Fear, Film, and Faith
Insights into the Perspective of High School Youth in Baguio City, Philippines
Regarding Horror Movies and the Supernatural

by Bob Munson

ABSTRACT

The article describes research done in 2007 in Baguio City, Philippines. It looks at the attitudes of local High School students regarding horror movies and pop-culture supernatural beliefs. Survey and interview research was done to examine their interests, beliefs, and fears in this area. The research showed a strong interest in horror movies and in uncertainty as to the reality of several supernatural entities or concepts. The findings were compared with Paul’s address to the Athenians in Acts 17 to consider whether horror films may be a theologically acceptable and useful vehicle to initiate missional dialogue with youth.

"Contemporary man has rationalized the myths, but he has not been able to destroy them."
-Octavio Paz

It is known, anecdotally at least, that a large segment of horror movie fans are youth. It is also true that a major component in most horror movies is the mystery and danger surrounding the supernatural. In “Western-culture” movies, horror tends to focus more on blood than on the supernatural, although there are numerous exceptions to this. In most Asian horror, the supernatural is more than a plot device, but is central to the plot. Movies such as “Ringu”, “The Grudge”, “Feng Shui”, “Sukob”, and “The Maid” draw from Asian views of death, fate, luck, and the spirit realm, to create the plot and atmosphere of the movies. Movies, however, are pop culture. Because of this, their justification for being is that they attract interest (and money). The fact that millions upon millions of dollars are spent world-wide in the production and viewing of movies that “scare” should draw interest from researchers of many fields.

The research done in this paper sought a fairly specific microculture. That group is High School students in Baguio City, Philippines. Several subtasks were associated with this study. Do the members of this group enjoy horror movies? If so, why? What is their worldview regarding the supernatural, and what are the influences in that belief? Despite the narrowness of the geographical setting, it is quite possible, that many aspects of the study may be applicable in other parts of the world. Baguio City is fairly cosmopolitan, with students from families from many parts of the Philippines. Cinemas and cable TV makes media from around the world accessible to these students.

Fieldwork
The research took two forms. The first was a survey given to over 120 students at Baguio City National High School. The survey was given to second and third year students (young teens) at the school. The primary goal of the survey was not for statistical analysis. Rather it was to provide a context to aid the researchers in the second part of the study. The second part was an ethnographic study based on personal interviews with high school students. The questions asked were drawn from points of interest that developed from the survey.
Initial Observations Based on the Survey

The survey given resulted in a wide range of categories of students. The survey was fairly simple. It asked each student’s attitude about horror movies. It asked about whether horror movies affect the individual. It asked about the individual’s belief in certain elements of Filipino myth and horror. These were ghosts, sumpa (curses), witches, aswang, dwende, tiyanak, and magic. These were graded using a Likert scale. Additionally, each were asked if they had personal experience with the spiritual elements being surveyed. Then the bottom of the survey allowed for personal responses as to how horror movies affect the individual.

Tables 1 and 2 tabulated these raw results. Table 3 attempted to develop a relationships between belief and interest and fear. This was done by grouping the students into three basic categories. These are believers, doubters, and unbelievers. These categories were somewhat arbitrary since no one absolutely believed in all aspects, and very few were completely unbelievers. Table 3 describes the criteria for the categorization.

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Table 2. Review of Quantitative Findings for 2nd Year Students at Baguio City National High School

The grouping had benefits. While almost any mixture of categories could be found, there were strong trends. Those who doubted the supernatural were far more likely to dislike horror movies and less likely to have a personal experience with the supernatural. Those who believed were more likely to like horror movies and more likely to have a personal experience with the supernatural. Uncertainty gave intermediate results to Doubt and Belief. No attempt was made
to determine causation. Did belief in the supernatural lead to personal experience with the supernatural? Or did personal experience with the supernatural lead to belief in the supernatural?

It is important to note that the quantitative survey was done primarily to guide the qualitative interviews. This is why the surveys did not follow standard procedures of validation, nor are the results analyzed to any real extent statistically. The range of attitudes is what was really sought. In this case the strong correlation between belief and the effect of horror movies on the students was important. Additionally, the correlation between belief and personal experience with supernatural phenomena also appeared to be important. Another interesting point was the ambivalence about the reality of supernatural elements, but a lack of ambivalence about horror movies. In other words, most students were in the middle as to whether spiritual elements really exist. However, horror movies polarized the students surveyed. Most liked or hated horror movies. Few were ambivalent about them.

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<td>1.96</td>
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Table 3. Review of Quantitative Findings for 3rd Year Students at Baguio City National High School

Interviews

Different members of the research team interviewed different students. However, this researcher interviewed three students from Union School International. They were John, Jacob, and Alan. Three of them are first year high school students, the other is second year. Coincidentally, each one appeared to fit into different categories of the attitude to the supernatural. John expressed an attitude that fits into Group A (disbelief), Alan expressed belief (C), and Jacob expressed doubt (B).
To the question, “Do you like horror movies/literature?” one of the three (John) said that he does not like them because they are totally false… no connection to reality. Another, Jacob, really likes horror movies, but also sees no real connection to reality. Alan likes horror movies but seemed more uncertain about their relationship to reality. Asked how horror movies make them feel, Jacob emphasized the exhilaration or excitement one gets while watching. The others generally agreed. When asked how horror movies make one feel afterward, Jacob at first said that they have no effect on him since he does not believe in them. Later, he mentioned that sleeplessness after a particularly scary movie can happen. John downplayed the effect but did agree that it can make him nervous. Alan also gets nervous and sleepless after horror media.

During the discussions, several supernatural beings were mentioned. The following includes definitions given by the informants.

- **Ghost.** They defined it as a person who had died, but had come back in spirit form. The purpose for coming back was to say something to someone… perhaps a warning. Alternatively, they might come back for revenge… a curse.
- **Duwende.** A small human-like being, only 3-4 inches tall. Immortal.
- **Tiyanak.** A baby that never grows up or grows old.
- **Aswang.** A human-like creature that has two parts. The upper half of the body can fly around and do bad things. The lower half is stationary when separated from the upper half. Supposedly, one can kill one by finding the stationary part and putting salt on it.
- **Witch.** Unlike the others, this is human. A witch does not go around like an aswang, but stays in one place casting spells and doing all sorts of magic.

Regarding belief in the supernatural, John was the least believing, with Alan the most believing. They seem to think that spells might be true. Alan believes in curses, and John accepted that this might be true based on some things in the Bible. They seemed quite skeptical of tiyanaks and aswang. They saw them as stories people made up. However, they were more open to the existence of ghosts and duwende. They also accepted the possibility of witches.

When asked if they had had any experiences with any of these supernatural things, only one said he did. Curiously, the only one who had such an experience was the one who most strongly did not believe in much of the supernatural. John stated that when he was younger (about 8 years old), he was with his friend Ted in a back lot and saw what they felt was a ghost. Scared, they ran to Ted’s house and went to the basement. There they saw a second ghost (or a repeat of the same one perhaps). They ran outside and did not see any more ghosts. He never saw another ghost. John comes from a strong Christian background and seeks to interpret experience based on his understanding of the Bible. Therefore, he said he interprets the ghost experience he had as some sort of demonic attack to trick him.

Regarding the attitude regarding the spirit world, all three described the spirit world as being “far away” as opposed to being “close”. They also saw the spirit world as neutral. When asked to clarify, they agreed that the spirit world was neither good, nor bad, nor a mixture of good and bad.

The next question was “Where did your beliefs (regarding the supernatural) come from?” Jacob felt that much of what he believes comes from his family. His parents liked to tell him stories of supernatural things. He felt that they did this to try to scare him… and keep him obedient. John felt that his beliefs come from himself. He said that he thinks about and feels what is true and what isn’t. Alan, on the other hand, saw TV as having a major effect on his beliefs.

The three were asked to list some things that make a good horror movie:

- **Suspenseful**
- **A good story**
- **Good special effects… real-like**
- **A little comedy, but not too much**
- **Close to real life… at least believable.**
- **Set up to allow a sequel.**
- **At least one survivor.**

The following were things that make a bad horror movie:

- **Things look fake… bad special effects**
- **Little action**
- **No survivors or all survivors**
• Too much blood (a little may be appropriate, but not a bloodbath)
• Not set up for a sequel (movie should allow for continuation)
• Message. They did not feel that horror movies should send a message. Often the message that would be sent would be bad or wrong.

**Personal Observations**

Interviews by other members of the research team came up with similar results, suggesting that the responses are fairly typical for youths in Baguio City. There is a lot of ambivalence about the reality of the supernatural. The surveys tended to show a much higher level of disbelief than did the personal interviews. And belief tended to show itself as stronger toward the end of the interviews than at the beginning. With the high schoolers from Union, an Evangelical Christian school, there appeared to be three systems of thought in conflict:

- Official Disbelief (perhaps from schooling, or a desire to look “smart” with the interviewer?)
- A tendency or at least openness to believe (perhaps from TV, movies, family, friends, etc.?)
- A Christian background that accepts aspects of the supernatural while seeming to reject other aspects.

A key point in what they like in horror movies is “believability”. They want the movie to appear to be “real”. Things that look fake (bad special effects or bad acting) hugely detract from the movie. There is a desire to be “drawn into the movie” in a sense. The sense of being “real” was by far the most important element of a good horror movie. The biggest distraction in a bad horror movie was things looking fake or unbelievable.

An important observation is that all three liked to be interviewed about horror movies and the supernatural. The topic is one that interested all three of them, and they all were interested in talking on the subject. Even though a youth event was about to start, they were happy to keep talking on the subject. One spoke to the researcher weeks later wanting to know how the research went.

**Practical Response**

The following were general observations that seemed relevant:

• High School students are not only fascinated with the supernatural when associated with horror media, but are fascinated in even discussing it. This fascination was not dependent on belief in the supernatural.
• Despite the general fascination, there was still some level of ambivalence/uncertainty as to reality of the supernatural. The survey tended to show a higher level of doubt, while personal interviews (from all of the researchers) showed a greater tendency to believe.
• Those who have a greater belief in the supernatural (as described in horror media), also tend to:
  o have a greater appreciation of horror media
  o have a greater likelihood of personal experience with supernatural entities
  o are more affected by horror media
• There may be a clash of worldviews being observed. One view may be the traditional Filipino worldview with its strongly spiritualist sentiment. A second view may be a modernist (anti-supernaturalist) viewpoint. Yet a third view may be more of a postmodernist view that is skeptical of both viewpoints but open to new experiences and new interpretations. A Christian worldview may also be in the mix, but perhaps existing in all three of these forms. More research would be needed in this area.

Literary Reflection: Horror Movies as Myth

Myths are connected to a culture’s worldview “because they explain, integrate, validate, and sanction the culture’s belief system.” Myths are not always old, and are not trivial. The myths of the American West strongly reflect and impact American self-perception, while the Aryan myth in Germany both drove and justified Nazi policies. Myths draw their power from the cultural worldview and provide power back to that worldview. Attempts in the past, often by Christian missionaries to eradicate myths have often proved fruitless. The attempts may seem well-meaning, “But myths are not easily destroyed or changed by external pressure… In fact, overt prohibition usually tends to greatly increase the overall value of myth.”

This paper will attempt to make the case that horror movies are (or at least can be) an expression of cultural myth, and thus cultural worldview. Consider the following story:

Once upon a time, there was a city full of prosperous people. Everything seemed normal and good. Suddenly, a malevolent supernatural force descended upon the city. People started dying for no apparent cause. Nothing they could do could stop the killings, and they could not even name who or what was the source. The local religious groups all failed to stop the scourge. So, in desperation, members of the city traveled to the island of a cultic priestess who let them know that some spirit was getting revenge for the evils perpetrated in the city. Based on this information, they sent an emissary to find a powerful shaman who lived on a different island. He came to the city to find the spirit and purify the city. He was able to determine places in the city of special power to the killer. At each power center, an arcane blood ritual was carried out. Once all of the power centers were located and the gory rituals completed, the killing spirit, never named, left. The city was freed, the shaman rewarded, and the city chose to remember this story through memorials and oral legend.

Horror stories have been with us as long as there have been stories. They express our inmost beliefs and fears. The particular horror story related above describes an alleged event associated with the city of Athens in the 6th century BC. The shaman was Epimenides. The story is part of the mythology of ancient Athens.

There are many definitions for “myth”. According to Millard Erickson, “Myths are literary devices used to convey a supernatural or transcendent truth in earthly form. … They usually present the words or works of a divine being.” Myths are not just great epics of the past. They work their way into popular culture in many forms. “Ancient myths die hard. They continue in disguise in popular culture long after they are rejected in orthodox religious thought.” Horror
movies (and other forms of horror media) may well be a place where mythology is hidden and at the same time exposed in popular culture. Within the context of Filipino horror, many of the themes draw from ancient myths and traditional religious beliefs.

Don Richardson used the story of Epimenides in his book “Eternity in Their Hearts” as evidence that God is reaching out into all cultures of the world. This argument would be greatly strengthened if the story of Epimenides in Athens is true. However, as a myth, the historicity of the story is not critical. Myths have power, not from historicity, but from the underlying belief system of a faith community. “The great myths always developed within particular faith communities. To lift them out of those contexts is to distort the very truth to which they point.” Ripped from their faith community, myths become folktales. Horror movies draw upon the underlying belief systems of people within a culture. While ancient horror or myth was conveyed to the community through the skilled storyteller, horror movies are conveyed to the community through the scriptwriters, actors, and cinematographer.

This appears to be what our ethnographic study demonstrated. Greater belief in the underlying themes and elements in horror movies was linked to greater effects on the respondent and greater fascination in those movies. Graphically speaking this could be shown as follows:

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 1. Results of a Strong Connection between Myth and Culture**

When the myth has connection to the culture worldview, it has greater power. This manifests itself in greater fear and greater fascination. One might surmise that this leads to greater faith, that is, greater belief in the underlying myths and cultural principles. However, this ethnographic study did not study that idea. In fact, it would be extremely difficult to objectively show a causal relationship.
A second possibility would be where myth is separated from the culture. This might occur when the story is part of a different culture (such as the outsider’s view of the “Golem” of European Jewish tradition), or when it is never directly tied to any particular worldview (such as “The Wizard of Oz”). In these, the stories are neither empowered by the culture nor builds up that culture. The result is little power, as seen in little fear, little fascination, and (perhaps) little faith.

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 2. Results of a Weak Connection between Myth and Culture**

It is worthy to note a few caveats. First, fascination here does not mean popularity. “The Wizard of Oz” may be a more popular movie than “Dracula”, but “Dracula” has more fascination as can be seen by movies, novels, and comic books that have sprung from it, along with vampirologists and vampire cults. Second, some myths may transcend culture. Joseph Campbell would include myths involving the Hero Cycle in this, while Sigmund Freud would include the Oedipus myth. Third, and tied to the second, some stories may draw their power from archetypes that provide the basis for our self-understanding as humans.

It should be no surprise that those youth most interested in horror movies also have the strongest belief in the supernatural aspects of horror movies. It should also be no surprise that those with the strongest belief are most affected by horror movies. This is simply consistent with the strengths and limitations of myths. The greater the disbelief, the more impotent stories become.

**Theological Reflection**

Many individuals are concerned with whether horror movies lead to greater belief, or whether prior belief leads to appreciation of horror movies. While this is important, it is not the most important question. The big question is: Knowing the mythic power of horror movies in those
who believe, what is the Christian response to that power? Power is inherently ambiguous--- it can be used for good or used for evil.

The Apostle Paul gives a possible response to that power. The power in myth (even horror-based myth) can be utilized to transform lives. Paul’s use of the Greek myth of Epimenides and the Unknown God as described in Acts 17:16-34 when Paul spoke before the Areopagus in Athens.

“Did Paul use the myth of Epimenides and the Unknown God at all?” Clearly Paul did not tell the story. However, it is possible to use a story without relating it. If someone says “Cry wolf”, one is drawn into a well-known cautionary story “The Boy Who Cried Wolf”. For those familiar with it, telling the story is redundant. The words “cry wolf” are enough.

There are, in fact, several things that indicate that Paul was intentionally drawing from this myth. First, the myth contrasts the impotence of the idols of Athens with the power of the unknown god. Paul makes the same comparison in his speech. For him, idols are worthless and the Unknown god is the God of heaven and earth. Second, several important items link to the story. Idols and the monument to the unknown god are in the speech and myth. In fact, the myth explains the existence of this monument. Additionally, Athens is the primary setting for the myth, and, in fact, the Areopagus is specifically mentioned in the myth. Third, Paul seeks to describe the unknown god. This very thing was the mystery in the myth. The myth tells of the existence and power of the unknown god, but leaves the god’s character unknown. Paul provides the final chapter of the myth. Finally, in case there is still any doubt, Paul actually quotes Epimenides in his speech. In the poem Cretica, Epimenides says about Zeus, “For in thee we live and move and have our being.”

A possible correspondence is shown in Table 4 between High School students and members of the Areopagus in Athens during the time of the Apostle Paul. It is true that although almost any two dissimilar things can have several similarities, the similarities shown here seem to be considerable, and relevant.

Paul’s response to the members of the Areopagus

A. Paul started from a point of common interest: religion and worship of God (or gods). He built this off of knowledge and arguments the listeners were familiar with. These include idols and reference to the myth of Epimenides.

B. Utilizing this myth, Paul spoke of the characteristics of the Unknown God, answering some unknowns from the myth (and confirmed the testimony of some Greek poets about this god)

C. He developed an argument against idols that follows naturally from the myth and from Platonic thought. Idols have no power (as demonstrated in the myth), and in fact the use of material things to represent the gods, is degrading (consistent with Platonic thought).

D. He then transitioned from the Unknown God to Jesus and the resurrection. In this sense, he used their worldview as the context for expressing the gospel

Paul avoided many errors we might be tempted to do today in similar circumstances. First of all, he did not condemn the Greeks. Their profuse use of idols, the decadent lifestyles of many, and polytheism lent itself to a moralistic condemnation. Nevertheless, Paul did not do this, and in
High School Students in Baguio City  |  Members of the Areopagus  
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<td>Interest in Supernatural (gods, pantheism, ethics)</td>
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<td>Interest in discussing supernatural/spiritual issues associated with their beliefs.</td>
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Table 4. Similarities Between Members of the Areopagus (from Acts 16) and High School Students in Baguio City.

fact, stated that the Unknown God has overlooked their ignorance up to this point. On the other hand, he did not simply define their worldview as good. Rather, he critiqued aspects of their worldview, even using some aspects of their worldview to criticize other aspects—demonstrating that their system lacked self-consistency. Additionally, he was willing to commend those cultural aspects worthy of commendation.

Paul showed knowledge of their worldview. He demonstrated knowledge of Greek material culture, Greek mythology, and Greek philosophy. Even though Paul had a vast knowledge of Hebrew Scripture and Jewish teaching, he did not use them directly in Athens. The reason was simple... the Areopagus had little knowledge, if any, of Hebrew Scripture and Jewish teaching.

Conclusion: A Possible Response

If the argument is sound that the Acts 17 account is a relevant example for our response to youth today, then the following responses to youth regarding horror movies may be appropriate.

- We need to familiarize ourselves with their worldview and range of opinion.
- We need to use their interest in horror movies (their mythology of sorts) and interest in the supernatural for dialogue leading to their beliefs, worldview, fears, and hopes.
- Use positive or true aspects of their worldview to bring them to recognize the truth of Christ.
- Avoid condemnation, but don’t simply affirm everything they say or believe either.

The Romans Road, Evangelism Explosion, the Gospel Hand, the Wordless Book, and the Four Spiritual Laws have been developed to share the Gospel with non-Christians. However, problems occur when the method of presentation is not in harmony with the worldview of the recipient. For example, many methods presume a Christian worldview and respect for the Bible. Methods of presentation that target groups of Muslim background (eg. “Camel Method”) or post-moderns have been developed to effectively bridge the gap of worldviews. Don Richardson looks for “Redemptive Analogies” within cultures (beliefs and stories that can be used to point to Christ).13
It is valuable to look at possible methods to bridge the gap between youth and Christ. Their interest in horror media, and the ease in which horror media leads to conversations regarding the supernatural, personal fears, and worldview suggest that this might provide the supports for such a bridge.

ENDNOTES


2This paper was developed through research done in 2007 as part of an Ethnography class at Asia Baptist Graduate Theological Seminary, led by Dr. Flint Miller. Other researchers were Ms. Lyn Montecastro, Ptr. Sol Deguia and Ptr. Rolly Delgado. Additional assistance was provided by Joseph Gawlik of Vision Works, and the leadership at Baguio City National Hight School.

3These names shown are pseudonyms.


5Ibid.


7Millard Erickson, *Christian Theology* (Manila: Christian Growth Ministry, 1997), 86.


13Richardson.