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The Zombie, As a Horror Construct, represents Universal Fear.
In What Ways Has This Fear Responded To, And Moulded,
Society, And How Is It Shaping The Future?

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Chapter 1: The Outcast

By the sixteenth century, leprosy was in decline across Europe. According to Foucault, however:

'What doubtless remained longer than leprosy, and would persist when the lazar houses had been empty for years, were the values and images attached to the figure of the leper as well as the meaning of his exclusion, the social importance of that insistent and fearful figure which was not driven off without first being inscribed within a sacred circle.' (1961: 4)

The leper was a social pariah. He was also a reminder of the grace of God, as 'those suffering from leprosy were believed to be going through Purgatory on Earth' (Leprosy, 2009). Europeans banished them from their cities, even as they thanked God for sparing them from his wrath. This philosophy engendered complex attitudes, which were reflected in the monastic nature of the leprosariums, and the way that the lepers were generally allowed to wander, unimpeded through the countryside. Foucault brands them, 'hieratic witnesses of evil', stating:

'they accomplish their salvation in and by their very exclusion: in a strange reversibility that is the opposite of good works and prayer, they are saved by the hand that is not stretched out.' (1961: 4)

This 'reversibility' is certainly strange by the standards of Christianity, and particularly the teachings of the New Testament. When Jesus taught his followers to 'love thy

neighbour as yourself,' he was building a bond between all people, regardless of creed, colour or social status. The treatment of the lepers was rationalised by separating them from the bulk of humanity, and supposing that they were the embodiment of God's anger. In this way, their suffering was deemed necessary for the good of Mankind.

There is a twentieth century construct that is analogous to the leper, with one philosophical difference: there is no hope of salvation. The zombie is undead; it is neither dead nor alive. It is incapable of feeling, aside from the ache of its own existence. Like the leper, it is feared. It is contagious. It is driven away, and barricaded against. Its flesh is corrupted, and will eventually fall off. It is the embodiment of Mankind's deepest fear, which has always been the fear of itself.

In 1970, Japanese roboticist Masahiro Mori published 'The Uncanny Valley,' where he investigated how human perceptions of robots vary according to their appearance (fig. 1). He predicted that machines would cause revulsion as they become human-like, and he identified the degree of uncertainty as the unsettling factor. His reasoning was based on the work of Freud and Jentsch, who described the uncanny as:

'[the] doubt as to whether an apparently living being really is animate and, conversely, doubt as to whether a lifeless object may not in fact be animate.' (1906)

Zombies embody this 'doubt'. Indeed, Mori places the zombie at the bottom of the uncanny valley, as an example of the 'most uncanny' thing imaginable. If there was no doubt, there would be no horror, and so herein lies the fascination. Just as the leper

became a figure of myth, which bore no relationship to the true nature his physical condition, the zombie has been dissociated from its origins, and has instead been encumbered with successive layers of meaning. As well as reflecting twentieth century history, these layers reveal a common thread: it is the fear of the outsider. The interloper, in all his disguises, must be repelled. Sean Hoade considers the ultimate disguise:

'If you go home and your mum's baking cookies, when you're eight years old... that's homely, that's canny. If you come home and, what's happened is, your mother was baking cookies, but in fact she got bitten by a zombie, and now there's this woman that looks like your mother, her moans sound like your mother... and everything is the same, but it's different - that's the uncanny.' (Hoade, 2008)

The theme of infiltration - and eventual replication - by hostile forces, is terrifying not only because it carries the threat of destruction, but because it implies that humans are redundant. This is a fear that asserted itself during the Industrial Revolution, when the Luddites smashed the new textile looms, which they accused of taking their jobs. It is a conclusion reached by 'Skynet' in James Cameron's *Terminator* series, when it decided to eradicate its human masters. There is a neat illustration here of the 'woman that looks like your mother', when John Connor phones his foster parents to warn them about the killing machine. Little does he realise, they are both already dead. His foster mother has been copied perfectly, save for the blade that now extends from her right arm, which has skewered her erstwhile boyfriend through his mouth (Cameron, 1991).

The 'Terminator' machines present the nightmare scenario, because they are advanced enough to blend in with society. In this respect they share something in common with the aliens from *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, because the threat only becomes apparent when it is too late. With zombies, however, the infiltration is fairly obvious, due to their shambling, ghoulish demeanour (fig.2). It is in their massed ranks that they wield their power, as 'the literal embodiment of death's relentless and completely implacable march' (Russell, 2005: 90).

Just as Medieval Europeans invested the leper with supernatural powers, while they cowered in fear behind locked doors, Western society has blessed the zombie with a kind of cultural importance. To understand why, each of the following chapters will address particular qualities that are presented in key works of zombie fiction, with reference to the broader social, psychological and philosophical context. This methodology will begin to reveal some of the fundamental human fears that have given rise to the zombie as a horror archetype, and in so doing, cast light upon the journey that they have taken, from their real-life origins to their current, post-modern, existence.

Chapter 2: The Automaton

Zombies are the result of an unnatural collision between two cultures. Following the settlement of Haiti by white Europeans, most of the indigenous population was wiped out through a combination of violence and disease. To replace falling numbers - and keep the sugarcane industry running - hundreds of thousands of slaves were brought in from West Africa. Gradually, their religious beliefs became a hybrid of African animism and Roman Catholicism - known to Westerners as 'voodoo' (Russell, 2005: 11).

In the 1920s, William Seabrook was part of an influx of curious travellers, who were drawn to the island by tales of exotic practices. In his famous travel book, 'The Magic Island', he described an encounter with some labourers on a sugarcane plantation:

'My first impression... was that there was something about them unnatural and strange. They were plodding like brutes, like automatons... The eyes were the worst. It was not my imagination. They were in truth like the eyes of a dead man, not blind, but staring, unfocused, unseeing. The whole face, for that matter, was bad enough. It was vacant, as if there was nothing behind it. It seemed not only expressionless, but incapable of expression.' (Seabrook, 1929: 101)

This is the first reported meeting between a white man and the dreaded *corps cadavers* - reanimated 'corpses', which had been drugged by witch doctors, giving them the appearance of death, and then exhumed and put to work in the fields. For a population

comprised of slaves, this represented the ultimate fear: enslavement after death.

Seabrook's account became the blueprint for a new horror sub-genre. When he wrote, 'they were plodding like brutes, like automatons', he was describing something inherently unnatural; a human animal, rendered dumb, and machine-like. Yet he was also raising a question: what separates the zombies from the 'normal' workers? Does manual labour not demand workers to become machine-like, and to lose something of their humanity in the process?

This issue became more serious during the Industrial Revolution. Argyle described it as:

'...a very unhappy period for workers: instead of working at home, where work was a meaningful part of life, they worked only for money, at meaningless tasks from which they were totally alienated.' (1972: 27)

By divorcing the worker from the fruits of his labour, and placing him on an assembly line, employers maximized efficiency, at the expense of their workers' freedom. It could be argued that this process of streamlining 'zombified' the workforce, because they were no longer required to think about what they were doing.

Adorno extended this idea to encompass popular music, observing that:

'...the standardized meter of dance music and of marching suggests the coordinated battalions of a mechanical collectivity, obedience to this rhythm by overcoming the responding individuals leads them to conceive of themselves as agglutinated

with the untold millions of the meek who must be similarly overcome. Thus do the obedient inherit the earth.'

(On Pop Music, n.d.)

In other words, the mechanical, repetitive nature of work has become a 'standardized meter' by which people live their lives. Even dancing has become an exhibition of the same programming, whereby the individual repeats the movements he learned on the production line. In this model, the whole of humanity has been automated, to the extent that there is no longer any meaningful distinction between 'work' and 'leisure.'

Adorno goes on to argue that pop music reinforces a particular frame of mind, which is dominated by 'distraction and inattention'. He adds that: 'Listeners are distracted from the demands of reality by entertainment which does not demand attention either' (On Pop Music, n.d.).

Adorno was writing in 1941, and it is fair to say that those distractions have multiplied considerably since then. Not only has popular music changed beyond recognition, additions such as reality television and the Internet mean there is a constant barrage of entertainment arriving from many angles at once. Adorno invented a name for this diverse range of media: he called it the 'culture industry'.

There is something disquieting about the term. 'Culture', after all, is the manifestation of creative achievement. 'Industry' means mass-production, and economics. Adorno was aware of this dichotomy, and used it to attack what he regarded to be a dangerous, and growing, social malaise.

When he wrote, 'Films, radio and magazines make up a system which is uniform as a whole and in every part' (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1947), he was referencing the dominant media of the

age. However, the uniformity is just as apparent in the twenty-first century. Soap operas attract large viewing figures, because of their formulaic structure, which delivers what the viewer has come to expect. Hollywood exists to supply its customers with low risk entertainment, featuring well-known actors, engaged in familiar stories. The romantic comedy ('rom-com') is perhaps the most extreme example of this trend, where even the colour of the text on the posters and video cases has become standardized. This semiotic spoon-feeding has been parodied by the same industry that invented it, creating a nauseatingly self-referential brand of humour, featuring such titles as *Date Movie* and *Not Another Teen Movie* (fig.3).

These are bad films, by any objective assessment. But the question remains: are they just harmless fun, or indicators of something sinister?

Adorno believes the latter. He described the 'ruthless unity in the culture industry', adding that the model of standardization is 'evidence of what will happen in politics' (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1947). Regarding modern day Britain, he was unarguably right. The consensus by the two main parties on the 2003 invasion of Iraq is just one example of the homogenous enterprise that politics has become. Just as the non-differences between mass-produced goods are 'emphasized and extended', so too the interstices between party policies are given huge attention to create the illusion of meaningful disagreement. Government figures suggest the public is not fooled by this technique; turnout in the UK dropped from seventy-eight percent in 1992 to just sixty-two percent in 2005 (Ukpolitical, 2009).

It is tempting to suppose that Adorno would be in agreement with William Seabrook, when he wrote: 'The eyes were the worst... not blind, but staring, unfocused, unseeing.' For

him, 'zombification' is a result of the intellectual poverty of mass culture, which offers distraction 'from the demands of reality' but does not replace it with anything meaningful.

Baudrillard goes further. He argues that the commodities of mass culture do not merely distract from the natural rhythms of human life, but that they replicate them perfectly, creating a new 'hyperreality'. In this way, humans are cast not as the 'meek', who have become enmeshed within a mechanistic society, but as participants in a universal simulation.

If this is true, then zombies have inherited the Earth.

Chapter 3: The Simulacrum

In the fourth film of George A. Romero's series, titled 'Land of the Dead', the remaining humans would certainly agree. America is now entirely overrun by zombies. Survivors of the apocalypse have gathered in a city-sized enclave, protected by electric fences, and machine gun nests.

In this film, the humans have developed a trick to distract the living dead from their hunger for live flesh. They set off fireworks (known as 'sky flowers'), causing the zombies to look up, while the humans carry out their brief forays into the infected territories. The wide-eyed, slack-jawed appearance of the zombies, as they gaze heavenwards, is amusing, because it is a caricature of human behaviour. It also encapsulates a fundamental truth.

Adorno laments that the mass of humanity is engaged by the most superficial entertainment. Like watching repeating patterns in the sky, people dance to the standardized refrain of pop records. Baudrillard, too, recognized the attractive power of consumer culture, citing Disneyland as an example. He calls it 'a perfect model of all the entangled orders of simulation,' observing that:

'In this imaginary world the only phantasmagoria is in the inherent warmth and affection of the crowd, and in that sufficiently excessive number of gadgets used to maintain the multitudinous affect. The contrast with the absolute solitude of the parking lot - a veritable concentration camp - is total.'

(1983: 23-24)

Baudrillard is right to describe the experience as 'sufficiently excessive.' Only through excess can the attentions of the crowd be satiated, yet this effect must be achieved within budgetary constraints. It is a business, after all.

The same is true of fireworks displays. They are engineered to provide a continuous experience, because that is what people expect. Like the total immersion of Disneyland, there must be no perceived break in the sensory experience, otherwise they may lose interest, and wander off.

According to Baudrillard, the universality of the simulacrum is fundamentally linked to technological progress. As well as creating a generalized workforce, in which craft techniques were deconstructed into a series of repetitive actions, the industrial revolution irrevocably altered the nature of man-made things. He explains that:

'In series, objects become undefined simulacra one of the other. And so, along with the objects, do the men that produce them. Only the obliteration of the original reference allows for the generalized law of equivalence, that is to say the very *possibility of production.*'

(Baudrillard, 1983: 97)

Over time, the man-made world is being rendered uniform, and flat. Only through the 'obliteration of the original reference' is this standardization possible. Therefore, the mass-produced goods that humans use today are no longer connected to their evolutionary ancestors; they are 'simulacra.'

Globalization is the most obvious example of the veneer that modern humans have applied to their society. By extending into the furthest reaches of the world, corporations such as

'Wal-Mart' and 'McDonald's' are transfiguring the landscape, while they simultaneously use their brand identities to brainwash the local populations. Nowhere is this approach more evident than within that temple of modern consumerism: the American shopping mall.

In *Dawn of the Dead* (1978), it is here that a group of survivors take refuge. They load up with supplies, and cavort around the empty aisles, while the living dead paw at the glass walls. As he watches them, a survivor asks: 'Why do they come here?'

'Some kind of instinct...' replies another. 'A memory, of what they used to do. This used to be an important place in their lives.' (Romero, 1978)

This dialogue achieves two things. Firstly, it underpins the satirical nature of the film. When the man answers, 'some kind of instinct...' he alludes to the same senseless drive that motivates the zombies to eat human flesh. Secondly, by describing the shopping mall as 'an important place in their lives,' he highlights the futility of the consumer revolution, whereby such a tacky, sterile institution could be considered important to anyone.

As the film demonstrates, the shopping mall is as far removed from reality as Disneyland. It is a perfect simulation, where every detail has been considered. It is also a powerful symbol of consumerism, and a blatant symbol of wealth, which dominates its surroundings.

J.G. Ballard explored this threatening quality in his novel, *Kingdom Come*. The protagonist visits the sprawling Metro-Centre, in the commuter town of Brooklands, where his father was gunned down by a maniac only weeks before. As he tours the scene of the crime, he describes his changing emotions:

'Surprisingly, now that I was here, in the centre of the killing ground, I felt completely calm. Surrounded by this cave of transient treasures, guided by this nervous public relations man, death lost its power to threaten, measured in nothing more fearful than bust sizes and kilobyte capacities. The human race sleepwalked to oblivion, thinking only about the corporate logos on its shroud.' (Ballard, 2004: 41)

The power of the shopping centre is revealed here. Despite his loss, the man is unable to grieve, or to direct anger at the institution, because of the psychological grip it has on him. Its normalizing influence, measured in 'bust sizes and kilobyte capacities', renders the concept of death meaningless, because it falls outside the parameters of commerce.

The message here - that shopping has transcended death - is reinforced by the description of the 'Metro-Centre mascots'; three large animatronic bears, pointed out by the public relations man. Mother and father bear had been shot, and stitched up.

'Our customers were very upset,' explained the man. 'They sent in hundreds of letters, get-well cards...'

Inspecting these, the protagonist mutters: 'It's almost a shrine,' to which the PR man agrees.

The fact that he points out a memorial to stuffed bears, in a place where people have died, highlights the emotional brutality that threads through the novel. Since the arrival of the Metro-Centre - with its own cable TV, and roving Father Christmas's - fascism has begun to flourish in the area, under the banner of the flag of Saint George. It is a fascism that stems directly from unchecked consumerism, where people demand

exactly what they want, regardless of its ethical or social implications.

Ultimately, politics and consumerism collide, when the British nationalists barricade themselves inside the shopping mall, establishing the 'fascist republic of the Metro-Centre.' Among them are several hundred shoppers, who become 'resigned to a future of eternal shopping' within a 'self-contained universe of treasure and promise' (Ballard, 2004: 218). There are strong echoes here of *Dawn of the Dead*, when the zombies eventually gain access to the mall. They stumble around to the Muzak score, and ride the escalators. Some fall over balconies, while others splash about in the wishing wells. There is a sense of endless repetition, like a fairground ride, except the blank faces betray no amusement. This is Ballard's 'end state of consumerism', then, a joyless merry-go-round, characterized by a formless desire for acquisition - like a parody of the hunter-gatherers of ancient times.

While the shopping mall is a very visible example of the 'orders of simulacra', it is important to remember that Baudrillard did not limit his theory to institutions such as these. He argued that the fabric of human existence is now part of the same simulation, and this is a result of modern manufacturing processes.

Adorno's critique of the 'culture industry' reinforces this view, by presenting a world of transient pleasures, which distracts from life's fundamental rhythm. As Gray points out, however, there is 'a possibility that has long intrigued metaphysicians: all reality is virtual' (2002: 145). In which case, the difference between 'high' and 'low' culture disappears, because it is all part of the same illusion. He cites Stanislaw Lem's 'phantomat' as an example - a machine

capable of generating perfect virtual environments. Lem asks:

'What can the subject experience in the link-up to the phantomatic generator? Everything. He can scale mountain cliffs or walk without a space suit or oxygen mask on the surface of the moon; in clanking armour he can lead a faithful posse to a conquest of medieval fortifications; he can explore the North Pole...' (Gray, 2002: 145)

Such technology may not exist yet, but there is no shortage of other entertaining diversions. Shopping may work for some; drugs do the job for others. Fireworks displays could be described as mass-therapy, allowing people to take pleasure in the abstract, while the more tangible demands of their lives fade away.

Humans have always sought escapism, and in this respect they are not alone. Eugene Marais observed baboons seeking out a rare fruit, after which they displayed the symptoms of intoxication. He wrote: 'The habitual use of poisons for the purpose of inducing euphoria [...] is a universal remedy for the pain of consciousness' This 'remedy' is all of the 'entangled orders of simulacra' that humans seek out every day. The difference being, that whereas the baboon will return to its 'sober' state, within the familiarity of its habitat, the human will simply revert to another simulated state, unaware that it remains divorced from the bedrock of reality. In which case, it is no different to the zombies, riding the escalators for eternity within a frozen bubble of consumerism.

Chapter 4: The Id

Sigmund Freud wrote that consciousness,

'in its relation to the id is like a man on horseback, who has to hold in check the superior strength of the horse; with this difference, that the rider seeks to do so with his own strength while the ego uses borrowed forces.' (Freud, 1923: 30)

This analogy gets to the heart of Freud's conception of the brain. He believed that human behaviour was determined by the interaction between three forces: the 'ego', the 'super-ego' and the 'id.' By likening the id to a galloping horse, he indicates its brute strength, and the care with which it must be controlled.

The id is contained within the subconscious, responsible for the primal urges that drive living things. However, sometimes its influence can rise to the surface. Le Bon observed this phenomenon, in his study of group behaviour:

'[...] by the mere fact that he forms part of an organized crowd, a man descends several rungs in the ladder of civilisation. Isolated, he may be a cultivated individual; in a crowd, he is a barbarian - that is, a creature acting by instinct. He possesses the spontaneity, the violence, the ferocity [...] of primitive beings.' (Le Bon, 1896: 10)

Le Bon realized that a crowd acts as a single entity, in ways that may be alien to the individuals involved. There is plenty of evidence to suggest he was correct.

In 1937, Japanese forces advanced into the city of Nanjing, in South-East China. What followed was six weeks of organized violence against the civilian population. Reverend James M. McCallum wrote in his diary:

"I know not where to end. Never I have heard or read such brutality. Rape! Rape! Rape! We estimate at least 1,000 cases a night, and many by day [...] Women are being carried off every morning, afternoon and evening. The whole Japanese army seems to be free to go and come as it pleases, and to do whatever it pleases." (Hu, 2000)

Although in times of war, atrocities may be politically or racially motivated, it cannot be denied that these soldiers acted in a way that was self-interested, and entirely in keeping with the character of the id. In their vast numbers, the individual was rendered anonymous, and so the desires of the id were allowed to triumph over the censorship of the ego.

Zombies could be described as physical manifestations of the id. They are relentless, unreasonable and self-interested. Plus, they are feared and repressed by humanity, which tries (and often fails) to uphold the 'reality-principle'. This theory would explain the enduring success of zombies in fiction; they remind audiences of the fragility of the human ego, and the powerful forces that lie beneath it.

The similarities between the zombie and the id were made more explicit in the late 1970s, when the boom in pornography inspired a new kind of 'sexploitation' cinema. Although first demonstrated by Spanish director Amando de Ossorio, it was the Italians that made this niche their own. As Russell explains:

'What makes the films of the Italian cycle so distinct from other sex zombie efforts is their insistence on creating a different kind of pornography in which the body's surface is ruptured, exposing its inner mechanics to the audience's gaze.'
(2005: 135-136)

Films such as 'The Nights of Terror' and 'Porno holocaust' presented a 'different kind of pornography', in the sense that the flesh was under attack. As in de Ossorio's 'Blind Dead' films,

'there's no sexual pleasure in this world, chiefly because the interloping zombies always interrupt it. Sex again becomes a prelude to death.' (Russell, 2005: 133)

With their misogynistic, violent creations, filmmakers were appealing to their audience's basest instincts. The satirical humour of Romero's 'Dawn of the Dead' was replaced by something dark and 'relentlessly nasty', which sought to 'remind us that sex and death aren't laughing matters but are, instead, proof of our status as little more than meat' (Russell, 2005: 133).

In his study of aggression, Erich Fromm investigated the nature of man. He questioned the traditional view, that there is an 'essence' that defines human nature, arguing that: 'the concept has so often been abused as a shield behind which the most inhuman acts are committed' (Fromm, 1973: 219). Therefore, the atrocities perpetrated in wartime could go unpunished, when the defendants plead that they were acting in accordance with their nature. Fromm offers instead that 'character-rooted passions' underpin human nature, and that these are products of the environment, i.e. the physical world affecting each

individual.

In this respect, Fromm's hypothesis differs from Freud's. By making an allowance for environmental factors in the shaping of human psychology, he is negating the purely instinctivist approach, which holds that behavioural traits stem from a small set of primordial commands, which are passed along the evolutionary chain. He cites humanity's higher powers of reasoning as the tool that enables it to interpret these signals, and to represent them as unique shades of character. However, he recognises that these skills are achieved at the expense of the link that man once shared with the rest of the animal kingdom. On the higher qualities (of intellect and reason), Fromm comments that:

'Their emergence has made man into an anomaly, the freak of the universe. He is part of nature, subject to her physical laws and unable to change them, yet he transcends nature. He is set apart while being a part; he is homeless, yet chained to the home he shares with all creatures. Cast into this world at an accidental place and time he is forced out of it accidentally and against his will. Being aware of himself, he is aware of his powerlessness and the limitations of his existence: he cannot rid himself of his mind, even if he would want to; he cannot rid himself of his body as long as he is alive - and his body makes him want to be alive.' (1973: 219)

Fromm's analysis of the human condition highlights its dual nature. It also gets to the root of its deepest fear - that it is an imposter inside its own skin, 'the freak of the universe.' The paradox cited here - that man is 'set apart while being a part' - agrees with Freud, insofar as it recognises the same

theoretical structure of the mind. The animal self is locked in constant argument with the brain's 'higher powers', which have arrived recently in evolutionary terms, and sometimes struggle to assert themselves.

The sex zombie cinema of the 1970s and 80s is a literal (and farcical) manifestation of Freud's 'classes of instincts', where the sex and death instincts collide. However, it is not the only subject matter that explores this warped psychological territory.

For the 2003 Turner Prize, Jake and Dinos Chapman submitted installation pieces, titled *Sex and Death*. *Sex* was a full-scale mock-up of a tree adorned with skulls and body parts, while *Death* was a bronze cast of inflatable mannequins, engaged in a sexual act, painted to appear plastic. The work reflects a dual interest in commodity fetishism, and the influence of horror films - specifically, the video nasty. In an interview with Mark Kermode, Dinos Chapman describes the genre as 'the most politically accelerated culture' of the time (Chapman Brothers Interview, 2008), which formed the basis for their most ambitious work, *Hell* (2000). Kermode points out that some newspapers described it as an 'act of God' when the Saatchi warehouse burned down in 2004, obliterating *Hell* in the process. Since then, it has been rebuilt, as an even larger tableau - titled *Fucking Hell* (fig. 4). He defends the work, saying: 'the apocalyptic imagery [...] is best understood not in relation to history or the Holocaust, but to horror films,' citing low-budget Nazi/zombie films as an example. Jake Chapman agrees:

'That is how the work should be read. We are intrigued by this notion that you can employ five thousand [...] awfully made plastic soldiers, paint them up, put blood on them, spend a

ridiculous amount of time dressing them up into something that they're obviously not... and still you can have people weep.'

(Chapman Brothers Interview, 2008)

By combining Nazi imagery with the horror genre, the Chapman brothers fused two fearful concepts together. The activity of sadism is frozen at one moment in time, yet the epic nature of the work suggests endless repetition, like the hapless zombies in *Dawn of the Dead*. It is the scale of the work that transforms it from being merely a collection of plastic soldiers into an emotional statement.

Fucking Hell follows in the traditions of the zombie cinema of the 70s and 80s, insofar as it presents the physical embodiment of the id. The next chapter explores how the psychological tensions examined by Freud have the potential to be manipulated, both for personal and political ends.

Chapter 5: The Enemy Within

Following the Second World War, much of Eastern Europe fell under Soviet control. The ideological divide that existed between west and east is illustrated by Churchill's famous speech of 1946, when he commented that an 'iron curtain' had descended across the continent (Kreis, 2000). This difference was felt keenly in America, where Communism was seen as a direct threat to its way of life.

This unease was capitalized upon by Senator Joseph McCarthy, who spent much of his career claiming that Communists were operating within public institutions, such as the federal government. In 1950, he warned that:

'When a great democracy is destroyed, it will not be from enemies from without, but rather because of enemies from within.' (McCarthy, n.d.)

With his careful choice of words, McCarthy heightened existing fears of Communism, which were exacerbated by the fall of China that year, and the development of the Soviet atomic bomb the year before (The Soviet Nuclear Weapons Program, 1997). By citing the 'enemies from within', McCarthy created the perfect pretext to attack his political opponents, whilst also establishing a platform to combat Communism abroad.

Although McCarthy's tactics backfired, and resulted in his censure by the US Senate, his sentiment proved influential in the course of American foreign policy. With his powerful

rhetoric, he helped to establish Communism as the number one enemy, and set the stage for the conflicts that followed. This was reflected in John F. Kennedy's inaugural address, when he promised to:

'pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and success of liberty.' (Inaugural Address of John F. Kennedy, 2008)

Those words are poignant, because of the scale of the suffering that has since been endured in the name of 'liberty.' It is estimated that the Vietnam War claimed between three and four million Vietnamese on both sides, and at least fifty-eight thousand Americans, in a conflict that spanned three decades (Vietnam War, 2007).

Due to the protracted nature of the war, and the heavy casualties, press coverage became increasingly negative. In February 1968, Walter Cronkite closed his news broadcast with the words: 'Report from Vietnam: Who, What, When, Where, Why?' In so doing, he summed up a nation's disillusionment with a conflict fought on the other side of the world, for reasons that had become forgotten.

In the same year that Cronkite broadcast his epitaph to the Vietnam War, a new kind of horror film was released. 'Night of the Living Dead' was about ordinary Americans, eating each other. By presenting such a bleak vision, Romero was commenting on the psychological landscape of late sixties America, as well as building upon dramatic concepts established by Alfred Hitchcock. As Russell explains:

'Psycho might have recalibrated the focus of modern horror, but it was Romero who widened its scope. Taking the family-based terror of Hitchcock's masterpiece as its starting point, the Pittsburgh director moulded it into a wide-ranging critique of contemporary America marked by unrelenting nihilism, graphic violence and visceral scenes of a world turned completely upside-down.' (2005: 65)

Those 'visceral scenes' carried strong echoes of the Vietnam War. From the search and destroy missions of the local militia to the constant news reports, the subtext of the film was readily apparent to contemporary audiences, who were living through what Michael Arlen called the first 'living-room war' (Hallin, 2010).

The film's release followed the 'Summer of Love' in 1967, when tens of thousands of young people converged on San Francisco. Although the gathering was motivated by a desire for peace and freedom, it was eventually marred by drug taking, vagrancy and sporadic violence, which was a result of the huge influx of youngsters who lacked the skills to look after of themselves (Dolgin & Franco, 2007). This experience was perhaps representative of a broader social malaise, reflected in the race riots of that summer, and government policy in Vietnam.

'Night of the Living Dead' incorporates these tensions by presenting ordinary people turning against each other. By hiding out in the cellar of a farmhouse, the survivors think they are safe. In fact, they are sealing their own fate, because a little dead girl reanimates, and kills her own mother with a trowel. In another scene, one of the early victims returns as a zombie and drags his sister out of the house. In each instance, Romero is reminding the viewer that there is no safe haven, and no hope of

redemption, because the enemy lies *within*.

This message was prescient because, the following year, violence gripped the headlines again. Rather than student protests, however, it was murder.

On two nights in August 1969, Charles Manson directed members of his 'Family' to kill seven people, including the actress Sharon Tate (*The Tate Murders*, 2003). These incidents spread shockwaves across the world, because of the brutality of the crimes, and their seemingly indiscriminate nature. In his summation, prosecutor Vincent Bugliosi stated:

'One thing is abundantly clear. That the motive for these seven horrendous murders was not money, it was not burglary or robbery [...] the mission of these defendants on both nights, was murder. Clear and simple, murder.' (Bugliosi, 1971)

This motive made the crimes all the more terrifying, because it opened the possibility for further attacks. The fact that the murders took place in an affluent part of Los Angeles, meant the killers could strike anywhere, and many of the wealthy residents moved away. Others hired guards, and Steve McQueen started carrying a gun (*The Final Resting Place of Sharon Tate*, n.d.).

The Manson Family was a product of the late Sixties counter-culture, in the sense that its beliefs were steeped in the popular music of the time, and those beliefs were reinforced by the psychoactive drugs that were being so widely consumed. Charles Manson formed his first circle in Haight-Ashbury, during the Summer of Love, and while this may seem perverse, it is probably no accident that such a dark episode in US criminal history should arise from that failed utopia.

Mary Kasper was a resident in San Francisco at the time,

and she witnessed the social disintegration firsthand:

'There were runaways taking drugs who really didn't have the ego structure to deal with it. When you deconstruct your world, as many of us did with the stronger psychedelics, you have to build it back up again. And for some people they simply couldn't build it back up again and got stuck in a very painful place and couldn't see their way out of it.' (Dolgin & Franco, 2007)

When times are good, the psychedelic experience enhances the life of the user, making a social utopia seem achievable. When life becomes harder, for whatever reason, it can amplify the fears and insecurities that are present, creating quite the opposite effect. The sense of overcrowding and eventual squalor in the Haight-Ashbury district during the Summer of Love would have been fertile ground for 'bad trips' among the young runaways, who found themselves occupying the 'painful place' that Kasper describes. Also, by deconstructing the ego, they were rendering themselves vulnerable to the kind of psychological manipulation practiced by Charles Manson.

This point is made explicit in an interview with Patricia Krenwinkel, who was among those charged with the Tate/LaBianca murders. She describes how she would take acid and often feel out of control, yet when she looked at Manson he would seem completely *in control*. She reflects that, 'one of the things when I look back, I didn't see him take acid. I don't think he did.'

In this respect, the Manson family shares more with the real-life origins of the zombie, than with Romero's concept. Despite the murderous rampage - which was eerily prefigured in 'Night of the Living Dead' - the hierarchical structure is

reflective of the lone witch doctor, presiding over his clutch of unquestioning servants. Like the shamans before him, Manson was dependent upon the power of drugs to pacify his disciples, to the point where they were ready to receive his instruction.

The familial terrors that were unleashed - both in fiction and real life - provide clues about the prevailing fear in 1960s America. It was a fear about what people can become, and what they are capable of. While some college kids were burning villages abroad, others stayed at home, and singed their brains with mind-altering drugs. Charles Manson's 'family' is an extreme example of the latter; a group comprised mostly of vulnerable young women, who were preyed upon, and tricked out of their sanity, by an expert manipulator.

By acknowledging them as a 'family', the concept itself is polluted; this was a collective ruled by one man, who enlisted new members for his own sexual pleasure, before brainwashing them into murder (fig. 5).

Perhaps Jim Morrison sensed some kind of breakdown in the nuclear family, when he wrote:

'The killer awoke before dawn, he put his boots on
He took a face from the ancient gallery
And he walked on down the hall [...]
And he came to a door...and he looked inside
Father, yes son, I want to kill you
Mother...I want to...[screams]' (The Doors, 1966)

Although the last words become a tormented howl, Morrison's reference to the Oedipus complex is clear enough. He describes a world 'turned upside down', as overtly hostile as the one pictured in 'Night of the Living Dead'. It is impossible to hear

the minor scale guitar, played at the speed of a funeral march, without seeing flames erupt over the Vietnamese jungle, because this is the opening scene of 'Apocalypse Now.'

Likewise, when Morrison states 'all the children are insane', images from other Vietnam films come to mind, such as 'Full Metal Jacket' and 'Platoon'. These narratives follow the fresh-faced young recruits on their journey towards becoming trained killers. However, the words serve as a reminder that insanity is not limited to the battlefield. Patricia Krenwinkel was trained just as thoroughly as the US Marines, and perhaps better than some. She worked as part of a team, and killed in cold blood. And of course, she demonstrated the ability to follow orders.

The notion that ordinary people can be corrupted into performing terrible acts was investigated by the American social psychologist, Stanley Milgram. In his famous experiments - which began in 1961 - he recruited members of the public to take part in what they believed to be memory tests. They were told to give electric shocks of increasing voltage to a hidden subject when he answered questions incorrectly, up to a lethal dose of 450 volts. The results of the experiments proved that a majority of individuals are willing to administer the lethal dose. In his essay on the subject, Milgram explains:

'Ordinary people, simply doing their jobs, and without any particular hostility on their part, can become agents in a terrible destructive process. Moreover, even when the destructive effects of their work become patently clear, and they are asked to carry out actions incompatible with fundamental standards of morality, relatively few people have the resources needed to resist authority.' (Milgram, 1973)

Milgram was inspired to carry out his study by the trial of Adolf Eichmann, the high-ranking Nazi who was captured in 1960. Like the political theorist, Hannah Arendt - who coined the phrase 'banality of evil' in response to the trial (Arendt, 1963) - Milgram was struck by the unremarkable appearance and manner of a man who was accountable for the deaths of millions of innocent people. Eichmann attempted to absolve himself by claiming that he was 'merely a soldier following a superior's orders' (Eichmann Executed by Israel, 2010). Of course, this defence failed, because of Eichmann's high degree of seniority within the Nazi Party, and because his actions contravened the 'fundamental standards of morality' described by Milgram.

The fact that the psychological principles established in the Milgram Experiments apply to men such as Eichmann, who are responsible for heinous crimes, proves the power that authority wields over the individual. It explains the attraction of cults, such as the Manson Family, as well as the influence of the military. Moreover, it explains the outcry that 'Night of the Living Dead' provoked in 1968, because it was a reminder that horror is not just entertainment, to be diffused through the mass media. It is a product of human psychology.

Chapter 6: The Cyborg

In 1960, Clynes and Kline proposed a new kind of bio-technology, explaining:

'The Cyborg deliberately incorporates exogenous components extending the self-regulatory control function of the organism in order to adapt it to new environments.' (1960)

The 'new environment' that concerned them was outer space. In their article, they reviewed humanity's early attempts at astronautics, concluding that, 'the bubble all too easily bursts'. This illustrated the problems that are still inherent to the current strategy, whereby humans are reliant upon bulky pressure suits to shield them from the hostilities of life away from Earth.

What Clynes and Kline suggested, was a self-regulating system that would be fully integrated with the astronaut, allowing him to explore space in a way that is not dissimilar to his experiences back home. Their motivation was to liberate the astronaut from 'continuously [...] making adjustments merely in order to keep himself alive', at which point he is little more than 'a slave to the machine' (1960).

Clynes and Kline believed that technology can free humanity from the Earth, just as evolution freed its ancestors from the sea. In this respect their thinking is aligned with post-humanists, who see mortal existence as a precursor to life on a higher plane.

William Gibson explored this concept in his novel, 'Neuromancer'. Here, the traditional Earthly existence is second

best to the virtual one, which Gibson called 'cyberspace'. The central character is a mercenary, who 'jacks in' to infiltrate big companies... until he is caught cheating on his employer, and he is cast out:

'For Case, who'd lived for the bodiless exultation of cyberspace, it was the Fall. [...] The Body was meat. He fell into the prison of his own flesh.' (Gibson, 1984: 12)

Gibson accurately predicted a time when information would be transmitted instantly across the world. Although the Internet is not yet as immersive as the system described in the book, advances in the man/machine interface mean that it may not be long before computers and users are connected at the neural level. If this comes to pass, the new 'freedom' that it affords people will be offset by their dependence upon it.

John Gray shares the same socio-technological pessimism with writers such as Gibson and Philip K. Dick, who describe near-futures in which humanity has lost control of its destiny. He makes the point that, 'we do not think of a time when whales or gorillas will be masters of their destinies. Why then humans?' (Gray, 2002: 3) His central argument - that humanism is a myth, derived from anthropocentric Christian beliefs - is the platform he uses to attack the concept of post-humanism. He argues:

'Cyberonauts who seek immortality are ready to disown their bodies for the sake of a deathless existence in the ether. Perhaps someday they will achieve what they crave, but it will be at the price of losing their animal souls.' (2002: 144)

By sacrificing the flesh for cyber-immortality, Gray argues that humanity will burn its bridges with the rest of the animal kingdom. Truly, then, it could consider itself the 'freak of the universe.'

What Clynes and Kline proposed in the 1960s is different, because they are not suggesting that humans should abandon their physical presence - or that they should seek immortality. However, they assume that human technology can replace the natural mechanism of evolution, allowing them to operate outside their space ships, and perhaps take a turn of golf on Mars, without concern for their environment. It is curious that this seemingly utopian dream should generate some of the most terrifying science fiction bad guys that humans have had the misfortune to encounter.

The 'Borg' is intent on only one thing: the assimilation of all life in the galaxy. This cybernetic race moves from one star system to the next, adding civilisations to its collective. It changes the physiology of its victims, turning them into 'drones' capable of operating in the vacuum of space, and performing highly technical or strenuous tasks. The downside, of course, is that the individual has been destroyed; replaced by a cosmic zombie, cursed to an eternity of subservience. The 'Borg' uses the same principles that have recently been tested by medical scientists, whereby 'smart' particles are injected into the patient, which seek out specific cells and deliver the drugs exactly where they are needed (Nano Device Times Drug Release, 2009).

These are the enemies of Captain Picard, and other characters from the 'Star Trek' universe. However, their dependence upon emerging technologies could be construed as a warning for today's society, as Bill Joy explains:

'The 21st-century technologies - genetics, nanotechnology, and robotics (GNR) - are so powerful that they can spawn whole new classes of accidents and abuses. Most dangerously, for the first time, these accidents and abuses are widely within the reach of individuals or small groups. They will not require large facilities or rare raw materials. Knowledge alone will enable the use of them.

Thus we have the possibility not just of weapons of mass destruction but of knowledge-enabled mass destruction (KMD), this destructiveness hugely amplified by the power of self-replication.' (Joy, 2000)

If technology is allowed to self-replicate - as organisms do in nature - the possibility arises that variations from the original design may lead in unexpected directions. The examples that Joy cites above are dangerous because they could potentially corrupt any system on Earth. This is especially true of genetic technology, which Gray predicts 'is likely to be the technology of choice in future genocides.' (2002: 14)

Although it is true that technology can be used for evil, the consequences of human error can be just as profound. The BSE inquiry found that the UK outbreak - which resulted in the slaughter of 4.4 million cows - resulted from industrial farming techniques, whereby animal remains were mixed into the food rations (Brown, 2000). Global travel has enabled invasive species to hop across oceans - irrevocably altering ecosystems. The cane toad is the most obvious example of this, having multiplied out of control in Northern Australia since its introduction in 1935 (Killing off the cane toad, n.d.).

Considering the physiology of the 'Borg', which is both animal and machine, it is tempting to suppose that the terror it inspires is derived from this unnatural collision, which falls outside of human experience. Equally, the fascination it generates can be attributed to its positioning in the lowest regions of the 'uncanny valley'. It is worth remembering, too, that zombies are as much a result of an 'unnatural collision' as the 'Borg', except in their case it is the collision between disparate cultures, rather than biology and technology. Perhaps, they can be described as 'zomborgs' - 'zombified organisms' - powered not by electricity, but rather the enduring mystery of death.

It is interesting that cyborgs are nearly always portrayed as evil, while in reality, this technology is saving people's lives. Recently, the *Times* reported an artificial heart that 'beats almost exactly like the real thing' (Sage, 2008). Another breakthrough has arrived in the form of brain scanning, allowing neurologists to communicate with patients who were once presumed to be in a vegetative state, but who are in fact receptive to the world around them. As these examples prove, technology has an important - and increasingly intimate - role to play in human life.

This fact does not alter the disquiet generated by the implacable rise of machines, of course. In his analysis of Lyotard, Stuart Sim sums up a modern-day dilemma:

'... the more efficient computers become, the more we rely on their operation for the systems we depend on to run our daily lives, then the more we are at their mercy. Anyone whose computer has ever 'crashed' will know just what this can mean at the local level; magnify this and full-scale social disaster

looms.' (2001: 19)

As an example, he cites the 'Y2K' problem, when 'doomsday scenarios' predicted the breakdown of public order and political systems, because computers would not understand the date change at the turn of the millennium. In the event, only minor disturbances were caused, but the debate called into question whether it is wise to cede so much power to computers. The extent of the doom mongering also suggests that society secretly yearns for such a large-scale catastrophe to take place.

Gray addressed the issue from the perspective of personal transport, quoting: 'The model American puts in 1,600 hours to get 7,500 miles: less than five miles an hour' (Illich, 1974). He adds:

'Which is more important today: the use of cars as means of transportation, or their use as expressions of our unconscious yearnings for personal freedom, sexual release and the final liberation of sudden death?' (Gray, 2002: 15)

Most famously, this theme is explored by J.G. Ballard in his novel, *Crash*. It describes an invention that has surpassed its usefulness, and now exists only as a perversion, used to inject drama into otherwise empty lives. More broadly, the idea that society is trying to undermine itself sweeps through much of Ballard's work. In *Cocaine Nights*, only drugs can stave off the boredom of a leisure-dominated society, where 'a billion balconies [sit] facing the sun' (1996: 180). In *Super-Cannes*, the residents of Eden-Olympia are treated with microdoses of violence, like 'strychnine in a nerve tonic', to help them manage their simmering frustrations (2000: 214). What these

stories have in common is their acknowledgement of a private world made tortuous by the upkeep of a public mask of sanity.

The idea that life might be made simpler (and a lot more interesting) if this veneer was somehow stripped away, forms the basis for Hollywood disaster movies, and underpinned the advertising strategy for the film *28 Weeks Later*, released in 2007.

Having already impressed audiences with a vision of central London, devoid of pedestrians and traffic, the filmmakers arranged to project a biohazard warning sign against the white cliffs of Dover, along with the words 'CONTAMINATED: KEEP OUT' (fig. 6). It was an effective strategy, which built upon the striking visuals established in the first film. Also, through the use of graffiti and other viral marketing techniques, the brand identity was extended from the confines of the cinema into people's everyday lives.

This connection is important, because it underpins the realism that the filmmakers tried to achieve. Rather than presenting corpses reanimating and bursting out of graves, it is a deadly virus - called 'Rage' - which is responsible for turning ordinary people into crazed killers. The man-made toxin acts within seconds, altering the biology of its victims, and spreading anarchy across the UK.

The fear of the cyborg reasserts itself here, but in a different context. Rather than literally turning people into machines, and thereby taking control of the individual, the machinery of the state has created something so dangerous that the individual is rendered irrelevant. The body becomes 'meat' once more, available to every brutality imaginable. And once the people are gone, all that is left are London's empty streets.

For writers such as Ballard, the cyborg already exists.

When he described a 'marriage of sex and technology' (Crash, 1973: 116), he was painting a psychological landscape that had become warped by the new powers conferred upon it. A large portion of his career was spent approaching the problem from different angles, revealing the implications for a society that fears it has become redundant. Yet, as Gray notes, his vision of a leisure-dominated society has proved deceptive: 'even the poor are spared the perils of having too much time on their hands' (2002: 165). The suspicion remains that the new technology is consuming just as much labour as before, and to what end? Staring into the pallid, robotized faces of the future, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion.

Zombies: A Post-Modern Conclusion?

28 Days Later 'reinvigorated the zombie movie' (Rasa, n.d.), according to fans of the genre. By presenting fast zombies, Danny Boyle gave life to a concept that had appeared dead for some time.

It heralded a new wave of films that dispensed with the dark humour of *Dawn of the Dead*, and focussed instead on graphic violence, which was made more shocking by the speed with which it unfolded. It could be argued that the demands of the 'culture industry' have compressed the zombie, as a horror archetype, forcing it into a parody of itself as it battles to overcome the 'distraction and inattention' of modern minds, which are subjected to an ever-increasing media barrage. *Dawn of the Dead* itself was remade in 2004, along similar lines as *28 Days Later*. The protagonists battle for survival in a world populated by crazed, feral beings, which sprint through the streets. In a sense, it is a natural conclusion for an idea that has steadily grown in familiarity, until it is now ubiquitous.

However, perhaps reflecting the thematic limitations of fast zombies, there has been a recent tendency to revert to the more familiar, shuffling type - albeit in a humorous context. This approach is exemplified by the mash-up novel, *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* - which blends Jane Austen with 'bone-crunching zombie mayhem'. In one passage, a dinner party is cut short by an attack of zombies:

'A few of the guests, who had the misfortune of being too near the windows, were seized and feasted on at once. When Elizabeth stood, she saw Mrs. Long struggle to free herself as two female

dreadfuls bit into her head, cracking her skull like a walnut, and sending a shower of dark blood as high as the chandeliers.' (Austen & Grahame-Smith, 2009: 14)

The style of writing neatly blends with Austen's original work, lending a composed, Regency-era authenticity to the action. Because of their archetypal simplicity, it is perhaps not surprising that zombies should pop up in the works of Jane Austen. Indeed, just as they seem able to travel through time, they have begun to cross genres - appearing in the American road movie, *Zombieland* (2009). Here, Woody Harrelson reprises a role not dissimilar from the one he played in *Natural Born Killers*, as he shoots his way across the United States. The difference being, instead of shooting state troopers, he shoots zombies.

★

The willingness to present zombies in such a wide context points towards their uncertain future as a horror archetype. Through their over-familiarity they have mutated well beyond their origins, to the extent that they are now figures of fun, to be mutilated and shot through the head with gleeful abandon. *Zombieland* is the most obvious recent example of this, but the trend can be seen in any amusement arcade in the country, where children are blasting away with pink shotguns.

What cannot be escaped, however, despite the hilarity, is that these are human beings. Perhaps it is worth asking, what motivates a society to dress its living as its dead, and bring them back, again and again, to the extent that they interrupt some of its greatest literary achievements? Will the time come

when Hamlet cannot finish his question, 'to be or not to be...' before the jester's skull reanimates, and bites him in the face?

More seriously, society's continuing obsession with the flesh - and all of its grotesque perversions - indicates that it has not moved on from the 'splatter' cinema of the 1970s, when filmmakers were responding, in part, to the televised cruelty of the Vietnam War. Arguing that the brutality of today's films is meant ironically does not disguise the fact that the carnage is more explicit - and realistic - than ever.

This duality - between humour, and the punishment of the flesh - sits apart from science fiction horror, where the body is subjected to nightmarish technological incursions. There is no humour in this world, only the grim reality of war against the machines. This suggests that the zombie archetype has stepped into the future, aided by the new technologies of the twenty-first century, where it can continue its reign of terror on the Galactic plane. This notion is reinforced by the appearance of beings such as the 'Borg', which embody 'death's relentless and completely implacable march' just as effectively as zombies ever did.

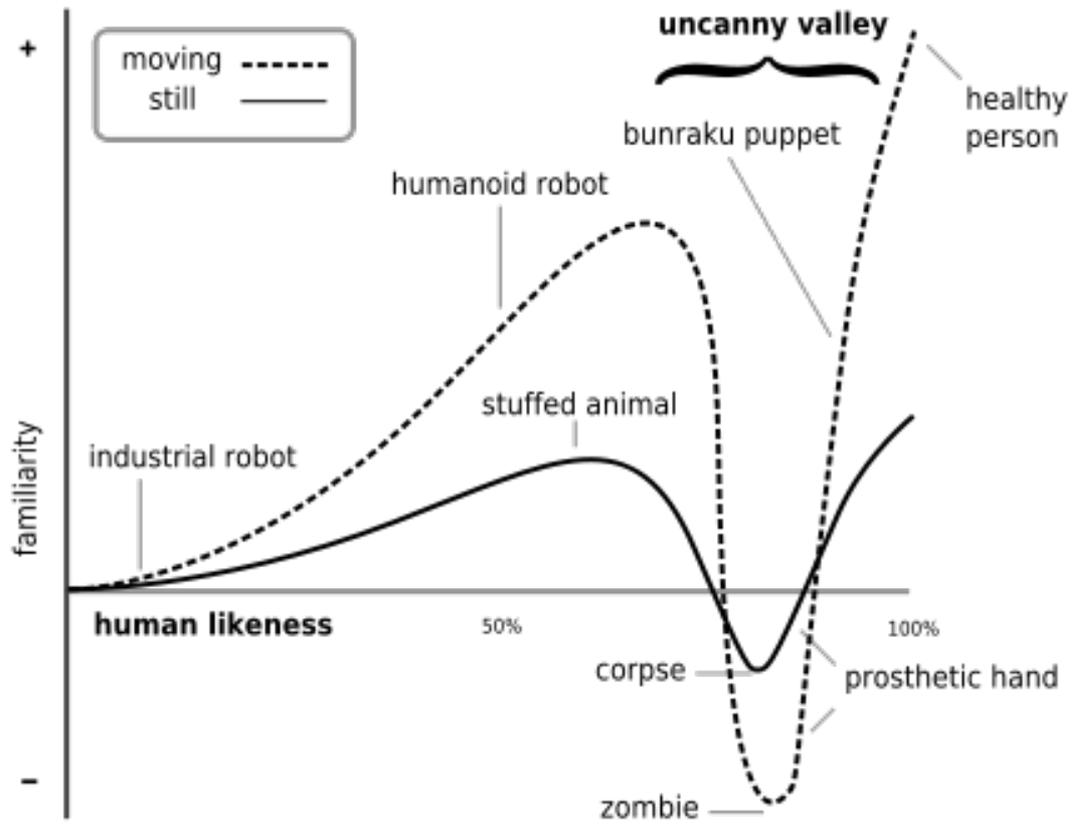
This archetype - of a terrifying threat, whose name alone inspires fear, and dread - rings true, because it can be traced back to the real-life beginnings of the zombie. When William Seabrook travelled to Haiti, he encountered a wall of silence, before he eventually found the evidence for himself. When he did, he was horrified to encounter what he at first accepted to be the living dead. Later, he was able to rationalise that the victims were in fact drugged, and it is this deception that has accompanied zombies on their journey into the twenty-first century. The difference being, that those who dress up in old clothes, and dribble food colouring on their faces, deceive

knowingly, and can return to their normal lives when they wish.

The terror that zombies inspire, then, has not changed, because people have not changed. It is the form that zombies take which has changed considerably, coinciding with the social and technological upheavals of the last century. In this sense, they are a mirror for humanity, reflecting across the space of its own death, revealing some truths that cannot be told in life. The disintegration of the nuclear family is an example of this, as is the senselessness of war. They will continue to surprise, delight and occasionally shock audiences in their traditional, Earthly incarnation... but it is in their symbiosis with the 'powerful new technologies' that they will once again learn to deliver real dread, in ways that contemporary audiences cannot imagine.

Illustrations

Fig. 1



Masahiro Mori *The Uncanny Valley* (1970)

http://blogs.wayne.edu/aaron/files/2009/04/461px-mori_uncanny_valley_svg.png

Fig. 2



Still from *Night of the Living Dead* (1968)

<http://www.walkingtaco.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/NLD2.jpg>

Fig. 4



Detail from *Fucking Hell* (2008)

http://www.thecommentfactory.com/wp-content/uploads/2008/10/_mg_2187.jpg

Fig. 5



The Manson Family (1967)

<http://seastwood.com/images/mansonfamily1.jpg>

Fig. 6



A 'Borg drone' from *Star Trek*

http://api.ning.com/files/rxwTbKoUOZbgAocW3Z0xNJo8Bzx9nRE*hDLj*6mRTH9g0LrHeVeRumM35s4tS*arnvuUm2PicRhRMqZeZMKUYFTljf7hqJ9F/borg.jpg

Fig. 7



Advertising campaign *28 Weeks Later* (2007)

<http://cache.daylife.com/imageserve/07BobIibnheHJ/610x.jpg>

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