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GENDER AND MENTAL HEALTH IN POSSESSION FILM: A EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN PORTRAIT

Keywords: horror film, exorcism, possession, mental health, gender, race, religion, stigma.

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Gender and Mental Health in Possession Film: A European and North American Portrait

Abstract

This study examines gender representation, demographic diversity, and mental health portrayal in possession-themed horror films, aiming to identify biases in portrayals of mental health support. Analysing 43 films produced in Global North countries, 68 instances of possession were coded, revealing a disproportionate portrayal of female victims (50 females versus 17 males) and no representation of non-binary identities. Demographically, young (13–21 years, 49.25%) and white (76.12%) characters were overrepresented, with limited ethnic diversity and a predominance of Catholic or unspecified religious contexts. Regarding mental health portrayal, only 12 of the 68 possessed characters sought professional support, and 8 received formal diagnoses, with mental health deterioration often explained supernaturally. No gender differences in mental health access were noted. Common distress signs included hallucinations, bizarre behaviour, dissociation, self-harm, and impulsivity, alongside less frequent symptoms like disinhibition and intrusive thoughts. Our content analysis showed that mental health was often framed within supernatural explanations, contributing to stigmatization of psychological conditions. These findings suggest a need for more diverse and responsible storytelling in horror films to address gender and mental health biases, underscoring the genre's reliance on gender stereotypes, limited demographic representation, and stigmatizing portrayals of mental health.

Keywords: horror film, exorcism, possession, mental health, gender, stigma.

Introduction

Horror cinema has established itself as an enduring genre. It is widely produced and consumed through both mainstream and alternative channels (Worland, 2024). According to recent data, between 1995 and 2024, while only 5.4%films released in the Domestic Theatrical Market for the USA and Canada were horror film (), they collected a 7.66% of the total box office (The Numbers, 2024). Festivals like Fantastic Fest (USA) and Sitges (Spain) provide key platforms for both mainstream and independent

horror, reflecting the genre's wide appeal and cultural resonance.. This broad appeal reflects the horror genre's ability to impact cultural and social anxieties, as scholars such as Robin Wood (a film critic who has published extensively on the horror genre) (Wood, 2003) or Noël Carroll (a philosopher who has explored the aesthetics of horror fiction) (Carroll, 1990) argue that horror reflects societal fears, exploring themes of identity, power, and trauma.

Gender has long been a foundational lens in film studies, particularly regarding how cinema reflects, reinforces, and sometimes resists dominant social norms. Feminist theorists like Laura Mulvey (1975) and bell hooks (1992) show how cinema visualizes power through gender, with Mulvey identifying the "male gaze" and hooks highlighting how race and class shape spectatorship.

Horror genre often oscillates between reinforcing traditional gender roles and providing space for subversive or destabilizing representations. Gender-focused horror scholarship by Creed (2024; 2005), Clover (2015), and Benshoff (1997) explores tropes like the "monstrous feminine," the "final girl," and queer subtexts, showing how horror foregrounds bodily transgression and gendered anxieties. Furthermore, horror cinema, more than many other genres, foregrounds the body, violence, and transgression—making it a fertile site for exploring collective gendered anxieties and taboos (Williams, 2001; 1984; 1991). Such invaluable academic contributions highlight the capacity of horror films to critique, subvert, and reinforce societal structures, positioning gender studies as a key framework for understanding the genre's broader cultural impact.

Western possession films often centre on young white women as victims, reinforcing Christian and patriarchal narratives, with male religious figures restoring order (Klein, 2018; Westerink, 2014). This heightens many of horror's existing gender dynamics by linking spiritual corruption with female embodiment, casting women's

bodies as sites of vulnerability, disruption, and religious intervention. The subgenre in the Global North film tradition often relies on a specific character archetype—a young white woman—as the central figure in possession narratives, a choice shaped by both Christian frameworks and long-standing gender and racial dynamics that reinforce white hegemony on the genre (Wetmore Jr., 2014). This archetype is typically accompanied by older male authority figures, such as priest or exorcists, portrayed as uniquely capable of "liberating" the possessed woman, thereby restoring order through a patriarchal intervention (Creed, 2024; Greven, 2011). In this way, possession narratives position control over the female body as both a dramatic and symbolic battleground, amplifying themes around autonomy, authority, and gendered vulnerability. These films frame female bodies as both vulnerable and threatening, dramatizing anxieties around purity, sexuality, and patriarchal control(Olson & Reinhard, 2016). According to them, two of the main themes in possession films —framing the possessed female body as both monstrous and victimized, and the transgression of social boundaries through sexualized behavior—are deeply interconnected and reflect gendered anxieties around female autonomy and sexuality. The dual portrayal of the possessed woman as both a threat to be subdued and a vulnerable figure to be rescued echoes the virgin/whore dichotomy, while her overtly sexual behavior challenges normative gender expectations, reinforcing the genre's moralizing stance on femininity and control. Together, these patterns reveal how possession films in Western cinema serve as a cultural mechanism for policing gender norms, using supernatural narratives to dramatize societal fears about female agency, sexuality, and resistance to patriarchal authority.

Possession films often conflate supernatural events with symptoms of psychosis—like hallucinations—rarely depicting medical intervention and instead favoring religious solutions (Goodwin et al., 2014; Hupp & Wiseman, 2022). However,

it is rare for characters to receive professional healthcare before their symptoms are presumed to be supernatural, often leading characters to seek intervention from religious figures instead (Friedman, Forcen, and Shand et al., 2014). This narrative choice can obscure real mental health conditions, perpetuating stigma and discouraging help-seeking (Berry et al., 2021), social isolation (Prizeman et al., 2023), and intentions to seek help (Goodwin et al., 2023), it is important to further explore how media continues to perpetuate certain myths and inaccuracies.

This study examines how possession films reflect and distort mental health, revealing how gender, autonomy, and institutional authority intersect in supernatural narratives. By analysing the intersection of mental health, horror film, and gender, this study aims to elucidate the underlying societal dynamics reflected in these films, demonstrating how possession films capture and amplify cultural beliefs and anxieties around mental health, autonomy, and institutional authority.

Justification

The surge in possession-themed films since 2010 signals a growing cultural relevance and popularity of the subgenre(IMDB, n.d.; Olson and Reinhard, 2016). An IMDb keyword search for “exorcism” in U.S. horror films yields 78 titles from 1973–2010, compared to 132 from 2010–2023. Similarly, “possession” returns 286 results for the earlier period and 294 for the latter—despite the shorter timeframe. This post-2010 increase likely reflects horror’s responsiveness to contemporary concerns and its adaptation to platforms like Shudder, a streaming service dedicated to the genre. This proliferation invites further research into the social and psychological forces behind its popularity, especially regarding mental health—an increasingly prominent topic in public discourse.

Moreover, foundational studies in horror and possession films (Olson and Reinhard, 2016; Creed, 2024) have often focused on religious symbolism, gender dynamics, and the role of spiritual and supernatural elements within the genre. Despite extensive scholarship on possession horror, few studies directly address its intersection with mental health (Callender, 2022; Braun, 2020; Creed, 2024; Olson and Reinhard, 2016; Schober, 2004b; 2004a; Westerink, 2014). Additionally, fewer examine how supernatural framing of mental health symptoms may shape audience perceptions, despite the genre's frequent portrayal of psychological distress.

This gap is significant, as the genre's portrayal of psychological instability can influence public attitudes toward mental health (Burke et al., 2008; Favre et al., 2023; Goodwin & Behan, 2023; Riles et al., 2021). Framing psychological distress as supernatural possession can stigmatize mental illness by presenting it as otherworldly rather than treatable. This study seeks to address this gap, offering an analysis of how mental health is depicted in recent possession films and exploring the social implications of these portrayals. We aimed to answer the following question: are all characters in horror films about possession who present with alterations in behaviour, cognition, or perception equally susceptible to receiving mental health treatment and/or diagnosis, independent of their gender identity? In doing so, the paper contributes to broader discussions on how horror reflects and shapes societal views on mental health and care.

Materials and Methods

Review Design

This study employed a qualitative content analysis design, examining the portrayal of possessed victims within the exorcism and possession subgenre in North

American and European horror cinema. A comprehensive search of European and North American films released between 2010 and 2024 (N = 1,669,578) was conducted. Selection criteria encompassed films produced in EU countries, as well as Switzerland, Moldova, Albania, Ukraine, Norway, Turkey, the USA, Canada, and Mexico. Co-productions were classified under the principal production country as identified on IMDb, except in cases where the primary country was outside the initial selection scope. For example, a co-production between Argentina and Mexico with Argentina as the primary producer was categorized as Mexican, given Argentina's exclusion from the selected countries. This approach facilitated a broader representation of diverse productions. Utilizing IMDb (IMDb, n.d.)—a prominent database in film research (Auwen et al., 2020; Pavisic et al., 2014)—and applying specific filters related to country, release date, and keywords, the study focused on films relevant to the theme. The keywords “possession” or “possessed” and “exorcism” or “exorcist” were applied with the following Boolean search combinations: (1) Horror AND Possession OR Possessed, and (2) Horror AND Exorcism OR Exorcist.

To refine the search parameters, this study excluded television shows, web series, and documentary films, limiting the selection to feature-length films released in cinemas or on streaming platforms between 2010 and 2023. This time frame was chosen to capture a full decade of mainstream film production up to the year preceding the initiation of this research. Films with a smaller potential audience reach were also excluded, as their social impact was assumed to be comparatively limited; thus, only films with a minimum of 50,000 IMDb votes were considered. Additionally, a critical component of this study was ensuring researchers' access to the films. To meet this criterion, included films had to be available with English and/or Spanish subtitles and accessible in theatres or on mainstream streaming platforms in Ireland and/or Spain:

Netflix, Amazon Prime Video, Max, Disney+, Apple TV, Filmin, Movistar+, Now, Peacock, Paramount+.

The inclusion and exclusion criteria were as follows:

Inclusion	**Exclusion**
Feature-length (i.e., longer than 60 minutes) fiction horror films tagged according to keywords	Shorter than 60' minutes TV series, web series, documentary
Released in theatres or on streaming platforms between January 2010 and December 2023	Released earlier than 2010, later than 2023
Released in movie theatres or mainstream streaming platforms available in Ireland and/or Spain: Netflix, Amazon Prime Video, Max, Disney+, Apple TV, Filmin, Movistar+, Now, Peacock, Paramount+.	Other on other released streaming platforms / straight to DVD
European (EEA+EU+Turkey+Moldavia+Ukraine+West Balkans), USA, Canadian, and Mexican productions (including co-productions)	Non-European or North American productions
Available with English and/or Spanish subtitles	Not available in English
Films with more than 50,000 votes in IMDB (Call, 2019)	Films with less than 50,000 votes in IMDB

After a careful search and filter process, a final number of films suitable for the analysis (n=43) was accepted.

Coding Procedures

The analysis focused on characters depicted as victims of possession or identified as possessed by other characters within the films. Prior to initiating the coding phase, both researchers collaboratively developed a coding framework based on relevant literature in film studies, mental health, and cultural representation. This framework was designed to systematically identify key narrative and representational elements related to possession and mental health. The primary objective was to examine how various characteristics—especially gender, along with age, ethnicity and religious background—might influence or bias characters' access to mental health treatment or diagnosis. To ensure reliability, two researchers (one male, one female) independently selected three films meeting the inclusion criteria and performed initial coding

independently before convening to cross-validate codes. The films were *The Devil's Doorway, Evil Dead Rise,* and *Deliver Us from Evil*. After initial coding, the researchers met to compare findings, resolve discrepancies through discussion, and refine the framework accordingly. Consensus was reached through collaborative review. Both researchers possess expertise in film studies, with one researcher also specializing in mental health. Following the refinement of the coding framework, each researcher coded half of the remaining films independently. The films were assigned to each researcher depending on the availability in local streaming platforms catalogues and the language of the film according to each coder's resources and skills. A small sample of these films was later reviewed by the other researcher to verify ongoing consistency in code application. Analysis were conducted in the films' original languages, with English or Spanish subtitles used as needed. A structured coding template (see Table 1) was employed, focusing on variables such as characters' gender, age, ethnicity, and religious background. In cases where information on characters' demographic attributes or mental health symptoms was ambiguous, coders relied on a combination of visual cues, narrative context, and dialogue. Such decisions were noted and discussed when necessary to maintain consistency. The coding framework also captured indicators of mental, emotional, or psychological distress in possession victims, their access to mental healthcare, any formal diagnoses, and the chronological setting of each film. Mental health symptoms were systematically documented and quantified. The coding template (see Table 1) provided a structured format for documenting both demographic and narrative variables, which are described in more detail below.

----- INSERT TABLE 1 ----------

Variables of interest

The table categories focused on profiling the victims in terms of gender, ethnic background, and religious affiliation. The aim was to determine whether specific character profiles were more frequently portrayed as victims and, out of those, whether certain profiles were more commonly depicted as receiving mental health support than others. Additionally, the table recorded whether an exorcism ritual occurred within the plot and identified the gender of the exorcist, allowing for an analysis of gender dynamics in relation to control and power structures. Lastly, a code indicating the year of the film's setting was included to examine any variations in depiction based on historical context.

Results

A total of 371 films were identified in the initial search, with the majority produced in the USA (n=270), followed by the UK (n=30), Canada (n=17), and Spain (n=13). After excluding duplicates and applying selection criteria, 52 films were identified, of which only 43 from 11 different countries fully met all inclusion criteria. All included films belong to the horror genre. A comprehensive list of the included films is provided in Table 2.

---------- Insert Table 2 ----------

The analysis of the 43 films revealed 68 instances of possession, alongside depictions of ghosts (6 films), poltergeists (5), witchcraft (5), and other forms of supernatural activity (6). Among the victim characters, 50 were portrayed as female (74.63%), 17 as male (25.37%); no characters were portrayed as non-binary or as having other gender identities. Exorcisms were depicted in 23 films, with male-

identifying characters performing the rituals in 17 cases, and female characters in 6. No main character with a gender identity different than male or female was identified.

Regarding the affected characters' demographics, age, ethnicity, and religious background were considered. The majority were identified as being between 13-21 years old (49.25%) or 35-44 years old (20.90%). In terms of ethnicity, most characters were coded as white (76.12%), followed by Hispanic (7.46%) and Black (2.99%), with Spanish characters predominantly categorized as white during the coding process. Regarding religious background, while not all possessions were depicted as religious events, 25.37% were portrayed within a Catholic context, 46.27% with unspecified religions; Protestant and Christian Orthodox characters made up the remaining 2.99% and 1.49% respectively.

Finally, in terms of mental health, out of 68 affected characters, 12 received mental health support (with one additional character's request being denied), and only 8 were formally diagnosed. Diagnoses included depression, anxiety, schizophrenia, and post-trauma psychosis. In all cases, following diagnosis, the characters' mental health deteriorated, and supernatural explanations replaced the clinical ones. No gender differences were observed regarding access to mental health care. The most common signs of mental, emotional, or psychological distress were visual and auditory hallucinations (23 cases each, often shown together), bizarre behaviour (19), dissociation (16), self-harm (15), and impulsivity (14). Detected examples of bizarre behaviour coded in the films were unnatural movements and facial expressions, and unintelligible language and sounds. Other symptoms, appearing in fewer than 10 cases each, included disinhibition, labile mood, intrusive thoughts, and tactile hallucinations, among a list of 33 distinct features.

Discussion

This study explores whether characters in possession horror films who show altered behaviour, cognition, or perception are equally likely to receive mental health treatment, regardless of gender.. Female characters were more often portrayed as possession victims than other genders. Although traditional stereotypes persist, often painted with a "kind of neoliberal gloss" (Dowd et al., 2023), more nuanced and realistic portrayals of women are becoming more common. Recent explorations of women in superhero narratives concluded that female characters are less likely to be relegated to supporting roles, with female superheroes now featuring as leading characters in several tentpole films (Killian, 2023; Jones, 2022). Moreover, there has been increased cinematic representation of more nuanced portrayals of females in professional roles, such as the legal profession (Möller and Alshammari, 2023) In contrast, negative stereotyping and female victimization remain dominant in horror—especially in the possession subgenre (Wellman et al., 2021),. Positive gender representation helps challenge power imbalances and cultural inequality (Belfiore, 2020). Including women in production leads to more nuanced female characters (Shawcroft et al., 2022). Thus, more female filmmakers are needed in the possession subgenre.. Of note, only 4 of the 43 films included for analysis were directed by women, indicating a lack of diversity and a need for enhanced representation.

Due to the dominance of female victims, gender gaps in mental health referral could not be assessed. Moreover, further nuances could also not be observed due to the overwhelming over-representation of White, Catholic (or undefined religion) characters, despite the multi-geographic spread of films. A deeper analysis requires an intersectional lens, recognizing that power operates through multiple intersecting identities (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2020).. However, despite a growing scholarly support for intersectionality within the media, (Christian, 2020) notes how "intersectional

stories still remain outliers on corporate platforms" (p. 460). The lack of diversity in the sample highlights the need for greater intersectional representation in possession films.

Many films used psychotic-like symptoms, such as hallucinations, to depict possession, which may exploit public fears and stigma surrounding psychosis. People with psychosis are much more likely to be the victims of violence, and not the instigators (Thornicroft, 2020). Despite the reality, media still portrays people with psychosis as violent (Bowen et al., 2019; Conway, 2016; Goodwin, 2014b; 2014a). It is well known that media can have an influence on people's attitudes across a broad range of contexts (Liu, 2023). Indeed, such is the misrepresentation of psychosis within media narratives that the belief that people experiencing psychosis are violent and dangerous have increased between the years 1996 and 2018 (Pescosolido, Manago, and Monahan et al., 2019). That representation of possessed characters on screen equates violent possession with psychosis, reinforcing harmful myths and stigma.. Beliefs that behavioural changes stem from supernatural causes, not mental health, often lead people to seek religious—not clinical—support, delaying treatment(Dein, 2020; Khoury et al., 2012; Muga & Jenkins, 2008),. Though anti-stigma campaigns exist (e.g., Time to Change, 2024), a more proactive approach is needed. Media, including possession films, should avoid equating psychosis with danger. Media must avoid conflating mental illness with the supernatural, as this can discourage appropriate help-seeking.

Strengths and Limitations

This paper has several limitations that should be acknowledged. First, the analysis is restricted to films produced in the Global North, mostly within Christian cultures, which narrows the cultural scope of the findings. While this regional focus allows for a detailed examination of Western cinematic representations of possession, it excludes a vast array of narratives, symbols, and interpretations found in possession-

themed films from other parts of the world. Many cultures, religions, and communities have rich traditions and spiritual frameworks that influence their portrayals of possession, often with significantly different meanings and implications (Buterin et al., 2021). As such, future research would benefit from incorporating a more global and culturally diverse sample to better understand how possession is conceptualized across a plurality of worldviews.

Second, the classification and interpretation of characters and themes are based on a qualitative coding process, which, while systematic and guided by established criteria, is still inherently subjective. To enhance consistency and reliability, a standard coding framework was established collaboratively by the authors prior to the analysis. Additionally, a subset of films was independently coded by both authors and compared to ensure alignment in interpretation and application of the coding scheme. Nonetheless, decisions around identity markers such as gender, ethnicity, and mental health representation may still be influenced by implicit biases or limitations in available contextual information. Additional research involving diverse coding teams, cross-cultural coders, or audience reception studies could further validate or challenge these interpretations.

Third, the field of possession cinema is dynamic and continuously evolving. The present analysis captures only a snapshot of the genre at a particular moment in time. New societal discourses, technological developments in filmmaking, and shifting audience sensibilities may alter how possession is depicted in future works. Thus, this study reflects the status quo within a specific historical and cultural window and should not be taken as a definitive or exhaustive representation of the genre.

Despite these limitations, the current paper makes meaningful contributions by offering an in-depth analysis of possession narratives within a specific cultural

framework. It establishes a strong foundation for future qualitative studies, particularly those interested in examining the intersections of religion, gender, race, and mental health in horror cinema. Our approach enhances understanding of how possession is portrayed in Western traditions and sets the stage for comparative work that explores global variations. Furthermore, the analysis of recent trends offers a valuable lens for tracking shifts in representation over time, encouraging continued exploration as new voices and perspectives emerge in the genre.

(Buterin, Muzur, and Glažar et al., 2021)**Conclusions**

To conclude, this analysis of possession narratives within horror films in the Global North in the last 14 years tackles the matter of both representation and diversity, as well as mental health portrayal and stigma in horror genre. Our study reveals significant shortcomings in terms of gender representation and demographic diversity. Accordingly, the evident gender disparity through a binary lens, with female characters overwhelmingly depicted as victims while male characters predominantly shown as the performers of the exorcisms – and, therefore, savers - underscores a reliance on traditional gender roles that perpetuates stereotypes. Furthermore, the lack of representation for non-binary and other gender identities further emphasizes the need for broader inclusivity within these narratives. In terms of age and cultural and religious background, the overwhelming portrayal of White, young adult characters over any other different demographic profile limits the exploration of diverse cultural contexts and experiences. That shows how the narratives perpetuate a stereotype of the possessed woman as a White, young, Christian female character assisted by a White, older, Christian male.

The framing of deteriorating mental health through supernatural lenses diminishes the opportunity for realistic portrayals of psychological distress, further exacerbating stigma. Our coding reveals that indicators of mental health challenges, such as dissociation or auditory and visual hallucinations, are often conflated with violent and dangerous behaviours, reinforcing harmful stereotypes and misinformation. Moreover, our results highlight critical deficiencies in how the films address mental health, as few characters sought support, often directly leading to searching assistance from institutional religious figures. The fact that the characters would dismiss, or even fail to consider the idea of seeking professional mental health supports, and instead choose religious/faith-based supports reinforces stereotypes about certain mental health challenges

In closing, this study indicates a need for more responsible storytelling that challenges stereotypes and promotes understanding, emphasizing the importance of portraying psychological and emotional health issues with accuracy and sensitivity. Given that the horror genre is one of the most produced and consumed categories of films and considering the recent popularity of possession films as a subgenre, offering an accurate and responsible portrayal of sensitive topics, such as mental health, should be considered.

Implications for Mental Health Practice

Owing to media exposure and negative portrayals of mental health, self-stigma may be an issue for those seeking help. Having a better understanding of where such stigma originates could help counselors and other mental health professionals to better understand service users and clients' perspectives. The stigma related to mental health, in addition to misinformed beliefs that mental health symptoms relate to the supernatural may also provide an explanation as to why some service users and clients

delay help-seeking. Acknowledging these perspectives and beliefs may promote a greater understanding of what service users and clients are experiencing, help to break down barriers in the help-seeking process, and ultimately aid in the building of the therapeutic relationship.

Declaration of Interest Statement

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CODING TABLE	PROFILE OF THE AFFECTED CHARACTER	EVIDENCE OF MENTAL, EMOTIONAL, OR PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS (LIST)	MENTAL HEALTH TREATMENT (YES/NO)	MENTAL HEALTH DIAGNOSIS (LIST)	YEAR OF THE SETTING
	Read/identified as cisgender female				
	Read/identified as cisgender male				
	Other gender identities				
GENDER OF THE EXORCIST	N/A (no exorcism)				
ROLE OF AFFECTED CHARACTER	Victim				
	Trigger/Performer				
THEMES	Possession				
	Ghost				
	Poltergeist				
	Witchcraft				
	Others				
GENDER	Read/identified as cisgender female				
	Read/identified as cisgender male				
	Other gender identities				
AGE OF AFFECTED CHARACTER [1]	0-12 y/o				
	13-21 y/o				
	22-34				

	35-44
	45-64 y/o
	65+ y/0
ETHNIC BACKGROUND[2]	White
	Hispanic
	East-Asian
	South-Asian
	Middle Eastern
	Black
	Indigenous people
	Roma/Traveller
	Unclear
	Others
RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND	Catholic
	Protestant
	Orthodox
	Other Christian religion
	Islam
	Hindu
	No religion
	Undefined

Table 1: Coding table

Film title	Year of release	Director	Country
13 Exorcismos (13 Exorcisms)	2022	Jacobo Martínez	Spain
Asmodexia	2014	Marc Carreté	Spain
Belzebuth	2017	Emilio Portes	Mexico
Blackwood	2018	Rodrigo Cortés	USA-Spain
Clown	2014	Jon Watts	Canada-USA
Deliver Us from Evil	2014	Scott Derrickson	USA
El habitante	2017	Guillermo Amoedo	Mexico
El prófugo (The Intruder)	2020	Natalia Meta	Argentina-Mexico
Evil Dead	2013	Fede Álvarez	USA-New Zealand-Australia
Evil Dead Rise	2023	Lee Cronin	Ireland-New Zealand-USA
Fear Street Part One: 1994	2021	Leigh Janiak	USA
February	2015	Osgood Perkins	USA-Canada
Hereditary	2018	Ari Aster	USA
Insidious 3	2015	Leigh Whanell	UK-Canada-USA
La influencia (The Influence)	2019	Denis Rovira	Spain
La marca del demonio (Mark of the Devil)	2020	Diego Cohen	Mexico
La posesión de Emma Evans (Exorcismus)	2010	Manuel Carballo	Spain-Mexico
Las reglas de la ruina (The Rules of the Ruin)	2017	Victor Osuna	Mexico
Malasaña 32	2020	Albert Pintó	Spain-France
My Best Friend's Exorcism	2022	Damon Thomas	USA-Canada
Noctem	2017	Marcos Cabotá	Spain-Mexico
Oculus	2013	Mike Flanagan	USA
Ostatnia wieczerza (Hellhole)	2022	Bartosz M. Kowalski	Poland
Ouija: Origin of the Devil	2016	Mike Flanagan	USA
Saint Maud	2019	Rose Glass	UK
Smile	2022	Parker Finn	USA
Suspiria	2018	Luca Guadagnino	Italy-USA
The Conjuring	2013	James Wan	USA
The Conjuring 2: The Endfield Poltergeist	2016	James Wan	Canada-USA-UK

The Conjuring: The Devil Made Me Do It	2021	Michael Chaves	USA
The Crucifixion	2017	Xavier Gens	UK-Romania-USA
The Devil's Doorway	2018	Aislinn Clarke	Ireland-UK
The Follower	2017	Kévin Mendiboure	France
The Last Exorcism	2010	Daniel Stamm	USA-France
The Last Exorcism 2	2013	Ed Gass-Donnelly	USA-France-UK
The Nun	2018	Corin Hardy	USA
The Pope's Exorcist	2023	Julius Avery	USA-Spain- UK
The Possession	2012	Ole Bornedal	USA-Canada
The Possession of Hannah Grace	2018	Diederik Van Rooijen	USA
The Quiet ones	2014	John Pogue	UK
The Rite	2011	Mikael Håfström	USA-Hungary-Italy
Truth or Dare	2017	Nick Simon	USA
Verónica	2017	Paco Plaza	Spain

Table 2: Coded films