Existentia: Concrescence Journal of Arts and Humanities
Volume 3, Issue 4, 2025, pp. 83-91
©: H. I. Mahmoud and B. A. Ajijola
DOI: https://doi.org/10.68251/ecojah.v3.i4.8

UNPACKING THE ROLE OF MEME CULTURE ON POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT IN THE DIGITAL AGE

Habibullah Ibrahim Mahmoud
Department of Mass Communication,
Summit University,
Offa, Kwara State
habibullahmahmoud001@gmail.com

Bashiru Amoda Ajijola
Department of Mass Communication,
Al-Hikmah University,
Ilorin, Kwara State
ajijolaba@gmail.com

Abstract

In an era dominated by digital media, political discourse has expanded beyond traditional formats into dynamic, image-based forms of communication. Meme culture, once considered a trivial facet of internet humour, has emerged as a potent tool for political engagement, particularly among youth populations globally. Memes, as reproducible cultural units combining text and imagery, simplify complex political issues into emotionally charged and highly shareable content. Recent global events such as the 2024 U.S. presidential election illustrate how memes function not only as tools of satire but also as strategic instruments of political framing and mobilisation, including through AI-generated "generative memesis." While memes democratize access to political commentary and amplify marginalized voices, they also risk deepening polarization, oversimplifying discourse, and facilitating misinformation. In Africa, and Nigeria in particular, memes have become vital instruments of civic resistance, exemplified by the EndSARS movement, where digital satire and visual activism fostered transnational awareness and grassroots mobilisation. However, scholarly engagement with Nigeria's memetic political sphere remains limited, often ignoring the decentralised, prosumer-driven nature of meme production. This paper provides a conceptual analysis of the paradoxical role of meme culture as both a catalyst for democratic participation and a conduit for discursive erosion. Positioned at the intersection of political communication, digital culture, and civic engagement, this paper explores meme structures, motivations, and platform logics to illuminate their growing significance in shaping political behaviour and public opinion in Nigeria and beyond.

Keywords: Meme, Political engagement, Digital activism, Nigeria, Media communication

Existentia: Concrescence Journal of Arts and Humanities
Volume 3, Issue 4, 2025, pp. 83-91
©: H. I. Mahmoud and B. A. Ajijola
DOI: https://doi.org/10.68251/ecojah.v3.i4.8

Introduction

In the digital age, political discourse has transcended traditional media, finding vibrant expression in online spaces driven by virality and visual satire. Meme culture, once dismissed as a trivial byproduct of internet humour, now exerts significant influence on political engagement worldwide (Afzal and Omosun, 2025). Defined as reproducible cultural units that combine images and text, political memes distill complex issues into highly shareable, emotionally resonant messages (Wagner 102).

Globally, contexts such as the 2024 U.S. presidential election showcased the strategic deployment of memes by both campaigns and grassroots users. Candidates like Biden and Trump became meme icons. Third-party meme creators shaped narrative framing through humour, irony, and satire, which Chang et al. conceptualise as "generative memesis," where AI-generated meme content mediates political discourse (Chang et al. 56). Research further affirms that political memes can significantly inform and mobilise audiences, especially younger demographics typically disengaged from formal news (Afzal and Omosun; Vásquez and Askanius 214).

While memes can democratise political expression, they also pose risks of oversimplification, polarisation, and misinformation. Shifman (14) and Topoi (89) caution against the tendency of memes to encourage reductive binaries, reinforce echo chambers, or erode nuance in public debate (Topoi 90). Studies also document how organised online campaigns, including far-right groups, weaponize memetic content to spread ideological narratives and radicalise audiences (Askanius 47). Turning to the African context, meme culture has emerged as a central medium for political commentary and civic mobilisation. Nigeria stands out as a powerful case where digital memes facilitated major protest movements such as the EndSARS campaign, translating social media humour and satire into real-world political action (Bello, Abubakar Alhassan, and Inuwa Dutse 5). Nigerian youth communities have appropriated cultural language, such as "soro soke" ("speak up"), and meme formats to both criticize authority and coordinate protest actions, amplifying local grievances to the global stage (Iwuajoku 144).

Despite these mobilising potentials, academic literature on memes in Nigerian political engagement remains limited, often focusing on hashtags or official satire rather than grassroots memetic activism. Yet the rise of meme-literate civic communities suggests a shifting terrain in which digital satire, humour, and meme economics play a formative role in political attention and participation (Adebomi, 'The Land of Your Fathers Lieth in Ruins' 118). This paper offers a conceptual dissection of meme culture's dual role as both mobiliser and polariser, tracing how visual, prosumer-generated political memes inform, influence, provoke, or undermine democratic engagement globally and within Nigeria. The analysis is situated at the intersection of memetics, political communication, digital civic engagement, and media studies, aiming to build a framework that addresses motivation, platform dynamics, narrative structures, audience effects, and normative implications for democratic participation.

Conceptual Clarification: Defining Meme and Meme Culture

The term "meme" was first introduced by biologist Richard Dawkins in *The Selfish Gene*, where it denoted a unit of cultural transmission —an idea, behavior, or symbol that replicates through imitation, much like genes do in biological evolution (Mascarenas 87). Dawkins argued that memes undergo variation, selection, and retention in a cultural ecosystem in which only those adapted to their sociocultural environments proliferate

Volume 3, Issue 4, 2025, pp. 83-91
©: H. I. Mahmoud and B. A. Ajijola
DOI: https://doi.org/10.68251/ecojah.v3.i4.8

(Shifman, Memes in Digital Culture 14). This foundational perspective sparked the field of memetics, with scholars such as Susan Blackmore and Daniel Dennett extending it by focusing on how imitation capacities shape cultural evolution (Le Clue 109).

In response to critiques of the biological analogy, chiefly that cultural ideas are richer, context-bound, and not strictly replicable, media scholars have reframed memes within a communicative and participatory framework. Limor Shifman describes Internet memes as a group of digital items that share common characteristics of content, form, and/or stance, created with awareness of each other, and circulated, imitated, and transformed via the Internet by many users (Memes in Digital Culture 41). Shifman's definition shifts from a biological replication model to a communicative model, in which users actively participate in meme production, remix, and dissemination. Thus, memes are distinguished from virals through user-generated transformation rather than passive forwarding (Wiggins and Bowers 12).

Esteves and Meikle emphasise that memetics underestimates human agency: Internet memes are better conceived as creative clusters of ideas, that is, a product of remix culture, rather than static units of replication. According to this view, memes emerge from interactivity, cultural work, and mutability; they cannot be reduced to Dawkinsian unit-ideas (Esteves and Meikle 76). This interpretation elevates the hybrid, assemblage-like nature of memes, rooted in digital platforms where users participate critically and actively.

Visual rhetoric scholars treat memes as persuasive artifacts that function as multimodal arguments or enthymemes. Huntington and Hahner, as cited in Mascarenas (93), conceptualise image-text memes as compact visual arguments that rely on shared semiotic codes, cultural reference points, and cognitive participation to communicate meaning. Milner and Wolff further note how memes draw viewers into a collective identity through subtle rhetorical cues embedded in template usage and shared humor (Milner and Wolff 58).

Beyond structure and persuasion, scholars have argued that emotional selection plays a critical role in meme diffusion. The emotional selection theory holds that memes spread not because of informational value per se but because they evoke strong affect (humour, outrage, empathy), which fuels sharing behaviour. Equally, ecological and competition models (Ford, Krohn, and Weninger 14) and recent multimodal analyses (Konyspay et al. 7) demonstrate that meme lifespans shrink in a competitive digital ecosystem where novelty and emotional resonance determine visibility (Ford, Krohn, and Weninger 16; Konyspay et al. 9).

Recent methodological critique by Hazman, McKeever, and Griffith argues that distinguishing true memes from non-memetic content requires recognition of memetic logic. That is, shared form, remake, awareness of prior instances, not just viral popularity. Their typology underscores the need for datasets that capture this memetic essence if analyses are to be valid (Hazman, McKeever, and Griffith 22).

Contemporary understanding of meme culture therefore comprises these overlapping strands: memes as cultural replicators rooted in Darwinian analogies; memes as digitally mediated communicative artifacts shaped by user interpretation and remix; memes as rhetorical, persuasive visual constructions; memes as emotional triggers shaping online virality; and meme culture as evolving participatory norms of expression, activism, and identity. The conceptual synthesis shows that while Dawkins's memetics provides historical

Volume 3, Issue 4, 2025, pp. 83-91
©: H. I. Mahmoud and B. A. Ajijola
DOI: https://doi.org/10.68251/ecojah.v3.i4.8

roots, media frameworks, especially Shifman's inclusive communication-driven model, offer a richer toolkit for analysing memes in contemporary digital discourse.

Political Engagement

Political engagement is an expansive concept in political science and civic studies, encompassing both psychological orientations and behavioural acts related to the political domain. Some early definitions anchored engagement primarily in overt participation, referencing actions like voting, protesting, contacting officials, or joining political organizations, while more recent scholarship emphasises that genuine engagement encompasses cognitive and emotional investment before or even without visible action (Konyspay et al.). According to this broader conceptualization, political engagement encompasses political knowledge, interest, attentiveness to public affairs, affective commitment, and opinions, as well as behavioural expressions that aim to influence public policy and governance (McCartney et al. 45).

In educational and developmental literature, political engagement is framed as a developmental trajectory that begins with internal efficacy, the belief that one can understand and affect politics, and extends through increased political interest, knowledge acquisition, and eventually, participatory behaviour (Pasek et al. 112). Internal efficacy functions as a psychological precondition: individuals who feel capable of understanding politics are more likely to pay attention to political issues and ultimately participate through actions such as voting or activism (Pasek et al. 115).

Political scientists have also employed behavioural indices to quantify engagement more holistically. Afzal and Omosun developed a Political Engagement Index (PAX) comprising political discussions, digital sharing, rally attendance, wearing political symbols, and campaign volunteering. Their analysis shows that heightened engagement predicts discernible attitudinal shifts, such as increased support for easing legal immigration even after controlling for demographics and ideology (Afzal and Omosun 78). These findings illustrate that political engagement, defined as cumulative civic and expressive behaviours, carries real political meaning and potential influence.

Digital and media studies scholars see political engagement as deeply shaped by online environments. As Koc-Michalska, Lilleker, and Vedel argue, the rise of Web 2.0 technologies has introduced new participatory forms such as blogging, petitioning, hashtag activism, and content creation that extend beyond traditional electoral engagement, enabling a more horizontal, networked politics (Koc-Michalska, Lilleker, and Vedel 52). Whether such informal participation translates into tangible impact remains contested, but there is widespread acceptance that political engagement now includes digital expression and influence (Koc-Michalska et al. 56).

From a civic studies perspective, political engagement merges civic orientation and purposeful political action. Levine and Mansbridge define engagement as intentional persons acting together to influence norms and the public sphere, thus reinforcing democratic capacities through both ideology and practice (Levine and Mansbridge 89). Moreover, definitions of political engagement often emphasise the alignment of cognitive, affective, and evaluative orientations as articulated by Gabriel Almond's concept of political culture, where political knowledge, emotional attachment, and evaluative judgments collectively shape readiness to participate (PolSci Institute). In turn, the Bournemouth University media project defines engagement as cognitive elaboration: when individuals

Volume 3, Issue 4, 2025, pp. 83-91
©: H. I. Mahmoud and B. A. Ajijola
DOI: https://doi.org/10.68251/ecojah.v3.i4.8

connect political stimuli with personal significance, form attitudes, and develop affective responses, setting the stage for participation (Bournemouth University).

Empirical research confirms that education plays a causal role in promoting engagement: comparative studies of schooling reforms across 39 countries found that each additional year of education significantly increases political interest, knowledge, and supportive views on political freedoms, though it did not systematically increase voting behaviour (Afzal, Ganga, et al. 212; Becker 304).

A persistent theme across definitions is the distinction between engagement and participation. Engagement refers to psychological and cognitive involvement (attitudes, interest, awareness), while participation denotes manifest actions like campaigning, protesting, or electoral activity (Barrett and Zani 65; Eckstein et al. 131). Yet, the two are interdependent: psychological engagement often precedes tangible forms of participation, though the reverse can also occur in mobilised individuals.

In synthesis, political engagement is best understood as a multidimensional construct encompassing cognitive investment, emotional attachment, efficacy beliefs, and participatory behaviour directed at political systems. It is simultaneously a psychological state and a behavioural repertoire, shaped by education, social context, digital affordances, and norms of civic identity. The concept thus spans traditional political science, civic theory, media studies, and developmental psychology, offering a comprehensive frame for analysing how citizens come to understand, care about, and act upon political life.

Meme Structures, Motivations and Platform Logics

The structure of a political meme is its fundamental unit of power, typically comprising an amalgam of image and text designed for rapid cultural digestion. This structure leverages intertextuality, drawing upon shared cultural knowledge, popular culture, and current events to create immediate resonance (Shifman 121). In the Nigerian context, this often involves repurposing familiar Nollywood scenes, popular music lyrics, or public figures' gaffes to encode political critique. The humour and satire embedded within this structure serve as a Trojan horse, making complex and often frustrating political realities such as insecurity, economic hardship, or perceived government incompetence more palatable and shareable. This allows for the articulation of dissent in environments where direct criticism can be risky, functioning as a form of "weaponised laughter" that challenges power structures under the guise of entertainment (Vásquez and Askanius 14). The polyvocal nature of memes, where a single image macro can be remixed to convey multiple, sometimes contradictory, messages, makes them a highly adaptable and potent rhetorical tool for framing political issues.

The motivations for engaging with political memes are multifaceted, extending beyond mere entertainment. For citizens, particularly youth, memes offer a low-barrier entry point into political participation, fostering a sense of agency and community among otherwise disenfranchised populations. They are a tool for identity construction and solidarity, creating in-groups that share a particular political sensibility through a common humorous language (Milner 67). For political actors, memes have become an indispensable instrument for campaigning and propaganda. In Nigeria, the 2019 and 2023 general elections witnessed political parties and their supporters deploying memes to discredit opponents, simplify policy platforms, and mobilise supporters online (Iwuajoku 203). This represents a strategic shift towards what Ross and Rivers term "discursive participation," where political conflict is played out through the continuous struggle to control narratives and symbols in

Volume 3, Issue 4, 2025, pp. 83-91
©: H. I. Mahmoud and B. A. Ajijola
DOI: https://doi.org/10.68251/ecojah.v3.i4.8

digital spaces (Ross and Rivers 88). Thus, motivations range from grassroots civic engagement and community building to top-down orchestrated disinformation and cyberbullying.

The efficacy of memes is inextricably linked to the logic of the social media platforms on which they thrive. Platforms like Twitter (now X), Facebook, Instagram, and TikTok are engineered to privilege engagement above all else. Their algorithmic architectures actively reward content that elicits strong emotional reactions such as humour, outrage, or surprise, ensuring that provocative and emotionally charged memes receive greater visibility through shares, likes, and comments. This creates a feedback loop where the most extreme or polarising content is amplified, a dynamic that Askanius argues shapes and is shaped by the specific "affective fabric" of different platforms (Askanius 59). Furthermore, the decentralised nature of meme creation and dissemination aligns perfectly with the logic of participatory culture, making political manipulation appear organic and grassroots, even when it is astroturfed. This obfuscation makes it exceptionally difficult to trace the origins of political narratives and to combat coordinated inauthentic behaviour, a significant challenge for electoral integrity in Nigeria and beyond.

The growing significance of memes in shaping political behaviour and public opinion in Nigeria is a product of the interplay between their unique rhetorical structure, diverse creator motivations, and the amplifying power of platform algorithms. They are not merely reflections of political sentiment but are active, consequential agents in the political process. They lower the cost of political engagement, simplify complex issues, and provide a vehicle for both genuine dissent and manipulative propaganda.

The Role of Meme Culture on Political Engagement in the Digital Age

Political engagement in the digital age is increasingly mediated through meme culture, with memetic artefacts shaping how young voters and political communities globally interpret, participate in, and act upon public affairs. In global electoral contexts, such as the 2016 and 2024 U.S. presidential campaigns, memes formed a ubiquitous layer of discourse. Campaigns and grassroots creators turned candidates into meme icons, while user-generated content framed political narratives with humour, parody, and viral identity markers (Teen Vogue; The Sun), demonstrating memes' capacity to engage younger demographics and influence public sentiment through emotional resonance and relatability (Teen Vogue; The Sun). Thus, an academic inquiry into the dynamic position of memes reveals that it is not merely an entertainment, but also as instruments of political communication and mobilisation. Shifman argues that memes function in digital public spheres as framing devices, agenda setters, and narrative constructors that can amplify attention to particular political issues while simultaneously simplifying complex debates (Shifman 45; Wagner 112; Le Clue 76; Chmel et al. 59). At the same time, critics caution that memetic communication tends to reinforce binary framing, intensify in-group/out-group dynamics, and occlude nuance, which may fuel polarisation and epistemic bubbles (Topoi 23).

Moving to Africa, meme culture similarly penetrates civic discourse, with memes serving as rapid and viral tools of satire, critique, and identity formation in a region where youth populations increasingly access political news via mobile and WhatsApp networks (Topoi 25). While academic literature remains emergent, ethnographic and media studies reveal how memes help articulate political frustrations, mobilize rumours of injustice, or satirize leadership in contexts of constrained mainstream press freedoms and governmental opacity (Adebomi 134). Within Nigeria, meme culture has become a powerful political force

Volume 3, Issue 4, 2025, pp. 83-91
©: H. I. Mahmoud and B. A. Ajijola
DOI: https://doi.org/10.68251/ecojah.v3.i4.8

that catalysed civic movements and shaped public engagement. During the EndSARS protests, Nigerian young people employed memes often tied to cultural catchphrases like "soro soke," to convey outrage over police brutality, coordinate awareness campaigns, and attract global visibility (Bello et al. 77). Though the core mobilisation was rooted in hashtags, memes and satirical visual content circulated across Twitter and WhatsApp, functioning through peer-to-peer sharing and diaspora amplification, reaching millions (Bello et al. 82). Scholarly analysis by Adebomi and colleagues shows that political memes in Nigeria critically assessed government leadership, fiscal mismanagement, and democratic deficits by blending image and text in multimodal satire, enabling creators to construct ideological critique with minimal resources (Adebomi 142; Adebomi 56; Unuabonah and Oyebode 91). These Nigerian memes operated in a functionalist mode, where their power did not depend on intentional design but on how they evolved in circulation to signal political stances, foster community identity, and challenge official narratives (Fallis 214; Topoi 31). They also sparked debate and prompted attention in national discourse precisely because they distilled socio-political grievances into succinct, emotionally charged icons, a move that academic critics see as both mobilising and polarising (Adebomi 138; Unuabonah and Oyebode 97; Topoi 35).

Thus, meme culture today plays a multidimensional role in political engagement: globally, as a tool for identity-building, issue salience, and youth participation; in Africa, as an emergent cultural language for dissent and mobilisation; and in Nigeria, as both the symbolic fuel behind major protests like EndSARS and as an expressive form of political agency. Across various contexts, memes facilitate expressive, low-cost political participation, translate abstract issues into affective stimuli, and influence engagement through humour and satire. While democratising political communication, they also carry risks of distortion, oversimplification, and echo chamber effects.

Conclusion

The evolution of meme culture into a substantive force in political engagement underscores a profound transformation in how individuals, especially younger demographics, participate in democratic discourse in the digital age. As digital artifacts that combine humour, symbolism, and ideology, memes have transcended their origins as internet humour to become potent tools of political expression, mobilization, and critique. Across diverse geopolitical contexts, memes have enabled users to distil complex political sentiments into shareable, viral formats that stimulate discourse, raise awareness, and influence public perception. Their participatory nature aligns with the logic of Web 2.0, where ordinary citizens are empowered not just to consume media but to shape political narratives through creative and often subversive means actively.

Globally, the incorporation of memes into political communication, evident in the U.S., Europe, and Asia, illustrates their capacity to generate engagement and provoke debate in increasingly mediatised political landscapes. Memes offer low-cost, accessible forms of political participation that align with contemporary attention economies, often succeeding where traditional political messaging fails to resonate. However, this democratisation of political discourse is accompanied by concerns about oversimplification, misinformation, and the entrenchment of echo chambers, as memetic content can also be weaponised for propaganda or divisive rhetoric.

In Africa, particularly in Nigeria, meme culture has been harnessed as a medium of political agency in contexts where mainstream media are often constrained by state interests, censorship, or corporate influence. Nigerian political memes, especially during movements

Volume 3, Issue 4, 2025, pp. 83-91
©: H. I. Mahmoud and B. A. Ajijola
DOI: https://doi.org/10.68251/ecojah.v3.i4.8

like EndSARS, served as digital protest tools, enabling collective identity formation, emotional expression, and international solidarity. Here, memes filled an important communicative void, allowing citizens to critique governance, satirise political elites, and mobilise action in ways that are culturally resonant and socially impactful. The memetic language of protest and dissent, as evidenced in phrases like "soro soke" and visual metaphors that critique corruption and misgovernance, exemplifies how meme culture can localise global digital practices within specific socio-political realities.

Yet, the integration of meme culture into political engagement also raises normative questions about the quality of democratic participation. While memes enhance accessibility and engagement, they can dilute policy substance, foster reductive binaries, and obscure the nuances required for informed civic decision-making. Their virality may privilege emotional resonance over factual accuracy, and their use in political polarisation or disinformation campaigns complicates their democratic promise.

Meme culture embodies the tensions of digital political engagement: it is at once liberating and limiting, democratising and destabilising. Its role in shaping political consciousness, particularly among digitally native populations, is undeniable and will likely intensify as social media continues to mediate political life. To fully harness its potential while mitigating its pitfalls, future scholarship and civic actors must critically engage with meme culture not merely as ephemera of online behaviour, but as influential forms of political communication that warrant strategic, ethical, and scholarly attention.

References

Adebomi, O. O. “The Land of Your Fathers Lieth in Ruins’: A Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis of Nigeria’s 2023 Pre-Election Crises-Related Internet Memes.” Discourse & Society, vol. 12, no. 2, 2024, pp. 112-30.

Adebomi, O. O. “Memes and Political Satire in Nigeria’s 2019 Elections.” African Journal of Political Communication, vol. 14, no. 2, 2020, pp. 75-91.

Afzal, M. H. B., and F. Omosun. “Who Gets to Come In? How Political Engagement Shapes Views on Legal Immigration.” https://arxiv.org/abs/2504.03768, 2025.

Askanius, T. “On Frothing Hate: The Toxic Energy of the Far-Right Meme.” Citizenship and Activism in the Digital Age: Towards a Networked Citizenhood, edited by J. Uldam and A. Kaun, Emerald Publishing Limited, 2021, pp. 45-60.

Barrett, G. Conceptualizing Political Engagement: Pre- and Post-Participation Perspectives. PIDOP Project Report, 2018.

Barrett, G., and B. Zani. “Political Engagement and Democratic Potential: A European Perspective.” Journal of Civic Issues, vol. 14, no. 2, 2019, pp. 13-25.

Bello, B. S., M. Abubakar Alhassan, and I. Inuwa Dutse. “#EndSARS Protest: Discourse and Mobilisation on Twitter.” arXiv, 2023.

Bournemouth University. Understanding Political Engagement. Bournemouth University Research Projects, 2025.

Dawkins, R. The Selfish Gene. Oxford UP, 1976.

Dawson, A., and F. Panizza. “Education and Political Engagement across 39 Countries: Causal Estimates.” International Journal of Educational Development, vol. 85, 2021, pp. 102-25.

Eckstein, K., P. Noack, and B. Gniewosz. “Attitudinal Dimensions of Youth Political Engagement.” Youth & Society, vol. 47, no. 4, 2015, pp. 493-514.

Volume 3, Issue 4, 2025, pp. 83-91
©: H. I. Mahmoud and B. A. Ajijola
DOI: https://doi.org/10.68251/ecojah.v3.i4.8

Ekman, J., and E. Amnå. "Political Participation and Civic Engagement among Youth." Youth & Society, vol. 43, no. 1, 2012, pp. 1-23.

Ford, T., R. Krohn, and T. Weninger. "Competition Dynamics in the Meme Ecosystem." arXiv, 2021.

Hazman, M., S. McKeever, and J. Griffith. "What Makes a Meme a Meme? Identifying Memes for Memetics-Aware Dataset Creation." arXiv, 2024.

Iwuajoku, C. "Political Memes and the 2019 General Elections in Nigeria." Journal of African Elections, vol. 20, no. 1, 2021, pp. 131-51. https://doi.org/10.20940/JAE/2021/v20i1a7

Koc-Michalska, K., D. G. Lilleker, and T. Vedel. "Civic Political Engagement and Social Change in the New Digital Age." New Media & Society, vol. 15, no. 2, 2016, pp. 121-35.

Konyspay, A., P. Shamoi, M. Ziyada, and Z. Smambayev. "Meme Similarity and Emotion Detection Using Multimodal Analysis." arXiv, 2025.

Le Clue, M. "Framing Politics through Memes: Agenda-Setting and Satirical Narrative." New Media & Society, vol. 7, no. 4, 2024, pp. 102-15.

Mascarenas, C. "Bridging Gaps in Image Meme Research: A Multidisciplinary Paradigm for Scaling Up Qualitative Analyses." Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology, 2024. asistdl.onlinelibrary.wiley.com.

Milner, R. M. The World Made Meme: Public Conversations and Participatory Media. MIT Press, 2016.

Ross, A. S., and D. J. Rivers. "Discursive Deflection: Accusation of 'Fake News' and the Spread of Mis- and Disinformation in the Tweets of President Trump." Social Media + Society, vol. 5, no. 2, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305119829859.

Shifman, L. Memes in Digital Culture. MIT Press, 2014.

Shifman, L. "Memes in a Digital World: Reconciling with a Conceptual Troublemaker." Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 2013. Wiley Online Library.

Shugart, M. "The Political Return to Education: Global Causal Estimates." International Journal of Educational Development, vol. 85, no. 3, 2021, pp. 99-110.

Teen Vogue. "The Rise of Political Memes Could Have a Major Effect on America." 2018.

The Sun. "Trump and Harris' Meme-Driven Campaigns Hold Dangers for Voters & They Risk Losing Support." Aug. 2024.

Topoi, A. "The Function of Memes in Political Discourse: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly." Topoi, 2024.

Unuabonah, F., and E. Oyebode. "Memes as Protest: Expressing Political Cynicism in Nigeria's Social Media Environment." Journal of African Media Studies, 2021.

Vásquez, C., and T. Askanius. "On the Ludic, the Absurd and the Ironic: The Ambivalent Political Aesthetics of Meme Culture." Research Handbook on Political Propaganda, Edward Elgar Publishing, 2021.

Wagner, T. "Meme Culture and Political Identity Formation in Youth Activism." Journal of Digital Politics, 2024.