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"But We Remember When We Were Young"

Joy Division and New Orders of Nostalgia

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Abstract: Academics are increasingly devoting attention to understanding, categorising and appraising the concept of nostalgia. However, "there is surprisingly little attempt to discuss the modes of representation involved in the communication of nostalgia," particularly in relation to the mass media (Pickering and Keightley, 2006: 930). This paper addresses this deficit by examining the memory work conducted on Manchester post-punk band Joy Division. Since the mid-2000s there has been a surge of material related to the band, including movies, documentaries, autobiographies and other books, as well as ambitious marketing campaigns associated with re-released songs. This paper assesses the extent to which this material can be considered nostalgic

and the orders of nostalgia it conveys. We suggest that much of the material produced by "witnesses" present in the 1970s can be understood as contestation over authority to speak, rather than reflecting a nostalgic "mood". Some of the new material exhibits a nostalgic "mode" where styles from the past are drawn on to increase the band's audience. Collectively, these efforts form the basis for the "ersatz nostalgia" of those could not witness Joy Division. Exploring the relationship between nostalgia and authoritative witnesses provides greater insight into how popular culture (re)creates its own past.

Key words: *memory – nostalgia – mass media – marketing – time-space – distantiation – amnesiac society.*

Résumé : Les universitaires accordent une attention croissante à la compréhension, la catégorisation et l'évaluation du concept de nostalgie. Cependant, « de manière surprenante, on cherche peu à discuter la manière dont est entendue la notion de nostalgie lorsqu'on l'utilise pour communiquer », particulièrement dans le contexte des mass médias. Cet article tente de combler ce déficit en examinant le travail sur la mémoire mené à partir de la carrière du groupe post-punk de Manchester, Joy Division. Depuis le milieu des années 2000, on a assisté à une importante production de discours et de contenus sur le groupe, parmi lesquels on peut compter la sortie de films, la réalisation de documentaires, la publication d'autobiographies et d'autres livres, ainsi que des campagnes de marketing ambitieuses dédiées à la réédition de chansons. Cet article examine à quel point nous pouvons considérer cette production comme nostalgique, ainsi que les niveaux de nostalgie auxquels elle fait

référence. Plutôt que le reflet d'un « caractère » nostalgique, nous suggérons que les contenus produits par les « témoins » présents dans les années 1970 peuvent être interprétés comme des éléments de contestation concernant la légitimité à s'exprimer sur le sujet, plutôt qu'un état d'esprit nostalgique. Quelques contenus produits récemment et qui mettent en avant un « ton » où des stylisations s'inspirant du passé sont utilisés pour accroître l'audience du groupe. Ensemble, ces efforts construisent la base d'une « nostalgie ersatz » de ceux qui n'ont pas été des témoins directs de Joy Division à l'époque où le groupe existait. En étudiant la relation qui existe entre la nostalgie et les témoins légitimes, cet article tend à offrir une plus grande compréhension de comment la culture populaire crée et recrée son propre passé.

Mots-clés : *mémoire – nostalgie – médias – marketing – distanciation – espace-temps – société amnésique.*

Consecrating Joy Division —Decades

While the Manchester band Joy Division existed for only four years, they have been consecrated as one of the classic UK independent/alternative bands, and the output of cultural items associated with the band has steadily increased since the mid-2000s. Formed in 1977, Joy Division were influenced by the prevailing British punk scene, but quickly developed a slower, darker, atmospheric sound. Working with independent label Factory Records, they produced one EP, two albums and a handful

of singles, including the iconic “Love Will Tear Us Apart”, before their lead singer Ian Curtis committed suicide in May 1980. The rest of the band continued as New Order and achieved global prominence with a more dance-based sound.

Over the years, Joy Division continued to accrue cultural capital within alternative music, mainly due to the band's perceived “authenticity”, derived from membership of the late-1970s Manchester scene that has been interpreted as an important moment in rock history (see Albiez, 2006). More importantly, Curtis's suicide “put the stamp of authenticity on Joy Division's dour *ouweure*” (Hannaham, 1999: 85), enhancing the band's rep-

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utation within the romantic rock and roll story. The band also possessed an aura of mystery generated by the surviving members' reluctance to talk about their past; Joy Division conducted few interviews and New Order maintained this low-profile media presence for many years.

A handful of books on Joy Division and New Order published in the mid-1980s were written by outsiders with minimal input from band members. As a result, these texts concentrated on business dealings, set lists, tour schedules and studio recording details. The private lives of the band members and Curtis's death, received little comment. For example, Johnson (1986: 61) simply stated that "...on the eve of their tour, and due to an unusual combination of personal circumstances *best left unexplored*, Ian Curtis committed suicide at his home in Macclesfield" (emphasis added). Similarly, Edge (1988: 52) devoted only one paragraph to Curtis's "acute depression, brought on by progressively worsening epilepsy and the disintegration of his marriage". West's (1984: 30) account provided even less detail. Along with iconic black and white photographs and the poetic and deeply reverential journalistic coverage by followers such as Morley (2008), this constituted the only material available to audiences in constructing an image of Joy Division, giving plenty of space for myth and romanticism to flourish (Rice, 2010; 93-6). However, what in the 1980s was "best left unexplored" would be explored incessantly in the new millennium.

This paper concentrates on the upsurge of memory work surrounding the band that has taken place since the mid-2000s, and examines whether it can be considered "nostalgic". We argue that the aura

of mystery that had grown around the sparse materials on the band's brief career has generated interest in newly-released materials, and opened more space for these new accounts to establish "facts" about what "really happened" and for challenges to be made to the veracity of competing accounts.

We argue that the types of nostalgia involved in the production and consumption of these materials are of different orders. While the contemporary appeal of Joy Division represents *more* than a nostalgic resurgence—given the short cult status they acquired in the late 1970s, and the move towards including popular music scenes like that of Manchester in official and commercial heritage discourses (Bennett, 2009; Botta, 2009)—nostalgia still performs an important role in these recollections of Joy Division. From being part of a tight-knit, productive art-world network in the late-1970s (Crossley, 2008), the actors involved in this scene gradually disbanded, disappeared or died, until the surviving members were left to reflect on their legacy. Yet, at the same time this actual loss suffered by network participants provides material for the "ersatz nostalgia" of others (Appadurai, 1996). This suggests that there might be new orders of nostalgia involved in revisiting Joy Division, as well as many ways of representing the band that do not rely on nostalgia. Joy Division is only one band that has seen such an increase in memory work, and many of the same factors that we identify here could also be identified with respect to other bands, such as The Smiths or The Buzzcocks. Before these aspects can be explored, the paper conceptualises nostalgia itself.

Nostalgia and Popular Culture

The history of the concept of nostalgia has been extensively discussed, from its seventeenth-century status as an illness to current understandings as a feeling of longing for that which has passed (Turner, 1987). Davis (1979) and Boym (2001) have noted the different experiential “orders” of nostalgia, from a desire to return to a better past, to more reflexive feelings that accept the inevitability of loss, and those that have an element of questioning the past. Regardless of the form nostalgia takes, it always pertains to the relationship between the past and the present.

This bridge between past and present suggests that forms of nostalgia can be related to processes of time-space compression (Harvey, 1989; Boym, 2001; Misztal, 2003). Theorists such as Huyssen (1995) argue that over the past few decades our relationship to the past has become more tenuous while simultaneously becoming more central to consumption practices. In a more highly-mediated world where time-space distantiation is reduced considerably, cultural memory “can no longer be safely secured along the traditional axes of nation and race, language and cultural history” (Huyssen, 1995: 9). Globalised and commodified culture becomes “inherently amnesiac” (Huyssen 1995: 7; see also Jameson, 1991). This amnesia has expanded the market for representations of the past, whether it be in the form of antiques, vintage clothes, vinyl records, Soviet gulag tours, historical movies, or urban tours charting the roots of rock bands (Reynolds, 2011). In Huyssen’s amnesiac society, connection to the past through personal

experience becomes less important, as consumers access more products whose value is enhanced by their association with the past.

This suggests the need for another order of nostalgia— “nostalgia without memory” or “ersatz nostalgia” (Appadurai, 1996: 82). Following Halbwachs (1992) and Anderson (1983), Appadurai (1996: 77) accounts for this order by noting how:

... forms of mass advertising teach consumers to miss things they have never lost ... In thus creating experiences of losses that never took place, these advertisements create what might be called “imagined nostalgia”, nostalgia for things that never were.

This order of nostalgia is often described as being connected to commercial processes, and dismissed as being inherently inauthentic. For example, Boym (2001: 38) describes ersatz nostalgia as “a marketing strategy that tricks consumers into missing what they haven’t lost”. In *Retromania*, Reynolds (2011: xi) critiques popular culture’s new millennial “addiction to its own past”. These concerns over the commercialisation of the past, in association with the idea of an “amnesiac society”, have led many critics to be wary of nostalgia as a way of romanticizing the past (Boym, 2001).

However, Grainge (2000: 29) has suggested that this negative appraisal of nostalgia, especially in relation to commercial processes, needs to be qualified through the distinction between nostalgia as a “mood” (the feeling of nostalgia) and as “mode” (“a stylistic hyperrealization of the past in a time when ... the past has become fundamentally estranged”). He identifies these as opposite ends of a spectrum rather than a dichotomy, even

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though "mood" and "mode" should not be conflated. Assumptions made about styles or images drawn from the past are not necessarily linked to longings for the past. He argues that the explanation of "amnesia" may underestimate people's ability to understand the past in different ways, and to use material items to textualise and reconfigure the past.

Other authors also point to more positive or benign attributes of nostalgia (Pickering & Keightley, 2006; Staath & Turner, 1988; Tannock, 1995; Turner, 1987). Turner (1987: 153) suggests that many of the concerns surrounding the effects of mass culture are themselves based in an elitist form of nostalgia that yearns for the "personal autonomy, spontaneity and naive enjoyment of the everyday world" that allegedly existed in the past. This elitist concern leads to an overly-critical appraisal of contemporary mass culture and its representations of the past. Similarly, Tannock (1995: 455) argues that criticism of nostalgia stems from a simplistic interpretation of its effects:

Nostalgia responds to a diversity of personal needs and political desires. Nostalgic narratives may embody any number of different visions, values, and ideals. And, as a cultural resource or strategy, nostalgia may be put to use in a variety of ways. Once such heterogeneity is recognized, critique can then focus on both the openings and the limitations that nostalgia, as a general structure of feeling, may create for effective historical interpretation and action.

Pickering and Keightley (2006: 923) link this heterogeneity to time-space compression, arguing that nostalgia

may also be seen as seeking a viable alternative to the acceleration of historical times, one that attempts a form of dialogue with the past and recognises the value of continuities in counterpart to what is fleeting, transitory and contingent.

The recent outpouring of Joy Division-related materials has been interpreted as an elevation in nostalgia around the band. For example, media commentary on the release of Ian Curtis biopic *Control* (Corbijn, 2007) included comments such as "I haven't seen the film, and I can't bring myself to, either, because the Post Punk era is being turned into a nostalgia fest and sold back to an audience that really ought to know better" (Frost, 2007). This echoes academics such as Reynolds (2011) who critique the commercialisation of the past. However, it cannot be assumed that these materials are nostalgic simply because they reflect on the past. In trying to determine what may or may not be thought of as nostalgic, the complexities of nostalgia described by Tannock must be considered, as well as the difference between nostalgic "mood" and "mode" (Pickering and Keightley, 2006: 930). In other words, the way individuals create "memories used in a nostalgic manner is not necessarily reducible to the fabricated constructions of the culture industry" (Bull, 2009: 91), and the representations of the past that are presented to us by that industry are not always reducible to simple economic calculation.

Some of this anxiety over mass-mediated versions of the past involves the concern that the past will be portrayed inaccurately. When historic events are portrayed in popular culture, it is difficult if not impossible to accurately portray "the facts"

of what happened, and it is not uncommon for “historical” movies to change events significantly (Drake, 2003; Baer, 2001). In such instances, attempts are sometimes made to draw a demarcation between carefully-researched historical accounts and fictionalised (not necessarily nostalgic) representations of the past, and greater legitimacy is generally accorded to the historical accounts. However, in the case of Joy Division, popular culture is recording and creating its own history through mass media as gaps in knowledge are filled in by “witnesses” from the time. These materials are being produced not only for profit, but also as a way for certain groups and individuals to stake a claim on the past. Rather than being problematic, this adds greater interest to the (re) construction of Joy Division, and the interplay between different accounts can facilitate our understanding of how the past circulates in mass media.

Revisiting Joy Division —Shadowplay

Myths can be spun around bands and artists whose past lacks substantial information. In the case of Joy Division, their fame grew in their “lingering afterlife” (Morley, 2008: 48). In turn, their legendary status converted a select network of participants from the Manchester scene into potential witnesses of the band’s brief career and protectors of their memory. However, it was almost two decades before the memories of these “shadowy men” (Kennedy, 2006: 148) began to appear in an outpouring of books, diaries, documentaries, movies,

photographs and related items. These were mainly produced by “insider” witnesses, such as Tony Wilson of Factory Records (2002), his ex-wife Lindsay Reade (with Mick Middles, 2006), New Order’s Peter Hook (2012), *New Musical Express*’s Manchester correspondent Paul Morley (2008) and the photographers Anton Corbijn and Kevin Cummins (2010).

Given the earlier silence maintained by those associated with the band—and their relatively small following during their playing career—the contemporary knowledge of Joy Division is highly reliant on these recent reminiscences. Many convey a nostalgic “mood”, often reflecting participants’ awareness “of the collective framework of memories when one distances oneself from one’s community or when that community itself enters the moment of twilight” (Boym, 2001). This nostalgic activity can serve as a coping device to help those who feel loss in a society that provides “no space, remedial or otherwise, for dealing with loss” (Pickering and Keightley, 2006: 920). For example, films such as *Control* (Corbijn, 2007) and *24 Hour Party People* (Winterbottom, 2002), along with Morley and Reade’s and Middles’s recollections, frame the Mancunian community of the late 1970s in terms of either emotional or financial loss.

However, not all the materials produced can be described as conveying a nostalgic order of loss. The wall of silence maintained by members of the band and those close to them was first significantly breached in 1995, when Ian Curtis’s widow, Deborah, released her book *Touching From a Distance*. This autobiography revealed many intimate details

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about Ian Curtis's character and private life. At the beginning of the book Deborah Curtis (1995: xix) notes that:

While sometimes I can't help looking over my shoulder and remembering when we were young, in my heart I know that forward is the only real direction. The signing with London Records [to transfer ownership of rights to the Joy Division material] released me from my past; I finally felt justified in completing my tale and allowing Ian to rest.

In other words, this autobiography was an expulsion of the past and a desire to be free of it, rather than a desire to return to or glamourise it. The tone of the book makes painful and difficult reading, painting a portrait of a relationship verging on abusive from its early days and culminating in infidelity.

Touching From a Distance deals exclusively with the past, but contains little nostalgia. Yet, its appearance provoked other, more nostalgic, reconstructions of Ian Curtis's life. These responses romanticised his life and enhanced his mythical status. For example, Middles's and Reades's book *Torn Apart: The life of Ian Curtis* (2006: 30) discusses Curtis's death as though it somehow predestined, through statements such as "he knew he wasn't long for this world". This book is partly a response to Deborah Curtis, who is presented as lacking a sense of humour, "prudish," and intimidating in a manner that seems designed to undercut her legitimacy as a witness to the band (2006: 32).

Although based on her book, the movie *Control* also underemphasises the uglier aspects of Deborah Curtis's account. Through framing the movie

as a cinematic version of director Corbijn's iconic black-and-white photographs of the band, Deborah Curtis's narrative is overlain with the more mythologised and glamorised, if angst-ridden, public image of the band. This narrative draws upon familiar journalistic approaches to rock-and-roll deaths—especially suicides—framed as a tragic result of the superordinate nature of genius. Kurt Cobain, Jim Morrison, Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin and John Lennon are examples of this mythologising (Strong, 2011). In contrast, Deborah Curtis's account disrupts this rock'n'roll myth through explicitly implicating it in her husband's death. She describes Curtis's fascination with musicians who died young, recounting ways he emulated them. Through exposing Ian Curtis's awareness of this myth, she suggests that he consciously played to its tropes. *Control*, however, discards this more reflexive approach to Curtis, and the result is a more nostalgic narrative than the book.

The documentary *Joy Division* (Gee, 2007) was released shortly after the success of *Control*. It presents a more "factual" approach than *Control*, connecting Joy Division with the municipal history of the city of Manchester. The use of archival footage of Mancunian slums and recollections of various players in the Joy Division story constructs a less-than-nostalgic picture of the city in the 1960s and 1970s (see also Haslam, 2000). The band is portrayed as giving voice to Mancunian decline, yet through doing so helping to transform and invigorate the city, before (after having endured tragedy) ending up in a better place as New Order. The closing scenes depict present-day

Manchester as vibrant, cosmopolitan and modern. On the whole, the documentary presents a story of progress and improvement that defies a nostalgic “mood”. It also emphasises the band’s connection to *place* (the city of Manchester) as much as a particular point in time (see Fraser and Fuoto, 2012).

This abundance of new material available on Joy Division presents opportunities for contemporary audiences to construct their ideas and images of the band, and reconsider why it matters. These examples show the range of possibilities open when representations of the past are created: an active rejection of nostalgia; accounts that qualify regret for what has been lost with a celebration of progress; and those that display a more obvious yearning for the past. Different representations respond to and play off one another, generating a contemporary conversation around Joy Division. In this process, witnesses can be granted legitimacy: they can claim “ownership” of the band through their association with them, and are in a position to convey a story that accrues more value as others also engage in the retelling.

There is a sting in the tail of the growing value produced by this Joy Division material. Any commercial taint can undermine credibility and authority in the alternative music scene that Joy Division emerged from and still evokes. Regardless of the motivation behind their creation, all these materials are consumer items. However, rather than judge the extent to which the motive of any producer is tainted by commercial imperative, a more salient and empirical issue involves exploring how producers of such material position themselves with respect to this past and its cul-

tural capital. As the final section suggests, this can reveal a highly ambiguous, yet reflexive, attitude towards nostalgia.

Re-Mixing Joy Division —A Means To An End

In recent years the surviving members of Joy Division have revealed that, despite their global acclaim in New Order, they have encountered financial difficulties, mainly because of their involvement in Manchester’s famous Hacienda Club (Hook, 2009; Rice, 2010). These financial problems led to the acquisition of the band’s back catalogue by London Records and then Warner. One of the consequences of this transaction has been the increase in promotional material targeting a new generation of listeners. The tapping of ersatz nostalgia—or, as Factory Records’ graphic designer Peter Saville labelled it in the *Joy Division* documentary, the “merchandising of memory”—is evident in this material.

For example, in the Australian promotion of the new compilation *From Joy Division to New Order*, Warner and JB Hi-Fi (a major Australian music retail chain) printed a glossy brochure entitled “British Underground: The Best of British.” In an elegant example of nostalgic “mode”, it mimics a punk-style DIY fanzine from the 1970s. The twelve-page pamphlet was given away in JB Hi-Fi stores (with a mock price tag of 30p and labelled as Issue #1, 2011; see Figure 1). Joy Division was not originally associated with this “punk” style, instead being promoted through the self-consciously

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"arty" design work of Peter Saville and Factory Records. The fanzine, however, uses visual and stylistic cues to associate the publication—and the band—with a punk aesthetic from a very specific place and time.

Figure 1 : Warner Brothers and JB Hi-Fi Joy Division brochure, front cover.

Punk retains an association with anti-commercial authenticity, and an appeal to this authenticity appears to be an attempt to counteract the slick major-label repackaging of the band's material. The Warner "fanzine" contains much nostalgic "mood", including an interview with Peter Hook reminiscing about Joy Division, where he states that "it was afterwards that you began to realise (how great Joy Division was). When you are in the middle of it, it's very hard to have a perspective and at the time

you are driven by wanting what you haven't got". Other pages contain memories of young London punks in the late 1970s recalling a concert at Battersea Park and another youth buying tickets for an early New Order gig. These are self-consciously nostalgic moods. This promotional material illustrates an important "producer" element of ersatz nostalgia, where re-released merchandise is introduced in a "familiar" informational manner.

Given that the pamphlet is a form of merchandising, and that its instructional value is targeted at an audience without in-depth knowledge of the post-punk era, and that there is no new material in the Warner collection promoted by the pamphlet, the following commentary on page 8 can only be read as self-irony:

I have a lot of respect for the surviving members of Joy Division. You might laugh but it's true. Sure, the intervening years have provided a lot of reasons to shake one's head in bemusement and disgust. There's been the endless array of tacky merchandising peddled to people who have no idea who the band was; there's the seemingly endless flogging of the nostalgia horse in the form of books and films; and don't even get me started about Peter Hook's decision to play the whole of *Unknown Pleasures*.

In today's culture where any sort of music is instantly available, where bands who'd previously stated their undying disdain for one another are reforming at a rate of knots and every has-been imaginable is coming out of the woodwork to perform their "classic" albums, the idea of totally disregarding your previous work to start anew is a more alien concept than ever before.

Using nostalgic images and style, the pamphlet generates an emotional connection between the reader and a particular point in the past (and hence

to the consumer goods that time offers). This marketing strategy is enhanced through a scornful portrayal of the commercially-tainted present. This portrayal contrasts with the more contested version of Joy Division created by those trying to establish themselves as authoritative witnesses described in the previous section of this paper.

It might appear ironic that these promotional materials criticise commercial motives, but this can be explained by the different orders of nostalgia within them. In the case of the promotional material, this involves nostalgia as both mood and mode. It becomes another resource available to audiences trying (again) to make sense of Joy Division. The creative side of the contemporary promotional phenomenon lies not only with the promoter/creator, but in the ways in which the material can be appropriated by users/consumers (Gans, 1974). As Lipsitz (1990: 5) notes, this order of “ersatz nostalgia” creates new possibilities for identity formation, because of the way the “capacity of electronic mass communication to transcend time and space creates instability by disconnecting people from past traditions, but it also liberates people by making the past less determinate of experiences in the present.”

The role of commerce in this process of time-space compression needs to be explored empirically, rather than seen as innately “inauthentic”. This suggests research could productively focus more on exploring audience responses to these materials, including an interpretation of how knowledge of the source of information affects its reception, and why audiences are drawn to the different

accounts of the past and—more importantly—how they use them.

From a producer-oriented angle, however, there is evidence to suggest that some representations of Joy Division are made to appear less authoritative than others by presenting commercial values as “inauthentic”. Indeed, this debate can be found among the band’s “authoritative witnesses”. In particular, questions have been raised about the motivations behind some of the activities of Peter Hook, ex-bass player for Joy Division and New Order. Since 2010, Hook has toured with a different group of musicians under the name “Peter Hook and the Light”, playing Joy Division’s back catalogue. While the relationship between Hook and the other band members had soured after Hook’s unilateral 2007 declaration that New Order was finished, this use of the band’s oeuvre provoked more bitterness. Singer Bernard Sumner articulated the band’s displeasure with Hook’s venture:

Everyone’s entitled to start a tribute band ... Peter could have done a lot of things and we could still be friends, but now he’s taking our actual heritage ... There was a way back from that other stuff. But not with what he’s doing with Joy Division. (Fitzpatrick, 2011)

In this comment, Sumner elevates Joy Division to the level of the sacred, or at least plays to the recent elevation of the sacred status and mythical nature of the band. Sumner states elsewhere that “It just seems like a real commercial thing to do. He seems to be doing it for the money ... Joy Division and New Order were never about that” (*NME*, 2012). Sumner is not alone in criticising Hook’s projects on these grounds. An article in the *NME* declared

that "... it feels like an exercise in the kind of nostalgia Curtis loathed ... Ultimately, you have to question Hooky's true motives" (Martin, 2010).

Claims that Hook is "doing it for the money" serve to undermine his legitimacy in the recollection of Joy Division's past, and dismiss his tours as a cynical exercise in the selling of nostalgia rather than an authentic experience for audiences who missed out the first time around. In this manner, some of the authoritative witnesses appeal to contemporary representations of Joy Division to strengthen their own claims to authenticity. These contestations over the content and meaning of the past, and who to take seriously, occur in an ongoing dialogue between the present and the past (Bennett, 2009). Central to these debates are different orders of nostalgia, and different claims to authenticity. Crucially, authoritative witnesses of the nostalgic past must appeal to present contexts if they wish to be taken seriously. This often conflates the orders of nostalgia as mood and nostalgia as mode.

Conclusion

The past decade has witnessed an alignment of the (re-)production of Joy Division material with a resurgence of interest from a new generation of users of this material. As a growing number of contemporary bands (such as The Editors, Interpol and The Killers) recognise their roots in Joy Division,

this has expanded the demand for more information from "witnesses" who, in the late 1970s, could not have been aware of the historical significance of their network and practices. Rather than seeing this revisiting of the past as being evidence of a problematic contemporary over-emphasis on nostalgia (as argued by Reynolds, 2011), we have demonstrated here that these materials represent a range of possible relationships with the past, some of them more nostalgic than others. Nostalgic accounts also take different forms, ranging from a nostalgic "mood" conveyed by participants in the Manchester scene through to a nostalgic "mode" in corporate advertising materials. These moods and modes of nostalgia are employed to assert claims of legitimacy and authenticity, and of who has (or should have) the ability to reconstruct the past. However, these materials open a legitimate space for new generations of listeners to explore another, ersatz, order of nostalgia and add to the evolving legend and mythical status of Joy Division (Beaumont, 2012, 4). From their re-mastered albums to mash ups, there are many original ways to listen to Joy Division thirty years after their demise. Manchester United supporters have appropriated the most famous lyrics of Ian Curtis (even though he supported rivals Manchester City) and taunt opponents with the chant "Giggs will tear you apart, again". And if contemporary users wish to join The Wombats and dance to Joy Division, who is going to stop them?

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