Where Have All the Laborers Gone?

Forgotten Workers in Twin Peaks and

The Virgin Suicides

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For too long, a small group in our nation's capital has reaped the rewards of government while the people have borne the cost. Washington flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth. Politicians prospered, but the jobs left and the factories closed . . . The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer. (Trump "The Inaugural Address")

I've never seen so many trees in my life. ("Pilot," Twin Peaks)

During the 2016 presidential campaign, Donald Trump embraced a strategy to appeal to "forgotten" workers. This approach seemed to succeed in mobilizing conservative-minded workers, who feared they would be forgotten, to vote for Trump. He denounced Hillary Clinton, who was made to represent the establishment and Wall Street, and she was negatively associated with global economic systems like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which was ratified by Bill Clinton during his presidency from 1993 to 2001. Trump suggested the economic policies of the 1990s were a factor in people's current suffering, and he won the election. Although the final data shows Hillary Clinton won the votes of working class people, Trump declaimed in the inaugural address speech that "[t]he forgotten men

and women of our country will be forgotten no longer," as he claimed his victory resulted, at least partially, from the support of the working class. Regardless of the actual statistics, Trump's words were sufficient to raise the profile of the working class, who used to be in the center of American society. As such, three questions arise that this paper will answer: Had society really forgotten about laborers? If so, why didn't the workers unite to protest against this? And, when did this process start?

To historicize what happened and how, this paper aims to analyze the representation of workers and the construction of forgotten-ness in Twin Peaks (1990-92) and The Virgin Suicides (1993). These works have a lot in common: the deaths of beautiful girls, peculiar ecological turns in the plot, workers making curious appearances and abruptly vanishing, and the strange representation of labor unions. The 1990s is called the decade of "the End of History," for it starts with the collapse of the Cold War and ends with the 9/11 attacks. American society greatly changed its structure; for instance, in The New Spirit of Capitalism, Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello state that the labor unions had weakened their positions throughout the 1980s under the influence of neoliberalism, and by 1990, they had much less power to society, and became unnecessary (273-300). Through both Twin Peaks and The Virgin Suicides, I will clarify how workers became "forgotten" in the political discourse of 1990s and how this influenced creative works.

Dead Bodies That Matter

To begin with, I will analyze why *Twin Peaks* and *The Virgin Suicides* were able to gain wide popularity among people around the world. In "The Philosophy of Composition," Edgar Allan Poe states "the death . . . of a beautiful woman is unquestionably the most poetical topic in the world, and equally is it beyond doubt that the lips best

suited for such topic are those of a bereaved lover" (10). Poe's highlighting in the 19th century of "the death . . . of a beautiful woman" as "the most poetical topic" matches perfectly with David Lynch's Twin *Peaks*, one of the most-watched TV dramas of the 1990s (Halskov 20). The story starts with a death of a beautiful woman named Laura Palmer; her relationship with various men in the town are discovered by the protagonist, FBI Special Agent Dale Cooper, who has a murdered lover in his own past. Poe's theory is also relevant when discussing Jeffrey Eugenides' novel, The Virgin Suicides, a prizewinning, best-selling novel published in 1993, as it focuses on the death of beautiful girls. The story centers on the lives of five sisters, the Lisbon girls, who all commit suicide, and it is narrated in the firstperson plural from the perspective of an anonymous group of teenage boys who were friends with the sisters and who struggle to understand their deaths. The novel closes with the men stating that they will never know the motives behind the suicides (243). Slavoj Žižek declares that "the enigma of woman's depression lies at the center of . . . Lynch's entire oeuvre" (119), but to this should be added, in the case not only of Twin Peaks but also The Virgin Suicides, that the death of a beautiful woman and "the dead body" is also at the center of the work.

Though Lisa Perdigao rightly suggests the dead bodies of postmodern fiction want to be uncovered, rather than to be buried as they would be in a modernist novel (73), what I will show in this paper is not how dead girls' bodies become uncovered, but rather, what they cause to be buried. When certain secrets concerning the death of beautiful women are revealed, more are obscured; when dead bodies are centered, the living are marginalized—we should not forget that dead bodies need a living labor to be buried.

The Strike That Had Mattered Did Not Matter in the 1990s

First, let us look at how the workers are shown in Twin Peaks. The

Where Have All the Laborers Gone?

setting of *Twin Peaks* is a small mountain town of the same name, and the Packard Sawmill is a major supplier of timber. In the first episode "Pilot," the owner of the Packard Sawmill, who was a friend of Laura, tells her employees to go home and mourn her death. This scene is the only one shot inside the factory and the only one that shows the sawmill workers throughout all 30 episodes of the show. Benjamin Horne, a prominent and greedy businessman, who owns a local hotel, department store, and brothel, states: "The Packard Sawmill is gonna go belly-up in the year" ("Pilot"). He hopes to acquire the land for the Ghostwood Development Project to create a luxury country club.



Figure 1. Benjamin Horne in "Pilot," smoking as usual.

In "Episode 4," a man hired by Horne burns the sawmill down. Even though about 150 workers become unemployed, there is no scene in

which the sawmill workers ask for unemployment insurance. It is as



Figure 2-1. The Packard Sawmill. This factory is shown in the opening credits.



Figure 2-2. The Packard Sawmill. Although the machines are functioning, no workers are shown in the opening credits.

though they never existed in the first place. The characters of *Twin Peaks*, as well as the TV audience, are more interested in discovering who killed Laura than where the workers have gone. Still, every week in every episode, the Packard Sawmill, functioning but with no visible workforce, appears in the opening credits.

Twin Peaks and The Virgin Suicides have more in common than the death and the dead bodies of beautiful teenage girls: both were written by white male authors in the early 1990s, both are set in towns bordering Canada and both depict dysfunctional, white, middle-class families in which paternalism collapses.² Further, in both, the girls have complicated relationships with sexual activity and sexuality, trees figure prominently, beauty pageants are held, the diaries of dead girls are read by boys, there is a suspicion of creamed corn, and peculiar relationships are formed between the towns and the environments surrounding them. Most importantly, in both, workers make strange appearances and are often used to serve the dead bodies.³ For example, coinciding perfectly with the Lisbon girls' suicides, a strike occurs. Cemetery workers begin striking on the day Cecilia attempts suicide (12) and stop striking on the day Mary, the last surviving sister, kills herself:

As luck would have it, on the day of Mary's suicide, the cemetery workers' strike was settled after 409 days of arbitration. The strike's length had caused mortuaries to fill up months ago, and the many bodies awaiting burial now came back from out of state, in refrigerated trucks . . . No one attended the final mass burial of the Lisbon girls other than Mr. and Mrs. Lisbon; Mr. Calvin Honnicutt, a cemetery worker just back on the job; and Father Moody. (Eugenides 233)

In the beginning, "[n]obody had given much thought to the strike, nor

to the cemetery workers' grievances, because most of us had never been to a cemetery" (32); however, its presence increases as the story continues.



Figure 3. Cemetery workers picket at the cemetery's entrance gate. Their signs state, "For Better Wages, Security, Safety" and, "You Respect the Dead . . . Now Respect the Living!"

In the film adaptation of *The Virgin Suicides* (1999), on the contrary, the strike is set aside. In the scene shown in Figure 3, Mr. Lisbon takes Cecilia's body to the cemetery. In the novel, this scene is described as follows: "The hearse had trouble getting through the gate because of the picketing, but when the strikers learned the deceased's age, they parted, and even lowered their angry placards" (35).⁴ "[F]unerals continued, but without the consummation of burial" (33), so "Cecilia Lisbon was given all the final funerary rites of the Catholic Church except interment" (34). However, in the film the narrators say nothing about the strike and the characters remain silent during this scene. As a result, it seems the father is strikebreaking and, in the only scene in

the film depicting a funeral, the cemetery workers' strike does not have any meaning for the structure of the plot. The scene only works to emphasize the sadness of the father who has lost his daughter, and the cemetery workers leave quietly, like the sawmill workers in *Twin Peaks*.

On the other hand, the elm trees in *The Virgin Suicides* play a symbolic part in both the novel and the film. Many are "diagnosed with Dutch elm disease and [are to] be removed in order to inhibit further spread" (172), and "the elm in the Lisbons' front yard was among the condemned" (172). As it was "Cecilia's favorite" (176), the only sister who is dead at that time, the Lisbon girls run out of their house and surround the tree to save it when the Parks Department arrives to cut it down.



Figure 4. The Lisbon girls protect the elm tree that is already dead.

This is the most symbolic scene in both the novel and the film; the Lisbon girls attempt to protect the tree in an unbroken picket line, not unlike that of the cemetery workers. In the last scene, after all the Lisbon girls are dead, the elm tree is cut down, and the narrators link

these events: "Everyone we spoke to dated the demise of our neighborhood from the suicides of the Lisbon girls . . . People saw their clairvoyance in the wiped-out elms, the harsh sunlight, the continuing decline of our auto industry" (238). ⁵

What is important to note here is the boys are narrating the novel retrospectively, from their positions as adults in the 1990s. The young boys' narration can make the audience forget about the gap between the 1970s and the 1990s. Eugenides wrote this book looking back on the 1970s from the setting of the 1990s, he researched the cemetery workers' strike in Detroit in 1970, and knowing that labor unions were more powerful at the time, he included this perspective in his novel (Hidalga 134). Boltanski and Chiapello state that the weakening of labor unionism occurred "particularly from the beginning of the 1980s to the mid-1990s" (273). According to them, criticism against labor unions reached its peak in the mid-1980s (291) and although social classes were highly pervasive in the 1970s in literature, media, and cinema, they "gradually faded from the field of representation" (300) and no longer seemed to exist by the second half of the 1980s. The 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall triggered the collapse of the Cold War between the US and the USSR in 1990, and the eventual dissolution of the latter in 1991. The ideology of socialism was replaced by the New World Order, and the idea of labor unions became outdated. Coppola's 1999 film effaces the historical fact and importance of 1970s industrial action that is depicted in the original novel, which was based on the research by Eugenides.

In those days in Detroit, many black people worked for the auto industry. The story is set in suburbia so, in the novel, they only appear one time: "The city downtown had deteriorated to such a degree that most blacks had no other place to go" (99). However, Coppola's film has no shot of them. Of course, unlike novels, a movie has time constraints to consider, so the director has to decide what can be

included. For Coppola's film, the historical background of the labor unions and the black workers are not deemed vital to the narrative. Thus, they vanish and are forgotten.

The Two Faces of Capitalism

In a 2001 interview, Mark Frost, the co-creator of *Twin Peaks*, revealed that the shooting of Twin Peaks was supposed to begin in 1988; however, it was postponed due to the 1988 Writers Guild of America strike that continued for 155 days, the longest strike in the history of the guild. As aforementioned, *Twin Peak*s begins with Laura Palmer's death. When we consider Laura's death in 1990, as shown in the official supplementary reading material, The Secret Diary of Laura Palmer, Twin Peaks can be read as a post-Cold War text. At the beginning of 1990s, Fredric Jameson says, "It seems to be easier for us today to imagine the thoroughgoing deterioration of the earth and of nature than the breakdown of late capitalism; perhaps that is due to some weakness in our imaginations" (xii). After the collapse of the Cold War, in a world where the power to form labor unions was much reduced, we were facing a new decade without an alternative ideology to capitalism. Without an ideological opponent, environmental problems suddenly became a more important issue for capitalism. Hence, the conflict between capitalism and socialism was replaced by internal adjustment within capitalism.

Then, are there any relationships between the girls, the labor and the trees? When the Lisbon girls die, the strike ends and the tree is cut down. As for *Twin Peaks*, when Laura dies, the sawmill stops and the trees remain uncut. Jameson insists that "everything striking in *Twin Peaks* derives essentially from the isolation of its props—the talking log, for one" (161). Yet, the talking log is more than that, it is the key to understanding this queer relationship between the girls, the labor and the trees. The talking log belongs to "The Log Lady," a

pivotal character in the drama, and she always holds it in her arms like a child or a pet. The log is a gift that her husband, who was a lumberjack, gave her on the day of their wedding, before he died in a fire on the same night. The Log Lady has no children or occupation. She is able to interact with the spiritual world through the log, which accurately describes various events; for example, prior to Laura's death, she delivers moving and cryptic warnings to Laura. The Log Lady does not interpret the messages transmitted by the log, but instead functions as a medium for the information it conveys, saying, "my log has something to tell you," and her log is always correct.8 Within the little mountain town without a sawmill in operation, the talking log helps Agent Cooper and the town's sheriff to solve the murders. The girls who surround the tree remind us of the strike and the lady who holds the log makes us remember the sawmill. Women outside the labor force and objects from the natural world become the medium to access the labor.9

Unlike *The Virgin Suicides*, in *Twin Peaks* it is not girls but a man who protects the trees from being cut down. As mentioned, the Packard Sawmill was set on fire and shut down, as Horne had a scheme to obtain the land rights for a business plan called the Ghostwood Development Project. Up to "Episode 18," he is shown to be an avaricious man who would do anything to reach his goals, including dirty work for the Ghostwood Development Project. However, he still fails. Betrayed by his co-conspirator, he is unable to obtain the land rights and loses ownership of Ghostwood and his brothel. Further, he gets arrested on suspicion of the murder of Laura Palmer. Horne becomes profoundly depressed from losing Ghostwood and from his arrest, which has a negative impact on his business. Horne has a mental breakdown, believing himself to be the General of the Confederate States of America fighting in the Civil War. His doctor states that, "by reversing the Civil War, Ben [believes he can] reverse his own

Where Have All the Laborers Gone?

emotional center." When the Confederate States of America finally wins in his mind, Horne seems to regain his sanity but appears to become a totally different person.



Figure 5. Benjamin Horne in "Episode 23," always eating fresh vegetables.

In *Enjoy Your Symptom!*, Slavoj Žižek points out that the "mutation of the theme of 'social corruption' into the 'supernatural' is at work in *Twin Peaks*" (163). The supernatural phenomena lead this socially corrupt man to become an environmentalist, and I will take particular note on his turn to an ecological mindset that leads to the disappearance of labor in the story. After the breakdown, Horne plans the "Stop Ghostwoods Campaign" against the Ghostwood Development Project, even though Horne was originally a part of the latter project. He makes an impassioned speech to his people:

So, in spite of these reversals and stripped of all the trappings of success, what are we left with? The human spirit. What is the greatest gift that one human being can give to another? The future. I give you the little pine weasel . . . According to an environmental impact report, what few pine weasels remain will be all but wiped out with the Packard plans for Ghostwood Development . . . [I want to save] not just the weasel, but life as we know it. I want Twin Peaks to remain unspoiled in an era of vast environmental carnage. ("Episode 23")

Interestingly, we cannot tell whether his speech is genuine nor whether he is mentally healthy or just pretending to be. After his speech, he walks away from his illegal business, starts eating fresh vegetables instead of smoking cigars, smiles at everyone, stops being promiscuous, and restores his relationship with his daughter. It is as if he has restored what he forgot, except for the Packard Sawmill workers who lost their jobs because of his greed. It may seem a logical progression for this born-again humanitarian and environmentalist to apologize to the sawmill workers, but he does not. It is Horne's turn to an ecological mindset that completes the disappearance of labor in Twin Peaks. 10 It may seem that he turns into a completely different person, but he is actually showing another side of the same coin. Boltanski and Chiapello define the "spirit of capitalism" as "the ideology that justifies engagement in capitalism" (8), and they describe how it has two faces: "one turned towards capital accumulation, the other towards legitimating principles" (58). Horne's face is turned towards capital accumulation when he is carrying out Ghostwood Development Project, and even after he starts launching Stop Ghostwood Campaign, it is the same 'capitalist'-Horne. It is just that his face is turned towards legitimating principals. Boltanski and Chiapello state: "In both periods [1960s and 1990s], it is recognized that profit is not a very inspiring

goal. Cadres initially, in the 1960s, and then workforce as whole in the 1990s, wanted 'genuine reasons' for engaged commitment' (63). The human spirit that Horne channels, along with his ideological justification for engaging in entrepreneurial activities, results in the new spirit of capitalism, which arises after the weakening of the labor union. So to speak, this new spirit of capitalism is the spirit under a neoliberal regime. It is easy to blame Horne for forgetting the sawmill workers, as it is hardly believable that he really wants to launch the "Stop the Ghostwoods Campaign." As David Harvey indicates, "The era of neoliberalization also happens to be the era of the fastest mass extinction of species in the Earth's recent history" (173). In addition, he also states, "Neoliberal insistence upon privatization makes it hard to establish any global agreements on principles to protect valuable habitats and biodiversity" (175). From this perspective, the "Stop the Ghostwoods Campaign" to save the pine weasels becomes successful and untouchable just like the elm tree that is protected by Lisbon girls. In Twin Peaks, many of the mysterious events happen in a deep forest and there is the door to the "Black Lodge" where the evil spirit that killed Laura Palmer lives. In the final episode, "Episode 30," Agent Cooper goes into the Black Lodge, and the evil spirit who possessed the man that killed Laura possesses Cooper. Then, Twin Peaks abruptly ends, postponing the mystery and keeping the sawmill workers forgotten.

From Red to Green

When the red ideology of communism was about to vanish from the Western world, the red imagination came to David Lynch. In *Twin Peaks*, if the most well-known character is Laura, the most famous sequence is definitely that of the "Red Room." This is the waiting room with red-draped curtains in the Black Lodge where the Man from Another Place lives.



Figure 6. The Man from Another Place in the Red Room in "Episode 3": Although a spirit, he appears to Agent Cooper as a dwarf in a red suit and dress shirt. In the Red Room, he and Laura talk backwards.

The Man from Another Place first appears in the series' third episode, in a dream experienced by Agent Cooper, and this sequence has a huge impact on the audience. The gate to the Black Lodge/Red Room is deep in Ghostwood forest and covered with greenery so thick that ordinary people cannot see it nor access it. Laura Palmer, after being killed, also lives there and appears in Cooper's dream to inform him of Killer Bob. As mentioned, in the final episode, Cooper goes into the Black Lodge and the Red Room through Ghostwood forest, and in the end he becomes possessed by Bob. According to *Lynch on Lynch*, it was during editing "Pilot" when the idea of the Red Room and the Man from Another Place came to Lynch suddenly (250). "Pilot" aired on April 8, 1990, meaning an imagination full of red appeared just after

the fall of the Berlin Wall, when communism known as red ideology appeared to be in terminal decline. It seems to be no coincidence.

When we examine the past, we must understand the historical context; however, it is sometimes necessary to verify the past from the present perspective. In the final episode of the original TV series, Laura Palmer in the Red Room promises Agent Cooper to "see you in 25 years," and she keeps her word: 25 years after *Fire, Walk With Me* (1992), *Twin Peaks* returned in 2017 as *Twin Peaks: The Return*. In the original series, the whole story is set in Twin Peaks; however, *The Return* is a global one. Although it is unclear what Horne has been doing for 25 years, some things are evident: Benjamin Horne still runs the hotel, and he has switched back to smoking cigars.



Figure 7. Benjamin Horne in the first episode of *Twin Peaks: The Return*, smoking a cigar once again.

This change suggests that the environment has never been Horne's real

concern. In *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate*, Naomi Klein points out that, throughout the 1980s, free-market ideology combined with environmentalism (171). However, Klein asserts: "The green billionaires won't save us" (231). In the world of *Twin Peaks*, she is right: the green capitalist Benjamin Horne would save only his company. After the end of the Cold War, intellectuals on the left no longer focused exclusively on class and began arguing about environmental crises. Rosemary Hennessy points out that "the retreat from the class analysis in the academy in the eighties and the nineties began to seem one of neoliberalism's most effective ideological weapons" (12). In *The Return*, in contrast to Horne's back to a former capitalist, the Man from Another Place appears transformed quite differently: He morphed from a little man to a tree. What does these



Figure 8. The Man from Another Place appears in the form of a tree (in the first episode of *The Return*).

transformations mean? From our historical perspective of these 25

years, let us turn our eyes to the official title logo of the opening credits:



Figure 9. Official title logo of *Twin Peaks*. The letters are red outlined in green. This is used in whole series including *The Return*.

The bold, red letters, outlined in green, not only imply the plot of Agent Cooper going through the woods to reach the Red Room, but are also themselves a symbol of the social change from Red to Green. "From Red to Green" is the name of a book written in 1984 by Rudolf Bahro who was born in East Germany and was a leader of West German party The Greens. When the color Red, as the ideological symbol color of socialism and communism that people think is against capitalism, reduced in political importance in people's mind after the collapse of the Cold War, Green as the ecological new left ideology rose up and covered it instead, indicating capitalism's ability to self-correct. In this process of mutation, the labor unions that required socialistic imagination became out of favor, suggesting Green concerns became dominant in the popular consciousness over the Red issues of unionized labor. Twin Peaks's title logo can be read as the allegory of this change. This is why the dead girl and the creatures from another place live in the Red Room. This is why Benjamin Horne does not remember the workers. This is why Sophia Coppola did not care about

the strikes. This is the story of how we forgot the workers in 1990s. The whole *Twin Peaks* series is the allegory of "From Red to Green." We must not only recover the missing representation of workers in the 1990s but also historicize the process of how we forgot them in the first place.

Notes

- 1. For more details, see Mohajer.
- 2. The town of Twin Peaks does not exist. Agent Cooper states in "Pilot" that Twin Peaks is "five miles south of the Canadian border and 12 miles west of the state line."

The man who killed Laura was her father, Leland Palmer, after being possessed by an evil spirit called Killer Bob. Leland does not understand his actions until he dies in "Episode 16," although Killer Bob survives. In the final episode, Killer Bob enters Agent Cooper. For more about *The Virgin Suicides*, see Wilhite.

- 3. The following passage appears abruptly in the dead girl [Cecilia]'s diary: "They [the Lisbon girls] all detested creamed corn" (Eugenides 40). In *Twin Peaks*, creamed corn teleports between realms, and the residents of the Red Room secretly call it *garmonbozia*. This is a famous scene, so when people who watch *Twin Peaks* read this passage in *The Virgin Suicides*, they are likely to think of Laura Palmer. This allusion also suggests that Eugenides was aware of *Twin Peaks*. For the influence of *Twin Peaks*, see Och.
- 4. Steven Daldry's film *Billy Elliot* (2000) has a similar sequence, in which a father breaks his strike for his son. In *Billy Elliot*, the labor union is represented negatively: strike for yourself, scab for your family.
- 5. Many critics have read *The Virgin Suicides* through the theory of ecocriticism, focusing on 1970s Detroit during the energy crisis and

the fall of the motor industry. In "Running Out of Gas: The Energy Crisis in 1970s Suburban Narratives," Christian Long points out that "the metaphoric relationship between the Lisbon girls and the elm trees demands a reconsideration of the eco-critical critique of the suburban form within *The Virgin Suicides*" (361).

- 6. Watch Twin Peaks Entire Mystery's disc 8 special features.
- 7. According to the other official supplementary reading material, Scott Frost's *The Autobiography of F.B.I. Special Agent Dale Cooper: My Life, My Tapes* (1991), Laura Palmer died in 1989. This confusion of basic setting means the creators (David Lynch and Mark Frost) don't care about what year it is.
 - 8. When the TV series re-aired on Bravo Network in 1993, David Lynch added a series of short monologues by the Log Lady. Before each episode, the Log Lady, sitting in her cabin and holding the log, speaks to the camera, usually touching obliquely on the plot or theme of the accompanying episode as if the log knows everything.
 - 9. The Lisbon girls commit suicide before becoming a part of labor force, and the title "Virgin" suggests that their reproductive labor has never been there in the first place.
 - 10. In the last chapter of *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Fredric Jameson defined identity politics as "the substitute for a disappearing working class" (319). By quoting this sentence, Reiichi Miura historicized the 1990s as a decade in which the labor movement is surrounded by inability. See Miura.

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