

TikTok as a Digital Literacy Pathway for SMEs in Emerging Markets: Evidence from Ghana.

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Abstract

TikTok is one of the world's fastest-growing social media applications, and it has moved beyond entertainment into a marketing and branding channel for small and medium enterprises (SMEs), especially in emerging markets where digital literacy is often low. Its role in building literacy remains unclear, so this study examines how entrepreneurs and their SMEs use TikTok to develop digital skills, drawing on Rogers' Diffusion of Innovations (DOI) theory. We conducted a multiple-case study of eight SMEs in Ghana and interviewed nine owners and managers. We analyzed the interviews with Braun and Clarke's reflexive thematic analysis, and six connected themes describe how TikTok use supports digital literacy: electronic word-of-mouth (e-WOM) as an adoption catalyst, learning through observation, demand-driven engagement, creative content development, user satisfaction, and business growth. These themes map onto DOI's attributes of relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trialability, and observability, thereby extending the theory to social media skill development. The findings are exploratory, since they come from a small purposive sample, and they show how informal TikTok use can open a pathway to platform-specific skills and broader digital literacy in resource-limited SMEs. The study offers insights for policymakers, digital skills educators, and platform designers working on SME digital transformation in developing economies.

Keywords: Digital Literacy, TikTok, SMEs, Diffusion of Innovations, Ghana, Social Media Adoption, Short-Form Video.

Introduction

Businesses now work in a digital economy where even small online spaces carry commercial value. TikTok began as an app for short, socially shared videos, and it has grown into a channel that firms use to reach audiences. As the first mainstream app built around short-form video, it now has more than 1.5 billion monthly active users worldwide (Statista, 2024). Small and

medium enterprises (SMEs) make up over 90% of businesses in many developing economies (World Bank, 2021), and low-cost platforms like TikTok give them an affordable way to market and engage customers. Many of these firms still lack the money, technology, and skilled staff that digital transformation demands (Pingali et al., 2023).

Digital literacy shapes whether a business stays competitive. It means having the knowledge, skills, and confidence to find, manage, apply, and evaluate information in digital settings, and to create and share your own digital content. This goes beyond running software on a device, as it also involves evaluating online content, weighing ethical, privacy, and data protection considerations, and keeping up with rapid technological change (Julien, 2018; Eshet-Alkalai, 2004). For SMEs in less developed economies, weak platform skills hold back growth.

Research on SME social media adoption has focused on Facebook and Instagram (Odoom et al., 2017; Qalati et al., 2021), and most studies examine general tool use rather than platform-specific skills. Work on TikTok tends to study consumer behavior, influencer marketing, and purchase intention (Hanum et al., 2023; Sohid et al., 2024), so we still know little about how SMEs learn digital skills through the app, or whether that use builds their digital literacy. Adoption and literacy are not the same thing, because a firm can adopt TikTok and still lack the skills to use it well. This gap matters most in sub-Saharan Africa, where digital infrastructure, culture, and business conditions differ from Western and East Asian settings.

Ghana offers a useful case, since its SMEs operate on mobile-first internet, have tight budgets, and rely heavily on word-of-mouth, and women run many of these firms in the informal economy. Formal training, consultants, and advanced infrastructure sit out of reach for most, so informal learning on TikTok matters because it may be the main route to digital skills for a firm that cannot pay for training.

This study addresses that gap through one research question: how do SMEs in Ghana develop digital literacy through their engagement with TikTok? We apply Rogers' (1962) Diffusion of Innovations (DOI) theory to trace how innovations spread, get adopted, and settle into daily practice within a social system, and DOI fits here because it speaks to both the platform and the Ghanaian setting. DOI works mainly as a theory of adoption, and our question concerns what happens after adoption, so we take DOI as a starting point and extend it to post-adoption learning.

The paper makes three contributions to the DOI literature. First, it applies DOI to informal digital learning, a topic that remains largely unexplored, with the focus on social media. Second, prior work has examined how novice learners acquire platform-specific and general digital skills in formal settings, whereas few studies have done the same in informal settings. Third, most DOI research on SME digitalisation sits in Western or East Asian contexts, and this study instead sits fully within a non-Western one, Ghana.

Literature Review

Digital Literacy: Evolving Definitions and Relevance to SMEs

What it means to be 'digitally literate' has changed since the late 1990s, when early definitions centred on finding, judging, and using information from the Internet (Gilster & Gilster, 1997). Later work widened the idea into several literacies at once: photo-visual, reproduction, branching, information, and socio-emotional (Eshet-Alkalai, 2004). Caton et al. (2022) studied SME owners and staff who used digital tools for marketing, and they found that building digital literacy is ongoing and keeps shifting. To use a new tool well, owners and staff judge whether it fits, adapt what they learn to fresh tasks, and pass that knowledge on to other workers in the firm.

Raising SME digital literacy in developing markets is hard work. Sariwulan et al. (2020) found that literacy lifts entrepreneurs' performance, and Fathian et al. (2008) showed that e-readiness, measured through literacy, shapes how SMEs operate and adapt in the digital economy. The World Bank (2021) treats literacy as a key factor in economic inclusion, since firms with stronger skills reach wider markets and compete better. Hamburg (2020) added that one-off training does little on its own, because a firm needs a learning culture built into how it works.

SME owner-managers can pick up platform-specific skills, such as making TikTok videos, and whether those skills transfer to other digital competencies is a separate question. Helsper and Van Deursen (2017) began to examine that transfer, and the evidence remains thin, so this paper works on the gap.

TikTok as a Business and Learning Platform for SMEs

TikTok runs on an algorithm that distributes content and makes creation easy for anyone, so a small start-up and a large multinational can compete for the same attention in the same space. The algorithm favours content with high engagement, which means reach does not depend on follower count. On Facebook and Instagram, SMEs have lost much of their organic reach on business accounts, and that drop has not yet appeared on TikTok. Research on the app's commercial use is still young, even as millions of people open it daily.

Prior studies point to clear business value. Genoveva (2021) found that TikTok advertising raises brand awareness, especially among Gen Z consumers, and Islami et al. (2024) reported that trend-following videos, live streaming, and promotional content work best for SME promotion. Luthen and Soelaiman (2022) linked the app's interactivity and low cost to a positive, significant effect on SME performance, and Halim et al. (2022) showed that short-form video and influencer collaborations can lift sales.

TikTok's role as a learning space has drawn less attention, and only a few studies test it in education. Fiallos et al. (2021) examined the app for sharing knowledge through learning videos, and Zhou et al. (2025) compared TikTok and YouTube for medical knowledge. SME owners often learn while they promote products, building digital marketing skills as they make content and engage audiences. This study reads TikTok as both a business tool and a learning space for these owners.

Theoretical Framework: Diffusion of Innovations Theory

This study draws on Rogers' (1962, 2003) Diffusion of Innovations (DOI) theory, which explains how innovations, technologies among them, spread through societies and social systems over time. DOI has two parts that this paper keeps separate. The first is a five-stage adoption process, running from knowledge to persuasion, decision, implementation, and confirmation. The second is a set of five perceived attributes of an innovation, namely relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trialability, and observability, and these attributes shape how, why, and how far people adopt it. DOI also sorts adopters into five types, from innovators through early adopters, the early and late majority, and laggards.

Researchers have used DOI to study technology adoption by individuals and firms (Chatterjee & Kar, 2020), and in the SME field it has explained e-commerce adoption (Jin & Hurd, 2018) and social media adoption (Odoom et al., 2017). Most social media studies apply DOI to what drives users to adopt a platform and keep using it. This study looks at the stage after adoption, examining how users learn once TikTok is already part of their day, and asking how the DOI attributes, mainly relative advantage, observability, and trialability, shape the skills they build.

The setting matters, because formal training, workshops, and consultants are scarce for these firms, so learning happens through informal diffusion. We treat TikTok's observability and trialability as substitutes for formal training, since users watch what works, copy it, and test

their own attempts at low risk. Our framework links the DOI attributes to how owners engage on TikTok, and links that engagement to digital literacy outcomes.

Methodology

Research Design

We used a multiple-case study design (Yin, 2018) for three reasons. First, the research question asks how SMEs gain digital literacy through TikTok, and Yin (2018) notes that case studies fit 'how' and 'why' questions about current events. Second, TikTok-mediated learning is context-specific, and each SME faced its own conditions, so a bounded, contextual approach was needed. Third, the phenomenon is new and lightly studied, which called for an inductive, in-depth reading of the data. We chose multiple cases over a single one to allow analytical generalisation through cross-case analysis (Eisenhardt, 1989), and we treated each SME as an embedded unit within the wider study of TikTok-enabled digital literacy.

Case Selection and Participant Profile

We selected participants purposively (Patton, 2015), recruiting SMEs with fewer than 100 employees whose TikTok accounts had run for at least one year. We found candidate firms through business hashtags and local business networks on the app, then approached owners and managers directly. Each participant ran their SME's TikTok account and held the skills to manage it.

The study covered eight SMEs (Cases A to H), with nine owners and managers taking part across nine interviews. One SME (Case F) was represented by two people, its owner and a second manager who also runs the account. The firms worked across a spread of sectors: spices; event and party services with cocktail catering; second-hand footwear; fashion accessories;

short-term rentals listed on Airbnb; imported groceries; wigs and hair products; and cosmetics. They ranged from three to ten years old, and staff size ran from two to twenty-five.

Owners decided whether their firm would use TikTok for marketing. Most participants were women, which reflects the strong presence of women among TikTok-active SME owners in Ghana, and the two men in the sample (P2 and P3) were managers who ran their firm's account rather than owners. We stopped recruiting once further interviews added little new insight, and the sample stayed small and information-rich, which supports its adequacy for an exploratory study (Patton, 2015). Tables 1 and 2 summarise the SME profiles and participant details.

Table 1. SME Profiles

Sector	Years in Operation	Staff Size	TikTok Duration	Other Platforms
Spices	5	15	3 years	WhatsApp
Cocktails/Catering	4	7	2 years	Instagram
Thrift Footwear	7	3	3 years	WhatsApp
Fashion Accessories	8	7	4 years	Instagram
Airbnb/Real Estate	3	2	3 years	Facebook
Imported Groceries	10	25	3 years	FB, IG, WA
Wigs/Hair Products	3	5	2 years	Instagram
Cosmetics	5	5	3 years	WhatsApp

Note. Company names anonymized. TikTok duration estimated from participant reports.

Table 2. Participant Demographics

Participant	Role	Gender	Education	SME Case
P1	Owner	Female	Diploma	A
P2	Manager	Male	Degree	B
P3	Manager	Male	HND	C
P4	Owner	Female	Degree	D
P5	Owner	Female	Master's	E

Participant	Role	Gender	Education	SME Case
P6	Owner	Female	Degree	F
P7	Owner	Female	Degree	G
P8	Owner	Female	Master's	H
P9	Manager	Female	Diploma	F

Data Collection

We collected data between 10 and 21 December 2024, during which nine owners and managers participated in semi-structured interviews. We piloted the protocol with two additional SME owners, who were excluded from the final sample. The interviews covered five areas: how owners came to TikTok, why they use it, what digital skills they gained, what challenges they faced, and what support they needed. Sample questions asked how they first started, what skills they had picked up, how they created and posted content, and where the work got hard.

Interviews ran between 18 and 35 minutes, averaging 25. These sessions came in shorter than the hour-long interviews common in more developed settings, which suited the time pressures these owners work against. We added more cases to offset the shorter length, and we contacted three participants again for clarification, who gave further detail on their experiences.

We held all interviews in English, recorded the audio, and transcribed it word for word. Each participant received a pseudonym (P1 to P9) to protect their identity, and everyone gave informed consent before taking part. We returned transcripts to participants so they could review, verify, or withdraw their data at any point.

Data Analysis

We analysed the data with Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase reflexive thematic analysis. In phase one, we read the transcripts, re-listened to the recordings, and noted first impressions. In

phase two, we coded each transcript, marking meaningful segments and assigning initial codes, which produced 47 codes in all. In phase three, we grouped those codes into nine candidate themes, and in phase four we reviewed the themes against the coded extracts and the full dataset, then merged and refined them. In phase five, we named the themes so each one captured a clear, distinct pattern, and in phase six we drew them together into an analytic narrative across the cases.

Reflexive thematic analysis does not treat coding as a reliability test, so two researchers coded a subset of transcripts on their own, then met to compare and discuss their readings. This dialogue sharpened the interpretation and built credibility, and it never served as a score against a fixed benchmark. We then coded the full dataset together and settled differences through discussion.

Trustworthiness was strengthened in three ways. Participants read back their transcripts and our preliminary themes for member checking, and they raised no disagreements. We kept reflexive journals through the coding to record our decisions, assumptions, and difficulties, and a peer researcher who did not know the study's context reviewed the theme definitions and supporting evidence in a debriefing session.

Findings

The analysis produced six themes that show how TikTok use supports digital literacy among Ghanaian SMEs, and we group them in two sets: technology adoption processes (Themes 1 to 4) and digital literacy outcomes (Themes 5 to 6). Each theme below carries supporting quotes and our interpretation, along with the patterns we saw across the cases.

Theme 1: Electronic Word-of-Mouth as an Adoption Catalyst

Family and friends drove most participants to start using TikTok, which places them at the knowledge stage of DOI, where a potential adopter first learns about an innovation. Informal, person-to-person contact set it off, with no organization involved.

"A friend introduced me to TikTok and helped me set up an account. After using it, I found there was a lot I didn't know about the site, but I could use the site to promote my growing spice business". (P1)

She already knew TikTok existed and saw its marketing value, and a friend helped her choose it over other options.

"It was my kids who told me about the platform, and then I researched and found out that a lot of people are making sales and getting customers through TikTok. My kids said that I should look for products that are not sold in shops in Ghana, especially organic products and those with nutritional benefits. They said that those would be best to advertise on TikTok because many people are already doing it and making good sales. I just have to look for good products and go online to advertise them". (P6)

A self-started adoption, sparked by TikTok content, led to a cocktail business.

"The e-WOM of content intended for consumption on TikTok was picked up by a business owner after she was browsing for ideas on how to make different types of cocktails and creative ways to serve them. The content helped the business owner come up with the idea to start a cocktail business after viewing videos and seeing the different types of cocktails that can be made and how to serve them". (P2)

e-WOM reached these owners through trusted sources, mainly friends and family, and firms formed their first sense of TikTok's value by watching how others used it before trying it themselves. That trusted, personal route to awareness held across every case, regardless of sector.

Theme 2: Upskilling Through Observational Learning

Participants taught themselves by watching how other businesses used the platform, then folding those ideas into their own posts, which spans the persuasion and implementation stages of DOI, where users form attitudes and then act.

"The team had begun practicing new skills for online content creation. The short observation challenges enabled them to practice building skills in content creation, audience engagement, optimization, and market intelligence to track trends on TikTok". (P7)

Even a single platform can teach a wide, transferable skill set through informal watching.

"I spend a lot of time following other people who have good pages in my particular niche, and also looking at other people's pages and things they are sharing. I had some of the initial pages set up for me by my kids, and today I have people who are hired professionally to run all of my pages for me". (P6)

She began by following others and copying what worked, then learned more, tried new things, and now employs staff to run her accounts. This shows one part of digital literacy in action (Eshet-Alkalai, 2004).

"for our business, good digital marketing skills are very important. So I watched videos on how any of us can make good content and post, and how we can use the creative ideas of other vendors. This took some time but I am learning daily and the platform is improving for me". (P5)

Trialability showed in comments like 'try out each video', and some admitted they had 'watched the same video several times'. This trial-and-error use of TikTok carried no real risk, and the steady learning supported the processual view of digital literacy set out by Caton et al. (2022).

Owners with more staff, such as Cases A and F, moved faster from self-taught posting to hiring dedicated account managers, and owners of smaller firms kept most of the content work themselves.

Theme 3: Demand-Driven Digital Engagement

We examined what pushed SMEs to build digital skills and sorted the factors into push and pull, with pull factors coming from inside the firm and push factors from outside: competition, customer demands, and fast change on social media.

"TikTok is always updating, and right now all the vendors are going digital too. There's a lot of innovations going on, and I feel like running a business online requires you to always be on the internet, and how that affects the rest of your business". (P2)

Staying online, and understanding what that demands, is part of digital literacy. In DOI terms, this competitive pressure reflects TikTok's relative advantage, and here the pull works in reverse, so staying off TikTok becomes a relative disadvantage. Rogers (2003) noted that firms often engage with an innovation for economic reasons, and our participants fit that pattern. We do not slot anyone into a specific adopter category, because the data cannot support that classification. For some SMEs, digital literacy is now a condition of trading.

Theme 4: Creative Content Development

TikTok pushed the SMEs toward creative thinking, since short-form video, with its audio trends and effects, gave owners a new medium for their ideas and a way to find skills they could reuse later. P1 also spoke about cross-industry learning, because TikTok's content mix let her see how people in other trades use video and then apply that to her own. Watching other creators in the spice market, along with people selling fast meals or drinks, helped her think about turning the spices she sells into local dishes, and that reflects a fuller grasp of the digital marketing space and how it shapes content strategy.

"Also from creative presentation and packaging for events. Ideas for my own business too". (P2)

"From the TikTok module, I have learned a lot for my trade and also how to create content on a daily basis, and that content gets posted on all my social media platforms, including Instagram, Facebook, and others. The same content is used across all platforms". (P9)

Owners also carried skills learned on TikTok over to Instagram and Facebook, and working across these platforms builds broader content skills, which supports wider digital literacy.

Theme 5: User Satisfaction and Continuous Engagement

Participants reported a 'good experience' using TikTok for their businesses, and as they kept at the app, they said it helped them build skills and reach the results they wanted, which reinforced their choice to continue. This reflects the confirmation stage of DOI. Chung and Wei (2020) found a similar link between satisfaction with TikTok and continued use. Participants also named the specific tools they wanted.

"I think TikTok could better support my spice business if it had more tools to help you analyze your videos, to understand the demographics of the people viewing your videos, how they are interacting with your content, and what trends are currently occurring within the spice industry". (P1)

This request moves past content creation toward using data to make decisions, and it calls for a higher level of digital literacy.

"Although I have started using TikTok, I still have lots to learn and find it very hard to reach a point where I feel that I have mastered it". (P5)

Self-belief remained the sticking point for P5, so the depth of literacy gained stayed limited, which links to DOI's construct of complexity.

Theme 6: Business Growth as a Digital Literacy Outcome

Engagement with TikTok led to commercial outcomes, from wider customer reach to more sales inquiries and stronger brand awareness, and these fit DOI's construct of observability.

"For the app to create live sessions featuring entrepreneurs of related SME industries to promote each other's work, share ideas, and collaborate to promote their respective products and businesses". (P2)

This casts TikTok as a place to connect and share knowledge with other entrepreneurs, and not only to broadcast content. The link between TikTok use and broader digital literacy still has limits.

"The challenges I have faced are the content creation and how to ensure that content is crisp and precise. Also, how to keep up with posting. Replying to comments in real time is also a challenge", (P1)

"The biggest challenge for me is keeping up with questions on TikTok and having to reply to each of these messages". (P3)

"The biggest challenge is keeping up with trends and the difficulty in finding the best tutorials on easy onboarding". (P9)

Posting on TikTok is easy, and consistent content, real-time engagement, and self-training take more skill, which the standard routes to digital literacy do not cover.

"I think TikTok should create some short educational pieces to educate entrepreneurs on how to use trends, hashtags, and tools to create effective content". (P4)

For now, participants learn about trends and hashtags on their own. The same challenges appeared across sectors, namely content consistency, real-time replies, and finding good tutorials, and longer-tenured users, such as those in Cases A, C, and F, treated these as ordinary workflow problems.

Discussion

Extending DOI Theory to Digital Literacy Development

This paper extends DOI from adoption to post-adoption skill development and examines how its five attributes shape retailers' digital literacy. Relative advantage worked in two directions, since it drew owners toward new skills, and the fear of falling behind other vendors pushed them as well. Compatibility shaped how far TikTok fit each owner's current skills and routines, and complexity set the ceiling on what an owner took on. Trialability let owners test content at

low risk and repeat the cycle many times; observability let them learn from what worked for others and fed e-WOM, so it served as both a motivator and a source of learning models.

The original DOI model outlines five stages, from knowledge and persuasion to decision, implementation, and confirmation. Our data show that these stages do not occur in a single, linear sequence, because they repeat in different orders as owners encounter new trends, competitors, and customer demands. The confirmation stage is not a single event either, since it functions as an ongoing process of evaluation. In a digital setting, then, DOI operates in loops, and the straight-line picture does not hold.

From Platform Proficiency to Digital Literacy: A Graduated Pathway

The study identified different levels of how TikTok use aligned with digital literacy. Participants first showed platform-specific skills, such as video editing, uploading, and collaboration (level 1), and many went further into broader digital skills, such as content strategy, audience engagement, and reusing content across platforms (level 2). A smaller group showed meta-cognitive awareness of their own limits (level 3), naming specific needs such as better data tools and more structured learning about TikTok and digital literacy.

Outcomes varied with each participant's education and experience, and owners with diplomas or HNDs and several years in business showed steady, practical gains. P5 and P8 held master's degrees, and both still identified specific digital needs to grow their businesses online. Their cases support Helsper and Van Deursen's (2017) point that the quality of experience with a technology, more than the amount of use, predicts digital literacy outcomes.

A graduated model challenges the flat idea that a firm either has digital literacy or does not, since TikTok can serve as an entry point for some SMEs even when broader skills are lacking, and the extent to which a firm moves depends on individual, contextual, and platform factors.

Contextual Dynamics: The Ghanaian SME Experience

This study examined how TikTok supports digital literacy in Ghana and the factors that shape its use. Trust-based word-of-mouth, which fits Ghana's people-first business culture, did much of the teaching, and most participants were women, in line with the high rate of female enterprise across parts of Ghana's informal economy. Participants took up TikTok because it is free and easy to access, but time pressure, limited support, and self-teaching held them back. Research on SME digitalisation has mostly come from Western economies and East Asia, and it travels poorly to other regions, sub-Saharan Africa included. In this Ghanaian sample, digital skill-building followed its own pattern, one that departs from much of the existing literature, and we present it as an analytical insight from a small purposive sample. It is not proof for all SMEs in emerging markets.

Theoretical Implications

The paper offers three contributions to DOI. First, DOI is often treated as a pre-adoption process, and our data suggest that diffusion continues after adoption, operating recursively across stages as users encounter new attributes, competitors, and uses for TikTok. Second, the paper sets out a three-tier model of TikTok-supported literacy, covering TikTok-specific skills, generalizable digital skills, and meta-cognitive literacy awareness. Third, it grounds this extension in Ghana, a sub-Saharan economy with limited resources, uneven internet access, and varied cultural settings. These contributions are analytical and exploratory, and they invite testing in other settings.

Practical Implications

For policymakers, platforms like TikTok can act as informal digital literacy providers where formal training is missing, and public programs can build short, mobile-friendly modules around the platforms that owners already use. For platform designers, there is room to better serve business users through simpler analytics, onboarding, and trend explainers tailored to

SMEs. For SME support organizations, peer learning drives much of this skill-building through e-WOM and observation, which opens the door to formal SME learning communities, demonstration sessions, and sector-based content clinics.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The study has limits. The sample was small, with nine owners and managers from eight SMEs. For an exploratory case study of a specific group, that is acceptable (Yin, 2018), and a larger sample across more industries and locations would still be helpful for future work. The data were also self-reported, so we did not compare participants' self-reported skills with their actual behavior on the platform. Future work could pair interviews with content analysis of their accounts or with a digital literacy assessment. The data are cross-sectional as well, capturing views at one point in time, so a longitudinal study over months or years would show how SME digital literacy develops with continued TikTok use.

The findings also have limited reach. The Ghanaian context offers useful insights for the wider developing-market literature, and evidence from other economies with different digital ecosystems and markets would strengthen the case. The study also covered a single platform, and the firms use several at once, so we could not examine how running multiple platforms shapes digital literacy. P9 did suggest that skills built on TikTok can transfer to others.

Conclusion

This study asked how owners and managers of SMEs in Ghana develop digital literacy through TikTok. Through Diffusion of Innovations (DOI) theory, the app emerged as an informal learning environment where owners and managers pick up platform-specific skills that feed into their broader competence, down to a metacognitive awareness of what they still need to learn. Six themes describe the process: e-WOM as an adoption catalyst, observational

upskilling, demand-driven engagement, creative content development, satisfaction-driven continued use, and business growth.

The study extends DOI to post-adoption learning and offers a graduated model of digital literacy. For SMEs in emerging markets, TikTok can open the door to the digital economy because getting started is easy, and moving from basic use to real literacy requires more than the platform alone. Peer networks, together with practical training from platforms, governments, and other bodies, help firms move from informal learning to structured knowledge. As digital platforms shape more of the business world, understanding how they function as learning spaces is worth the effort, and we offer these findings as a starting point from a Ghanaian sample, open to testing in other contexts.

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