Online.

active interpretation.<sup>52</sup> The *Unknown Pleasures* sleeve does not express a direct or clear message; rather, it seeks to arouse or enhance particular moods. The lack of colour, emphasis on spacing and enigmatic imagery guide the readers' interpretation without providing a definitive meaning. The artistic value that is ascribed to the design stems from its ambiguity and the longstanding notion that "art music is complex, requiring effort to understand it."<sup>53</sup> While deeply flawed in its elitism, this equation of complexity and artistry is particularly useful when examining the history of popular music album covers.

Roland Barthes makes the distinction between "readerly" and "writerly" texts in his renowned work *S/Z: An Essay.* "Readerly" texts often present pre-determined meanings which require little interpretation by the reader. The early tradition of portrait covers in pop and rock music reflects this easily decipherable "readerly" text. As the artistic significance of sleeves began to grow, the transition to more interpretive "writerly" covers can be seen. The "writerly" text is more open for translation, creating space within which meanings can be constructed. John Fiske expands on these classifications, by including the category of "producerly" text, which he applied to popular texts that possess the "accessibility of readerly texts," but the "openness of writerly ones."<sup>54</sup> Peter Saville's *Unknown Pleasures* design occupies this "producerly" status, as listeners of the album will be able to formulate meanings based on insider knowledge of Joy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Simon Frith and Howard Horne, Art into Pop (New York: Methuen, 1987): 137, 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Christopher Partridge, *The Lyre of Orpheus: Popular Music, the Sacred, and the Profane* (Oxford University Press: New York, 2014), 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture, 2nd Edition* (Routledge: New York, 2010), 83.

Division and Factory Records. However, it will never truly be closed because there is no singular meaning.

Viewing Saville's design as a "producerly" text enables it to serve as a vessel for greater meanings—for Joy Division fans, the sleeve reflects ideologies, emotions, values and themes encompassing Joy Division's music and history. Saville's sleeves provide additional texts for Joy Division fans to construct meaning and to attach cultural significance. As will be argued in the next section, the sacred potential of Saville's designs were enhanced by themes of death and the nostalgic embrace of the past built around Joy Division's image. While Peter Saville is a highly acclaimed graphic designer, the cultural significance of his Unknown Pleasures cover and its endurance over time is also rooted in the history and music of Joy Division. Indeed, designers of album art can have a particularly estranged relationship with their creative work—it becomes disassociated from them as artists and tends to be viewed instead as a representation of the musician(s) who commissioned the design. The cover artwork gets woven into the complex multi-textual identity of the musician, taking on and representing their qualities and associations. Again, Foucault's author function helps to illustrate the process by which Joy Division came to be seen as the authors of Saville's designs by the broader audience. The album art is understood in relation to the larger body of texts surrounding the band. Therefore, the Unknown Pleasures sleeve tends to be interpreted in conjunction with the music, media representations of the band and knowledge of Curtis' death for those exposed to the cover after May 1980. Foucault argues that the notion of

ownership arises from how a text is communicated and circulated by society.<sup>55</sup> Initially, Saville's design was necessarily interpreted in relation to Joy Division's music, as it was consumed primarily as the package for *Unknown Pleasures*. However, as it will be discussed in the conclusion, this association became complicated over time when the pulsar design began taking on a life of its own as a widespread design template and consumer product. It is the reader who constructs these systems of meaning and places value in the association to Joy Division. The outrage over Disney's use of the pulsar image clearly demonstrates that, for Joy Division fans, the cover art is a representation of the band, its ideologies and its legacy. Saville's sleeve designs have become essential components in Joy Division's identity, helping to shape and strengthen their perception as a serious, enigmatic postpunk band.

## Melancholy as a Visual Aesthetic

Melancholy is often understood as being synonymous with depression or sadness. However, as Emily Brady and Arto Haapala explain, melancholy is a state of deep reflection induced by a longing for things desired or lost. Depression is an emotional state characterized by debilitating mental and physical pain often resulting in general loss of interest and an inability to execute even the simplest of tasks. Melancholy, on the other hand, is distinguished by the alternation of negative and positive aspects "[...] creating contrasts and rhythms of pleasure. These aspects combine with the reflectivity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?," trans. Josue V. Harari in *Michel Foucault: Aesthetics, Method and Epistemology, Volume 2*, ed. James Faubion (The New Press: New York, 1994), 205-09.

that is at the heart of melancholy, and the particular refined feeling of the emotion."<sup>56</sup> Melancholy involves yearning or a sense of missing an absent object and is experienced indirectly through solitary contemplation or imaginings.<sup>57</sup> Melancholy is often tied to the sound, lyrics and vocals of music which facilitate this contemplation. The music of Joy Division tends to conjure particularly dark emotions like sadness, shame, loneliness or loss which are experienced indirectly by the listener through reflection and personal imaginings. Brady and Haapala explain that there is a positive aspect to melancholy since it "provides an opportunity for indulgent self-reflection."<sup>58</sup> This is the appeal of Joy Division's brand of melancholy which arises from an internal, emotional state rather than from a specific object. For instance, when Ian Curtis sings "Doubting, unsettling and turning around/ Wondering what will come next/ Is this the role that you wanted to live?" on the Closer track "Passover" (1980), the listener follows Curtis' lines of internal questioning and doubts. Curtis' lyrics have the ability to penetrate the psyche of listeners in a profound way thereby provoking internal contemplation of their end as well.

The atmospheric sound of Joy Division's albums also encourages melancholic reflection with the use of digital delay, sound separation and echo to create sonic space that is "gaping yet claustrophobic."<sup>59</sup> Joy Division's sound painted images of "depersonalized space and monotonous urban landscapes," capturing the sense of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Emily Brady and Arto Haapala, "Melancholy as an Aesthetic Emotion," *Contemporary Aesthetics* 1 (2003): 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Reynolds (2005): 112.

modern anxiety so central to the band's lyrical content.<sup>60</sup> This sense of solitude is an important aspect of melancholia. Brady and Haapala look at how images of desolate moors or vast oceans can facilitate melancholy, as they conjure a sense of "solitude and a contemplative state of mind."<sup>61</sup> Saville's design for Unknown Pleasures captured this sense of solitude with his powerful use of black and scaling of the pulsar wave. Perhaps emulating the pulsar's astronomical origins, the overwhelming blackness of the cover reflects the dark depths of the night sky. The colour black has many vivid associations in popular culture: mourning, death, deviance, darkness etc. It has also become an important visual signification in popular music fashion, from the formal austerity of nineteenth century composers, to the black leather jackets of punks and the head-totoe dress of Goth.<sup>62</sup> The colour black has represented rebellion, as well as sophistication through its subdued, no frills appearance. The overwhelming use of black on the Unknown Pleasures sleeve illustrates the mysterious aura the colour projects, giving impressions of depth and solitude. The sense of space and open interpretation in Saville's designs are essential to melancholy, providing the viewer the opportunity to reflect and posit the meaning behind the covers. Further, the covers for the "Love Will Tear Us Apart" single and the band's second studio album, *Closer*, feature images taken at an Italian cemetery, again spurring a sombre sense of solitude. Julia Kristeva explains that "historically, melancholia has been associated with intellectual thought, in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Benjamin Fraser and Abby Fuoto, "Manchester, 1976: Documenting the Urban Nature of Joy Division's Musical Production," *Punk & Post-Punk* 1.2 (2012): 148-49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Emily Brady and Arto Haapala, "Melancholy as an Aesthetic Emotion," *Contemporary Aesthetics* 1 (2003): 1p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Bibby (2007): 264.

particular with philosophy and artistic creativity."<sup>63</sup> Joy Division's connection to melancholia through their music, history and visual representations, therefore, helps to shape their lasting public image as a serious, artistic band.

### Romanticizing Death: "Love Will Tear Us Apart" and Closer

In June 1980, Joy Division released the single "Love Will Tear Us Apart," which would become the band's first U.K chart hit. Released less than two months after Ian's death, many fans interpreted the song's lyrics as Curtis' final thoughts leading up to his suicide.<sup>64</sup> With such little time passing between his death and the release of the single, correlations were made between the song's text, including the single sleeve designs, and Curtis' death. As it will be argued, the connection between death and the elevation of Joy Division's cultural artefacts as sacred commodities is aided by Saville's creative application of cemetery images as popular music cover art.

For the 7-inch version of the "Love Will Tear Us Apart" single art, Saville deliberately corroded a sheet of gray metal to give it a worn, acid-washed effect. True to his minimalist aesthetic, Saville only included the engraved track title and Factory number on the cover (Figure 8). The design seems to return to themes of industrialism with the use of metal materials and the foregrounding of Factory's corporate numbering. Once again Joy Division's name is absent from the cover, with 'A Factory Record—FAC 23' imprinted in its place. In this blatant branding by the label Factory appears to be the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Elaine Miller, *Head Cases: Julia Kristeva on Philosophy and Art in Depressed Times* (Columbia University Press: New York, 2014), 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Jon Savage, So This is Permanence: Joy Division Lyrics and Notebooks (Faber & Faber: London, 2014):XV.

author of this particular text. In a counterintuitive approach, the branding of the Factory name provided their physical artefacts with a sense of importance and authenticity through their connection with the label. In this way, the "Love Will Tear Us Apart" single would have been associated with Factory Records before Joy Division, adding to the already complex system of meanings surrounding the band. The mottling of the font on the cover gives the impression of a time worn scrap of sheet metal, perhaps found on an abandoned factory floor. The intentional corroding of the metal gives the design a dynamic range of gray, green and brown hues, enhancing the overall weathered appearance. This cover design could also be reflective of the bleak state of urban Manchester during the time of the single release. The dilapidated environment of Manchester in the 1970s informed many aspects of Joy Division's music, lyrical content, social connections, sense of "urban consciousness," and many more elements contributing to the image of the band. For several years Joy Division used T.J Davidson's warehouse as their practice studio and even shot the music video for "Love Will Tear Us Apart" in the converted space. Saville was able to capture the spirit of these settings, creating a single sleeve suggestive of Manchester's decaying post-industrial landscape.

Following the 7-inch cover, Saville's designs for Joy Division showed a marked shift towards more neo-classical artwork, yet maintained a Modernist approach to spacing and minimalism. The 12-inch cover for the "Love Will Tear Us Apart" single features a statue of a grieving angel set against a black backdrop (Figure 9). Part of the legendary Monumental Cemetery of Staglieno in Genova, Italy, the statue was sculpted by Onorato Toso in the early 20th century as part of the Ribaudo family neo-classical tomb. The seriousness that accompanies these images evokes a sense of authenticity which Weisethaunet and Lindberg refer to as "authenticity as negation."<sup>65</sup> Within this framework of authenticity, emphasis is placed on the "artistic merit" of the album packaging, rather than the practical purpose of accessible mass marketing. The use of sombre and unsettling imagery forces the reader out of a state of passive consumption by provoking themes that encourage deeper interpretation. NME rock critic Paul Morley reflected on Joy Division's classification as "serious art" in his 1980 article, "Don't Walk Away in Silence": "Joy Division make art. The prejudice that hangs around the word 'art' puts people off, makes them think of the untouchable, the unreachable and the unrealistic. Joy Division put reality into rock. Yet for all the intensity and violence in their images, the music never relinquishes a classic accessibility; rhythm, melody, atmosphere are awesomely sophisticated."<sup>66</sup> Morley emphasizes that Joy Division's claim to authentic "art" is rooted in their ability to "put reality in rock." The unapologetically grim artwork of the "Love Will Tear Us Apart" and Closer albums reflect the reality of death head-on, providing a sense of bleak seriousness rooted in both the music and personal history of Joy Division.

Rather than presenting a cover that is easily digested and obvious in its commercial intent, Saville's dark designs provide the band with another claim to "artistic authenticity." With the rejection of traditional markers of marketing, such as the band's name or picture on the cover, the album sleeves are viewed as an aesthetic extension of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Hans Weisethaunet and Ulf Lindberg, "Authenticity Revisited: The Rock Critic and the Changing Real," *Popular Music and Culture* 33.4 (Oct 2010): 472.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Paul Morley, "Don't Walk Away in Silence," NME (June 14, 1980): 38.

the band, as much as the packaging of a product. This implication of artistic merit triumphing over commerciality helps to distance the purchaser from the commodification process. Saville is able to maintain conceptual consistency for all of Joy Division's record covers, thereby contributing to the larger system of Joy Division "texts" based in themes of darkness, isolation and alienation. Indeed, it would be difficult to identify another band in popular music history with such a strong association with death in their visual representations and personal history.

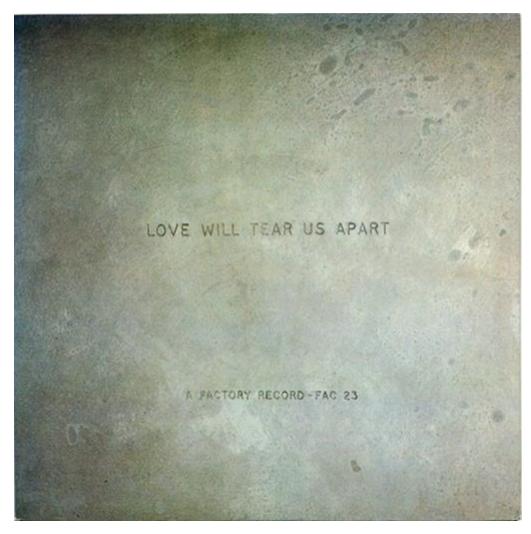


Figure 8: FAC 23 "Love Will Tear Us Apart" Seven Inch (June 1980).



Figure 9: FAC 23.12 "Love Will Tear Us Apart" Twelve Inch (June 27, 1980).

Following lan's suicide, knowledge of his struggle with epilepsy and mental health added a new dimension to Joy Division's art. What Saville's designs did was put that suffering into the visual realm, amplifying the mystique of the "tortured artist" As Mark Fisher explains, it did not matter that the conditions leading up to Curtis' suicide were real, everyday battles with illness, depression, infidelity and martial breakdown. Under the gaze of the fan, this reality was woven into the larger aesthetic of the band—"the world promised by the sleeves and the sound, a pristine black and white realm unsullied by the grubby compromises and embarrassments of the everyday."<sup>67</sup> Saville contributed to this aestheticization of death through his use of cemetery photographs which evoke notions of the fallen hero. The beautiful weeping angels featured on both the "Love Will Tear Us Apart" twelve inch and *Closer* covers present death as a captivating, timeless aesthetic. The use of black and white and overall framing of the sleeves contribute to their sense of drama. The less glamorous facts of Curtis's death are often glossed over in order to fit this narrative of the tortured artist taking his own life. Thus, Joy Division becomes memorialized through Saville's designs, preserved as cultural artefacts ripe for mythologizing.

Although it was designed prior to lan's suicide in May 1980, the cover for Joy Division's sophomore album, *Closer*, aroused particularly romantic notions of death and tragedy through its use of neoclassical artwork (Figure 10). The cover image for *Closer* features Bernard Pierre Wolff's statuary photograph of a memorial crypt located in the Staglieno Cemetery. Originally sculpted by Demetrio Paernio in approximately 1910, the sculpted tableau depicts grieving angels surrounding a dead figure. The tomb-like quality of this image is further enhanced by Saville's decision to use a heavy-gauge matte white card for the sleeve, giving it an engraved effect. Without knowing the precise historical or artistic significance of the image, Joy Division fans would have read the cover as a striking representation of mourning in the wake of lan's untimely death. Saville acknowledged the image's potential to be viewed as a memorial to Curtis,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Mark Fisher, "Nihil Rebound: Joy Division," *K-Punk* (January 2005): 56; Paul Crosthwaite, "Trauma and Degeneration: Joy Division and Pop Criticism's Imaginative Historian," *Edinburgh Research Explorer* (2011): 22.

admitting "I guess [the image] worked for Ian. Now, in retrospect, that's a whole story in itself. What he was writing, what he was thinking, what he was feeling. And being ready to choose an image of a tomb."<sup>68</sup>

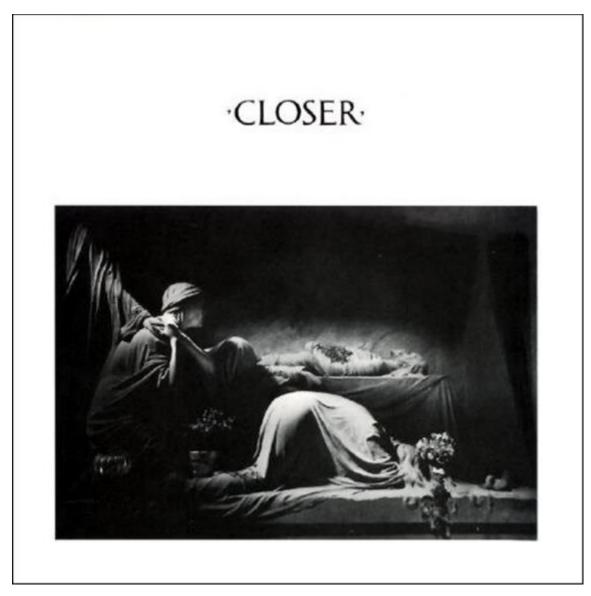


Figure 10: FACT-25 Closer (July 28, 1980).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> James Nice, *Shadowplayers: The Rise and Fall of Factory Records* (Aurum Press: London, 2010):97.

The historical atmosphere of the *Closer* cover creates an aura of antiquity and timelessness around the cultural artefact. By using images of neo-classical sculpture, Saville is able to tap into pre-existing visual associations and cultural connotations. This way, he is able to enhance particular moods, meanings and associations through visual cues. As fellow graphic designer Carol Wilson explains, "Peter's genius wasn't in coming up with original images, but in translating existing images into something original."<sup>69</sup> Using this "curatorial" approach, Saville summons familiar visual codes but is able to create intrigue by shifting their context invokes. Saville is able to guide the consumer's process of meaning-making by choosing images that are at once ambiguous yet evocative of a specific mood.

Some early gothic bands also embraced elements of the supernatural, particularly notions of immortality and life after death. This fascination with the afterlife draws on "nineteenth-century romantic notions of the artist as a tragic other-worldly figure who never fits in."<sup>70</sup> This outsider status became a dominant aspect in the mythology of Ian Curtis after his suicide and was reinforced by Joy Division's enigmatic covers. The sleeves offer no personal access to the band members, thereby preserving the image of Curtis as an untouchable, ethereal figure. Reflecting on the austere designs of Joy Division's album covers, Michael Bibby, a scholar of Goth subcultures, explains that "such sleeve designs convey a sense of inaccessibility, of a blankness that is less the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Nice, 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Catherine Strong, *Grunge: Music and Memory* (Routledge: New York, 2011): 92.

blank snarl of punk and much more the silence of the grave."<sup>71</sup> The use of grave imagery and religious symbolism encourages the sense of importance and seriousness that encapsulates Joy Division's entire aesthetic.

Oksanen's theory that the state of melancholy invoked by Joy Division blurs the past and present is particularly pertinent when examining Saville's cover art. Thus far, I have argued that the album sleeves for *Unknown Pleasures, Closer* and "Love Will Tear Us Apart" serve to memorialize Joy Division and Ian Curtis, in particular. These visuals have played a central role in the construction of the band's public image, as well as popular memory. In many ways, they also contribute to this blurring of the past and present by preserving images that are ambiguous in their cultural time period. This constructed image of Joy Division is able to live on through Saville's album covers —in many cases serving as the primary visual representations of the band. Like Jonathan Sterne's notion of sound recordings as "resonant tombs," these cultural artefacts were made in a specific time in history but are made available to new generations. Therefore, Peter Saville's sleeves become sites of public memory, perpetuating a particular image of Joy Division throughout time.

The power of Saville's designs came from an emphasis on contrasts: light and darkness, art and commerce, accessible pop sleeves and the cold Modern approach, of Joy Division's albums. The sombre minimalism of Saville's sleeves has become so entrenched in the public memory of Joy Division that they are now widely recognized as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Michael Bibby, "Atrocity Exhibitions: Joy Division, Factory Records and Goth," in *Goth: Undead Subculture* ed. Lauren M.E Goodlad and Michael Bibby (Duke University: Durham, 2007), 247.

some of rock's most iconic designs. Yet, due to the power of the 'author function', Peter Saville is not widely understood as their author—Joy Division is.

# Popular Pulsar: Lasting Legacy

The Unknown Pleasures artwork has gained tremendous cultural resonance since its humble inception at Factory Records in Manchester in the late 1970s. In November 2015, BBC Radio 6 named Joy Division's Unknown Pleasures the winner of their "favourite band t-shirt of all-time contest."<sup>72</sup> Beating out bands like Pink Floyd, Ramones, Guns N Roses and Nirvana, whose commercial success far outweighs that of Joy Division, voters selected the Unknown Pleasures design over twenty-nine other rock t-shirts. Reflecting on the shirt's popularity, Steve Lamacq posits, "it's got an inherent air of cool, because of the reputation of the band; and it tells you that the person wearing it has an interest in music which goes way beyond the Top 40."<sup>73</sup> Lamacq points to the overriding tension surrounding the pulsar design—it is viewed as having "an inherent air of cool," yet it is the "reputation of the band" that informs this perception. Further, Lamacq's comment also points to the ways in which individuals use their taste in music as a marker of identity. Wearing the Unknown Pleasures t-shirt demonstrates that the individual "has an interest in music which goes way beyond the Top 40," that they are 'in the know.' In this case, it is the complex meanings that have been built around the

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> "6 Music Listeners Name their Greatest Band T-Shirt of All Time" (November 27, 2015), Online: <a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2015/6-music-greatest-band-t-shirt-vote-winner">http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2015/6-music-greatest-band-t-shirt-vote-winner</a>.
 <sup>73</sup> Ibid.

pulsar design and its connections with Joy Division that 'validate' these demarcations of coolness. However, as John Fiske explains, "the text is a cultural resource to be plundered or used in ways that are determined by the social interests of the reader/user not by the structure of the text itself, nor by the intentions (however we discern them) of its author."<sup>74</sup> It is the audience that has given new life to Saville's design by attaching new values to the image, altering its function and placing it within a broader discourse. The pulsar image has become very successful as a clothing design, as a symbol for expressing personal taste or hipness. However, as the design continues to be widely circulated the perception of authorship is blurred even further. Indeed, the image is becoming increasingly detached from its associations with both Saville and Joy Division. Therefore, Foucault's notion of the author function also loses its weight, as the discourse surrounding the image is no longer centred on Saville's collaboration with Joy Division.

The prevalence of the *Unknown Pleasures* pulsar design in contemporary culture, particularly in fashion, is a remarkable phenomenon that extends beyond the UK. Popular American retailers such as Urban Outfitters and Hot Topic have stocked the shirt in recent years and online retailer eBay has thousands of shirts available for purchase. Similar to the 'Mickey Waves' shirt, there has also been numerous instances of companies or bands manipulating the wave format to reflect their brand. In 2007 popular shoe company New Balance released a pair of sneakers with the pulsar graphic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> John Fiske, "Popular Culture" in *Critical Terms for Literary Study, Second Edition* eds. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1987), 331.

on the tongue, as well as the sole of the shoe.<sup>75</sup> Once a subcultural image, the *Unknown Pleasures* artwork has become the object of purchase, a mainstream commodity in its own right. Peter Saville acknowledged that the pulsar image has become a template that "people continue to reinterpret, either in deeply serious, melodramatic, or quite comedic ways."<sup>76</sup> There are countless online archives for Joy Division inspired tattoos, the large majority of which include the pulsar waves.<sup>77</sup> This commitment to the pulsar image demonstrates its retained sense of sacredness, yet, its mainstream cultural incorporation complicates its subcultural status. Mass reproduction of the pulsar image has progressively diminished its mystique. Removed from the protective shelter of Joy Division fans, it has been made available to masses of people who may not be familiar with the original context of its creation or rather, its initial appropriation.

In many ways, Joy Division's graphic image has become more widely known than their music. Peter Saville's album sleeves helped to shape the public image of Joy Division, preserving their melancholic aesthetic by invoking romantic themes of death, introspection and the past. The enigmatic design of *Unknown Pleasures* encouraged open interpretations by readers, enabling a multitude of meanings, both sacred and profane, to be affixed to its image. Saville's art has grown more "popular" than the band's "popular music", yet he still is not widely recognized as the author—Joy Division

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Cam Lindsay, "New Balance Designs Joy Division Sneakers," Exclaim! (June 6, 2007): Online.
 <sup>76</sup> "Data Visualization Reinterpreted: The Story of Joy Division's 'Unknown Pleasures'" (Oct 2012): <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=reEQye0EOAw</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> "40 Heartbreakingly Beautiful Joy Division Tattoos" (https://www.tattoodo.com/a/2015/11/40heartbreakingly-beautiful-joy-division-tattoos/); "Joy Division Tattoo"

<sup>(</sup>https://www.pinterest.com/explore/joy-division-tattoo/); "Joy Division Tattoos Reign Supreme" (http://www.cvltnation.com/joy-division-tattoos-reign-supreme/).

is. Peter Saville's album sleeves helped to shape the public image of Joy Division,

preserving their melancholic aesthetic by invoking romantic themes of death,

introspection and the past. However, as his designs became more tightly woven into the

band's complex systems of meanings, Joy Division became their author in the eyes of

many fans. Through his estrangement with his own art, Saville demonstrated the

complexity of musical meanings and their ability to inform our understanding of

authorship.

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#### Chapter 2: Tony Wilson, Television & Cultural Intermediation

On September 20th 1978, Joy Division made their television debut on Granada Reports performing "Shadowplay" in the Manchester studio. Introducing the band, host Tony Wilson stated, "Seeing as how this is the program which previously brought you first television appearances from everyone from the Beatles to the Buzzcocks, we do like to keep our hand in and keep you informed of the most interesting new sounds in the Northwest. This, Joy Division, is the most interesting new sound we've come across in the last six months."<sup>1</sup> Asserting his cultural authority, Wilson sought to instil a sense of importance in the performance and frame the public reception of the band. Pierre Bourdieu explained, "Every critical affirmation contains, on the one hand, a recognition of the value of the work [...] and on the other hand an affirmation of his own legitimacy."<sup>2</sup> Therefore, Wilson presented Joy Division's music as being "worthy of legitimate discourse" while also asserting the "legitimacy" of his own critical opinion. Bourdieu continues by arguing that cultural products must be understood as "a manifestation of the field as a whole, in which all the powers of the field, and all the determinisms inherent in its structure and functioning, are concentrated."<sup>3</sup> While there is a tendency to view Joy Division's music as a "pure" and unfiltered artistic expression, it must be recognized that various forces (social, cultural, political, and historical) have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Joy Division 1978 Granada Reports Live." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0LdEM9xhMUM (2006): Online.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, "The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed,' in *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1993), 36.
 <sup>3</sup> Bourdieu (1993), 37.

informed their product and its reception. By tracing Wilson's rise as a cultural tasteshaper in Manchester, his role as a cultural intermediary in the formation and circulation of Joy Division's public image will be demonstrated.

By the 1970s Tony Wilson had become a regional celebrity due to his popular 'Kamikaze Corner' segment on Granada Reports. Although 'Kamikaze Corner' was a light-hearted segment, often featuring Wilson performing adventurous stunts like hanggliding, it provided him with a platform from which to voice his opinions. As a vocal endorser of Situationist and far-left philosophies, it was not uncommon for Wilson to reference the likes of Bakunin or Debord in unscripted asides.<sup>4</sup> While Wilson was criticized by some for being smug or pretentious, his intellectual approach gave him a sense of cultural authority in Manchester. Wilson came from a middle-class background in Salford, attended Cambridge University and adopted the Queen's English in his broadcasts. Standing in stark contrast to the working-class, "laddish" environment of Manchester's punk scene, Wilson used his intellect and knowledge of leftist ideologies to articulate particular meanings in the music.<sup>5</sup> Peter Saville reflected on Wilson's academic disposition explaining that, "Tony to me was an intellectual in popular culture. So whether it was television or music Tony brought a kind of gravitas to it and a sense of importance to it."<sup>6</sup> Joy Division bassist Peter Hook also emphasized the importance of Wilson's celebrity in Manchester explaining, "I mean, he was on TV and you can't

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lindsay Reade, *Mr. Manchester and the Factory Girl: The Story of Tony and Lindsay Wilson* (Plexus Publishing: London, 2010): 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid: 38-41

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> "Tributes Paid to Mr. Manchester," *BBC News* (August 2007): Online.

overestimate that. I was watching him every night at six o'clock, so to suddenly be sat next to him was wild. It felt like an amazing aspect to what we were doing, that we got to meet people like Tony Wilson. The Tony Wilson. Who liked our band, liked what we were doing, wanted to make a record and put us on it."<sup>7</sup> Hook illustrates the importance of having a (regionally) famous and well-connected figure publically champion Joy Division, as well as the resources (studio time, label backing etc.) he was able to provide at Factory Records. However, as Nick Crossley points out, it was not only Wilson's local celebrity that gave him relevance for Manchester's punk and new wave scenes. Rather, it was his position as a gatekeeper within the regional media, his ability to offer access to a broad audience, which mattered to young bands. Crossley argues, "it was not [Wilson's] fame that mattered, so much as the fact that he could make others famous, or at least help them on their way. Of course he had to be well known as a gatekeeper to the media to attract attempts at connection. His reputation was important. But only because it was 'for' something useful."<sup>8</sup> Wilson developed his cultural credibility by providing punk and new wave artists with an outlet through which to reach audiences they would not have otherwise had access to.

After attending the infamous Sex Pistols show at the Lesser Free Trade Hall in Manchester in 1976 (a sparsely attended performance that would ignite Manchester's punk scene), Wilson was inspired to launch his music television program *So It Goes* in 1977. Finally, influence garnered from *So It Goes* would translate into a series of club

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Peter Hook, Unknown Pleasures: Inside Joy Division (Harper Collins Publishers: New York, 2012), 135.
 <sup>8</sup> Nick Crossley, "The Man Whose Web Expanded: Network Dynamics in Manchester's Post/Punk Music Scene, 1976-1980," Poetics 37 (2009), 44.

nights and, ultimately, the independent label Factory Records. These milestones in Wilson's cultural crusade propelled him to a position of influence and authority in Manchester. As will be argued, Wilson's distinctive taste on *So It Goes* and participation in the early Manchester punk scene provided him with the power and platform to decisively mediate Joy Division's public image.

## **Cultural Intermediaries**

Tony Wilson's role in the formation and circulation of Joy Division's public image can best be described in terms of the cultural intermediary. Pierre Bourdieu introduced the notion of cultural intermediaries in his work *Distinction* (1984), describing them as agents of the petit-bourgeois working to "legitimize" culture by instilling a sense of importance in it, thereby increasing its value. This sense of importance was built on a "system of preferences" or taste distinctions made by the petit-bourgeois.<sup>9</sup> Bourdieu then distinguishes the "new cultural intermediaries" who exert influence over mass media. Bourdieu highlights the role of producers of cultural programs on television and radio, as well as journalists and critics of "quality" publications who use their position within the "established hierarchy of legitimacy" to mediate cultural production and circulation.<sup>10</sup> Wilson's position as a television presenter provided this opportunity to actively promote and communicate cultural images and information to a wider

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* trans. Richard Nice (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1984), 327, 330, 337-38.
 <sup>10</sup> Bourdieu (1984): 326-27.

audience.<sup>11</sup> As it will be shown, Wilson exposed Joy Division's music to a wide audience of Granada viewers, decisively framing their presentation in the process.

In the cultural fields of music and television, intermediaries like Wilson also served as "taste makers" for the general public. As Mike Featherstone explains, these cultural intermediaries are "fascinated by identity, presentation, appearance, lifestyle" and use their position of cultural authority to construct value via endorsed representation.<sup>12</sup> Each episode of So It Goes ended with the "Recommended Album of the Week." This weekly recognition became so coveted that Ian Curtis notoriously confronted Wilson in 1978, calling him a "cunt" and a "bastard" for not featuring Joy Division's EP An Ideal For *Living* on the show.<sup>13</sup> As a cultural agent, Wilson's contribution was "adding value by virtue of selection and promotion."<sup>14</sup> Introducing the band Magazine Wilson states "two and a half gigs old, maybe two and a half years ahead of their time. If people tell you new wave is static or dead, tell them about Magazine." <sup>15</sup> Wilson is able to simultaneously assert his perceived insider knowledge by stating that Magazine is ahead of their time, as well as affirm the band's position as a leader within the new wave. Likewise, Granada presenter Ben Greaves begins Joy Division's television introduction by saying, "we hope that we're launching them on a real "joy ride" as we have so many

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Simon Frith, *Popular Music: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies, Volume II*, The Rock Era (Routledge: New York, 2004), 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Mike Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism, Second Edition* (SAGE: Los Angeles, 2007), 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Mick Middles, *Factory: The Story of the Record Label* (Virgin Book: London, 2011); Peter Hook, *Unknown Pleasures: Inside Joy Division* (Harper Collins Publishers: New York, 2012), 116.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Joanne Entwistle, "The Cultural Economy of Fashion Buying," *Current Sociology* (September 2006): 709.
 <sup>15</sup> So It Goes. Granada Television (December 4, 1977): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gui2sDRgz3A.

others, haven't we, Tony?"<sup>16</sup> When the shot then cuts to Wilson presenting Joy Division as "the most exciting new sound" in 1978 he instantly mediates the band in the eyes of the viewers. Emphasizing the program's ability to launch the careers of new wave artists, Greaves highlights Wilson's track record in the scene and reminds us of his powerful position as a cultural intermediary.

Keith Negus has remarked that the position of cultural intermediary is often achieved "via networks of connections and shared values and life experiences formed among members of this group."<sup>17</sup> Wilson's claim to subcultural credibility skyrocketed in 1976 when he attended the Sex Pistols performance in Manchester. After the Sex Pistols played at the Lesser Free Trade Hall the cultural tide had officially turned in Manchester's underground music scene. Tony Wilson was one of forty-two people in attendance at the show who were bound by a common enthusiasm for this raucous new music. Comprised of an almost mythical grouping of punk/postpunk founding figures, the audience included Howard Devoto and Pete Shelley of the Buzzcocks, Mark E. Smith of The Fall, Morrissey, producer Martin Hannett, Peter Hook and Bernard Sumner of Joy Division and Tony Wilson.<sup>18</sup> While this show undoubtedly planted the punk seed in Manchester, Wilson made it his personal mission to help it grow. He secured the first ever television performance by the Sex Pistols on the 1976 series finale of *So It Goes*, exposing the punk rock revolution to the TV masses. This event played a role in how

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Peter Hook, Unknown Pleasures: Inside Joy Division (Harper Collins Publishers: New York, 2012), 130.
<sup>17</sup> Keith Negus, Popular Music in Theory: An Introduction (Wesleyan University Press, 1996), 62.
<sup>18</sup> Sean O'Hagan, "It Was The Best Party...Ever," The Observer (March 3, 2002): Online; Ted Mills, "The Sex Pistols'1976 Manchester 'Gig That Changed the World' and the Day the Punk Era Began," Open Culture (June 11 2015): Online.

Wilson was perceived by punk "insiders" and enhanced the weight his opinion was given within the local scene. Securing this band was the ultimate stamp of punk approval and gave the program the edge that would make the second series so successful. Furthermore, these shared values and cultural orientation helped to cultivate and elevate Manchester's punk/postpunk scenes. For individuals unable to attend concerts or club nights, *So It Goes* was a crucial outlet for viewing punk performances and spreading knowledge of these music forms. In Wilson's selection of punk/postpunk artists he is able to provide the "critical yet invisible link between producers and consumers," while framing their presentation to the public.<sup>19</sup>

# Setting the Scene: Manchester's Cultural Identity

In order to understand Wilson's impact on Manchester's music scene, it is necessary to first examine his role in the city's cultural shift. As one of Britain's first industrialized cities Manchester developed a strong sense of class-consciousness coming out of the 19th century. With a pronounced working-class identity, the Northern city consistently defined itself against the perceived cultural dominance of London. On the peripheries of dominant British cultural life, Manchester was an incubator for independence, communal spirit and distinct Northern pride.<sup>20</sup> As Katie Milestone explains, Manchester entered the culturally transformative postwar years with a self-image rooted in "working-class Northernness" and a determination to establish "a chic, hedonistic site at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Joanne Entwistle, *The Aesthetic Economy of Fashion: Markets and Value in Clothing and Modelling* (Berg: New York, 2009), 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Sean Albiez, "Print the Truth, not the Legend: The Sex Pistols at Lesser Free Trade Hall, Manchester, June 4, 1976," in *Popular Music: History, Place and Time* ed. Ian Inglis (Ashgate: University of Northumbria, 2006): 95.

the heart of a northern renaissance."<sup>21</sup> The late 1960s saw a cultural renaissance in Manchester with a number of prolific pop groups, such as The Hollies and Herman's Hermits, and a burgeoning underground club scene transforming the creative core of the city. However, these initial attempts to steer Manchester towards creative industries came crashing down in the late 1970s, as the struggles of de-industrialization led to widespread urban decay and a stagnating economy.<sup>22</sup> While this rejuvenation was ultimately short-lived, it helped lay the foundation for a new cultural infrastructure in Manchester.

The brief flicker of Manchester's music and club scene in the late 1960s had dimmed by the mid-1970s. The demise of the city's nightlife, along with escalated depopulation, rendered Manchester a virtual ghost-town.<sup>23</sup> As rock journalist Paul Morley explained, "it had no identity, no common spirit or motive. It was probably a reflection of the country at large."<sup>24</sup> By the 1970s, increasing levels of youth unemployment, the steep decline of local cultural production and the decaying industrial architecture made Manchester a dreary city of the North. However, this state of decrepitude was the perfect arena for the rebellious youth punk culture starting to seep into the city.

As a cultural no-man's land, Manchester had the opportunity for reinvention. Embracing their oppositional stance towards London, the new Manchester scene

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Katie Milestone, "Urban Myths: Popular Culture, the City and Identity," *Sociology Compass* 2.4 (2008): 1169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Adam Brown, Justin O'Connor and Sara Cohen, "Local Music Policies within a Global Music Industry: Cultural Quarters in Manchester and Sheffield," *Geoforum* 31 (2000): 438.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Milestone (2008): 1169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Paul Morley, "Manchester: They Mean It Maaanchester," New Musical Express (July 30, 1977).

focused on localized music production and distribution. Consequently, creative workers could operate on the fringes of the broader corporate industry, experimenting with new sounds and styles. The sense of freedom experienced by the incestuous inner-circle of the early Manchester scene, of which Wilson was a key member, thrived in the remoteness from the cultural centre. In this way, Manchester was able to create a relatively autonomous regional scene with an emphasis on local bands, venues and networking practices. Tony Wilson's role in championing new music on his program *So It Goes* played a crucial part in facilitating the growth of this movement in the Northwest by increasing the audience for artists. With Wilson endorsing Joy Division as a television presenter, then as a concert organizer and label executive, he was able to use his subcultural authority to mediate the band's public image.

## So It Goes

Positioned as one of the BBC's biggest rivals, Granada was formed in 1956 by Independent Television Authority to service the North West of England (with the notable exception of Liverpool), with its primary studios located in Manchester. This distance from the cultural and financial hub of London was crucial to the formation of a strong regional identity. Granada, like Wilson, recognized the importance of cultivating Manchester's unique character through localized broadcasting. As Granada producer Bob Dickinson remembers, "Granada defined something very important about North-West of England in the 1970s... [it] made great TV programmes that reflected the people and culture of Manchester."<sup>25</sup> It was on one of Granada's more eccentric programs that Tony Wilson made his television debut, performing various wild stunts on his 'Kamikaze Corner' segment on *Granada Reports*. This small segment made Wilson a minor celebrity in the Northwest and generated huge ratings for the network. Wilson was able to translate this notoriety into his own program, the cutting-edge music television show *So It Goes*.

Taking its name from a line in Kurt Vonnegut's classic novel *Slaughterhouse-Five*, *So It Goes* sought to be unconventional, intellectual and serious from the starting gate. Unlike *Top of the Pops* or *Old Grey Whistle Test*, *So It Goes* took a critical approach to the presentation of music, going beyond mere introductions to making clear distinctions of taste. British music television, as a specialized genre, experienced its peak popularity between the years of 1960 and 1985. Prior to this period popular music tended to be featured as part of variety programs or traditional musical revue shows.<sup>26</sup> However, by the 1960s the powerful reign of youth culture prompted a more significant merger between music and television. The BBC was the first to heed this call, airing their flagship music chart program Top of the Pops in 1964. *Top of the Pops* was a studiobased show which featured lip-syncing by artists topping the singles sales chart. *So It Goes*, on the other hand, featured artists often excluded from mainstream radio (at this time) and used unconventional visual effects. Shortly after their television debut on *So It* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Lindsay Reade, *Mr. Manchester and the Factory Girl: The Story of Tony and Lindsay Wilson* (Plexus Publishing: London, 2010): 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Paul Fryer, "Everybody's on Top of the Pops: Popular Music on British Television, 1960-1985," *Popular Music and Society* 21.3 (September 1997), 153.

*Goes*, the Sex Pistols made their notorious appearance on Bill Grundy's *Today Show* in December 1976. After consuming copious amounts of alcohol backstage and goading by Grundy, the band shocked the program's 6:00pm audience when guitarist Steve Jones called the interviewer a "fucking rotter" live on air.<sup>27</sup> What resulted was a national outcry by mainstream media, several cancelled performances for the Sex Pistols and a divide amongst mass media.<sup>28</sup> Within most of the mainstream media, punk was framed as immoral, dangerous and a testament to the troubled state of youth in the UK. For others, it represented an enthralling cultural shift and a warranted "response to the decaying state of Britain."<sup>29</sup> Unsurprisingly, Wilson was part of the latter. While the mainstream portrayed punk as something to be feared or scorned, Wilson presented punk bands with a pronounced seriousness and intelligence.

Selectivity was an essential element in the subcultural credibility of *So It Goes*. Wilson was presented as a curator responsible for choosing which bands would be featured on the show. By the 1970s it was expected that music hosts presenting "serious" music "were required to be critical and knowledgeable, as befitting the distance that now separated 'rock' from 'pop.'"<sup>30</sup> This distinction between pop and rock, between allegedly trivial and serious music, was essential to the program's framework of authenticity. Working against television's domestic, mainstream status, Wilson continuously asserted both his leftist-intellectual ideologies and his connection

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ian Inglis, *Popular Music and Television in Britain* (Ashgate: University of Northumbria, 2010), 85-87.
 <sup>28</sup> Ibid: 88-92

<sup>29</sup> Ibid:88

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ian Inglis, *Popular Music and Television in Britain* (Ashgate: University of Northumbria, 2010), 59.

to the indie scene in order fit within this rock framework. When introducing the band Gentlemen in an August 1976 episode, Wilson boasts "we continue our policy of featuring live bands into the studio as yet untouched by record company promotion departments," emphasizing the show's opposition to the major labels.<sup>31</sup> On other occasions Wilson was much more blatant in voicing his disdain for the mainstream music industry. For instance, in a rather lengthy aside on a November 1977 episode Wilson explains that "in the last 18 months or so various new artists have arrived who have spurned the lavish production and slavish technique of the stadium super stars. In so doing, they have brought back freshness, excitement and strangeness to the business of rock. In their turn, they will become acceptable and, in their turn, they will become business. But in the meantime they've provided a much needed injection of life."<sup>32</sup> By consistently positioning bands on his program against the majors and promoting them as being "untouched" by the mainstream he presents them as pure and authentic in the eyes of the viewers. For Wilson, the new wave was the exciting counterpart to the lifeless mainstream rock in the 1970s. In this way, Wilson helped to place these bands within a particular framework of authenticity that emphasized distinction at every turn.

*So It Goes* was one of the few television program in the UK to champion punk and new wave artists when the moral panic surrounding punk was on the rise in British media. As Wilson explained, the BBC had no interest in pursuing the bands featured on *So It Goes* during this period. In its two short series, So It Goes featured interviews and

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> So It Goes. Granada Television (August 28, 1976): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u20ASGazUb4.
 <sup>32</sup> So It Goes. Granada Television (November 6, 1977): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UzBHybWdOnY.

performances from artists such as the Stranglers, X-Ray Spex, Ian Dury and Iggy Pop. In addition, the show provided the television debuts for the Sex Pistols, Siouxsie and the Banshees, Elvis Costello, Magazine, the Clash, Buzzcocks, Jam and Penetration. The structure of the show was relatively traditional with artist interviews, performances and Wilson's 'Recommended Album of the Week.' However, it was extremely fast paced, abruptly transitioning between segments, flashing graphics and cutting to Wilson for intellectual asides. Likewise, at Factory Records Wilson would place significant importance on the visual identity of the label and its artists as a means of asserting their artistic credibility and unique aesthetic.

The final episode of *So It Goes* aired on December 11th, 1977, following a controversial performance by Iggy Pop earlier in the series.<sup>33</sup> However, Wilson's influence in the Manchester scene was cemented following the program. Wilson had developed a reputation for advancing the careers of upcoming artists and developing Manchester's indie music scene as a whole. Wilson explained his position of cultural authority on *So It Goes* in an interview with *Q Magazine*: "It sounds arrogant and it sounds terrible and it sounds smug but doing *So It Goes* was like being the A&R man for the biggest record company in the world."<sup>34</sup> By exposing its audience to many of the key punk bands of the era, *So It Goes* opened a new channel through which to recruit and influence subcultural members. This mode of public communication directed viewers

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Running up an impressive tally of "not suitable for television" offences, Iggy can be seen flipping off the camera, singing the uncensored line "fucking cars" from "Passenger" and yelling for the crowd to "clap [their] fucking hands."); So It Goes. Granada Television. Series 2, Episode 4 (October 30, 1977).
 <sup>34</sup> Tom Hibbert, "Who The Hell Does Anthony H. Wilson Think Hels?" *Q Magazine* (February 1992): Online.

towards local venues, connecting likeminded individuals and expanding the reach of the scene. As Wilson began championing Joy Division in 1978, featuring them on his new television segment on *Granada Reports*, including them as headliners at his Factory nights at the Russell Club and eventually signing them to his label, his status as an influential cultural intermediary framed the band's public image. Ultimately, Tony Wilson was able to turn the end of *So It Goes* into the beginning of his long career as a music impresario in Manchester and abroad.

## Joy Division's Television Debut

Joy Division's performance on Granada Reports' newest music segment, "What's On," was a crucial event in the band's short career. As discussed above, their alliance with Wilson gave Joy Division a prominent position in the Manchester indie music scene. By the late 1970s, television had become a powerful medium for transmitting music performances to a broad viewership. As one of Joy Division's first visualizations in popular media, their stylized mediation of performance of "Shadowplay" was a significant moment in the formation of their public image. Firstly, the very fact that their performance was formatted for television necessarily involves framing and editing on the part of the program's producers. Technical aspects like lighting, camera angles and transitions all contributed to how Joy Division was viewed by the audience. The studio soundstage performance relied on a single song to convey Joy Division's sound and aesthetic. Therefore, the band's visual appearance, performance style and the program's stylization carried even greater weight in the initial formation of their public image. Wilson's introduction of the band frames their image even before their performance begins. Aligning them with the likes of the Beatles and the Buzzcocks, Wilson projects a sense of cultural importance that is supported by his position of authority. Further, during these opening remarks the viewer is drawn to Curtis's podium on which Wilson also stands. Curtis is presented with a sense of solitude and contemplation, standing with his hands on his hips and his head bowed towards the ground while Wilson speaks. For many viewers this would have been the first time they saw what Curtis looked like (including his solemn demeanour and utilitarian fashion style), thereby influencing their perception of the singer moving forward.

A major aspect of Joy Division's public image is centred on their aesthetic connection with Manchester. While many scholars have argued that Joy Division sounds like Manchester, there is also evidence of more general urban symbolism in their visual representations. During the performance of "Shadowplay" negative footage of gray cityscapes, highways and traffic taken from a *World In Action* documentary on the CIA were projected across the screen. The song's opening lyrics ("To the centre of the city where all roads meet/ Waiting for you") unite the aural and visual in an aesthetic of depressed city living. These moving graphics presented the city as a monotonous and austere place and Joy Division as the "characteristically alienated urban denizens."<sup>35</sup> Towards the end of the performance the camera pulls back so that the entire band fills the frame. In that moment a superimposed suburban landscape grows more prominent,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Benjamin Fraser and Abby Fuoto, "Manchester, 1976: Documenting the Urban Nature of Joy Division's Musical Production," *Punk & Post-Punk* 1.2 (2012): 147.

replacing the Granada studio as the backdrop to the performance. Shifting from the bleak highways and concrete buildings featured earlier to graphics of tree-lined streets, the images progress from scenes of urban alienation to suburbia as the song closes.

The staging in the TV studio also played a significant role in shaping the band's presentation. Each member was placed on a separate cylindrical podium, with Curtis's staggered towards the front. In this way, their actions were isolated from each other, placing greater focus on individual performances. This became especially effective every time the camera shifted to Curtis performing a mechanical dance. Swinging his arms in a random, jerking manner, Curtis's dancing has been a major factor in his perceived authenticity, based on romantic notions of the "tortured artist." There is something quite unsettling about Curtis's movements during this performance—he does not appear to be dancing for enjoyment, but in an involuntary manner, as if being jolted. During the final shots of the performance there is a moment when the camera pulls in and Curtis' body is superimposed against the backdrop of Bernard Sumner's guitar. The effect is a small moving graphic of Curtis, his face not visible against Sumner's shirt, dancing atop the guitar. In this frame Curtis' body is made the primary focus, as he pumps and swings his arms in an erratic manner. While Curtis' onstage performance style will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter, it is important to acknowledge that Joy Division's first television performance exposed Curtis' captivating dancing to a wide viewing audience.

Wilson was able to present his vision of Joy Division on his *Granada Reports* segment, thereby actively helping to shape their public image. Wilson often prioritized

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visual aesthetics in his presentation of artists and their cultural products. This tendency to emphasize artistic distinction or experimentation would later characterize his label Factory Records. By featuring Joy Division on his program, Tony Wilson helped "legitimize these determinedly new and exciting sounds for an audience of TV viewers."<sup>36</sup> As one of the very few Joy Division live performance videos available to the general public, their performance of "Shadowplay" on *Granada Reports* would become one of the most enduring texts in shaping the band's popular memory.

## Local Label: Factory Records

Wilson founded the independent label Factory Records in 1978 with his partner Alan Eramus, with Peter Saville providing the label's distinctive visual aesthetic. After featuring Joy Division as headliners for their Factory nights at the Russell Club, the band joined the label in an often mythologized ceremony in which Wilson signed the contract in his own blood.<sup>37</sup> The dramatization of this event in the films *Control* (2007) and *24-Hour Party People* (2002) illustrate the notions of authenticity and commitment implicit in this act—that Wilson's belief in Joy Division was so strong that he would sacrifice his own body to sign them. From the outset Wilson "envisaged his company as providing an umbrella under which many artistic forces could collaborate in constructing the final product."<sup>38</sup> Indeed, many aspects of production were executed in-house, including art design by Peter Saville and record production by Martin Hannett. There was a deliberate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Brian Fauteux, "Television, Live Transmission: Control and the Televised Performance Scene," *Cinephile* 5.2 (Summer 2009):27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> John Robb, The North Will Rise Again: Manchester Music City 1976-1996 (Aurum 2009): 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Iain Ellis, Britwits: A History of British Rock Humor (Intellect: Chicago, 2012), 128.

choice to forego independent promotion of artists and their records during Factory's formative years. Wilson stressed, "We don't promote. No press officers," emphasizing that their music was not to be seen as a commodity, but a work of art.<sup>39</sup> The decision not to promote their artists in the traditional industry fashion greatly impacted how Joy Division was depicted in the media. While Factory allowed for a greater sense of artistic autonomy than other larger mainstream labels, they were still able to exert influence over Joy Division's final products.

Wilson extended his "slightly anarchistic" tactics to the operation of his new company, giving bands complete ownership of their music, waiving exclusivity clauses and splitting profits fifty-fifty with artists.<sup>40</sup> Factory adopted many themes of independent culture associated with indie labels at this time: an interest in local music, disregard for mainstream popularity, an emphasis on artistic "integrity" and a rejection of large corporate structures.<sup>41</sup> These independent, D.I.Y values developed at Factory Records contributed portrayals of Joy Division as anti-consumerist and authentic. In what Wilson called "Factory's continual denial of profit" he was able to define his company against the perceived "glitz, push and bullshit of a London record company."<sup>42</sup> Opposition to the "conventional Other" was essential to Factory's construction of authenticity, just as the "assertion of difference from those caricatured as 'the suits' is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> John Harris, *Britpop! Cool Britannia and the Spectacular Demise of English Rock* (Da Capo Press: London, 2004), 8-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> John Harris, "It Seemed Correctly Anarchist Not to Want to be Rich" in *The Last Party: Britpop, Blair and the Demise of English Rock* (Fourth Estate: New York, 2003), 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Wendy Fonarow, *Empire of Dirt: The Aesthetics and Rituals of British Indie Music* (Wesleyan University Press: Middletown, 2006), 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Mick Middles, *Factory: The Story of the Record Label* (Virgin Books: London, 2011).

one way in which artist and repertoire staff assert their identity."<sup>43</sup> This framework of authenticity extended to Joy Division, whose decision to sign with a local independent label contributed to their larger public image. Joy Division had several early offers from London labels, including RCA, but ultimately decided to remain in Manchester.<sup>44</sup> As a band often distinguished as "true artists," aligning with a label who prioritized aesthetics over profit strengthened their claim to artistic credibility.

Examining the romantic ideology surrounding independent record labels in Britain during the 1980s, Keith Negus argues that this romanticization by "a student-based subcultural group" lead to "the construction of an audience whose musical taste had been informed by making this direct connection between the value of the music and the record label releasing it."<sup>45</sup> This heightened consciousness of label identity formed during a time when the few major music companies (EMI Music, Polygram, Sony Music Entertainment, Warner Music International and the BMG Music Group) solidified their monopoly of the UK music industry.<sup>46</sup> Factory Records stood out as an independent label with a political edge and a pronounced Northern identity, constantly striving to prove their difference from the London majors. Joy Division's association with these ideals inevitably affected their public reception, shaping their image in opposition to the perceived commerciality and inauthenticity of the mainstream.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Keith Negus, *Music Genres and Corporate Culture* (Routledge: London, 1999), 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Chris Ott, Joy Division's Unknown Pleasures (Continuum: New York, 2010), 31-32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Keith Negus, *Producing Pop: Culture and Conflict in the Popular Music Industry* (Edward Arnold: London, 1992), 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Ibid:1.

Wilson was heavily influenced by Situationist thinking and adopted a creative impresario identity in line with that of Malcolm McLaren. John McCready evaluates the various Situationist references at Factory, citing Joy Division as the "deepest, most original and least nakedly reverential reference to the Situationist legacy and its obsessions with psychogeography and the derive ideas concerned with the emotional impact of city spaces on the individual."<sup>47</sup> However, as Leonard Nevarez notes, this interpretation does not consider if members of Joy Division were themselves involved or interested in Situationism at the time. Indeed, it was Wilson's vocal advocating for Situationist ideas that framed this presentation of Joy Division. As it has been noted, the meanings formulated by audiences involve complex processes of interpretation based not only on the music, but the interaction of many paratextual elements.

While Tony Wilson may have been a polarizing public figure, there is no discounting his role in exposing punk and postpunk artists to large viewing audiences. Throughout his life Tony Wilson sought to direct and expand the reach of Manchester's subcultural underground in the 1970s. Wilson was able to elevate his position in the punk and postpunk scenes through his work as a cultural intermediary on the television programs *So It Goes* and *Granada Reports.* Leveraging his powerful position as a television presenter, Wilson was able to promote Joy Division on-air, thereby increasing their perceived importance. For audiences, Joy Division's highly stylized television debut on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> John McCready, "On the Passage of a Few Persons Through a Rather Brief Period of Time," *Dazed and Confused* (January 2002): 96-97; Leonard Nevarez, "How Joy Division Came to Sound Like Manchester: Myth and Ways of Listening in the Neoliberal City," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 25.1 (March 2013): 62.

*Granada Reports* provided many viewers with their first glimpse of the band. Presented by Wilson as "the most interesting new sound", the band could be authenticated in the eyes of the audience. After Wilson signed Joy Division to Factory Records, his emphasis on artistic integrity and opposition to the perceived corporate corruption of major London labels helped support the band's claims to authenticity. From his music television programs to Factory Records Tony Wilson was able to use his position as a cultural authority in Manchester to help construct and disseminate Joy Division's public image.

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#### **Chapter 3: Joy Division in Photographs**

In January 1979, rock photographer Kevin Cummins photographed Joy Division in the streets of the inner city neighbourhood of Hulme, Manchester. What resulted was one of Joy Division's most iconic and enduring photos. Featuring distant silhouettes of the band standing on the Epping Walk Bridge, the photo's stark black and white aesthetic contributed to the bleakness of Joy Division's image (figure 11). There was an austerity to Joy Division's style that extended to all components of their aesthetic — from album sleeves, fashion and press photos, Joy Division embodied a minimalist palette. Simon Reynolds refers to the band's ethos as a "religion of the void."<sup>1</sup> The Epping Walking Bridge photo exemplifies this embrace of the void with the overwhelming use of white space and wide framing. Standing at the peak of the bridge, the band appears to be fading into the white void. Like a bridge to nowhere, they stand on the edge of the abyss with nothing on the horizon. The barren Hulme council estate provides the backdrop for this scene, evoking sentiments of urban alienation that frequently influenced Joy Division's artistic disposition. As a press photo, it did not fit the typical approach of a portrait photo. Without the accompanying text, there would have been no way for audiences to discern who the figures on the bridge were. Originally featured in a 1979 New Musical Express article spotlighting local scenes in the North, Cummins's photo was, for many readers, their first glimpse at Joy Division.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Simon Reynolds, "Interview With the Author" (unpublished, 2009); Mark Fitzgerald and John O'Flynn, *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond* (Routledge: New York, 2014), 187.

Joy Division's public image as a dark and brooding band was strengthened by such photos, which tended to frame the band as cold and severe. Furthermore, these visual artefacts have become crucial elements in how Joy Division is remembered in popular culture. Due to the brevity of Joy Division's career, very few interviews or live performance videos exist of the band. From the time Unknown Pleasures was released in 1978, to the day Ian Curtis committed suicide, only thirteen months passed. Over this period, the band was slowly gaining traction in the burgeoning post-punk underground but overall remained "local and little."<sup>2</sup> Aside from a few rock critic features, they did not generate significant press attention outside of Europe. This silence intensified the mystery around the band, while also giving their visual identity relatively greater significance. For those of us who never had the chance to see Joy Division first-hand, we can only approach them in "a profoundly mediated way, through the writings of witnesses to [their] lives and performance."<sup>3</sup> Photographs of Joy Division have become instrumental in how the band is remembered, offering media through which to engage with the past. In the wake of Curtis' death, they became a means of immortalizing the youth and mystique of the singer. Via their 'candid' style, the most widely circulated Joy Division photos promise access to an authentic moment in the band's history. Viewed as "a magical correspondence between past and present," photographs of Joy Division seek to recall and frame specific moments in the band's history.<sup>4</sup> Photographs of Joy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Jude Rogers, "The Right Way to Remember Joy Division," *Quietus* (July 9, 2009): Online.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ruben Valdes Miyares, "When Performance Lost Control: Making Rock History out of Ian Curtis and Joy Division," *Liminalities: A Journal of Performance Studies* 9.4 (November 2013): 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Elaine P. Miller, *Head Cases: Julia Kristeva on Philosophy and Art in Depressed* Times (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014): 74.

Division invite us to visually experience performances, places and a temporal context that would otherwise elude us. However, as it will be argued, these "authentic" representations of the past were highly mediated portrayals created by cultural intermediaries such as photographers Kevin Cummins and Anton Corbjin. Roland Barthes argues that the photograph has become "a new form of hallucination: false on the level of perception, true on the level of time: a temporal hallucination, so to speak, a modest shared hallucination: a mad image, chafed by reality."<sup>5</sup> It is this tension between reality and the construction of the image by the photographer that complicates the perception of Joy Division's "authentic" visual representation in popular press photos



**Figure 11:** Joy Division on the Epping Walk Bridge, Hulme, Manchester (January 6, 1979). Photo by Kevin Cummins.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* trans.Richard Howard (Hill and Wang: New York, 1981), 115.

The "aura" of Joy Division's photographs is created in their relationship with the band's larger matrix of cultural signs and representations. These images collaborate with other elements of Joy Division's aesthetic, as well as their dark history, to evoke deeper meanings from the audience. As theorist Roland Barthes explains, the photograph is a text that "is not only perceived, received, it is read.<sup>6</sup>" The viewer's interpretation of the photograph as a cultural text depends on the surrounding context and the "different kinds of knowledge invested in the image." The paradox, as Barthes explains, is that photographs are often perceived as the most realistic or 'objective' means of representing an object. However, the fact that photographs of Joy Division can be interpreted as cultural texts possessing messages and visual codes necessarily undermines their position as "natural" copies of reality. The stylization of these photographs by cultural intermediaries, such as photographers, and their placement within the cultural field inform their reception. Barthes argues that the spectator tends to reflect on the object they are viewing and their own emotions, rather than the emotions or intentions of the "operator." Although Barthes does not examine the operator's intentions in great detail, he acknowledges that the ways in which "he looks, limits, frames and perspectivizes" is essential to the formation of a captivating image.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, viewing photographs is a "constructive" practice whereby visual signifiers and symbols work within the broader social, cultural and historical context to give the photo meaning.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Roland Barthes, Image Music Text. Trans. Stephen Heath (Fontana Press: London, 1977), 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* trans. Richard Howard (Hill and Wang: New York, 1981), 9-10.

Barthes' notion of *studium* is particularly useful when examining the complex meanings surrounding Joy Division press photos. Studium is the element of a photograph that is accessible and directly communicated to the observer. The studium places the photo in a specific context (cultural, historical, geographical etc.) by providing recognizable signifiers. As Barthes explains, recognizing various signifiers in a photograph mobilizes our interest.<sup>8</sup> Barthes also explores the idea of *punctum*, a certain detail or lure that triggers emotion in the spectator. While a photo's studium is contextual, the *punctum* is a detail that is given meaning on a personal level. It is the *punctum* that provides the photo with "a power of expansion" sparking further reflection and a lasting sense of significance.<sup>9</sup> Punctum, as Barthes explains, "is what I add to the photograph and what is nonetheless already there."<sup>10</sup> It is an element whose "mere presence changes [our] reading [and is] marked in [our] eyes with a higher value."11 Barthes experiences strong moments of punctum when examining photos of his recently deceased mother. The expression on her face, her posture and fashion stir emotions born from private remembrance.<sup>12</sup> These small details would be inconsequential to the average spectator but, for Barthes, they "pierce" and "shock" by unlocking deeper emotions and memories. The black and white photos of Joy Division walking through the streets of Manchester or through an underpass may be deemed banal by certain observers; however, for fans of the band, they are given greater

<sup>10</sup> Ibid:55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Barthes (1981), 26-28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid:45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ibid:42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid:64-67.

significance through personal attachment to Joy Division and their music. These unexpected moments of *punctum* may be the snow on the Manchester streets or the looming industrial track lighting in Corbjin's tunnel picture (figure 6). They are details that, once reflected upon, are given greater significance by the spectator through their knowledge of, and attachment to, Joy Division.

The lure of Joy Division photos must then be understood as an amalgam of the band's aural, visual and historical image. This is especially salutary for audiences who discovered Joy Division after May 1980—new audiences have knowledge of Curtis's death as soon as they interact with these cultural artefacts. It is within this complex system of intertextual exchange that photos highlighting Joy Division's fashion, their connection with Manchester or Curtis' onstage performance generate greater significance for the spectator.

# "Grey Overcoat Music": Music, Fashion & Photography

The British press began referring to Joy Division's sound as "grey overcoat music" in the late 1970s, demonstrating how a particular sonic style can be articulated with visual identity. Indeed, music journalists quickly embraced Joy Division as "serious" artists, a construct supported by their bleak black and white photos. A large factor in Joy Division's mystique was the lack of available imagery. As Noel McLaughlin explains, "in contrast to the contemporary context where images of bands are widely available, it was relatively difficult at the time to ascertain what Ian Curtis looked like."<sup>13</sup> This absence of publicity-style photos was a conscious decision by Factory Records, who avoided portrait sleeves and encouraged the band's silence in the press. The relationship between music and fashion has been well documented in scholastic work, emphasizing the symbolic power of clothing. Indeed, how a band looks can greatly influence our reception of their music and our evaluation of their "authenticity."<sup>14</sup> A band's "uniform" can represent visual rebellion, uniqueness/distinction, subcultural codes or temporal fads. Further, clothing can also express moods and themes reflective of their music. With such few photos of Joy Division in circulation in the late 1970s, the small number of published images by Kevin Cummins and Anton Corbjin have been heavily circulated since Curtis's death. For many fans, especially those in North America, these photos were their only glimpse of the outward appearance of the band. Therefore, they became crucial texts in the construction of meaning and the formation of a visual identity for Joy Division.

Pushing against the flamboyance of mainstream rock, as well as the cut-up, leatherclad style of punk in the late 1970s, Joy Division embraced a distinctly stark, perhaps even Mod-inspired style. Often wearing nondescript, pocketed dress shirts, casual slacks and collared overcoats, Joy Division dressed down in a calculated manner (figures 12, 13). In many ways their clothing style corresponded to the cover graphics of their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Noel McLaughlin, "Rattling Out of Control: A Comparison of U2 and Joy Division on Film," *Film, Fashion & Consumption* 1.1 (2012): 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On The Value of Popular Music* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1998), 219.

albums, their melancholic sound and performative style, each supporting and animating the signifying power of the other.<sup>15</sup> The relative formality of their attire and muted colours expressed a sense of seriousness that aligned with their sombre, existential lyrics.<sup>16</sup> Cummins's image of the band walking the streets of Manchester (figure 12) presents these young men in a decidedly "un-rock" manner. With their collared shirts and slacks, the band looks pedestrian, scholarly, even nerdy, emerging from the alleyway. The irony is that by embracing the "uncool" they differentiated themselves from mainstream rock stars and, consequently, become cool through negation. This aesthetic consistency reinforced Joy Division's public image as cerebral *artists*, opposing the perceived superficiality of overly stylized pop acts. The dichotomy of "serious" and "fun" music is apparent across all facets of Joy Division's public image and has translated to their public memory.

Joy Division's style was also decidedly anti-fashion in its rejection of recognizable brands. A photo taken backstage at the Peel Sessions in 1979 (figure 13) shows Joy Division's typical on-stage attire. Unlike punk's more in-your-face, disruptive fashion, Joy Division pushed against the mainstream by adopting a uniform of stark grey attire.<sup>17</sup> Noel McLaughlin explains that the simplicity and relative formality of Joy Division's button-down shirts and suit trousers "not only functioned as a visual index of the equally serious and minimal music, but also represented the proletarian 'everyman.'"<sup>18</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> McLaughlin (2012), 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Simon Reynolds, *Rip It Up and Start Again: Postpunk 1978-1984* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Noel McLaughlin, "Rattling Out of Control: A Comparison of U2 and Joy Division on Film," *Film, Fashion & Consumption* 1.1 (January 2012): 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ibid: 110.

This notion of the "everyman" is also important when examining Cummins's photo of the band walking the streets of Manchester (figure 12). Maintaining the perception that Joy Division is sporting their everyday clothes in these photos supports a particular framework of authenticity – the implication is that their suit trousers and overcoats are not a costume worn on stage, but the true appearance of the band. This notion of authenticity is complicated by the band's documented admiration for David Bowie and Roxy Music, both of whom wore similarly formal, nondescript fashion during this period. The cover of Roxy Music's live album, *Viva! Roxy Music* (1976), features Bryan Ferry in a muted green, cuffed dress shirt with a militant appearance. Joy Division's choice to wear plain and relatively formal attire could be viewed as striking when compared to the garishness of punk; however, the fashions of Bowie and Roxy Music during this period inevitably influenced the band's style.

The utilitarian style of Joy Division's plain gray and brown fashion also echoed the inter-war years in Europe.<sup>19</sup> The epaulets on their oversized coats suggests German militarism and, as McLaughlin observes, perhaps even fascist connotations.<sup>20</sup> As Susan Sontag argues in her influential essay, "Fascinating Fascism," there was a resurgence of WWII imagery in Britain in the 1970s, especially within youth subcultures.<sup>21</sup> Sontag explains that there was a general fantasy surrounding WWII fashion during this period, especially with SS uniforms. Ultimately, this imagery, representing the ultimate "cultural horror," was employed in a subversive manner by British punks to unsettle and shock

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Susan Sontag, "Fascinating Fascism," New York Review of Books (February 6, 1975): Online.

the dominant culture.<sup>22</sup> Joy Division received a lot of early criticism for their use of Nazi references and imagery. For instance, guitarist Bernard Sumner's design for the band's debut EP, *An Ideal For Living* (1978), featured a Hitler youth banging on a drum (figure 14). Sumner's style also appeared to echo elements of the Hitler youth aesthetic with his collared shirt, skinny tie and clean, kempt hairstyle. Joy Division's morbid use of Nazi references did not reflect the personal ideologies of the band, but rather reflected the cultural climate of English punk and the desire to provoke.

Photos of Joy Division in the streets of Manchester's inner city also helped shape their image as alienated urban dwellers. The stark backdrop of post-industrial Manchester in the dead of winter suggests the Romantic image of the *flaneur*, the poet born from the crowded streets of modern city life. Indeed, Joy Division's "brown shirt and trench coat image created a visual representation of industrial Britain in a state of colourless decay. Thus Joy Division were key to the aestheticism of this era."<sup>23</sup> There has been some scholarly work emphasizing the ways in which Joy Division's music reflects the anxieties and alienation of city life in modern society.<sup>24</sup> The cultural landscape of Manchester, England has endured a long history of fluctuation. From bleak, graywashed industrialism, to brief post-war prosperity, to widespread urban dilapidation,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Dick Hebdige, "Style as Homology and Signifying Practice," in *On Record: Rock, Pop & The Written Word* eds. Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin (Routledge: New York, 1990), 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Mitzi Waltz and James Martin, "The (Re)marketing of Disability in Pop: Ian Curtis and Joy Division." *Popular Music* 28.3 (2009):376.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Benjamin Fraser, "Manchester,1976: Documenting the Urban Nature of Joy Division's Musical Production," *Punk & Post-Punk* 1.2 (2012): 139-154; Leonard Nevarez, "How Joy Division Came to Sound Like Manchester: Myth and Ways of Living in the Neoliberal City," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 25.1 (March 2013): 56-76; Jon Savage, "The Things That Aren't There Anymore," *Critical Quarterly* 50.1-2 (2008): 1980-197; Simon Reynolds, *Rip It Up and Start Again: Postpunk 1978*-1984 (New York: Penguin Books, 2005).

the city has persevered through cycles of cultural decay and regeneration throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.<sup>25</sup> By the time Joy Division formed in the mid-1970s, Manchester was effectively in ruins. More than 90,000 homes had been demolished by Manchester Corporation between 1954 and 1976, with 71,000 council estates built in their place.<sup>26</sup> Widespread poverty and depopulation further contributed to the general malaise experienced by Mancunians in the 1970s. It is this image of Manchester as a grim post-industrial city that many scholars have argued informed Joy Division's "musical landscape of ruin, loneliness and alienation."<sup>27</sup> Together, these socio-historical contexts and powerful symbolic factors provide a lasting image of place and psyche surrounding Joy Division and their music. Representations (rather than "authentic" replications) of these conditions continue to inform the historical narrative that has endured for more than thirty years.

Photographs of Joy Division from the late 1970s and early 1980 reproduce these visual codes in the present. These images of the band activate a deeply mediated process of "historical imagination," as they operate within the narrative framework of Joy Division in pop music history.<sup>28</sup> The complex intertextual relationship between aural and visual artefacts helps us reconstruct the past in a dynamic yet mediated manner. Although they recall the past in different ways, "together, what they bring to popular

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Katie Milestone, "Urban Myths: Popular Culture, the City and Identity," *Sociology Compass* 2.4 (2008): 1166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Savage (2008), 187.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Fraser (2012), 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Michael Pickering and Emily Keighley, "Echoes and Reverberations: Photography and Phonography as Historical Forms," in *Reconstructing the Past: History in the Mass Media 1890-2005* (Routledge: New York, 2008), 162.

interpretations and understandings of the past may be just as, if not more significant than, how they operate on their own."<sup>29</sup> Through these visual cultural artefacts, Joy Division is able to maintain their sombre, reserved identity over time.



Figure 12: Joy Division in Manchester (January 6, 1979). Photo by Kevin Cummins.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Pickering and Keighley (2008), 153.



Figure 13: Joy Division, The Peel Sessions (1979). Photo by Harry Goodwin/Rex Features.



Figure 14: An Ideal For Living (1978). Designed by Bernard Sumner.

## Media Image: Kevin Cummins & Anton Corbijn

In January 1979, acclaimed rock photographer Kevin Cummins made his way to Manchester to photograph Joy Division for a NME cover story centred on "Nationwide Ethnic Credibility." Still relatively unknown at the time, this shoot would serve as Joy Division's first widely viewed visual representation. During this period New Musical Express had an estimated circulation of 200,000 to 270,000 and a total readership of up to four times that amount.<sup>30</sup> By the mid-1970s, prominent rock journalists Paul Morley and Jon Savage became the primary writers about Joy Division for publications like NME and Melody Maker. It was also around this time that rock journalism began focussing more on the extra-textual elements surrounding its culture.<sup>31</sup> Further, due to the fact that Joy Division was largely absent from the popular press, refusing to give interviews after some bad experiences early in their career, journalists relied even more on their visual presence to present the band's identity for readers. There was a clear attempt by rock journalists to capture the mood and atmosphere inspired by Joy Division by ascribing meaning to the style and symbols surrounding the band. It was Joy Division's ability to stimulate the imaginations of rock journalists that facilitated the widespread myth-making evident in magazines like NME and Melody Maker during this time. Ian Curtis' suicide at age 23 then served to validate this mythologizing in the eyes of the general public, thereby intensifying the media's narrative of the tortured artist.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Simon Reynolds (2005), 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ulf Lindberg, *Rock Criticism from the Beginning: Amusers, Bruisers, and Cool-Headed\_Cruisers* (Peter Lang Publishing: New York, 2005), 222.

At the time of Cummins's NME photo shoot in Manchester Joy Division's debut album, Unknown Pleasures, had not yet been released. Therefore, for readers who had not seen them perform live, these visual representations would have preceded their aural impressions of Joy Division. Cummins acknowledged that he was trying to capture a specific image of the band, one that expressed an attitude of seriousness and quiet contemplation. In a 2014 interview with The Telegraph Cummins explained, "I was careful with the shots—I'd never photograph Ian smiling, because that wasn't how we wanted him to look. It was media manipulation. We wanted them to look like very serious young men, visually intimidating."<sup>32</sup> This quote reminds us of the ways the frameworks of authenticity surrounding the band, rooted in notions of serious artistry, were profoundly mediated. The photo selected for the cover featured a trench coat-clad Ian Curtis drawing deeply on a cigarette in the cold Manchester winter (figure 15). According to Paul Morley, who wrote the three-page spread on Manchester's up-andcoming artists, NME's editor selected the photo of Curtis based purely on a visual perspective. Thus, the "pure, indelible stare of Ian Curtis slipped onto the cover of NME" along with Bob Last of Edinburgh's Fast Product.<sup>33</sup> The fact that Joy Division had two of Britain's most influential rock journalists championing their music during this period was essential to the construction and proliferation of their image as serious artists with a melancholic aesthetic. The strong emphasis on the band's visual identity, and of Curtis in particular, communicated this developing image in an immediate and profound way.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> James Lachno, "Kevin Cummins Q&A: 'I Saved Joy Division from being Bon Jovi", *The Telegraph* (June 7, 2014): Online.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Dave Haslam, "Smoker in a Trenchcoat— Ian Curtis," The Console (December 2007): Online.



**Figure 15**: Image of Ian Curtis featured on the cover of *New Musical Express* (January 13, 1979). Photo by Kevin Cummins.

Dutch photographer Anton Corbijn would become one of Joy Division's most famous mediators, photographing the band from 1978 to 1980 and directing the 2007 biographical film, *Control*. Adding to the band's fairly limited visual repertoire, Corbijn produced one of Joy Division's most iconic and frequently cited images in the tunnel at the Lancaster Gate station in November 1979. The photo features the black silhouettes of the men walking down the lighted tunnel with only Curtis's profile identifying the band (figure 16). Once again Joy Division's dark, "overcoat image" is represented in this

photograph, along with Curtis's portrayal as an outsider. Slightly out of step, Curtis provides the lure of the photograph, glancing knowingly back at the camera. There is also reference to Joy Division's proto-gothic leanings, with the shadowy figures of the band and Curtis's long black trench coat resembling vampire iconography. Curtis is presented as a dark, immortal figure descending to the underworld. There is also a threatening element to the post-industrial architecture of the tunnel. The composition of the photo, with the band positioned near the bottom and the looming underpass lighting filling the rest of the frame, presents the urban environment as dwarfing the human figures. The overwhelming blackness of the photo also contributes to its gothic interpretation, with the snake-like track lighting seemingly guiding the viewer down into the darkness. While the colourless photos of Joy Division enhance their romantic, gothic image, black and white photography was quite common in the 1970s, especially in press photography. Looking at these pictures today it is easy to attribute deeper meanings to these sombre shades; however, it may have simply been a practical, financial decision to shoot the band in black and white.

Reflecting on the lasting aura of the photograph, Paul Morley argued that the image "froze the group in time, but a time that was not necessarily 1979, or any particular known era—it was their own time, in a space between one reality and another, an otherworldly place their music seemed to slip and slither into and out of."<sup>34</sup> Corbijn's photograph has accompanied a multitude of Joy Division tribute journalism

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Paul Morley, Joy Division: Piece by Piece (Plexus Publishing: London, 2008), 351.

since 1979, including the June 1980 cover of *NME* which announced Curtis' death. This timelessness is not intrinsic in the photo, but ascribed by audiences and cultural authorities who give life to these mythologized interpretations. The black and white photos of Joy Division are thus drawn into "affective and emotional alliances with the performers and with the performers' other fans."<sup>35</sup> In Joy Division's case, these "emotional alliances" are focused around Ian Curtis' death and the dark lyrical content of the music.

Corbijn's photography is widely acclaimed for its seemingly ad hoc, verité style. The raw quality of his photographs conveys a sense of intimacy by promising access to the private worlds of the artists. The photographs of Corbijn and Cummins exude an aura of cultural authority in this way, as they are viewed as representations of the band in their "natural" context. Elaine Miller explores this notion of authenticity in photography, explaining how photographs signify "the singularity of the original [subject], its history and its authority."<sup>36</sup> Cultural intermediaries, such as press photographers, are able to isolate brief moments in history, framing and magnifying them in the process. It must be acknowledged that both Corbijn and Cummins were commissioned by *NME* to photograph Joy Division in 1979. As Barthes succinctly explains, "the press photograph is an object that has been worked on, chosen, composed, constructed, treated according to professional, aesthetic or ideological norms."<sup>37</sup> Paradoxically, the "documentary"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Simon Frith, *Popular Music: Music and Identity Volume 4* (Routledge: New York, 2004), 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Elaine Miller, *Head Cases: Julia Kristeva on Philosophy and Art in Depressed Times* (Columbia University Press: New York, 2014), 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (Fontana Press: London, 1977), 19.

style of Cummin's and Corbijn's photography is often interpreted as authentic (or unmediated) representations of Joy Division. Therefore, as these visual artefacts continue to be circulated in the public domain they take on their own mythology abetted by a kind of veracity.

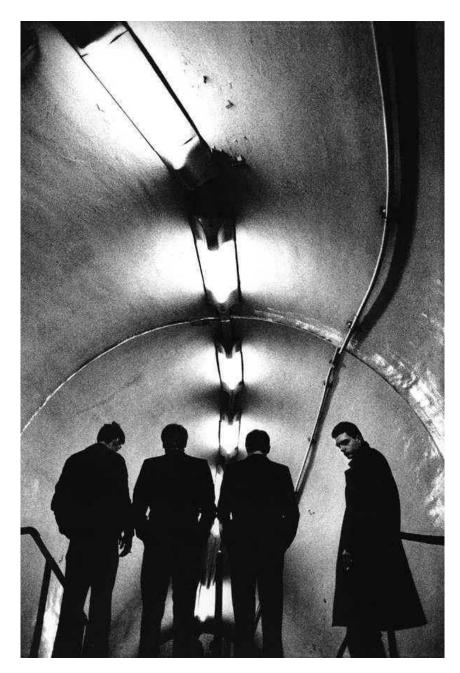


Figure 16: Joy Division in Lancaster Gate Station tunnel (November 1979). Photo by Anton Corbjin.

## Photographing Joy Division Live: The Body of Ian Curtis

When examining the popular press photography of Joy Division's live performances from 1978 to 1980, we find an overwhelming fixation on the physical body of Ian Curtis. Known for his manic onstage presence, photos of Curtis' contorted body and blank stare have been integral in preserving his image as a tortured artist (Figures 17, 18). Live reviews during this period often made reference to Curtis' dancing using tropes of otherworldliness or possession.<sup>38</sup> Jon Savage, for instance, wrote "Live, Curtis appears possessed by demons, dancing spastically and with lightning speed, unwinding and winding as the rigid metal music folds and unfolds over him," in his 1979 live review in Melody Maker.<sup>39</sup> According to such accounts, Curtis's wild, unsettling movements gave Joy Division's live performances an intensity that were perceived to visually corresponded to their sonic and lyrical aesthetic. Thus, many fans and critics viewed Curtis's body as a conduit for the music. Lyrically Curtis embodied the outsider, as a dark poet who "feels more than others do."<sup>40</sup> Within the generic context of postpunk and Joy Division's often unsettling subject matter, Curtis's unsettling dance was framed as authentic artistic expression. Weisethaunet and Lindberg refer to this definition of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Mick Middles, "A History of Joy Division," *The Face* (November 1980); Paul Rambali, "Joy Division: Take No Prisoners, Leave No Clues," *New Musical Express* (August 11, 1979); Chris Bohn, "Joy Division, A Certain Ratio, Orchestral Manoeuvres In The Dark, John Dowie: Factory Night, Acklam Hall, London," *Melody Maker* (May 26, 1979); Paul Morley, "Joy Division: University of London, London," *New Musical Express* (February 16, 1980); etc.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Jon Savage, "Joy Division: 'Unknown Pleasures'," *Melody Maker* (July 21, 1979).
 <sup>40</sup> Waltz and James (2009), 369.

authenticity as "Transcendence of the Everyday."<sup>41</sup> As they argue, transcendence was an especially important signifier of authenticity in the postpunk period. The emphasis on the "present" and music's ability to suspend external thoughts is judged by the physical response to rhythm, the materiality of the sound and the movement of the musician's body.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, Curtis's movements do not appear to be a pleasurable dance, but forced or compelled by the music.

Photographs of Curtis performing live replicate this sense of physical and emotional intensity, freezing Curtis in a sublime moment. Of course, lan's death and knowledge of his struggle with epilepsy gave these images even greater power over time. For fans who discovered Joy Division after Curtis's death, these photos greatly influence their interpretation of his public persona. As will be argued, photographs of Curtis performing live contributed to his image as a tortured outsider and reinforced notions of his authenticity related to bodily expression.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Hans Weisethaunet and Ulf Lindberg, "Authenticity Revisited: The Rock Critic and the Changing Real," *Popular Music and Society* 33.4 (October 2010), 476.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Weisethaunet and Lindberg, 476.



Figure 17: Futurama One Festival, Queen's Hall Leeds (Sept. 8, 1979). Photos by Kevin Cummins.



Figure 18: Rainbow Theatre, London (April 4, 1980). Photo by Chris Mills.

Ian Curtis was diagnosed with epilepsy in December 1978, after suffering a grand mal epileptic seizure in the band's van following a London performance. However, his signature convulsive style of dance can be traced back to Joy Division's inception, prior to his diagnosis. As his widow, Deborah Curtis, points out, his onstage dancing became "a distressing parody of his off-stage seizures... [his] arms would flail around, winding an invisible bobbin' while his legs jerked in an involuntary spasm."<sup>43</sup> This merger of performance and real-life illness transformed Curtis's body into a site for defining his authenticity. Therefore, Curtis' movements tend to be viewed as "intuitive acts of expression," as a pure and instantaneous response to the music.<sup>44</sup> By removing his dance from the wider context of popular music history, photographs of Curtis are framed as moments of artistic singularity. For instance, they do not acknowledge that Curtis was hugely influenced by Iggy Pop, who was also known for his flailing onstage dancing (Pop's The Idiot was actually found on Curtis' turntable following his suicide in May 1980).<sup>45</sup> Additionally, Joy Division came out of Manchester's underground punk scene, which emphasized the spectacle of performance. Curtis' performance was an amalgamation of cultural, personal, social and historical influences, rather than an unmediated manifestation.<sup>46</sup> The portrayal of Curtis' wild dance as an involuntary response to the music helped to perpetuate the band's overall mystique.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Deborah Curtis, *Touching From a Distance: Ian Curtis and Joy Division* (Faber & Faber: London, 1995),
74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Jason Toynbee, *Making Popular Music: Musicians, Creativity and Institutions* (Bloomsbury: London, 2000), 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Ibid, 35-37, 46.

Peggy Phelan argues that live performance can never truly be reproduced.

Therefore, any attempts to translate performance via writing or photography, for instance, are subject to various interpretive lenses. Phelan explains, "The document of a performance then is only to spur memory, an encouragement of memory to become present."<sup>47</sup> Those absent from the performance then must rely on the memories of others and their subjective interpretations of the event. The absence of the subject, lan Curtis, means that Joy Division fans are only able to view the singer through selective artefacts of the past.<sup>48</sup> As a result, the photographs of lan Curtis performing live preserve a very selective and highly mediated image of the artist.

In his seminal work, *Camera Lucida*, Barthes reflects on photos of his deceased mother explaining that "in these photographs of my mother there was always a place set apart, reserved and preserved."<sup>49</sup> For Barthes, photographs provide the opportunity for resurrection, yet they are "without future."<sup>50</sup> He explains that this is their source of melancholy, as the photograph captures a subject in a moment that truly existed but can never be revisited. In these press photos Ian Curtis is preserved in a specific context, notably in a fixed state of youth. There is a noted tendency to privilege or sacralize youth in rock history.<sup>51</sup> Young death in rock adds to "the power of their mystique, for they remain forever the gods of youth and we are spared having to see them grow

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Peggy Phelan, Unmarked: The Politics of Performance (Routledge, London, 1993), 146.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> J. Ruben Valdes Miyares, "When Performance Lost Control: Making Rock History out of Ian Curtis and Joy Division," *Liminalities: A Journal of Performance Studies* 9.4 (November 2013): 5, 8.
 <sup>49</sup> Barthes (1981), 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ibid, 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Christopher Partridge, *Mortality and Music: Popular Music and the Awareness of Death* (Bloomsbury Academic: New York, 2015), 50.

old."<sup>52</sup> Photographs of Curtis, therefore, inspire a sense of melancholy, of yearning for the lost subject, yet preserve the singer in a perpetual state of youthful authenticity.

Unlike Iggy Pop, who tended to engage with and feed off his audience's, lan's dance was described as a deeply solitary act. References to Curtis' "blank stare" and trance-like states while on stage evoke yet another definition of authenticity—one that emphasizes the spirituality of music and losing oneself in performance. Curtis's type of dance was not the aggressive body slamming or pogo dancing of punk. Retreating into himself, the alienation expressed through Curtis's lyrics is manifested on stage. The distinction between Curtis's public performance and private introspection are blurred within this framework, seemingly minimizing the perception of mediation. As Simon Frith explains, dancing is traditionally a social interaction based in the public sphere.<sup>53</sup> Therefore, Curtis's disconnection with the audience and apparent retreat into a personal space represents something different than fun social dancing. Separated from the masses, Curtis's dance is given a sense of authority and authorship. Frith also argues against the dichotomy of mental/physical responses to music, which associates the mind with "seriousness" and the body with "fun."<sup>54</sup> Instead, he looks to the idea of "feeling the music," which suggests both mental and physical reactions. The "seriousness" that is attributed to Curtis' dance comes from this perception of "getting lost in the music," of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Ibid:141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On The Value of Popular Music* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1998), 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Ibid, 123.

allowing the physical and mental reactions to converge in a seemingly unfiltered, unstaged way.

There is an expectation in rock music that the performer will "give it their all" physically. The significance of sacrificing your body for art is particularly pertinent in Curtis's case, whose worsening epilepsy was allegedly exacerbated by Joy Division's live performances.<sup>55</sup> In addition to being tied to Curtis' personal history, the authenticity of his performance was also rooted in postpunk generic conventions. Movements which may appear ridiculous or contrived in another context are deemed "intense" and "haunting" within the broader aesthetic of Joy Division. Likewise, it is within this context that deeper meaning is ascribed to Curtis' dance—his onstage actions become part of Joy Division's dark mythology. Photographs of Curtis' distorted body are held up as evidence of the band's 'authentic' tortured leader and his connection to the music.

Finally, photographs of Ian Curtis performing live also highlight Gothic themes of isolation, otherworldliness and the "spectacle of misery."<sup>56</sup> The portrayal of Curtis as a tortured outsider revolved around two popular descriptors of his dance in music press: insanity and possession. Fans and critics often compared Curtis' glossy stare and "spastic" onstage movements to the visual manifestation of the torment inherent in Joy Division's music.<sup>57</sup> In this portrayal, Curtis is given a shamanistic authority as a leader

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Simon Reynolds, *Rip It Up and Start Again: Postpunk 1978-1984* (Faber & Faber: London, 2005), 116-17.
 <sup>56</sup> Atte Oksanen, "Hollow Spaces of Psyche: Gothic Trance-Formation From Joy Division to Diary of Dreams," in *Nostalgia or Perversion? Gothic Rewriting From the Eighteenth Century Until the Present* Day ed. Isabella Van Elferen (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle, 2007), 133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Michael Bibby "Atrocity Exhibitions: Joy Division, Factory Records and Goth," in *Goth: Undead Subculture* ed. Lauren M.E Goodlad and Michael Bibby (Duke University: Durham, 2007), 238.

with the ability to access something beyond the music. Music journalist Chris Bohn captures this persona of the frenzied rebel, referring to Curtis as "the demented Brando figure [...] spiritually leading the new dance."<sup>58</sup> Such portrayals feed the mythologized view of Curtis as a conduit, communicating from a higher, otherworldly place. Unlike the thrashing of punk, Curtis's dance was viewed as a cerebral reaction to the music. With Curtis described as "losing his mind" or "a man possessed" on stage, there was the implication of difference and strangeness. Dance became a device for constructing lan as an 'outsider,' as someone "whose difference supposedly allows him to stand apart from typical individuals and create unique art."<sup>59</sup> Photographs of Curtis's twisting body and glossy stare fix the singer in these 'majestic moments,' directing the interpretations of new audiences.

## Conclusions

Evaluating photographs of Joy Division highlights the importance of visual communication in popular music. For a band whose public memory is wrapped up in dark narratives of death, depression and claims to artistic seriousness, photographs that reflect this bleak image are integral in preserving and perpetuating their mythology. As viewers, we draw from a 'stock of generic stereotypes' (colour, composition, expressions, gestures etc.) to inform our impression of the photographs; however, it is our "insider knowledge" of the band and their place in popular music history that can

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Chris Bohn, "Joy Division: University of London Union," *Melody Maker* (February 16, 1980).
 <sup>59</sup> Waltz and James (2009), 373.

give them greater significance.<sup>60</sup> These photographs do not exist in isolation— they enter the larger matrix of cultural signs and representations surrounding Joy Division. In this way, they became especially crucial for accessing the past and recalling this system of visual codes and signifiers. As cultural intermediaries, rock photographers like Kevin Cummins and Anton Corbijn provide audiences with stylized visual artefacts of Joy Division that continue to inform how the band is remembered today.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text*. Trans. Stephen Heath (Fontana Press: London, 1977), 19.

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#### Conclusions

Reflecting on the thirtieth anniversary of Unknown Pleasures, journalist Jude Rogers asked, "What has become of the dark power of Joy Division? Once upon a time, it was all in that name. Joy. Division. These were the two most terrifying words in the English language."<sup>1</sup> Today, Rogers argues, the name has become a "short-hand for edginess," a brand for selling clothing and novelty consumer products. Rogers concludes that Joy Division now "means nothing more to many people than the machination of smoke and mirrors." What Rogers does not acknowledge, however, is that Joy Division's "dark power" has always been (in some manner) the product of a mediated process. This is not to diminish the brilliance of Joy Division's music or deny the powerful mythology surrounding the band. Rather, it must be recognized that the dark appeal of Joy Division was not the direct or unfiltered manifestation of the four band members exclusively. Curtis' lyrical talent and brooding charisma were truly breathtaking; however, the tendency to romanticize his personal history and young death often frames how elements of the band's identity are interpreted. The heavy and melancholic nature of Joy Division's music was authenticated by Curtis' death, seemingly proving that the singer truly experienced the dark emotions he sang about. In many ways, Curtis' death overshadowed the broader network of cultural intermediaries who helped to shape Joy Division's dark image. While this thesis focused on the contributions of Peter Saville, Tony Wilson, Kevin Cummins and Anton Corbijn in helping to form the band's public

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jude Rogers, "The Right Way to Remember Joy Division," *The Quietus* (July 2009): Online.

image, there are other individuals who played a central role in this process. For instance, the brilliant producer of *Unknown Pleasures* and *Closer*, Martin Hannett, played an essential part in the creation of Joy Division's atmospheric, sparse sound.<sup>2</sup> Joy Division's manager, Rob Gretton, music journalists Paul Morley, Jon Savage and Mick Middles could have served as examples of the mediation behind the perception of their "dark power." Furthermore, the audience plays an essential role in the construction of this image through the interpretation and circulation of meanings.

Pierre Bourdieu explains that to view art as a process of "autonomous creation" is to take a reductionist view. This stance privileges the individual over the larger system of social and cultural exchanges that inform the production and reception of the work.<sup>3</sup> Through these complex exchanges, influences and relationships, meanings are created and circulated. The construction of these meanings is not unfiltered or immediate. They are formed by the intertextual exchange between all elements of Joy Division's public image—their album art, their indie status at Factory Records, their television appearances and black and white photographs merge with the band's music to support the image of Joy Division as a melancholic and serious band. As Howard Becker argues, "a coherent and defensible aesthetic helps to stabilize values [in art]."<sup>4</sup> The perception of Joy Division as a dark and serious band was born from this coherence across all facets of their public image. However, there is a tendency to view Joy Division as the sole

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Simon Reynolds, *Rip It Up and Start Again: Postpunk 1978-1984* (Penguin Books: London, 2005), 112-14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Randal Johnson (Columbia University Press: New York, 1993), 32-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Howard Becker, Art Worlds (University of California Press, 1982), 134.

authors of this image. Through my analysis Michel Foucault's notion of the 'author function' has been essential for understanding the ways in which the perception of the author figure is constructed and authenticated through popular discourse. Since the circulation of Saville's art inevitably centred on Joy Division the designs became part of the band's public identity, thereby linking the designs primarily with Joy Division rather than with Saville. As Foucault explained, the author's text takes on a life of its own once it enters the public discourse. It becomes a malleable product susceptible to various interpretations by the audience. Saville's album sleeves became important texts in Joy Division's identity, contributing a bleak, minimalist aesthetic that supported their austere public image. Furthermore, as a student of graphic design Saville provided artistic distinction and credibility to the covers, borrowing more from Bauhaus and Modernist design practices than from traditional rock sleeves.

Throughout the first chapter it was emphasized that even cultural intermediaries and collaborators surrounding Joy Division were themselves influenced by a multitude of social, cultural, political, personal and historical factors. Using Jason Toynbee's idea of 'social authorship,' I highlighted the ways in which Peter Saville was influenced by the likes of Roxy Music, German typographer Jan Tschichold, fellow Manchester Polytechnic student Malcolm Garrett and the culture of urban Manchester in the late 1970s. The intention of this thesis was to peel back the layers of creative production to reveal the complex network of exchanges and mediation that shape meanings in popular music. This process extends to those intermediaries that have been explored. Toynbee explains that the work of particular cultural agents is the result of their respective "field of possibles." The "field of possibles" arises from the intersection of the agent's habitus (personal disposition and upbringing) and the available field of works within their domain (all texts that have come before them).<sup>5</sup> Therefore, no creative work can be wholly revolutionary or unmediated. Curtis, for instance, drew heavily from literature, including references to J.G Ballard ("Atrocity Exhibition"), Franz Kafka ("Colony") and Nikolai Gogol ("Dead Souls") and others in his lyrics.<sup>6</sup> Rather than portraying Curtis as a "conduit," he becomes "a selector and combiner of voices" he was exposed to while growing up in Manchester in the 1960s and 70s.<sup>7</sup> Both Curtis and Saville demonstrate the complex systems of exchange and influence behind creative works, thereby challenging the notion of single authorship.

As a powerful cultural intermediary in Manchester's new wave, Tony Wilson used his position as a television host to promote and circulate Joy Division's music. Joy Division's television debut on *Granada Reports*' "What's On" provided many Northerners with their first glimpse of the band. Furthermore, the stylized presentation of their performance stressed themes of urban alienation and austerity through superimposed graphics of traffic and bleak cityscapes. Wilson was able to provide countless new wave bands with the opportunity to reach broader audiences through his curated television programs. At Factory Records Wilson consistently stressed the label's anti-capitalist ideology and emphasis on artistic integrity. Factory's indie status and strong Manchester

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Jason Toynbee, *Making Popular Music: Musicians, Creativity and Institutions* (Oxford University Press: New York, 2000), 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Jenny Stevens, "Ian Curtis: 'His Lyrics Were So Dark," *The Guardian* (October 12, 2014): Online.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Toynbee (2000), 43.

identity extended to Joy Division's public image, placing them in opposition to the perceived commercialism and inauthenticity of mainstream London labels. As a television presenter and then label head, Tony Wilson framed how Joy Division was presented to a wide audience, contributing to their image as a serious, artistic band.

Examining Joy Division's mystique, Simon Reynolds posited that "crucial to Joy Division's allure is Mr. Curtis's bleak glamour. There were a relatively small number of photographs taken of him (many by Anton Corbijn, the director of *Control*), keeping his charisma – the faraway eyes, the Eastern bloc image of long gray raincoat and short hair – ageless in black and white."<sup>8</sup> The black and white photography of Kevin Cummins and Anton Corbijn do indeed preserve the band in a specific moment in time, presenting the band in a context rich with cultural and historical meanings. However, the emphasis on Curtis's "bleak glamour" does not adequately acknowledge the ways in which Cummins, Corbijn and other photographers sought to present Curtis in a particular manner. Together, Cummins and Corbijn produced some of the most iconic images of the band, which continue to accompany Joy Division journalism today. As cultural intermediaries, Cummins and Corbijn often framed the band in bleak urban settings helping to shape Joy Division's austere public image.

As cultural intermediaries and collaborators Saville, Wilson, Cummins and Corbijn helped to shape the image of Joy Division as a dark and serious rock band. The unique contributions of these cultural agents reveals the complicated nature of authorship and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Simon Reynolds, "Joy Division: Music to Brood by, Desolate and Stark," *New York Times* (October 7, 2007): Online.

the tendency to foreground and privilege the individual in rock. The "dark power" of Joy Division is not all in the name, as Rogers claimed. These cultural intermediaries demonstrate the complex process behind the construction of value and meaningmaking in popular music.

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