



Role of Memes, Trolls, and Bullying in Building Public Agenda on Social Media about National Issues of Pakistan

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Article History

Received
25-10-2024

Accepted
06-11-2024

Published
12-11-2024

Abstract & Indexing

WORLD of
JOURNALS



ACADEMIA



REVIEWER
CREDITS

Abstract

Memes, Trolls, and Cyberbullying have emerged as new phenomena for setting the political agenda on social media in recent years, and they have grabbed significant attention in research studies of this digital era. The purpose of this research was to find out the Role of Memes, Trolls, and Bullying in building public agenda on social media about national issues of Pakistan. The current study used survey research design. The self-administered questionnaire was designed to collect data using closed-ended questions. Responses were collected via questionnaire and analyzed using through SPSS. The sample size for this study is 400. Students and employees, male and female, at the University of Sargodha were selected as the sample for this study. Purposefully, respondents were selected who used social sites (Facebook and Twitter) and were familiar with the phenomena of Memes, Trolls, and Cyberbullying. The researcher uses agenda-setting and agenda building theories as the theoretical foundation for this investigation. Furthermore, according to respondents that politician used Memes more frequently for altering the public perception in political issues as compared to Trolls or Cyberbullying. Conclusively, it was found in this study that usage of Facebook is more frequently than Twitter. This study also finds that political parties create and share Memes to defame their opponents. Hypothesis of this study that user consume Memes in political affairs more frequently than Cyberbullying is proven strongly. Users believe that Memes, Trolls and Bullying are interesting way of spreading targeted political information. This study proves that Memes affect the fame and personality of targeted political leaders.

Keywords

Memes, Trolls, Cyberbullying, Phenomena, Facebook, Twitter, Social Media, National Issues, Agenda-Setting.

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Introduction

Before the emergence of social media, it was physically difficult for journalists to engage in participatory conversations with their viewers. However, the advent of social media in the mid-to-late 2000s created substantial new opportunities for these connections. A broad phrase, "social media" includes texting, web pages, chat rooms, comment sections, pages, websites, online content, games, and other related technologies. Social media relies on complicated and multidirectional flows of communication. Social networking websites serve as platforms for identity construction and self-presentation. Young people carefully evaluate their decisions about an expected audience while sharing information, making comments, and uploading images. Social media and other digital technologies offer new instruments for citizens who are dissatisfied with their social and political realities. Social media is frequently viewed by users as an extended network of family and friends. Bennett, Segerberg, and Chadwick (2013) argue that anyone who has power over the media and, more broadly, the dissemination of information also shapes public opinion and helps to shape political interests. New Internet-based media have had a significant impact on traditional communication channels.

The most recent trends to take over social media networking sites are Memes and Trolls, which are currently the most harmful and discriminatory to both children and adults. Websites like Facebook, discussion boards online, blogs, and newspaper comments have all become venues for harassing others with insults, provocations, and threatening words. This causes the recipients of the subsequent communications great distress. The user of social sites has changed the nature of affinity on social media.

Social Networking in Pakistan

"Societies have always been shaped more by the nature of the Media by which men communicate than by the content of the Communication" (McLuhan, 1964). Due to the emergence of new media and micro-blogging websites such as Twitter, a lot of activity has moved online in Pakistan and abroad. Digital media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook allow their consumers to discuss various topics with their "followers." This has led scholars to compare Twitter to Habermas's public sphere due to its exponential growth and the public nature of the platform (Bruns & Highfield, 2015). Thus, a lot of scholars have used Twitter to examine public opinion (Williams & Gulati, 2013; Graham, Broersma, Hazelhoff, & van Haar, 2013).

Researchers felt the massive impact of social media on the political process in Pakistan during the 2018 general election when the party of Imran Khan (PTI) won. The PTI, and especially Imran Khan, changed the country's politics with social media. If we talk about trends on social media today, they are being followed by millions of users on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Nowadays, GIFS, hashtags, vines, memes, blogs, live videos, etc. have become so popular that they have become a trend on social media in the past few years (Ellison, 2014). In Pakistan, the Troll is largely political, guided by dogma, an unquestioned belief, and conviction in his party's doctrine. The Troll will most likely remain hidden on Twitter, rarely displaying his image in favor of the party flag or a photo of the great leader. The Troll phenomenon has had a far-reaching impact. It has similar consequences to Cyberbullying, and Trolls frequently operate as cyberbullies. They harass, attack, and threaten individuals with whom they disagree, and they have targeted reporters, officials, and other prominent figures. Victims of such harassment experienced significant mental suffering and were compelled to discontinue the use of social media.

Memes

In 1976 Dawkins wrote, "When you plant a fertile meme in my mind you literally parasitize my brain, turning it into a vehicle for the Meme's propagation in just the way that a virus may parasitize the genetic mechanism of a host cell."

English biologist Richard Dawkins proposed the idea of memes in 1967 during the study of selfish genes, which later became the basis of internet memes. He characterized a new sort of replication that goes from one mind to another through mimicking (Dawkins, 2006). Songs, ideologies, buzzwords, and trends are all examples of memes. Dawkins proposed Memes are like genes; they can be altered, reproduced, and grown. Digital memes can take a variety of forms, ranging from popular online videos to graphics shared by internet users (Shifman, 2012, pp. 188–189). The term “meme” refers to a joke or craze that spreads quickly and is widely adopted and repeated (Burgess, 2008). Memes, which are a short form of “mimeme,” are cultural elements such as concepts, symbols, and practices that are replicated from one individual (or group) to another through unique and emerging behaviors (Dawkins, 2006; original 1976; Blackmore, 2000). Internet memes, which first appeared in the early 21st century’s Internet culture and quickly gained popularity, revived interest in the notion of memes.

Trolling:

The notion of internet trolling occurs in various languages, and the phenomenon itself is widespread around the world. The term "trolling" is derived from the English term for baited line fishing and is used to describe communicative provocation intended to enrage other users: to incite conflict and wrath or to cause irritation and anxiety. Trolling entails provoking controversy and ignoring the unwritten standards of online communication. The phenomenon of internet trolls has become part and parcel of their lives, and memes have become a meaningful unit of their language. Internet trolls were born as verbal abuse and sarcastic comments, but realizing their potential, the virtual world started adding more components to increase the effect of the action called trolling. Memes are one of these components of trolls.

Bullying:

Bullying is frequently regarded as a major societal issue with massive effects on its sufferers. Bullying existed long before the Internet and smart phones were invented. Young people, adults, and increasing numbers of youngsters using modern technologies have bullied others, mostly because they believe they can do so anonymously through these platforms. This can happen overtly by abusing someone physically or verbally, or it can happen covertly by frightening or influencing someone into doing what the perpetrator wants. (APA) is more broadly defined: “Bullying is a form of aggressive behaviour in which someone intentionally and repeatedly causes another person injury or discomfort.” “Bullying can take the form of physical contact, words, or more subtle actions.”

Bullying has evolved into a new trend that has now migrated into the online environment. This is referred to as “cyberbullying.” Surprisingly, Cyberbullying is such a new phenomenon that relatively little is known about it. Smith et al. (2008) describe “cyberbullying” as a sort of bullying that uses digital communication, including e-mail, Smartphone calls, SMS, online messaging activity, pictures, digital platforms, and private site links, to cause harm to another person through repeated hostile behaviour. Embarrassment, abuse, social isolation, mockery, and unpleasant comments may be part of cyberbullying. Since the development of the internet, cyberbullying has become a serious global problem. In Pakistan, young people, especially girls, experience online abuse, cyber stalking, and digital harassment. It is the type of bullying in which someone is insulted or degraded through the use of mail, social media sites, or any other electronic contact by making derogatory statements about the person or expressing anything that might be harmful. Nowadays, creating fictitious accounts or engaging in online stalking is fairly widespread.

Significance of the Study:

Social media communication is considered one of the most effective ways of communicating. On social sites, memes, trolling, and bullying have become the most popular trends, which people are following across the world. The reason for this research study and

topic is that most research has focused on the relationship between memes and politics (Vasiliki Plevriti 2014), memes as a language (On the Language of Internet Memes by Ernesto Leon 2015), and memes as a means of communication (Internet as a Means of Communication by Branislav Buchel 2012). So, for this research study, try to explore these three phenomena, which are used to set the agenda for national issues in Pakistan. Social media was specifically chosen as a medium, and social sites like Facebook and Twitter were selected to study how they shape the public opinion of youth through these tactics.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Yousuf et al., (2013) scholars view the media's function as changing opinions and presenting facts. Veil et al., (2011) social media platforms, which frequently act as centers for the publication, transfer, and consumption of real-time information during emergencies, are continually being used to spread information about these rising social issues.

Matthes, (2006), McCombs, (2004), McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver, (2014) the population is most vulnerable to the agenda-setting impacts communicated through social media due to uncertainty combined with socially imparted problem importance through networked information exchange. Khan, (2017) online communities that enable users to talk and contact others, work for the socialization of individuals. Pakistani youth are the major users of social media, which has a significant impact on society. Haque, (2010) political debate has altered as a result of the new social media trend in Pakistan, where participation in online social and political spheres is constantly increasing. Political candidates who follow blog posts, Facebook groups, Instagram, and Whatsapp can now receive news and participate in online debates.

Memes

Lisi Lainesk, (2016) it has been suggested that online memes can be used by people as a way to establish opinions. Miltner (2014), Phillips & Milner (2017) people's consumption and production of internet memes frequently represent their attitudes toward social sectors like ethnicity, gender, and status, and using them as a platform for discussions about various problems are interesting. A meme's capacity to resonate with people on both a social and a personal level is one of the factors that contribute to its propensity to spread (Milner, 2016). Van

In his post published in 2015, Ahsan discusses Pakistani meme material, stating that there are several memes that have a harmful impact on our youth. Memes about calling someone by the wrong name because of their industry or religious background; also making fun of someone's physical appearance, calling them names, pointing out their stereotyped habits, making fun of their political party choice, etc. Such memes are mind-blowing and have a grave impact on young people who engage with them.

Trolling

Phillips (2015) argues that, even though it might be accurate, the concept of trolling and its anonymity are too broad and diversified in terms of behavior objectives to confirm that trolling is political. Mueller, (2019, p.18) trolls are Internet users. In this case, these paid agents post divisive and sometimes harmful material on digital media or other sites. Nicol, (2012) simply suggests that trolling occurs when someone is deliberately trying to distress another person online, usually with the intent to disrupt and is often done anonymously. It is frequently inflammatory and abusive.

Desk W. (2019) Pakistanis poked fun at the fallen Indian military pilot by making memes about his mustache, and teacup, and exchanging them on social media. Romanian DJ also joined it and trolled through their Twitter tweets. Khalid, (2019) in a recent event in which Pakistani citizens began trolling when Pakistan Air Force jets shot down an Indian fighter pilot, netizens created amusing content about the pilot of the downed aircraft on social media, which quickly went viral.

Cyberbullying

Akbulut and Eristi, (2011) additionally, studies have revealed that cyberbullying harms vulnerable victims physically and emotionally, Ybarra and Mitchell, (2007) Furthermore, psychological challenges and behavioral issues, Selkie et al., (2015) getting drunk, Ybarra and Mitchell, (2007) use of cigarettes, sadness, and a lack of devotion to education. DeHue et al., (2008) Juvonen and Gross, (2008) Kowalski and Limber, (2007) Rivituso, (2012) Varghese and Pistole, (2017) Na, (2014) according to research on cyberbullying, its victims frequently suffer from serious mental health issues such as sadness, stress, desperation, loss of self, social isolation, school phobia, and poor educational achievements.

Eroglu & Guler,(2015), Korkmaz,(2016) using the internet in several dangerous ways exchanging personal information, sending someone to meet up online, contacting people online, having in-person meetings online, viewing porn content, encouraging to commit suicide or use drugs, insulting a particular group, making negative remarks, being aware of someone being ashamed online, and engaging in cyberbullying is included. Haider (2020) In Pakistan, women have faced severe cyberbullying irrespective of their professional activities, this includes actors, artists, graduates, reporters, and lecturers. It is estimated that 40% of female social media users have experienced online harassment, whether it was through emails, Facebook, WhatsApp, Messenger, Instagram, or another social media platform. Kamran, (2019) it is conceived that 9 out of 10 Pakistani female journalists have experienced virtual harassment and this online bullying has hurt their lives.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Through the exchange of ideas and opinions, through memes and political satire, setting trends through trolling, and defaming or harassing personalities through cyber bullying, internet users create their common agenda to decide which problems are significant enough for debate on social media platforms. The researcher identified these emerging patterns and chose agenda setting and agenda building theory for the theoretical foundation of this study.

Agenda setting

The agenda setting hypothesis explores how the media shapes the public's perception of a certain subject. The primary concern of the general public or society is the public agenda. The concept of agenda setting dates back to the 1920s when journalist and social commentator Walter Lippmann, (1992) stated in *Public Opinion* that because people were unable to directly perceive the larger world, they were forced to depend on the pictures and words created by the media in order to set up perceptions. By pointing out that the media don't tell people what to think but rather what to think about, Bernard Cohen, (1963) developed Lippmann's views.

Agenda Building

The agenda-building perspective Conceptualized as a political science theory by Cobb and Elder in 1971. Related with the agenda-setting theory, Agenda-building theory is a dynamic and continuing process that differentiated groups of certain societies aimed to change or impose their interest should have the priority into public policymakers. Elite categories that building and promoting policy are called agenda building. Several studies show that agenda building effects occur in digital age. A process through the policy agenda of political elites is influenced by a variety of factors, which including the media agenda and the public agenda (Rogers & Dearing 1988).

Research design

The quantitative method was employed in order to make the study more credible and reliable. This study aims to examine “Role of Memes, Trolls, and Bullying in building public agenda on social media about national issues of Pakistan.” The researcher chose the survey method as the design of research, for this study.

Male and female students and employees from the University of Sargodha who use Facebook and Twitter and view memes about various political issues, as well as deal with trolling and

cyberbullying on these social media platforms, they are selected as a unit of analysis in this study. This study's sample size is 400. These 400 students and employees were chosen from a convenient sample of the entire University of Sargodha. Responses were gathered through a questionnaire and examined with the help of SPSS, and the final data was represented with the help of tables and graphs.

Findings

5.1 To what extent do you like following type of content on social media?

Variable	Scale	Overall	Gender	
			Male	Female
		%	%	%
Extent of Liking Memes	Very much	34	36	32
	Much	28	24	32
	Somewhat	17	21	14
	Rarely	11	13	9
	Not at all	10	7	13
Extent of Liking Trolls	Very much	15	18	12
	Much	15	13	17
	Somewhat	24	28	21
	Rarely	20	22	18
	Not at all	27	20	33
Extent of Liking Cyberbullying	Very much	10	10	10
	Much	13	13	12
	Somewhat	17	17	18
	Rarely	14	19	9
	Not at all	47	41	52

Table 5.1 shows the frequency of liking Memes, Trolls and Cyber bullying by respondents. Overall data shows majority of respondent’s like Memes more frequently (62%) as compare to Trolls (30%) and Cyberbullying (23%). Similarly, across gender it has been observed from the findings that male like Memes (60%) Trolls (31%) and Cyberbullying (23%), on the other hand female like Memes (64%), Trolls (29%), and Cyberbullying (22%). As compared to female frequency of liking Memes (64%) was more than male (60%) but find a slightly difference in frequency of liking Trolls and Cyberbullying between male and female.

Exclusive analysis of data in term of liking Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying by respondents shows that majority of the respondent’s like Memes frequently (62%) as compared to rarely (11%) and followed by not at all (10%). Similarly, respondents like Trolls (30%) as compared to rarely (20%) and followed by not at all (27%).The majority of respondents response rarely (14%) and followed by not at all (47%) as compared to respondents like Cyberbullying(23%).

5.2 To what extent do you share following type of content related to politics?

Variable	Scale	Overall	Gender	
			Male	Female
		%	%	%
Extent of Sharing Memes	Very much	24	29	20
	Much	22	24	20
	Somewhat	16	15	18
	Rarely	16	14	18

Extent of Sharing Trolls	Not at all	22	20	25
	Very much	11	14	9
	Much	15	17	13
	Somewhat	20	25	15
	Rarely	21	19	24
Extent of Sharing Cyberbullying	Not at all	33	26	40
	Very much	10	10	10
	Much	11	14	9
	Somewhat	13	14	11
	Rarely	16	19	13
	Not at all	51	44	57

Table 5.2 shows the frequency of sharing Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying by respondents. Overall data shows majority of respondent's sharing Memes more frequently (46%) as compare to Trolls (26%) and Cyberbullying (21%). Similarly, across gender it has been observed from the findings that male sharing of Memes (53%), Trolls (31%) and Cyberbullying (24%) more frequently, as compared to female sharing of Memes (40%), Trolls (22%), and Cyberbullying (19%).

Exclusive analysis of data in term of sharing Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying by respondents' shows that majority of the respondent's sharing Memes frequently (46%) as compared to rarely (16%) and followed by not at all (22%). Respondents frequently sharing Trolls as compared to rarely (21%) and followed by not at all (33%). Similarly, the majority of respondent's response about sharing Cyberbullying are rarely (16%) and followed by not at all (51%).

5.3 In your opinion, to what extent that these trends on social media play a significant role in your life's political decision\ (opinion)-making process?

Variable	Scale	Overall %	Gender	
			Male %	Female %
Role of Memes in political decision\opinion making process	Very much	20	19	21
	Much	24	23	25
	Somewhat	28	31	24
	Rarely	16	16	16
	Not at all	13	12	15
Role of Trolls in political decision\opinion making process	Very much	13	12	14
	Much	20	26	15
	Somewhat	28	26	29
	Rarely	21	23	18
	Not at all	19	14	25
Role of Cyberbullying in political decision\opinion making process	Very much	12	11	14
	Much	13	11	16
	Somewhat	24	28	20
	Rarely	19	23	15
	Not at all	32	28	36

Table 5.3 shows the frequency of Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying in political decision\opinion making process by respondents. Overall data shows that frequently role of

Memes in political decision\opinion making process (44%), as compared to Trolls (33%) and Cyberbullying (25%). Similarly, across gender it has been observed from the findings that role of Memes in opinion making process by male respondents (42%), Trolls (38%) and Cyberbullying (22%) while analyze the role of Memes in opinion making process by female respondents (46%), Trolls (29%), and Cyberbullying (30%). This frequency shows that role of Memes and Cyberbullying in opinion\decision making process in female is more than male and Trolls are finding frequently in male respondents as compared to female.

Exclusive analysis of data in term the role of Memes Trolls and Cyberbullying, by respondents shows that the role of Memes in political decision\opinion making process are more frequently (44%) as compared to somewhat (28%) and followed by rarely (16%). Similarly, the role of Trolls in political decision\opinion making process is frequently as compared to somewhat (28%) and followed by rarely (21%). Findings the role of Cyberbullying in political decision\opinion making process is not much greater than somewhat (24%) and followed by rarely (19%).

5.4 Is it right that the increasing popularity of social media worldwide is due to these trends (memes, trolling, and bullying)?

Variable	Scale	Overall %	Gender	
			Male %	Female %
Role of Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying in popularity of social media	Strongly agree	20	22	17
	Agree	46	40	53
	Neither agree nor disagree	20	22	18
	Disagree	7	7	7
	Strongly disagree	8	10	6

Table 5.4 shows that the frequency role of Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying in popularity of social media. Overall data shows that majority of respondents considered the role of Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying in popularity of social media more frequently (66%). Similarly, across gender it has been observed from the findings of female popularity of social media due to Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying (70%) frequently as compared to male (66%).

Exclusive analysis of data in term of popularity of social media due to Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying by respondents shows that more frequently (45%) as compared to neither agree nor disagree (20%) and followed by disagree (7%).

5.5 To what extent that political issue is being discussed on social media through:

Variable	Scale	Overall %	Gender	
			Male %	Female %
Extent of political issues discussed through Memes	Very much	34	37	31
	Much	33	30	33
	Somewhat	18	18	19
	Rarely	8	7	10
	Not at all	7	8	7
Extent of political issues discussed through Trolls	Very much	24	28	21
	Much	29	28	30
	Somewhat	25	23	28

	Rarely	12	12	13
	Not at all	10	10	10
Extent of political issues discussed through Cyberbullying	Very much	21	23	20
	Much	21	18	25
	Somewhat	25	22	28
	Rarely	19	24	15

Table 5.5 shows the frequency of political issues which discussed through Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying by respondents. Overall data shows that political issues are more frequently discussed through Memes (67%), as compare to Trolls (53%) and Cyberbullying (42%). Similarly, across gender it has been observed from the findings that male respondents discuss political issues through Memes (67%), Trolls (56%) and Cyberbullying (41%) and female discussed political issues through Memes (64%), Trolls (51%) and Cyberbullying (45%). This data show that males are frequently discussed issues through Memes and Trolls as compare to females. In the case of Cyberbullying females are frequently discussed political issues as compare to males.

Exclusive analysis of data in term of discussion of political issues through Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying by respondent shows that memes are frequently (66%) as compared to somewhat (18%) and followed by rarely (8%). Similarly, respondents discuss political issues through Trolls are frequently as compared to somewhat (25%) and followed by rarely (12%). Findings of the majority discussed frequently political issues through Cyberbullying as compared to somewhat (25%) and followed by rarely (19%).

5.6 To what extent that these trends (memes, trolling, and bullying) on social sites build the public agenda in political matters?

Variable	Scale	Overall	Gender	
			Male	Female
		%	%	%
Role of Memes Trolls Cyberbullying in building public agenda in political matters	Very much	24	28	21
	Much	33	33	34
	Somewhat	11	10	12
	Rarely	27	26	29
	Not at all	5	4	6

Table 5.6 shows the frequency of public agenda in political matters build through Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying by respondents. Overall data shows that majority of respondents frequently build public agenda in political matters through Memes Trolls Cyberbullying (57%). Similarly, across gender it has been observed from the findings of male build public agenda in political matters (61%) frequently as compared to female (55%).

Exclusive analysis of data in term of building public agenda in political matters through Memes Trolls Cyberbullying by respondents shows that majority builds agenda more frequently (57%) as compared to somewhat (11%) and followed by rarely (27%).

5.7 In your opinion, do these trends are a new strategy for influencing views on social media and modifying consent?

Variable	Scale	Overall	Gender	
			Male	Female
		%	%	%
Memes are new strategy of modifying consent and	Strongly agree	27	29	26
	Agree	43	43	44

influencing views on social media	Neither agree nor disagree	19	19	19
	Disagree	8	7	9
	Strongly disagree	4	4	4
Trolls are new strategy of modifying consent and influencing views on social media	Strongly agree	20	21	18
	Agree	41	38	44
	Neither agree nor disagree	26	27	25
	Disagree	10	10	11
	Strongly	4	4	3
	Disagree			
Cyberbullying are new strategy of modifying consent and influencing views on social media	Strongly agree	17	19	15
	Agree	34	32	36
	Neither agree nor disagree	29	28	30
	Disagree	14	15	13
	Strongly disagree	8	8	8

Table 5.7 shows the frequency of Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying are new strategy of modifying consent and influencing views on social Media by respondents. Overall data shows that Meme are frequently use as a new strategy of modifying consent and influencing views on social media (70%), as compare to Trolls (61%) and Cyberbullying (51%). Similarly, across gender it has been observed from the findings that Memes are new strategy of modifying consent by male respondents (72%), Trolls (59%) and Cyberbullying (51%) by female respondent's Memes (70%), Trolls (62%), and Cyberbullying (51%). According to these findings, little difference between males and females in response to Memes and trolls is a new strategy of modifying consent and influencing views on social media. Although findings of response frequency of Cyberbullying modifying consent on social media is equal between males and female.

Exclusive analysis of data shows in term of Memes, Trolls and Cyberbullying are new strategy of modifying consent and influencing views on social media by respondent that Memes are much frequently (70%) as compared to neither agree nor disagree (19%) and followed by disagree (8%). Similarly, Trolls are new strategy of modifying consent and influencing views on social media much frequently(61%) as compared to neither agree nor disagree (26%) and followed by disagree (10%). Findings of the Cyberbullying is a new strategy of modifying consent and influencing views majority are frequently (51%)as compared to neither agree nor disagree (29%) and followed by disagree (14%).

DISCUSSION

The title of this study is “Role of Memes, Trolls, and Bullying in building public agenda on social media about national issues of Pakistan.” Before the advent of social media, no one could communicate with a large number of people at one time or in one place. Despite having many benefits for users of social media, the main ones are connectedness and knowledge at the fingertips. Social media has also contributed to a decline in human ethics and moral standards. Public opinion on significant political issues was significantly shaped by social media, particularly Facebook and Twitter.

Even though these phenomena's memes trolls and bullying were expressed verbally and physically in society, social media has given them strength. These are now spreading around the world in various forms in the electronic age. Bullying has evolved into cyberbullying in the digital era.

Now, these have become public agenda-setting strategies on any political issue that is increasingly important in politics. These strategies have become a tool for netizens to build and destroy any topic at any time in public. These days, it has become a business for social media

users. Political parties created their media corpus to create memes about opposing politicians and to troll them through mean comments and Facebook status updates.

In the phenomenon of trolling, on social media, active politicians and workers of political parties intentionally provoke people through the use of slang words, offensive comments, abuse, and inflammatory, insincere, and derogatory messages posted directly online. In the context of cyberbullying Political parties also threaten opponents by hacking accounts and leaking private videos and images. Cyberbullying victims in Pakistan include not only politicians, but also journalists, legislators, officers of the armed forces, lawyers, doctors, and even ordinary citizens. Many examples of cyberbullying as mentioned above in this study, people are feeling distressed, psychologically disturbed, and sometimes committing suicidal acts due to this phenomenon.

Conclusion

This study discovered that memes play a significant role in the political agenda-setting process because political parties use them for a special purpose in hilarious ways. In agenda setting, trolls and cyberbullying also play a role on social media, but as compared to memes, they are not much more. The virality of memes within a second on social sites plays a significant role in the agenda-setting process.

Previous research, such as that (Saleem et al., 2022; Souza & Passos, 2021), has found that memes are used in the political agenda-setting process on social media. (Santosa et al., 2018) Memes are prominent during Indonesian election of president 2014. (Kasirye, n.d.) Messages are created by political parties and actors to promote their agendas, and memes are distributed through social media to communicate political ideas to the targeted populations.

Social media has become vital in political scenario of Pakistan as number of studies have drawn link between social media and political behavior of youth (Qaisar, A. R., Noureen, A., & Amin, S. 2021) (QAISAR, A. R. 2021) (Amin, S., Qaisar, A. R., & Razzaq, U. A. 2021) (Javeed, T., Qaisar, A. R., & Juni, M. S) (Qaisar, A. R., & Riaz, S. A. Q. I. B. 2020). Similarly new trends emerged on social media like trolling bullying and memes. It has become popular contents on social media and political parties are using it as a tool of propaganda and persuasion for their ideology (Qaisar, A. R., Bajwa, F., & Nawaz, T. 2022).

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