Zombies, Xenophobia, and the Never-Ending Battle with “The Other”

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This article mainly tells us about the zombies, Xenophobia, and the Never-Ending Battle with “The other”. The solution to problems is too often placed upon the shoulders of scapegoats through the process of ostracization and persecution. It is in this diverting and obscured vein that zombie fiction serves as a zeitgeist for unspoken fears and frustrations fed by gross national reaction to cultural threat.

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Introduction

In its short history, America has undergone its share of social, cultural, and economic disasters and has consistently pulled together through these blows to present an united front. Unfortunately, in a majority of cases, the united front tends to exist as a majority standing against the Other in society. As seen throughout bouts of global unrest, the solution to problems is too often placed upon the shoulders of scapegoats through the process of ostracization and persecution. This process is exacerbated as shared technology continually evolves. The entertainment industry—print, radio, film, and video games—provides individuals within society a means of indirect communication and a way to express or relish in shared interest, often times subliminally. It is in this diverting and obscured vein that zombie fiction serves as a zeitgeist for unspoken fears and frustrations fed by gross national reaction to cultural threat.

Literature Review

When considering the importance of the initial zombie appearances and resurgences in mainstream American media, it is important to look beyond the face value that this particular type genre offers. The horror genre strives to breach numerous boundaries. Regardless of the mode of terror, whether psychological, emphatically physical, or disturbing merely for the sake of disturbance, horror is meant to leave the audience with a sense of discomfort and doubt regarding one’s well being. However, zombie fiction goes beyond this threshold by offering a critical issue in mass proportion, affecting large groups of people. There is shared dread in conjunction with a seemingly dismal outcome, which miraculously yields positive results in regard to camaraderie and collective productivity. When facing an apocalyptic outbreak, the human race shows endurance and perseverance in the struggle for survival. The protagonists become the main focus in the midst of an overwhelming takeover because the fight for survival is so innate and relatable, yet heroic.

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As the zombie movement becomes more prevalent in everyday life and conversations of Americans, it takes new forms as individuals from all backgrounds and points of interest begin to evaluate its significance. One group in particular, consisting of academics and dooms-dayers alike, takes the zombie issue as a metaphorical response to natural global, unavoidable issues. The mission statement for the group reads, “Zombie Squad’s mission is to educate the public about the importance of personal preparedness and community service, to increase its readiness to respond to disasters such as earthquakes, floods or zombie outbreaks” (Zombie Squad Mission Statement, 2013). This notion of zombie phenomenon acting as a standing metaphor for a massive disaster is definitely on point. However, natural disasters or widespread illnesses are not the only elements threatening humanity, nor are they the most overt focus in assessing potential problems in society.

The timing of zombie crazes in American society shows that the metaphor extends beyond the suggestion of disaster or outbreak, and taps into the root of societal angst. Metaphorically demonstrative, zombies most certainly serve as a symbol of epic disaster, but not necessarily limited to natural disasters as suggested in other sources. When considering the socio-political and economic state of the nation at the times of zombie popularity, cultural and man-made disasters are more likely the metaphor being filled. If the presentation of the apocalypse is a man-made disaster, then the cause of the outbreak, the manifestation of the zombies, is the metaphoric responsible party. Zombies serve as a metaphor for the unnamed, yet omnipresent Other who threatens civilization. As time progresses and the country encounters new threats, the Other changes, but the threat and the purpose remain consistent. Zombies in popular culture are a clear manifestation of the social fear of losing majority or normative status to the Other. As Max Brooks (2011), popular fiction author and zombie guru outline in a History Channel Documentary Zombies: A Living History, a zombie attack changes the power dynamics in society. Brooks (2011) states that in this situation, “We are the minority”. Existence in the minority carries a negative cultural connotation as it sets individuals apart from normative society, labeling them as the Other.

Historically, the Other exists as a group set apart from society which is treated differently and oppressed in order to facilitate benefits for those in society who are considered the normative group, consequently the more important members of society. Traditionally, the Other can be set apart from normative society due to factors including race, religion, social class, among other issues, much like a cultural scapegoat.

However, although the Other is oppressed, this does not necessarily mean that they are the minority group. In any given society, the group perceived as “the Other” may in all actuality be the majority. It is not the size, but the contributing factors that create the otherness in societal perception, and those who have the most societal power are those who create the rules or expectations for what is acceptable in their society. Although the presence of the Other appears to be a threat at face value, the existence and relationship must continue, or the superior group will flounder, no longer benefitting from the camaraderie created in oppressing the Other. The superior needs the Other, so as to have some level of comparison to demonstrate the existence of the perceived superiority. The true fear in regards to the Other is not that the Other is a threat to society overall, but that the Other may cease to exist. In order for normative society to function, the necessity for the Other is pertinent as it provides definition to show what society is by knowing what it is not. Zombies have served as the Other since their introduction into mainstream film, feeding a visceral instinct for normative society. A sampling of several zombie films that gained popularity during times of cultural or political crisis will show a direct link to xenophobia or distress over the Other.
In 1932, Universal Studios launched a horror series, which included the first zombie movie, *White Zombie*. This film, based on Kenneth Webb’s 1932 Broadway play *Zombie*, reflects the traditional Haitian zombie in that, the afflicted are not hungry for flesh and raised from the dead, but are in a voodoo-induced, man-made trance. True to Haitian tradition, these creatures exist for the sole purpose of fulfilling their master’s needs. Although they do not exist to cause harm to others, the film depicts the zombies in a manner that shows that despite the nature of their existence, they still manage to inspire fear and discomfort in average society. People feel that these creatures are a threat, or something they must avoid because they are unnatural in regards to the majority. Whereas xenophobic reaction is not warranted in regards to Haitian population, the Haitian tradition acts as a vessel to make a cultural and political statement, and accurately portrays the Other in American society at this particular time.

The film’s creation and release came at a crucial time in American history. In 1932, the Great Depression hit its lowest point as working-class citizens struggled to survive in a nation plagued with under-consumption and over-investment. When jobs became scarce and American citizens faced unstable financial futures, Mexicans and Mexican-Americans continued to undertake the same menial work for low wages and subpar living arrangements that they had performed prior to the downfall. In this panic, the American government targeted Mexican and Mexican-Americans workers in the solution to some of the economic issues at hand. Between 1929 and 1939, the Mexican Repatriation Act pushed Mexican workers, both seasonal and contractual, as well as illegal and naturalized citizens alike out of their jobs and out of the country.

The process of repatriation created a climate in which it was obvious that the Mexican population was the perceived Other, and therefore must take leave at the risk of hindering the American nation. Dennis Nordin Valdez defines this process in regards to the American populous. According to Valdez (1988), the first stage of the plan involved raid, propaganda in newspapers and related efforts intent on creating a climate of fear on their own violation. The raids resulted in relatively few deportable aliens, but kept up the pressure in order to intimidate local populations. The bureau also helped coordinate a second stage, the formation of repatriation committees by public and private organizations.

In the efforts to clear out employees to create opportunity for normative society, (in this case, the majority), local population took initiative in repatriation efforts, which often times “combined lure, persuasion and coercion”. In these efforts to replenish the American economy, government effectively created tension and blame in targeting a societal Other, sparking fear toward the power the Other possessed, and ultimately uniting the majority group in efforts to alleviate the issue that the Other allegedly presented. In this unified effort and solitary focal point, citizens had a tangible solution. They could see the group supposedly causing the problem and felt a sense of patriotism and relief in purging this problematic Other by means of a collective determination.

The threat to employment resulted in honing in on the outsiders in the population. In order to rectify the situation, those who are not originally from the group, the immigrants and the societal Other, are given their leave despite the fact that they provided services and labor to the benefit of the majority, or superior group. The threat that they may take money or employment from the superior group in a time of hardship is the ultimate threat of their presence. This threat is mirrored explicitly in *White Zombie*; the other in the film, (the Haitian zombies), demonstrate the valid threat of Mexican-American workers during the Great Depression.

The audience becomes acquainted with the fictional Other shown working all hours, performing manual labor in a sugar factory. Although this is one of the characteristics of Haitian tradition, this mirrors the situation
on the American home front. The initial presence embodies the fear that a group is undermining the working class. A lower standard group is completing work which normative members of society are classically meant to complete in exchange for wages. The underlying threat with these societal misfits is not that they are harmful to society in a physical matter, but in a lifestyle and monetary manner. Though Mexicans and Mexican-Americans were not the only individuals who fit these specificities, there was a racially-driven hope in removing them from their positions. The cuts were geared specifically toward this particular group of workers, who were considered the threat or the Other. The existence of this particular Other threatens productivity in normative society.

Approaching the cultural outsider through film is achieved through numerous types of films and with numerous Others and antagonists in play. Xenophobic or racist reaction in film during this time can also be seen, for example, in King Kong. David Rosen described an identical situation in a display of African Americans during the 1930s. He states that King Kong may correspond very closely to white America’s attitudes toward the black men in the 1930s: an object of entertainment, but also of fear (David, 1975, p. 7). It was released a few days before Roosevelt’s inauguration in March of 1933, the high point of the Depression in terms of number of unemployed. If this period of intense capitalist crisis clearly raised the possibility of revolution, in a general sense it can be argued that Kong symbolizes this possibility, the threat of the masses “losing their chains” in a revolutionary upheaval—which conservatives always picture as a strictly chaotic, wantonly destructive dissolution of society. It should be remembered that this threat was not new; it had been haunting the capitalist world with particular intensity since the end of the war.

The focus on King Kong goes to show that metaphoric manifestations in film become popularized, even if the audience is unaware that the film they are watching may be scratching a cultural, subliminal itch. What King Kong displayed during the Great Depression in terms of blacks as the Other, White Zombie displayed for the Mexican population serving as the Other.

When evaluating zombie popularity, a correlation is always present between a major cultural stressor and the film itself. It seems as though the political and social climates during the 1940s would be very conducive to a highly receptive zombie following, however there were no highly successful zombie films during the World War II era. Some speculation on this lack points to the weight of the World War II. The war was so overwhelming that it would have been too devastating to attempt an effort to encapsulate the entirety of the experience in film at that time. While men were off fighting in the war, women kept up the home front, which limited active, receptive audience for film. This speculation makes sense, as the World War II introduced numerous hardships and new types of xenophobic reaction on a nationwide level.

The films and propaganda released during the war were a call to action, depicting patriotism and favoring bravery over all else. Posters, films, and other media represent Nazis and Japanese people as the mindless Other, showing hoards of them marching mindlessly forward in hopes of destroying American freedoms. Here the enemy takes the “zombie” form in a much different way, conceivably less fictional; with images manipulated purposely to alter public opinion. In this time, media used literal portrayals (this is what a Japanese enemy looks like), whereas other time periods accomplished subliminal, collective goals on a more metaphoric level. With a threat so imaginable and familiar during a time where political correctness is very loose, there is not as much of a need for a metaphorical Other, when the image of the actual Other can be manipulated in the favor of the American majority.
However, Treyarch and Activision teamed in 2008 to provide the zombie experience that was missing during the World War II era. Call of Duty: World at War, is a World War II game that introduces a bonus world that encourages the players to fight against numerous ethnicities of zombies from all over the world, the most popular of these zombies being Nazis. The timing in this game is appropriate to cover the missed opportunities from the 1940s for two main reasons. The first reason is that the zombie following is in full-force at this time, so audiences will be highly receptive to a game of this nature. The second is a more subliminal and speculative reasoning as uncertainty in global affairs is pointing toward the possibility of World War III. The best way to socially prepare for an upcoming war of global proportion is to collectively revisit the last World War. It is obvious that this unique game gained popularity partly because it offers some sort of solace and provides agency for a society desperately seeking vengeance. America is familiar with Nazis as the enemy, and re-visitation and active agency in a fight against them serve as comforting preparation for violence to come.

Though the film industry did not leave a memorable mark during the monumental global crisis of the World War II, more opportunities for zombies in film presented themselves as the decades unfolded. As film quality and availability of receptive audiences improved, there was a rise in zombie-popularized fiction once again. George A. Romero’s *Night of the Living Dead* in 1968 stepped in during a time of national turmoil and international unrest. According to Jenny He (2007), Research Assistant in the Department of Film for the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the film was released at a time when disillusionment was running rampant in the country—spurred by the Vietnam War and the recent assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and John F. Kennedy. A metaphor for societal anxiety, the sight of America literally devouring itself and the representation of the desecration of the wholesome American family were “reflections of social hysteria” and served as a release for the country’s repressed trauma.

*Night of the Living Dead* represents America’s fear of several Other groups challenging normative society throughout the late 1960s. The film places the Other in America’s own backyard, speaking to the integration of non-whites into traditional white society, while also speaking to the distress that the Vietnam War sparked.

On American soil, a racial battle raged, ensuing violence and immense change in the way the country would proceed from then on. Those who favored and fought for the movement also underwent fear and hardships as the movement pushed closer to the goal of equality. The film encapsulates a force invading life, as the characters know it, making indefinite changes at a violent pace. As the Civil Rights Movement pushed radical change on societal hierarchy and structure, *Night of the Living Dead* pushes the other onto American society, forcing change, and inspiring fear in the change as continuity of life as it is impossible. The film provides an instance of political and social upheaval the likes of which match with the climate of America during this pivotal moment in history. A reflection such as this does not carry negative connotation regarding the goal of the Civil Rights Movement, but more so reveals the immensity and importance of the movement and touches on cultural tension at this time.

In regards to the war overseas, the film appropriates national pride and the fear of losing political identity. The main goal of the Vietnam War was to stop the spread of Communism at the expense of American soldiers’ lives. The film accurately depicts a tangible manifestation of xenophobia as it relates to political ramifications of nations that are unlike America. In order to preserve democracy, America strides to promote democracy abroad; when democracy is being challenged, citizens are adapted to feel aversion to the foreigners, and feel threatened at the otherness and inconsistencies in comparison to American lifestyle. In this film particularly, they see the other invading the traditional American landscape, homes, cemeteries, and all daily, sacred aspects
of westernized life. The zombie metaphor can be matched appropriately to both of these political and cultural episodes shaping the future of the country. Initially overlooked, the film drew more fans as time progressed, and gained cult classic status as the themes in the film are adaptable and relatable to any cultural battle with the Other.

As the country shifted out of a time of seemingly endless war and embarked on the “Me” generation of the 1980s, a more individualistic terror spread. While physical violence decreased as a cultural threat, disease swept the nation, instilling a new kind of threat and Other to fear.

In 1981, Sam Raimi made a bold move in writing and directing the cult classic *The Evil Dead*. In addition to setting itself apart in presentation and in depicting intimacy between the characters, this film is unique as this is the first time that the zombification process is set in motion sexually. Whereas media up to this point in time had presented zombies as creatures driven only to consume and destroy, *The Evil Dead* presented audiences with a strain of perverse mayhem that began its reign in rape.

This film was released as the HIV/AIDS outbreak in America became a prevalent national concern. The film accurately depicts American concern over this outbreak in its portrayal of the mode and spread of infection. The characters in the film start out friends, but each become infected and transform into dangerous shells of their former selves. The primary infection takes place in a sexual act, one that explicitly goes against nature, as a tree engages in forced intercourse with a human. This act speaks to society as it mirrors the general consensus regarding the AIDS/HIV outbreak during this time period. Homophobia raged during the 1980s as HIV spread throughout the gay community, promoting a clear delineation as to whom the other was in American society. Those who engaged in same sex practices were thought to be at risk and assumed to be the responsible party in a national state of panic. The Other was diseased, necessarily avoided, and unnatural. The infection of the zombie virus in this film is metaphorically sound as the Other, the gay population, specifically as unnatural sexual contact is solely responsible for the initial viral transfer. The film depicts the characters as still holding some type of consciousness, and still being in touch with the personalities present prior to the infection, again making them unique from zombies in prior films. Whereas the zombies in *White Zombie* are a labor-driven group and the Communist/Civil Rights zombies in *Night of the Living Dead* demand immediate change, the HIV stricken zombies utilize composure and manipulation in their efforts to overpower the remaining normative living.

Sequels and spin offs to Romero’s *Night* and Raimi’s *Evil Dead* come and go throughout the end of the 20th century (popularity likely due to fan following), but are not as widely received as those released during times of vast social unrest. The need for zombie fiction is at its highest when the country is in turmoil. These types of films specifically fill the voids in troubled society by providing violence and a depiction of normative unity against the heathen Other. It is only logical that the most devoted and serious zombie following in the history of the country began shortly following the 9/11 attacks.

In 2002, *28 Days Later* stormed American box offices and set an intense zombie craze in motion that would last consistently for many years to follow. Something to take into particular consideration when analyzing this film’s importance is that this film is not American, but European, and wildly received into American culture as though it were one of its own. This film spoke to Americans in a special way as American citizens were still traumatized in the wake of previously unthinkable, unforeseen violence and invasion.

Muhammad Safeer Awan (2010) notes on films produced in a post-9/11 era, “representations… promoted the idea of America as a victim and a defender of freedom, not only in its official discourse but also in the vast
cultural production ranging from Hollywood films to pop fiction and even photography”. Although Awan is referring to films literally depicting realistic or fictional accounts of the actual attack and its aftermath, there is no reason that this same principle cannot be applied to metaphoric representation. The image of an American as both victim and defender fits the protagonist mentality in zombie fiction. The timing of the releases and following matches intently with the heroic prototype with which audiences identify. Americans clung to this film because it mirrored American distresses and fed the need to see average people stand up and win despite impossible circumstances. Audiences wanted to experience the Other firsthand, watch the threat in motion, and feel the accomplishment the protagonists feel when they beat those who threatened them.

Xenophobic reaction to Middle Easterners, both in America and abroad became a prevalent concern following the 9/11 attacks, making the Muslim population stand out as the Other. This othering, however, did not stop at the Muslim population, but spread as incidences of domestic terrorism caused a rift within the structure of normative society itself. The imminent distress of terrorism, which could be previously pinpointed to the scapegoat of Muslims broadened at this point, leaving no space for comfort or trust. Even members once accepted within the core of American society became subject to suspicion and uncertainty.

The progression in zombie fiction production following 28 Days Later continued to mirror concerns in America. Subsequent films reflect the domesticity of terrorism by showing neighbor kids, newborn babies, spouses and friends as the contaminated Other. Another widely received British film, Shaun of the Dead, goes as far as to show a friendship between zombie and man, as the main character Shaun locks his contaminated friend in the shed so that they can continue to play video games together. This progression and emphasis in relational issues speak specifically to the cultural awareness insisting upon questioning normative society. The eagerness to stop the infected Other despite familiarity or relation speaks explicitly to the “see something, say something” mentality that America adapted in an attempt toward self-preservation.

Most recently, zombie films, comics, and shows have broadened their character spectrum to more closely, which resemble the Other as public interpretation of the other changes. For example, Romero’s Land of the Dead released in 2005 is unique as it shifts from the traditional focal point of a large group, and designates an individual zombie that acts as a leader for the rest of the group. This dictatorship shows one hostile force in control of mindless followers. This plotline/character development evolved appropriately in conjunction with public interest in America. Whereas in previous scenarios it was fitting to have a large group mirroring the Other, American audiences in the 2000s needed an identifiable, memorable antagonist to target. Identifying and naming the threat in cultural situations is quintessential, and the metaphorical manifestation of the threat matches this notion. Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan labeled both the Taliban and the leader as problematic figures, but placed a particular emphasis on capturing Osama Bin Laden. In Operation Iraqi Freedom, the government specifically labeled Saddam Hussein as the main problematic figure. Much as American citizens found some sort of comfort in having a face for the Middle Eastern Other, protagonists in Land of the Dead seem to find consolation in having one specific head on which to focus collective energy.

Designating a leader to destroy makes dealing with the Other a manageable task. Logic reflects that if the leader of a group can be removed or destroyed, then the remaining others will no longer be as much of a threat to normative society. The threat of terrorism seemed less cumbersome when one responsible leader for a group was named, and the threat of a complete zombie takeover seemed more avoidable in this same fashion. Although this may not be an accurate approach in overthrowing the Other, the reasoning is most certainly understandable and comforting. Identifying the threat as one individual provides room for strategic planning,
whereas existence in opposition to a huge, faceless threat will feed the natural inclination toward panic and mob mentality.

In addition to character adaptation such as the example of assigning a head to the group as seen in *Land of the Dead*, zombie fiction in recent years has also shown a shift in terms of the unafflicted characters. Here, threat is not limited to zombies, or the Other, but seen in government agency or characters who are meant to protect the public as well. This aspect has always been present in some sense, but modern fiction enhances and dictates the mistrust more explicitly to match the explicit cultural opposition and mistrust of the government. With conspiracy theory taking a more serious place in cultural analysis, discourse regarding the government takes a more vehement stance. Zombie fiction answers to the aggressive tension between the government and the people and provides fictional, relatable accounts in the wake of the apocalypse.

One classic example of government as a threat is the rescue team shooting and killing the protagonist Ben at the end of *Night of the Living Dead*. This scene is very short and implicitly suggestive in comparison to post-9/11 depictions of government forces. In *28 Days Later*, the military promises to help victims of the attack, but actually intends to trap and rape women as a last attempt to retain some sort of normalcy. *The Walking Dead* comic and television series offer a prime example of authority taking advantage of the apocalyptic situation as “The Governor” jumps on the opportunity to take control of any and all who come to him for help. The Governor uses psychological and physical violence to keep his position over the other citizens, going as far as to imprison them within the confines of Woodbury where he rules. These negative depictions of government bring up the issue of what the biggest threat really is. If the leaders in normative society threaten the populous, then there is nowhere left to turn for aid in a time of trauma. No matter which side of the threat the government fills, zombie fiction effectively encapsulates the mounting tension between government and the people.

One film that definitely does not depict the zombie epidemic as a metaphorical Other is the 2013 blockbuster *World War Z*. This film, based on Max Brooks’s novel *World War Z: An Oral History of the Zombie War*, was indeed intended to show the dangers of wide-spread disease. Max Brooks is well known for his discourse and research in the literal existence of infection and illness that result in a “zombie-like” state. Brooks discusses the effects of solanum in his handbook *the Zombie Survival Guide*. Brooks illustrates factual cases in which illness and disease alter the state of mind in victims and shows the ways in which individuals in a zombie state would survive and spread the disease to the public. When Max Brooks brings an apocalyptic situation to the public, the purpose is to show ways in which a literal zombie apocalypse is feasible, or to show viral infection from a metaphoric standpoint. Max Brooks’s books and films based on his work are an exception to xenophobic metaphor in zombie cult fiction as he explicitly expresses his intent with his work, touching on disease and historical disease outbreaks.

In line with Brooks’s work, a re-visitation of the previously discussed academic interpretation from *The Zombie Squad* is warranted. It seems logical for the fictional zombie apocalypse to serve as a metaphor for a natural disaster or disease outbreak. However, the overall message in this metaphor would serve little purpose on a national scale. From this metaphorical standpoint, the purpose of zombie films or media would be to instill paramount fear while educating on the dangers of a worst-case scenario that would ultimately change the course of the future. The goal of this metaphor would be a guttural, innate call to action. In response to receiving this metaphor of natural disaster, audiences would sense an urgency to prepare for any given apocalyptic disaster.
However, easily accessible gory popular film in mainstream America is not created nor publically consumed to instill concern in the audience, but to entertain. The caliber of these specific types of films beckons audiences seeking entertainment, not intellectual stimulation or guidance. It is much more functional to perceive the metaphor in zombie film as the manifestation of collective fears, providing a visual interpretation of the other plaguing society that can be destroyed.

Conclusion

Zombies are society’s collective phobias and unspoken aversions. Zombie films allow the nation to unite in a quiet, fulfilling manner to partake in a subliminal sense of victory in the battle against threats. These films allow for a sense of satisfaction without calling the audience to action. The receptive audience receives immediate gratification through vicarious association—a method of victory to which American society is accustomed. The films connect with audiences by endorsing and thriving in violence that remains unfulfilled in daily life. The xenophobic metaphor fits the guidelines of American entertainment in demonstrating that the relationship between film and audience is perceptive, not performative; the audience engages, but is not expected to act.

History repeats itself as America continually recycles and renames its other dependent upon the particular crisis or political-social concern of the times. In the face of the crisis, society will see the emergence, defamation, and deconstruction of the appropriate Other as a collective solution to issues which seem to be out of normative control. As long as American society continues to find solace and victory against the Other in zombie fiction, zombie fiction will continue to thrive.

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