

TikTok's Influence on the Pakistani Audience: A Critical Discourse Analysis Using Fairclough's Model

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Received: 17-11-2025

Revised: 27-11-2025

Accepted: 13-12-2025

Published: 27-12-2025

ABSTRACT

Tik Tok has become among the most powerful social media channels in Pakistan, transforming communication trends, cultural representation and expression in the public, especially on the younger generation. In this work, the impact of TikTok on Pakistani society is critically analysed through the prism of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by Norman Fairclough, and conceptualised as the space of discursive production and negotiation of meaning, identity and power relations. The analysis of the selected Tik Tok videos, created by popular Pakistani creators, cultural performers, social influencers, and institutional media accounts is discussed through the three-dimensional model suggested by Fairclough to analyze the text, discursive, and social practices in Tik Tok (Fairclough, 2016). At the textual level, the analysis is based on linguistic, visual, and semiotic elements like the selection of language, symbolism, music, and expression of affection. The level of discursive practice examines how contents are produced, how algorithmic circulation operates, how audiences interact with them, and how they are visible through the platforms. At the social practice segment, the study contextualises the Tik Tok discussion to a wider socio-cultural, religious, political as well as economic environments in Pakistan. Results show that Tik Tok has a major influence in the process of forming cultural identities, making performative humanitarianism a normal practice, making political communication a short-form spectacle, and commodifying culture and emotion in the age of digital capitalism. Although the platform enables greater exposure to the marginalised voices and other forms of cultural expression, it also recreates the most dominant ideologies by using the algorithmic power and market-based orientations. The paper concludes that Tik Tok operates as an influential discursive institution in modern Pakistan and affects social norms, value system, and forms of social interactions. The study is an addition to the critical media studies, as it shows how CDA theory by Fairclough can be applied to short-form online media in postcolonial societies.

Keywords: *Tik Tok, Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA by Fairclough, Pakistani Society, Discourse on Social Media, Digital Culture, Power and Ideology, Construction of Identity, Algorithms Media, Short-Form Video Platforms.*

INTRODUCTION

Over the past ten years, social media networks have been revolutionizing how people interact, form identities, information digestion, and engage in societal conversations (Sevignani, 2022). These platforms, in particular, have resulted in Tik Tok becoming one of the most powerful digital platforms in the world, and in the most developing countries, where internet usage via mobile platforms is fast growing (Zayani and Khalil, 2025). Khurshid (2025) emphasizes that, In Pakistan, TikTok has been converted to something bigger than a place of entertainment; it has now become a robust discursive space where cultural meanings, social values, ideologies and power relations are always produced, negotiated and contested. The enormous popularity of the platform among Pakistani audiences makes it an important subject of scholarly investigation, especially in the context of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Pakistan is a distinct socio-cultural setting to analyze the role of TikTok considering the linguistic population, the youth-dominated population, the digital economy development, and the negotiation between the tradition and modernity (Anwar, 2025). Having millions of active users in cities and the countryside, Tik Tok has taken over the daily routine and influenced not only the leisure activities but the use of language, fashion trends, political conscience, religious manifestation, and economic involvement. The short-video format, the algorithmic visibility, and the participatory culture of the platform have helped an average user to become a strong digital presence, also known as TikTokers or content creators, whose popularity matches that of the traditional media personality.

The emergence of local influencers in Pakistan who have large followings and take center stage in affecting the perceptions and behavior of the audience is one of the most notable trends of Tik Tok in the country. Single personalities like Jannat Mirza (@jannatmirza) who has more than 25.7 million followers are a testimony to how the Tik Tok platform has helped internet celebrities to emerge and dominate the fashion, lifestyle, and youth identity. The contents of her work, including visual aesthetics, self-branding, and well-styled performances, are representative of larger discourses of femininity, aspiration, and Pakistani womanhood of modernity. In the framework of Fairclough, one can perceive such content as a textual, semiotic practice that is enrolled in more broad socio-cultural ideologies of beauty, success and visibility.

Likewise, another discursive path on Tik Tok is represented by such creators as Zulqarnain Sikandar (ch.zulqarnain25), who has about 17.9 million followers. His themes are usually humorous, relationship-based, and daily social situations and he is very close to the hearts of the Pakistani youth. The popularity of Zulqarnain shows that TikTok allows building vernacular celebrity whereby creators are able to gain legitimacy and authority not through traditional media institutions but through the algorithmic circuits and audiences. In CDA terms, the change disrupts fonts of old media power, and reassigns the power of discursivity to digitally mediated persons.

The impact of TikTok in Pakistan is not only on such an individual scale but also on family-focused and lifestyle content such as in the case of Mehak Malik Official (@mehakmalikofficial578). Having 14.8 million followers, Mehak Malik considers herself a professional stage actress and family vlogger. Her content previews domestic life, emotional attachment, and cultural values, and at the same time, being involved in the commercial logic of social media. This is important since such representations merge conventional family values with the new digital self-presentation showing how TikTok becomes a place where cultural continuity and change co-exist. The ideas by Fairclough of discourse as a form of social practice are not the least applicable in this case, since these videos reproduce and implicitly restructure the normative notions of family, gender roles, and respectability.

The TikTok Pakistani ecosystem is also dominated by comedy and satire. Such accounts as Phoollu ki Vines (followed by 10.9 million users) utilise humour, exaggeration, and parody to comment on social realities. The usage of comedy TikTokers is an opportunity to rely on the humour grounded in classes, regional accents, and social stereotypes that may challenge and support the status quo in power relations. Such content may be studied using the CDA as a discursive practice that entertains audiences and positions them ideologically, making some social assumptions normal and marginalizing others.

Another genre that is influential on Pakistani TikTok is music and performance. Sid Mr. Rapper (@sidmr.rapper4), his following is 15.1 million, and the engagement rate is also quite high, which is the aspect that illustrates the impact of alternative music culture and youthful expression on the platform. His recognition of himself as an “OG creator of the year underlines the way of how Tik Tok supports the artistic power of new positions beyond the music industries. These performances are not necessarily artistic performances, but discursive performances that are resistance, identity, self-assertion in a competitive digital economy.

The TikTok has also found space with the marginalised identities and regional representation. Examples of makers like Naseer Baloch (@naseer_baloch_37), who have 13.3 million users, show how Tik Tok allows voices of underrepresented areas to have national attention. Such creators disrupt dominant urban narratives through humour, storytelling and cultural allusions, and add to a more pluralistic digital conversation. The interest in discourse and power brought by Fairclough is significant in the analysis of whether these representations actually challenge the mainstream ideologies or are assimilated into the mainstream entertainment systems.

The prevalence of Tik Tok in Pakistan can be applied to the distribution of news and information as well, which transfers the line of demarcation between traditional journalism and social media. The official page of ARY News (ARYnews.official) with 10.9 million subscribers shows the way the institution of traditional media has modified to the format of Tik Tok to remain relevant among younger age groups. The introduction of news organisations on Tik Tok is an indicator of a discursive transformation of the manner in which political and social information are packaged in placing emphasis on brevity, emotion and visual influence. Such change provokes serious questions regarding the agenda-setting, sensationalism and simplification of the complicated problems-the issues which are the main topics of critical discourse analysis.

As the creators with a lifestyle and fashion focus, like Dolly (@dollyofficiall) with 15.6 million followers and a fairly high engagement rate, also demonstrate, TikTok is influencing the consumer culture. Such creators, through the beauty routines, the displays of fashion, and the images of the aspiration, engage in reproduction of the ideologies of capitalism and consumption-driven identities. The framework suggested by Fairclough enables examining the manner in which these ostensibly apolitical texts are integrated into larger socio-economic frameworks that enhance the processes of commodification and self-branding.

One more bright example of entrepreneurial orientation of the Tik Tok culture in Pakistan is Ali Jutt (@ali._jutt900) with 12.4 million subscribers. He tends to integrate humour, masculinity and digital marketing in his content as Tik Tok has become a place of monetisation, paid promotions and influencer management. This commercialisation brings into the focus the way in which the discourse about TikTok is being more and more influenced by the market forces, which agrees with Fairclough in that modern discourse is being seamlessly integrated with the neoliberal economic practices.

Overall, these creators show that TikTok in Pakistan is a multidimensional discursive space, where entertainment, ideology, commerce, identity and power collide. The algorithmic form of the platform puts emphasis on visibility, engagement and virality and, thus, determines what discourses become dominant and which ones stay peripheral. This discriminatory amplification is consistent with the idea of Fairclough that discourse is not a neutral process, but it is shaped by the mechanism and social order that puts certain voices ahead of others.

Although Tik Tok has become the most popular, there is a lack of scholarly studies on the platform in the Pakistani context, specifically the ones that include Critical Discourse Analysis in a systematic way. A lot of the currently available studies are dedicated to psychological impacts, addiction, or some moral issues without paying much attention to the underlying ideological mechanisms within TikTok discourses. The present study aims to fill this gap by applying the three-dimensional model suggested by Fairclough to explore how Tik Tok texts, production practices and social contexts interact to create the perceptions and social realities among the audience in Pakistan.

This study will transcend superficial understanding of TikTok as entertainment by foregrounding the well-known Pakistani TikTokers and locating their work within the context of more extensive discursive and social actions. In its place, it theorises Tik Tok as a strong cultural institution, which is involved in the

process of creating meaning, identity and power within the modern Pakistani society. In the concept of Fairclough, CDA is a key to both critically and properly work with the increasing power of TikTok, and to identify its contribution to the formation of a digital public sphere in Pakistan.

METHODOLOGY: FAIRCLOUGH'S CDA FRAMEWORK

The current paper uses the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by Norman Fairclough as its key methodology to investigate the effects of Tik Tok on Pakistani users (Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough, 2010). CDA is especially suitable to use this study since it does not perceive language and semiotic practices as a neutral and universal communication tool, but as social practice, which is intertwined with the relations of power, ideology, and culture (KhosraviNik, 2014). The model of Fairclough makes it possible to analyse TikTok in a multidimensional way linking micro-level textual features to larger discursive processes and macro-level social structures.

In his conceptualisation of discourse, Fairclough views discourse as acting at three analytically interlinked levels, which include text, discursive practice and social practice. These levels are never analysed independently, but rather, they are analysed relative to each other so as to get insights on how meanings are created, reproduced, and normalized in society.

Textual Analysis (Micro Level)

At the textual level, the current study is concerned with linguistic and semiotic characteristics of TikTok content of leading Pakistani Tik Tok creators. It involves the study of the spoken words, captions, hashtags, emojis, background music, visual aesthetics, gestures, and editing styles. The emphasis is put on code-switching between Urdu and English, informal ways of speaking, slang, and symbolic representations that help with the meaning-making.

The textual analysis is the way creators form their identities, feelings, and social statuses using short-form videos. As illustration, humour, repetition, exaggeration, and visual performance are examined as discursive elements that attract people and support some ideologies in the gender, class, fame, and success. Through these micro-level aspects, the paper uncovers the manner in which apparently straightforward entertainment content bears ideological implications and socialises certain social values.

Discursive Practice (Meso Level)

The discursive practice level looks at the production, distribution, and consumption of Tik Tok content in the digital ecosystem of the platform. It will involve the examination of the processes of content creation, the culture of influencers, the engagement with the audience in the form of likes, shares, and comments, and how the TikTok algorithm is predetermined in the formation of visibility and popularity.

In this level, the article regards Tik Tok as a mediated algorithmical space where discourses are prioritised or sidelined in accordance with a measure of engagement. Reproduction of trends, challenges, and viral format is examined in order to comprehend the ways the meanings circulate and establish as dominant in Pakistani Tik Tok culture. Also, comment sections are analyzed in order to investigate how the audience interprets, accepts, resists, or negotiates discourses provided in videos.

In this level, the operation of power is shown to be not only through creators but also through the platform structures that dictate what content can be exposed to broader audiences.

Social Practice (Macro Level)

The social practice level places the discourse of TikTok in a wider socio-cultural, economic and ideological space of the Pakistani society. This discussion examines the intersection of TikTok discourses with the following issues: youth culture, gender norms, consumerism, morality, regional identity, and digital capitalism.

At this stage, TikTok is discussed as a cultural institution that is a reflection and transformation of social reality. Debates about modernity and tradition, the visibility of marginalised groups and commodification of identity are associated with discourses circulating on Tik Tok and wider societal discourses. The method used by Fairclough allows the research to show how TikTok is involved in the reproduction of the dominant ideologies and at the same time allows other discourses and resistant ones to emerge.

Textual Level: Content and Semiotics

At the textual level, the affordances of TikTok (audio, video, hashtags captions) fall under hybrid communicative structures that are an integration of entertainment and information.

- **Code-mixing and linguistic innovation:** Studies show that Tik Tok use has affected the Urdu-English code mixing among the Pakistani youths with its users having the ability to creatively mix languages in captions and speech affecting the language and identity and daily communication.
- **Hashtag cultures and topic framing:** Localised hashtags such as #StudyTok, #FoodTok and Fitness Tok are evidence of how Tik Tok influences thematic discourse by trending and directing viewers towards specific areas of knowledge, lifestyle and consumer behaviour trends.

Such textual features can be used to quicken communication and define social behaviours, as well as language appropriations or following a trend.

DATA DESCRIPTION AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

This section includes the main data to be analyzed and implements the three-dimensional model of CDA by Fairclough on the Tik Tok videos that gained the most popularity created by famous Pakistani content creators. The videos chosen are a variety of discursive areas, such as culture, humanitarianism, news media, and seasonal celebration. The information is selectively sampled to present the operation of TikTok as a multidimensional discursive space within Pakistani society.

Data Description / Base Transcription

Video 1: Naseer Baloch (@naseer_baloch_37)

Content Description:

In the video, Naseer Baloch performs a traditional Balochi song. He wears Balochi traditional clothes, carries musical instruments and also sings in a culturally symbolic environment. There is no long verbal communication; the major means of expression is music, dress, gesture and visual signs.

Implied Transcription (Semiotic):

- Traditional music playing in the background

- Performer wearing Balochi cultural dress
- Use of indigenous musical instruments
- Emphasis on rhythm, posture, and cultural expression

Video 2: Sid Mr. Rapper (@sidmr.rapper4)

Content Description:

Sid Mr. Rapper is depicted in welfare activities where he is assisting those who are hit by floods. The video contains the scenes of giving out aid and communicating with victims.

Caption / Textual Data:

*“Allah Pak humary sab behan bhaiyu ko salamat rakhy Ameen □
#sidmrrapper #foryou #foryoupage”*

Video 3: ARY News (@arynews.official)

Content Description:

A short-form news clip presenting a statement by **Maulana Fazlur Rehman**.

Quoted Text (Headline-style):

“سال کے جوانوں کی شادیاں کراؤں گا 10”

The video is delivered in a rapid, sensationalised news format typical of TikTok journalism.

Video 4: Dolly (@dollyofficiall)

Content Description:

Dolly is holding a **kite** and directly addressing viewers.

Spoken/Textual Data:

“Are you guys excited for Basant?”

Hashtags:

#dolly #foryou #trending

Textual Analysis (Micro Level)

On the textual level, the meaning is created by use of language, visuals, symbols, and affect in an interplay.

In the video by Naseer Baloch, the use of discourse is mainly non-verbal. The cultural identity is expressed by means of dress, music and body performance rather than language. This semiotic technique preempts the pride in ethnically and regionally oriented identity, by making the Balochi culture visible and worthy of a national online space.

The video by the religious rapper Sid Mr. Rapper applies religious terms (Allah Pak, Ameen), emotional emojis (all: 2), to create the impact of sympathy and moral rightness. The caption contextualizes the welfare

work as a religious and humanitarian responsibility and appeals to the people through Islamic discourse in order to make it more emotional and easy to relate to.

ARY News utilizes headline compression, which is common in the news discourse of Tik Tok. The scandalous quote is taken out of context, being based on shock, and interest to gain traction. Language in this case is authoritative but sensational, which puts an emphasis on immediacy rather than nuance.

The video created by Dolly consists of direct address (Are you guys excited?), informal English, emojis, and seasonal imagery (kite) to build the friendship and expectancy. The kite is a culturally encoded image of Basant, euphoria and delight.

Discursive Practice (Meso Level)

On the discursive practice level, these videos depict the process of creation, distribution, and consumption of TikTok content.

The performance of Naseer Baloch is based on cultural reproduction whereby some traditional practices are repackaged in a digital format that can be circulated in an algorithm manner. The site allows the regional culture to access national and international communities, when it is created in the format of being attractive and amusing.

The welfare video by Sid Mr. Rapper is an example of performative humanitarianism in which charity getting is mediated via social media exposure. The inclusion of hashtags (#foryou, #foryoupage) means that they are strategically using the TikTok algorithm to reach as many people as possible and be morally recognised.

ARY News is a transcription of traditional journalism to the attention economy of Tik Tok. Complicated political speech turns into soundbites, indicating how institutionalized media renegotiates power in platform-based limitations.

The Basant-related video shot by Dolly suggests trend-like involvement, in which creators make the content relevant and interesting to the industry through alignment with the season or cultural events.

Social Practice (Macro Level)

These Tik Tok videos are a reflection and an influence on the wider Pakistani societal framework at the social practice level.

The video by Naseer Baloch opposes the culture of marginalisation by claiming Balochi identity in the mainstream digital culture. It opposes the erasure of culture and at the same time commodifies tradition and offers it online to consume.

The welfare discourse by Sid Mr. Rapper is in line with the wider religious and moral ideologies, which adds to the point that social responsibility and faith are inseparable. Nevertheless, it is also indicative of neoliberal inclinations wherein the social welfare turns to be individualised as opposed to being institutional.

The contents of ARY News point at mediatization of politics, the process in which political power is turned into spectacle to be consumed. This informs the people about political leaders in a sensational manner and not in a critical way.

The Basant video of Dolly shows that there is a conflict between the cultural revelation and control because Basant is a controversial festival in Pakistan. The video normalises happiness and nostalgia and avoids political or legal issues about the festival.

Summary

These TikTok videos reveal how TikTok discourse in Pakistan functions in the cultural, religious, political, and entertainment arenas through the CDA framework created by Fairclough. Tik Tok becomes a discursive location that enacts identities, normalises ideologies and power relations to be negotiated in a subtle manner. The discussion proves that the content that can be observed in Tik Tok, however informal and entertaining it may seem, is highly intertwined with larger social practices and ideological frameworks.

SOCIAL PRACTICES: BROADER SOCIETAL IMPACT

At the social practice level, the Critical Discourse Analysis by Fairclough puts discourses in the context of the society, its culture, ideological, and power relations and institutional norms (Fairclough, 2023). This level explores how the discourse of TikTok not only mirrors the current state of affairs in Pakistan but also changes it. The analyzed Tik Tok videos as the cultural performance, humanitarian action, political news and celebration of the season demonstrate the way Tik Tok is a strong social institution that creates collective meanings and daily practices.

Cultural Identity and Representation

The Naseer Baloch TikTok video where a traditional Balochi song is performed in local costumes with musical instruments in the background serves as an excellent example of Tik Tok and its contribution to the re-articulation of local and ethnic identity. Traditionally, the Balochi culture was not represented in the mainstream Pakistani media. Marginalised identities can be seen more than ever before, through Tik Tok. The platform will help spread cultural expressions across regional borders and will give the audiences in Pakistan an opportunity to experience the ethnic traditions.

This representation contests the hierarchies of cultures that favor the dominant lingual and ethnic communities, in the social practice viewpoint. But it is also a manifestation of commodification of culture because tradition is stylised and consumed online. TikTok is therefore conceived as a territory of cultural maintenance and commercial prominence to portray the notion that discourse is influenced by ideological as well as economical streams put forward by Fairclough.

Religion, Morality, and Humanitarian Discourse

The video by Sid Mr. Rapper, which shows the welfare activities of those affected by this flood and has a religious caption invoking Allah and prayer, is a good example of how the religious discourse is a key social practice in the Pakistani Tik Tok culture. The application of Islamic lexis (Allah Pak, Ameen) positions humanitarian action as a religious duty as well as moral action and not a matter of civic duty.

This discussion can be followed in the context of larger social standards in Pakistan where charity is usually personalised and religious-oriented. Tik Tok enhances this ideology by favoring emotionally colored and morally nuanced content with exposure and attention. On the one hand, this kind of talk may enhance the idea of empathy and solidarity; on the other, it hides the structural issues of state accountability, disaster management, and institutional responsibility. The framework developed by Fairclough shows how the discourse makes individual charity a way to solve the crises of the system and supports the neoliberal tendencies where the social welfare is privatised and personalised.

Media, Power, and Political Communication

The ARY News TikTok video, which delivers a dramatic political statement in the form of a short video, is indicative of how the politics is changing according to the media logics of the platform. Brevity, provocation and virality take the place of traditional news values like context, depth and analytical balance. This transformation transforms the construction and experience of political power among audiences.

This corresponds to the mediatization at the social practice level, in which political actors and institutions are now accommodating the attention economy of Tik Tok. There is performativity, fragmentation, and emotionality in political discourse. Political involvement with the audience is mediated by spectacle as opposed to deliberation, which brings up the issues of misinformation, oversimplification, and emotional appeal. According to Fairclough CDA, institutional power adapts to the structures of platform but ideologically holds its ground with selective framing.

Leisure, Nostalgia, and Cultural Contestation

Tik Tok influences the formation of the collective memory and cultural nostalgia as the video by Dolly asking people to share their excitement about Basant whilst holding a kite symbolizes the process. One of the popular festivals in the past, Basant is still a socially and politically debated festival in Pakistan. By appealing to Basant but leaving out the controversies, the video legitimizes celebration and joy without discussing it on an institutional level.

This selective visualisation is an indication of how TikTok allows the depoliticisation of culture whereby disputed traditions are made to be aesthetic and entertaining. The platform focuses on affective instead of critical reflection which promotes spectacle as a way of consuming culture. In a social practice way, this solidifies a larger shift in which historical and political contexts are lost in the digital entertainment options when cultural practices are involved.

Youth Socialisation and Identity Formation

In all of the four videos, one of the main places of youth socialisation turns out to be Tik Tok. The platform norms provide young people with the knowledge of how to articulate identity, morality, culture, and belonging by being exposed to these norms repeatedly. The values of cultural pride (Naseer Baloch), moral virtue (Sid Mr. Rapper), political awareness (ARY News), and leisure identity (Dolly) are all useful in forming the perception of the youths of what is valuable and visible in the society.

The idea of normalisation by Fairclough is very applicable in this case. Repetition and algorithmic reinforcement are some of the ways that predetermine acceptance of certain discourses such as religious morality, cultural performance, sensational politics and trend based leisure. Tik Tok is therefore a formal education environment whereby social values are acquired unofficially as opposed to in school.

Power, Algorithmic Visibility, and Ideology

Tik Tok has a profound influence on society at the macro level, which is closely linked to the issue of algorithmic power. The platform does not adhere to democratic values but to measures of engagement, including the likes, shares, and watch time. Emotional, visually appealing, or even moral discourses take precedence, whereas any complex or critical ones are peripheral.

This system defines ideological supremacy whereby it favors some modes of perception of the world. When cultural identity is present in visual form, then that is the basis of the festival, when cultural identity is

present in performance form, then that is the basis of the charity, when cultural identity is present in the form of politics then that is the basis of the sensationality and when cultural identity is present in the form of entertainment then that is the basis of the entertainment. The CDA by Fairclough reveals the functioning of the power mentioned in a subtle way and it appears as neutral technology when in fact it is creating social consciousness.

Digital Inequality and Representation

Although Tik Tok is seemingly a welcoming platform, digital inequalities are also present in the analysed content. The creators who have numerous followers, means of production, or institutional support (ARY News) have more discursive power. This strengthens status quos in the society, in the name of a platform that boasts of democratic engagement.

In such a way, Tik Tok does not eradicate power imbalances but reorganizes them. As a result of social practice analysis, digital visibility emerges as a new capital, which dictates whose voices count and which experiences form a discourse.

SUMMARY

On the social practice level, Tik Tok in Pakistan is a cultural, moral, political, and economic influence. The videos under analysis show that Tik Tok influences ethnicity and representation, religious morality, political communication, and cultural celebration. On the one hand, the platform allows setting in the view and engaging a community of participants, but, on the other, it strengthens the superior ideologies of algorithmic control and market logic.

This paper on Tik Tok within the framework of Fairclough CDA shows that Tik Tok is not just entertainment but an influential discursive institution that is engaged in the construction of the social reality in Pakistan. It does not just exert its influence through the displayed but what is normalized, acceptable and good in the modern Pakistani society.

CONCLUSION

The effect of Tik Tok on Pakistani audience is not only limited to entertainment, but also covers language practices, socio-economic involvement and identity formation. Following the CDA model introduced by Fairclough, the discourses of the platform both reproduce and transform the Pakistani cultural norms, communicative styles, and social behaviours. Emerging studies need to examine longitudinal effects, regulatory contexts, and intersectional attitudes towards age, gender, and regional variations in use of Tik Tok.

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