Journal of Contemporary Poetics

Journal Homepage: https://www.iiu.edu.pk/english/jcp

Translating the Nation: Coke Studio Pakistan's Journey to Transnationality on YouTube

Salman Rafique[a]* **& Komal Nazir**[b]

[a]*Oklahoma State University, Stillwater (USA)*

[b] Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Coke Studio Pakistan
YouTube
Participatory Culture
Cultural Memory
Platform Affordances
Transnationality

ABSTRACT

This article examines Coke Studio Pakistan's migration from domestic television broadcasts to YouTube and its subsequent global popularity, using it as a case study to highlight the commercial and technological affordances of digital platforms like YouTube. Focusing on Coke Studio Pakistan's official YouTube channels, we argue that the show's transnational reach and popularity depend on a palimpsestic engagement with regional, devotional, and popular repertoires, an explicitly impure fusion aesthetic, a small-screen-oriented visual design, and a pronounced responsiveness to participatory metrics on YouTube. Through close analysis of key songs and seasons, the essay demonstrates how Coke Studio Pakistan simultaneously professionalises vernacular talent and reconfigures cultural memory by foregrounding remakes of popular songs that algorithmically overshadow their hypotexts. By situating Coke Studio Pakistan alongside global music channels such as T-Series, the essay argues that YouTube's "spreadable" logics enable new, multidirectional flows in which niche, corporate, and oppositional impulses remain in productive tension.

Article History:

Received: April 10, 2026; Revised on: Jun 5, 2026; Accepted on: Jun 14, 2026

*Corresponding author:
Email Address: salman.rafique@okstate.edu

Coke Studio Pakistan and YouTube's Platform Ecology

Coke Studio Pakistan (CSP) is a commercial music franchise and television/internet show that was first aired in 2008 on television and subsequently on the franchise website, different hosting apps like Spotify and iTunes, and its official YouTube channels[1]. CSP's media and circulation strategy has remained consistent across its 13 completed seasons. Every season, the franchise buys commercial prime-time slots at advertising rates from approximately 50 television channels operating in Pakistan and releases its episodes, each consisting of 4-5 songs, weekly. Each season features anywhere between 20 and 30 songs, and once the season completes its televised run, each episode is uploaded to the franchise website and the official YouTube channels [2]. The YouTube channel of the show, therefore, is updated once every year. Moreover, outside these airtimes, these songs are not telecast through legacy media once a season is completed, and their only afterlives are digital. These studio-recorded songs by the franchise include both original content and remakes of folk, regional, religious, and genre classics. Over time, CSP has developed a distinct fusion aesthetic and garnered immense popularity both at home and in the transnational market. The digital footprint of CSP exceeds 15 million users (Williams and Mahmood 114), and the total views on both channels number 3 billion [3].

CSP started as a television show within the geographical limits of Pakistan, but it has increasingly become a transnational success on account of its distribution through YouTube. CSP's digital life on YouTube, unlike its broadcasting history on legacy media, carries immense value because it offers insights into the unique affordances of the platform. CSP's aesthetic choices as well as its circulation model reflect the opportunities and challenges that YouTube affords to small commercial franchises from niche markets. This paper focuses exclusively on CSP's YouTube channels to offer insights into how CSP has been able to establish its brand identity and garner critical acclaim from transnational audiences. To this end, I argue that CSP's palimpsestive relationship with existing musical traditions across cultures and languages, its recourse to an impure or hybrid aesthetic, the choice of visual design suitable for smaller screens, and its sensitivity to audience responses on YouTube have aided its spreadability and sustained success. These, I contend, are a consequence of CSP's successful homogenisation into YouTube's technical and cultural ecology characterised by its emphasis on participatory culture. In this paper, I use CSP as a case study to offer insights into the commercial and cultural possibilities inherent to YouTube as a new media or tech platform. Since music videos are the most popular genre on YouTube [4], I also aim to offer an insight into the disruptive relationship that YouTube has had with the music industry in general.

---

[1] This paper's scope is limited to the first 13 seasons of Coke Studio (2008 to 2020). The show has since then aired two more seasons though the analysis, and scholarship do not cover these.

[2] The first six seasons of the Coke Studio were produced by Rohail Hyatt, and these seasons feature on Hyatt's official channel named "Rohail Hyatt". All the subsequent seasons including the current one, once again produced by Hyatt, is available on "Coke Studio" channel. For this paper, I am treating both channels synonymously because Hyatt owns Frequency Media, the company that manages Coke Studio's media right

[3] These numbers reflect cumulative views for both the channels gathered from Social Blade website on December 1, 2021.

[4] Burgess & Green quote McIntyre (2017) to suggest that by 2017, YouTube's share in all streamed music was 46%. This included audio apps like SoundCloud, Spotify, and iCloud. If the purely audio content is subtracted from this figure

Community, Commerce, and Vernacular Talent

In its genesis, CSP offered a convergence between cultural and commercial intent. This replicates the dual logic of "community and commerce" [5] in the genesis of YouTube. The show was funded by Coca-Cola, which imagined the show not just as a marketing technique but also as a platform on which a war-torn nation, Pakistan in the midst of the war on terror, could be brought together. The slogan of the show "One Nation, One Spirit, One Sound" could be extended to propose "One Nation, One Drink". In the official publication of the show, Mirza Ashraf highlights this partnership as "the company finds a seamless connection between the ethos of the music show and their brand identity. Coca-Cola Pakistan markets itself as producing drinks that unite people across classes and cultures, and appeals to the romantic idea that music is a universal language" (Williams and Mahmood 114). At the time of its launch in 2008, there was a vacuum in the music industry of the country because MTV Pakistan had recently been closed, and the war on terror had reduced the possibility of live concerts. Moreover, the show could work as a talent display for the Bollywood film industry, where Pakistani playback singers were always in demand. The show was the brainchild of Rohail Hyatt (Williams and Mahmood 114), a member of the country's most famous band from the 1980s, Vital Signs, who was a proven talent. He became the creative producer of the show, and his company, Frequency Media, owned the marketing and distribution rights of the show as well. In so doing, CSP chose the commercially safe option of entrusting the show to an experienced and successful musician.

The tension between vernacular talent and its corporate capture (Burgess and Green 117) lies at the heart of YouTube's community and commerce outlook. This tension, however, is not always a negative attribute of the platform because it promises financial success and greater artistic opportunities for DIY artists. Of the 26 songs recorded for the first season, only three were by lesser-known or regional artists. The rest of the songs were sung by established singers like Ali Azmat, Rahat Fateh Ali Khan, Strings, and Ali Zafar. Moreover, the linguistic choice remained predominantly Urdu, which was understood across the country and in neighbouring India. This trend, however, changed in the later episodes, where many new artists were introduced by the show, and they launched their successful music careers. Their songs for the show, nevertheless, were copyrighted by the show and are now only available on Coke Studio channels or its website. Similarly, CSP increasingly shifted its attention to folk music and singers. In season 4, for instance, only 5 of the 22 songs were exclusively in Urdu, and the rest were from the regional folk traditions.[6] These mostly came from discrete ethnic backgrounds and regional languages. Sometimes the singers were just street performers whom CSP provided a platform, albeit with the caveat that their work, which had hitherto been a common heritage, became intellectual property of the CSP. The debates about the corporate capture of these artists and their work cannot be understood without recognising the tensions that underscore the steady professionalisation of vernacular talent under the forces of monetisation.

Remaking Cultural Memory: "Hum Dekhenge" and Transnational Reception

CSP's digital life on YouTube foregrounds the palimpsestive nature of its content and marketing strategy. Although the show produces original songs too, its primary focus has been on

[5] Jean Burgess & Joshua Green. YouTube. Polity (2017): 4.
[6] Rohail Hyatt on YouTube

remaking famous past hits, Sufi poetry, and folk and regional songs. Jenkins, Ford, and Green consider remaking as a successful strategy on digital platforms because "the best way to predict new success is to build on past success" (197). When remakes made by CSP are searched on YouTube, the search results also surface the original song. Williams and Mahmood argue that YouTube's status as a cultural memory comes to the fore in such instances and the audience's experience is "a layered palimpsest of past hearings, personal memories, and traces of musical and literary histories" (115). YouTube, therefore, mediates cultural memory through its algorithmic structure and participant contributions. In this way, new communities are forged which transcend spatial and temporal borders. Jenkins et al. argue that spreadable media serves as a fuel to ongoing conversations, and audiences are more likely to engage with a media text if it becomes a part of their current conversations or conditions of life. Outlining their strategies for successful spreadability, they suggest that media texts that are "easily reusable in a variety of ways" have a greater potential to spread (198).

For instance, CSP produced the famous protest song "Hum Dekhenge" [7] in its Season 11, and the song was uploaded on July 22, 2018. This was the election year in Pakistan, and the threat of a military coup was looming large. The song, originally written as a poem by the famous poet Faiz Ahmad Faiz, became a revolutionary anthem against the military dictatorship of Zia-ul-Haq in the 1980s. Faiz's poem literally promises the overthrow of despots and the inauguration of the rule of the people. Originally sung by Iqbal Bano, the song became a revolutionary anthem when she performed it in the early 1980s at the Lahore Arts Council. The crowd vibed with the lyrics and started chanting "inqilab zindabad (viva the revolution)" [8]. The authorities ordered the singer Iqbal Bano to discontinue the song, but she persisted, and the situation almost got out of control (Pirzadeh and Pirzada 197). The original audio recording by EMI[9] in which the audience can be heard raising slogans is also present on YouTube, though only the older generations can recognise this history. The poem gained widespread popularity in India during the CAA protests of 2019, when Muslims were persecuted in India by the Hindu-nationalist BJP party on the issue of citizenship. The protesting students of various Indian universities sang this song during the CAA protests, and their videos started appearing on YouTube. Ansith and Kallol's video [10], for instance, proposes it as a global narrative, and their video features extensive clips showing Hitler as an archetype of oppression. This media text, therefore, was spreadable because it could so easily be adapted to other protest situations in authoritarian regimes. The comparisons with Hitler and fascist Germany were probably rooted in the discourse concerning Hindutva as a fascist ideology. The situation in Pakistan and India proved ripe for the circulation of the text, and CSP's more professionally made video gained immense traction on either side of the border. CSP's version has more than 15,000 comments under it, and most of the comments are by users from India who came looking for the original. Under the original EMI version, though, there are only 22 comments and none from India. The search function on YouTube lists CSP's version on top with 14 million views, whereas the EMI version is way down the results with only 60k views [11]. This mediated memory on YouTube epitomises the affordances of the platform where a transnational community is forged around a single text. Ironically, the hypotext.[12]In this instance

[7] Coke Studio on YouTube

[8] Translation by Williams & Mahmood

[9] EMI is Pakistan's largest music catalogue which has recorded and marketed music since 1948.

[10] Catalogued under channel KAKG Music on YouTube

[11] I ran this search on an unrelated browser on December 1, 2021. To guard against skewed results on my own browser, I used a different user's browser.

[12] I use palimpsest in the sense that Gerard Genette explained it. My understanding of the concept is informed by Gerald Prince's quote in the Foreword to the Genette text, "Any text is a hypertext, grafting itself onto a hypotext, an earlier text that it transforms or imitates; any writing is rewriting; and literature is always in the second degree."

remains elusive because of the algorithmic function of the site and the way it guides user attention to a specific text. A text, therefore, becomes a site of shared cultural memory and citizenship in a virtual community (Burgess and Green 126). This example also foregrounds the questions of access and representational value on platforms. The professionally produced CSP text enjoyed the largest viewership despite receiving criticism for omitting the most revolutionary lines from the original poem in their performance (Williams and Mahmood 114).

Multilingualism, Diaspora, and Transnational Circulation

CSP's creative intent and production history evidence a desire to connect with a transnational audience. The example quoted above is one instance where a shared linguistic heritage forges affective relationships beyond national identity. After the television broadcast within the country, CSP's shows were uploaded to YouTube and other digital platforms. CSP's linguistic emphasis has shifted away from Urdu to include other languages and musical traditions. One early instance of this trend is the inclusion of Persian songs by Zeb Bangash and Hania Bangash in season 3. In season 8, "Man Aamadeh Am" became one of the biggest hits of the show[13]. It was a remake of the famous Persian song of the same title sung by Googoosh. Season 6 included singers from Serbia, Turkey, Central Asia, and Sweden. Season 12 saw the addition of Turkish musicians to the house band. It featured an Afghan singer as well. This focus on linguistic variety helps Coke Studio diffuse its music to diverse audiences. For instance, because season 12 had famous Turkish drum players as members of the house band, the comments section under the songs included comments by users from Turkey. This, once more, was CSP's awareness of the local audience's shifting taste. Turkish television programmes were dubbed in Urdu and run on state television around 2019. These proved to be extremely popular. The immense linguistic variety. [14] The show helps transnational circulation by targeting audiences sharing cultures across India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Bangladesh, and Turkey. These are in addition to large diasporic populations living across the world whose access to these media texts keeps them connected to home. Jenkins et al. argue that transnational circulation is premised upon an "impure" or hybrid culture which can speak to diverse audiences. They cite Mary Louise Pratt's concept of contact zones where "disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other" (263) as zones in which spreadability requires multilingualism, multimodality, and flexibility. Media texts that aim at gaining transnational circulation have certain qualities which they explain as,

(W)hat travels most readily across national borders may well be that which is the least culturally pure, that which is already shaped by multiple points of contact between dispersed cultural influences. These "impure" products create openings for pop cosmopolitans to find something familiar even amid their search for diversity, and they give expression to the unsettled feelings of diasporic audiences that may not feel fully at home in either culture (281).

Alamgir performed "Aamay Bhashaili Rey", a Bangla classic, in Season 6 of CSP. This was, however, a tricky artistic decision because Bangla has had a troubled history in Pakistan. Bangla is the national language of Bangladesh, formerly the province of East Pakistan. Many in East Pakistan resented, among other factors, the Pakistani state's general apathy toward Bangla and, following a military conflict in 1971, established Bangladesh, where Bangla remains the national language. Bangla, however, is not spoken in present-day Pakistan. Hence, the production of a Bangla song was

[13] As of December 1,2021, it has more than 240 million views

[14] The list of songs on CSP's official website suggests that they have produced songs in at least 13 languages

specifically directed toward a transnational Bangla-speaking audience. The popularity of the song points to a changing perspective on culture and identity that platforms like YouTube have brought about. YouTube, as Burgess and Green argue, creates its own communities and cultural flows which transcend borders and national identities. It also points to new cultural formations that coalesce around the familiar and the novel. J. P. Sylvia suggests that familiar cultural products bring enjoyment, whereas novel or foreign cultural objects evoke interest. The diffusion of cultural products to diverse audiences who communicate through participatory structures helps them resolve this tension between the familiar and the foreign.

Platform Circulation and Participatory Feedback

The cross-cultural diffusion of music videos is the structural advantage afforded by YouTube. These transnational cultural flows have often been studied through cultural imperialism theory, but YouTube and other similar platforms have necessitated a revision of this traditional model. Although access to the internet is far from democratic and is not without its structural inequalities, platforms like YouTube have made the circulation of media across cultures a multidirectional enterprise. In recent times, the diffusion of K-pop to transnational audiences and its immense popularity in the United States have offered opportunities to revisit the cultural imperialism paradigm that has generally been used to understand cultural flows and their inherent inequality. Whereas this was partly true for traditional media like Hollywood films that were distributed in a top-down fashion, digital platforms like YouTube have "disrupted" the existing models of production and circulation. That T-Series, the Indian record label, is the most-viewed channel on YouTube, which invites a reconsideration of the cultural hegemony paradigm. Amanda Lotz argues that, unlike most subscription services, YouTube offers free access to cultural content that was not accessible to audiences in the past. Moreover, digitalisation has reduced the cost and reliance on individual expertise (11). As a result, the production and circulation of the content among transnational audiences have become easier. Jay Bolter calls it "the digital plenitude" and argues that the vastness of the current media plenitude means that it has swallowed up the older distinctions so much so that we no longer have a culture with a "C" and art with an "A" (23).

In *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture,* Jenkins et al. foreground the spreadability that is afforded by the platforms. Based upon a more participatory mode of engagement that is characteristic of platforms, they argue that media texts work under the logic of circulation rather than distribution. Whereas distribution signifies a unidirectional flow of cultural products, circulation implies a feedback loop in which "audiences are making their presence felt by actively shaping media flows" (Jenkins et al. 2). They argue that media producers are taking notice of audience preferences, and this has resulted in a more democratic cultural flow. CSP's digital life and audience responses resulted in changes in the production team and content production. For instance, Seasons 7-11 of CSP included patriotic songs, and this was a commercial strategy. The country was in the middle of the war on terror, and CSP was probably trying to tap into the patriotic fervour that is characteristic of such periods. These have, however, been some of the least viewed tracks on CSP channels. Although CSP remade many war anthems from the previous wars with India that resonated with the mood of the audience, it also attracted criticism for becoming an echo chamber of the state narrative. The watershed moment, however, came with the opening of Season 10 with a new rendition of the national anthem. This rendition received severe criticism from local audiences and resulted in the change of creative producers for the next season. The next season, however, saw another debacle

as the remake of an old *filmi* song, "Ko Ko Korina," received intense backlash from the public. It was the first CSP production to receive more dislikes than likes [15], with the state minister for human rights calling it a "murder" of the song. CSP changed the creative producer once again, and Rohail Hyatt took over the production of the show once more. This is a great example of how the production practices of corporate media were critiqued and realigned through the circulatory economies of participatory culture.

Fusion Aesthetics and the Politics of Impure Culture

According to the logic of spreadability as outlined by Jenkins et al., CSP consistently tried to blend genre forms and linguistic categories. In doing so, CSP had a tradition of fusion aesthetics to draw on. Such questions of aesthetics, as is implied by the term "impure culture", navigate the spaces between essentialist notions of genre forms and disruptive trends. In the US tradition, this is best understood as the need to revitalise the jazz and rock scene in the second half of the twentieth century. By the mid-1970s, various young musicians had been blending jazz, rock, and funk to create new genre categories. Kevin Fellezs has defined fusion as "an explicitly transgeneric form of music, sounding out the gaps between musical differences as spaces where individuals might reshape musical tradition, conventions, and assumptions" (4). Fellezs understood this process of fusion as "a *continual* process of transformation musical practices undergoes regardless of geographic location of the musician or the ideologies that construct "music" and "musician" in a specific geographical and historical context" (4). The subsequent aesthetic of fusion was an in-between aesthetic, which sought to disturb the musical values of legitimacy and authority. In doing so, the fusion artists negotiated the boundaries of race, class, and gender that were tied to various genres and opened them to formerly excluded groups. The fusion aesthetic in music, therefore, is an agential function with profound political implications.

CSP's fusion aesthetic had its precedents in the early popular music history of the nation. The classical music tradition of the subcontinent had its roots in Vedic traditions, and after partition, the nation-state discouraged any expression of Vedic influence in its music scene. In its place, a new semi-classical and popular aesthetic was officially pursued on state media. By the 1980s, the country's music scene was characteristically Sufi and Samaa (tr. listening) influenced. This tradition had travelled from Turkey to Iran, India, Pakistan, and the Central Asian states. Najia Mukhtar estimated that by Season 5, more than 40% of all CSP songs borrowed from Sufi tradition (Mukhtar 24). However, qawwali, the generic form, did not match the aesthetic of CSP. The most popular song in the history of CSP, "Tajdar-e-Haram", was originally a qawwali by Sabri Brothers. Qawwali is traditionally sung only by family members and with minimal instruments. It is usually a group performance which falls within a certain trance genre. For CSP, however, it was sung by Atif Aslam, a famous popular singer in both India and Pakistan whose music is a far cry from the qawwali tradition. In every respect, this song disturbs the tradition and situates the song between qawwali and pop. Atif sings standing up, which never happens in a qawwali. And although harmonium and tabla, the only instruments in a qawwali, are on stage, as are the companions clapping to create rhythm, the full house band with digital musical instruments grants an altogether different aesthetic definition to the song. Atif's version released the song from its devotional heritage and made it extremely popular among transnational audiences, as is evident from the comments on YouTube.

[15] As of December 1, 2021, it had 242k dislikes against 114k likes.

Another usual practice where CSP practised fusion is by pairing one folk or regional singer with a more established pop singer of the opposite gender. A famous example is Akhtar Chanal and Komal Rizvi singing a famous [16] Baluchi song, "Daanah pah Daanah", where Chanal appears in traditional Baluchi apparel with his signature string instrument. Komal, on the other hand, is dressed in western clothes. In strongly patriarchal Baluch society, her mere presence alongside a male performer is a taboo. The two also differ in terms of language because Chanal sings in Baluchi, whereas Komal mixes her part with Urdu, Sindhi, and Punjabi. She also mixes with another Sindhi classic Sufi song to completely change the song. Similarly, a cover of the famous Persian song "Man Aamadeh Am" originally sung by the Iranian singer Googoosh was performed by Gul Panrra and Atif Aslam. This song once more disturbed the gendered composition of the original by making it a duet. Not only are the two singers attired in vastly different ways, but Atif also sings in Urdu while Panrra sings in Persian. These extra lines are not the translated ones, so they almost make the song an altogether new composition. The same was done with one of the earliest fusions across genres and gender in Season 3, where Meesha Shafi paired with Arif Lohar to sing the famous Punjabi folk song "Jugni" popularised by Arif's father. Although Arif carries his traditional instrument, the *chimta*, it is almost drowned in the loud beat played by the house band. His lines are complemented by Meesha, which is again a taboo practice.

D'Souza argues that CSP's aesthetic practices are an effort to create an oppositional discourse which would have been extremely difficult had the programme been aired only on domestic television broadcasts. D'Souza foregrounds Coca-Cola's status as the American corporate owner of the programme (587). D'Souza also examines how CSP subverts gendered expectations within Pakistani musical performance. This, he contends, is oppositional to the general Western perception of the country as a fundamentalist Islamic state (3). By citing extensive scholarship that is available about Muslim women, D'Souza argues that CSP is creating an agential space for oppressed gender categories, especially women. Fawzia Afzal Khan has recently published her book *Siren Songs,* outlining the political implications of Pakistani women in the music industry (8). Another formal innovation introduced by CSP is the making of collages of one song by giving each singer one line. In the case of "Hum Dekhenge", this practice was carried to an extreme as each member of the CSP team was given one line. Each singer brought their distinct style, for instance, classical, rap, rock, qawwali, etc., to the song and made it an extreme fusion. The most significant moment, however, again centred on the gender, as the most iconic lines of the song were sung by a transgender duo.

Another way in which CSP's aesthetic principles match the platform paradigm is in its effort to portray authenticity. Every single track in the show is recorded live, and although it undergoes post-production, Rakae Jamil, who is part of the house band at CSP, says that it remains minimal. Jamil argues that CSP's aesthetic foregrounds the musicians trying to realise the creative producer's imagination (40). The recorded sessions are then finalised by the producer using post-production techniques. Jamil attributes the success of CSP to the digital turn in the Pakistani music scene. He also sees the development of fusion aesthetics as a logical outcome of the digital technologies replacing traditional subcontinental instruments (43).

With digital sampling and instrumentation, however, certain sounds became industrialised and used repeatedly across several genres, such as keyboard samples of pianos or violins used in songs of semi-classical ghazal, film, and Urdu pop music. Thus, genres of both art and popular music began to sound as if they all belonged to a globalised genre of mainstream music.

[16] The song receives a lengthy formal analysis in both Williams and Mahmood, and Ryan a D'Souza's paper cited elsewhere in this paper.

The visual design of the show has remained the same from Season 2 to Season 12. The camera focuses on the musicians and singers playing live in the studio, generally in close-ups or medium close-ups. This framing practice serves the key function of giving the show an air of authenticity and liveness. Every performer has a headphone and a microphone for the instrument. Rakae says that for each song, multiple recordings are made and the best one is chosen for post-production. As it is, the show democratises the screen by distributing screen time between the singer and the musicians. This also gives the sense of a community atmosphere where everyone is doing their job. On a different note, the framing practice makes this show watchable on smaller screens of cell phones and tablets. The singers or other performers hardly ever dance or move from their places, and this helps in the viewing experience on smaller screens. The almost austere mise-en-scène has become synonymous with the visual design of the show. This kind of austerity seems incongruent on large screens, but it aids viewing experience on smaller screens, and this has been a less recognised aspect of CSP's success on YouTube.

Conclusion

I used CSP as a case study to highlight some of the affordances that YouTube offers a small niche market music franchise. This study was particularly significant because larger franchises or record labels like T-Series [17] and Vevo works on a different scale altogether. CSP's limited resources, stable aesthetic, and steady popularity make it an apt case study for the purpose of this study. In addition to this, CSP's popularity hasn't been affected by the blanket ban that the Pakistan government had applied to YouTube between 2010 and 2016. CSP diversified its linguistic and aesthetic repertoire to reach diverse audiences across languages and cultures. Its popularity among Bengali, Indian, and Afghan users, notwithstanding the hostile relations between countries, marks CSP as a truly transnational franchise with viewership located in diverse regions. Its sensitivity to participatory culture's norms and expectations has resulted in mass circulation and an established brand identity. CSP's transnational status has meant that the franchise dropped the word "Pakistan" from its YouTube channel's name and is now known only as Coke Studio.

[17] T-Series is the most viewed channel on YouTube since 2019

Works Cited

Afzal-Khan, Fawzia. *Siren Song: Understanding Pakistan through Its Women Singers*. Oxford UP, 2020.

Baek, Young Min. "Relationship between Cultural Distance and Cross-Cultural Music Video Consumption on YouTube." *Social Science Computer Review*, vol. 33, no. 6, 2015, pp. 730–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439314562184.

Bolter, Jay David. *The Digital Plenitude: The Decline of Elite Culture and the Rise of New Media*. MIT Press, 2019.

Burgess, Jean, and Joshua Green. *YouTube: Online Video and Participatory Culture*. 2nd ed., Polity Press, 2018.

D'Souza, Ryan A. "Composing an Oppositional Discourse in Coke Studio Pakistan." *Communication, Culture and Critique*, vol. 14, no. 4, 2021, pp. 587–603. https://doi.org/10.1093/ccc/tcab048.

Fellezs, Kevin. *Birds of Fire: Jazz, Rock, Funk, and the Creation of Fusion*. Duke UP, 2011.

Jamil, Rakae. "Generations of Audio Work through the Digital Turn in Contemporary Pakistan." *MUSICultures*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2017, pp. 97–115.

Jenkins, Henry, Sam Ford, and Joshua Green. *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture*. New York UP, 2013.

Kumar, Sangeet, Sriram Mohan, and Aswin Punathambekar. "Beyond the Nation: Cultural Regions in South Asia's Online Video Communities." *Creator Culture: An Introduction to Global Social Media Entertainment*, edited by Stuart Cunningham and David Craig, New York UP, 2021, pp. 170–88. https://doi.org/10.18574/nyu/9781479890118.003.0013.

Lotz, Amanda D. *Media Disrupted: Surviving Pirates, Cannibals, and Streaming Wars*. MIT Press, 2021.

Mukhtar, Najia. *Approaching Religious Difference Differently: Counter-Dominant Agents in Contemporary Pakistan*. 2016. SOAS, University of London, PhD dissertation.

Pirzadeh, Saba, and Tehmina Pirzada. "Pakistani Popular Music: A Call to Reform in the Public Sphere." *South Asian Popular Culture*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2019, pp. 197–211. https://doi.org/10.1080/14746689.2018.1512702.

Silvia, Paul J. *Exploring the Psychology of Interest*. Oxford UP, 2006.

Williams, Richard David, and Rafay Mahmood. "A Soundtrack for Reimagining Pakistan? Coke Studio, Memory and the Music Video." *BioScope: South Asian Screen Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2019, pp. 111–28. https://doi.org/10.1177/0974927619896771.