

Thirst Traps and Quick Cuts: The Effects of TikTok “Edits” on Evaluations of Politicians

Kevin Munger & Valerie Li

European University Institute & Penn State University

June 10, 2025

Introduction

- TikTok and short-form video represent a growing portion of online political communication

- TikTok and short-form video represent a growing portion of online political communication
- We examine a specific genre: “edits” of politicians

- TikTok and short-form video represent a growing portion of online political communication
- We examine a specific genre: “edits” of politicians
- Research question: Can TikTok “edits” change voter perceptions of politicians?

Media Effects: What Is The New Thing? What Does It Do?

Media Effects: What Is The New Thing? What Does It Do?

- Canonical approach – test or extend existing theories with new data sources

Media Effects: What Is The New Thing? What Does It Do?

- Canonical approach – test or extend existing theories with new data sources
- Digital media so vast and dynamic

Media Effects: What Is The New Thing? What Does It Do?

- Canonical approach – test or extend existing theories with new data sources
- Digital media so vast and dynamic
- First discover and conceptualize the new things

Media Effects: What Is The New Thing? What Does It Do?

- Canonical approach – test or extend existing theories with new data sources
- Digital media so vast and dynamic
- First discover and conceptualize the new things
- Figure out what they *do*

Media Effects: What Is The New Thing? What Does It Do?

- Canonical approach – test or extend existing theories with new data sources
- Digital media so vast and dynamic
- First discover and conceptualize the new things
- Figure out what they *do*—and how it might be politically relevant

Lay Researchers As Early Warning Sign

Lay Researchers As Early Warning Sign

- I heard about “edits” from a YouTube Video shared in a private Discord

Lay Researchers As Early Warning Sign

- I heard about “edits” from a YouTube Video shared in a private Discord
- Jules Terpak: journalist, content creator and lay theorist

Lay Researchers As Early Warning Sign

- I heard about “edits” from a YouTube Video shared in a private Discord
- Jules Terpak: journalist, content creator and lay theorist
- Evolution of “fan edits” from celebrity fandoms to politics

Lay Researchers As Early Warning Sign

- I heard about “edits” from a YouTube Video shared in a private Discord
- Jules Terpak: journalist, content creator and lay theorist
- Evolution of “fan edits” from celebrity fandoms to politics
- A craft, hobby – with social feedback

Lay Researchers As Early Warning Sign

- I heard about “edits” from a YouTube Video shared in a private Discord
- Jules Terpak: journalist, content creator and lay theorist
- Evolution of “fan edits” from celebrity fandoms to politics
- A craft, hobby – with social feedback
- Supply of video a key input

Orthogonal to “Misinformation”

Orthogonal to “Misinformation”

- Previous social media modalities (text, static images) focused on facticity

Orthogonal to “Misinformation”

- Previous social media modalities (text, static images) focused on facticity
- Short-form “ edits” are designed to produce a compelling aesthetic experience

Orthogonal to “Misinformation”

- Previous social media modalities (text, static images) focused on facticity
- Short-form “ edits” are designed to produce a compelling aesthetic experience
- These “ edits” aren’t meant to depict reality but to offer a synthetic point of view

Orthogonal to “Misinformation”

- Previous social media modalities (text, static images) focused on facticity
- Short-form “ edits” are designed to produce a compelling aesthetic experience
- These “ edits” aren’t meant to depict reality but to offer a synthetic point of view
- We test whether these highly stylized videos can change voter perceptions

Thirst Trap Edits:

Thirst Trap Edits:

- Make politicians appear attractive

Types of Edits

Thirst Trap Edits:

- Make politicians appear attractive
- Soft video filters

Thirst Trap Edits:

- Make politicians appear attractive
- Soft video filters
- Often use younger footage

Thirst Trap Edits:

- Make politicians appear attractive
- Soft video filters
- Often use younger footage
- Show stereotypically attractive activities

Thirst Trap Edits:

- Make politicians appear attractive
- Soft video filters
- Often use younger footage
- Show stereotypically attractive activities
- Flirtatious/charming expressions

Types of Edits

Thirst Trap Edits:

- Make politicians appear attractive
- Soft video filters
- Often use younger footage
- Show stereotypically attractive activities
- Flirtatious/charming expressions

Badass Edits:

Types of Edits

Thirst Trap Edits:

- Make politicians appear attractive
- Soft video filters
- Often use younger footage
- Show stereotypically attractive activities
- Flirtatious/charming expressions

Badass Edits:

- Make politicians look intimidating/powerful

Types of Edits

Thirst Trap Edits:

- Make politicians appear attractive
- Soft video filters
- Often use younger footage
- Show stereotypically attractive activities
- Flirtatious/charming expressions

Badass Edits:

- Make politicians look intimidating/powerful
- Dark video filters

Types of Edits

Thirst Trap Edits:

- Make politicians appear attractive
- Soft video filters
- Often use younger footage
- Show stereotypically attractive activities
- Flirtatious/charming expressions

Badass Edits:

- Make politicians look intimidating/powerful
- Dark video filters
- Dramatic audio tracks

Types of Edits

Thirst Trap Edits:

- Make politicians appear attractive
- Soft video filters
- Often use younger footage
- Show stereotypically attractive activities
- Flirtatious/charming expressions

Badass Edits:

- Make politicians look intimidating/powerful
- Dark video filters
- Dramatic audio tracks
- Show politicians in formal settings

Types of Edits

Thirst Trap Edits:

- Make politicians appear attractive
- Soft video filters
- Often use younger footage
- Show stereotypically attractive activities
- Flirtatious/charming expressions

Badass Edits:

- Make politicians look intimidating/powerful
- Dark video filters
- Dramatic audio tracks
- Show politicians in formal settings
- Include patriotic/military imagery

Short-Form Video

- First platform: Vine (short-lived)

Short-Form Video

- First platform: Vine (short-lived)
- TikTok launched globally in 2018, followed by Instagram Reels (2020) and YouTube Shorts (2020)

- First platform: Vine (short-lived)
- TikTok launched globally in 2018, followed by Instagram Reels (2020) and YouTube Shorts (2020)
- COVID-19 accelerated consumption and production

Short-Form Video

- First platform: Vine (short-lived)
- TikTok launched globally in 2018, followed by Instagram Reels (2020) and YouTube Shorts (2020)
- COVID-19 accelerated consumption and production
- CapCut app (by ByteDance) was critical for democratizing video editing

Short-Form Video

- First platform: Vine (short-lived)
- TikTok launched globally in 2018, followed by Instagram Reels (2020) and YouTube Shorts (2020)
- COVID-19 accelerated consumption and production
- CapCut app (by ByteDance) was critical for democratizing video editing
- Second-most downloaded app in the US in 2023

Media Effects and Candidate Appearance

Media Effects and Candidate Appearance

- Significant literature on candidate appearance and electoral success

Media Effects and Candidate Appearance

- Significant literature on candidate appearance and electoral success
- Effects are larger for subjective voter evaluations

Media Effects and Candidate Appearance

- Significant literature on candidate appearance and electoral success
- Effects are larger for subjective voter evaluations
- Two distinct factors: facial competence and facial attractiveness

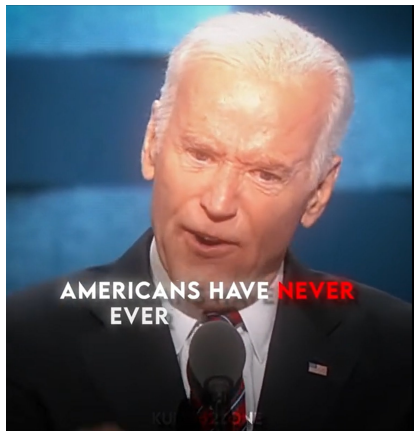
Media Effects and Candidate Appearance

- Significant literature on candidate appearance and electoral success
- Effects are larger for subjective voter evaluations
- Two distinct factors: facial competence and facial attractiveness
- Traditional research treats candidate appearance as fixed

Media Effects and Candidate Appearance

- Significant literature on candidate appearance and electoral success
- Effects are larger for subjective voter evaluations
- Two distinct factors: facial competence and facial attractiveness
- Traditional research treats candidate appearance as fixed
- Social media/CapCut erode control over politician appearance

Example Screenshots



Example Screenshots



(a) Trump Badass



(b) Trump Thirst Trap

Research Design

- 2,807 respondents recruited from Prolific

- 2,807 respondents recruited from Prolific
- Quota sampling to match US Census (gender, race, age)

- 2,807 respondents recruited from Prolific
- Quota sampling to match US Census (gender, race, age)
- Vetted sample of 2,303 after attention checks

- 2,807 respondents recruited from Prolific
- Quota sampling to match US Census (gender, race, age)
- Vetted sample of 2,303 after attention checks
- Experimental design testing effects of four edits:

- 2,807 respondents recruited from Prolific
- Quota sampling to match US Census (gender, race, age)
- Vetted sample of 2,303 after attention checks
- Experimental design testing effects of four edits:
 - Biden Thirst Trap

- 2,807 respondents recruited from Prolific
- Quota sampling to match US Census (gender, race, age)
- Vetted sample of 2,303 after attention checks
- Experimental design testing effects of four edits:
 - Biden Thirst Trap
 - Biden Badass

- 2,807 respondents recruited from Prolific
- Quota sampling to match US Census (gender, race, age)
- Vetted sample of 2,303 after attention checks
- Experimental design testing effects of four edits:
 - Biden Thirst Trap
 - Biden Badass
 - Trump Thirst Trap

- 2,807 respondents recruited from Prolific
- Quota sampling to match US Census (gender, race, age)
- Vetted sample of 2,303 after attention checks
- Experimental design testing effects of four edits:
 - Biden Thirst Trap
 - Biden Badass
 - Trump Thirst Trap
 - Trump Badass

Stimuli Selection

- Selected the "best" edit in each category using TikTok views

- Selected the "best" edit in each category using TikTok views
- Searched TikTok hashtag API for "biden edit" and "trump edit"

- Selected the "best" edit in each category using TikTok views
- Searched TikTok hashtag API for "biden edit" and "trump edit"
- Naturalistic selection strategy prioritizes external validity over control

- Selected the "best" edit in each category using TikTok views
- Searched TikTok hashtag API for "biden edit" and "trump edit"
- Naturalistic selection strategy prioritizes external validity over control
- Videos varied in length (23-52 seconds)

- Selected the "best" edit in each category using TikTok views
- Searched TikTok hashtag API for "biden edit" and "trump edit"
- Naturalistic selection strategy prioritizes external validity over control
- Videos varied in length (23-52 seconds)
- Tradeoff: Control vs. Edit Quality

Experimental Procedure

Experimental Procedure

- 50% Control / 50% Treatment split

Experimental Procedure

- 50% Control / 50% Treatment split
- Control group (n=1,139): watched three non-political edits

Experimental Procedure

- 50% Control / 50% Treatment split
- Control group (n=1,139): watched three non-political edits
 - Thirst trap edits of Ana de Armas and Cristiano Ronaldo

Experimental Procedure

- 50% Control / 50% Treatment split
- Control group (n=1,139): watched three non-political edits
 - Thirst trap edits of Ana de Armas and Cristiano Ronaldo
 - Badass edit of actors from 2000s comedy films

Experimental Procedure

- 50% Control / 50% Treatment split
- Control group (n=1,139): watched three non-political edits
 - Thirst trap edits of Ana de Armas and Cristiano Ronaldo
 - Badass edit of actors from 2000s comedy films
- Treatment group (n=1,164): watched three politician edits

Experimental Procedure

- 50% Control / 50% Treatment split
- Control group (n=1,139): watched three non-political edits
 - Thirst trap edits of Ana de Armas and Cristiano Ronaldo
 - Badass edit of actors from 2000s comedy films
- Treatment group (n=1,164): watched three politician edits
 - One Biden edit (randomized: thirst trap or badass)

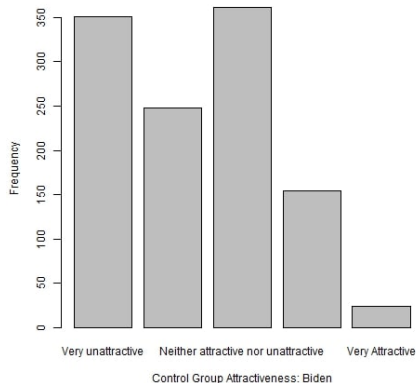
Experimental Procedure

- 50% Control / 50% Treatment split
- Control group (n=1,139): watched three non-political edits
 - Thirst trap edits of Ana de Armas and Cristiano Ronaldo
 - Badass edit of actors from 2000s comedy films
- Treatment group (n=1,164): watched three politician edits
 - One Biden edit (randomized: thirst trap or badass)
 - One Trump edit (randomized: thirst trap or badass)

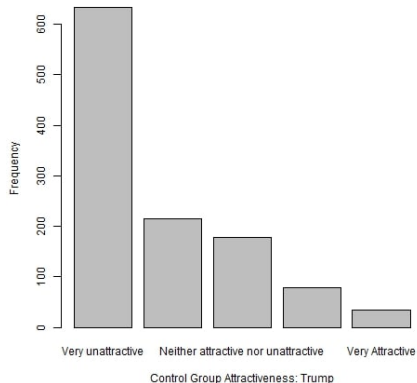
Experimental Procedure

- 50% Control / 50% Treatment split
- Control group (n=1,139): watched three non-political edits
 - Thirst trap edits of Ana de Armas and Cristiano Ronaldo
 - Badass edit of actors from 2000s comedy films
- Treatment group (n=1,164): watched three politician edits
 - One Biden edit (randomized: thirst trap or badass)
 - One Trump edit (randomized: thirst trap or badass)
 - One RFK edit (thirst trap only)

Descriptive Results: Attractiveness Ratings

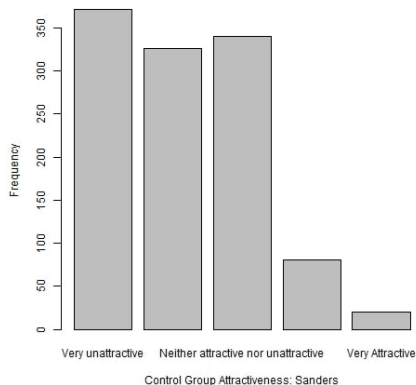


(a) Biden Attractiveness

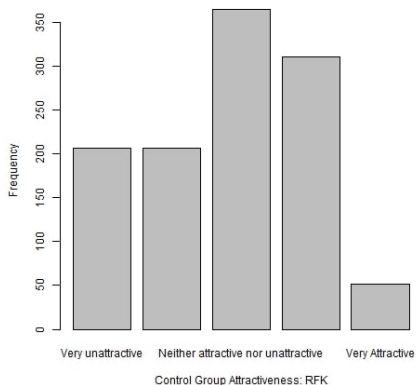


(b) Trump Attractiveness

Descriptive Results: Attractiveness Ratings



(a) Bernie Attractiveness



(b) RFK Attractiveness

Correlates of Candidate Attractiveness

Correlates of Candidate Attractiveness

- Age: Older respondents rated all politicians as more attractive

Correlates of Candidate Attractiveness

- Age: Older respondents rated all politicians as more attractive
- Gender: Men rated Trump and Biden as more attractive than women did

Correlates of Candidate Attractiveness

- Age: Older respondents rated all politicians as more attractive
- Gender: Men rated Trump and Biden as more attractive than women did
- Partisanship: Strong partisan effects (Republicans rated Trump higher, etc.)

Correlates of Candidate Attractiveness

- Age: Older respondents rated all politicians as more attractive
- Gender: Men rated Trump and Biden as more attractive than women did
- Partisanship: Strong partisan effects (Republicans rated Trump higher, etc.)
- TikTok usage: Frequent users rated all politicians as more attractive

Correlates of Candidate Attractiveness

- Age: Older respondents rated all politicians as more attractive
- Gender: Men rated Trump and Biden as more attractive than women did
- Partisanship: Strong partisan effects (Republicans rated Trump higher, etc.)
- TikTok usage: Frequent users rated all politicians as more attractive
- Internet usage: Negatively correlated with attractiveness ratings

Main Effects: Attractiveness

Treatment	Trump	Biden
Thirst Trap Edit	+0.201***	+0.354***
Badass Edit	+0.177***	+0.109**

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table: Effects on Candidate Attractiveness

Main Effects: Attractiveness

Treatment	Trump	Biden
Thirst Trap Edit	+0.201***	+0.354***
Badass Edit	+0.177***	+0.109**

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table: Effects on Candidate Attractiveness

- All four treatments significantly increased attractiveness ratings

Main Effects: Attractiveness

Treatment	Trump	Biden
Thirst Trap Edit	+0.201***	+0.354***
Badass Edit	+0.177***	+0.109**

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table: Effects on Candidate Attractiveness

- All four treatments significantly increased attractiveness ratings
- Thirst trap edits had larger effects than badass edits

Main Effects: Attractiveness

Treatment	Trump	Biden
Thirst Trap Edit	+0.201***	+0.354***
Badass Edit	+0.177***	+0.109**

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table: Effects on Candidate Attractiveness

- All four treatments significantly increased attractiveness ratings
- Thirst trap edits had larger effects than badass edits
- For Biden, thirst trap effect was 250% larger than badass effect

Main Effects: Favorability

Treatment	Trump	Biden
Thirst Trap Edit	+2.171*	+0.158 (n.s.)
Badass Edit	+3.114**	-0.221 (n.s.)

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table: Effects on Candidate Favorability (100-pt scale)

Main Effects: Favorability

Treatment	Trump	Biden
Thirst Trap Edit	+2.171*	+0.158 (n.s.)
Badass Edit	+3.114**	-0.221 (n.s.)

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table: Effects on Candidate Favorability (100-pt scale)

- Trump edits increased favorability (badass effect 50% larger)

Main Effects: Favorability

Treatment	Trump	Biden
Thirst Trap Edit	+2.171*	+0.158 (n.s.)
Badass Edit	+3.114**	-0.221 (n.s.)

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table: Effects on Candidate Favorability (100-pt scale)

- Trump edits increased favorability (badass effect 50% larger)
- Neither Biden edit had significant effects on favorability

Main Effects: Favorability

Treatment	Trump	Biden
Thirst Trap Edit	+2.171*	+0.158 (n.s.)
Badass Edit	+3.114**	-0.221 (n.s.)

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table: Effects on Candidate Favorability (100-pt scale)

- Trump edits increased favorability (badass effect 50% larger)
- Neither Biden edit had significant effects on favorability
- Possible explanation: Trump edits were higher quality

Effect Heterogeneity

Pre-registered hypotheses on heterogeneous effects:

Effect Heterogeneity

Pre-registered hypotheses on heterogeneous effects:

- Expected differences by:

Pre-registered hypotheses on heterogeneous effects:

- Expected differences by:
 - Respondent partisanship (for favorability)

Pre-registered hypotheses on heterogeneous effects:

- Expected differences by:
 - Respondent partisanship (for favorability)
 - Respondent age (for both outcomes)

Pre-registered hypotheses on heterogeneous effects:

- Expected differences by:
 - Respondent partisanship (for favorability)
 - Respondent age (for both outcomes)
 - TikTok use (for favorability)

Pre-registered hypotheses on heterogeneous effects:

- Expected differences by:
 - Respondent partisanship (for favorability)
 - Respondent age (for both outcomes)
 - TikTok use (for favorability)
 - Respondent gender (for attractiveness)

Pre-registered hypotheses on heterogeneous effects:

- Expected differences by:
 - Respondent partisanship (for favorability)
 - Respondent age (for both outcomes)
 - TikTok use (for favorability)
 - Respondent gender (for attractiveness)
- Found little consistent evidence for any of these interactions

Pre-registered hypotheses on heterogeneous effects:

- Expected differences by:
 - Respondent partisanship (for favorability)
 - Respondent age (for both outcomes)
 - TikTok use (for favorability)
 - Respondent gender (for attractiveness)
- Found little consistent evidence for any of these interactions
- Surprising null results for gender and partisanship

Discussion

- **Thirst trap edits:** Increased perceptions of politician attractiveness

- **Thirst trap edits:** Increased perceptions of politician attractiveness
- **Badass edits:** Improved favorability for Trump but not Biden

- **Thirst trap edits:** Increased perceptions of politician attractiveness
- **Badass edits:** Improved favorability for Trump but not Biden
- Effects comparable to professional TV ads (1.45 points vs. typically 1-2.6 points)

- **Thirst trap edits:** Increased perceptions of politician attractiveness
- **Badass edits:** Improved favorability for Trump but not Biden
- Effects comparable to professional TV ads (1.45 points vs. typically 1-2.6 points)
- Design tradeoff: Ecological validity vs. experimental control

- **Thirst trap edits:** Increased perceptions of politician attractiveness
- **Badass edits:** Improved favorability for Trump but not Biden
- Effects comparable to professional TV ads (1.45 points vs. typically 1-2.6 points)
- Design tradeoff: Ecological validity vs. experimental control
- Stimuli quality may explain differential effects for Trump vs. Biden

Broader Implications

- Gender and race dimensions: Harris nomination heightens importance

Broader Implications

- Gender and race dimensions: Harris nomination heightens importance
- Women and people of color face greater scrutiny regarding appearance

Broader Implications

- Gender and race dimensions: Harris nomination heightens importance
- Women and people of color face greater scrutiny regarding appearance
- Appearance-based effects differ by candidate gender

Broader Implications

- Gender and race dimensions: Harris nomination heightens importance
- Women and people of color face greater scrutiny regarding appearance
- Appearance-based effects differ by candidate gender
- TikTok edits represent a shift from facticity to aesthetics

Broader Implications

- Gender and race dimensions: Harris nomination heightens importance
- Women and people of color face greater scrutiny regarding appearance
- Appearance-based effects differ by candidate gender
- TikTok edits represent a shift from facticity to aesthetics
- Democratized video editing technology affects political communication

Conclusion

- TikTok edits can change viewers' evaluations of target politicians

Conclusion

- TikTok edits can change viewers' evaluations of target politicians
- Effects are larger for physical attractiveness than favorability

Conclusion

- TikTok edits can change viewers' evaluations of target politicians
- Effects are larger for physical attractiveness than favorability
- But in the context of TikTok, these outcomes are conceptually bundled

Conclusion

- TikTok edits can change viewers' evaluations of target politicians
- Effects are larger for physical attractiveness than favorability
- But in the context of TikTok, these outcomes are conceptually bundled
- Physical attractiveness more important in the post-textual era

- TikTok edits can change viewers' evaluations of target politicians
- Effects are larger for physical attractiveness than favorability
- But in the context of TikTok, these outcomes are conceptually bundled
- Physical attractiveness more important in the post-textual era
- Image manipulation a post-rational form of persuasion

Post-Rational Persuasion



Gm.



Thank You

Questions?