

Memes in British Politics: Humor, Satire, and Virality as Tools of Political Marketing



Dr. Zerara Saida ^{1*}

¹ University of Algiers 2, Algeria.

Saida.zerara@univ-alger2.dz

Date of transmission: 22/09/ 2025, date of acceptance: 15/11/ 2025

Abstract:

This article explores the role of memes as tools of political marketing in British politics, focusing on their use of humor, satire, and virality in shaping public perceptions. While satire has long characterised British political culture, digital memes have transformed it into a participatory and fast-moving form of communication. Through case studies including Theresa May's "Maybot," Boris Johnson's Brexit portrayals, Jeremy Corbyn's grassroots meme campaigns, and recent meme activity around Rishi Sunak and Keir Starmer, the study highlights how memes function as accessible, viral, and image-defining instruments in political discourse. At the same time, they risk oversimplifying issues, spreading misinformation, and deepening divisions. The article concludes that memes are not trivial entertainment but increasingly central to political marketing and voter engagement in the United Kingdom.

key words: political memes; British politics; humor; virality; political marketing; digital engagement.

* Dr. Zerara Saida

1. Introduction:

Political communication has undergone profound transformations in the twenty-first century, shaped by the rapid expansion of digital media platforms and the increasing dominance of visual, participatory, and humorous forms of expression. Among these, memes have become a prominent tool for political messaging, particularly during election campaigns. Once dismissed as mere internet jokes, memes now constitute a significant component of political marketing, blending humor, satire, and virality to influence public perceptions. Their accessibility, shareability, and ability to condense complex ideas into a single, often humorous, image or phrase grant them a unique status in contemporary democratic discourse.

In the United Kingdom, the emergence of memes in political campaigning is not without precedent. Britain has a longstanding tradition of political satire, from eighteenth-century caricatures and the biting commentary of *Private Eye* to televised satire such as *Spitting Image*. These earlier forms of humour functioned as mirrors of public opinion, holding politicians accountable while entertaining audiences. Today, however, digital memes have extended satire into a participatory space where citizens themselves create, adapt, and disseminate content at unprecedented speed. This shift has blurred the boundaries between official campaign strategies and grassroots activism, making memes a valuable case study in modern political marketing.

Despite the growing academic interest in political communication, the role of memes in British politics remains underexplored compared with studies on the United States and continental Europe. Existing research has focused on memes as cultural artefacts or as tools of online activism, but less attention has been given to their integration into the marketing strategies of British political actors. Furthermore, while memes are often celebrated as vehicles for youth engagement, their potential to trivialise political issues, spread misinformation, and intensify polarisation raises critical questions about their democratic value.

This article addresses these gaps by examining memes as instruments of political marketing in British politics. It asks: How do memes function as tools of humor, satire, and virality in British political campaigns? What impact do they have on political branding, voter engagement, and democratic discourse?

The article argues that memes are not trivial by-products of internet culture but integral to the marketing strategies of British political campaigns. Drawing on case studies such as Theresa May's "Maybot," Boris Johnson's meme portrayals during the Brexit debates, Jeremy Corbyn's grassroots digital campaigns, and recent meme activity surrounding Rishi Sunak and Keir Starmer, the analysis

demonstrates how memes serve three main functions: they make politics more accessible through humor, spread rapidly across platforms through virality, and reshape political images through branding. At the same time, they carry risks that challenge the health of democratic debate.

The structure of the article is as follows. First, a review of literature situates memes within political marketing theory and the British tradition of satire. Second, the methodology outlines the case study approach adopted for the analysis. Third, the article presents key examples of meme use in British politics, highlighting their strategic and grassroots dimensions. Fourth, the discussion examines the implications of meme politics for voter engagement and democratic discourse. Finally, the conclusion reflects on the future role of memes in British political marketing.

2. The Evolution of Political Communication: Satire and Memes in Scholarship

The study of political marketing has traditionally drawn on principles of commercial marketing, focusing on how political actors brand themselves, communicate with voters, and compete for attention (**Lees-Marshment, 2001**). In the pre-digital era, this process was dominated by mass media advertising, televised debates, and print journalism. However, the rise of social media has redefined the marketing environment, shifting the balance from top-down communication to more interactive, decentralized models (**Chadwick, 2013**).

Political marketing is no longer confined to official campaign strategies but has become a participatory process in which citizens themselves create and disseminate political content (**Scammell, 2015**). Digital platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, TikTok, and Instagram have enabled politicians to bypass traditional gatekeepers, while also empowering audiences to remix and redistribute campaign messages. In this context, memes represent a form of “user-generated marketing” (**Highfield, 2016**), where citizens and campaign teams alike compete for narrative dominance in the fast-moving digital sphere.

To understand memes in British politics, it is essential to situate them within the longer history of satire as a form of political communication. Britain has a deep-rooted culture of political humor, dating back to the caricatures of James Gillray and George Cruikshank in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which mocked monarchs and politicians alike. Satirical print media provided an accessible means of critiquing elites, combining entertainment with political commentary. In the twentieth century, this tradition evolved through satirical magazines such as *Private Eye* and television programmes like *That Was the Week*

That Was and *Spitting Image*, which lampooned political leaders with biting humor. These cultural products reflected and shaped public sentiment, reinforcing the role of satire as a tool of accountability. Scholars argue that satire not only entertains but also simplifies complex political debates, making them more accessible to wider audiences (Jones, 2010).

Contemporary memes can therefore be understood as a digital continuation of this satirical lineage. Like caricatures and television skits, memes condense political critique into easily consumable formats, but they also introduce a participatory element: anyone with a smartphone can now produce political satire, extending the practice beyond professional cartoonists and satirists. The concept of the “meme” originates from Dawkins (1976), who described it as a cultural unit of transmission. In the digital era, memes have evolved into short, humorous, and easily shareable pieces of content—often images or short videos—that spread virally across platforms. Scholars of digital communication note that memes function as “vernacular creativity” (Shifman, 2014), allowing users to comment on political issues with humor, irony, and parody.

Research on memes in political contexts identifies several key functions. First, memes act as vehicles of humor and satire, softening the seriousness of politics while fostering engagement among younger audiences (Milner, 2013). Second, they operate as tools of virality, capable of spreading political messages rapidly beyond traditional campaign reach. Third, memes serve as instruments of identity and community, enabling users to signal belonging to particular political groups or movements. Importantly, memes have also been associated with risks. Scholars warn that their simplicity may trivialise complex issues (Tay, 2012), contribute to misinformation, and reinforce echo chambers. Yet their power to shape public discourse remains undeniable, particularly during elections and crises, when digital attention is most intense.

While there is a growing body of literature on memes in political communication, much of it focuses on the United States, particularly the role of memes in the 2016 and 2020 presidential elections (Meme wars, 2020). Studies on continental Europe also highlight memes as tools of populism and protest (Bayerl & Stoykov, 2016). By contrast, the British context has received comparatively less scholarly attention. This gap is striking given the prominence of memes in key moments of recent British politics, such as the Brexit referendum, general elections, and leadership campaigns. Memes mocking Theresa May’s robotic speech style, Boris Johnson’s chaotic persona, or Jeremy Corbyn’s grassroots appeal all illustrate how humor, satire, and virality shape political branding in the

UK. Yet these examples are often discussed in journalistic accounts rather than in-depth academic studies.

Addressing this gap, the present article situates memes within the dual framework of political marketing and Britain's tradition of satire. By analyzing case studies of meme use in British campaigns, it seeks to clarify how memes function as tools of political branding, voter engagement, and public discourse. This approach not only enriches our understanding of political communication in the UK but also contributes to broader debates on the role of digital humor in democracy.

3. Case Studies: Memes in British Political Campaigns

Theresa May's leadership (2016–2019) coincided with intense media scrutiny during Brexit negotiations. Her communication style was widely perceived as stiff and repetitive, giving rise to the “Maybot” meme (**Wring & Mortimore, 2019**). Originating in journalistic commentary, the meme spread across digital platforms, with GIFs and satirical images exaggerating her robotic responses. Meme framings can damage political branding by crystallising negative perceptions. The “Maybot” undermined May's attempt to project strength and stability, reframing her instead as an ineffective communicator. This illustrates how viral satire can dominate public discourse, limiting leaders' ability to reshape their image.

Boris Johnson's persona lent itself naturally to meme culture. His dishevelled appearance and eccentric rhetoric were repeatedly satirised, with memes portraying him as a clown-like figure or the chaotic driver of Brexit (**Graham et al., 2020**). Johnson's case highlights the dual role of memes: while critics weaponised them to ridicule him, supporters reframed memes to enhance his populist appeal (**Kelsey, 2021**). Unlike May, Johnson appeared to benefit from this environment, demonstrating how politicians can appropriate or thrive within the meme economy. This reflects broader scholarship showing that political figures often exploit digital humor as a branding tool.

Jeremy Corbyn's leadership of the Labour Party provides an example of grassroots meme mobilisation. Digital supporters created and circulated memes portraying him as authentic, principled, and anti-establishment (**Margetts, 2017**). Pages such as “Jeremy Corbyn for Prime Minister” on Facebook exemplified participatory political marketing, where supporters, rather than campaign teams, produced much of the online content. These memes contributed to a sense of

community among younger voters, aligning with findings that memes foster group identity and mobilisation (Shifman, 2014). However, they also reinforced echo chambers and polarisation, illustrating the ambivalent effects of bottom-up meme activism.

In the post-Brexit context, memes have continued to shape public perceptions of political leaders. Rishi Sunak has been targeted with memes emphasising his wealth and polished image, often contrasting him with ordinary voters (Ross & Rivers, 2018). Keir Starmer, by contrast, is frequently depicted as uninspiring or overly cautious, with memes reinforcing a “boring” stereotype (Knight, 2022). These cases illustrate how memes crystallise vague perceptions into easily circulated stereotypes, often overshadowing policy communication. Campaign teams increasingly monitor online trends, yet scholars note the unpredictability of meme culture, which remains largely in the hands of ordinary users (Highfield, 2016).

The four cases demonstrate how memes serve multiple functions in British politics: ridicule (May), double-edged publicity (Johnson), grassroots mobilisation (Corbyn), and stereotype crystallisation (Sunak and Starmer). Each case confirms the centrality of memes in contemporary political marketing, while also underscoring their unpredictable impact. Memes emerge at the intersection of satire, virality, and public engagement, shaping political branding outside the control of traditional campaign strategies (Graham et al., 2020).

4. Functions of Memes in British Politics

Mememes have emerged as a central tool in contemporary British political communication, performing multiple functions that traditional media often cannot replicate. Drawing on both the literature and the case studies discussed, three primary functions can be identified: accessibility, virality, and branding. One of the most significant functions of memes is their ability to make complex political issues more accessible to a wide audience. Humor and satire are central to this process, as they reduce the perceived difficulty of understanding political debates and engage audiences who might otherwise feel alienated from formal politics (Milner, 2013).

In the UK context, memes targeting Theresa May’s “Maybot” persona or Boris Johnson’s Brexit campaign simplified nuanced political narratives into easily consumable visual jokes. These formats enabled younger audiences, who are typically less engaged with traditional media, to participate in political discourse (Gibson & Cantijoch, 2019). Research suggests that humor in political

messaging increases attention and retention, fostering a sense of involvement without requiring extensive prior knowledge of policy details. Memes also function as interactive texts. Unlike conventional political ads or news reports, they invite reinterpretation, remixing, and sharing, which encourages participatory engagement. In this sense, memes are both a tool for information dissemination and a platform for civic interaction, making politics more approachable and engaging for a diverse electorate.

A second key function of memes is their capacity for rapid dissemination, or virality. Digital platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, and TikTok allow political memes to spread quickly, transcending traditional media gatekeeping. Memes capitalize on networked sharing, where each user becomes a vector for message propagation. The case of Boris Johnson's Brexit memes demonstrates this function clearly. Images portraying Johnson as a chaotic yet relatable figure circulated widely, generating media coverage and public discussion far beyond what official campaigns could have achieved (**Kelsey, 2021**). Similarly, grassroots memes supporting Jeremy Corbyn amplified his visibility among young voters and online communities, often reaching audiences that conventional media might overlook.

Virality enhances the speed and reach of political communication but also introduces unpredictability. While campaigns can create or encourage memes, their rapid spread is largely uncontrollable, meaning messages can be reframed, parodied, or weaponised against the intended political figure. This dynamic underscores the power and the risk inherent in digital political marketing. Memes also play a critical role in political branding, shaping public perceptions of leaders through visual and textual representation. They crystallize particular traits or narratives into repeatable, shareable symbols (**Milner, 2013**).

In British politics, memes have contributed to constructing the public images of leaders in ways that official campaigns alone cannot. Theresa May's "Maybot" reinforced an image of robotic inefficiency, Boris Johnson's chaotic persona was simultaneously mocked and embraced as part of his populist branding, and memes about Jeremy Corbyn highlighted his authenticity and anti-establishment appeal. In the post-Brexit era, memes targeting Rishi Sunak emphasize wealth and detachment, while those about Keir Starmer highlight perceived dullness or over-cautiousness (**Knight, 2022**).

Branding through memes operates through simplification and repetition. By condensing complex personalities or policy positions into a single image or

phrase, memes create mental shortcuts that audiences use to understand political figures (Graham et al., 2020). This makes memes powerful instruments in political marketing, capable of reinforcing or undermining credibility, relatability, and leadership qualities.

Together, these functions illustrate why memes are increasingly central to British political campaigns. They make politics more accessible, spread messages rapidly across digital networks, and shape the public identities of political leaders. At the same time, the literature emphasizes that memes are double-edged: their simplification of issues can trivialize debate, their virality is unpredictable, and their humor can reinforce partisan divides (Farkas & Schou, 2019). Nevertheless, they remain indispensable in understanding the dynamics of political communication in the digital era.

5. Challenges and Critiques of Meme Politics in the UK

While memes have become an indispensable part of British political marketing, their adoption and spread also generate significant challenges. Memes, though powerful tools for engagement, come with risks of oversimplification, misinformation, trivialization of democratic processes, and polarization of public discourse. This section reviews the main critiques and limitations associated with the use of memes in British politics. One of the most prominent critiques is that memes often reduce complex political issues into digestible yet overly simplistic narratives. By condensing nuanced debates such as Brexit into a single image or phrase, memes strip away the policy detail and contextual depth necessary for informed decision-making (Highfield, 2016; Shifman, 2014).

In the UK, Brexit-related memes often framed the debate in stark binaries—Leave vs. Remain—ignoring the multifaceted economic, legal, and cultural implications. This oversimplification, while effective in mobilizing emotion and attention, risked trivializing the seriousness of the referendum and reinforcing misinformation (Kelsey, 2021). Critics argue that this dynamic may contribute to a decline in policy literacy, where citizens consume humor in place of substantive analysis.

Another challenge relates to the spread of misinformation through memes. Unlike traditional political advertising, memes often originate from grassroots actors or anonymous online communities, making their accuracy difficult to regulate. Because memes rely on humor, exaggeration, and parody, they can blur the line between satire and factual claims (Milner, 2013).

During the 2019 UK general election, memes circulated online misrepresenting both Labour and Conservative policies, often with doctored images or misleading captions (**Knight, 2022**). These viral forms of political misinformation can reach millions within hours, undermining the integrity of democratic debate (**Farkas & Schou, 2019**). Unlike traditional campaign materials regulated by electoral commissions, memes fall largely outside of formal oversight mechanisms (**Graham et al., 2020**). Memes risk trivializing political discourse by framing leaders and issues primarily as sources of entertainment. Theresa May's "Maybot" memes, for instance, emphasized her robotic communication style but rarely engaged with her actual policy record (**Bennett, 2019**). Similarly, Boris Johnson's disheveled public image became a comedic motif, often overshadowing discussions about his political decisions during the Brexit negotiations (**Kelsey, 2021**).

This dynamic reflects what Corner (2017) describes as the "spectacularization" of politics, where performance and image take precedence over substantive governance. While humor can be a gateway to engagement, excessive reliance on satire risks reducing politics to a popularity contest rather than a serious deliberative process. Memes also contribute to political polarization by amplifying partisan divides. Research indicates that online meme communities often function as echo chambers, where like-minded individuals reinforce each other's views while ridiculing opposing positions.

In the British context, Corbyn-supporting meme pages frequently mocked Conservative figures, while pro-Brexit memes ridiculed Remainers as elitist or unpatriotic. This pattern entrenches in-group solidarity but also hardens divisions, reducing the possibility of cross-partisan dialogue. Furthermore, the anonymity of meme culture facilitates the spread of hostile or abusive content, intensifying online toxicity (**Knight, 2022**). Finally, the rise of meme politics poses ethical and regulatory challenges. The viral nature of memes makes attribution difficult, raising questions about accountability in political communication. Political parties may unofficially encourage or exploit memes while denying responsibility for harmful or misleading content. Additionally, the reliance on humor and parody complicates regulatory oversight. Electoral commissions in the UK have clear rules about official advertising, but memes—circulating as "user-generated content"—fall into a grey area. This lack of accountability allows bad-faith actors, including foreign disinformation campaigns, to exploit memes as low-cost tools of influence (**Farkas & Schou, 2019**).

Taken together, these critiques highlight that while memes democratize political expression and broaden participation, they also carry risks that may undermine democratic quality. Oversimplification, misinformation, trivialization, polarization, and regulatory gaps represent ongoing challenges in the British political landscape. Scholars increasingly argue for a balanced perspective that acknowledges both the participatory potential of memes and their disruptive consequences (Shifman, 2014; Graham et al., 2020).

6. Implications of Meme Politics in Contemporary Britain

The preceding sections illustrate that memes are not mere entertainment but a significant force in British political marketing. The case studies, functions, and challenges together underscore a complex landscape where digital humor, virality, and grassroots participation intersect with formal political processes. This discussion interprets these findings in relation to theory and the broader implications for political communication.

One of the central insights is that memes facilitate political engagement, particularly among younger, digitally-native audiences. Corbyn's grassroots meme campaigns demonstrate the potential for participatory political marketing, where supporters themselves become content creators. This bottom-up approach fosters a sense of community and belonging, aligning with studies of digital activism that emphasize participatory culture as a driver of civic engagement. However, engagement does not always translate into informed participation. As noted, memes often simplify complex political debates, risking superficial understanding (Highfield, 2016; Farkas & Schou, 2019). The tension between accessibility and depth raises questions about whether meme-driven political discourse strengthens or undermines democratic deliberation. While memes attract attention and encourage sharing, their brevity can reduce nuanced policy discussions to caricatured imagery or catchphrases.

Memes significantly shape political branding, often emphasizing personality traits over policy positions. The contrasting examples of Theresa May and Boris Johnson illustrate the asymmetrical effects of memes on political leaders. May's "Maybot" identity undermined her credibility, while Johnson's chaotic persona was weaponized to enhance relatability and populist appeal (Bennett, 2019; Kelsey, 2021). This asymmetry underscores a crucial implication for political marketing: memes amplify pre-existing narratives. Leaders with flexible, relatable, or exaggerated personas can leverage virality, whereas those with rigid or less charismatic images may suffer reputational damage (Ross & Rivers, 2018).

In this sense, memes function as both a tool and a mirror, reflecting societal perceptions while simultaneously shaping them.

The discussion of challenges reveals another critical dimension: memes contribute to political polarization. Echo chambers amplify partisan humor and satire, reinforcing in-group identities while mocking opponents. In the British context, pro-Corbyn and pro-Brexit meme communities created online spaces where ridicule and reinforcement of ideological positions were the primary mode of interaction (**Gibson & Cantijoch, 2019**). While this fosters engagement, it may reduce cross-partisan dialogue and increase affective polarization. Memes, by design, privilege virality over nuance, meaning that the most shareable content often emphasizes exaggeration, ridicule, or emotional appeal rather than balanced analysis. This has implications for democratic culture, as meme-driven communication risks privileging humor and spectacle over substantive debate (**Corner, 2017**).

Despite these risks, memes present strategic opportunities for political campaigns. Monitoring viral trends allows parties to anticipate public sentiment, capitalize on humor, and craft messaging that resonates with digital audiences. However, the unpredictable nature of virality means that memes can backfire, as illustrated by May's "Maybot" example. Consequently, campaigns must adopt adaptive strategies that consider both the participatory potential and the risks of meme culture (**Margetts, 2017**). Moreover, memes blur the boundaries between official campaigns and user-generated content, raising ethical questions regarding accountability, transparency, and regulation (**Farkas & Schou, 2019**). Political actors who rely heavily on memes must navigate these ethical and strategic challenges to avoid reputational harm while maximizing engagement.

In fact, the findings suggest that memes are a double-edged tool in British political marketing. They increase accessibility, engagement, and virality, while simultaneously posing risks related to misinformation, oversimplification, polarization, and trivialization. Politicians with adaptable, relatable, or humorous personas can leverage memes to their advantage, while those lacking such traits may experience reputational damage. The interplay between grassroots meme creation and official campaign strategies also highlights the democratizing potential of digital political communication. Yet, the unregulated, participatory nature of memes introduces uncertainty, reinforcing the need for critical media literacy among the electorate. As meme culture continues to shape political discourse, scholars and practitioners must consider both its mobilizing potential

and its potential to disrupt democratic deliberation (Shifman, 2014; Highfield, 2016; Graham et al., 2020).

7. Conclusion

This article has examined the role of memes as political tools in contemporary British politics, focusing on their functions, challenges, and implications. The analysis demonstrates that memes are far more than humorous distractions; they constitute a significant element of political communication, capable of shaping perceptions, mobilizing participation, and influencing public discourse.

The case studies of Theresa May, Boris Johnson, Jeremy Corbyn, Rishi Sunak, and Keir Starmer illustrate the diverse ways memes impact political branding and audience engagement. Memes can reinforce existing narratives, amplify personality traits, and foster grassroots participation, as seen in Corbyn's digital mobilization. Simultaneously, they may trivialize complex issues, contribute to misinformation, and deepen partisan polarization. These dual effects underscore the double-edged nature of meme politics, highlighting both their strategic potential and their inherent risks.

From a theoretical perspective, this study confirms that political memes function at the intersection of humor, virality, and identity construction. They serve as accessible forms of political engagement, particularly for younger voters, while simultaneously acting as vehicles for stereotype reinforcement and public discourse simplification. The unpredictability of meme virality further complicates the ability of political campaigns to control narratives, emphasizing the emergent, participatory nature of digital political marketing.

The study also has practical implications for political practitioners. Campaigns can harness memes strategically to enhance visibility and relatability, but they must remain vigilant about unintended consequences, including negative framing, misinformation, and ethical concerns. Moreover, voters' critical media literacy is increasingly essential to navigate meme-driven discourse responsibly.

Limitations of this study include its focus on English-language memes and the UK context, which may not fully capture cross-cultural variations in digital political communication. Future research could explore comparative analyses across different countries, platforms, and political cultures, as well as longitudinal studies examining the long-term effects of meme culture on democratic engagement.

In conclusion, memes have become a transformative element of British political marketing, blending humor, virality, and participatory culture into the communication strategies of political actors. While they offer unprecedented opportunities for engagement and mobilization, they also pose significant challenges for the quality of public discourse, highlighting the need for both strategic awareness by political campaigns and critical media literacy among the electorate. Ultimately, understanding meme politics is crucial for comprehending the evolving dynamics of political communication in the digital age.

References

- Bennett, L. (2019). Maybot and the Politics of Personality in Brexit Britain. *The Political Quarterly*, 90(3), 355–362. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12720>
- Corner, J. (2017). Political Culture and Media Genres: From Serious News to Satire. *European Journal of Communication*, 32(2), 105–115. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323117695730>
- Farkas, J., & Schou, J. (2019). *Post-truth, Fake News and Democracy: Mapping the Politics of Falsehood*. Routledge.
- Gibson, R., & Cantijoch, M. (2019). Corbynmania and digital activism: Grassroots mobilisation in the UK. *Information, Communication & Society*, 22(4), 516–534. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2018.1475285>
- Graham, T., Broersma, M., & Hazelhoff, K. (2020). Political Memes and Viral Satire in Online Campaigning. *Journalism Studies*, 21(4), 513–531. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2019.1708427>
- Highfield, T. (2016). *Social Media and Everyday Politics*. Polity.
- Kelsey, D. (2021). Boris Johnson, Brexit, and the Meme-ification of Politics. *European Journal of Communication*, 36(5), 469–485. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02673231211020353>
- Knight, G. (2022). Memes, Charisma, and Political Identity in the UK. *Media, Culture & Society*, 44(6), 1021–1038. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01634437211034200>
- Lees-Marshment, J. (2001). *Political Marketing and British Political Parties*. Manchester University Press.
- Margetts, H. (2017). *Political Turbulence: How Social Media Shape Collective Action*. Princeton University Press.
- Milner, R. M. (2013). Pop Polyvocality: Internet Memes, Public Participation, and Political Expression. *International Journal of Communication*, 7, 2357–2390. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/2170>

Ross, A. S., & Rivers, D. J. (2018). Digital Cultures of Political Memeing: Politics, Satire, and Participation. *Information, Communication & Society*, 21(11), 1626–1646. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1366539>

Shifman, L. (2014). *Memes in digital culture*. MIT Press.

Wring, D., & Mortimore, R. (2019). *Political Communication in Britain: Campaigning, Media and Polling in the 2017 General Election*. Palgrave Macmillan.