



NAME-BASED DIGITAL MISOGYNY ON PAKISTANI INSTAGRAM HATE MEMES: A MULTIMODAL CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Laiba Yousaf Durrani durranilaiba363@gmail.com	Department of English, City University of Science and Information Technology, Peshawar, Pakistan.
Aiman Khan aimankhang44548@gmail.com	Department of English, City University of Science and Information Technology, Peshawar, Pakistan.
Sana Ullah sanaullah5201617@gmail.com	Department of English, City University of Science and Information Technology, Peshawar, Pakistan.
Bushra Khurshid Alam bushrakhurshidalam1@gmail.com	Department of English, City University of Science and Information Technology, Peshawar, Pakistan.
Hurria ab5837698@gmail.com	Department of English, City University of Science and Information Technology, Peshawar, Pakistan.

Abstract

The primary aim of this study is to examine the multimodal construction of gender ideology in name-based hate memes circulating on Pakistani Instagram hater pages which construct derogatory representations of women. Fifteen purposively selected memes were collected from five Pakistani Instagram hater pages and analyzed through Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis using Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar framework. The study contributes to emerging scholarship on digital misogyny by demonstrating how ordinary personal names can function as semiotic carriers of negative gender ideologies in online environments. The findings demonstrate that the memes use conceptual symbolic substitution, where women are replaced by grotesque figures, animals, machines, monsters and symbols of pain, as well as interactive and compositional strategies, which position the viewer as a passive co-participant in ridicule and establish naturalized connections between the female name and negative meaning. The five dominant patterns of ideology that arose were: women as emotional problems, women as objects of appearance-based misogyny, women as irrational and argumentative, dehumanized women, and deceptive or mentally unstable women. The study extends digital discourse studies, feminist media studies and Pakistani gender studies by not only recording a new category of personalized online misogyny but also by emphasizing its multimodal nature as individual female names are the carriers of derogatory gender ideology.

Keywords: *Digital Misogyny, Gender Ideology, Instagram, Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis, Name-Based Hate Memes, Online Hate Speech, Visual Grammar.*

Corresponding Author: Laiba Yousaf Durrani (Department of English, City University of Science and Information Technology, Peshawar, Pakistan)
Email: durraniilaiba363@gmail.com

1. Introduction

Instagram, TikTok, Facebook, and Twitter (X) are now key social sites for global communication, identity formation, and culture production, influencing social attitudes and social discourse (Manovich, 2017). Internet memes have a significant place among the various types of content that flow around these platforms. Davison (2012) states that the Internet meme is a unit of popular culture, usually a joke, that spreads influence through the Internet and Shifman (2013) says that memes are digital objects that are transmitted from person to person, imitating and remixing in the process. While it is sometimes seen as harmless entertainment, memes are also effective means of reinforcing cultural norms, influencing digital discourse and spreading ideological meanings (Shifman, 2014; Milner, 2016).

Memes have become a huge part of Pakistan's culture, especially amongst young people. In addition to the jokes and political humor, another disturbing trend on Instagram has become apparent, and that is a series of 'name' hate memes, which mock, demean and ridicule women with certain first names. Amna hater, hateayesha, Mariahater, Laibahater, Sana.haters are just some of the pages dedicated to derogatory memes regarding women named Amna, Ayesha, Maria, Laiba and Sana respectively that portray them as ugly, irrational or otherwise problematic and sensationalize their lives using text along with humiliating images. Such memes cannot be regarded as merely harmless jokes, however, given the nature of social discussions in Pakistan and the fact that many of them are patrilineal in nature, they seem to be proliferating and normalizing sexist attitudes that are constantly authorized by online communities (Jane, 2014; Banet-Weiser & Miltner, 2016). Hate messages like this can fuel gender stereotypes and consciousness of gender-related violence that's enabled by technology, particularly in societies where women's identities and behavior are already tightly restricted by social norms.

Multimodality involves bringing various semiotic modes - language, image, color and layout - together in one communicative artefact (Van Leeuwen, 2015). The Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) framework, based on the work of Fairclough (1995) and Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), is suitable for analyzing the negative gender ideology represented by memes in the digital meme culture of Pakistan because these memes use the combination of linguistic and visual resources to construct meaning.

Although they have been rapidly emerging in numbers, name-based hate messages targeting Pakistani women have rarely been studied systematically. Past research on Pakistani memes has focused on the use of memes to satirize political or social issues (e.g., Javed et al., 2022; Shahid et al., 2025), or memes as a general representation of women; however, none of these studies has explored how the personal name of a woman can itself become a multimodal object of ridicule. This study aims to address this gap by posing two questions:

RQ1: What multimodal features are utilized to construct derogatory representations of women in the Pakistani name-based hate memes on Instagram?

RQ2: What gender ideologies and stereotypes are most common in the selected name-based hate memes?

The significance of this study lies in its examination of an underexplored form of online misogyny in which hostility is directed not toward identifiable individuals but toward women who share culturally common names. Addressing these questions is important for several theoretical, methodological, and social reasons. Theoretically, the study attempts to go beyond general meme analysis to the realm of personalized, name-based digital hate which had not been explored before in the application of MCDA and Visual Grammar (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Methodologically, it illustrates the possible ways the representational, interactive and compositional metafunctions can be used together to reveal hidden gender ideologies within seemingly mundane digital texts. Socially, it serves to highlight an online misogyny that is widespread but largely neglected and has implications for teachers, digital rights activists, and policymakers about cyberbullying and gender in Pakistan. The study is limited to 15 memes purposively selected from 5 Instagram hater pages and only textual and visual aspects of the memes are considered, not captions-as-comments, not reactions of the audience and not the psychological impact on the women who share these names.

2. Literature Review

Previous research on internet memes and gender has found that, despite the humorous nature of some of the memes, they are ideologically charged objects that reinforce dominant social attitudes (Shifman, 2014; Milner, 2016). In the context of Pakistani digital culture, Shahid et al. (2025) applied MCDA on 16 memes from well-known Facebook pages; women are mostly represented as talkative, irrational, troublesome and objectified, while positive portrayal of women is almost negligible – mainly mothers – and urged for educational activities to dismantle such stereotypes. In a similar study on the multimodal CDA of Pakistani social media memes, Javed et al. (2022) showed that these texts function in non-humorous ways as well, by influencing the perceptions of audience members regarding political and social actors through the

combination of text and image. In addition to Pakistan, Mahfouz (2021) illustrated how 'men versus women' image-macro memes produce binary constructions of gender in various domains, including health, relationships, and emotionality, and that the latter is always coded as emotive and vulnerable. Building on this multimodal approach, Elamroussi et al. (2021) picked out some of the anti-feminist ideals they could find regarding feminists (hypocritical, sexist, misinterpreting messages, violent, and abusing) and again used Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) ideational, interpersonal and compositional functions as their analysis strategy. Also, feminist social-constructionist views such as that of Drakett et al. (2018) and content-analytic views such as that of Siddiqi et al. (2018) have suggested that sexist memes are more socially acceptable and less easily challenged when they are framed ironically or comedically, and Nasreen and Habib (2021) have argued that pandemic-related memes normalize sexism through various frames, including those that portray women as nags, intellectually inferior, or domineering.

The second strand of research is on memes directed at specific or named women to give closer precedent for the present study. Parker (2025) analyzed 120 memes on two actual victims of violence, and found that meme culture re-victimizes women by mocking their pain, shifting the blame onto the victim and using frightening images, which are facilitated by the anonymity that online platforms provide to the author of the memes. Perez-Tirado et al. (2024) examined thousands of comments on Instagram towards six female political leaders and determined that while only a small proportion of the total hate speech was misogynistic, it was clearly gendered, directed at bodies, sexuality, femininity and competence: and that Instagram's visual and personalized affordances intensified the abuse. Nusrat et al. (2025) used MCDA to analyze memes that criticized the speeches of a female political leader, finding that multimodal means are a common strategy used to delegitimize women's public identities and strengthen gender-based prejudice. However, in the South Asian context, Alyatalathaf (2021) found there was a greater potential for victim-blaming and silencing women when users were more able to access platforms, and for the further spread of such discourse. Javed and Hussain (2024) found that the multimodal discourse analysis of Pakistanis' memes on rape and harassment cases demonstrates that language and imagery facilitate the victim-blaming of rape victims and the normalization of rape myths.

The third places meme-based misogyny in the context of other cultural and feminist themes. El-Wakil (2022) looked at 30 COVID-19 memes from British and American sources, and determined that as the pandemic continued women were portrayed as productive and attractive women, but as tired, irrational and failing women. This often involved using film and TV templates. Mallya and Dennis (2021) studied the Indian 'Tag a Friend' memes and revealed that it is a mechanism of 'interpellating' the reader's body with a sense of normalcy that promotes body-shaming and colorism. Ze and

Panneerselvam (2021) reported that humor in sexist memes is a way to mask the discriminatory content from university students, re-packaged and re-presented as traditional gender stereotypes in the digital environment. In contrast, Khosravi-Ooryad (2024) investigated the role of 'meme back' in countering misogyny in the Iranian context by analyzing the ways in which feminist communities used multimodal resources in a manner counter-hegemonic to patriarchy through satire and 'visual appropriation'. Zaman et al. (2025) employed qualitative content analysis and interviews to demonstrate that the framing of the meme in the Pakistani context trivializes harassment and numbs the minds of the youth to the concept of gender-based violence, using Goffman's (1974) framing theory to explain the normalization of unequal power dynamics through repetition of comedic frames.

2.1. Research Gap

The literature as a whole indicates that memes are highly influential multimodal texts that can reproduce gendered ideologies, and that MCDA, and more specifically the Visual Grammar of Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), is a strong instrument to discover such ideologies. The previous studies have evolved from broad gender representation in memes to studies on the gender representation of named public or political personalities, followed by studies on anti-feminist memes and gender representation studies of women in general in meme discourse in Pakistan, as shown in Figure 1. However, to date, no study has explored Instagram hater pages based on personal female names that target Pakistani women or investigated how a personal name without any individual referent can take on a multimodal connotation of a derogatory meaning. To address this gap, the present study is based on MCDA of the 15 name-based hate memes collected from five Pakistani Instagram hater accounts which represents one of the first systematic examinations of the visual and linguistic construction of name-based digital misogyny in Pakistan.

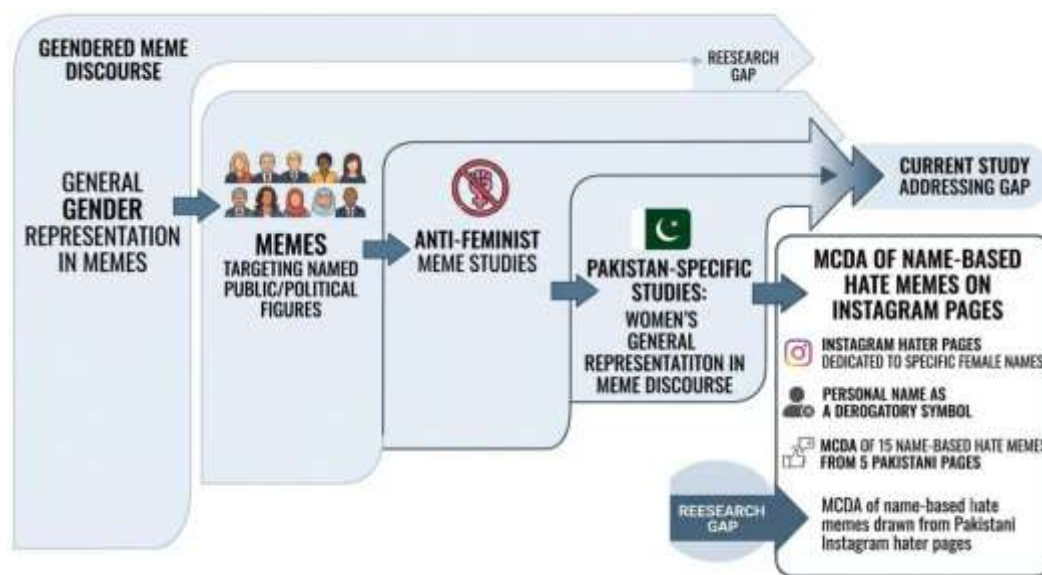


Figure 1: Positioning of the present study within the existing literature on gendered meme discourse.

2.2. Conceptualizing Name-Based Digital Misogyny

Name-based digital misogyny refers to the systematic construction and circulation of derogatory gender ideologies through the targeting of culturally recognizable female names in digital environments. Unlike conventional forms of online misogyny that focus on identifiable individuals, public figures, or women as a generalized social category, name-based digital misogyny operates by attaching negative attributes, stereotypes, and symbolic meanings to common female names. Through repeated multimodal associations, a personal name becomes a semiotic carrier of misogynistic meanings independent of any specific individual.

In this process, names function not merely as linguistic labels but as symbolic resources through which broader gender ideologies are communicated and normalized. The repeated association of female names with irrationality, unattractiveness, emotional instability, deception, or social inconvenience transforms ordinary names into shorthand representations of negative gender stereotypes. This conceptualization provides a useful framework for examining how personalized forms of digital misogyny operate within contemporary social media cultures.

3. Methodology

3.1. Sampling Procedure

This qualitative study adopts an exploratory-descriptive design to examine how meaning is constructed in multimodal texts rather than measuring the frequency of

linguistic features (Blaxter, 2010). The population consists of publicly accessible Pakistani Instagram pages which post hate memes based on names of women and the unit of analysis is the individual meme which is considered as a multimodal text consisting of visual imagery, textual caption and compositional arrangement.

From these five pages dedicated to targeting women, 15 memes were selected using purposive sampling (3 for each page), and are presented in Table 1. The selection of a small corpus is consistent with qualitative MCDA, which prioritizes depth of semiotic interpretation over statistical representativeness. Data collection was conducted through systematic browsing over two months across the five pages. At this time, an initial corpus of approximately 60–70 candidate posts was captured on the screen and provisionally examined. In this pool, three memes per page were chosen for detailed analysis, using the following inclusion/exclusion criteria (summarized in Table 2). Although the sample size appears relatively small, it is consistent with qualitative multimodal critical discourse analysis, which prioritizes depth of interpretation over breadth of coverage. During preliminary examination of approximately 60–70 candidate posts, recurring representational and ideological patterns repeatedly emerged across the five selected pages. By the fifteenth meme, no substantially new multimodal strategies or ideological constructions were observed, indicating analytical saturation. Consequently, fifteen memes were considered sufficient for addressing the research questions while allowing detailed semiotic analysis of each case. All memes were collected through screenshots captured from the selected Instagram hater pages.

Table 1: Instagram Source Pages and Sample Distribution

Page Code	Female Name Targeted	Memes Selected	Platform
Sana.haters	Sanaa	3	Instagram
Laibahater	Laiba	3	Instagram
Mariahater	Maria	3	Instagram
Hateayesha	Ayesha	3	Instagram
Amna hater	Amna	3	Instagram

Total memes = 15

Table 2: Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria for Meme Selection

Criterion	Inclusion	Exclusion
Name reference	Meme explicitly names or visually labels the targeted woman (e.g., “Sanaa,” “Laiba”) as the subject of the joke.	Meme mentions the name only incidentally, without functioning as the butt of the joke.

Multimodality	Meme combines a visual element (image, GIF still, or screen recording still) with a textual caption or overlay.	Text-only posts, or images without any accompanying caption/overlay text.
Derogatory clarity	The derogatory or stereotyping intent is clearly identifiable without requiring external context (comments, replies).	Ambiguous posts whose negative framing depends on reading the comment thread.
Page authenticity	Meme is sourced directly from one of the five identified dedicated “hater” pages.	Reposts from unrelated accounts or pages not dedicated to a single female name.
Representativeness	Meme illustrates a distinct multimodal strategy (e.g., classification, symbolic substitution, reactional process) not already saturated by other selected memes from the same page.	Near-duplicate memes recycling an identical template and caption already represented in the sample.

3.2. Analytic Instrument and Coding Framework

The analytic instrument was self-developed, based on the Visual Grammar developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), which categorises analysis into three metafunctions as illustrated in Figure 2. The representational metafunction looks at the ways in which the participants are represented in terms of narrative processes (action, gaze, gesture), as well as conceptual processes (static, classificatory, symbolic) highlighting caricature, exaggeration of facial expression, use of color and metaphor. The interactive metafunction is a study of the relationship that is built between the image and the viewer, both through the gaze (offer vs. demand images), the distance (close, medium or long shots), the angle (frontal vs. oblique, high vs. eye-level) and the modality (degree of naturalism or realism). The compositional metafunction looks at information value (where elements are placed in the visual field), salience (how elements are made more salient by size, color and contrast) and framing (the use of devices to connect and enframe elements in the field of vision).

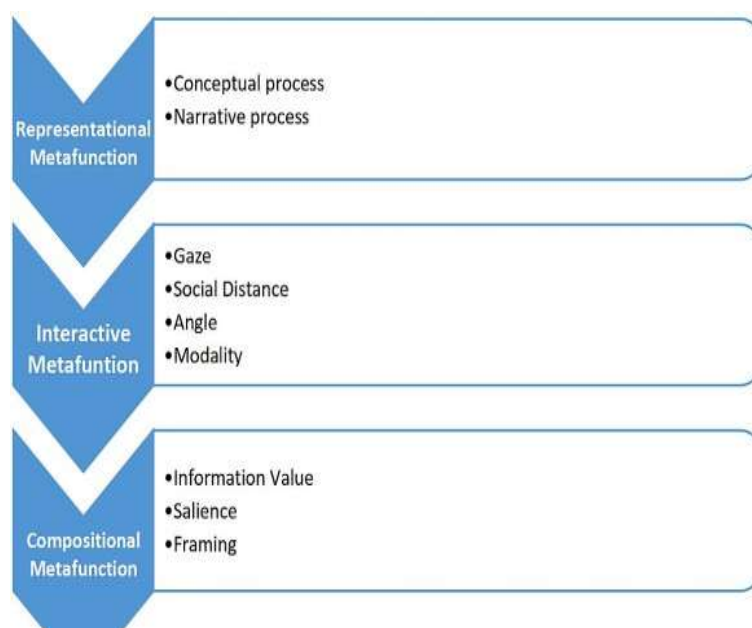


Figure 2: The three metafunctions of Visual Grammar applied in the analytic instrument (adapted from Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

There were three stages to coding. Firstly, each meme has been described in a holistic way (caption, image content, page source). Second, a line-by-line check was made of each meme against the nine sub-categories of the checklist and the descriptive entries reported in Section 4 were generated. Third, all coded entries for the fifteen memes were compared across the five name categories to determine if there were any commonalities, and these were inductively organized to produce the five ideological clusters detailed in Section 5. To ensure coding consistency, the same coding framework and analytic procedure were applied across all memes. The coded patterns were also tabulated (Tables 8 and 9) to ensure consistency between qualitative interpretations and cross-meme patterns. Additionally, to enhance coding reliability, twenty percent of the corpus was independently reviewed by two discourse-analysis specialists familiar with Visual Grammar and multimodal discourse analysis. Agreement between coders reached 87% across the principal coding categories. Discrepancies were discussed and resolved through consensus, and the finalized coding framework was subsequently applied to the remaining dataset.

3.3. Data Analysis and Ethical Considerations

Data analysis was mainly qualitative, and frequency counts were only used to support the thematic patterns rather than to generalize statistically - there was no one-to-one correspondence between these two. No human subjects were contacted and all data were gleaned from publicly available Instagram posts, but no disclosure of the identity of the meme-page administrators was made, and the data was used solely for research

purposes. Although the data were publicly accessible, ethical sensitivity was maintained by focusing on recurring discursive patterns rather than identifying individual users or administrators. In keeping with the focus on the multimodal construction of meaning, the study does not include the actual experiences of women who shared the targeted names, audience reactions (likes, shares, replies), nor captions-as-comments, as these are not the primary interest of the study. Although the memes were publicly accessible, all analyses focus on discursive patterns rather than identifying individual users or content creators, thereby minimizing potential harm. Institutional ethical approval was not required because the study analyzed publicly accessible online content and involved no interaction with human participants. Nevertheless, ethical sensitivity was maintained by focusing on recurring discursive patterns rather than identifying specific individuals, content creators, or page administrators.

4. Analysis and Findings

This section reports the multimodal analysis of all fifteen memes, organized by the five targeted female names. For each name, the three constituent memes are presented (Figures 3-17), followed by a consolidated Visual Grammar table covering the representational, interactive, and compositional metafunctions across the three memes, and a brief interpretive synthesis. Section 4.6 then reports cross-meme patterns and frequencies across the full dataset.

4.1. The Name “Sanaa” (Memes 1-3)

The Sana.haters page constructs the identity of “Sanaa” with three memes – all representing emotional exhaustion, grotesque appearance and cognitive overload. Figure 3 (Meme 1) contains the caption: “When you're trying to have a positive attitude but Sanaa keeps testing you,” along with a cartoon figure who looks tired. In Figure 4 (Meme 2), a bizarre, doll face is described as “fresh as a daisy.” In Figure 5 (Meme 3) the human brain is depicted with a glowing red hue underneath the caption: “How it feels when I argue with Sanaa”, which visualizes the mental strain attributed to interactions with the named woman.

**When you're trying to have a
positive attitude but Sanaa
keeps testing you**



Figure 3: Meme 1 - emotional frustration associated with the name “Sanaa.”



Figure 4: Meme 2 - grotesque doll image ironically captioned “fresh as a daisy.”

How it feels when I argue with Sanaa



Figure 5: Meme 3 - exaggerated cognitive distress associated with arguing with “Sanaa.”

Table 3: Visual Grammar Analysis of the “Sanaa” Memes (Figures 3-5)

Metafunction	Analysis
Representational	M1: Conceptual-reactional process; the exhausted figure embodies the “cost” of the name. M2: Conceptual-symbolic substitution; a grotesque doll represents the name, with ironic captioning mocking appearance. M3: Conceptual-reactional process; the glowing brain symbolizes extreme mental overload caused by arguing with the named woman.
Interactive	M1: Demand gaze, medium social distance, eye-level angle, muted modality - viewer positioned as a sympathetic witness to frustration. M2: Intense demand gaze from oversized eyes, close framing, frontal angle, and low/surreal modality - confronts the viewer with grotesque ridicule. M3: Non-transactional gaze (self-focused distress), medium framing, neutral angle, high red saturation - viewer positioned as a detached observer of “breakdown.”
Compositional	M1: Top-bottom structure; caption anchors the image; high salience on drooping posture. M2: Centralized, integrated frame; high salience on distorted eyes; ironic text-image contrast. M3: Top-bottom structure; the glowing red brain is the dominant salient element; the caption frames distress as the logical outcome of the interaction.

In all three memes, “Sanaa” is presented as a site of emotional fatigue, bodily deformity and mental overload, and the named woman is abstracted from the picture and redefined as a cause of male suffering in the form of reaction photographs of male discomfort, a warped doll and an “overloaded” brain.

4.2. The Name “Laiba” (Memes 4-6)

The Laibahater page employs classificatory and comparative structures to construct a derogatory representation of “Laiba”. The three-panel composition in Figure 6 (Meme 4) juxtaposes two idealized conceptions of South Asian beauty: “Gori Larke” featured in Figure (fair girl) and “Kaali Larki” (dark girl) with a grotesquely distorted caricature called “Laiba.” The “4 things everyone hates” (Meme 5) alongside the icon for a low battery, a loading spinner, and a weak Wi-Fi signal, with the text “Laiba” being the fourth. In Figure 8 (Meme 6), a grid of “Types of Headaches” - migraine, hypertension, and stress - is used in which the fourth headache is visualized as a fully red silhouette indicating maximal pain, replaced by “Laiba”.



Figure 6: Meme 4 - contrast of “fair girl” and “dark girl” with a distorted caricature labelled “Laiba.”



Figure 7: Meme 5 - the name “Laiba” equated with universally disliked technological problems.



Figure 8: Meme 6 - “Laiba” portrayed as an extreme form of headache surpassing common medical conditions.

Table 4: Visual Grammar Analysis of the “Laiba” Memes (Figures 6-8)

Metafunction	Analysis
Representational	M4: Conceptual classification; “Laiba” is positioned as a third, residual beauty category outside “fair” and “dark” types. M5: Conceptual classification; the name is grouped with technological glitches, equating a human identity with device malfunction. M6: Conceptual classification; the name is categorized as the most severe “headache” type, defining the named woman as a source of physical/mental pain.
Interactive	M4: Weak outward gaze, close framing, frontal angle, low-modality cartoon style - invites public scrutiny and rejection of the caricature. M5: No human gaze; neutral, impersonal distance; flat angle; high familiarity via standard UI icons - mimics an “objective” device interface. M6: No human gaze; pseudo-scientific distance; neutral lateral view; strategic red saturation - lends a clinical, “objective” tone to the ridicule.
Compositional	M4: Vertical hierarchy places the “attractive” categories above and “Laiba” below, encoding inferior status; clear panel separation creates a comparative frame. M5: Sequential list placement; “Laiba” occupies the final, punchline position; high salience via format deviation from the icons. M6: Grid structure; the “Laiba” panel is the most visually dominant through full red salience, positioned as the extreme culmination.

Laiba memes adopt the legitimacy of classification systems that are familiar and seemingly objective, like beauty classification systems, digital interfaces, and medical diagrams, thereby giving derogatory associations common-sense legitimacy. In all three, the named woman is dehumanized, associated with an extreme medical condition, and given a technological annoyance, all within the parameters of colorism.

4.3. The Name “Maria” (Memes 7-9)

“Maria” is consistently associative with madness and animality and horror on the Mariahater page. Figure 9 (Meme 7) presents a response to the question, ‘Where do you see yourself in the next five years? Is a picture of woman dressed in traditional attire, smiling in front of a sign that reads “Mental Hospital”? Figure 10 (Meme 8) is a dog anthropomorphized to wear feminine winter attire, braided hair and a flower, and captioned “Maria's winter outfit.” Figure 11 (Meme 9) shows a split screen, where the first half depicts a young man facing a monster from a horror movie, and the second half is just the word “Maria.”



Figure 9: Meme 7 - “Maria” depicted as mentally unstable by associating her future with a psychiatric institution.



Figure 10: Meme 8 - “Maria” represented through an anthropomorphized dog wearing winter clothing.



Figure 11: Meme 9 - “Maria” portrayed as a frightening presence comparable to a horror figure.

Table 5: Visual Grammar Analysis of the “Maria” Memes (Figures 9-11)

Metafunction	Analysis
Representational	M7: Conceptual-symbolic association; the woman is the “carrier” of the attribute supplied by hospital signage, linking “Maria” to mental instability. M8: Symbolic substitution; a dog acts as the carrier for the name, with feminine clothing as symbolic attributes. M9: Symbolic comparison; equates a horror figure with the name, grouping the female identity into a category of fear/threat.
Interactive	M7: Non-transactional gaze; medium distance; eye-level angle; high photographic modality lends documentary credibility to the mockery. M8: Direct frontal gaze from the animal; medium framing; frontal angle; low-realism/surrealism emphasizes comedic absurdity. M9: Direct, unsettling demand gaze; close framing; frontal perspective; low-key lighting reinforces genuine horror and hostility.
Compositional	M7: Top-bottom structure; caption supplies the aspirational stimulus, image the punchline; high salience on hospital signage. M8: Top-bottom hierarchy; caption identifies the dog as “Maria”; high salience on the dressed-up animal. M9: Two-part split-screen; high salience on the large white text “Maria” against a dark background, contrasting childhood and adult fears.

In all three memes “Maria” is depicted as mad, bestial, or terrifying, the identity of the named woman being appropriated in each of the asylum, the anthropomorphized animal and the terror-inducing horror film monster. These are not meant to be about any actual woman, but are instead taken to mean a stereotype of madness, ugliness and fear, and the use of humor as a technique for disguising the misogynistic message.

4.4. The Name “Ayesha” (Memes 10-12)

The HatAyesha page predominantly constructs “Ayesha” through themes of emotional and communicative conflict. Figure 12 (Meme 10) shows an exchange where Ayesha says, ‘I will never talk to you again,’ followed by the expression ‘Le me: and an image of a seemingly happy face with the text “finally inner peace.” In Figure 13 (Meme 11), a mannequin's head is repeatedly hit by a mechanical contraption against a brick wall, while the caption states, “How it feels to argue with 'Ayesha'”. Figure 14 (Meme 12) features a caption reading “Ayesha after straightening her hair:” followed by the woman walking and posing where the humor relies on the contrast between ordinary self-presentation and exaggerated visual representation.



Figure 12: Meme 10 - emotional relief portrayed after “Ayesha” stops communication.



Figure 13: Meme 11 - physical and mental strain associated with arguing with “Ayesha.”



Figure 14: Meme 12 - exaggerated ridicule of appearance associated with “Ayesha.”

Table 6: Visual Grammar Analysis of the “Ayesha” Memes (Figures 12-14)

Metafunction	Analysis
Representational	M10: Conceptual-reactional process; the absence of “Ayesha” is linked to the speaker's tranquility, defining her as a disruptor of peace. M11: Conceptual-symbolic process; a mannequin head and brick wall symbolize the cognitive strain and futility of arguing with her. M12: Conceptual process; the participant is a symbolic stand-in for “Ayesha,” linking the visual persona directly to the named identity.
Interactive	M10: Closed-eye, self-contained gaze; medium framing; eye-level angle; warm modality invites the viewer to share the speaker's relief. M11: No gaze/expression (mannequin); medium framing; side-profile angle; high textural realism intensifies the physical metaphor of pain. M12: Direct, expressive outward gaze; medium framing; frontal angle; realistic everyday environment grounds the mockery in “real life.”
Compositional	M10: Top-bottom contrastive structure; Ayesha's statement is the cause, the speaker's serenity the effect; high salience on the “inner peace” text. M11: Text-on-object placement; the caption overlays the brick to identify “Ayesha” as the source of resistance; high salience on the mechanical impact. M12: Top-bottom layout; the caption frames the interpretive lens; high salience on the smile and exaggerated posture.

These three Ayesha memes put together create the named woman as emotionally inconvenient, communicatively moody and physically unattractive. She is cast as a disruption to be overcome; her argument as a source of pain to others; her efforts at self-presentation as failures - a whole host of negative features, none of which connects with any particular action, but all of which are attached to her name.

4.5. The Name “Amna” (Memes 13-15)

The Amna-hater page consistently associates “Amna” with inauthenticity, blame, and monstrosity. Figure 15/Meme 13 depicts a woman wearing an exaggerated pink fairy/doll costume accompanied by derisive emojis and the caption. The vertical sequence - “The root of a tree,” “The root of population,” and finally “The root of all problems” - is followed by the name “AMNAAA” with bold typography, functioning as the punchline. (Figure 16, Meme 14). In Figure 17 (Meme 15), the caption “Amna showing her real face” is placed over a ghostly image of Amna with pale eyes and a glowing face.



Figure 15: Meme 13 - “Amna” portrayed as an artificial and unsuccessful imitation of idealized femininity.

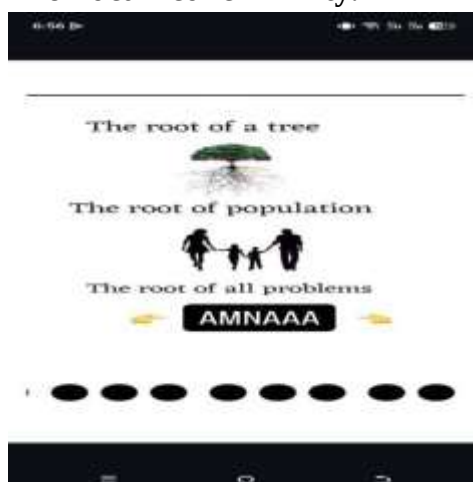


Figure 16: Meme 14 - “Amna” portrayed as the ultimate source of all problems through exaggerated symbolic comparison.



Figure 17: Meme 15 - “Amna” depicted as a deceptive and monstrous figure through horror imagery.

Table 7: Visual Grammar Analysis of the “Amna” Memes (Figures 15-17)

Metafunction	Analysis
Representational	M13: Conceptual-symbolic process; the costume functions as a failed performance of idealized femininity, with the ironic caption framing “Amna” as artificial. M14: Classification system; groups the name with structural failures, symbolically equating the identity with the “root of all problems.” M15: Symbolic representation; equates “Amna” with a monstrous entity, categorizing the identity as inherently deceptive and frightening.
Interactive	M13: Frontal but emotionally weak gaze; long-shot framing; frontal angle; bright, theatrical low-modality colors intensify the parody. M14: No human gaze; objective/educational distance mimicking an infographic; neutral flat presentation encourages passive acceptance of the “logic.” M15: Direct, intense demand gaze; close framing; frontal perspective; horror aesthetic with high contrast and non-human features.
Compositional	M13: Top-bottom hierarchy; caption supplies the ironic frame; high salience on the costume's exaggerated pink elements. M14: Sequential/linear layout; “Amna” occupies the final position as the definitive punchline; high salience via bold text and emoji. M15:

	Text-image anchoring; the caption frames the image as a “revelation”; high salience on glowing eyes and distorted features.
--	---

In this set, irony, infographic logic, and horror imagery combine to construct ‘Amna’ as artificial, blameworthy and threatening. The memes employ a “doll” costume, a pseudo-logical chain of blame, and a hidden monstrous face as rhetorical means to stereotypes the woman's name, to represent the woman as problematic and deceptively hiding her true identity, all under the guise of humor.

4.6. Cross-Meme Patterns and Frequencies

The fifteen memes, when considered together, reveal systematic patterns throughout three metafunctions outlined by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). Table 8 shows a summary of the representational process types found for each meme, and Table 9 shows a summary of the dominant interactive (gaze, social distance, angle, modality) patterns found throughout the dataset. These counts are only reported as a means of supporting the thematic patterns discussed below and are not presented as statistically generalizable findings (cf. Section 3.3) as the current study is qualitative and descriptive-exploratory.

Table 8: Frequency of Representational Process Types across the Fifteen Memes

Process Type (Conceptual subtype)	Memos (n = 15)	%
Conceptual - Reactional (male/speaker reaction visualizes the “cost” of the name)	3	20
Conceptual - Symbolic (name substituted by a grotesque, animal, or monstrous figure)	7	46.7
Conceptual - Classificational (name placed within a list, taxonomy, or comparative grid)	5	33.3
Narrative (action-based process depicting the named woman as an agent)	0	0

Table 9: Dominant Interactive Patterns across the Fifteen Memes

Visual Feature	Most Common Pattern	Approx. Frequency	Notable Exceptions
Gaze	Offer / non-transactional (viewer positioned as spectator)	10/15	Demand gaze in Memes 2, 8, 9, 12, 15
Social distance	Close or medium shot	13/15	Long shot in Meme 13
Angle	Eye-level, frontal	15/15	None
Modality	Low-realism cartoon/caricature	9/15	High-realism photographic in Memes 7, 11, 12, and the icon-based Meme 5

Conceptual, rather than narrative processes, are used in all fifteen of the memes: the named women are classified, represented not as active agents but as symbolic substitutes, as exhausted reaction figures, grotesque dolls, animals, machines, medical diagrams, or horror creatures. This pattern is similar to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) attributive processes in which a “carrier” (the named woman) is constantly associated with a negative “attribute”, so that the name is now used to indicate the attribute rather than a particular entity.

Most memes (Table 9) rely on “offer” images where the represented participant does not establish direct eye contact with the viewer but is positioned within a symbolic or affective context, where the audience is not a speaker who is faced with questions. Of the few memes that make a direct 'demand' gaze, it is used to amplify shock and revulsion (the Sanaa doll, the dog and horror figure, the posing figure, and the horror figure with Amna), not to elicit empathy. Despite the social distance of mostly close or medium, the images emphasize exaggerated or grotesque features, and camera angles are consistently eye level and frontal, the “equal” framing that along with the judgmental content of the images, naturalizes the position of the viewer as an impartial judge of the named woman's value. Modality varies between low realism cartoon and caricature, where the effect of the satire is amplified by the dehumanizing distortion, and high realism photographic or icon-based, which give the satire a documentary or technological credibility.

In terms of composition, each meme has the woman's name in a prominent place, usually at the top, as one of the many interpretive anchors of the image below, or at the bottom or end of a list, where it serves as the punchline of a building sequence, as in the Laiba “headache” and Amna “root of all problems” memes. The most grotesque, painful or exaggerated visual element is always salient, and framing treats caption and image as a single interpretive unit, thereby removing any visual separation that may hint at the relation being arbitrary or constructed. In the list-type or comparative memes (4, 5, 6, 14), the separation of elements is combined with the grouping of elements, the separation occurs when the represented woman is distinguished from the other elements, and the grouping occurs when the described woman is grouped with the other elements in a derogatory category, e.g., “technological glitches”, “medical pathologies”, or “undesirable types of women”.

5. Gender Ideologies in Name-Based Hate Memes

To address the second research question, the corpus was divided into five overlapping clusters of ideologies as in Table 10 below and will be discussed below.

5.1. Women as Sources of Emotional Disturbance and Mental Exhaustion

The most ubiquitous ideology portrays named women as agents of emotional distress and cognitive overload experienced by men. It is most prominently reflected in the

Sanaa and Ayesha memes, and structurally in the Laiba and Amna sets. In Figure 3 (Meme 1), a cartoon character is exhausted, and the reason for this is explicitly explained to be “Sanaa”; in figure 5 (Meme 3) a bright red brain is displayed, representing the mental effort of arguing with her. The sense of relief when the male speaker's voice resumes, in Figure 12 (Meme 10), incorporates Ayesha's voice into a formula of what is considered disruptive, while Figure 13 (Meme 11) equates arguing with her to repeatedly striking a mannequin's head against a wall. This cluster is based on a syndrome of cause and effect that runs the opposite way: where the man is the one in the grip of an upsetting feeling and the woman named is the one who has caused the feeling, and the woman is represented as excessively emotional or communicatively disruptive.

5.2. Appearance-Based Misogyny and Beauty-Standard Policing

A second cluster reflects appearance-based misogyny and policing of beauty expectations, most notable in the memes of Laiba, Ayesha, Sanaa and Amna. In Figure 6 (Meme 4), “Laiba” becomes a third and more devalued category of ‘beauty’ that falls outside the socially coded ‘fair’ and ‘dark’ beauty types that are acknowledged in South Asian discourse, adding colorism to an indictment of ‘unattractiveness’. Each of these figures (Meme 2, Meme 12, and Meme 13) is an ironic pairing that reflects on the image of a ‘fresh as a daisy’, a poor hair straightening result, and a lack of convincing femininity. Through the visual failure of individual women, compared to idealized femininity, these memes allow for the regulation of women's bodies in accordance with narrow standards of beauty, and through a comedy frame (“just a joke”) the discriminatory representation is protected from criticism through the framing of humor (Mallya & Dennis, 2021; El-Wakil, 2022).

5.3. Women as Irrational and Communicatively Deviant

A third cluster characterizes women as irrational, argumentative or communicatively threatening. The representation of women as irrational and cognitively disruptive is reflected in the two figures shown in Figure 5, Meme 3, and Figure 13, Meme 11; both represent verbal disagreement as an exhausting or self-destructive experience. Figure 12, Meme 10, reframes the act of a woman asserting herself with, “I will never talk to you again”, as a good thing, rather than the end of a relationship. This ideology undermines the role of women as interlocutors in conversations by framing their contributions as inherently threatening, thus reinforcing a tradition of female passivity which is preferred by men.

5.4. Dehumanization through Non-Human Substitution

The fourth extreme group dehumanizes named women by symbolically substituting them with animals, machines and monsters. “Maria” is personified as an anthropomorphized dog wearing a skirt (Figure 10, Meme 8) and a monster from a horror film (Figure 11, Meme 9) while “Laiba” is likened to a low battery and weak Wi-Fi signal

icon (Figure 7, Meme 5) and a diagram representing the most severe form of headache (Figure 8, Meme 6); “Amna” is described as the “root of all problems” (Figure 16, Meme 14) and as a hidden monstrous “real face” (Figure 17, Meme 15). Each one of the women named in these instances has been stripped of her humanity and symbolically transformed into non-human entities, turning her into a malfunction, an irritation, a threat, and in the end foreclosing her recognition as a subject with interiority and rights of its own.

5.5. Women as Deceptive, Problematic, and Mentally Unstable

A fifth cluster combines aspects of the previous clusters to create named women who are deceptive, problematic, or unstable. Figure 9 (Meme 7) visualizes institutionalization of “Maria”, while Figure 17 (Meme 15) suggests an outwardly acceptable femininity which hides the underlying monster, and Figure 16 (Meme 14) blames the named woman as the universal cause of disorder. All these images rely on the traditional patriarchal stereotype of women, who are deceptive, hysterical, or a source of the man's misfortune; reproducing these stereotypes for a contemporary digital audience.

Table 10: Summary of Dominant Gender Ideologies across the Fifteen Memes

Ideological Cluster	Associated Names / Memes	Key Multimodal Mechanism
Women as emotionally disruptive and exhausting	Sanaa (1, 3), Ayesha (10, 11)	Cause-effect reversal; male-victim positioning; pain/exhaustion symbolism
Appearance-based misogyny and beauty policing	Sanaa (2), Laiba (4), Ayesha (12), Amna (13)	Ironic contrast; colorism; failed femininity performance
Women as irrational and argumentative	Sanaa (3), Ayesha (10, 11)	Physical/cognitive pain metaphors; female voice framed as threat
Dehumanization through non-human substitution	Laiba (5, 6), Maria (8, 9), Amna (14, 15)	Symbolic substitution with animals, machines, monsters, diagrams
Women as deceptive, problematic, mentally unstable	Maria (7), Amna (14, 15)	Horror imagery; psychiatric setting; universal blame/scapegoating

6. Discussion

This study builds on but also adds to previous research on gendered meme discourse, which has been conducted using MCDA. Table 11 places each cluster of ideologies found in Section 5 into the context of a similar study found in the literature reviewed in Section 2, highlighting areas of agreement and differences.

Table 11: Comparison of Present Findings with Comparable Studies

Present-Study Finding	Mechanism in This Corpus	Comparable Study	Convergence / Extension
Women as emotionally disruptive and exhausting	Reaction images, glowing-brain and head-smashing metaphors attributed to a named woman	Shahid et al. (2025); Drakett et al. (2018)	Confirms Pakistani memes' coding of women as a source of male distress; extends it by attaching the trait to a personal name rather than a generic female character
Appearance-based misogyny and beauty policing	Colorism-based classification; ironic 'fresh as a daisy' captioning; mocked hair-straightening	El-Wakil (2022); Mallya & Dennis (2021)	Echoes the shift toward depicting women as 'unsuccessful' and 'ugly' identified by El-Wakil; extends colorism findings from Indian 'Tag a Friend' memes to a Pakistani, name-specific format
Women as irrational and argumentative	Female assertiveness reframed as conflict or threat ('inner peace' after Ayesha's silence)	Shahid et al. (2025); Zaman et al. (2025)	Confirms the 'talkative/troublesome woman' stereotype reported for Pakistani Facebook memes; extends it via Goffman-style framing that turns a woman's own words into the joke's punchline
Dehumanization through non-human substitution	Animal, machine, monster, and diagram substitutions for named women	Mahfouz (2021); Parker (2025)	Goes beyond Mahfouz's binary man/woman oppositions by erasing the woman entirely; aligns with Parker's account of meme culture re-victimizing women through dehumanizing imagery
Women as deceptive, problematic, mentally unstable	Psychiatric-institution and horror-monster imagery;	Alyatalathaf (2021); Nusrat et al. (2025)	Shares the victim-blaming and delegitimizing logic identified for named public figures; extends this logic to anonymous private

	scapegoating infographic		individuals identified solely by first name
--	-----------------------------	--	--

Similar to the findings of Shahid et al. (2025), who identified that Pakistani Facebook memes overwhelmingly feature women as talkative, irrational, and objectified. The present analysis reveals similar patterns, which, in this case, is further reinforced by the direct use of individual women's names. The mockery of the women by their appearance witnessed in the memes of Laiba, Ayesha, Sanaa and Amna is similar to El-Wakil's (2022) finding that as the duration of the pandemic increased, the depiction of women as tired, irrational and unsuccessful in the memes grew. Mallya and Dennis's (2021) account of how Indian 'Tag a Friend' memes normalized body-shaming and colorism through repetitive sharing is also similar.

The dehumanization of the Maria, Laiba and Amna memes is not just an extension of Mahfouz's (2021) observation of binary, stereotyped oppositions between men and women in image-macro memes; in this case, the image of the woman is replaced by a substitute image that, in turn, becomes an animal, machine, monster, or medical pathology. This discovery aligns with Parker's (2025) argument that meme culture can re-victimize women by casting their personal suffering as popular entertainment, as well as with the feminist social-constructionist account of how ironic and joking discourse can veil underlying power dynamics as hegemonic masculinity (Drakett et al. 2018).

The hyper-personalization of the present corpus distinguishes it from a lot of the literature that is reviewed. The Instagram hater pages analyzed here focus on ordinary women, whose names start with a first name that is common to an unknown albeit unlimited population, while studies like Perez-Tirado et al. (2024) and Alyatalathaf (2021) focus on online misogyny that targets specific public figures. This extends the hostility to all women who share these names rather than specific individuals. In this way, the memes don't so much comment on an individual entity as serve as a template for misogynistic humor, or as Shifman (2013) puts it, a very 'spreadable' meme format, used here as a tool for personalized symbolic violence.

Similarly, the frequent employment of humor, irony, and exaggeration in all fifteen memes supports Siddiqi et al.'s (2018) and Nasreen and Habib's (2021) findings that use of comedic framing makes sexist content more socially acceptable and less susceptible to criticism. The derogatory connotation of a name and a negative attribute is introduced as an 'obvious' joke, not as a clear statement of ideology, and the viewers are encouraged to laugh along with the portrayal, as Zaman et al. (2025) theorize as the key mechanism through which gendered harm is normalized in Pakistani digital spaces. The findings indicate that digital humor operates as a socially acceptable mechanism through which gender stereotypes may be reproduced, normalized, and circulated among online communities. This finding demonstrates that humor functions as a socially acceptable

discursive strategy through which discriminatory gender ideologies can be reproduced and normalized while appearing harmless.

6.1. Theoretical Contribution

Theoretically, this study contributes to the Visual Grammar research of Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) by introducing the conceptual category of name-based digital misogyny. The present analysis reveals that an everyday personal name, not connected to a named victim, but to a semiotic cluster of negative features (exhaustion, ugliness, irrationality, monstrosity, deception) can also be the 'carrier' in the attributive process of meme construction in Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). A first name, then, as a linguistic sign, can in this genre be detached from any image of the named person: the conceptual processes that Visual Grammar usually applies to the participants in an image may be transferred onto the linguistic sign in this case. This discovery indicates that the MCDA frameworks ought to be pushed to include situations where the "participant" is not a drawn or painted person but a name as such, a free-floating ideological signifier.

6.2. Practical Implications

The results are of practical relevance for various actors. In terms of the governance of social media, there is a degree of uniformity in the creation of the "hater" pages, using names, which have the characteristic of reproducing derogatory templates—content moderation systems that are trained to flag material containing explicit hate language may miss this more indirect, name-based form of gendered hate, as individual memes might appear, by themselves, as a form of generic humor. The analysis provides a concrete pedagogical resource for the case of digital literacy education as the Visual Grammar checklist used here (Section 3.2) could be adapted into the classroom to provide a guide for young social media users to identify how ridicule is naturalized through the gaze, framing, and symbolic substitution. This would help develop the kind of critical media literacy called for by Shahid et al., 2025 and Zaman et al., 2025. The study points out that, in the case of cyberbullying prevention interventions, a substantial portion of the gendered online harassment may be targeted through shared first names instead of a specific individual; and that current cyber-bullying prevention policies, which tend to focus on identifiable targets, may not be effective in addressing a potential, interchangeable victim as one who shares a targeted name. Last but not least, the five ideological clusters that emerged from the analysis described above (Section 5) offer a vocabulary for ordinary digital humor as it reproduces patriarchy, which can serve as a basis for advocacy and curriculum design for challenging the reproduction of patriarchy.

The present study extends existing scholarship on digital misogyny by demonstrating that misogynistic discourse may operate not only through representations of women as a social group or through attacks on identifiable individuals, but also through the symbolic targeting of ordinary female names. The findings suggest that names can function as

semiotic containers through which recurring gender stereotypes are condensed, circulated, and reproduced within online cultures. This highlights an overlooked mechanism of gendered digital discourse and expands the analytical scope of multimodal critical discourse studies.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

This study introduces the concept of name-based digital misogyny as a distinct form of online gendered hostility in which personal names function as semiotic carriers of derogatory meanings. The aim of the current study was to investigate the role of multimodal features in the hate memes targeting women on Pakistani Instagram pages and what gender ideologies they mostly reproduce. With reference to Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) Visual Grammar, this analysis of fifteen memes from five name-dedicated hater pages reveals that the memes predominantly employ conceptual processes, including symbolic substitutions- substituting individual women with grotesque images, animals, machines, monsters, and diagrams of pain - or interactive strategies - advocating that the viewer is a passive participant in the ridicule; and compositional strategies seamlessly fuse a woman's name with a negative visual or textual category. Five clusters of ideas became evident: Women as sources of emotional disturbance, women as objects of appearance-based misogyny, women as conflicting or irrational interlocutors, women as non-human, and women as deceptive, problematic, or mentally unstable figures.

The results in this study reveal that seemingly harmless, throwaway humor does some substantial ideological work in normalizing misogynistic assumptions. The memes do not target only a single Pakistani woman, but instead draw negative connotations from the names of many Pakistani women, thereby normalizing the misogyny under the guise of humor. The study thus expands MCDA scholarship to an under-researched and hidden aspect of personalized digital hate and validates the framework's ability to illuminate the underlying ideology of seemingly mundane online texts. Furthermore, the findings indicate that personal names can operate as semiotic resources through which broader social stereotypes are attached to entire categories of women rather than individual persons.

Based on these findings, several recommendations are made. Digital literacy programs, in particular those for younger social media users, need to make these issues explicit: ideas about discriminatory content in humor, and in visual exaggeration; and the ways that such 'harmless' memes work ideologically. Second, the social impact of personalized hate content should be taken into account and promoted to the meme page administrators and content creators through awareness campaigns even if the content appears to be insignificant on an individual level. Third, there is a need to actively challenge the narrow beauty ideals and gender roles that are repeated in these and similar

meme types in wider public conversations, education and media campaigns, through more inclusive models of femininity. The study therefore demonstrates that name-based digital misogyny should be understood not merely as online humor but as a multimodal mechanism through which broader patriarchal assumptions are reproduced.

Several limitations should be acknowledged. First, the study is restricted to fifteen memes collected from five Instagram pages and therefore does not claim statistical representativeness. Second, only Instagram-based content was examined; future research may compare similar discourse across TikTok, Facebook, X, and YouTube. Third, the analysis focuses on textual and visual representations and does not examine audience interpretations, engagement metrics, or comment sections. Fourth, the findings are based on qualitative interpretation and therefore remain subject to researcher positionality despite efforts to enhance coding reliability. Finally, future studies may compare female-name hate pages with male-name hate pages to determine whether similar ideological processes operate across genders.

Future research might broaden the corpus to include more platforms and more name-based hater pages, include qualitative audience-reception techniques like interviews with women with the targeted names, investigate parallels between the trends of analogous memes targeting men or trans individuals to gain insight into the gendered specificity of these trends, as well as qualitative methods like MCDA alongside quantitative or mixed-methods approaches to determine the prevalence and reach of name-based hate content. This type of research could help broaden the knowledge of the ways in which personal identifiers become “weapons” that simultaneously function as multimodal tools of gendered hostility in digital environments, and would shape more effective educational and policy interventions to meet this new form of online misogyny.

References

- Alyatalathaf, M. R. (2021). Cybermisogyny: Hate against women and gendertrolling manifestation on Instagram. *Jurnal Kajian Media*, 5(2), 154–172. <https://doi.org/10.25139/jkm.v5i2.4044>
- Banet-Weiser, S., & Miltner, K. M. (2016). #MasculinitySoFragile: Culture, structure, and networked misogyny. *Feminist Media Studies*, 16(1), 171–174. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2016.1120490>
- Blaxter, L. (2010). *How to research* (4th ed.). Open University Press.
- Davison, P. (2012). The language of internet memes. In M. Mandiberg (Ed.), *The social media reader* (pp. 120–134). New York University Press.
- 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>

El-Wakil, R. (2022). Women representation in crisis memes—Humour and beyond: A critical discourse analysis. *International Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 9(3), 50–72.

Elamroussi, A., Alsaeed, A. A., & Abdel Maksoud, N. (2021). Investigating anti-feminist stereotyping memes on Facebook: Multimodal discourse analysis study. *Advances in Language and Literary Studies*, 12(4), 22–33. <https://doi.org/10.7575/aiac.all.v.12n.4p.22>

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Longman.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press.

Jane, E. A. (2014). “Your a ugly, whorish, slut”: Understanding e-bile. *Feminist Media Studies*, 14(4), 531–546. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2012.741073>

Javed, R., Jamil, A., & Ahmad, M. (2022). Memes as a tool of social and political commentary: Discourse analysis of memes in Pakistani social media. *Global Mass Communication Review*, 7(2), 1–15.

Javed, H., & Hussain, N. (2024). Narrative building through memes on rape and harassment victims: A multimodal discourse analysis. *Journal of Language and Cultural Education*, 12(1), 45–63. <https://doi.org/10.2478/jolace-2024-0004>

Khosravi-Ooryad, F. (2024). Memeing back at misogyny: Emerging meme-feminism, visual tactics, and aesthetic worldbuilding on Iranian social media. *Feminist Media Studies*, 24(3), 412–430. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2023.2244812>

Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T. (2006). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Mahfouz, S. M. (2021). A multimodal analysis of gender representation in “Men vs. Women memes.” *International Journal of Linguistics*, 13(3), 61–85. <https://doi.org/10.5296/ijl.v13i3.18628>

Mallya, M., & Dennis, A. (2021). Comic memes and sexist humor in India: Tools for reinforcement of female body-image stereotypes. *South Asian Popular Culture*, 19(2), 113–128. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14746689.2021.1914479>

Manovich, L. (2017). *Instagram and contemporary image*. Cultural Analytics. <http://manovich.net/index.php/projects/instagram-and-contemporary-image>

Milner, R. M. (2016). *The world made meme: Public conversations and participatory media*. MIT Press.

Nasreen, S., & Habib, A. (2021). Internet memes and normalisation of sexism in the time of Covid-19. *Journal of Media and Communication Studies*, 13(1), 13–24. <https://doi.org/10.5897/JMCS2021.0680>

Nusrat, A., Khan, M. A., Awan, S., & Farid, M. (2025). Unmasking digital prejudice: A multimodal critical discourse analysis of racial, gender and ideological violence in memes targeting Kamala Harris' speeches. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17475759.2025.2461872>

Parker, B. (2025). Exploring the re-victimization of women through meme culture within an online space. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 34(1), 88–104. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2024.2387412>

Perez-Tirado, J., Calvo Viota, A., & Igarzabal, B. (2024). Insta-hate toward female political leaders: Six case studies from Instagram. *Social Media + Society*, 10(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051241232810>

Shahid, F., Irfan, M., & Abbas, S. (2025). Exploring women representation in meme discourse: A multimodal critical discourse analysis of selected memes from Pakistani Facebook pages. *Pakistan Journal of Language Studies*, 9(1), 1–22.

Shifman, L. (2013). Memes in a digital world: Reconciling with a conceptual troublemaker. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 18(3), 362–377. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12013>

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

Siddiqi, S., Abidi, S. M. R., Shahid, S., Sultana, S., & Tariq, W. (2018). Analysing threads of sexism in new age humour: A content analysis of internet memes. *Pakistan Journal of Gender Studies*, 16(1), 63–80.

van Leeuwen, T. (2015). Multimodality. In D. Tannen, H. E. Hamilton, & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 447–465). Wiley-Blackwell.

Zaman, A., Arshad, U., & Choudhary, Z. A. (2025). Impact of internet memes on perception of gender-based violence among Pakistani youth. *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 13(2), 189–207.

Ze, C., & Panneerselvam, S. (2021). Reinforcing or resisting? A study on the influence of internet memes on sexism among university students in Penang. *Journal of Content, Community and Communication*, 14(7), 200–213. <https://doi.org/10.31620/JCCC.12.21/15>