

Engaging With the Oscar-Winning *Parasite* on Social Media: Intercultural Use of Country-of-Origin Frames

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This study examines how 1,576,302 tweets (now called X posts) in Korean and English discussed the Oscar-winning Korean film, *Parasite*, through the theoretical lens of framing and Country-of-Origin (COO). Method-wise, the current study used big social media data analysis methods, following four steps—manual coding, keyword extraction, computerized coding, and analysis—which allowed identification of big patterns of COO frames as well as more nuanced analyses. The results show that Korean and English tweets preferred to use different types and frames of COO. English tweets tended to discuss *Parasite*'s COO in terms of language while using more *cognitive* (e.g., film quality) and *normative* frames (e.g., social norms). Korean tweets were likely to discuss *Parasite*'s COO in terms of country and to use *affective* frames (e.g., history-making). Overall, the number of Twitter engagement increased with the inclusion of *Parasite*'s COO information and affective frames, but was suppressed by cognitive frames. The use of normative frames decreased Twitter engagement among English, not Korean, tweets.

Keywords: frames, country of origin, word of mouth, Twitter, Oscars

At the 92nd Academy Awards on February 9, 2020, the South Korean film, *Parasite* (Bong, 2019), won four honors, becoming the first non-English language film to win best picture (Choe, 2020). Many audiences of the Oscars actively engaged with the event using second screens, and *Parasite* and its director, Bong Joon-ho, became the most tweeted about movie and celebrity during the live broadcast of the Academy

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Awards (Shilstone, 2020). *Parasite's* unprecedented Oscars win was a "moment of collective national pride" for Koreans and a moment of joy for many global audiences (Choe, 2020, para. 2); however, it also received some criticisms, for example, that a non-English film should not have won best picture at an American ceremony (Ma, 2020). Given the huge cultural and economic influence of the Academy Awards, *Parasite's* win can be considered an issue of global significance. Analyzing how global audiences discussed *Parasite's* Oscars win in English or Korean on social media may help open the door for the reception of foreign (language) films in the global film market, which has been dominated by Hollywood films. Also, social media engagement about films is known to predict real-world consequences such as box office revenues (Asur & Huberman, 2010). In this study, we view Twitter engagement as electronic Word of Mouth (eWOM), statements by consumers about a product, service or company that become available to a wider array of people online (Chu & Kim, 2011).

The current study analyzes how tweets in English and Korean discussed *Parasite's* Oscars win through framing theory. Frames select certain sides of an issue, which are then rendered more salient in media texts (Entman, 1993) to influence how people interpret the issue (Borah, 2011; Scheufele & Iyengar, 2014). This study examines the presence of Country of Origin (COO) information and frames in tweets. COO—the country of manufacture, production or growth (e.g., domestic or foreign)—affects whether individuals decide to accept certain goods or not (Dichter, 1962). In particular, we acknowledge the call for research on framing in social media (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016) and the apparent lack of cross-cultural elements in COO research despite the importance of cultures, values, and languages in COO effects (Conner, Reardon, Miller, Salciuvienė, & Auruskeviciene, 2017). Accordingly, this study first compares the relative prevalence of *Parasite's* COO in English and Korean tweets. Second, we compare the relative popularity of the cognitive, affective, and normative frames related to COO effects in English and Korean tweets (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999). For example, *cognitive* frames address the film quality; *affective* frames note *Parasite's* Oscar win as history-making; and *normative* frames address social norms to debate what is right or wrong. Finally, we investigate if the use of COO information and frames in a tweet is related to Twitter engagement like the number of retweets and favorites a tweet receives, an important predictor of film performance (Asur & Huberman, 2010; Oh, Roumani, Nwankpa, & Hu, 2017).

For this, we have collected a total of 1,576,302 tweets posted between February 7 and 14, 2020, containing keywords of "Parasite AND (The Academy OR Oscars)" in English and Korean. The tweets were then analyzed using both manual and computerized coding. Overall, the current study seeks to contribute to the literature in the following ways. First, theoretically, this paper addresses a gap identified in research on framing and COO by incorporating the social media context (Entman & Usher, 2018) and cross-cultural perspectives (Conner et al., 2017). This study provides a more nuanced understanding of global audiences' reaction to *Parasite's* Oscars win in terms of frames and COO. Second, methodologically, this study applies an analytic framework utilizing big Twitter data and frames (see Neuman, Guggenheim, Mo Jang, & Bae, 2014), which may be useful for research investigating how people from different cultures make sense of globally significant issues, using different sets of frames. To analyze Twitter data, we use a few big social media data analysis methods, involving data sanitization (Tjong Kim Sang & van den Bosch, 2013) and term frequency and association (Sivarajah, Kamal, Irani, & Weerakkody, 2017), in combination with manual

coding for more in-depth, nuanced analyses. Lastly, this study offers practical suggestions for players in the global film industry looking for opportunities with foreign (language) films.

***Parasite* and the Oscars**

Parasite is a South Korean dark comedy thriller film released in 2019. Its themes center around class conflict and income inequality (Choe, 2020). The movie includes a story between the poor Kim family, the wealthy Park family, and the husband of Parks' housekeeper living in the hidden bunker. The Oscars recognition of *Parasite* is considered a remarkable achievement because it is the very first film wholly not in English to receive the honor (Choe, 2020). Once recognized by the Oscars, its revenues increased internationally (Sonia, 2021).

Framing on Social Media

The current study applies framing theory to analyze tweets about *Parasite's* Oscars win. Defined as schemata of organization and interpretation (Goffman, 1974), frames put an emphasis on certain aspects of an issue while ignoring or downplaying other aspects of the same issue (Borah, 2011). Frames thus help "people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue" by providing a cognitive structure for processing information and a context (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 104). Framing effects are attitudinal or behavioral changes caused by the different ways in which a piece of information is presented in discourse (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2014).

Scholars have called for research on framing in the networked media environment (Cacciatore et al., 2016; Entman & Usher, 2018). On social media, framing results from users' production of content, which involves its creation and posting, along with connected peers' reproduction and circulation of the content (Arugute, Calvo, & Ventura, 2023). By creating and sharing content, social media users change the prevalence of certain terms, images, or links, thereby influencing how individuals define and make sense of social issues and events (Arugute et al., 2023). Given that behavioral framing effects (e.g., users' decision to engage with content) are especially understudied, it is critical to understand which content elements (e.g., embedded frames) are associated with further circulation of the content (see Valenzuela, Piña, & Ramírez, 2017). This question can be effectively answered using computational social science or "big data" methods, which draw broad patterns of frames, coupled with close readings of texts.

The Current Study

Utilizing both manual and computerized coding methods, the current study analyzes how global Twitter users discussed *Parasite's* Oscars win through the theoretical lens of COO frames. COO is an origin cue of where a product comes from, which influences individuals' evaluation and subsequent acceptance of the product (*COO effects* hereafter, Dichter, 1962; Pharr, 2005). COO is an image, a belief, or a cue that associates a product with its origin, and thus, can be useful in evaluating the product. This study approaches the COO effects through communication—the content of COO-related messages while focusing on communicators' attitudes toward the award-winning movie on a social media platform, Twitter. We turn to Twitter because it is not only known for live tweeting of events such as the Oscars where users connect with

others based on common interests, but also it provides access to the whole population of tweets via its Premium APIs.

Presence of COO Types in English vs. Korean Tweets

We first investigate whether tweets written in English and Korean referred to *Parasite's* COO. *Parasite's* COO can be recognized in two ways from the perspective of the Oscars: (a) that it is a film originated from a *foreign country*² or more specifically, South Korea or an Asian country; and (b) that it is in a *foreign language* or specifically, Korean (see Chao, Wührer, & Werani, 2005; Laroche, Papadopoulos, Heslop, & Bergeron, 2003).

We expect that Korean and English tweets will likely attend to different aspects of *Parasite's* COO. Considering that English is a medium for communication in global communities (Kayman, 2004) while Korean is used mostly among Koreans, English and Korean tweets are perhaps posted with different “imagined audiences” in mind (Litt, 2012). On the one hand, people who posted tweets in Korean likely expected that fellow Koreans would read and engage with their tweets within the nationally and globally significant context of *Parasite's* Oscars win. On the other hand, people who posted tweets in English perhaps intended to communicate with global audiences.

We hypothesize that Korean tweets, compared to English tweets, are likely to refer to *Parasite's* COO in terms of country that it originated from South Korea, an Asian country foreign to the Academy Awards. In discussing *Parasite's* Oscars win, the fact that it is a Korean film may be an important piece of information—if not the most important one—for people who have tweeted in Korean. However, the fact that *Parasite* was produced in Korea may not have stuck with people who tweeted in English, aiming to communicate with global audiences. Rather, individuals who tweeted in English might have attended to the fact that *Parasite* is a non-English language film, rarely spotted at the Academy Awards unless nominated for the international feature film.

H1: Korean tweets will refer to Parasite's COO in terms of country that it originated from (a) Korea, (b) an Asian country, or (c) a foreign country more than English tweets.

H2: English tweets will refer to Parasite's COO in terms of language that it is (a) in Korean or (b) in a foreign language more than Korean tweets.

Prevalence of COO Frames in English vs. Korean Tweets

Next, we examine the relative popularity of cognitive, affective and normative frames of COO effects between Korean and English tweets referring to *Parasite's* COO. COO effects work via three COO mechanisms: cognitive, affective, and normative (Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999). The *cognitive*

² The “foreign” status, however, is relative. For Koreans, *Parasite* is a domestic film, not a foreign film. Because we focus on *Parasite's* Oscars win, we will refer to *Parasite* as a foreign (language) film from the perspective of the Oscars.

mechanism focuses on product quality (Steenkamp, 1990). Perceived quality is consumers' judgment of a product's overall excellence or superiority, a criterion used for product evaluation. (Zeithaml, 1988). In this study, factors related to the *production* of the film (e.g., content, director, casts) are the criteria for its evaluation. Importantly, the fact that *Parasite* was produced in a foreign country—South Korea—will be central to COO effects.

Regarding the *affective* mechanism of the COO, people can have symbolic and emotional connotations about a country, which can then influence their evaluations of products from that country (Nes, 2018). The COO's emotional cues can be formed either by direct (e.g., travel) or indirect experiences (e.g., media, word-of-mouth or stereotypes) (Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999). While positive feelings toward a country can lead individuals to be receptive to products from that country, negative feelings about a country can result in people's resistance to products from that country (Nes, 2018).

The *normative* mechanism of COO effects involves how people feel they ought to behave (Nes, 2018). Individuals have social and personal norms related to a country, and they may use these norms in judging whether purchasing products from a given country is right or wrong (Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999). For example, individuals with strong ethnocentrism tend to support domestic products and express patriotism (Nes, 2018).

In this case of *Parasite's* Oscars win, on the one hand, Korean tweets, compared to English tweets, may more heavily focus on affective aspects of COO, which involve emotional benefits like national pride (Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999). Korean tweets are primarily addressed to Koreans, and Koreans tend to hold strong collectivist values where the social is prioritized over the personal (Triandis, 2018). Tweets addressed to supposedly collectivist Koreans who ascribe higher values to common goals and achievements than personal ones may emphasize the emotional aspects of COO and celebrate *Parasite's* win as a collective achievement. Research showed that on social media, Chinese people who tended to hold stronger collectivist values than Americans appeared to be more emotional (Ma, 2013). Also, prior research on the COO effects and the individualism/collectivism dimensions of culture demonstrated that collectivism had a stronger effect on the affective rather than the normative mechanism (Conner et al., 2017). In particular, collectivist people should strongly display emotions toward their in-groups if this fosters group unity and harmony (Matsumoto, 1993). Koreans will likely widely display the positive emotions they felt by *Parasite's* Oscars win because it promotes these collectivist values.

English Tweets addressed to global audiences may be less likely to be emotionally involved with *Parasite's* Oscars win, an achievement by an outgroup. Rather, English tweets may focus on the normative aspects of *Parasite's* COO, for example, whether giving an award to a Korean film at a local American film festival is right or wrong. Similarly, for some users tweeting in English, the fact that a film foreign to the Oscars and also an outgroup to them won multiple Oscars could prompt potential cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1962). To reconcile these conflicting cognitions, they may choose to post about this in an effort to seek like-minded people and information (see Weeks, Lane, Kim, Lee, & Kwak, 2017). Given that there will be great renewed interest in Oscar-winning films, and thus, *Parasite* will likely be financially successful at the global box office, some global audiences may be concerned that their domestic film industry or local economy may be hurt (Russell & Russell, 2006). Other global audiences may think that *Parasite's* Oscars

win is monumental because this may lead to wider reception of diverse films in the global film market. However, for Korean audiences, debating and questioning *Parasite's* Oscars win would not help with their collectivist goals of common achievement. Those tweeting in Korean will be less likely to have normative discussions; rather, they may happily accept the news.

H3: Among tweets with reference to Parasite's COO, Korean tweets, compared to English tweets, tend to focus more on affective frames of COO.

H4: Among tweets with reference to Parasite's COO, English tweets, compared to Korean tweets, tend to focus more on normative frames.

Although collectivists tended to be more quality-oriented, a cognitive aspect of COO (Conner et al., 2017), cognitive aspects of COO might not be as important among collectivists. In a prior study, Japanese individuals who tended to hold strong collectivist values preferred domestic products regardless of product quality (Gürhan-Canli & Maheswaran, 2000). In *Parasite's* (Bong, 2019) case, it was already a huge hit in Korea, so users tweeting in Korean may be less likely to discuss its good quality. However, for users tweeting for global audiences, they may be tempted to share information about the newly found, supposedly quality film, *Parasite*. Accordingly, the following research question is posed:

RQ1: Among tweets with reference to Parasite's COO, do Korean tweets, compared to English tweets, focus more on cognitive frames of COO?

Linking COO in Tweets to Twitter Engagement

Finally, we advance a research question asking if certain types and frames of COO in a tweet are significant predictors of *Twitter engagement*. In line with prior scholarship, we conceptualize Twitter engagement as eWOM. Consumers often find WOM a more effective and trusted source of information about products and services than promotional messages by companies or businesses (Chu & Kim, 2011). With the rise of digital and social media, eWOM has emerged as WOM in the online settings, allowing consumers to "spread the word" about products and services on an unprecedented global scale (Norman & Russell, 2006). eWOM, including consumer opinions posted online and social media engagement such as mentions, shares, and reposts about products or services, is one of the most trusted sources of information among global consumers (Nielson, 2015). Accordingly, people tend to behave consistent to the eWOM messages (e.g., buying the product mentioned in a tweet with which they have engaged, Alhabash & McAlister, 2015).

Viewing Twitter engagement as eWOM, we examine whether certain types and frames of COO in a tweet are significant predictors of the number of Twitter engagement received by a given tweet. For example, a tweet containing the COO information of *Parasite* may receive more engagement because this information may be practically new and useful to other users (Kim, 2015). This may be especially salient among English rather than Korean tweets because global audiences likely experience stronger information asymmetry and lack information about foreign films (see Nelson, 1970). Similarly, in terms of COO frames, tweets with a cognitive frame addressing the quality of *Parasite* may be informative to some users who have not watched the film, and receive more engagement. Research shows that people share information on

social media often with altruistic, informational purposes as well as self-serving motivations to enhance their reputation (Kümpel, Karnowski, & Keyling, 2015). At the same time, these informational, cognitive tweets may be dry and not interest audiences especially when the product is not well-known like *Parasite*; In this case, tweets with cognitive COO frames may receive rather less engagement (Tellis, MacInnis, Tirunillai, & Zhang, 2019).

Other tweets with an emotional frame may garner more engagement. This is because not only can emotional frames arouse people to result in social transmission (Berger, 2011) but also emotion sharing offers benefits to people by facilitating sense-making of their experiences and strengthening social ties (Kim, 2015). It remains an empirical question whether tweets with a normative frame would receive more or less engagement. While moral-emotional expression, which may find a point of intersection with normative frames, can facilitate diffusion of content (Brady, Wills, Jost, Tucker, & Van Bavel, 2017), controversiality does not necessarily result in more engagement (Kim, 2015). From the perspective of Twitter users, they may be less inclined to engage with normative tweets which has the potential to upset audiences rather than make them feel good (Berger & Milkman, 2012).

RQ2: Which types (i.e., country or language-related) and frames of COO (i.e., cognitive, emotional, and normative) predict the number of Twitter engagement received by English and Korean tweets?

Method

Data Collection

Twitter data were collected via Twitter's premium search APIs and full-archive development environment. Initial macro data from Twitter were extracted by applying the keywords, "Parasite AND (The Academy OR Oscars)" in English and Korean, and the timeframe between February 7 and 14, 2020. We decided on this timeframe, noting the traffic patterns of tweets increasing, peaking, and then declining, which were analyzed using Keyhole (<http://keyhole.co>). The initial sample consists of 1,576,302 raw tweets. After data sanitization by excluding retweets (Tjong Kim Sang & van den Bosch, 2013), our final sample consists of 96,131 tweets (English $N = 92,312$, Korean $N = 3,819$) along with their *Twitter engagement*, an additive index of the total number of quotes, replies, retweets and favorites each tweet received.

Coding

Manual Coding

To identify keywords for the presence of COO and three COO frames, two coders fluent in English and Korean manually coded top 205 English and top 127 Korean tweets that were retweeted at least 1000 and 100 times respectively. Specifically, two coders coded for: whether COO was mentioned in terms of (a) country and (b) language, and if so, (c) if any of the three COO frames was used. A preset coding protocol guided the coding process (Table 1).

Table 1. Example Tweets With Cognitive, Affective, and Normative Frames of COO.

English Translation of Example		
	Tweets in Korean	Example Tweets in English
Cognitive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ...Looking at the Korean cultures recognized internationally, they became successful all due to their Korean inherent uniqueness...The Oscars were awarded to Parasite, a completely Korean local film... (personal communication, February 12, 2020) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ...Hollywood acknowledging this brilliant Korean film... (personal communication, February 10, 2020)
Affective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Everyone is very happy for Parasite's win as if it is his/her own, and it is indeed 'my own' (personal communication, February 10, 2020) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ...the first non-English language film in history to win Best Picture at the #Oscars Korea's Pride... (personal communication, February 10, 2020)
Normative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The reason why Parasite was not nominated for best actor is due to Oscar's chronic racism... (personal communication, February 10, 2020) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sad to see those few who refuse to watch foreign films like Parasite or say things like, "Koreans are stealing Oscars from Americans." It doesn't matter where a film comes from or what tongue is spoken. All films share one universal language: human emotions (personal communication, February 10, 2020).

Intercoder Reliability

Two coders analyzed a total of 81 tweets (i.e., 41 English and 40 Korean tweets, 20% and 31.4% of manually coded tweets respectively) that were randomly extracted for manual coding. The Krippendorff's alpha reliability values were high; 0.77 for COO in terms of country, 1.00 for COO in terms of language and 0.93 for COO frames.

Keywords Extraction

Based on manual coding of tweets, tables were created with terms appeared in tweets referring to COO in terms of country and/or language and those using three COO frames along with the frequency with which they appeared. Two coders reviewed the tables to delete terms that did not represent COO and frames. Five lists of keywords were generated for the main variables (Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2. English Keywords for COO and COO Frames.

Variables		Keywords
Presence of COO	Country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean, Korea; • Asian; • Foreign, international
	Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (Korean AND language) or (Korean AND English) or ("in Korean"); • nonenglish, foreignlanguag, subtitle, (non AND English) (not AND English) (foreign AND language)
Frames of COO	Cognitive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • win, won, wins, winner, award, awards, prize, best, top, brilliant, big
	Affective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • first, histor, histori, history, congratul, congrats, honor, pride, achiev, celebr? (include: celebrate; exclude: celebrity, celebrities), opportun? (include: opportune; exclude: opportunity, opportunities), remarkable, swept, thank, glad, watersh, woohoooo, acclaim, brilliant, historymak, speechless, glori, glad, happy, shoutout, shattered
	Normative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • refus, dismiss, deserv, closedminded, embrace, barrier, racist, overlook, shouldn't

Table 3. English Translation of Korean Keywords for COO and COO Frames.

Variables		Keywords
Presence of COO	Country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korea/Republic of Korea, Korean (people) (exclude: Korean language); • Asia, Asian; • Foreign movie, international movie (exclude: international film festival)
	Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean language, Korean alphabet • non-English, subtitle, foreign language, not in English
Frames of COO	Cognitive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • crown, amazing, useful, must-watch, recommendation, awards, prize, received, success, recognition, quality, uniqueness, receiving it, Korean inherent, Korean local
	Affective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • first, the first, first time, history, celebration, applause, happy, pleasure, top, a great achievement, record, embarrassed, sweeping, congratulating, beyond, cool, cheering, cheers, thanks, revolution, victory, light, the greatest of all-time, overwhelmed, status, commemoration, conquer, proud, prove, dream, respect, shake, love, glory, achievement, happiness, sweep, honor
	Normative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • why, run down, strange, destruction, chronic, denial, racism, a sudden chill in the air (갑분싸), correct, criticize, blame, Oscar guys (놈들), oscarsowhite, the periphery, a sense of interiority, supremacy, chauvinism (국뽕), argument, disturbance, fuss, wail, crying, whining, ruined, exclusion, trembling, anger, chaos, diversity, hypocrisy, tragedy, deserve, people of color, racial discrimination, the worst

Computerized Coding

Boolean searches were conducted using the identified keywords unique to our main variables among the whole sample of tweets to identify the respective use of COO and COO frames in tweets (Jang & Hart, 2015; Neuman et al., 2014). For example, presence of COO in terms of language can be identified through a Boolean search using keywords such as (Korean AND language), "in Korean," or (foreign AND language). Normative COO frames can be identified through a Boolean search using keywords such as "deserv(e)" (Table 2).

Analysis

Considering that there were more tweets about the Oscars and *Parasite* in English than those in Korean, we decided not to compare their raw numbers. Instead, we decided to compare the *proportion* of English tweets, for example, mentioning COO to that of Korean tweets mentioning COO to test H1 and H2 (see Jang & Hart, 2015). The proportion value was calculated separately for English and Korean tweets as the ratio of English (or Korean) tweets mentioning COO to all English (or Korean) tweets about the Oscars and *Parasite*. For comparison analyses, we conducted independent sample t-tests assuming unequal variances. To test RQ2, predicting Twitter engagement, we ran Tweedie Generalized Linear Models for two reasons: First, to account for Twitter engagement's point mass at zero, and second, to take care of Twitter engagement's overdispersion (English: $\sigma^2 = 5496445.85$, $M = 78.67$; Korean: $\sigma^2 = 312407.88$, $M = 50.09$).

Results

Presence of COO in English vs. Korean Tweets

We found partial support for H1 regarding *Parasite*'s COO in terms of country (Figure 1); the proportion of tweets mentioning *Parasite*'s COO that it originated from a) Korea was higher in tweets in Korean ($M = 0.15$, $SD = 0.36$) than those in English ($M = 0.08$, $SD = 0.27$), $t = -12.51$, $p < .01$. Also, the proportion of tweets mentioning *Parasite*'s COO that it originated from b) an Asian country was slightly yet statistically significantly higher in tweets in Korean ($M = 0.024$, $SD = 0.15$) than those in English ($M = 0.017$, $SD = 0.13$), $t = -2.79$, $p < .01$. However, the proportion of tweets mentioning *Parasite*'s COO that it originated from c) a foreign country was higher in tweets in English ($M = 0.09$, $SD = 0.28$) than those in Korean ($M = 0.05$, $SD = 0.21$), $t = 10.85$, $p < .01$. Notably, Korean tweets, compared to English tweets, were more likely to discuss *Parasite*'s COO in terms of country overall ($t = -5.72$, $p < .01$).

We found partial support for H2 regarding *Parasite*'s COO in terms of language (Figure 2); the proportion of tweets mentioning *Parasite*'s COO that it was (a) *in Korean* was higher in tweets in Korean ($M = 0.20$, $SD = 0.40$) than those in English ($M = 0.17$, $SD = 0.37$), $t = -5.72$, $p < .01$. However, the proportion of tweets mentioning *Parasite*'s COO that it was (b) *in a foreign language* was higher in English tweets ($M = 0.06$, $SD = 0.25$) than Korean tweets ($M = 0.04$, $SD = 0.20$), $t = 7.13$, $p < .01$. English tweets, compared to Korean tweets, were more likely to discuss *Parasite*'s COO in terms of language overall ($t = -5.45$, $p < .01$).

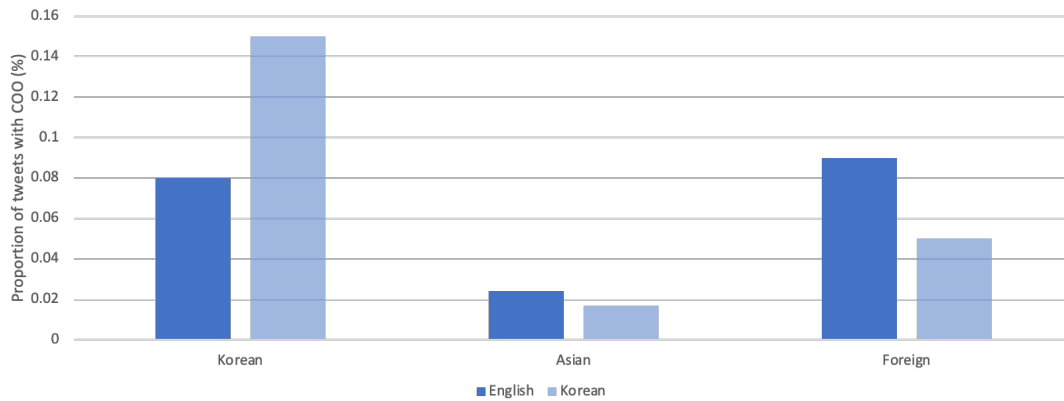


Figure 1. Presence of COO types in terms of country in tweets in English and Korean.

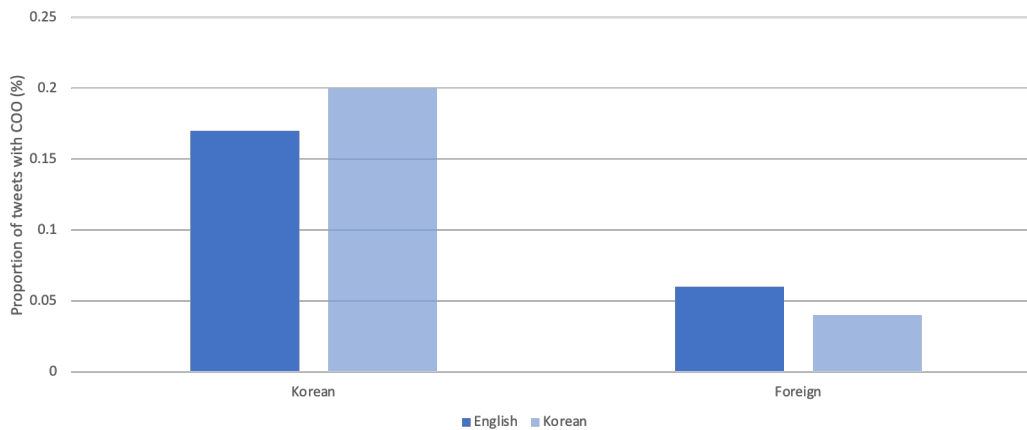


Figure 2. Presence of COO types in terms of language in tweets in English and Korean.

Prevalence of COO Frames in English vs. Korean Tweets

Next, we found support for H3 (Figure 3); the proportion of tweets focusing on affective frames of COO was higher in tweets in Korean ($M = 0.39$, $SD = 0.49$) than those in English ($M = 0.28$, $SD = 0.45$), $t = -13.57$, $p < .01$. We also found support for H4; the proportion of tweets focusing on normative frames of COO was higher in tweets in English ($M = 0.10$, $SD = 0.30$) than those in Korean ($M = 0.07$, $SD = 0.26$), $t = 5.32$, $p < .01$. Lastly, the proportion of tweets focusing on cognitive frames of COO was higher in tweets in English ($M = 0.64$, $SD = 0.48$) than those in Korean ($M = 0.49$, $SD = 0.50$), $t = 18.17$, $p < .01$, RQ1).

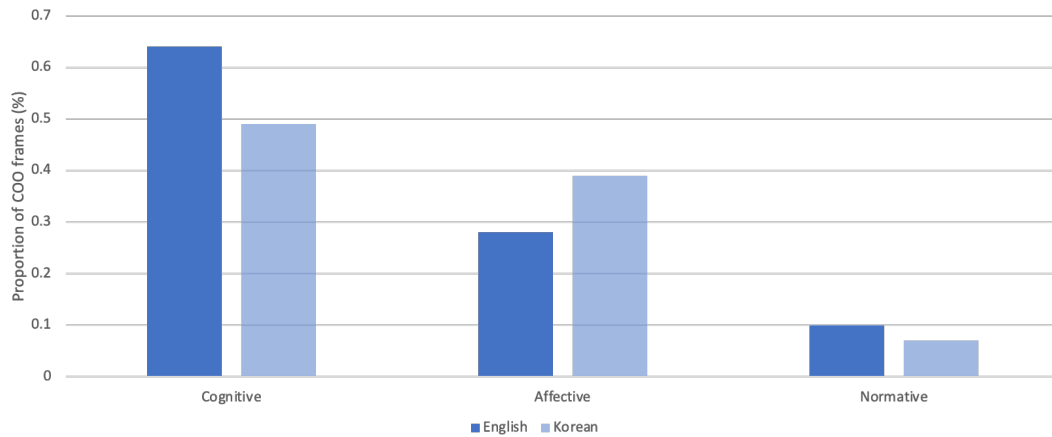


Figure 3. Prevalence of COO frames in tweets in English and Korean.

Linking COO in Tweets to Twitter Engagement

We then examined which types and frames of COO predict English and Korean Twitter engagement (RQ2). For this, we first ran a Tweedie Generalized Linear Model, predicting Twitter engagement of English tweets with types and frames of COO (Table 4, first column). The results show that the presence of country-related COO in an English tweet mentioning that *Parasite* originated from Korea ($b = .32$, $SD = .02$, $p < .01$), an Asian country ($b = 1.47$, $SD = .03$, $p < .01$) or a foreign country ($b = .10$, $SD = .02$, $p < .01$) positively predicted the total engagement the tweet received. An English tweet with language-related COO that *Parasite* was in Korean ($b = .89$, $SD = .04$, $p < .01$) or in a non-English language ($b = .63$, $SD = .02$, $p < .01$) positively predicted engagement the tweet garnered. In terms of COO frames, English tweets with emotional frames ($b = .37$, $SD = .01$, $p < .01$) received more engagement. However, English tweets with cognitive ($b = -.07$, $SD = .01$, $p < .01$) or normative frames ($b = -.30$, $SD = .02$, $p < .01$) received less engagement.

Table 4. Predicting Twitter Engagement with COO Types and Frames in English and Korean Tweets.

		Twitter Engagement (English) b (SE)	Twitter Engagement (Korean) b (SE)
	(Intercept)	4.12 (.01)**	3.25 (.05)**
COO-Country	Korea	.32 (.02)**	1.37 (.07)**
	Asia	1.47 (.03)**	.10 (.17)
	Foreign	.10 (.02)**	.08 (.13)
COO-Language	Korean	.89 (.04)**	3.45 (.14)**
	Non-English	.63 (.02)**	.34 (.14)*
COO Frames	Cognitive	-.07 (.01)**	-.13 (.06)*
	Emotional	.37 (.01)**	.23 (.06)**
	Normative	-.30 (.02)**	.16 (.10)

N	91021	3818
** p < .01, * p < .05		

We then ran another Tweedie Generalized Linear Model predicting Twitter engagement of Korean (Table 4, second column). The presence of country-related COO in a Korean tweet mentioning that *Parasite* originated from Korea positively predicted the total engagement the tweet received ($b = 1.37$, $SD = .07$, $p < .01$). However, a Korean tweet with country-related COO that *Parasite* originated from an Asian country ($b = .10$, $SD = .17$, $p > .05$) or a foreign country ($b = .08$, $SD = .13$, $p > .05$) did not statistically significantly predict engagement the tweet received. A Korean tweet with language-related COO that *Parasite* was in Korean ($b = 3.45$, $SD = .14$, $p < .01$) or in a non-English language ($b = .34$, $SD = .14$, $p < .05$) positively predicted engagement the tweet garnered. In terms of COO frames, Korean tweets with emotional frames received more engagement ($b = .23$, $SD = .06$, $p < .01$) while those with cognitive frames received less engagement ($b = -.13$, $SD = .06$, $p < .05$). Korean tweets with normative frames were not statistically significantly related to engagement ($b = .16$, $SD = .10$, $p > .05$).

Discussion

Prior literature has noted the need to investigate framing on social media (Cacciatore et al., 2016; Entman & Usher, 2018) and incorporate cross-cultural perspectives in COO research (Conner et al., 2017; Pharr, 2005). Acknowledging these gaps in the framing and COO literature, this study examines 1,576,302 Korean and English tweets about an issue of global significance—*Parasite*'s unprecedented Oscars win (Choe, 2020). Methodologically, the current study utilized big social media data analysis combined with manual coding, which allowed identification of broad patterns of COO frames as well as close reading of texts. Through manual coding, keyword extraction, and computerized coding, this study detects the presence of *Parasite*'s COO information in English and Korean tweets, and how it was discussed, specifically by using cognitive, affective, or normative COO frames (Chong & Druckman, 2007; see Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999 for the mechanisms of COO effects, which enlightened the operationalization of COO frames). The results demonstrate intercultural differences in the relative use of COO information and frames, notably in English vs. Korean tweets, underscoring the importance of cultures, values, and languages in COO research (Chao et al., 2005; Laroche et al., 2003). Importantly, this study shows that emphasizing different aspects of *Parasite*'s COO (in terms of country and language) and using different COO frames in tweets significantly predicts the number of Twitter engagement, a known predictor of film performance (Asur & Huberman, 2010; Oh et al., 2017).

Relative Prevalence of COO Information and Frames in English vs. Korean Tweets

First, different types of COO were more or less prevalent in English and Korean tweets, highlighting the importance of cultures, values and languages in COO effects (Conner et al., 2017). Overall, Korean tweets were more likely to refer to *Parasite*'s COO in terms of *country* while English tweets were more likely to discuss *Parasite*'s COO in terms of *language*. English tweets tended to show a vaguer COO perception of *Parasite* by focusing on the fact that it is not in English—rather than noting that it is in Korean—or it originated from a foreign country, instead of specifically referring to Korea or an Asian country. Tweets in English are likely posted with an aim to communicate with more diverse, global audiences (Kayman, 2004)

whereas tweets in Korean are perhaps written with a group of “imagined audiences” in mind who are fluent in Korean language (Litt, 2012), which primarily consists of Koreans. Because Koreans tend to be strong collectivists who prioritize the social over the personal (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 2018), tweets directed at them, compared to English tweets, likely focus specifically on the fact that a Korean (language) film won the Oscars.

Furthermore, Korean and English tweets preferred to use different frames of COO (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999). Korean tweets were more likely to use *affective* frames whereas English tweets were more likely to use *cognitive* and *normative* frames. These findings are largely consistent with prior research on the COO effects and individualism/collectivism that collectivism had a stronger effect on the affective rather than the normative mechanism (Conner et al., 2017) and that cognitive aspects of COO might not be as important among collectivists (Gürhan-Canli & Maheswaran, 2000). These speculations involving individualism and collectivism, however, would merit future research. Although individualism and collectivism can be viewed as a “fundamental distinction between cultures” (Moorman & Blakely, 1995, p. 129) and Korea is known to be a strong collectivist country with a low individualism score of 18 (Hofstede, 2001), there could be within country variances (i.e., individual differences, Triandis & Singelis, 1998). Acknowledging this, it would be worthwhile to conduct experimental studies examining whether the use of COO frames varies by global participants’ levels of individualism and collectivism.

Twitter Engagement and COO in English vs. Korean Tweets

Given that framing effects at the behavioral level are especially understudies in the contexts of social media (e.g., sharing of content, Valenzuela et al., 2017), this study examined whether the use of COO information and frames predicted the number of Twitter engagement, a known predictor of film performance (Asur & Huberman, 2010; Oh et al., 2017). Our results revealed important differences between English and Korean tweets. Among English tweets, including *Parasite’s* COO information in terms of *country* that it originated from Korea, Asia or a foreign country all positively predicted the number of Twitter engagement. However, among Korean tweets, mentioning that *Parasite* originated from Korea was the only positive predictor of Twitter engagement. Including *Parasite’s* COO information in terms of *language* that it was in Korean or in non-English language both positively predicted Twitter engagement of English and Korean tweets although noting that the film was in Korean much more positively predicted Twitter engagement of Korean tweets. Overall, the inclusion of *Parasite’s* various COO information in terms of country and language prompted Twitter engagement especially among English tweets directed at global audiences. Users who engaged with these English tweets perhaps found *Parasite’s* COO information new and useful (Kim, 2015), participating in “framing” of the social issue, *Parasite’s* Oscars win, themselves on social media (Arugute et al., 2023). That is, these users’ connected peers will likely be exposed to such tweets and pay attention to *Parasite’s* COO when thinking about the issue of *Parasite’s* Oscars win.

Next, the use of *emotional* frames of *Parasite’s* COO positively predicted Twitter engagement whereas *cognitive* frames negatively predicted Twitter engagement received by both English and Korean tweets. This is in line with prior studies showing that emotional frames arouse individuals to participate in social transmission (Berger, 2011). Also, Twitter users tend to be cognitively competent, and thus, are less

likely to share content with cognitive frames that they can easily understand (Valenzuela et al., 2017). Finally, the use of normative frames was a negative predictor of Twitter engagement of English tweets. This makes sense considering that social media users try to avoid conflicts within their personal networks (Berger & Milkman, 2012; Valenzuela et al., 2017) and normatively framed tweets may invite controversy and confrontations (see Kim, 2015). Overall, the results highlight that different aspects of *Parasite's* COO resonate with Twitter users who post in English vs. Korean (see Chao et al., 2005; Laroche et al., 2003). Users actively take part in "framing" of social issues and events by engaging, reproducing and circulating certain postings (Arugute et al., 2023).

Limitations and Future Research

First, this study focused on the case of *Parasite's* Oscars win and tweets in Korean and English, and the question remains whether this case of *Parasite* is generalizable. Future cross-cultural research on framing and COO on social media is encouraged to expand its focus to cover how other products, issues and events are discussed in more languages on different platforms. Second, with its focus on Twitter discussion of *Parasite*, this study predicted Twitter engagement, a known determinant of film performance and a behavioral outcome of framing effects, but did not examine real world outcomes such as purchase decisions. Relatedly, our Twitter analyses are inherently correlational, not causal. Thus, future research may conduct experiments to test whether messages with different COO frames lead to different evaluations and purchase decisions of the product among intercultural audiences. Importantly, framing scholars call for research investigating frames in competitive environments (Borah, 2011) and messages that go beyond texts, involving non-verbal and visual cues (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2014). While the current study's methods allowed for the presence of more than one frames in a given tweet, they did not test for the relative effects of competing frames or visual frames over textual frames. These would be great topics for future research.

Also, the current study focused on the languages used by Twitter users, which was connected to their imagined audiences. While language choice on social media signifies important aspects about self, such as self-representation and identity (Lee, 2014), it is possible that users tweeting in English are not homogeneous, for example, in terms of their location and nationality. Users from both the United States and other parts of the world can tweet in English, but may take different COO perspectives when discussing *Parasite's* (Bong, 2019) Oscars win. The Oscars are a local American film festival; Twitter users from the United States may be particularly likely to use normative COO frames and to discuss whether it is right to award the Oscars to a foreign film. Also, Korean users may tweet in English—these users may behave more similarly to users tweeting in Korean than those tweeting in English. Although user location and nationality are important factors that may affect their discourse of *Parasite* involving its COO, only about 30% of Twitter users reveal their location information, making it difficult to be included in analyses (Bayat & Ucan, 2018). Still, considering that Twitter users' nationality can be estimated with their friends and follower information (Bayat & Ucan, 2018), future studies are encouraged to consider this information in further examining cross-cultural differences in terms of COO frames use and Twitter engagement.

Finally, future research extending the current study may examine COO frames in conjunction with the sentiments expressed to predict the number of engagements. For example, while our results show that the use of normative frames negatively predicts Twitter engagement of English tweets, we suspect that

more of the normative tweets were negative in sentiment than positive based on the selection of keywords (Table 2). Prior studies suggest that positive sentiments in a message facilitate its sharing (Kim, 2015) although in the context of films, sentiments expressed in social media posts about films are not as influential as the quantity of them in predicting film performance (Asur & Huberman, 2010).

Theoretical and Practical Contributions

Framing research essentially captures how the public perceives certain social issues (Entman, 1993). Prior scholarship on framing, however, tended to focus on examining media frames rather than individual/audience frames (Scheufele, 1999) in part because it was methodologically difficult to trace and analyze people's everyday conversations (Jang & Hart, 2015). More recent studies took advantage of social media big data where users left messages about issues mostly voluntarily, and examined individual frames. Extending this line of research, the current study examines the individual frames used by people from different cultures in discussing *Parasite's* Oscars win. We sought to contribute to the framing literature in three ways: by focusing on the globally significant issue involving films; by incorporating cross-cultural elements and analyzing English vs. Korean tweets; and by applying the COO scholarship.

First, it is worthwhile to investigate (e-)WOM about films, on which audiences heavily rely for purchase decisions. This is because films are experience goods (i.e., people can evaluate their quality only after they purchase and consume them) and there is inherent information asymmetry where audiences feel like they lack pre-purchase information about the products (Nelson, 1970). When it comes to foreign films like *Parasite*, global audiences likely experience stronger information asymmetry, which may explain their relative unpopularity in most parts of the world compared to that of Hollywood films. *Parasite's* Oscars win, however, offered a unique opportunity for a foreign film to break the information asymmetry and become successful at the worldwide box office, depending on how global audiences received the news that a foreign film won the Oscars.

Accordingly, this study attended to the COO aspect of the news that *Parasite* is a film foreign to the Oscars while analyzing how English vs. Korean tweets reacted to it. Overall, people from different cultures make sense of *Parasite's* Oscars win differently as noted in their dissimilar use of COO information and frames. The use of different COO types and frames can then facilitate (or discourage) further Twitter engagement, signaling certain COO information resonates with the public. Future research can examine how people from different cultures or speaking different languages react to other issues, using which sets of frames. If these groups indeed use different frames to think about the same issue, they likely define the root of the problem differently to come up with dissimilar solutions (Entman, 1993).

Findings from the current study may provide practical suggestions for players in the global film industry looking for opportunities with foreign films. It is important for the players to monitor and accommodate various audiences. For this, social media tools have become a key factor in reaching out to global film audiences to mitigate the information asymmetry inherent to experience goods. For example, generating viral "buzz" can drive consumer interests and draw audiences to foreign films and relevant products/services (Ulker-Demirel, Akyol, & Simsek, 2018).

For one, in promotional messages on social media and online, global communication specialists and marketers may include a given film's COO information in a few different ways, that it originated from a specific country (e.g., Korea), a country located in a certain continent (e.g., Asia), and a foreign country in general. Emphasizing a film's foreign COO in these different ways along with the fact that the film is in a non-English language may spark interests in global audiences to increase the number of engagements the promotional message receives.

Also, global communication specialists and marketers may want to primarily make use of emotional COO frames, rather than cognitive or normative frames, in their promotional efforts on social media and online. For example, in promotional messages, they may address emotional connotations related to the film's COO. However, they may refrain from bringing up normative aspects, for example, urging global audiences to watch foreign films because that is the right thing to do to garner more engagements. It would be better not to post normative tweets which may make audiences upset (Berger & Milkman, 2012) and lead them to dive into potentially controversial waters. Also, communication specialists should refrain from simply arguing for a given foreign film's great quality (i.e., cognitive frame). More engagement on social media means that more potential audiences can engage with the promotional messages, increasing the film's chance to be successful (Asur & Huberman, 2010; Oh et al., 2017).

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