

The Zombie as Barometer of Cultural Anxiety

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Abstract

Although it has usually enjoyed cult rather than mainstream attention, the zombie has nonetheless proven a resilient staple of the twentieth-century American pantheon of cinematic monsters. Through almost seventy-five years of evolution on the big screen, the zombie can be read as tracking a wide range of cultural, political, and economic anxieties of American society. Born of Haitian folklore and linked from its earliest periods to oppression, the zombie began as a parable of the exploited worker in modern industrial economies and of the exploited native in colonial nations. Through decades marked by concerns over environmental deterioration, political conflict, the growth of consumer-capitalism, and the commoditization of the body implicit in contemporary biomedical science, the creature has served to articulate these and other anxieties in ways that are sometimes light-hearted and witty, sometimes dark and cynical.

Keywords:

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Zombie movie fans have been pleased to witness the recent resurgence in the popularity of zombie movies either as major studio productions or as movies enjoying first-run theatre distribution (*28 Days Later*, 2002; *Dawn of the Dead*, 2004; *Shaun of the Dead*, 2004; *Land of the Dead*, 2005). This resurgence has merely rekindled mainstream attention once again to a unique and layered creature that, in fan websites and cult circles, has never lost popularity. Comprehensive lists of zombie movies can run to well over three hundred titles (depending on how a "zombie" is defined) - with something like a third of these appearing since 2000 or so. Most of the more recent titles are amateur, direct-to-DVD productions. But the vibrant fan culture surrounding zombie fiction, videogames, and movies attests to the enduring power and relevance of a mythological creature that has proven itself consistently resonant with shifting cultural anxieties for over seven decades.

Despite the efforts of some folklorists such as Elsie Parsons to conduct legitimate research into native Haitian beliefs, the zombie first became known to the broader American public through a handful of sensationalistic accounts of native superstitions used to pad popular travel literature - William Seabrook's *The Magic Island* being among the most

notorious.¹ America was engaged in a prolonged occupation of Haiti from 1915-1934, an occupation marked by increasingly vocal and sometimes violent resistance from the native population. Many of the marines stationed in Haiti, upon returning to the States, freely levelled charges of cannibalism and reported native superstitions such as the "zombie." The creature was quickly adopted by the entertainment industry following a Broadway play and the subsequent Bela Lugosi 1932 movie *White Zombie*. Circumventing the usual literary channels that gave the Frankenstein Monster and Dracula critical legitimacy, the zombie nonetheless emerged in the 1930s as a cinematic monster uniquely suited to address many of the social tensions of Depression-era America.

Ghosts and revenants are known world-wide, but few are as consistently associated with economy and labour as the shambling corpse of Haitian vodun, brought back from the dead to toil in the fields and factories by miserly land-owners or by spiteful *houngan* or *bokor* priests.² In West African religions, the original *zombi* was not a single concept: the term covered a wide range of spirits and demi-god like beings, both good and evil. This diversity survived into Haitian vodun and even into the lore of the American South.³ The slaves who had been long supplanted from their homelands and who eventually overthrew French colonial oppression in Saint Domingue did so, in part, by recourse to the shared African identity evoked by vodun. The zombie, a soul-less hulk mindlessly working at the bidding of another, thus records a residual communal memory of slavery: of living a life without dignity and meaning, of going through the motions.⁴ This image may also have struck a chord in Depression-era America. Since its earliest periods, America had forged individual and social values around a perpetual shortage of available labour and the valorization of hard work, initiative, and industry; now for the first time it was suddenly faced with a catastrophic surplus of labour, of hands without work to do. The burned-out souls standing in lines at soup kitchens or fruitlessly waiting in employment lines are zombies of a sort, shells of human beings.

The 1932 film *White Zombie* deploys the zombie compellingly in portraying alienation of the worker from spiritual connection with labour and from the ability to reap reward from the product of labour. Such mechanization of the worker in an industrialized economy fuelled the labour-management tensions of the early decades of the twentieth century. Ongoing struggles and rapidly expanding union membership eventually resulted in such legislation as the 1935 National Labour Relations Act and the 1938 Fair Labour Standards Act, following massive strikes in 1933 and 1934. It was in this environment that zombies were introduced to the wider American public. In *White Zombie*, Bela Lugosi plays Murder Legendre, a Haitian factory owner and sorcerer who raises the dead to slave silently in his sugar cane factory. The scene in which Beaumont (Robert Frazer) first visits the unholy

factory is among the most memorable of the film. The gaunt, sinewy workers with sunken eyes shuffle in production assembly lines and around the large, central milling vat. They are reifications of despair and hopelessness, no more than cogs in the mighty machine themselves. A number of them drive the central axle of the milling vat by turning the spokes of a large wheel, plodding in perpetual circles, while all around them machine parts move slowly and creak malevolently. For several minutes the camera lingers on this Sisyphus-like vision of hell and futility. When confronted with the unnaturalness of this production plant, Legendre coldly and sardonically replies to Beaumont, "They work faithfully...and they do not worry about long hours." The film paints him as a Baron of Industry, a god-like master of life and death who views all human relations, at the fundamental level, as transactions to be conducted in an economy of power relations.⁵ At a time when trade unions, mine and factory conditions, and fair employment issues were central to the evolving ethic of the worker and the American workplace, the character of Legendre must have seemed haunting indeed.

Power dynamics between owners and labourers also resurface in other first-generation zombie movies such as the 1935 feature *Ouanga* (a "ouanga" or "wanga" is a vodun charm). In this fascinating but virtually forgotten movie - one of the few zombie movies ever to be shot in Haiti, in fact - white plantation owner Adam (Philip Brandon), looking for his abducted fiancée, looms over two black Haitian zombies in a scene charged with racial and historical tension. Cracking a whip after them, he orders the helpless revenants to do his bidding, in order to consolidate his nuptials and continue amassing his dominions. He is a foreign national come to the island to own, to appropriate, to civilize, to command. Even native mulatto Clelie (Fred Washington), lighter skinned than the unfortunate revenants, orders them around in a servile, demeaning tone. The primary plot tension results from her inability to understand that even though her skin appears fully white, she still has black blood in her veins and so does not merit the same social and economic rewards as the white colonial characters. Her black foreman, who loves her but whom she considers beneath her because of his own native blood, tries to talk her into the sort of the sense apparently reflective of the movie's underlying ethos of miscegenation anxiety and possession: "Clelie, forget this madness. Your white skin doesn't change what's inside you. You're black, do you hear me, you're black. You belong to us...to me..." The script itself does not seem very self-conscious of the ideologies it lays bare with such refreshing and disturbing innocence, yet in the midst of it all the zombie stands out clearly as symbol of the disempowered, the abject, the truly "native."

The essence of the "zombie" at the most abstract level is supplanted, stolen, or effaced consciousness; it casts allegorically the appropriation of one person's will by that of another. It is no coincidence that the creature

flourished in the twentieth century, a century whose broad intellectual trends were preoccupied with alienation. Existentialism vividly brought out problems of solitude, of the possibility of true connections between individuals, and of the very nature of the self. Zombies, as Jane Caputi puts it, "bespeak a monstrosity of consciousness."⁶ Zombification is the logical conclusion of human reductionism: it is to reduce a person to body, to reduce behaviour to basic motor functions, and to reduce social utility to raw labour. Whether zombies are created by a vodun master or by a mad scientist, the process represents a psychic imperialism: the displacement of one person's right to experience life, spirit, passion, autonomy, and creativity for another person's exploitative gain. In this sense, the zombie has served variously as a tool of empowerment and social change, as well as one of complacent reinforcement of the status quo, in its 75-year history as a cinematic icon.

In Depression-era and wartime zombie movies, for instance, the zombie arguably served as a cinematic mechanism for raising awareness of gender issues and empowering women. Zombie movies of this period consistently depict "zombified" women ostensibly subservient to a domineering male, yet not fully conquered.⁷ Madeline (Madge Bellamy), the "white zombie" of the movie by that name, stands out from all the other zombified natives because her will is not fully conquerable by Legendre or by Beaumont. Beaumont has stolen her from the grave and keeps her in his mansion, where she must go through the listless motions of an unwilling wife. However, her soul is still connected with that of her fiancé Neil (John Harron), as revealed in a scene when two native servants observe her pining away at the balcony. One maid comments to the other: "Perhaps she remembers something," characterizing this behaviour as unusual for a zombie. Certainly the other zombies in the movie - all natives and all men - do not display such resilience of spirit. The follow-up to *White Zombie*, the 1936 film *Revolt of the Zombies*, pursues the motif of an inviolable core at the centre of female autonomy. With regard to a similar love triangle, a knowing character informs zombie lord Armand Louque (Dean Jagger), "You fool yourself with the delusion that you can make this woman love you. You can't do it."

Though the theme of a zombie woman under the control of a male love interest appears in a number of early movies such as the 1943 *I Walked with a Zombie* and *Voodoo Man* dating from 1944, it is pushed to its furthest in *Revenge of the Zombies* released in 1943. John Carradine plays Dr. Von Altermann, a Nazi spy conducting zombie-raising experiments in the Louisiana bayou on behalf of the Third Reich. He hopes to raise an army of invulnerable living-dead soldiers to carry Germany to victory, but so far has only practiced the technique on a handful of sorry locals and - much to the surprise of a visiting Nazi emissary - on his own wife. Lila (Veda Ann Borg) is now a mindless automaton, who wanders around the surrounding swamp

aimlessly in a mesmeric stupor. He announces imperiously, "What greater destiny could my wife have than to serve me - and through me, our country." He is surprised, however, to find that she nonetheless utters some faint words of resistance ("No...no..."), and he unabashedly responds, "What's this? Your brain works independently of mine?" Von Altermann's shock was perhaps shared, at a certain level, by many thousands of American soldiers who, even before returning from the war, no doubt sensed that their wives were becoming accustomed to autonomy and (through their participation in factories, offices, and other mobilization efforts) financial independence. At the movie's climax, Lila leads the native zombies in a domestic revolt against Von Altermann, and when he proclaims with patriarchal distain, "You dare to set your will against mine?" she responds, in a mocking caricature of her wedding vows, "I do...you can't control me." These movies as a whole deny the possibility of complete containment; the repressed anima of the zombie woman surpasses its prescribed boundaries, just as women in society were surpassing traditional gender roles.

Wartime zombie movies (ca. 1941-45) largely defused the potential for horror by casting the zombie as window dressing in horror-comedies. Hollywood had coped with the Depression by making movies of the rich and glamorous singing and dancing, and it coped with the war by making upbeat movies of unequivocal tactical victories brought about through plucky American savvy and grit. The zombie had little place other than atmospheric backdrop in the wartime horror-comedies such as 1940s *The Ghost Breakers*, 1941s *King of the Zombies* or 1945s *Zombies on Broadway*. Here they become the butt of jokes - such as the endless stream of quips by talented African-American actor Mantan Moreland in *King of the Zombies* and *Revenge of the Zombies* - and thus they serve essentially the same scapegoat function that African-Americans do in Hollywood movies of the same period and that the Japanese do in wartime cartoons: to show how incompetent and self-defeating non-white, non-Americans are. A notable exception is RKO's 1943 piece *I Walked with a Zombie*, a sensitive and poetic vision of a European colonial aristocracy atrophying amidst its own corruption on a small Caribbean island.

By the 1950s, the zombie was well poised to embody America's worst fear: invasion from within. *Invaders from Mars*-1953 and *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*-1956 portray middle-class American households suddenly turned on themselves, as intruders from other worlds have occupied the human bodies, annihilated their personalities, and modelled their outward behaviours on alien ideologies of homogeny (ideologies that are, not coincidentally, reminiscent of popular caricatures of communism). Likewise, the corpses raised and animated in *Creature with the Atom Brain*-1955, *Plan Nine from Outer Space*-1958, and *Invisible Invader* -1959 are frightening for the very reason that they do not look like enemies at all, from the outside:

they look disturbingly like our co-workers, neighbours, friends, and families. The script tells us that radiation, aliens from outer space, or some other cause is to blame, but what we actually see on the screen as the monsters throughout most of the film are middle-class Americans, dressed in suits and ties, with unthinking unity of purpose and identity. Fear of the authentic Haitian zombie, as Maya Deren explains it, here enjoys one of its last gasps: "While the Haitian does not welcome any encounter with a zombie, his real dread is that of being made into one himself."⁸ After the 1960s, the zombie (progressively monstrous in appearance and behaviour) deviated increasingly, in certain respects, from the conceptual foundation that made this existential symbol such a provocative icon in the first place. It had other places to go, however.

George A. Romero's 1968 offering *Night of the Living Dead*, a chilling parable of society in civil collapse and of the nuclear family in a state of intestinal warfare, almost single-handedly re-defined the zombie. Along with Romero's follow-up *Dawn of the Dead*, *Night* has continued to enjoy critical and academic attention unparalleled by any other zombie movies. *Night* has been commonly read, for instance, as encoding such issues as racial tension, Vietnam-era military critique, and nuclear age anxiety.⁹ Even beyond the broader social perspectives, however, what stands out about *Night* is its aesthetic of the domestic space and its ethos of individual human relations. Ben (Duane Jones) struggles to barricade a rural farmhouse against the escalating zombie apocalypse by breaking furniture down, foraging through closets and drawers, and boarding up all the doors and windows. Much of the narrative attention is thus devoted not to attacks or human-zombie conflicts, but to re-examining the middle-class household of heartland America. Every household object is scrutinized functionally, its old significance forgotten and a new, purely instrumental, one inscribed based on the drear re-envisioning of the house as a besieged shelter. Following the suburbanization of America in the 50s and 60s, houses have become defensive: they keep the neighbours out, they conceal, they separate. (In his fourth zombie film, *Land of the Dead* [2005], Romero pushes this theme further when he takes a swipe at affluent "gated" communities.) Here the domestic space has no more cultural significance than a cave does to a troglodyte or a shell to a barnacle. In the desperate microcosm of the farmhouse in *Night*, people are viewed as objects, to be evaluated on the basis of immediate utility rather than on sentimental traditions of family attachment or the value of social interconnections. It is this stark Nietzschean allegory in which people are reduced to functionality, and in which individuals are exposed as monads of self-interest in perpetual, feverish struggle with one another, that remains among the strongest running threads of zombie movies throughout the latter half of the twentieth century.

Romero reinvigorated the genre again with *Dawn of the Dead* in 1979, a movie whose social commentary has been lost on few critics.¹⁰ The shopping mall setting proves fertile ground for the aimless milling about of hundreds of zombies, now recast as mindless consumers, window shoppers, and trend remoras. It is not the domestic household that is under fire here, but American consumer-capitalism itself. The seer concrete mall edifice, filled with the lavish bounty of a hundred unguarded stores all for the plundering, proves solid enough against zombies for a time, but is ultimately barren of meaning or broader context. The small band of refugees hole up in the mall and enjoy its rich variety of department stores and boutiques: they ice skate, try on clothes, stage formal dinners, ransack the cash registers, and even propose marriage to each other, but it becomes apparent how vacuous all such gestures are in the absence of a genuine audience: there is no dynamic network of friends, family, or society. Their pageant of affluent abundance and stability is a farce. In a capitalist economy fuelled by the pathological need for continual growth - as periodically brought to popular attention through the reporting of holiday-season sales figures, for instance - stability comes across rather as stagnation, and it becomes clear that the characters will only survive the "rat race" they are inadvertently mimicking by staying on the move. The closing shot of the movie shows them leaving the mall in a helicopter, commenting bleakly that they are low on fuel. Like many highly mobile professionals of the late 1970s, theirs is a state of being perpetually uprooted, encouraged to leave one place and move to another as soon as they feel half-way comfortable and settled (an anxiety compounded, in both the movie and in 1970s America, by concerns over fuel availability and the increasingly evident trap of dependence on a non-renewable resource). The third instalment of Romero's 1985 series, *Day of the Dead*, even ends with the heroes fishing and relaxing on a pristine beach, as though finally reaping the reward that travel agencies peddle and that investment firm commercials promise to hard-working Americans for their golden years.

Dawn instantly sparked a torrent of delectably slow-paced zombie apocalypses, especially in France, Spain, and Italy. Audience expectations of horror in America, however, were rapidly changing: by the mid 1980s, movie goers wanted flashy special effects, intense violence and gore, lively scoring, witty one-liners, and a tongue-in-cheek attitude. Michael Jackson's 1983 *Thriller* video helped usher in this period, whose most notable successes are *Return of the Living Dead*-1985 and *Re-Animator*-1985. Countless campy spoofs appeared with tedious frequency, also, sporting outlandish titles such as *Chopper Chicks in Zombietown*-1989 and *The Gore-Met Zombie Chef from Hell*-1986. In these narratives, the zombies are (as in the 1940s) often relegated to secondary roles, serving as the butt of jokes and playing comic relief. This may suggest that much of the zombie's cultural "work" has diminished in significance during this period. However, the fact that mid-80s

splatter horror focused specifically on gore - on fragmenting bodies into their component tissues and organs - meant that the zombie leant itself particularly well to some of the most enduring and memorable cinematic themes of the decade.

If Romero established the principle that zombies can only be deanimated by destroying the head, *Return of the Living Dead* and *Re-Animator* problematized that notion. In those movies, all the separate fragments and tissues are independently animated, and by shooting, hacking, pummeling, gouging, slicing, and puncturing a zombie, all one really accomplishes is to increase the number - and the total surface area - of the enemy. Much of the fun in zombie movies by this point is, after all, to come up with creative new ways of offing them in the messiest way possible. There is notable relish, in fact, in directing violence against the human body in its clinical aspect (many of these movies are set in sanitized, institutional settings like hospitals rather than misty graveyards). Since the audience knows that the zombies are usually not sentient and in most cases do not feel pain, it is free to enjoy the spectacle of wanton destruction of human bodies rather than human beings. The *Weekend at Bernie's* franchise (the second of which stars a zombie) capitalized on this source of entertainment; the comedy derives from watching a corpse placed in unlikely situations and then seeing it abused creatively. It is a curious spectacle implying a curious sort of audience enjoyment. By the 80s, it was becoming clear that medical advances were creating new challenges for society: such technologies as prosthetic limbs, artificial hearts, and organ transplants were increasingly raising questions of what it is to be human. The fear of being kept artificially alive beyond health, happiness, or social utility became more and more vivid in a population with a stable retirement age but ever-increasing life expectancy. What Linda Badley notes of Romero's films becomes *a fortiori* relevant for zombie movies of the late 80s and the 90s:

Romero's metonymy in part responds to anxieties about a health care system of seemingly reversed priorities when the old and the wealthy (the dead) cannibalize the young and powerless (the living) for healthy organs or fetal tissue.¹¹

These anxieties resonate throughout zombie movies such as *The Chilling* (1989), in which a cryogenics lab intended to keep the terminally frozen alive until such future time as they can be resuscitated turns into a veritable zombie factory. In the midst of a materialistic decade whose profit-seeking, individualistic values are evident in Michael Fox's ambitious character Alex from the 1982-89 series *Family Ties*, in the pimping-for-Junior Achievement plot of *Risky Business*-1983, and in the popular bumper sticker "Live Fast,

Die Young, and Leave a Beautiful Corpse," the zombie perhaps summed up everything that was unacceptable about the human body to DINKs, yuppies, and other 80s overachievers: aging, skin issues, unwanted body fluids, limited mobility, a failing mind. It is not death that people are afraid of any longer, it is impoverished appearance, old age, and ugliness.

Following the 80s, the zombie rapidly dropped out of mainstream cinema. The details of zombie lore were by now well known and thus fair game for parody in *The Simpsons* and *South Park*, but major studio offerings centering on zombies or on a zombie invasion virtually ceased. The zombie had established too strong a cult following to suffer much from this hiatus, however: it was kept alive by new media, most notably through online communities and through video games such as *Resident Evil*. Furthermore, the wide-scale availability of affordable filmmaking (e.g., home videography equipment and desktop video editing software) and the possibilities afforded by the internet for marketing DVDs created an opportunity for the proliferation of low-budget, backyard movies. This is testament to the enduring folkloric importance of these narratives to a community of fans and filmmakers who appreciate the austere apocalypticism and the minimalist aesthetic of mindless, nameless hordes assaulting a few sane individuals in the middle of a world gone horrible.

It is in this context that survivalists and gun fetishists have found a protective "narrative" cover amidst the zombie fan community. Gun enthusiasts proudly post jpegs of their arsenals to other interested parties on online message boards, and discuss strategies for defence and fortification in an imagined post-apocalyptic countryside. The line between reality and fiction often seems blurred in some of these individualistic communities, which (drawing inspiration from Max Brooks' successful and imaginative 2003 book *The Zombie Survival Guide*) argue about ranged vs. close-quarter weapons, fuel types, and defensible terrains. The "Zombie Squad," for instance, hosts online forums, survivalist workshops, and even an annual outdoor retreat to sharpen skills and share techniques. Many of these enthusiasts scour headlines for possible reports of potential zombie outbreaks, such as "suspicious" media accounts that mention unusual bite marks or other unexplained wounds, that can be read as implying government or media cover-ups, or that refer to toxic or biochemical material leakages. While most of these zombie fans state explicitly that zombies do not really exist at the current time, they admit that zombie outbreaks are a possibility or at the very least represent a useful model for general emergency preparedness. As one member posted online, "I don't believe in supernatural 'zombies' but I think plague mutants are a definite possibility." Under the rubric of zombie preparedness, members discuss the relative virtues of Glock 19's vs. SIG 2009's, the utility of pole arms or trench spike knives (in arm's length vs. locked melee situations), and useful items for a complete first aid

kit (including dental pulling and filling gear, body stapling/suturing equipment, and laryngoscope with endo-tracheal tubes). It is clear that the zombie holocausts vividly painted in movies and video games have tapped into a deep-seated anxiety about society, government, individual protection, and our increasing disconnectedness from subsistence skills. In twenty-first century America - where the bold wilderness frontier that informed American mythic consciousness for four centuries has given way to increasingly centralized government amidst a suburban landscape now quilted with strip malls and Walmarts - there is ample room to romanticize a fresh world purged of ornament and vanity, in which the strong survive, and in which society must be rebuilt anew. Post-apocalyptic zombie worlds are fantasies of liberation: the intrepid pioneers of a new world trek through the shattered remnants of the old, trudging through the shells of building and the husks of people.

It is not without some justice, then, that the resurgence of zombie movie popularity in the early 2000s has been linked with the events of September 11, 2001. The world may have breathed a collective sigh of relief following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, but apocalypticism has always been engrained into the archetypal psyche of any society defining itself - as all mortal endeavours must - in the context of history and time. The possibility of wide-scale destruction and devastation which 9-11 brought once again into the communal consciousness found a ready narrative expression in the zombie apocalypses which over thirty years had honed images of desperation subsistence and amoral survivalism to a fine edge.

By this point, though, the zombie has come a long way from the robotic automaton of early cinema. No longer deadpan, stolid, and unfeeling, the zombie is not an image of humanity stripped of passion, soul, or spirit. The zombie has become enraged, feral, frantic, and insatiable: it is a gutted, animalistic core of hunger and fury.¹² It is not homogeneity - not the levelling of individuality - that scares us anymore, then, if this image is read symptomatically: it is rather the lack of control, dignity, direction that scares us. The contemporary zombie embodies a wanton, unfettered pursuit of immediate physical cravings, a fear of raw power. There has always been a strong existential component to the zombie figure, but it has become, in recent years, increasingly nihilistic. It is the sign of an over-leisurely society lacking in broader spiritual or communal purpose, left to the impulses of its unchecked power and its desires for consumption.

Notes

¹ William Seabrook; for folklore see Parsons.

² As Maximilien Laroche writes, "The figure of the zombi represents the African view of death as it was transformed within the Haitian context. He is the symbol of the slave, the alienated man robbed of his will, reduced to slavery, forced to work for a master. This explains his double economic and religious significance" (55).

³ For West Africa and Haiti, see Hans-W. Ackermann and Jeanine Gauthier.

⁴ Mimi Sheller meditates on the evolving exploitation of the zombie image from folklore to film and back again: "from a dread memory of slavery into a new idiom of forced labour, and then from a ghoulish monster in Hollywood movies they slip back into Haitian understandings of the US occupation" (146). For American imperialism and *White Zombie* see also Williams.

⁵ Edward Lowry and Richard deCordova observe, "The zombie film enacts quite literally what in other films is represented only by implication: the link between character alliances and property relations" (351).

⁶ Jane Caputi, "Films of the Nuclear Age." *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 16 (1988): 100-107.

103.

⁷ See Ellen Draper. "Zombie Women when the Gaze is Male." *Wide Angle* 10 (1988): 52-62.

⁸ Maya Deren, *Divine Horsemen: Voodoo Gods of Haiti* (1953). (New York: Chelsea House, 1970), 42. Wade Davis states the point more bluntly: "the fear in Haiti is not of zombies, but rather of *becoming* a zombie" (9, and cf. 191).

⁹ For zombie movies and late-60s social tensions such as race and war protest, see Hoberman and Rosenbaum, ch. 5; for race in particular see *Lightning*; for Vietnam, see Higashi; and for nuclear anxiety see Caputi.

¹⁰ For a sustained reading of *Night* as well as *Dawn*, see Gregory Waller.

¹¹ Badley, 75.

¹² For a more detailed overview of the cinematic zombie's evolution in appearance and behaviour, see the Introduction to Peter Dendle's chapter in this volume.

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