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CULTURAL BAIT: KWAI'S COLD START ALGORITHM AND THE INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF BRAZILIAN CULTURE

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Introduction

Short-video platforms have become central to digital cultural production, shaping how local cultures are represented and monetized (Liu, 2020; Lin & de Kloet, 2019). Existing research often uses Bucher's algorithmic imaginary to examine user perceptions of algorithmic agency or to show how algorithmic logic reorganizes visibility regimes (Bucher, 2012, 2016, 2017; Arriagada & Ibáñez, 2020; Geboers & Van De Wiele, 2020; Jurno & D'Andréa, 2017; Karhawi, 2024; Araujo & Karhawi, 2024; Strecker, 2024). Work on Kuaishou tracks visibility among "invisible classes" and rural labor, as well as broader cultural platformization (Liu, 2020; Tan et al., 2020; Xi, 2024; Zhou & Liu, 2021; Lin & de Kloet, 2019). Yet these studies largely reduce the algorithmic imaginary to user perceptions, overlooking infrastructural and computational constraints on cultural production.

A second strand uses audits and platform observability, treating rankings and recommendations as outputs to infer how platforms allocate visibility over time (Jokubauskaitė et al., 2023; Matamoros-Fernández et al., 2021; Rieder et al., 2018; Rieder & Hofmann, 2020). This work documents temporal dynamics and winner effects

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but, because it studies systems in operation, is less suited to explore how platforms construct cultural preferences for new users at first exposure.

This paper examines Kwai's cold-start phase, when the recommender operates without prior user data and shapes initial visibility by selecting and amplifying culturally recognizable content. Rather than user perceptions, collective productions, or audits of ranking and recommendation dynamics, we focus on the cultural imaginary assembled by recommendation algorithms at first exposure, when platforms begin to infer unknown communities. We ask which cultural assumptions the algorithm encodes and how it uses them to attract, engage, and retain new users. We propose cultural bait to name platforms' strategic curation, reduction, and amplification of culturally recognizable content as an epistemic and computational tool to capture the attention of unknown users.

Kwai Cold Start: Early Imaginaries Based on Computational Efficiency and Marketing Strategies

Since entering Brazil in 2019, Kwai has grown rapidly: Brazil now accounts for 80% of its foreign revenue, 50% of its non-Chinese daily users, and about 60 million active users (Flach, 2024). Targeting emerging economies and working-class audiences, Kwai invests 15% of its Brazilian budget to compensate 400,000 of 2.1 million creators by content performance, a monetization model that helps retain marginalized audiences overlooked by dominant platforms (Deck & Marasciulo, 2022).

This strategy extends to Kwai's recommendation algorithm as well. Unlike TikTok's real-time micro-interaction tracking with deep learning models, Kwai employs a cache-aware reinforcement learning (CARL) framework (Chen et al., 2024) that prioritizes preloaded cached content over dynamic personalization during cold start.

The cold start phase is relevant because, without personalized data, the platform relies on pre-assumed cultural cues and serves new users a default set of global and regional "top hits" that provide an entry point into the content ecosystem and a visibility hierarchy for circulation within optimized audience niches. Videos that perform well in this window are cached and amplified; those that don't are deprioritized and removed.

Relying on cached content during cold start enhances computational efficiency by reducing real-time inference and latency. This stabilizes recommendations in weaker infrastructures and reinforces cultural prioritization, amplifying content aligned with relevant engagement patterns rather than relying on individual preference modeling.

Study Design

We adopted an exploratory design with four simulations, balanced by gender and location, to assess invariance in early recommendations. Four anonymous users were simulated using a Python JSON-scraping script that accessed publicly available web client endpoints. Sessions were genuine cold starts (no cookies, logins, prior history,

VPN, or IP masking), with no simulated viewing or interactions (no likes, follows, shares, comments, or manual skips), and pagination was used only to retrieve initial recommendation batches.

We collected $\approx 1,000$ recommendations per user at random intervals in December 2024. For each recommended video, we captured the main thumbnail returned in the JSON payload as the pre-click visual; audio and captions were not analyzed. Users B and C used the same Wi-Fi to observe possible IP-level clustering.

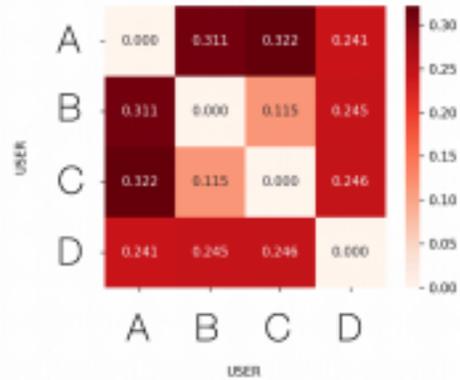
We processed $\approx 4,000$ thumbnails with Smart Imagery Mapping (SIM; Bitencourt, 2023), embedding them with a Vision Transformer (ViT) aligned with Kwai/Kuaishou's transformer-based multimodal architecture (QUARM; Luo et al., 2024), reducing embeddings via PCA and UMAP, and clustering with HDBSCAN, with hyperparameters tuned by grid search and internal cross-validation using Silhouette and Davies–Bouldin indices (Hotelling, 1933; McInnes et al., 2020; Campello et al., 2013; Rousseeuw, 1987; Davies & Bouldin, 1979).

To compare distributions across users, we used the Jensen–Shannon divergence (Lin, 1991) and the Chi-square test (Pearson, 1900). Clusters were classified as homogeneous transversal topics (present across all users with no significant variation, $p > 0.05$), non-homogeneous transversal topics (present across users but in varying proportions), or niche clusters (appearing only for specific profiles). Labels were assigned after qualitative rounds and author consensus. All data came from public JSON sources; no personally identifiable information was collected, and analyses used only aggregate artifacts such as post labels and image embeddings.

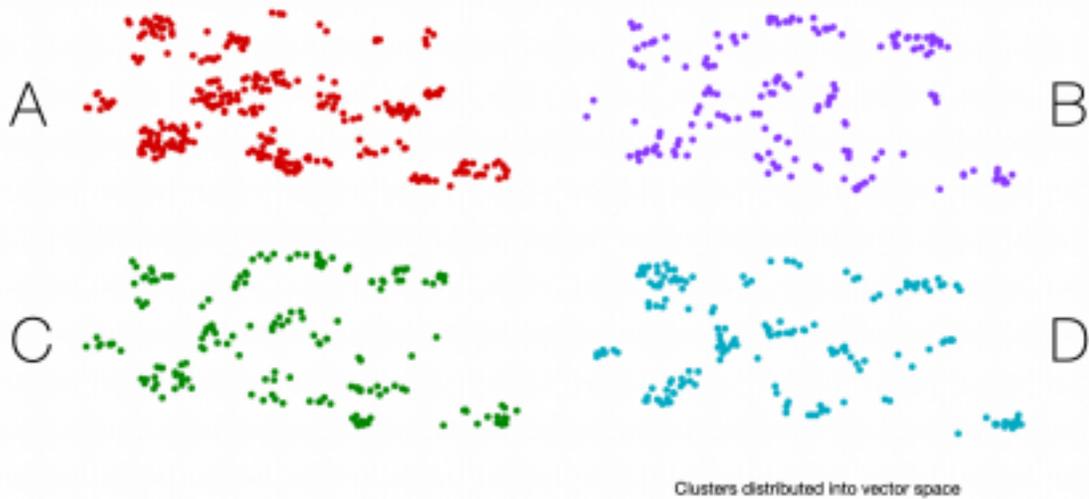
Findings

During the cold start phase, Jensen–Shannon distances among the four users' clusters are very low, indicating very similar topic distributions across users (Fig. 1).

Heterogeneous distribution of recommendation topics among users



Jensen-Shannon Distance Matrix Between Users (Pairwise)



Clusters distributed into vector space

Fig. 1 Distribution of recommendation topics among users.

Transversal topics account for 96.8% of the recommended content. Among these, homogeneous transversal topics—which represent 56% of all clusters—comprise 54.62% of Kwai’s cold start content, with Series/Telenovelas (12.65%), Football Culture (10.32%), Scripted Drama (7.84%), Suggestive Humor (6.88%), and Relationship Clips (5.23%) standing out (Fig. 2).

Most representative images of top transversal topics based on similarity to the cluster centroid's mean embedding



Fig. 2 Key recommended transversal topics.

Heterogeneous transversal topics—38% of all clusters—highlight Misinformation Content (9.49%), Latin Motivational (9.35%), Rural Humor (8.25%), and Violence ClickBaits (5.91%). Niche topics (6% of all clusters) focus solely on first-person shooter (FPS) games.

Homogeneous clusters mark the standard content base shared by all users, whereas heterogeneous clusters signal controlled adjustments that calibrate early exposure. Even with four test profiles, near-zero Jensen–Shannon distances indicate little between-user difference, suggesting these patterns are system-level rather than user-driven and signaling an algorithmic imaginary that precedes the construction of cultural patterns based on user-specific learning.

Results indicate that the cold start follows an exposure formula that primarily relies on a homogeneous content base aligned with international stereotypes of Brazilian culture (telenovelas, football, sensualization), combined with short dramas imported from China and adapted for Brazil as a user-retention strategy¹, while more controversial heterogeneous content is used to test user acceptability.

Cultural Bait: Algorithmic Speculation and the Scalable Instrumentalization of Culture

¹ see:

<https://www.terra.com.br/byte/mininovelas-sao-aposta-do-kwai-para-prender-usuarios,5acbf6fef899acd1983e0d370cc6e2504xb3wyjf.html>

Our analysis of Kwai’s Brazilian cold-start strategy extends work on algorithmic cultural

production (Liu, 2020; Zhou & Liu, 2021; Lin & de Kloet, 2019) by foregrounding what we call “Cultural Bait”: modular and adaptive dispositive that leverage caricatured cultural tropes (e.g., football, telenovelas) as economical, computationally lightweight heuristics; content solid enough to resonate immediately yet flexible enough to be repurposed across markets.

The “Cultural Bait” exposes the logic of Kwai’s algorithmic epistemologies, which, from the first user encounter, intertwine with technical efficiency, market-driven choices, and geopolitical strategy, positioning culture as a resource for infrastructural and economic expansion. It reduces cultural expressions to latent, infrastructurally optimized modules that balance familiarity and modularity to know unknown communities and commodify engagement. Cold start is thus neither neutral nor random but embedded in Kwai’s socio-technical logic, where bandwidth constraints and low-end devices shape how culture is decomposed, repackaged, and redistributed.

Although Kwai’s algorithm is not generalizable across platforms, as each encodes a distinct political algebra and produces specific cultural distortions, examining its CARL framework illuminates an epistemological shift in which algebra, latent spaces, and discrete representations codify cultural meaning. Media studies often retreat into critiquing algorithms as black boxes or proprietary systems. Even if they are institutionally and operationally opaque, their mathematics and logic remain universal, readable, and open to interdisciplinary engagement.

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