

Original Article

Impact of Internet Memes on Perception of Gender-Based Violence among Pakistani Youth

Article history:

Received: January 07, 2025

Revised: March 17, 2025

Accepted: March 18, 2025

Published: April 01, 2025

Sahira Zaman (Ph.D) (Corresponding Author)

Department of Gender Studies

Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi – Pakistan

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7513-3807>
sahirazaman@fjwu.edu.pk

Zaria Arshad

Department of Gender Studies

Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi – Pakistan

zariyakhan803@gmail.com

Suriyya Choudhary (Ph.D)

Department of Fine Arts

Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi – Pakistan

s.choudhary@fjwu.edu.pk

Authors' Biography

Sahira Zaman (Ph.D) is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Gender Studies, Fatima Jinnah Women University in Rawalpindi – Pakistan. She obtained her Doctorate in Psychology from the Quaid-e-Azam University in Islamabad – Pakistan.

Zaria Arshad is a Research Scholar at the Department of Gender Studies, Fatima Jinnah Women University in Rawalpindi – Pakistan. She received her Bachelors in Gender Studies from Fatima Jinnah Women University in Rawalpindi – Pakistan.

Suriyya Choudhary (Ph.D) is an Associate Professor at the Department of Fine Arts, Fatima Jinnah Women University in Rawalpindi – Pakistan. She obtained her Doctorate in Fine Arts from the University of Reading in Reading – United Kingdom.

JEL Classification: **L86, I31**

How to Cite:

Zaman, S., Arshad, Z., & Choudhary, S. (2025). Impact of Internet Memes on Perception of Gender-Based Violence among Pakistani Youth. *Bulletin of Multidisciplinary Studies*, 2(1), 71 –81.

<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.15251940>

Publisher's Note:

International Research and Publishing Academy (iRAPA) stands neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in the published maps and institutional affiliations.

Copyright:

©2025 | Bulletin of Multidisciplinary Studies published by International Research and Publishing Academy (iRAPA)



This is an Open Access article published under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0) (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>)

Creative Commons Attribution (CCBY): lets others distribute and copy the article, to create extracts, abstracts, and other revised versions, adaptations or derivative works of or from an article (such as a translation), to include in a collective work (such as an anthology), to text or data mine the article, even for commercial purposes, as long as they credit the author(s), do not represent the author as endorsing their adaptation of the article, and do not modify the article in such a way as to damage the author's honour or reputation.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the impact of internet meme culture on the perception of gender-based violence and harassment among Pakistani-educated youth. Memes nowadays have become an integral part of virtual life and illustrate societal issues in humorous or satirical ways. This study aimed to analyse how memes present harassment-related issues and how these shift individual thoughts and behaviours regarding gender-based violence and sexual harassment in society. A qualitative methodology was adopted to conduct the research. Two methods were included i.e. content analysis of memes on the internet related to the topic of sexual harassment and in-depth interviews with university students about their exposure, perception, and effect of these memes on the understanding and severity of the harassment. The findings showed that memes displayed with sexual harassment content downplay the issue. Memes strengthen the traditional gender roles and unequal status of women in society, and it is done by lighter notes in satirical ways, which have a subconscious impact on the thinking of the people who watch them. Memes shape and reinforce the gender roles in society. The research illustrates that memes propagate harmful stereotypes and influence the perception of gender-based violence and sexual harassment among viewers. The study emphasizes the importance of critically evaluating memes and their impact on the psyche of society because of their serious viral nature; it trivializes the grave issue of sexual harassment in the minds of people.

Keywords: *Gender-based violence, Internet memes, Pakistani youth, Sexual-harassment*

INTRODUCTION

Mememes are units of cultural ideas that spread from person to person, similar to how genes function in evolution. Dan Sperber, Susan Blackmore, and Daniel Dennett expanded on this concept, observing that mememes can exist as mental or public representations within a culture (Blackmore, 2010; Dennett, 1990). Today, mememes are recognized as ideas, catchphrases, or customs widely shared by individuals on the internet or in virtual spaces (Almaghrabi, 2023; Knobel & Lankshear, 2007). With the rise of the internet, mememes have developed into Internet Mememes (IM), which spread rapidly through social media, blogs, and forums (Castaño Díaz, 2013). Mememes are humorous images or text (Zubaidah & Ardelia, 2018). As part of online culture, mememes are often portrayed as jokes that combine graphic elements and text, spreading virally in virtual environments (Knobel & Lankshear, 2007). Mememes in popular culture frequently reference political, religious, and societal understandings shared by the general public, with mutual meanings acting as symbols to represent various themes (Campbell et al., 2018; Clark, 1993; Knobel & Lankshear, 2007; Zubaidah & Ardelia, 2018). The decoding and encoding of mememes have social and psychological effects on people's mindsets, leading to changes in behaviours related to these themes (Tulloch, 2023).

Mememes on the internet are primarily popular among younger individuals, aka millennials, who use the internet more and spend most of their time online (Kostadinovska-Stojchevska & Shalevska, 2018). Initially seen as a communication tool, mememes nowadays have become part of internet sub-cultures and spread among people mainly through social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, WhatsApp,

and X (Bastari et al., 2021). Mememes are widely accepted as a tool for making fun of or humorously presenting an idea. It also has impacted the perception of gender-based violence and harassment in a similar way (Drakett et al., 2018). The rise of internet mememes as a form of digital communication has significantly impacted how we perceive various social issues, including harassment (Vitis & Gilmour, 2017). Mememes, which blend humour, satire, and cultural commentary, have become a powerful tool for shaping public discourse, often framing complex topics in simplified, shareable formats that quickly reach large audiences (Shifman, 2014). This viral nature allows mememes to influence perceptions of harassment, sometimes trivializing serious issues by reducing them to punchlines or humorous images while raising awareness by highlighting specific incidents or behaviours that constitute harassment (Phillips & Milner, 2017).

Pakistan has one of the most prominent young populations in the world. In Pakistan, mememes are widely shared on platforms like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and WhatsApp. They often focus on relatable everyday experiences, political satire, and social issues. For instance, mememes about the challenges of inflation, cricket fandom, and political controversies frequently go viral, resonating with a diverse audience. The humour in mememes often employs irony, sarcasm, or exaggeration, making them an effective medium for engaging younger generations. Mememes also significantly foster digital activism in Pakistan. During political protests or crises, mememes spread awareness, critique governance, or challenge societal norms, creating a space for citizen dialogue (Javed et al., 2022). This study focuses on mememes that have gained significant public attention and become integrated into popular culture.

Objectives

- To find out the content of gender-related harassment themes in memes.
- To investigate memes' psychological and social effects on viewers' perceptions of sexual harassment.
- To understand whether meme consumption correlates with a diminished perception of harassment's severity.

Research Questions

- How do memes portray gender-based harassment?
- To what extent do memes influence viewers' perceptions of harassment as a serious issue?
- Do certain types of memes (e.g., satirical, humorous) reduce the perceived severity of sexual harassment?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Harassment as Gender-based Violence

Harassment is generally defined as unwelcome and offensive behaviour directed at an individual or group, resulting in discomfort, fear, or harm to those affected (O'Donohue et al., 1998). This behaviour often includes physical, verbal, or digital acts that can be perceived as threatening, discriminatory, or humiliating. Harassment is broadly classified as sexual harassment, racial harassment, and workplace harassment, each explicitly targeting aspects of a person's identity or environment (Cann & Castro, 2022; Einarsen, 2000; Phillips & Milner, 2017). These acts of harassment are often repetitive and create a hostile environment that undermines the well-being of the targeted individuals, impacting their emotional, mental, and physical health (Johansson & Magnusson, 2024). The rise of internet memes as a form of digital communication has significantly impacted how we perceive various social issues, including harassment. Memes, which blend humour, satire, and cultural commentary, have become a powerful tool for shaping public discourse, often framing complex topics in simplified, shareable formats that quickly reach large audiences (Shifman, 2014). However, sometimes, they also highlight or raise awareness about the specific behaviours that constitute sexual harassment (Phillips & Milner, 2017).

As we know, memes are repetitive behaviour-driven artifacts that reinforce a specific view and attitudes in online communities (Shifman, 2014); when applied to issues of sexual harassment, they strengthen the harmful stereotypes or desensitize the audience about

the severity of these behaviours and shape societal attitudes. The humour associated with memes can diminish the perceived seriousness of the harassment, especially when they are seen regularly e.g. aggressive behaviours toward marginalized individuals (Drakett et al., 2018). On the contrary, Highfield, (2016) argued that memes can also foster awareness about the victims of harassment.

Framing Theory (Goffman, 1974) explained that media and other forms of communication influence the perception of people to understand the critical issues in society. The theory posits that information presented through specific words, images, or overall tone affects how the receiver interprets and reacts. Framing helps to highlight certain aspects of the issue and downplay the other. The intention of the framer plays a vital role in it. For example, news about a public protest can be framed as public awareness/ resistance or can be portrayed as a disruption to social order. Similarly, memes, especially about harassment, can also be frame and shape public perception and change the views of people on the problem's severity and importance.

Therefore, the current research took memes as a modern form of communication that can frame serious gender-related issues. Memes, by their very nature, are catchy, relatable, and humorous, that makes them relatable and shareable on social media platforms. Though, their framing power is in their simplifying the complex issues by using the tools of humour, satire, or other forms of visual/textual elements to stimulate a specific kind of emotion in the audience.

Memes and Framing Perception of Gender-Based Harassment

Gender-based violence is a burning issue to be addressed in our society. The usage of memes can frame the issue of gender harassment differently depending upon their tone and content, visual and textual both. Some memes utilize funny tones and some exaggeration to depict harassment in a light-hearted way, which trivializes the seriousness of the problem. That may unconsciously end up normalizing the harassment in society. Portraying sexual harassment as something humorous or insignificant can lessen the seriousness of the issue in the minds of the viewers (Johansson & Magnusson, 2024). This framing can reinforce traditional stereotypes and can contribute to a culture where gender-based harassment is overlooked or normalized. On the other hand, memes can also be utilized to unlearn the societal harmful attitudes towards gender. It can frame harassment as a serious societal issue to call for urgent attention. Memes

curated in sharp and satirical tones highlighting the harmful impacts of harassment help raise awareness about its prevalence in society and criticize people's attitudes that enable these behaviours. Memes can equally serve as tools for digital activism to change the existing patterns of behaviours and can initiate a meaningful conversation about gender-based issues.

In current research employing "Framing Theory" the sexual harassment issue is analysed and how these frames can influence the perception of the public about harassment portrayed in the memes. The research specifically explores the impact of different types of frames—such as those using humour versus those adopting a serious tone—on how people understand the severity of harassment (Clark, 1993; Hancock & Garner, 2021; Highfield, 2016; Highfield & Leaver, 2016). Therefore, the current research aims to uncover these frames and how they contribute to normalizing sexual harassment-related behaviours in society. For example, a meme showing an encouraging harassment act showing support for the harasser may encourage these acts in society or vice versa. Memes mocking victims can desensitize the emotions of people, too, which reinforces harmful behaviours and attitudes. Hence, we were focused on digging up the dynamics of memes, their dual role as a potential enabler or challengers of societal norms surrounding gender-based harassment.

Utilization of Framing Theory in the current analysis would help to understand the impact of memes as a tool of communication that shapes public sentiments and opinions. As mentioned earlier, memes as visual and textual frames can simplify or distort the reality of gender-based harassment. So, this research sheds light on the types of different framing tools, e.g., humour, satire, and emotional appeal in making memes. So, the research seeks to highlight the contribution of memes in normalizing harassment by making it seamless, severe, or conversely a contributor to a constructive role in raising awareness about gender-based violence and harassment. Framing Theory provides the lens through which these questions will be explored, helping to uncover the broader implications of meme culture for societal views of harassment.

METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative methodology to understand how memes influence perceptions of harassment comprehensively. By combining content analysis and in-depth interviews, the research ensures a multi-dimensional exploration of the issue. The current research includes two samples. One is meme collections for content analysis, and the other is

participants for in-depth interviews.

Memos Collection

Memos related to harassment were collected from public social media groups, pages, and accounts on Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. Selection criteria include: a) Popularity (likes, shares, and comments). b) Relevance to the harassment theme, and c) Diversity in tone (humorous, serious, satirical).

Interview Participants

The study participants included 13 young adult university students between 18 and 28 years old who were regular social media users. The individuals are selected due to their active engagement with meme culture and exposure to digital media trends. All participants' average use of social media was 3 to 6 hours daily. The individuals who expressed willingness to participate in interviews were included. Efforts were made to ensure diversity in terms of gender (10 female and 3 male students), age (18-28 years), and social media usage habits to capture a broad range of perspectives. A semi-structured interview guideline was prepared by reviewing the existing literature on meme culture and its relevance to gender-based-harassment. The interview guideline contains 10 questions ranging from viewing memes online and their influence on gender-based harassment.

Procedure

The current research was focused on understanding the impact of meme culture on gender-based harassment among Pakistani youth. Memos were collected from Facebook and Instagram by visiting those platforms for two months between December 2024 and January 2025. Only those memes that became popular on social media were selected in terms of likes, shares, and comments. The selected memes were also analysed with relevance to the theme of harassment, and the diversity in tone, i.e., humorous, serious, and satirical, were also kept in view while selecting for content analysis. For in-depth interviews, the participants were contacted. In-person, face-to-face interviews were conducted. Informed consent was obtained before the interviews were conducted. Only those participants who volunteered for the research were included.

Data Analysis

The data were analysed by utilizing two methods of qualitative analysis. The memes were analysed through content analysis, for which a coding framework was developed. It categorizes memes based on their frames of gender-based harassment. The codes included: A)

Humour, where memes that use jokes or humorous depictions. B) Satire, where meme's content shows sarcasm and irony about societal norms. C) Tolerating harassment, where memes minimize the harassment content by reinforcing harmful stereotypes. The interview data were analysed by employing the thematic analysis technique. The inductive method was employed. The responses of the participants were categorized into themes. The processes laid down by (Clarke et al., 2015) followed for thematic analysis. The qualitative data provided rich insights into the interplay

of memes and the internalizing of harassment through framing memes in acceptable ways.

RESULTS & FINDINGS

Content Analysis

The content analysis employed here focused on identifying, analysing, and interpreting patterns in memes that normalize sexual harassment acts. The interpretation of visual and textual elements in memes was analysed with social implications.

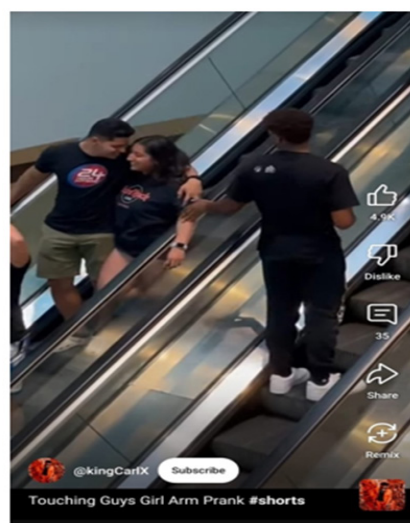
Normalizing Harassment Acts among Boys in Memes



Example: The above-mentioned mems showed the behaviours of men and young boys towards the opposite sex and the caption reads “Men will be Men”.

the unwanted attention towards women, like staring or unnecessary smiles. These memes depict that these are natural behaviours of men, so normalizing them and minimizing the discomfort have caused to opposite sex.

Impact: These memes and similar content justify Just a Joke



Example: A meme where a man touches a woman's arm while joking, saying, “Relax, it's just flirting.”

Impact: Trivializes physical contact without consent, presenting it as harmless fun, dismissing any feelings

of violation.

That's How Guys Are



Example: A meme where a man makes comments, and the caption says, "That's just how men flirt, get over it."

Impact: Normalizes inappropriate verbal behaviour, suggesting it is a standard and accepted form of flirting that should not be questioned. Humorous content creators like Elvish Yadav on YouTube frequently produce reels and memes that trivialize serious

topics such as harassment. These videos can alter people's perceptions through humour and exaggerated portrayals, making such behaviours seem less severe. By presenting harassment or boundary-crossing actions in a comedic light, these creators unintentionally help normalize inappropriate behaviour, making it appear more acceptable and less concerning in real life. This shift in perception can complicate the recognition and addressing of harassment as a serious issue.

Just a Prank



Example: The meme showed a man touching a woman or making inappropriate comments and saying, "It's just a PRANK jaar".

Impact: These kinds of memes reduce the

seriousness of physical touch without consent by making it seem harmless and making it harder to recognize as a violation of individual rights, hence making trivializing physical harassment.

Casual Flirting



Example: The meme depicting a man doing casual flirting with a girl and captioned as “Just Chill”

Impact: These behaviours also normalize the act of harassment in public places and encourage the opposite sex to tolerate the behaviours.

Gangstar Ki Love Story



Example: The meme shows that men pursue a woman in a way that disregards her consent or personal space in the guise of romantic relationships by captioning it as “Gangster ki love story”

Impact: This meme and similar content frame the disrespectful pursuits of romantic relationships and blur the line between affection and harassment, making the latter more acceptable.

Sasti Masti



Example: This content shows a man touching a woman, crossing boundaries and captioning it as “fun” or “light hearted”

harassment in society.

Impact: These acts shown in memes reinforce inappropriate behaviours as a part of everyday life and as a harmless act by minimizing the severity of

These and similar contents shift the perception of people about serious social issues like sexual harassment, normalizing them as acceptable, which should not be tolerated otherwise.

Interviews Analysis

The findings from in-depth interviews revealed valuable insights from students. The analysis is divided into several themes and presented below with distinct headings.

Discomfort with Harassment Memes

Many respondents showed discomfort while watching memes about sexual harassment. They acknowledged that memes are typically intended for humour but the very nature of meme and if related to sexual harassment, brings inappropriate discomfort. As one respondent stated, *“Mazaaq karna aur kisi sanjeeda maamlay ko mazaaq mein udaana alag baat hai. Harassment ka mazaaq nahi banaya ja sakta. Yeh mujhe tou bohat bechain kr deta hai is tarah k memes.”*

Normalization and Trivialization of Harassment

A repetitive theme was the concern over normalizing the harassment issue by showing the harassment acts as trivial behaviour. Many respondents explained that presenting sexual harassment acts humorously can lead to its perception of being a less severe problem. They mentioned that it can have appalling effects on the younger generations, as they would believe what they would see. *“Aj kal log har waqt memes dekhte hain jo harassment ko halka ya funny way mai dikhate hain toh iska anjam hai k ye asal zindagi mein say maamooli cheez samajhne lugty hain. yeah, normal hota ja rha hai jo k ak serious issue hai.”*

Impact on Real-Life Behaviours

The respondents also raised concerns about the impact of memes on real-life challenges. They were of the view that repeated exposure to harassment-related memes can desensitize people about the serious nature of the issue. This can make people believe that these gender issues are minor and that people can get away with the crime they are committing. As said by a participant, *“Harassment memes dekh kar log samajhne lagte hain ke shayad ye normal cheez hai, aur is wajah se asal zindagi mein bhi log isay nazarandaz karne lagte hain. Or yeh hamare behavior main kahin na kahin include ho jata hai jo hamein normal lagte hain.”*

Reduced Intervention Against Harassment

The desensitization of harassment presented in mems can become a critical problem in real-life. People may feel that there is no need to pay attention or do

some intervention when they see these behaviours in real-life surrounded by them. The casual treatment of the issue can diminish the urgency to act against it. One respondent mentioned, *“Agar memes harassment ko mazaaq ka baat banate hain, toh log asal zindagi mein isay rokne ki zarurat mehsoos nahi karte.”*

Influence on Youth Perceptions

As all the interview respondents were young adults, they were much more capable of commenting on the influence of memes on the perception of youth based on their own experiences. They highlighted the vulnerability of young viewers, especially males, to be influenced by exposure to sexual harassment-related memes. As one of the respondents mentioned, *“Jo log social media zyada use karte hain, khas kar ke jawan nasal, wo memes ke asar mein aa kar harassment ko maamooli samajhne lagte hain. Jesse k hum or hamare sath k young males jinka role bohat hai harassment main is tarha k memes jo normal kr rhe hain funny way main harassment ko.”*

Discussion

The findings from the interviews and content analysis revealed a complex connection between memes and how harassment is perceived, tolerated and normalized. The results showed that people widely came across harassment related memes online. This indicates on social media platforms these types of memes are common and easily assessable. However, the impact of these memes goes beyond just exposure. All of the respondents perceive these memes as reducing the seriousness of harassment. This means that many people believe memes make harassment seem like a minor issue, even though it is a serious problem. This endeavour can affect the societal expectations towards reaction of sexual harassment and creating a norm to normalize such behaviours.

Interviews with young university students provided a deeper understanding of how memes about harassment affect individuals. Many participants expressed discomfort when they encountered memes that joke about harassment. Though they acknowledged that memes are often created for humour, they felt it inappropriate to make fun of gender-based harassment. Several respondents pointed out that meme harassment, especially among younger audiences can lead to a major disruption in the societal order and can create more devoid between genders which is already a matter of concern. They noted that repeatedly seeing harassment presented as a joke can make it seem like a natural or acceptable part of life. For instance,

when memes say things like “Men will be men” or “It’s just a joke,” they can make problematic behaviour seem harmless. This is particularly concerning for impressionable young people who might internalize these attitudes. Students also highlighted the potential behavioural consequences of these memes. Some felt that exposure to such content might lead people to take harassment less seriously or even engage in harmful behaviours themselves.

The content analysis examined memes about harassment to identify common patterns and messages. A key theme that emerged was framing harassment as something harmless or trivial. Memes often use phrases or ideas that downplay inappropriate behaviours, such as suggesting they are part of natural or expected behaviour. Examples include popular expressions like: “Chill, just flirting” or sasti Masti. These memes can distort public perception by presenting harassment as an untroubled issue rather than a serious social evil. Such portrayals make inappropriate actions seem acceptable and undermine the efforts to address and prevent harassment.

The Framing Theory also helps how memes present harassment-related issues, whether humorous or serious, shapes those issues and influences and how people think about them. When memes employing humour or exaggeration make harassment seem less significant. This framing can produce two contrasting effects. Negative framing showcases memes that joke about harassment, leading to a minimization of its impact and causing people to view it as typical or unimportant. It is argued that memes often desensitize viewers to serious issues (Dutta & Singh, 2021). This means that when individuals repeatedly see harassment in a humorous context, they may become less sensitive and less likely to regard it as a serious problem. Memes reinforce sexist attitudes by portraying harassment as trivial or funny. This aligns with the idea that memes can normalize harmful behaviours. Memes are powerful tools for humour and can perpetuate harmful stereotypes. For instance, memes that depict harassment as harmless may encourage viewers to adopt or tolerate sexist behaviours (Paciello et al., 2021). Conversely, if the same technique is applied positively in positive framing, it can address harassment in a grave or awareness-raising manner, highlighting its severity and promoting change. Therefore, how a meme is framed is crucial because it determines whether it reinforces harmful behaviours or challenges them.

CONCLUSION

The research indicates that certain memes worsen the problem by flipping the harassment, joking about abuse, or perpetuating harmful stereotypes. This can cause individuals to overlook the seriousness of these issues and may even strengthen victim-blaming, complicating efforts to take victims seriously. However, memes can also have a positive influence. When employed thoughtfully, they can raise awareness about crucial issues like gender-based violence, challenge unjust perspectives, and encourage respect for others. Memes that advocate against harassment underscore the importance of consent can help shift attitudes and create safer online and offline environments. The study shed light on the necessity of understanding the process of ins and outs of memes. Because of their rapid dissemination and often oversimplified nature, memes are misinterpreted and exploited. Therefore, it is vital, especially for young people, to critically consider the messages conveyed by memes. Memes can utilize both positive and negative effects on how individuals perceive harassment. Some memes propagate harmful ideas, while others help to promote awareness and encourage respect. Hence memes continue to influence conversations, it is essential to use them responsibly, sharing content that educates and upholds everyone’s rights and dignity.

Funding

This research receives no funding.

Competing Interest

The authors had no competing interests.

References

- Almaghrabi, T. (2023). *Mememes in Marketing: Exploring how internet memes can be integrated into social media marketing activities in a manner that is accepted by online communities* (Doctoral dissertation, Brunel University London).
<http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/handle/2438/27848>
- Bastari, R. P., Lukito, W., & Adhika, F. A. (2021). Internet meme: A virtual visual artefact of digital visual culture. *Jurnal Rupa*, 6(1), 16-23.
<https://doi.org/10.25124/rupa.v6i1.2928>
- Blackmore, S. (2010). Memetics does provide a useful way of understanding cultural evolution. *Contemporary Debates in Philosophy of Biology*, 255-272.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444314922.ch15>

- Campbell, H. A., Joiner, L., & Lawrence, S. (2018). Responding to the Meme-ing of the Religious Other. *Journal of Communication & Religion*, 41(2).
<https://doi.org/10.5840/jcr20184128>
- Cann, S. E., & Castro, J. C. (2022). It's just a joke: Challenging sexism through counter-narrative memes. *Visual Culture & Gender*, 17, 51-64.
- Castaño Díaz, C. M. (2013). Defining and characterizing the concept of Internet Meme. *Ces Psicología*, 6(2), 82-104.
- Clark, S. R. (1993). Minds, memes, and rhetoric. *Inquiry*, 36(1-2), 3-16.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00201749308602308>
- Clarke, V., Braun, V., Hayfield, N., & Smith, J. A. (2015). Qualitative psychology. *A Practical Guide to Research Methods*, 222, 248.
- Dennett, D. C. (1990). Memes and the exploitation of imagination. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 48(2), 127-135.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/430902>
- Drakett, J., Rickett, B., Day, K., & Milnes, K. (2018). Old jokes, new media—Online sexism and constructions of gender in Internet memes. *Feminism & Psychology*, 28(1), 109-127.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353517727560>
- Dutta, S., & Singh, D. (2021). Reinforcement of Sexism through Memes: Harassment and the Current Digital Culture. *Name Page No. Analyzing Trends in Variations of Dow Jones Stocks and Cryptocurrency Prices*, 165-182.
- Einarsen, S. (2000). Harassment and bullying at work: A review of the Scandinavian approach. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 5(4), 379-401.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S1359-1789\(98\)00043-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1359-1789(98)00043-3)
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press.
- Hancock, B. H., & Garner, R. (2021). Erving Goffman and “the new normal”: Havoc and containment in the pandemic era. *The American Sociologist*, 52, 548-578.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12108-021-09510-3>
- Highfield, T. (2016). News via Voldemort: Parody accounts in topical discussions on Twitter. *New Media & Society*, 18(9), 2028-2045.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444815576703>
- Highfield, T., & Leaver, T. (2016). Instagrammatics and digital methods: Studying visual social media, from selfies and GIFs to memes and emoji. *Communication Research and Practice*, 2(1), 47-62.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/22041451.2016.1155332>
- Javed, M., Jamil, M. B., & Ahmad, S. (2022). Meme as a tool of social and political commentary: discourse analysis of memes in Pakistani social media. *Pakistan Journal of Humanities & Social Sciences Research*, 5(2), 1-11.
- Johansson, F., & Magnusson, K. (2024). Sexual Harassment, Sexual Violence, and Mental Health Outcomes: Causal Inference with Ambiguous Exposures. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, kwae390.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/aje/kwae390>
- Knobel, M., & Lankshear, C. (2007). Online memes, affinities, and cultural production. *A New Literacies Sampler*, 29, 199-227.
- Kostadinovska-Stojchevska, B., & Shalevska, E. (2018). Internet memes and their socio-linguistic features. *European Journal of Literature, Language and Linguistics Studies*, 2(4).
<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1492894>
- O'Donohue, W., Downs, K., & Yeater, E. A. (1998). Sexual harassment: A review of the literature. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 3(2), 111-128.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S1359-1789\(97\)00011-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1359-1789(97)00011-6)
- Paciello, M., D'Errico, F., Saleri, G., & Lamponi, E. (2021). Online sexist meme and its effects on moral and emotional processes in social media. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 116, 106655.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2020.106655>
- Phillips, W., & Milner, R. M. (2017). Decoding memes: Barthes' punctum, feminist standpoint theory, and the political significance of# YesAllWomen In: Harrington, S. (eds) *Entertainment Values*. Palgrave Entertainment Industries. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-47290-8_13
- Shifman, L. (2014). The cultural logic of photo-based meme genres. *Journal of Visual Culture*, 13(3), 340-358.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1470412914546577>
- Tulloch, B. J. (2023). *Do the ends justify the memes?: exploring the relationship between youth, internet memes, and digital citizenship* (Doctoral dissertation,

University of British Columbia).

<http://hdl.handle.net/2429/84463>

Vitis, L., & Gilmour, F. (2017). Dick pics on blast: A woman's resistance to online sexual harassment using humour, art and Instagram. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 13(3), 335-355.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659016652445>

Zubaidah, N., & Ardelia, I. (2018). A Discourse analysis of memes. *Getsempena English Education Journal*, 5(2), 58-64.

<https://doi.org/10.46244/geej.v5i2.827>