

## **Click It, Binge It, Get Hooked: Netflix and the Growing U.S. Audience for Foreign Content**

BRAD LIMOV<sup>1</sup>

University of Texas at Austin, USA

Analysis of survey results from U.S. residents ( $N = 288$ ) watching foreign content on Netflix found that respondents watch foreign content more than they did before starting to access it through the platform and hold favorable attitudes toward foreign countries and subtitles. The data also support a theorized synergistic relationship between viewing frequency and use of the recommendation system for foreign content discovery. Results are discussed in terms of accessibility and cultural affinity as video on demand (VOD) platform affordances that may affect global media flows from the reception side. Implications for passive soft power accumulation are also considered.

*Keywords: global media flows, platforms, affordances, on demand, online streaming, soft power*

Early studies into global media flows, defined as “the diffusion of media content in global markets” (Chandler & Munday, 2011, p. 263), argued film and television trajectories worldwide were indicative of media, or cultural, imperialism (Nordenstreng & Varis, 1974; Schiller, 1976; Varis, 1984). The concept is most clearly exemplified in how Hollywood has for decades dominated theatrical releases worldwide in a hegemonic, unidirectional manner outward from the United States (Miller, Govil, McMurria, Maxwell, & Wang, 2005). More recent scholarship has complicated this point of view, contending that media flows, and those of television in particular, are much more diverse: They can be transnational or translocal (Kumar, 2006), or they can transverse cultural linguistic regions (Straubhaar, 2007). At times, there are even “contraflows” that resist or run opposite of dominant flows (Thussu, 2007). Despite this more nuanced understanding of the richness of our global media landscape, film and television from abroad have long struggled to reach audiences in the United States beyond diasporic populations and other niches (Balio, 2010; Ogan, 1990). Netflix, the global leader among subscription video on demand (SVOD) platforms, is changing this by introducing content produced for its other national markets to users of the platform in the United States (Basilico & Raimond, 2016).

---

Brad Limov: [brad.limov@utexas.edu](mailto:brad.limov@utexas.edu)

Date submitted: 2020-08-23

<sup>1</sup> Thank you to Dr. Gina Masullo for her extensive feedback. An earlier version of this article was presented virtually at the 2020 Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) conference.

Copyright © 2020 (Brad Limov). Licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution Non-commercial No Derivatives (by-nc-nd). Available at <http://ijoc.org>.

This study's main contribution to global media flows research is its examination of the impact on U.S. audiences of Netflix's attempts to transcend the limitations of established flows, a conversation that has centered on markets outside of the United States (Lobato, 2019; Lobato & Lotz, 2020).<sup>2</sup> It also expands our understanding of how affordances (Evans, Pearce, Vitak, & Treem, 2017) like accessibility (that content is available, discoverable, and appealing in some way) and cultural affinity (that audiences are no longer turned off by a foreign language, culture, or subtitling) emerge as audiences become users and engage with the features of VOD platforms. One potential outcome is a change in audience attitudes toward culturally and linguistically "Other" content, a relevant issue for soft power studies. This research therefore explores the following questions: Is Netflix having success in creating new audiences in the United States for foreign content? If new audiences exist, does this exposure alter their attitudes toward foreign content and the countries and cultures of what they view? How do users' interactions with the platform afford these new developments?

To answer these questions, this study surveyed Netflix users in the United States who have watched foreign content on the streaming platform ( $N = 288$ ). It hypothesized that recommendation systems on VOD platforms like Netflix, together with binge-watching as the mode of consumption that has come to predominate their use (Rubenking & Bracken, 2018), result in the affordances of accessibility and cultural affinity that are fostering new audiences for foreign content in the United States. The findings support this hypothesis and suggest that Netflix's strategy is creating opportunities for the company and its media industry stakeholders. To a lesser extent, the data also hint at some potential for passive soft power accumulation as countries supply Netflix with content. As a result, this study confirms the need for continued observation and theorization of how global flows of television and film are circulating, the practices and technologies through which they are being consumed, and what the ramifications of both may be in an era of heightening global tensions and inequalities.

## Literature Review

### *Distribution Through Online VOD Platforms*

The arrival of on-demand distribution via online platforms marks a revolution in distribution infrastructure and audience consumption practices; though many questions remain the same, methods both new and old are being applied to research that reconsiders the interactions of media industries and their flows throughout the world (Curtin, Holt, & Sanson, 2014; Iordache, Van Audenhove, & Loisen, 2019; Johnson, 2019; Lobato, 2018; Turner, 2019). Improvements to telecommunications infrastructure have enabled over-the-top (OTT) delivery of film and television through the Internet that goes above and beyond the traditional distribution channels of broadcast, cable, satellite, theatrical release, and DVD sales. VOD distribution gives content what Ramon Lobato (2018) calls "a data base form" in that consumption is no longer passive, but "characterized by interactive, à la carte selection from algorithmically curated catalogs of content" (p. 241). Television, film, and other media are not necessarily defined by discrete regimes of financing, production, distribution, and exhibition as they once were. When it comes to VOD, it is now more

---

<sup>2</sup> Research within numerous national contexts is underway via the Global Internet TV Consortium (<https://global-internet-tv.com/>).

pragmatic to conceive of them as audiovisual content different primarily in terms of form, conventions, and consumption practices.

With Netflix's competitors Amazon Prime Video and Hulu being joined by new arrivals like Disney+ and HBO Max, the "streaming wars" are in full swing. Those with large, preexisting stockpiles of intellectual property (IP) have an obvious advantage, and Netflix must cope with its own shrinking library as former licensing partners become streaming competitors. Operating in more than 190 countries as of 2016, the company has responded by acquiring and commissioning content for its national markets that it then recommends to users of the platform around the globe. The end goal is to connect audiences to a more robust catalog of "stories they'll love" (Basilico & Raimond, 2016, p. 375). This is no small undertaking, however, with Netflix spending \$13 billion on content in 2018 alone (Trainer, McBride, & Guske, 2019).

It follows that it is no longer easy to think in geographically bounded terms. However, the actual existence of what Netflix calls "taste clusters" or "taste communities," and the extent to which they allow Netflix to complement or even bypass the *national audiences* for traditional modes of multinational video distribution in favor of niche groups of *cosmopolitan, global users*, remain underexplored and speculative concerns (Lotz, 2020, p. 13). The challenge is also more complicated than it might at first appear, with regulation and market segmentation in countries affecting the OTT platform in uneven, yet often familiar, ways (Lobato, 2019; Lotz, Lobato, & Thomas, 2018). U.S. audiences are not outside of these globalizing processes, and how the key issues of "media diversity, choice, and access" (Lobato, 2018, p. 243) are similarly changing for U.S. audiences needs to be addressed. This research argues that the success of Netflix's globally sourced productions in finding audiences within the United States depends on an interplay between the affordances of accessibility and cultural affinity that arise as users navigate recommendation systems and binge-watch on the platform.

### ***Recommending Global Content, Nationally: Algorithms and Individuals***

Speaking on behalf of their employer, Gomez-Uribe and Hunt (2015) affirmed early on that Netflix's goal is, in part, "to commission original content across the world, license content from all over the world, and bring this global content to the rest of the world" (p. 14). They discussed the many factors that the Netflix recommendation algorithms must take into account with the platform's global expansion, in particular the level of audience comfort with the languages of foreign-produced, global products and with dubbed or subtitled content in general. Later, Netflix researchers further elaborated on the goals of their algorithm, noting that the balance between personalization of recommendations and exposure to diverse, novel, or popular content is complicated by "the needs and tastes of diverse cultures and languages" (Amatriain & Basilico, 2016, p. 213).

Scholars have affirmed the early success of Netflix's data-driven efforts in creating niche audiences for original content, like *House of Cards* (2013), that have grown alongside expansion into new markets and transcend geographical boundaries (Fernández-Manzano, Neira, & Clares-Gavilán, 2016). However, such success still falls within media imperialism narratives. The question is whether or not U.S. audiences will also participate in such global consumption when the direction of the flows is reversed, and the languages

and cultures are unfamiliar. Whatever the company's economic motives, Netflix seems to be implementing a more "diversity-sensitive design" (Helberger, Karppinen, & D'Acunto, 2018).

Studies on streaming algorithms offer further support for Netflix's strategy, finding associations between use of on-demand platforms and increases in quantity and diversity of content consumed, despite recommendation systems offering a narrower range of content over time (Datta, Knox, & Bronnenberg, 2017; Nguyen, Hui, Harper, Terveen, & Konstan, 2014). This area of research has observed how users are transformed by recommendations, even as their participation transforms the algorithms in turn (Karakayali, Kostem, & Galip, 2018; Siles, Espinoza-Rojas, Naranjo, & Tristán, 2019). In this way, recommendation systems can be conceptually understood as channeling users' attention to the (somewhat) unfamiliar, adding a dimension of discoverability that improves the accessibility of content on streaming platforms.

Recommendations based on big data analytics are only half the picture, however, and should not overlook decades of research into active audiences and agency, that "audiences are not data" (Athique, 2018, p. 72). The role of recommendations in guiding selection must be considered alongside the many other factors that influence users, such as their families, peers, or critics, in what more closely resembles a two-step flow of communication (Thorson & Wells, 2015). Such sources of recommendation may be seen as "gatekeeping agents" that, though traditionally being more "solid" in the form of particular friends or family members, are now more "liquid" as data flows and users interact (Soffer, 2019, p. 1). That said, these new liquid forms do not necessarily replace the solid forms, but extend and complicate them. The relationship between algorithms and users is thus one of networked and fluid intermediation. Taken as a whole, these previous studies suggest that recommendation systems must be aware of other sources of influence on a user's activity (i.e., social networks) and must account for the agency of that user (i.e., user motivations) in selecting the content to be consumed. This highlights the importance of testing the first hypothesis of this study:

*H1: Users will rely on Netflix's recommendation system to find foreign content more frequently than other common sources of discovery like peers or reviewers.*

### ***User Behavior: Binge-Watching as an Autonomous, Positive Activity***

One of the most salient qualities of VOD platforms is that they lead users to binge-watch content. Binge-watching is a mode of audiovisual content consumption where several episodes of a particular series are viewed in a single session (Ferchaud, 2018). Some scholars argue that it is the very nature of streaming platforms, a kind of "insulated flow" (Perks, 2015) akin to the schedule in broadcast television (Horeck, Jenner, & Kendall, 2018). Other scholars, in conceptually defining binge-watching, add viewer autonomy as a fundamental attribute alongside the continuity provided by such insulated flow (Merikivi, Bragge, Scornavacca, & Verhagen, 2019). This highlights personal choice in relation to recommendation algorithms, the tension between agency and influence. But what motivates the decision to binge-watch content in the first place?

Relaxation and enjoyment associated with binge-watching for entertainment are central motivations found by many studies (Pittman & Sheehan, 2015; Steiner & Xu, 2018; Sung, Kang, & Lee, 2018). Others also highlight social dimensions to binge-watching: the need to keep current with shows and involve oneself in related discussions and fandoms; bingeing shows recommended by others; and increased

cultural capital for those who can keep up with new content as it comes out (Boca, 2019; Shim & Kim, 2017). Beyond such social pressures, suspense and seriality have also been found to motivate binge-watching (Ferchaud, 2018), as well as the social fact that binge-watching itself is now an entrenched behavior in society (Rubenking & Bracken, 2018). We binge-watch for the sake of binge-watching.

Framed in such terms, binge-watching may seem to be an undesirable behavior. Rigby, Brumby, Gould, and Cox (2018) found this concern among their study participants, that interviewees were often worried about excessive binge-watching of on-demand content because of the ease with which it can occur. Perceived harm does not necessarily equal harm, however, and several large studies have not found any cause for alarm outside of extreme cases (Flayelle, Maurage, Karila, Vögele, & Billieux, 2019; Granow, Reinecke, & Ziegele, 2018; Tukachinsky & Eyal, 2018). Granow and associates (2018) confirm that, as an activity, binge-watching is even associated with well-being through perceived autonomy “as long as goal conflicts and feelings of guilt can be avoided” (p. 392). The sentiment is echoed by Flayelle and colleagues (2019), who argue “conceptualizing binge-watching as an addictive disorder is of low relevance and might actually lead to overpathologization of this highly popular leisure activity” (p. 586). Taken together, binge-watching is a mode of consumption where the user is highly engaged with the content being consumed, social pressures to consume the content, and the act in and of itself. Binge-watching, when done in moderation, even produces positive feelings and a sense of autonomy.

### ***Binge-Watching, Recommendations, and Soft Power***

According to Joseph S. Nye (2004), the scholar who coined the term soft power, the concept is different from hard power like military might or economic sanctions in one key way: “soft power—getting others to want the outcomes that you want—co-opts people rather than coerces them” (p. 5). Usually, the concept is discussed in terms of international relations or foreign policy, the actual efforts of a government in public diplomacy to attract other countries and their populations in the pursuit of influence (i.e., soft power). However, scholars have noted in both the case of China and Japan, two of the biggest proponents of soft power policies, that such policies can, in fact, undermine the influence and attraction that their cultural industries generate absent any government intervention (Iwabuchi, 2015; Otmazgin, 2007; Voci & Hui, 2018).

The Netflix platform falls within the activities of such cultural industries. Given its objectives in acquiring and producing local content that can then be distributed globally, countries with media capitals (Curtin, 2007) that have the production capacity to absorb Netflix’s investments stand to benefit greatly. At the very least, this is a silver lining to the imbalance of power under the U.S.-dominated “platform imperialism” discussed by Dal Yong Jin (2017). As content from Tokyo, Seoul, or other centers of media production is recommended to Netflix users around the world, might users develop a newfound interest or appreciation for their cultures and languages? When a recommendation is a success and a user selects a film or show, it is likely the user will binge-watch the content, given that this is the mode of consumption that the platform has cultivated for itself. This is important, because beyond the positive feelings, sense of autonomy, and socially embedded nature of such consumption, binge-watching allows for greater narrative and parasocial engagement, with the media effects of this engagement also increasing (Erickson, Cin, & Byl, 2019).

Other research has found that binge-watching increases engagement with media franchises and the likelihood of viewing other content within a franchise when it is available (Ameri, Honka, & Xie, 2019). This is particularly relevant in the case of Netflix, where series like *Criminal* (2019), with its *Criminal: France*, *Criminal: Germany*, *Criminal: Spain*, and *Criminal: UK*, now creatively build national variants into a single, culturally and linguistically extended franchise. Even when content from other markets is not so directly connected, Netflix's "signature microgenres" (Lobato, 2018, p. 250) can create transnational links by listing foreign content with English descriptors alongside domestic options. Presuming that such strategies work to speed up the development of global audiences for global content by leveraging binge-watching and recommendations (i.e., the affordances of accessibility and cultural affinity on the platform), it is hypothesized that:

- H2: The more users watch foreign content, the more they turn to the Netflix's recommendation system to discover foreign content.*
- H3: The more users watch foreign content, the more willing they are to select such subtitled or dubbed content, or even go to a movie theater to see a foreign film.*
- H4: The more users watch foreign content, the more favorable their attitudes toward the cultures and languages of the countries supplying the content.*

## **Method**

### **Survey Design**

A 27-question survey was designed with the Qualtrics online survey platform for use in this study. Media flows research is characterized by mixed methods approaches, involving "primary data" like surveys, "secondary data" like market reports, and qualitative "field research" like ethnography (Iordache et al., 2019, p. 759). Survey was selected as the best method for the current research to gauge the impact of global media flows at the site of reception. This follows the precedent set by previous quantitative work on streaming platforms and user behavior (Granow et al., 2018; Pittman & Sheehan, 2015; Rubenking & Bracken, 2018; Shim & Kim, 2017; Sung et al., 2018).

The literature on soft power has long wrestled with how soft power as a concept can be operationalized and measured (Blanchard & Lu, 2012). *The Soft Power 30*, an annual index of global soft power, combines both the aforementioned primary and secondary data (here defined as "subjective" and "objective" data) into its measurements (McClory, 2019, p. 11). Produced in partnership with the USC Center on Public Diplomacy by a team of academic and private researchers led by Jonathan McClory, its incorporation of survey lends further support to this study's approach to measuring audience attitudes toward foreign countries.

Respondents to the questionnaire were first asked to consent to their participation and verify their qualification by confirming that they were U.S. residents, age 18 or older, who had watched foreign content on Netflix. Foreign content was conservatively defined as content in a language other than English and produced outside of the United States. Respondents then answered questions about their use of Netflix and

various demographic questions designed to control for preexisting affinities for foreign content. The operationalized variables are described in the “Measures” section below.

### ***Sampling Frame and Technique***

Netflix does not make public any data on its registered users like contact information. The resulting lack of access to the full population of users thus makes it impossible to create a random sampling frame. Respondents were instead recruited through Amazon.com’s Mechanical Turk (MTurk), a platform for crowdsourcing labor out to users who may self-select to participate in a given task like a survey. With more than 60 million Netflix subscribers in the United States as of 2019 (Trainer et al., 2019), it was judged that the userbase of each platform would overlap enough to make recruitment through MTurk viable. This study’s use of third-party recruitment platform CloudResearch’s MTurk Toolkit further added to the reliability, accuracy, and completeness of collected data beyond the geographic and demographic variables covered by Amazon’s quota sampling. Moreover, MTurk samples have been found to surpass other sampling techniques like college student samples, less structured online samples, or convenience samples in representing the U.S. population (Berinsky, Huber, & Lenz, 2012; Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Huff & Tingley, 2015; Smith, Sabat, Martinez, Weaver, & Xu, 2015). This meets the needs of the current study for respondents who can reasonably represent the adult American population. Survey respondents were paid \$1 USD for their participation, with the survey taking approximately 5–10 minutes. MTurk and CloudResearch have control mechanisms in place to prevent respondents from completing the survey multiple times and were used to limit respondents to U.S. residents. Institutional Review Board approval was received on February 4, 2020.

### ***Sample***

On average, respondents ( $N = 288$ )<sup>3</sup> were 35.87 years old ( $SD = 10.29$ ) with near-equal gender distribution (51.7% male). Respondents were predominantly White/Caucasian (71.9%), and a substantial portion had been abroad (60.8%), lived abroad (15.7%), were second-generation citizens (defined as the first generation born in the United States, 19.1%), or third-generation citizens (19.4%). When prompted to answer questions on a specific content-producing country entered by each respondent, many respondents said that they spoke the language of the country (20.2%) or had visited the country (22.9%). Only a small minority reported that they had lived in the country (2.4%), or that they, a grandparent, or parent had been born in the country (6.6%).

---

<sup>3</sup> A total of 370 MTurkers took the online Qualtrics survey. Despite screening questions, attention checks, and “foreign content” defined at three stages, text entry responses and other selections revealed that a number of respondents did not follow directions. A total of 288 remained after these were eliminated from the sample.

## **Measures**

### *Independent Variables*

The main task of this survey was to determine how frequency and intensity of viewing (i.e., binge-watching) would relate to respondents' use of the platform and attitudes toward foreign content and countries. Viewing frequency, the first independent variable, was operationalized for both general and foreign content by asking two questions that assessed frequency on an 8-point scale (*rarely, several times per year, about once per month, several times per month, about once per week, several times per week, about once per day, several times per day*) as follows: "How often do you watch Netflix?" ( $M = 6.42, SD = 1.15$ ) and "How often do you watch foreign content on Netflix?" ( $M = 4.38, SD = 1.59$ ). The option *never* was added to make it a 9-point scale from 0 to 8 for the question, "How often did you watch foreign film and television content *before* you started watching such content on the Netflix platform?" ( $M = 3.2, SD = 2.02$ ).

In addition to the question of frequency, respondents were also asked two questions on a 5-point scale (*never, seldom, sometimes, often, almost always*) to determine viewing intensity, the second independent variable, "How often do you binge-watch when watching Netflix?" ( $M = 3.31, SD = .79$ ) and "How often do you binge-watch when watching foreign content on Netflix?" ( $M = 2.69, SD = .87$ ). Though binge-watching was defined for respondents as *watching two or more episodes of a television series or films of a franchise in a single sitting* (Ferchaud, 2018), an additional text entry question was included to measure intensity in case this definition was misunderstood: "How many hours long is a typical Netflix session for you?" ( $M = 2.96, SD = 1.59$ ).

A third time-related independent variable, total time as a Netflix foreign content viewer, was also measured to account for how viewing and binge-watching might have long-term effects. It was operationalized for general and foreign content with the questions, "How long have you been watching Netflix?" ( $M = 5.97, SD = 1.45$ ) and "How long have you been watching foreign content on Netflix?" ( $M = 5.40, SD = 1.55$ ), measured on a 7-point scale as follows: *less than a month, less than three months, less than half a year, less than a year, more than a year, more than two years, more than five years*.

### *Dependent Variables*

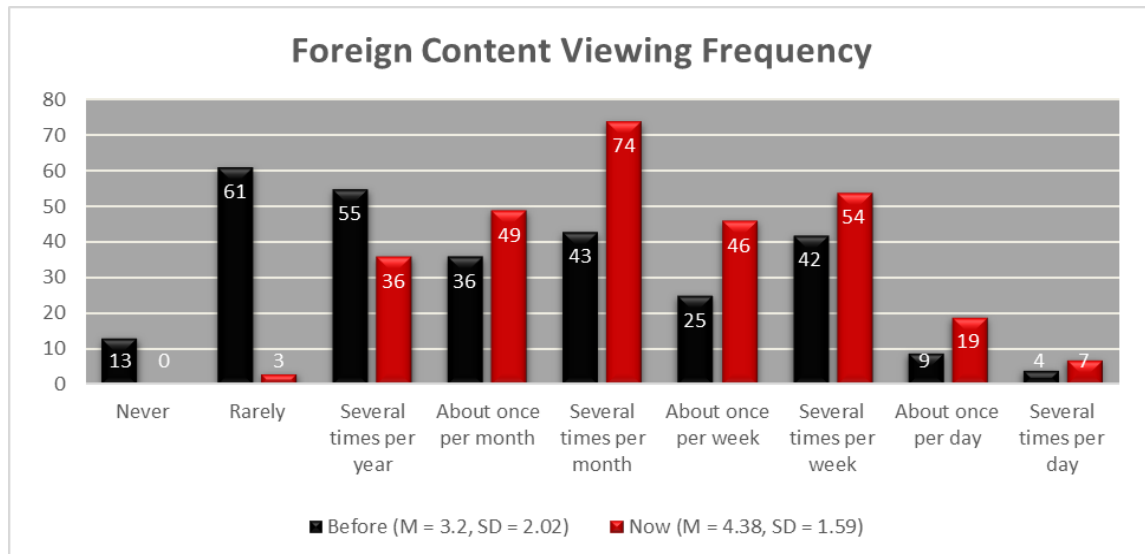
Recommendation source, or that which guides what a user ultimately decides to watch, was taken as the first dependent variable. It was operationalized through two sets of five Likert-scale-style questions, one for general Netflix use and one for foreign content, using the abovementioned 5-point scale: "I scroll vertically and horizontally on my Netflix homepage to find (foreign) content" (general:  $M = 3.86, SD = .96$ ; foreign:  $M = 3.43, SD = 1.02$ ); "I use the Netflix search bar to find (foreign) content" (general:  $M = 3.53, SD = .95$ ; foreign:  $M = 3.18, SD = 1.11$ ); "I use Netflix's menu categories to find (foreign) content" (general:  $M = 3.76, SD = .87$ ; foreign:  $M = 3.41, SD = 1.04$ ); "The (foreign) content I watch on Netflix is recommended to me by my family or peers" (general:  $M = 3.22, SD = .93$ ; foreign:  $M = 2.93, SD = 1.22$ ); and "The (foreign) content I watch on Netflix is recommended to me by critics, vloggers, or other third parties" (general:  $M = 3.1, SD = 1.05$ ; foreign:  $M = 3.02, SD = 1.09$ ).



The second dependent variable, foreign content affinity, was operationalized on a 1–7 Likert scale (1: *strongly disagree*; 7: *strongly agree*) to assess level of agreement with the following four statements: “I am willing to watch content that is dubbed into English” ( $M = 5.37, SD = 1.68$ ); “I am willing to watch content that is subtitled into English” ( $M = 6.19, SD = 1.14$ ); “I would search for foreign language film and television outside of Netflix” ( $M = 5.33, SD = 1.56$ ); and “I would go to a movie theater to watch a foreign film” ( $M = 5.11, SD = 1.81$ ). The other dependent variable, favorable attitudes toward the cultures and languages of the countries producing the content watched, was operationalized with 11 questions on the abovementioned 1–7 Likert scale that followed a prompt to “Please enter the name of one of the countries that produces foreign content that you watch” before presenting questions based on metrics taken from *The Soft Power 30*: “I hold a favorable view of this country”; “I am interested in the language of this country”; “I desire to travel to this country”; “This country’s cuisine appeals to me”; “News related to this country is important”; “This country is welcoming to tourists”; “The technology products made by this country are high quality”; “The luxury goods made by this country are high quality”; “I trust this country’s approach to global affairs”; “I desire to live, work, or study in this country”; “This country has made large contributions to global culture.” All 11 questions were averaged into an index that had high reliability (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .864, M = 5.11, SD = .961$ ). Respondents were notified they could repeat the questions for up to five countries, with most respondents ( $n = 267$ ) repeating for a second country before concluding the survey (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .889, M = 5.01, SD = 1.08$ ). Attitudes toward foreign countries in general were also measured with 5 questions on the same 1–7 Likert scale: “I am interested in information about other countries”; “I like to try the foods of other countries”; “I follow news from other countries”; “I like or would like to travel internationally”; “I may decide to watch a foreign movie or TV show because I am interested in the country of origin.” All five questions were similarly averaged into an index that had moderate reliability (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .781, M = 5.53, SD = 1.04$ ).

## Results

The overarching research question on which all hypotheses rested was whether Netflix’s recommendation of foreign content is leading users to watch more foreign content. A paired-samples  $t$  test supports this conclusion,  $t(287) = 12.89, p < .001$ . How often respondents watched foreign content on Netflix was significantly higher than how often they had been watching before they started using the platform to do so (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1. Frequency of foreign content viewing on Netflix as reported by respondents.**

Thirteen respondents (4.5%) reported never having previously watched foreign content, whereas 61 (21.2%) reported “rarely” watching foreign content (i.e., once per year or less). After starting to watch foreign content on Netflix, only three respondents (1%) reported that they now rarely watch foreign content, whereas 249 respondents (86.5%) watch foreign content at least once per month or more. Foreign film and television, nonetheless, remain only part of these users’ overall content consumption (general viewing frequency:  $M = 6.42$ ,  $SD = 1.15$ ), with 249 respondents (86.5%) watching Netflix several times per week or more. It is important to emphasize that this discrepancy extends to binge-watching frequency, where binging in general ( $M = 3.31$ ,  $SD = .79$ ) was found to be significantly higher,  $t(286) = 11.66$ ,  $p < .001$ , than binging of foreign content ( $M = 2.69$ ,  $SD = .87$ ).

H1 predicted that users will rely on Netflix’s recommendation system to find foreign content more frequently than other common sources of discovery like their peers or reviewers. Paired-samples  $t$  tests also support this hypothesis, with significantly higher frequency of use found,  $t(287) = 5.66$ ,  $p < .001$ , for the homepage ( $M = 3.43$ ,  $SD = 1.02$ ) over family or peers ( $M = 2.93$ ,  $SD = 1.22$ ) and the homepage over critics or other third parties ( $M = 3.02$ ,  $SD = 1.09$ ),  $t(286) = 4.68$ ,  $p < .001$ ; menu categories ( $M = 3.41$ ,  $SD = 1.04$ ) over family or peers,  $t(287) = 5.70$ ,  $p < .001$ , and critics or other third parties,  $t(286) = 4.74$ ,  $p < .001$ ; and, to a lesser extent, the search bar ( $M = 3.18$ ,  $SD = 1.11$ ) over family or peers,  $t(286) = 3.09$ ,  $p = .002$ , and critics or other third parties,  $t(285) = 1.95$ ,  $p = .05$ . In terms of sources for foreign content discovery used “often” or “almost always” by the respondents, the homepage (48.6%) and menu categories (47.3%) were relied on more frequently than the search bar (39.4%), family or peers (36.8%), and critics or other third parties (34.8%).

H2 predicted that the more users watch foreign content, the more they turn to Netflix’s recommendations to discover this content. First, bivariate relationships were assessed using Pearson’s  $r$  correlation coefficients. Results show moderate positive relationships between Netflix recommendations and

foreign content viewing frequency (homepage recommendations,  $r = .29, p < .001$ ; menu categories,  $r = .39, p < .001$ ; search bar,  $r = .33, p < .001$ ) and binge-watching frequency (homepage,  $r = .25, p < .001$ ; menu categories,  $r = .26, p < .001$ ; search bar,  $r = .21, p < .001$ ), offering support for the hypothesized focal relationships.

Results from hierarchical OLS regressions confirm these findings. Collectively, when all the variables were entered, they accounted for 10.2% of the variance for the homepage ( $R^2 = .10, F = 10.57, p < .001$ ) and 16.2% of the variance for the menu categories ( $R^2 = .16, F = 17.99, p < .001$ ), showing support for H2. For the Netflix homepage as source of content discovery, both viewing frequency ( $\beta = .228, p = .001$ ) and binge-watching frequency ( $\beta = .156, p = .01$ ) show significant positive relationships. For the menu categories, viewing frequency ( $\beta = .343, p < .001$ ) and binge-watching frequency ( $\beta = .125, p = .04$ ) also show significant positive relationships.

When introduced as controls, variables for general Netflix use (viewing frequency, binge-watching frequency, length of typical session in hours, time elapsed since becoming a Netflix viewer) were not significant for use of the homepage or menu categories in content discovery. Demographics theorized to be related to preexisting affinities for foreign content (foreign content viewing frequency before Netflix; years lived abroad; travel abroad frequency; first-, second-, or third-generation status; self-identification with a diaspora) were similarly not significant for either of these sources of content discovery; however, some of these variables did explain a significant degree of variance for the other recommendation sources measured. They helped account for 19.5% of the variance for the search bar ( $R^2 = .20, F = 3.15, p = .001$ ), 14.9% of the variance for family or peers ( $R^2 = .15, F = 3.28, p = .001$ ), and 10.6% of the variance for critic or other third parties ( $R^2 = .11, F = 3.41, p = .001$ ). For the search bar, foreign viewing frequency lost significance with controls included in the model, whereas foreign viewing frequency before Netflix ( $\beta = .258, p = .001$ ) showed a significant positive relationship. This repeats for family or peer recommendations, where foreign viewing frequency again lost significance and foreign viewing frequency before Netflix ( $\beta = .336, p < .001$ ) showed a significant positive relationship. The model also revealed a significant positive relationship between critic or third-party recommendations and foreign viewing frequency before Netflix ( $\beta = .331, p < .001$ ) and binge-watching on Netflix in general ( $\beta = .199, p = .005$ ).

These results demonstrate that foreign content viewing frequency and binge-watching frequency can predict the likelihood of users turning to Netflix's homepage or menu categories for foreign content discovery, and vice versa. This supports the theorized synergy between the Netflix recommendation system and binge-watching on the platform. The moderate positive correlation found between foreign content viewing frequency before Netflix and the search bar, family or peers, and critics or other third parties can account for both the existence and agency of preexisting foreign film and television fans in the survey population alongside the new audience being created by Netflix through its systems and the associated mode of consumption. This is further observed in the significant positive relationship between general binge-watching frequency (i.e., the biggest film and television buffs) and critic or third-party recommendations for foreign content discovery.

H3 predicted that the more users watch foreign content, the more willing they are to seek out subtitled or dubbed content, or even to go to a theater for a foreign film. Bivariate relationships were again

assessed using Pearson's  $r$  correlation coefficients. Results show positive relationships between affinity for foreign content and viewing frequency (willingness to search outside Netflix for foreign content,  $r = .13$ ,  $p = .03$ ; willingness to go to a theater to watch a foreign film,  $r = .19$ ,  $p = .001$ ), binge-watching frequency (searching outside Netflix,  $r = .13$ ,  $p = .03$ ; going to a theater,  $r = .22$ ,  $p < .001$ ; willingness to watch dubbed content,  $r = .13$ ,  $p = .03$ ), and time elapsed since starting to watch foreign content on Netflix (searching outside Netflix,  $r = .17$ ,  $p = .005$ ; willingness to watch subtitled content,  $r = .366$ ,  $p < .001$ ). This offers support for the hypothesized focal relationships.

Results from hierarchical OLS regressions confirm these findings as well. Collectively, when all the variables were entered, they accounted for 15.2% of the variance for subtitle affinity ( $R^2 = .15$ ,  $F = 16.78$ ,  $p < .001$ ), which had a significant positive relationship with time elapsed since starting to watch foreign content on Netflix ( $\beta = .39$ ,  $p < .001$ ), offering strong support for H3. The same variables controlled for when testing H2 were also included in this model for H3, though they had no significant effect on subtitle affinity. The control variables did affect two other metrics, explaining 19.3% of variance in searching outside Netflix ( $R^2 = .19$ ,  $F = 4.59$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and 19.6% of variance in going to a theater ( $R^2 = .2$ ,  $F = 4.40$ ,  $p < .001$ ). For searching outside Netflix, foreign viewing frequency became nonsignificant with controls included in the model, whereas foreign viewing frequency before Netflix ( $\beta = .377$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and time elapsed since starting to watch foreign content on Netflix ( $\beta = .289$ ,  $p < .001$ ) showed significant positive relationships. For willingness to go to a movie theater to watch a foreign film, foreign viewing frequency before Netflix ( $\beta = .222$ ,  $p = .004$ ), and time elapsed since starting to watch foreign content on Netflix ( $\beta = .272$ ,  $p = .001$ ) are joined by foreign content binge-watch frequency ( $\beta = .204$ ,  $p = .002$ ) and foreign travel frequency ( $\beta = .121$ ,  $p = .05$ ).

These results suggests that, though intensity or frequency of viewing foreign content on Netflix in the short term does not have a significant effect on these measures of affinity for foreign content, the total time that users have been watching foreign content on Netflix is predictive of user willingness to read subtitles and seek out foreign content beyond the platform, such as by going to an actual screening at a movie theater. That travel abroad would be weakly correlated with going to a movie theater to watch a foreign film is logical. The relationship between watching foreign content before Netflix and willingness to seek foreign content outside of Netflix is also to be expected. Taken together, these relationships further suggest the existence and agency of preexisting audiences for foreign content alongside new ones being cultivated by the platform.

H4 predicted that the more users watch foreign content, the more favorable their attitudes would be toward the cultures and languages of the countries supplying the content. Bivariate relationships were assessed a third time using Pearson's  $r$  correlation coefficients. Results showed weak positive relationships between the index of attitudes toward the first country reported and viewing frequency ( $r = .16$ ,  $p = .007$ ) and binge-watching frequency ( $r = .22$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Similar correlations were found between the index of attitudes toward the second country reported and viewing frequency ( $r = .18$ ,  $p = .004$ ) and binge-watching frequency ( $r = .20$ ,  $p = .001$ ), as well as between the index of general interest in foreign countries and both binge-watching frequency ( $r = .13$ ,  $p = .02$ ) and time elapsed since starting to watch foreign content on Netflix ( $r = .17$ ,  $p = .004$ ). This offers support for the hypothesized focal relationships.

Results from hierarchical OLS regressions confirm these findings. Collectively, when all the variables were entered, they accounted for 6.3% of the variance for Country 1 ( $R^2 = .06$ ,  $F = 6.23$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and 8.3% of the variance for Country 2 ( $R^2 = .08$ ,  $F = 8.00$ ,  $p < .001$ ), showing support for H4. Binge-watching foreign content showed a weak positive relationship with attitudes toward Country 1 ( $\beta = .172$ ,  $p = .007$ ), whereas attitudes toward Country 2 had a weak positive relationship with foreign content viewing frequency ( $\beta = .207$ ,  $p = .003$ ) and time elapsed since starting to watch foreign content on Netflix ( $\beta = .191$ ,  $p = .003$ ). In addition to the control variables used in the previous regressions, three new variables were added to control for whether or not respondents were born in or have immediate family who were born in the countries they reported, speak the language of the countries, or otherwise have visited or lived in the countries. None of the controls had a significant effect on either of the two text entry countries; however, the variables were significant in relation to the index of general interests toward foreign countries, accounting for 13.8% of the variance ( $R^2 = .14$ ,  $F = 2.23$ ,  $p = .01$ ). Weak positive relationships were found with foreign content binge-watching frequency ( $\beta = .154$ ,  $p = .03$ ), travel abroad frequency ( $\beta = .209$ ,  $p = .003$ ), and total time since becoming a Netflix user ( $\beta = .223$ ,  $p = .02$ ).

These results offer some support for the notion that total length of time since starting to watch foreign content on Netflix, as well as the viewing frequency and intensity for such content, may contribute to positive user attitudes toward the producing countries and even foreign languages and countries in general. These factors come alongside other influences on attitudes toward foreign countries, such as travel abroad. All three time-related independent variables were nearly significant for both Country 1 and Country 2, suggesting that with a larger sample size they might become significant.

### Discussion

Global flows of media are often theorized in terms of cultural imperialism, where media texts are transmitted unidirectionally outward to global markets from the U.S. (Miller et al., 2005; Nordenstreng & Varis, 1974; Schiller, 1976). As an OTT platform, Netflix is using its vast resources to participate in not only the transnational and translocal flows of various cultural linguistic regions (Kumar, 2006; Straubhaar, 2007), but also in what have heretofore been marginal "contraflows" (Thussu, 2007) of media back toward the United States. The main goal of this study was to gauge whether or not Netflix's efforts are having any success. A significant increase in foreign content viewing frequency reported by survey respondents suggests that this is the case, confirming the need for ongoing retheorizations of platforms like Netflix and global media flows in the era of digital distribution and on-demand programming (Curtin et al., 2014; Iordache et al., 2019; Johnson, 2019; Lobato, 2018; Turner, 2019).

How Netflix gets foreign content to new and preexisting U.S. audiences can best be understood in terms of the affordances (Evans et al., 2017) of accessibility and cultural affinity that arise when user meets platform. The entire process from initial production of media text might be summarized as follows: Netflix invests heavily in commissioning or otherwise acquiring content in its many national markets (Basilico & Raimond, 2016). Using its global reach as an OTT platform that transcends the boundaries of these markets, the company then distributes the content worldwide via its SVOD platform at little to no added cost (Gomez-Uribe & Hunt, 2015). Guiding users to this foreign content through recommendations means implementing a more "diversity-sensitive design" (Helberger et al., 2018) that

finds personalized connections and ultimately leads to increased discovery of new content (Datta et al., 2017; Nguyen et al., 2014). It is important to remember that audiences are not merely data (Athique, 2018), and that the interactive nature of this system of content discovery that includes a homepage to be scrolled vertically and horizontally, as well as expandable menus and a search bar, offers users autonomy—even if they are aided by more traditional sources of recommendations via social media and other interpersonal networks (Soffer, 2019; Thorson & Wells, 2015). Binge-watching as the predominant mode of consumption on the platform (Horeck et al., 2018; Rubenking & Bracken, 2018) then creates a positive experience in which users are actively engaged with the foreign content they select for a prolonged period of time (Granow et al., 2018; Merikivi et al., 2019). The survey results support such a theorized synergy between recommendations and binge-watching, affording unprecedented levels of affinity for and access to foreign content.

This study further sought to measure what impact such a relationship between recommendations and viewing habits, if proven, might have on the attitudes of U.S. Netflix users toward foreign content and countries of origin. It was theorized that the intensive exposure (Erickson et al., 2019) and accompanying enjoyment (Pittman & Sheehan, 2015; Steiner & Xu, 2018; Sung et al., 2018) associated with binge-watching would lead to more positive attitudes toward foreign content. Though a relationship with frequency and intensity of viewing in the short term could not be found, survey results did uncover a positive correlation between long-term viewing of foreign content on Netflix and increased cultural affinity, as measured in terms of willingness to watch subtitled content, to search for foreign content beyond Netflix, or to go to a theater to watch a foreign film. Positive attitudes among users toward the languages and cultures of the countries supplying the content were similarly theorized. Though inconsistent, significant positive relationships were found between attitudes and increases in viewing frequency, intensity, and total time as a viewer of foreign content on Netflix. This supports the notion that platforms like Netflix may contribute to passive forms of soft power accumulation (Iwabuchi, 2015; Otmazgin, 2007; Voci & Hui, 2018) for countries with the necessary production infrastructure in place (Curtin, 2007) to take advantage of the large investments being made by Netflix. This requires further exploration.

### ***Limitations and Future Research***

This study found increases in viewing of and interest in foreign content among Netflix users who have previously watched foreign content on the platform, but it did not survey those users who have yet to take the leap into an unfamiliar language and culture. It also did not survey users of Netflix's competitors, or explore the nature of the foreign content being consumed along qualitative dimensions, like genre, that might further explain how and why users cross previous linguistic or cultural boundaries into unfamiliar terrain. Future research into VOD platforms must account for these factors. Future inquiries into soft power accumulation through entertainment media should also seek to understand the quantity and makeup of content being offered by country. Opportunities for foreign media capitals through Netflix and other U.S.-based platforms must also be critiqued in terms of labor and investments to better understand the potential opportunities and risks for creative expression, representation, and local industry growth.

### Conclusion

U.S. audiences are being transformed in the digital era; or rather, they are transforming themselves. Subtitles are no longer a deal-breaker, perhaps exemplified best by Korean director Bong Joon-ho's best picture win with *Parasite* at the 2020 Academy Awards and subsequent popularity on Hulu. Global platforms like Netflix are using their technologies to push foreign content at little to no cost, introducing users to the unfamiliar and allowing them the autonomy necessary to follow and deepen their developing interests as they are guided to watch, or binge-watch, whatever, whenever, and for as long as they desire. In short, U.S. audiences now have unprecedented levels of accessibility and a means of developing new cultural affinities. As these affordances bring the world beyond national borders into sharper and more relatable focus, hostility toward the Other might become an increasingly tenuous position to hold. With the necessary infrastructure in place, let us hope that such popular—yet privately controlled—distribution platforms continue to allow for these circumstances.

### References

- Amatriain, X., & Basilico, J. (2016). Past, present, and future of recommender systems: An industry perspective. *Proceedings of the 10th ACM Conference on Recommender Systems* (pp. 211–214). New York, NY: Association for Computing Machinery. doi:10.1145/2959100.2959144
- Ameri, M., Honka, E., & Xie, Y. (2019). Viewing modus and media franchise engagement. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 1–65. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2986395
- Athique, A. (2018). The dynamics and potentials of big data for audience research. *Media, Culture & Society*, 40(1), 59–74. doi:10.1177/0163443717693681
- Balio, T. (2010). *The foreign film renaissance on American screens, 1946–1973*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Basilico, J., & Raimond, Y. (2016). Recommending for the world. *Proceedings of the 10th ACM Conference on Recommender Systems* (p. 375). New York, NY: Association for Computing Machinery. doi:10.1145/2959100.2959121
- Berinsky, A. J., Huber, G. A., & Lenz, G. S. (2012). Evaluating online labor markets for experimental research: Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk. *Political Analysis*, 20(3), 351–368. doi:10.1093/pan/mpr057
- Blanchard, J. M. F., & Lu, F. (2012). Thinking hard about soft power: A review and critique of the literature on China and soft power. *Asian Perspective*, 36(4), 565–589. doi:10.1353/apr.2012.0021
- Boca, P. (2019). Good things come to those who binge: An exploration of binge-watching related behavior. *Journal of Media Research*, 12(2), 5–31. doi:10.24193/jmr.34.1

- Buhrmester, M., Kwang, T., & Gosling, S. D. (2011). Amazon's Mechanical Turk: A new source of inexpensive, yet high-quality, data? *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 6(1), 3–5. doi:10.1037/14805-009
- Chandler, D., & Munday, R. (2011). *A dictionary of media and communication*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Curtin, M. (2007). *Playing to the world's biggest audience: The globalization of Chinese film and TV*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Curtin, M., Holt, J., & Sanson, K. (2014). *Distribution revolution: Conversations about the digital future of film and television*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Datta, H., Knox, G., & Bronnenberg, B. J. (2017). Changing their tune: How consumers' adoption of online streaming affects music consumption and discovery. *Marketing Science*, 37(1), 5–21. doi:10.1287/mksc.2017.1051
- Erickson, S. E., Cin, S. D., & Byl, H. (2019). An experimental examination of binge watching and narrative engagement. *Social Sciences*, 8(19), 1–9. doi:10.3390/socsci8010019
- Evans, S. K., Pearce, K. E., Vitak, J., & Treem, J. W. (2017). Explicating affordances: A conceptual framework for understanding affordances in communication research. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 22(1), 35–52. doi:10.1111/jcc4.12180
- Ferchaud, A. (2018). *Binge and bingeability: The antecedents and consequences of binge watching behavior* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from the Pennsylvania State University Electronic Theses and Dissertations for Graduate School database. <https://etda.libraries.psu.edu/catalog/15037amf345>
- Fernández-Manzano, E. P., Neira, E., & Clares-Gavilán, J. (2016). Data management in audiovisual business: Netflix as a case study. *El Profesional de La Informacion*, 25(4), 568–576. doi:10.3145/epi.2016.jul.06
- Flayelle, M., Maurage, P., Karila, L., Vögele, C., & Billieux, J. (2019). Overcoming the unitary exploration of binge-watching: A cluster analytical approach. *Journal of Behavioral Addictions*, 8(3), 586–602. doi:10.1556/2006.8.2019.53
- Gomez-Urbe, C. A., & Hunt, N. (2015). The Netflix recommender system: Algorithms, business value, and innovation. *ACM Transactions on Management Information Systems*, 6(4), 13, 1–19. doi:10.1145/2843948



- Granow, V. C., Reinecke, L., & Ziegele, M. (2018). Binge-watching and psychological well-being: Media use between lack of control and perceived autonomy. *Communication Research Reports, 35*(5), 392–401. doi:10.1080/08824096.2018.1525347
- Helberger, N., Karppinen, K., & D'Acunto, L. (2018). Exposure diversity as a design principle for recommender systems. *Information, Communication & Society, 21*(2), 191–207. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2016.1271900
- Horeck, T., Jenner, M., & Kendall, T. (2018). On binge-watching: Nine critical propositions. *Critical Studies in Television, 13*(4), 499–504. doi:10.1177/1749602018796754
- Huff, C., & Tingley, D. (2015). "Who are these people?" Evaluating the demographic characteristics and political preferences of MTurk survey respondents. *Research & Politics, 2*(3), 1–12. doi:10.1177/2053168015604648
- Iordache, C., Van Audenhove, L., & Loisen, J. (2019). Global media flows: A qualitative review of research methods in audio-visual flow studies. *International Communication Gazette, 81*(6–8), 748–767. doi:10.1177/1748048518808650
- Iwabuchi, K. (2015). Pop-culture diplomacy in Japan: Soft power, nation branding and the question of "international cultural exchange." *International Journal of Cultural Policy, 21*(4), 419–432. doi:10.1080/10286632.2015.1042469
- Jin, D. Y. (2017). Digital platform as a double-edged sword: How to interpret cultural flows in the platform era. *International Journal of Communication, 11*, 3880–3898. doi:1932–8036/20170005
- Johnson, C. (2019). *Online TV*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Karakayali, N., Kostem, B., & Galip, I. (2018). Recommendation systems as technologies of the self: Algorithmic control and the formation of music taste. *Theory, Culture and Society, 35*(2), 3–24. doi:10.1177/0263276417722391
- Kumar, S. (2006). *Gandhi meets primetime: Globalization and nationalism in Indian television*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- Lobato, R. (2018). Rethinking international TV flows research in the age of Netflix. *Television & New Media, 19*(3), 241–256. doi:10.1177/1527476417708245
- Lobato, R. (2019). *Netflix nations: The geography of digital distribution*. New York: New York University Press.
- Lobato, R., & Lotz, A. D. (2020). Imagining global video: The challenge of Netflix. *JCMS: Journal of Cinema and Media Studies, 59*(3), 132–136. doi:10.1353/cj.2020.0034

- Lotz, A. D. (2020). In between the global and the local: Mapping the geographies of Netflix as a multinational service. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 00(0), 1–21. doi:10.1177/1367877920953166
- Lotz, A. D., Lobato, R., & Thomas, J. (2018). Internet-distributed television research: A provocation. *Media Industries Journal*, 5(2), 35–47. doi:10.3998/mij.15031809.0005.203
- McClory, J. (2019). *The Soft Power 30: A global ranking of soft power*. Washington, DC: Portland Communications.
- Merikivi, J., Bragge, J., Scornavacca, E., & Verhagen, T. (2019). Binge-watching serialized video content: A transdisciplinary review. *Television and New Media*, 21(7), 1–15. doi:10.1177/1527476419848578
- Miller, T., Govil, N., McMurria, J., Maxwell, R., & Wang, T. (2005). *Global Hollywood 2*. London, UK: British Film Institute.
- Nguyen, T. T., Hui, P. M., Harper, F. M., Terveen, L., & Konstan, J. A. (2014). Exploring the filter bubble: The effect of using recommender systems on content diversity. *WWW 2014—Proceedings of the 23rd International Conference on World Wide Web* (pp. 677–686). New York, NY: Association for Computing Machinery. doi:10.1145/2566486.2568012
- Nordenstreng, K., & Varis, T. (1974). *Television traffic—A one-way street*. Paris, France: UNESCO.
- Nye, J. S., Jr. (2004). *Soft power: The means to success in world politics*. New York, NY: Public Affairs.
- Ogan, C. (1990). The audience for foreign film in the United States. *Journal of Communication*, 40(4), 58–77.
- Otmazgin, N. K. (2007). Contesting soft power: Japanese popular culture in East and Southeast Asia. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 8(1), 73–101. doi:10.1093/irap/lcm009
- Perks, L. (2015). *Media marathoning: Immersions in morality*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- Pittman, M., & Sheehan, K. (2015). Sprinting a media marathon: Uses and gratifications of binge-watching television through Netflix. *First Monday*, 20(10). doi:10.5210/fm.v20i10.6138
- Rigby, J. M., Brumby, D. P., Gould, S. J. J., & Cox, A. L. (2018). “I can watch what I want”: A diary study of on-demand and cross-device viewing. *TVX 2018— Proceedings of the 2018 ACM International Conference on Interactive Experiences for TV and Online Video* (pp. 69–80). New York, NY: Association for Computing Machinery. doi:10.1145/3210825.3210832
- Rubeking, B., & Bracken, C. C. (2018). Binge-watching: A suspenseful, emotional, habit. *Communication Research Reports*, 35(5), 381–391. doi:10.1080/08824096.2018.1525346

- Schiller, H. I. (1976). *Communication and cultural domination*. New York, NY: International Arts and Sciences.
- Shim, H., & Kim, K. J. (2017). An exploration of the motivations for binge-watching and the role of individual differences. *Computers in Human Behavior, 82*, 94–100. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2017.12.032
- Siles, I., Espinoza-Rojas, J., Naranjo, A., & Tristán, M. F. (2019). The mutual domestication of users and algorithmic recommendations on Netflix. *Communication, Culture and Critique, 12*(4), 499–518. doi:10.1093/ccc/tcz025
- Smith, N., Sabat, I., Martinez, L., Weaver, K., & Xu, S. (2015). A convenient solution: Using MTurk to sample from hard-to-reach populations. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology, 8*(2), 220–228. doi:10.1017/iop.2015.29
- Soffer, O. (2019). Algorithmic personalization and the two-step flow of communication. *Communication Theory*. doi:10.1093/ct/qtz008
- Steiner, E., & Xu, K. (2018). Binge-watching motivates change: Uses and gratifications of streaming video viewers challenge traditional TV research. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies, 26*(1), 82–101. doi:10.1177/1354856517750365
- Straubhaar, J. D. (2007). *World television: From global to local*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Sung, Y. H., Kang, E. Y., & Lee, W. N. (2018). Why do we indulge? Exploring motivations for binge watching. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 62*(3), 408–426. doi:10.1080/08838151.2018.1451851
- Thorson, K., & Wells, C. (2015). Curated flows: A framework for mapping media exposure in the digital age. *Communication Theory, 26*, 309–328. doi:10.1111/comt.12087
- Thussu, D. K. (2007). *Media on the move: Global flow and contra-flow*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Trainer, D., McBride, S., & Guske, K, II. (2019, July 19). Netflix's original content strategy is failing. *Forbes*. Retrieved from <https://www.forbes.com/sites/greatspeculations/2019/07/19/netflixs-original-content-strategy-is-failing/>
- Tukachinsky, R., & Eyal, K. (2018). The psychology of marathon television viewing: Antecedents and viewer involvement. *Mass Communication and Society, 21*(3), 275–295. doi:10.1080/15205436.2017.1422765
- Turner, G. (2019). Approaching the cultures of use: Netflix, disruption and the audience. *Critical Studies in Television, 14*(2), 222–232. doi:10.1177/1749602019834554

Varis, T. (1984). The international flow of television programs. *Journal of Communication*, 34(1), 143–152.

Voci, P., & Hui, L. (Eds.). (2018). *Screening China's soft power*. New York, NY: Routledge.