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A Postmodern Sense of Nostalgia:
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how cult membership can be inculcated

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Abstract

This paper explores a “cult” following in television, by looking at various aspects of the program *Twin Peaks*. It seeks to answer the questions of how a television show that aired for only two seasons over two decades ago was and still is able to garner such a loyal fandom, and is there some primary factor for developing this cult status? In order to answer these questions, aspects of media studies such as narrative complexity, authorship and the cult status of a show, as well as elements from the show itself, such as postmodernism and manufactured nostalgia must be teased out. This is mainly achieved by examining previous literature on the aforementioned topics as well as performing a close textual analysis of certain episodes from the show. Upon the synthesis of the literature and textual analysis, one is able to see that *Twin Peaks* has achieved cult status primarily due to David Lynch’s authorial stamp of post-modern nostalgia.

A Postmodern Sense of Nostalgia: demonstrating through a textual analysis of *Twin Peaks* how cult membership can be inculcated

The date is April 8, 1990, and all across America people are tuning in to the new Sunday night premiere on the ABC network.¹ The name of the show is *Twin Peaks*, a title which any time earlier in history would most likely evoke images of pastoral life. However, after the premiere of the two-hour pilot which is the highest-rated movie for the 1989-1990 season, *Twin Peaks* makes the viewer think of murder, mystery, a “damn good coffee!” and so much more. The premiere received a twenty-two rating and a thirty-three share, which in terms of Nielson ratings (the standard in television media research) equated to over thirty million viewers watching the events unfold during the night, and then trying to make sense of what happened the next day with their friends and colleagues (Bickelhaupt, 1990). Indeed, *Twin Peaks* slated for a Thursday night prime-time spot, competing with CBS’s front-runner *Cheers*, became a show to discuss over the water cooler with people asking questions like “what do you think that dream sequence was all about?” and of course “who do you think killed Laura Palmer?” Immediately after the release of the pilot, Preston Beckman, the vice president of audience research at NBC during this time, stated, “(*Twin Peaks*) might be odd, but not odd enough to turn viewers away from ‘Cheers’...I call it the emperor’s new clothes syndrome; people want to say they watched and liked it, but in the privacy of their own home, well, we’ll see. It’s pack mentality” (Bickelhaupt, 1990). Indeed, Beckman was correct in his prediction that an “odd” show would not be able to outshine a classic, albeit conventional show like *Cheers* and by the end of the first season, *Twin Peaks* which premiered as a “bold new hit” was “downgraded to a ‘cult favorite’” (Martin 1990).

¹ Unless otherwise noted, the source of the information up until the literature review is from the DVD commentary included on the last disc of the *Twin Peaks* Gold Edition box set.

The show was conceived by two men of different backgrounds in the film and television industries, who shared the goal of creating a television show that would not be another predictable program. David Lynch, director of post-modern art films such as *Eraserhead* and *Blue Velvet*, inspired much of the narrative of the show, while Mark Frost, known for his writing on the show *Hill Street Blues*, helped turn Lynch's vision into a script for TV. Although David Lynch is usually hailed as the "creative visionary" of *Twin Peaks*, Mark Frost is known as the "unsung hero" who contributed equally to the show.

In the past, programs that were "user friendly" and geared towards viewers who wanted to watch conventional story-arcs, plot, character development and so forth were the standard, *Cheers* and *Roseanne* (the two most popular network shows) being prime examples. However, with the "proliferation of channels" at the turn of the 1990's, television began to change. According to industry sources interviewed for the DVD commentary, network executives at ABC decided to take a risk on a show that would be anything but ordinary, and so *Twin Peaks* was born. At first the show had a phenomenal amount of households and audience members tuned in. However, as the "mob mentality" wore off and the show lost mass appeal, ratings declined and ABC became nervous. The network pressured Lynch and Frost to reveal Laura Palmer's killer, unraveling the main mystery of the show. The pair admittedly began to lose focus, as other projects and demands become their primary interests. The remaining episodes of season two were plagued by dismal ratings, lack of interest on the part of both the directors and the cast, and cliché narrative. Lynch and Frost realized that ABC would not want to support a failing show, and worked on a cliffhanger for the season finale. The final two episodes of season two aired back to back as a TV movie on June 10, 1991. Although the end of this season was just as powerful as the beginning, ABC decided that *Twin Peaks* would be taken off the air effective

immediately. After only two seasons and thirty episodes including the pilot, the show was over. However, in spirit *Twin Peaks* continues to live.

Beginning in 1993, a festival called “Twin Peak Fest” occurs each August. While it is common for television shows to have fan festivals, it is certainly unconventional for people to travel from all over the country to go to a convention for a show that only ran two seasons and has been off the air for about twenty years. The dedication of these fans to a television program that was so short-lived and so far in the past shows the magnitude of what a “cult classic” *Twin Peaks* has become. But this begs the question, what is it about *Twin Peaks* that made it such a cult classic? In order to answer this question one must take a comprehensive look at the series, starting with the subculture of the cult fan. In addition, one must ask important questions about cult-television, postmodern auteurship and nostalgia. By teasing out the nature of these concepts and exploring them in greater detail in relation to *Twin Peaks*, one will reach a more profound understanding of the power of television, and particularly programs that reach a cult status. This paper will explore how *Twin Peaks* has achieved cult status primarily due to David Lynch’s authorial stamp of post-modern nostalgia.

Literature review

Narrative complexity

Mittell (2006) describes *Twin Peaks* as being “narratively complex,” which he explains in a three part definition. First, it is categorized by “a reconceptualization of the boundary between episodic and serial forms” (p. 39). This allows for “ongoing stories across a range of genres” and “rejecting the need for plot closure” (p. 32). In addition, Mittell argues that

Narratively complex programming typically foregrounds plot developments far more centrally than soaps, allowing relationship

and character drama to emerge from plot development in an emphasis reversed from soap operas. (p. 32)

While this may be true of many programs, Mittell specifically references *Twin Peaks* as being a narratively complex program, describing it as a “mystery, soap opera, and art film” (p. 33). I would assert that the very format of *Twin Peaks* as a soap opera allows for David Lynch to show his authorial stamp, because through the lack of depth in the individual characters, a collage of postmodern concepts (Appendix A) are brought to the foreground, allowing for a postmodern art form. Mittell goes on to describe a narratively complex program as having “a heightened degree of self-consciousness in storytelling mechanics” (p.33). And finally, it sets the “demand for intensified viewer engagement focused on both diegetic pleasures and formal awareness” (p. 39). It is important to note that *Twin Peaks* is a narratively complex show, but as a postmodern program is even more multifarious in terms of the narrative and authorship of David Lynch.

Defining postmodernism

It is important to develop an understanding of Postmodernism, not only because *Twin Peaks* is a hallmark of a postmodern text, but because it is necessary to have a lens through which one may interpret the world of the show and all the categories which comprise that fictional universe. Jameson (1984) describes Postmodernism as a cultural “movement,” which affects philosophy, art, literature, economics and religion (p. 53). He places all of the aspects of Postmodernism into four different, yet overlapping elements: the deconstruction of expression, the postmodern and the past, the breakdown of the signifying chain, and postmodernism and the city.

Jameson refers to “deconstruction of expression” in order to describe the shallow nature of postmodernism, categorized by commodity fetishism, superficiality, a waning of affect,

euphoria and self-annihilation (pp. 58-64). Whereas Modernism is concerned with the creation of original thought and art, one can see that Postmodernism is a recycling or re-use of what was once original. Concerning the postmodern and the past, the postmodern individual lives in what Appadurai (1996) would refer to as a “synchronic warehouse of cultural scenarios” (p. 30), in which the individual “seeks history by way of (his) own pop images” (Jameson, 1984, p. 71). This refers to how one experiences history through popular images, symbols and archetypes which lose their meaning as they are stripped down and recycled in the form of magazine ads, urban legend or even, in the case of *Twin Peaks*, a television show. Jameson argues that the “disappearance of the individual subject” as well as the “increasing unavailability of the personal style” lead to “pastiche,” which he describes as being “like parody, the imitation of a peculiar mask (personality)...but it is a neutral practice of such mimicry, without any of parody’s ulterior motives” (pp. 64-65). This category is also defined by “historicism,” or the “random cannibalization of all the styles of the past” replacing history (pp. 65-66). Jameson notes that this is similar to Plato’s concept of the “simulacrum,” which is the “identical copy for which no original has ever existed” (p. 66). An example of this would be a painting inspired by a photograph of the actual image. In this sense, a copy of a copy is produced and possibly altered to fit a new purpose, while the original meaning is lost.

Jameson describes the breakdown of the signifying chain of meaning, by introducing the concept that “difference relates” (p. 75). He describes a world of “schizophrenia,” in which “signifiers” or signs which convey meaning, lose their original substance. Language and the words of which it consists are the primary way in which the individual makes use of signifiers. Jameson describes the breakdown of the signifying chain as the reason why one is “unable to unify the past, present and future of the sentence” which means he is “similarly unable to unify

the past, present and future of (his) own biographical experience or psychic life” (p. 72). Jameson is not classifying society’s social condition in the clinical sense, but rather from a temporal viewpoint. One can see how a disorienting effect is created by this sense of schizophrenia, in which “experience” and “psychic life” are disrupted.

A postmodern work is often compared with a collage. Instead of a fluent, unified and modern piece of art, the postmodern painting, poem or film is a collage of temporally disjointed symbols. This concept of collage is also interesting, because even though the signifiers which make up the work have over time lost their meaning, the act of pasting them together for the purpose of an artistic work can have meaning. This concept of the collage, made up of various postmodern categories, is central to the authorship of David Lynch in *Twin Peaks* because this is characteristic of his other works, such as *Blue Velvet* (Pearson, 1997).

Finally, pertaining to postmodernism and the city, Jameson touches on postmodern authorship, by examining postmodernist structures. He develops the concepts of “cognitive mapping” and “social cartography,” so that one may have a way of interpreting the micro aspects of individual life on the macro scale of the postmodern society (pp. 89-92). Over the years, literary critics have taken this concept to heart, leading to a sort of “postmodern map” for critically interpreting *Twin Peaks* and specifically its authorship. This paper will explore what the “key” of the map is, which will allow one to understand the show on a deeper level, understanding the various forces at work that could lead to a cult following of the show.

Postmodernism and *Twin Peaks*

Reeves et al. (1995) examine Postmodernism and *Twin Peaks*, through snippets of dialogue among eight professionals in various fields, ranging from grad students in American culture to faculty in Slavic studies. This group collaboration was a part of the Cultural Studies

Confederation, formed in 1990 to “encourage the interdisciplinary study of contemporary experience.” This cultural think-tank set to work on exploring postmodernism in *Twin Peaks*, by holding several discussions which were tape-recorded. The transcripts were then edited and condensed into one long conversation which explores several areas of postmodernism which the group felt were most prevalent in their discussions. Before the true dialogue begins, Reeves et al. makes the distinction between postmodernism, which is made up of “artistic / intellectual styles” and postmodernity, which is comprised of “transnational, socio-economic structures” (p. 174). Next follows fragments of the group transcript.

The seven topics which Reeves et al. (1995) identified as encompassing the entire dialogue were: pleasure, inter-textuality, decentered subjectivity, self-consciousness, irony, politics and authorship (p. 176). While all of these elements connect the text of *Twin Peaks* with postmodernism as described by Jameson, the first three are sufficient to understand the essence of the text. Reeves et al. mention how the show contains a mix of “traditional pleasures,” such as the “narrative, whodunit mystery, and the various romantic intrigues” as well as “scenes which are ironic or incredibly goofy” (p. 178). In this manner it becomes hard to become emotionally engaged with the characters in the traditional sense. “*TP* gets you wrapped up but then takes you away from it or distances you from your own reactions” (Reeves et al., p. 178). I would assert that a postmodern sense of pleasure deals with the fragmentation of emotions, which creates disequilibrium and tension, requiring something to relieve the confusion in order for the viewer to continue watching the show. This “something” will be a major topic of exploration for the analysis.

In regards to intertextuality, Reeves et al. (1995) identify three modes in the show. First, “the appearance of actors who are familiar for their performances in other texts.” Second, “inter-

textual meanings are invoked by the way *TP* appropriates elements of different television and film genres” (p. 176).

There’s the scene in which Piper Laurie is signing an insurance document. The insurance salesman is named Walter Neff, Fred MacMuray’s character in *Double Indemnity*. It is a strict correlation. They’re both dodgy insurance salesmen. The reference only exists for that moment. It doesn’t seem to function on any other level. (p. 177)

And finally, “the creators also appropriate items from the external culture from both the past and the present” (p. 176). These modes combine for the purpose of creating a “hierarchy of viewers” comprised of the high culture, “boutique” audience, which is “hip enough to catch the inside jokes” and the low culture audience, which simply enjoys the show for its entertainment value (p. 177). The inter-textuality of *Twin Peaks* leads to a blurring of past and present, genre and so forth. Again, this disorientation calls for a unifying factor, some aspect to organize the chaos of a confusing show.

A postmodern sense of authorship

Twin Peaks has a definitive postmodern authorial stamp, particularly on the part of David Lynch. Pearson (1997) uses four categories which show authorship as typified by postmodernism. These are: parody and pastiche, prefabrication, inter-textuality and bricolage. For the purpose of this paper, inter-textuality will refer exclusively to works from other authors being used (within the text) to shape the text (*Twin Peaks*), as is its original meaning (Irwin, 1970, p. 228). Pearson mentions that the postmodern implies a “blurring of high and low cultural boundaries,” the inability to distinguish between the ‘real’ and the artifice, the commodification

of everyday life, the sense of the fragmentary, ambiguous and uncertain nature of living, ironic self-referentiality and fetishisation of the image (p. 1). While there are countless examples of an authorial stamp in *Twin Peaks*, one is the fact that “Lynch’s neighborhoods have always been built on a familiarity that stubbornly and violently refuses the comfort of psychological or historical meaning” (Pearson, 1997, p. 4). I believe that “familiarity” in this way allows Lynch’s neighborhoods, as well as other aspects of the *mise-en-scène*, to serve a purpose other than simply setting the scene; I believe that “familiar” is another way of saying that signifiers have lost their literal meanings, replaced instead by their connotative meanings. Lynch’s neighborhoods do not serve the traditional function of setting the scene in time and space, but rather remind the viewer that the neighborhood can not be characterized by these modernist notions. In other words, this sense of “familiarity” helps to remind the viewer that reality is multivalent. I assert that because the reality of the show is characterized by this shallowness, it necessitates a unifying factor to help the audience make sense of a confusing narrative world. Nearly every aspect of Lynch’s authorial stamp, such as inter-textuality, ironic self-referentiality and the commodification of everyday life are tied together by nostalgia. But this is a different form of nostalgia than is typically understood.

A postmodern sense of nostalgia

Havlena and Holak (1991) provide a consumer research view on nostalgia, describing its historical development and use as a marketing tool. The article describes how nostalgia literally means a “longing for home,” and was originally considered a medical malady in Greek times, with sufferers who would “wander about sad, experience insomnia...and loss of strength” (p. 2). Recent perspectives in nostalgia consider it to be a “sociological phenomenon,” with “homesickness” no longer necessarily corresponding to a physical location, but to the

individual's identity in a transient society (p. 4). I would assert here that manufactured nostalgia is deeply rooted in presenting and enforcing certain cultural values, as it "allows (one) to maintain (his) identity in the face of major life transitions...given the meteoric increase in mobility in today's society" (Havlena & Holak 1991, p. 3). Indeed, Pollock (2007) asserts that nostalgia is "culturally helpful" as it helps maintain cultural identity when the "present is in crisis" (p.121).

In the past, the individual would be more attached to his community where he would learn social norms. However, in present times one is much less tied to his community, and much more tied to technology, such as the media. It is in this realm where cultural mores are transmitted, allowing the customs and values of society that make up one's identity to be maintained. These cultural mores take the form of iconic stories or concepts, which can also be called grand narratives.² As Havlena & Holak (1991) maintain, nostalgia means a yearning for home. This "home" can literally mean one's domicile, but can also mean one's culture, including mores and metanarratives. When one feels an emotion or experiences nostalgia for something that they did not personally experience, then this nostalgia has been manufactured. Here one is able to see how a post-modern / capitalist / consumer driven society is influenced by manufactured nostalgia. This powerful force is very useful in developing solidarity and loyalty to a product in the realm of consumer studies, and it is not difficult to see how this could translate to the realm of social-media studies, and how these same feelings could develop a cult following of a television show. *Twin Peaks* is characteristic of the vision of David Lynch. I believe it is evident that Lynch's postmodern authorship is nostalgic in nature because of themes his work

² Grand narratives are usually referred to as metanarratives, which are typically defined as "grand totalizing philosophies that attempt absolute explanations of systems and events and that are grounded upon some transcendental truth" (Stevens, 2002). For the purpose of this paper, metanarratives can refer to grand stories or totalizing truths.

has been associated with. This would include pointing out the reality and flaws of the suburbs, in which his characters pine for the idyllic nature of these communities, rooted in familiarity and the past (Pearson, 1997, p.4). Therefore, I believe that a postmodern sense of nostalgia is the primary factor responsible for a cult following of the show, particularly when one comes to understand the dynamics of this type of viewer.

Cult following

Lavery (1995) gives an overview of the television show. One of the most interesting and relevant sections of the reading for the purpose of this paper is “Twin Peaks as a (Cult)tural Phenomenon” (p. 3). It is important to note the way Lavery splits up the word *cultural* into *cult* and *cultural*. Although the author does not mention this directly, it is clear that *Twin Peaks* was one of the most popular shows in television at the time it came out, attracting two types of viewers. The majority of those tuning in were the ones wishing to “jump on the bandwagon,” and watch the new trendy show that they could discuss the next morning with their friends and co-workers, but there were also more selective, “boutique” viewers, as described previously in the *Narrative Complexity* text. Lavery describes how *Twin Peaks* was formatted to be a cult program, containing certain semiotics or inherent signs (not unlike Jameson’s “signifiers”), which attract a certain type of viewer. This audience member would not be the typical viewer, caring about the show only on a peripheral level based on its popularity. Instead, this viewer would be one wishing to explore the show on a much deeper level, so much so that they would join a select “culture of...semioticians” (p. 4). Or in other words, these would be the viewers that enjoy being actively engaged in watching the show (Mittell, 2006, p. 39) Lavery backs up his claim that *Twin Peaks* garnered a cult audience, by making use of three of the “characteristics of a cult object delineated by Umberto Eco” (p. 5).

The first criterion is that the work must appear to be “living textuality,” following the postmodernist notion that “as literature comes from literature, cinema comes from cinema” (p. 5). I would add that a sense of television coming from television can be seen in the blur of genre and intertextual references of *Twin Peaks*. The show clearly has the authorial stamp of David Lynch, but this is in a postmodern sense of living textuality. It is for this reason that while Lynch was only involved with directing or co-writing nine out of thirty of the episodes, his authorial presence is seen throughout all the episodes.

Though clearly...authored...*Twin Peaks* seems generated from...precedent texts and thus cultic in origin, authority and appeal. A large part of the series' appeal to aficionados...was tracking its intertextual, allusionary quotations: the many actors and actresses reborn from the never-never land of old TV and movies...allusions to previous Lynch films; numerous inside jokes [and]...cameos. These and many other facets of *Twin Peaks* invited fanatic, cultic participation, generating discourse about discourse. (Lavery 1995, pp. 6-7)

The second criterion is that the show must create a completely furnished world. This category, while interesting, deals with the reception of *Twin Peaks* and is therefore irrelevant to this textual analysis. The third criterion refers to the “detachability” of the show, which can be described as the ability of the show to be fragmented in the viewer's mind as a collage of memorable moments, images, portions of dialogue, etc. Cult members thrive on recalling these memorable fragments of the show. For example, Lavery makes a two page list, with snippets like “Leland Palmer's singing ‘Mares Eat Oats,’” “Major Brigg's vision of Bobby's future,” and

“Ben Horne’s rewriting of the Civil War” (pp. 11-12). Lavery’s list includes several types of references, the previous ones mentioned being nostalgic. While the list of each cult viewer would most certainly be different, the majority of fans would be able to recognize many of the nostalgic references from each list. The fact that lists such as Lavery’s can be made for *Twin Peaks*, shows the power of the television show to imbue real feelings of affection and even love in the hearts and minds of members that allow themselves to enter into the collective relationship of the cult audience. This is different than mainstream television, because these emotions typically result from a manufactured sense of nostalgia, that is uniquely postmodern and Lynchian. I believe that while there are other factors that inculcate cult followings and that *Twin Peaks* is not unique in being a show that develops this following, it is unique how quickly and long-lasting the following of the show is, particularly since it only aired for two seasons. I believe the most appropriate explanation for this based on the dynamics of the show and the vision of its author, is the manufactured sense of nostalgia, as the cult viewers’ relationship with a non-real construct is reified and he/she becomes hooked on *Twin Peaks*. This is why it is important to analyze *Twin Peaks*, so that this concept of manufactured nostalgia and its implications can be further studied not only in the realm of media studies, but in whatever field the force manifests itself.

Method

In order to demonstrate that nostalgia is the primary factor responsible for the development of the cult following of *Twin Peaks*, it is necessary to analyze the text. There are thirty total episodes, including the pilot. After viewing the entire series and looking over newspaper and magazine articles³ that chronicled (among other things) audience’s reactions to the show, I arrived at two conclusions about how I would develop the method for examining the show. First, it would be a daunting and unnecessary task to analyze every episode, because a

³ See Bickelhaupt (1990), Martin (1990) and Patterson et al. (2000)

postmodern sense of nostalgia can be found in any episode. Second, there are certain key episodes / segments of the show that audience members most talked about.

The episodes chosen are the first, middle and final episodes of both seasons, as well as shorter segments from additional episodes. The episodes were chosen in this sequence, in order to portray an unbiased picture of the show in its entirety, as well as point out some of the most interesting and talked about segments of the show that one would be remiss in leaving out. Season one consists of episodes one through seven, and season two episodes eight through twenty-nine.⁴ The analysis will begin with the pilot and concentrate on episodes one, four and seven of season one, as well as the critically acclaimed dream sequence from episode two. Next, episodes eight, eighteen, nineteen and twenty-nine will be examined from season two, as well as the revelation of “Killer Bob” in episode fourteen and his ultimate demise in episode sixteen. Although the show was created and developed under the vision of David Lynch and to a lesser extent Mark Frost, many of the episodes were not in fact directed or even written by this pair. However, Lynch’s authorship (particularly his use of nostalgia) shines through episodes created by others, which show the power of Lynch’s art and the respect other writers and directors had for him. The examination of episodes that are written by Lynch / Frost as well as episodes that are not will further support the assertion that Lynch is a postmodern auteur, his greatest tool being his use of manufactured nostalgia.

In order to perform a textual analysis of *Twin Peaks*, the episodes which have been selected for review will be carefully documented using criteria for observing examples of

⁴ This imbalance in the amount of episodes for each season is due to the fact that the ABC network specifically wanted seven episodes to be made in the first season as a test run for the success of the show. Based on successful ratings, the show was able to continue for a much longer period of time in season two. However, the network altered the time-slot of the show from its familiar Thursday night spot and also insisted that the killer of Laura Palmer (and effectively the mystery) be revealed. During the course of season two the ratings began to abruptly decline and the show was abruptly cancelled after episode twenty-nine. (DVD Commentary)

postmodern nostalgia in the show (see appendix A). In order to develop these criteria, I used the work of Pearson (1997), as well as the two other authors he mentions, Susan Hayward and Jean-François Lyotard. While these three authors may present independent works and have in combination nearly fifteen postmodern criteria, their concepts are fairly interrelated. After reviewing their work, I realized that most of it fits into three categories: the *mise en scène*, the way the show is aesthetically presented, the *mise en abîme*, how the form of the show takes on another work and the discourse, or ideology behind the show. These categories are standard concepts used by media critics for analyzing a text, and may be thought of as “umbrellas,” under which lie the specific postmodern criteria.

In choosing and arranging the specific criteria under the main categories, I decided to use Susan Hayward’s criteria, because it is both broad, and therefore able to encompass aspects of Lyotard’s and Pearson’s criteria, but also specific, in that it encompasses the key signatures of David Lynch’s authorial influence as described in the literature review by Pearson. Then within the three main categories under the sub-headings of Hayward’s criteria lie the remaining aspects of Lyotard and Pearson’s work. I intentionally omitted portions of Lyotard’s work, including: the blur of high / low cultural boundaries, the commodification of everyday life and the ambiguous / uncertain nature of living. This was done in order to emphasize the aspects of Lyotard’s work that are most “Lynchian,” and therefore easily fit into Hayward’s categories, as well as not “pigeon-hole” myself into having an extremely narrow focus, which sometimes inhibits one from noticing important information that does not fit within the constructed boundaries. Under the same reasoning, aspects of Pearson’s original contributions were omitted, including: heightened social / individual reflexivity and de-differentiation of classical western

categories. While some aspects of the original criteria were omitted, the majority remained and were re-organized under the three categories mentioned above.

The first category, *mise en scène*, contains the sub-heading of “prefabrication,” which refers to the pre-packaging, or commodification of emotions, images, sounds and so on (Hayward, 2000, pp. 277-278). Under this lies the sub-subheading “fetishisation of the image,” to which I would also add, of sounds (Pearson, 1997, p. 1). This can refer to any image or sound that seems over exaggerated or more temporarily foregrounded.

The second category, *mise en abîme*, contains the sub-heading of “inter-textuality,” or references to other works and “bricolage,” or the assemblance of different styles and textures (Hayward, 2000, pp. 279-280). Under this lie the sub-subheadings of “genre,” “meta-narratives,” or evidence of cultural stories, folklore, legend, etc. which are culturally familiar, and Lyotard’s sense of the fragmentary, which may refer to the lives of the characters, subjectivity, reality and so forth (Pearson, 1997, p. 1).

The final category, *discourse*, contains the sub-heading of “simulation,” which refers to how the show may be interpreted (Hayward, 2000, p. 277). Under this lie the sub-subheadings of “oppositional,” or postmodernism that has parodic tones which allow for a revolutionary nature, and “mainstream,” or postmodernism that uses pastiche to simply repeat / reinvent genre, style, etc. in a non-subversive way (Hayward, 2000, p. 277). Moreover, there are two additional sub-headings of “heightened reflexivity,” referring to awareness of reality (whether accurate or not) and “ironic self-referentiality,” referring to the show seeming to mock itself, usually in the form of a show within a show (Pearson, 1997, 1).

The criteria will be used as a basis for taking notes on each episode that has been chosen for review. Episode transcripts from a *Twin Peaks* fan website⁵ will be used to ensure accuracy in my interpretation of the narrative. These notes will then be reviewed for commonalities which will allow the analysis to be organized by theme. The analysis will be managed in this thematic style, as opposed to different methods used by those mentioned in the literature review, such as the focus group method used by Reeves et al. (1995), because such organization will be useful for showing how a postmodern sense of nostalgia in relation to the themes is the unifying factor of the show.

Analysis

The analysis portion of this paper will follow the format of the postmodern criteria (Appendix A), in order to show how a postmodern sense of nostalgia permeates the show. It will begin with the form of the show, which includes the *mise-en-scène*, or aesthetics of the show. This category is concerned with prefabrication and its effects. Next, it will concentrate on the content of the show, including the *mise en abîme*, or how the show mirrors other works. Intertextuality will be discussed, as well bricolage and manufactured nostalgia. Finally, the analysis will turn to a brief discussion on the simulation of *Twin Peaks*, from which conclusions about a postmodern sense of nostalgia and the inculcation of cult membership will be formed.

Prefabrication

Twin Peaks contains a series of prefabricated locations, objects, images, etc., which I believe gives the show a familiar quality. This sense of familiarity comes from locations, objects, images and so on that seem manufactured and generic. This prefabrication involves nostalgia when these articles invoke the past, as the following will show.

Location

⁵ Refer to “Glastonbury Grove” in the works cited.

A sense of familiarity can be observed in episode 18, scene 5 (18.5), when James Hurley walks into a bar named “Hideout Wallies.” The bar is dark and contains hardly any identifiable features that would make it stand out in one’s mind. Inside, James simply asks the bartender for “a beer,” not mentioning any specific brand. He sits next to an attractive blonde-haired lady, and she asks him if he is “running from somewhere?” James gets up and “plays the box” by selecting a song on the jukebox. A surprisingly loud and wild sounding song pours out of the speakers, called “I’m Hurt Bad” (Glastonberry, Pilot). The aspects of Hideout Wallies, from its name and appearance to the events that occur inside, can not be specifically placed, yet correspond with any “typical” dark bar, the perfect setting for someone who is running from something or someone, which has been used over and over in countless books, films, TV shows, and so on in the past.

Fetishisation of objects and images.

When the same prefabricated matter is repeatedly used, it becomes fetishized. There are an abundance of fetishized images and objects in *Twin Peaks*. Food that exemplifies long-established views of American small town life, particularly cherry pie, doughnuts and coffee, as well as photographs of Laura Palmer, especially her morgue photo and homecoming queen photo are the most frequently shown prefabricated matter of *Twin Peaks*. The homecoming queen photo, in fact, is the background of the end credits for nearly every *Twin Peaks* episode.⁶ This photo is an image of the character of Laura Palmer, its style being very typical of the high school senior portrait, and therefore serves as a prefabricated image. All of these fetishized images and objects come together in the scene where Agent Cooper is describing the events of Laura’s

⁶ There are several episodes that have different title sequences, including the dancing little person in episode two.

murder thus far. As Cooper speaks, images of Douglas-firs⁷ and the murder scene are overlaid with a moving shot of the conference table in the Sheriff's office, which contains a row of doughnuts, a pot of coffee, an autopsy report with the photo of Laura wrapped in plastic and finally the framed portrait of Laura as homecoming queen (8.19). These prefabricated fetishized objects and images, serve to heighten the mood created by the nostalgic cultural ideal of typical small town life. For example, at the end of this scene Deputy Andy Brennan cries as he holds Laura's photo, foregrounding the sadness of not only Laura's murder, but more importantly the loss of innocence, and this idyllic notion of a small, good-valued town that she represented. The previous examples demonstrate that prefabrication can help to heighten the nostalgia of the show in general.

Intertextuality

While prefabricated images are easily understood by the average viewer, there are other nostalgic references which can sometimes only be understood by a more sophisticated viewer. Intertextual references can be nostalgic, and certain viewers greatly enjoy being actively engaged by these references. High culture viewers are more culturally educated than the average viewer, understanding allusions to outside works that may span varying genres, time-periods and so on. Mittell (2006) describes how high culture viewers may comprise a "boutique" audience, who typically do not watch mainstream television (p. 31). Cult viewers of a show are also selective viewers, as they belong to a "singular interpretive community, a community committed to difference" (Lavery, 1995, p. 4). But whether the audience is made up of viewers who pick and choose which programs they watch, or enjoy a variety of shows, these high culture viewers enjoy recognizing references to other works, as this allows for more "heightened awareness" and

⁷ The image of wind rustling through Douglas-fir trees is fetishized, but this is not necessarily as prefabricated as it is a nuance of David Lynch's artistic vision.

“formal engagement,” as described by Mittell (2006, p. 39) and the “basic pleasure of recognition” and “viewer one upmanship” as expressed by Reeves et al. (1995, p. 177). *Twin Peaks* contains numerous nostalgic intertextual references to past, seemingly idyllic times, which serve to actively engage the educated viewer and promote heightened attention to the show, as compared to the passive mind and lack of engagement which is characteristic of the low culture viewer. For example, the average viewer watching Leland Palmer gain consciousness after fainting from excitement during the Hayward Supper Club would be caught up in the events of the scene and not notice or understand what Leland means by saying “begin the beguine” (8.24). What Leland is referring to is a song written by Cole Porter, which was later made into a swing dance by Artie Shaw and made popular by stars such as Fred Astaire, Tony Martin and the Andrew Sisters (Wilder 1972, p. 240). But for the high culture viewer there is an excitement in recognition, and that emotion comes in part from being actively engaged, and also because of nostalgia for the song and dance of long ago. This compounding of emotion can only serve to promote interest in *Twin Peaks*, as a result of the increased attention being paid to the show. While the majority of intertextual references require high cultural knowledge, it should be noted that there are exceptions. For example, when Audrey Horne asks Donna Hayward if she’s ever heard of One Eyed Jacks (the location) in the Twin Peaks High School Bathroom, Donna replies “isn’t that a western starring Marlon Brando?” (4.5). Indeed, *One Eyed Jacks* is a movie and here one is able to see the low culture viewer being helped along in understanding a nostalgic reference to a classic film made in the Hollywood Studio Era, which some consider to be the greatest time for film-making. The previous examples demonstrate that nostalgic intertextual references serve to promote attention on the part of the viewers in the show, through active engagement. This active engagement becomes crucial for the viewer of *Twin Peaks*, because it is

so easy for he/she to lose focus among the unaccustomed and disorientating effects of the postmodern aspects of the show.

Bricolage

Twin Peaks has a spellbinding quality, the likes of which are developed from the bricolage of its most potent postmodern aspects. “Bricolage” comes from the French, bricoler, which means to “fiddle,” or “tinker.” As an extension, one may understand this term as “something created from a variety of available things” (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, p. 19). *Twin Peaks* makes use of postmodern concepts that are overlaid with nostalgia, to create a final collage from the genre, fragmentation and meta-narratives at hand, as well as actual instances of manufactured nostalgia.

Genre

While mainstream television typically adheres to one or two core genres, *Twin Peaks* blurs the line between categories of media. For example, science fiction is blurred with the detective story in the final episode. Agent Cooper and Sheriff Truman are investigating the kidnapping of Annie Blackburn and realize she has been taken to Glastonberry Grove.

Sheriff Truman

What a doggone minute. There was a circle of twelve sycamores,

Glastonbury Grove!

Deputy Hawk

That’s where I found the bloody towel and the pages of the diary

Agent Cooper (snaps finger)

The legendary Burial Place of King Arthur, Glastonbury. (29.12)

The deductive technique of the investigators, by combining clues and references from previous episodes, romanticizes the detective genre the moment Agent Cooper snaps his fingers in excitement at the realization that he has discovered where Annie has been taken. Glastonbury Grove is a location in the woods that supposedly is also the epicenter for the supernatural (29.12). One must pass through the black lodge (a sort of spirit world waiting room) and be tested in order to enter the white lodge, or world of perfection, bliss and oneness, as described by Deputy Hawk:

My people believe that the white lodge is a place where the spirits that rule the man and nature here reside. There is also a legend of a place called the black lodge, the shadow self of the white lodge. The legend says that every spirit must pass through there on the way to perfection. There you will meet your shadow self. My people call it the dweller on the threshold. But it is said that if you confront the black lodge with imperfect courage, it will utterly annihilate your soul. (18.6)

By describing an old Native American legend to Agent Cooper, Deputy Hawk's speech romanticizes the spirit world. The modern sensibility of the average viewer yearns for one cohesive genre, but since postmodernism forces genres to be blurred, a sense of yearning for the idealized genres (in this case for the detective story and science fiction) is felt. This longing for home, or in this case for consistency, is nostalgic in nature. *Twin Peaks* romanticizes genres, which imbues them with a sense of nostalgia that serves to bring a sense of fluidity to the confusion created by the mix of realms.

Fragmentation of emotions.

A postmodern collage would not be possible, were it not for the fragmented pieces of which it is comprised. Nostalgic emotions are fragmented in *Twin Peaks*, whether they concern the audience or the characters themselves. For example, when Agent Cooper is lying on the floor of his hotel room after just being shot three times in his bullet-proof vest, the viewer does not know whether to laugh or feel desperate over the events that transpire. An old waiter enters the room with a tray of warm milk that Cooper had just ordered from room service. The waiter does not seem to notice that Cooper has been shot and is bleeding on the floor, as he goes about the normal customs of taking care of the customer. He hangs up Cooper's phone, and presents him with a bill. When Cooper asks "Did you call the doctor?" he seems confused, Cooper again asks "The doctor?" and the waiter says "Uhhhh. It's hung up, the phone" (8.1). What may have started out as a somewhat humorous few moments of mishaps has now turned into something much darker, as the viewer realizes that Cooper may actually die on the hotel floor. These emotions are related to manufactured nostalgia, in that a senile old waiter delivering warm milk to a hotel guest is not something every viewer may have experienced, but could imagine having a similar experience in a hotel, as this type of character is familiar in the collective consciousness of the culture, and so the viewer feels an emotional connection to the scene. In addition, this scene represents an ironic sense of nostalgia, because of the inappropriate actions the old man takes in carrying out the traditional customs of being a waiter, instead of coming to the aid of Agent Cooper.

Another example of fragmented emotions on the part of the viewer occurs when Leland is singing "Come on Get Happy" at the Hayward Supper Club. Harriet Hayward has just read a sad poem about Laura Palmer and the mood is suddenly lifted by the humorous song and dance routine portrayed next by Leland. However, one is only able to feel the genuine humor for a few

moments, before Leland begins singing faster and faster, as his routine spirals out of control, culminating with him fainting on the floor (8.24). This example is nostalgic, because the gestures and moves of Leland, such as waving his arms in the air and snapping his fingers, are reminiscent of Fred Astaire, dancing and singing his troubles away. This sense of familiarity with Leland's actions is nostalgic, but it is manufactured because the emotion(s) produced in the viewer are not likely attached to a specific event in their lives. Fragmentation of emotions serves to confuse the viewer on a psychological level, creating a sense of disequilibrium. This heightens the importance of nostalgia in the scenes just mentioned, as it becomes the one factor that may help relieve this tension.

While fragmented nostalgic emotions can create confusion, they can also serve to alter reality. As the faculty and students are told that Laura Palmer has been murdered, emotions run haywire. A screaming girl runs across the courtyard outside the classroom window. Donna begins to cry without even being told what happens, and James Hurley breaks a pencil. The principal comes on the intercom and gives a speech, which he almost must cut short as he is practically unable to hold back his sobbing. The camera travels down the halls of the school, as the voice of the principal echoes down the corridor until the shot fades on the fetishized image in the trophy case of Laura Palmer as homecoming queen. While it makes sense for Donna and James to be upset over their best friend's death, the extreme intensity in which the principal and unknown girl experience sadness shows the fragmentation of emotions. These emotions, especially since they are felt by the principal and unknown girl, are nostalgic, because they deal with being upset over losing one of the most identifying people of their idealized small town community, the homecoming queen that was dating the captain of the football team. They are not really crying for Laura, but for the loss of the idea of Laura, who represented past idealized

notions of innocence and the good-valued small town. As mentioned by Havlena & Holak (1991), nostalgia helps to maintain one's identity in a more transient society of the current times (p 3). In this way, fragmented emotions are creating confusion, and nostalgia is the force that helps ground the viewer in reality.

Fragmentation of reality.

Reality of course does not necessarily have to be fragmented because of emotions, but can simply be fragmented in its own right. In the scene where Agent Cooper, Deputy Hawk and Deputy Andy are practicing target shooting in the basement of the Sheriff's office, Sheriff Truman asks Agent Cooper if he has "ever been married?" To which Cooper replies:

No. I knew someone once who helped me understand commitment, responsibilities and the risks. Who taught me the pain of a broken heart.

Hawk

One woman can make you fly like an eagle, another can give you the strength of a lion, but only one in the cycle of life can fill your heart with wonder and the wisdom that you have known a singular joy. I wrote that for my girlfriend.

Cooper

Local gal?

Hawk

Diane Shapiro. PhD. Brandice (4.9)

Here one is able to see how a nostalgic reference to love, "one woman can make you fly...", can fragment reality. This is so, because at the end of the quotation Hawk says that his poem was

written for a girlfriend (which represents transient love, not committed love) and that she had her PhD., indicating that an educated, sophisticated woman would want to be read poetry. This scene deals with the metanarrative of idealized love. The cliché produced shows the influence of nostalgia on the parts of Agent Cooper and Deputy Hawk. This scene can also be taken as oppositional and parodic, as it shows that Hallmark-card or cliché love is devalued, which in my opinion suggests that violent “love” is more normalized in *Twin Peaks*. Indeed, Reeves et al. (1995) assert that “the underlying corruption, conflict, and confusion are what is apparently real, rather than the image of ordered social reality,” and this in fact is a theme of many of Lynch’s films, particularly *Blue Velvet* (p.186). Again, a sense of confusion is created by this fragmentation of reality, where right and wrong are flip-flopped, cliché and hypocrisy are produced, and violence becomes the custom. Nostalgia serves as the normalizing factor for an otherwise confusing scene.

Fragmentation of subjectivity.

Many of the characters in *Twin Peaks* demonstrate fractured subjectivities from time to time, but no one can quite match that of (as he calls himself upon being introduced) “Federal Bureau of Investigation, Special Agent Dale Cooper” (1.1). In at least three instances, (P.14, 15 & 7.26) Cooper is speaking into a micro-cassette recorder, and he begins each time by going over the facts of the case for who one may assume is his administrative assistant, Diane. In my opinion, this seems like Cooper is dictating notes for his secretary as some sort of standard operating procedure of the bureau. However, each time he speaks, Cooper begins to mix facts about the case with personal truths about his day, such as the conditions of his stay at the Great Northern Hotel. He delivers personal statements in the same authoritative voice that he uses to speak the facts, and does it in such a way that one could imagine him being in a television

advertisement. For example, Cooper mentions in one of his tapes to Diane that “the true test of any hotel...is that morning cup of coffee.” A few moments later he is seated at a dining table in the Great Northern Hotel and tells the waitress “you know, this is, excuse me, a damn fine cup of coffee. I’ve had I can’t tell you how many cups of coffee in my life and this...this is one of the best” (1.1).⁸ It is my belief that these examples deal with manufactured nostalgia, because the fragmented subjectivity of the character leads the viewer to recognize his shallow nature, and accept him and the realm he lives in at face value. This serves to heighten the underlying metanarratives and mores which have been demonstrated to be nostalgic, such as the small town aspects of valuing that morning cup of coffee, rather than attempting to analyze the motives and behavior of the characters. Reeves et al. (1995) comment on the subjectivity of Cooper in the following way:

Cooper’s tape entries to the enigmatic Diane function as the great equalizer of information. Fact, experiences, feelings, prices, are recorded with equally deliberate yet random precision. This may describe a postmodern sensibility in which no one fact takes priority over another. From this perspective, there is no way of making sense of the world, as all hierarchies of meaning and experience are leveled to a flat, equivalent valuation of randomly selected facts. (p.182)

To this, I would comment that it is possible to make sense of the *Twin Peaks* world, but one must look at it through the way in which it is being framed by postmodern fragmentation, be it a television commercial, detective story, or even a soap opera. The postmodern sensibility requires

⁸ According to the DVD commentary, the statement “damn fine cup of coffee” would actually be used by the character of Agent Cooper in a television commercial for a Japanese energy drink called Georgia Coffee.

active engagement and comprehension in order to navigate various concepts that at first may seem confusing, so that one may form a way of understanding the show, a term Jameson (1984) would refer to as “cognitive maps” (p.89). In this way it is possible to understand how a postmodern sense of nostalgia is the unifying factor, the key to the map. In other words, if a collage is being formed of, say, scraps of paper, photos, drawings etc on a bulletin board, and these scraps represent postmodern aspects, such as fetishisation, bricolage and fragmentation, then nostalgia is the actual cork board on which the scraps are attached and unified. In creating a piece of art, particularly a collage, the medium can sometimes influence the work; the bulletin board may itself influence the placement of the scraps. In other words, examples of manufactured nostalgia and its influence can actually be seen playing out among the characters in the show.

Manufactured nostalgia

Upon re-watching the show and focusing my attention on the specific episodes mentioned in the method section, I began to notice a trend that I had not accounted for in the list that I had developed of postmodern criteria (See appendix A). There were actually examples of manufactured nostalgia being played out in several scenes, with either one character influencing the other, or a character himself being influenced. In the scene where Bobby and his father, Major Briggs, are sitting together in the Double R Café, the son is nearly moved to tears by his father’s recounting of a vision he had of Bobby from the previous night. Major Briggs’ relates the following to Bobby:

In my vision I was on a veranda of a ... vast estate, a palazzo of some fantastic proportion. There seemed to emanate from it ... a light from within this ... gleaming, radiant marble. I’d known this

place. I ... in fact had been born and raised there. This was my first return. A reunion with the ... deepest well springs of my being...returning to the house's grand foyer, there came a knock on the door. My son was standing there...He was happy and care free. Clearly living a life of ... deep harmony and joy. We embraced...We were, in this moment, one. (8.18)

As mentioned in the literature review, nostalgia literally means a longing to return home. Major Briggs talks about this fictional palazzo as a place that he had “known,” a place where he had “been born and raised,” and this was his “return.” In other words, Major Briggs is literally talking about nostalgia, the longing to return home. By simply hearing this nostalgic message, Bobby’s rebellious and oppositional attitude is transformed in front of the viewer’s eyes to that of a wide-eyed son who is moved by the words of his father. It had been well established up until this point that Bobby did not care for his father, or anyone else except himself. The only person Bobby would show any tenderness to was his lover, Shelley Johnson. It had also been established that the only emotional side of Bobby had to do with the satisfaction of his sexual urges or temper. To watch Bobby’s nerve crumble with only a few words (perhaps in a somewhat exaggerated sense) shows the power of manufactured nostalgia. Another example which deals with this emotional reaction to nostalgia occurs when Ben Horne is talking to a group of Norwegian investors. He makes a speech about how Twin Peaks has a “clean, wholesome environment, much like (their) own country, with a quality of life to rival the very best that (America) has to offer, and that is what the Ghostwood Country Club and Estates will be.” Then he quotes one of the investors as saying that after his morning jog his “air sacks have never felt so good,” and says that in Twin Peaks, “health and industry go hand in hand” (P.5).

These statements are nostalgic in nature, as they deal with idealized / stereotypical notions of the past; the small-town that has a high quality of life. Ben Horne does not care about the environment, but with only a few nostalgic remarks about their homeland and how it compares to Twin Peaks, the investors are sold on the deal. An example of a character being affected by a postmodern sense of nostalgia is Agent Cooper, in the scene in which he has just been shot and is lying on the floor, hoping that the microcassette recorder will record what may be his last words to Diane.

At a time like this, curiously, you begin to think of the things you regret or the things you might miss. I would like in general to treat people with much more care and respect. I would like to climb a tall hill. Not too tall. Sit in the cool grass. Not too cool. And feel the sun on my face. I wish I could have cracked the Lindburg kidnapping case. I would very much like to make love to a beautiful woman who I had genuine affection for. And of course, it goes without saying, that I would like to visit Tibet. I wish they could get their country back and the Dalai Lama could return. Oh I would like that very much. (8.3)

Cooper at this point is aware that he had his bullet-proof vest on, but is unsure if help will arrive in time. He begins to list off a series of cliché sayings such as “treat people with more care,” as well as mention things in popular culture, such as the Lindburg kidnapping, or the status of the Dalai Lama. These clichés and references to pop culture are interwoven with manufactured nostalgia, as mentioned previously, in that they deal with references to the past and ideals, such as bringing resolution to a problem / mystery or achieving harmony, which Cooper feels a real

emotional need to do, even though these are not personal nostalgias for him. Cooper has never been to Tibet, nor investigated the Lindburg kidnapping. These should not be things he “regrets or miss(es).” But this longing for resolution or as Havlena & Holak (1991) would say, for “return(ing) home,” is ingrained in his psyche and manifests itself at the culturally appropriate moment, when it seems like he may die. Manufactured nostalgia is an all-pervasive concept, and when looked at as a whole can affect the discourse of the show.

Discourse

Originally, as part of the discourse of *Twin Peaks*, I set out to find examples of heightened reflexivity and ironic self-referentiality. While I found numerous examples, I have discovered that these categories are not influenced by nostalgia and are therefore irrelevant for this paper. The simulation of *Twin Peaks*, I believe, can be categorized as mainstream postmodernism, or pastiche, as opposed to oppositional, or parodic. While there are several examples of ironic nostalgia (oppositional postmodernism), the majority of postmodern aspects mentioned deal with pastiche, or irony without an agenda. I have come to this conclusion based on the textual examples mentioned in this paper, as well as my belief that Lynch’s work is not typically intentionally oppositional. But whether or not this is the case is not of vital importance to this thesis.

Conclusion

What is important to understand is that no matter if it is parodic or pastiche in nature, nostalgia is the one constant factor that unites all of the postmodern examples. It brings clarity to what would otherwise be confusion, and helps ground postmodern aspects of a TV show in the real world of high modernism. Since this paper performs a textual analysis of the show, the

nostalgic and its implications for the show, can and should be studied in the production and reception of the show.

As the character Margaret Lanterman, or “the log lady” as she is known by the members of Twin Peaks community, says in the pilot episode:

There are many stories in Twin Peaks. Some of them are sad, some funny. Some are stories of madness, of violence. Some are ordinary; yet they all have about them a sense of mystery. The mystery of life, sometimes the mystery of death. The mystery of the woods, the woods surrounding Twin Peaks. To introduce this story, let me just say it encompasses the all. It is beyond the fire, though few would know that meaning. It is a story of many, but it begins with one. And I knew her. The one leading to the many is Laura Palmer. Laura is the one.

Nostalgia is the familiarity, the inculcator, the longing that unites everything. Like Laura Palmer, nostalgia is the one.

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Appendix A

Criteria for Documenting Postmodern Auteurial Examples in *Twin Peaks*

Mise en Scène – How the show is presented to the viewer, its aesthetics

- ❖ Prefabrication – pre-packaging / commodification of emotions, images, sounds, etc.
 - Fetishisation of images / sounds

Mise en Abîme – How the show “mirrors” or takes on another work, its form

- ❖ Intertextuality - references to other works
- ❖ Bricolage - assembling of different styles / textures as well as:
 - Genre
 - Meta-Narratives – greater, culturally familiar stories, images, concepts, etc.
 - Fragmentation – of characters, subjectivity, reality, etc.

Discourse – Ideology of the show and its potential impact on the viewer, its reception

- ❖ Simulation - how the show may be interpreted
 - Oppositional – Parody
 - or -
 - Mainstream – Pastiche
 - Heightened Reflexivity – sudden awareness of reality (whether accurate or not)
 - Ironic Self-Referentiality – self-mocking, such as a show within a show