



Bae Caught Me Tweetin': On the Representational Stance of the Selfie

MATTHEW BELLINGER¹
University of Washington, USA

Keywords: selfie, self-portrait, meme, David Cameron

On March 5, 2014, the Twitter account of Prime Minister David Cameron (2014e) tweeted a photograph of the prime minister along with a short caption that referenced the ongoing Crimean crisis: "I've been speaking to @BarackObama about the situation in Ukraine. We are united in condemnation of Russia's actions" (see Figure 1). The image captures Cameron in a three-quarters headshot seated behind a desk several feet from the camera. Cameron is holding a phone to his ear, listening intently—his mouth is closed—while his gaze drifts to his right, well away from the presence of the camera. The picture is just the sort of shot that an official photographer might snap to document the administration and just the kind of glimpse into the ministerial day-to-day that a PR team might release to depict the prime minister's navigation of global politics.

This apparently serious photograph, however, quickly became fodder for mockery and satire. A little less than two hours after Cameron's tweet was posted, comedian Rob Delaney (2014) replied to Cameron with a picture of himself facing the camera and holding a Crest toothpaste container to his ear as a mock phone. Delaney's picture was accompanied by a short message: ".@David_Cameron @BarackObama Hi guys, I'm on the line now too. Get me up to speed" (see Figure 2). About twenty minutes later, renowned actor Sir Patrick Stewart (2014) added a further reply in a similarly comedic vein (see Figure 3). Stewart's photograph featured the actor in a pose similar to Delaney's—complete with a container of hand wipes as his "phone"—and a short message: ".@robdelaney @David_Cameron @BarackObama I'm now patched in as well. Sorry for the delay."

¹ The author wishes to thank Leah Ceccarelli and two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments on earlier drafts of this essay.



Figure 1. Cameron's tweet.



Figure 2. Delaney's tweet.



Figure 3. Stewart's tweet.

These two replies, along with Cameron's original tweet, quickly gained significant exposure throughout Twitter. Each post garnered thousands of retweets and favorites, and together the trio inspired a short-lived burst of imitation, centered upon the hashtag *#DaveCalls*, in which a myriad Twitter users figuratively inserted themselves into Cameron and Obama's conversation (Hartley-Parkinson, 2014). The exchange also attracted attention from mainstream news media, and a number of outlets ran online articles that described and linked to the trio of tweets. The descriptions offered by these articles, however, featured a rather curious choice of terms: Cameron's original photograph was consistently characterized as a "selfie." *The Guardian*, for example, described Cameron's tweet as an "'on-the-phone-to-Obama' selfie" (Haynes, 2014), and *The Belfast Telegraph* termed it a "serious phone selfie" (Hooten, 2014). Similarly, *The Evening Standard* (Blundy, 2014), *Al Arabiya* ("Celebrities Mock David Cameron's Twitter Selfie," 2014), and *The Huffington Post* (Meredith, 2014) all used the term "selfie" to refer to Cameron's photograph.

This choice of terms is particularly striking given that Cameron's photograph lacks the visual cues normally associated with the selfie. The photograph does not, for example, capture Cameron's reflection in a mirror or feature Cameron's outstretched arm holding the camera. In contrast to the typical gaze of the selfie, which is directed toward the camera (or toward the screen of a smartphone, slightly offset from the camera lens), Cameron's distant, rightward gaze suggests that he is unaware of or at least inattentive to the fact that he is being photographed. And while the distance from photographer to subject in the selfie is usually limited to a few feet, Cameron's photograph seems to indicate a lengthier and less intimate distance. Nevertheless, Cameron's image became tied in the eyes of several media outlets to a genre of self-portraiture more often associated, at least in popular consciousness, with bathroom mirrors and smartphones than office desks and 10 Downing Street.

At first glance, this strange case may seem to be of nothing more than passing interest to scholars of digital culture, and it is tempting to dismiss this use of the term *selfie* as erroneous—as the mistaken application of a particular genre to an inappropriate object. From another perspective, however, Cameron's "selfie" presents an analytical opportunity. While communication scholars have studied *practices* of self-photography (Lasén & Gómez-Cruz, 2009; Schwarz, 2010), the *genre* of the selfie has received little consideration.² That is to say, even though selfies have attracted an increasing amount of scholarly attention—the present collection of essays stands as evidence of this—scholars have not yet considered the extent to which the generic markers of the selfie might exceed the aforementioned visual markers of self-photography. In popular reflection on the selfie, this divergence between self-photography and the genre of the selfie is apparent in the continued contestation of the very definition of the selfie: Even as the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the selfie as "a photograph that one has taken of oneself, typically one taken with a smartphone or webcam and uploaded to a social media website" ("The Oxford Dictionaries Word of the Year 2013 Is . . .," 2013), *The Atlantic* muses over the definitional complications of group selfies (LaFrance, 2014). All this to say, the extent to which Cameron's photograph avoids the more obvious visual elements characteristic of the selfie throws into relief other, nonvisual elements

² One important exception to this is general lack of attention is Lüders, Prøitz, & Rasmussen (2010). Unfortunately, self-photography is not central to their essay and is only invoked by the authors as an example of the utility of the concept of genre to social research.

important to that genre, and thus the strange case of Cameron's tweet allows for the interrogation of what constitutes the selfie as a genre beyond a particular set of visual cues.

In what follows, I offer an account of how Cameron's tweet came to be interpreted as a selfie, and I address the implications of this account for the selfie as a broader genre. More specifically, I argue that the selfie is constituted not only by a particular set of visual markers but also by a specific relationship to photographic representation as such—a relationship that foregrounds staged self-reflection. To advance this argument, I proceed in three steps: First, I situate Cameron's tweet within the broader patterns of communication and self-presentation employed on his Twitter account, and I argue that Cameron's "selfie" tweet exhibits a representational tension between Cameron as photographic subject and Cameron as textual speaker. Next, I turn to an artifact of digital culture that exhibits a tension similar to the one in Cameron's tweet: the "bae caught me slippin" Internet meme. Here I employ Limor Shifman's notion of representational *stance* to argue that the bae meme, which satirizes the genre of the selfie, works by highlighting the selfie's emphasis on staged, rather than candid, self-presentation. Finally, I show how Cameron's tweet, despite its lack of visual cues as a selfie, still invoked the selfie's stance toward representation—the stance highlighted by the bae meme—and thus became legible as a selfie. In doing so, I contribute to the study of digital culture more broadly by showing that genres of online content (e.g., selfies) cannot necessarily be reduced to their explicit features (e.g., self-photography).

Context and Self-Presentation

To begin, it is worth considering the ways in which the context provided by Delaney's and Stewart's tweets may have influenced the interpretation of Cameron's photograph. Both Delaney's and Stewart's photographs are clearly situated within the selfie genre: Delaney and Stewart face the camera, both are within an arm's length of the lens, both appear to be their own photographers, and the gazes of both seem to indicate that they are quite conscious of the fact that their photographs are being taken. Since this pair of images constitutes the larger portion of the news event of which Cameron's "selfie" was only a part, is it not reasonable to assume that the *context* created by Delaney and Stewart's selfies allowed Cameron's photograph to be read retroactively as a selfie?

This contextual explanation does not, however, fully account for *why* the photograph was read in this manner. Even if the context of Delaney's and Stewart's tweets made such a reading possible, this does not explain why this reading became widespread, especially given that the original image contained none of the visual markers of the selfie. Furthermore, a contextual explanation fails to account for the fact that the term *selfie* is used far more often to describe Cameron's photograph than Delaney's or Stewart's, even though the latter are most clearly deserving of this label. For example, in *Al Arabiya's* (2014) coverage, only Cameron's image is specifically labeled as a selfie. Stewart and Delaney are simply described as posting pictures—not selfies—of themselves. If context were the key to labeling Cameron's tweet, one would expect the term *selfie* to be applied more or less equally to all three photographs. But the context provided by Delaney and Stewart is not the only context at play in the interpretation of Cameron's tweet. Also relevant are the broader patterns of communication and self-presentation enacted by Cameron's Twitter account, so it is worth turning, for a moment, to that particular context.

Cameron's Twitter account (Cameron, n.d.) occasionally advertises political events or party slogans, but the lion's share of Cameron's tweets are dedicated to reporting the prime minister's activities. To this end, Cameron (or his PR team) regularly posts both images and text, though text-only tweets appear slightly more frequently than tweets containing images. Of the 137 tweets originating from the account (i.e., excluding retweets) in the two months prior to the March 5 "selfie," 87 consisted solely of text, whereas 50 tweets consisted of both images and text.

These tweets employed a variety of voices and tenses. Generally, tweets are phrased in the first person: for example, "I've announced details of new support schemes to help flood-hit homeowners and businesses" (Cameron, 2014c); although they occasionally lack a clear subject: for example, "Great to see the UK's digital community coming together to develop tech solutions to respond to flooding" (Cameron, 2014b). Temporally, Cameron's tweets range from in-the-moment updates on the prime minister's activities to past-tense reflections on events from earlier in the day to future-oriented announcements. All of these combine to give a sense that the account's tweets come from Cameron himself, even if this not likely to be true in every case. One might say that the account's self-presentation relies on a consistent stream of phatic communication: The first-person phrasing marks Cameron as the speaker, and the variety of tenses highlight his active, reflective, and anticipatory *presence* online.³ Thus, the self-presentation of Cameron's account is oriented less toward the conveyance of specific information (e.g., political positions) and more toward registering the fact that the prime minister is present and active in the world.

Tweets that contain images of the prime minister, however, complicate this pattern of self-presentation. Cameron cannot very well be taking his own picture and tweeting at the same time—that would require a genuine selfie!—so the inclusion of third-person photographs would seem to undermine the form of self-presentation generally articulated throughout the Twitter account—that is, the sense that the tweets originate from Cameron himself. To avoid this problem, Cameron's account regularly employs one of two strategies. The first strategy involves temporal displacement: Tweets containing images of Cameron may be accompanied by textual captions that situate the photograph in the past relative to the moment of posting. For example, an image of Cameron and a group of workers on an oil rig is accompanied by a caption phrased in the past tense: "As I was shown around—I could see how the UK's broad shoulders provide stability for the industry to invest" (Cameron, 2014d). The second strategy distances Cameron from the construction of the tweet—that is, the act of posting—by avoiding a clear speaking subject. For example, an image of Cameron in a meeting is captioned, "At Gold Command in Taunton. 64 pumps are working round the clock to drain 3 million tonnes of water every day" (Cameron, 2014a). Here the pairing of the caption and the image makes it clear that *Cameron* is the one who is "at Gold Command in Taunton," but the lack of a first-person speaker in the text of the caption makes the identity of the tweeter ambiguous. In this way, the tension between the image and the text is bypassed.

However, Cameron's "selfie" tweet does not use either of these strategies. The photograph is taken by a third party, but the text nevertheless employs the grammatical first person: "I've been speaking to @BarackObama about the situation in Ukraine. We are united in condemnation of Russia's

³ For more on the phatic aspects of Twitter, see Miller (2008).

actions." Furthermore, the present-perfect continuous tense of "I've been speaking" situates the phone conversation itself as occurring right up until the moment of the tweet's composition—a figuring of temporality that is reinforced by the simple present tense of "we are." Thus, in contrast to the rest of Cameron's self-presentation on Twitter, the selfie tweet is unable to avoid the tension between its visual depiction of Cameron as photographic subject and its textual depiction of him as the author of the tweet: The prime minister cannot possibly be deeply involved in an important phone call in the very same moment that he is tweeting about that call, and so the veracity of Cameron's apparently direct and unstaged self-presentation is called into question.

From Selfie to Meme

This tension between image and text, I argue, is essential for Cameron's photograph to be read as a selfie. But before I draw this connection explicitly, it is necessary to make a short detour into a related phenomenon: the "bae caught me slippin" Internet meme ("Caught Me Sleeping/Bae Caught Me Slippin," n.d.). The roots of this particular meme lie in the popular backlash against the selfie: In the face of their near-ubiquity as a photographic genre, selfies are regularly mocked as self-centered, narcissistic, and contrived. In particular, the artificial and *staged* nature of the self-presentation associated with selfies has spawned a series of memetic responses. The "bae caught me slippin" meme purposefully pokes fun at the supposed narcissism and artifice of the selfie by constructing selfies whose very visual structure self-consciously discloses their artifice—in contrast to a supposedly candid and unelaborate form of self-presentation.

According to the meme reference website *Know Your Meme* ("Caught Me Sleeping/Bae Caught Me Slippin," n.d.), the "bae caught me slippin" meme originated from an image shared by Twitter user @NEWARK_GTFOH in October of 2012 (see Figure 4). This image depicts a young woman who is apparently pretending to be asleep as she photographs herself, and the caption that accompanies the image—"Females Be Like 'Bae Caught Me Slipping'"—suggests that this woman intends to present this instance of self-photography as a candid shot originating from a third party, her "bae" (i.e., her romantic partner). Taken together, the image and caption satirize the artifice of self-photography: The joke works by revealing the effort involved in the construction of a supposedly effortless (i.e., candid) form of self-presentation. Furthermore, this satirical element is not entirely dependent on the addition of the "Females Be Like . . ." caption. To the contrary, a satirical perspective is embedded within the image itself because it actually involves *two* levels of photography: first, the woman's self-photography via smartphone; and second, the capture of this act of self-photography by another camera. Even without the text, the image itself draws attention to the staged nature of the woman's self-presentation.



Figure 4. The original "bae caught me slippin" image.

This original image, however, does not fully present all of the features that ultimately came to be characteristic of "bae caught me slippin" as a *meme*. A more typical instance of this meme can be seen in Figure 5 ("Caught Me Sleeping/Bae Caught Me Slippin," n.d.). This second image features a young woman in what at first appears *not* to be a selfie—the subject of the photograph is apparently asleep and is thus unable to use the camera. This "unstaged" state is emphasized by the accompanying caption: "Lol bae caught me slippin. Love him. Goodnight from us." Yet the candid nature of the photo is belied by the fact that the caption is delivered from the *first person*, and an inspection of the mirror in the background of the photograph reveals that the subject is actually the one holding the camera. This photograph, unlike the original "bae" image, is in fact a selfie. Thus, the "bae" meme collapses the multiple levels of photography of the original "bae" image into a single representational field: The unstaged state captured by the photograph is shown to be artificial within the bounds the selfie itself. As with the original image, the joke of the "bae" meme works by highlighting the effort involved in supposedly effortless self-presentation, but the meme stands distinct from its predecessor insofar as this humor is conveyed through structures internal to the selfie. There is, in this case, only one photograph and one photographer.



Figure 5. A typical instance of the "bae caught me slippin" meme.

Subsequent iterations of the "bae" meme are even more elaborate in their exploration of the artifice of the selfie: Some involve an ever-increasing number of mirrors, while others multiply the number of cameras involved.⁴ The commonality of such iterations, however, is best thrown into relief by Limor Shifman's (2014) conceptualization of Internet memes in three dimensions: content, form, and stance. In Shifman's formulation, the dimension of content refers "to both the ideas and the ideologies conveyed" by a given meme, the dimension of form encompasses "the physical incarnation of the message, perceived through our senses," and the dimension of stance designates "the ways in which addressers position themselves in relation to the text" (p. 40).

In the case of the "bae" meme, then, the *content* of the meme is the elaborately staged selfie, and the *form* of the meme is the particular combination of image and text employed to communicate this elaborate staging. In these two dimensions, there is considerable overlap between the original "bae" image (Figure 4) and the "bae" meme presented in Figure 5. For both, the content is the decidedly uncandid nature of the selfie in question, and although the images and captions used in the original "bae" image and the "bae" meme are distinct, there are clearly formal similarities between the two (e.g., both

⁴ For further examples of the this meme, see the *Know Your Meme* entry on "bae" ("Caught Me Sleeping/Bae Caught Me Slippin," n.d.).

feature women of color pretending to be asleep). It is the dimension of *stance*, however, that is key to understanding the logic of the “bae” meme, and it is this dimension that most clearly differentiates the meme from its predecessor. As was noted previously, the original “bae” image depicts the staged nature of the woman’s selfie through the lens of a second camera. This situates the photographer as distinct from the photograph—a position that is reinforced by the third-person phrasing of the “Females Be Like . . .” caption. Thus, in the stance of the original “bae” image, there is no conflict or tension; the photographer is an external observer of the elaborately staged selfie, a witness to its artifice, not a participant in it. In other words, the stance of the original “bae” image draws attention to the artifice of the woman’s selfie by documenting and commenting upon it. By contrast, the “bae” meme exhibits a much more complex and tension-filled stance: Because the meme is restricted to the *form* of the selfie—that is, because the meme employs one level of photography instead of two—authors of given iterations of the meme must position themselves as the candid objects of their photographs even as they indicate that they are their own photographers. This is decidedly not the stance of external spectators, with a clear divide between observers and observed; rather, this stance is itself maintained by the representational conflict between the photograph and the commentary upon it.

It is in this dimension of stance that the resonance between the “bae” meme and Cameron’s “selfie” tweet becomes apparent: In both cases, the representational stance is maintained through a tension between the person constructed by the image (e.g., Cameron as photographic subject) and the person constructed by the text (e.g., Cameron as author of the tweet). Admittedly, the logics of these tensions seem, at first glance, to be the inverse of each other: In the “bae” meme, the fact that the photograph is actually a selfie is disavowed by the accompanying text (“*bae* caught me slippin”), whereas in Cameron’s tweet, it is the photograph that disavows the self-production of the first-person caption. It is important to remember, however, that the “bae” meme is meant as a joke and not as a true disavowal. If the author of the meme convinces her audience that her image is not really a selfie—if the *artifice* of the selfie is too obscure or too cleverly hidden—then both the joke and the meme fail. In other words, even though the text of the “bae” meme disavows the selfie, the meme’s true dynamic moves from image to text. In the “bae” meme, just as in Cameron’s tweet, it is the image that undermines the text, rather than vice versa.

The Stance of the Selfie

This analysis of the “bae” meme is not meant to suggest that Cameron’s tweet was read as a selfie because media commentators were familiar with “bae” and saw echoes of its tensions in Cameron’s tweet. But the “bae” meme *does* highlight a dimension of the selfie as a genre that Cameron’s tweet inadvertently exploited. The stance of the “bae” meme—the meme’s characteristic positioning of the author relative to the form of the meme—is, in fact, an amplification of selfie’s inherent recognition of the artifice involved in photography. In other words, the “bae” meme works as a satire not simply because of the visual cues that associate it with selfies (e.g., the visible camera phone) but also because it highlights and exaggerates a *nonvisual* characteristic of the selfie—the dimension of self-reflective artifice, the stance toward representation as such. Once identified, this self-conscious positioning relative to representation can even be seen in the visual content of the selfie: By turning the camera on oneself, the photographer, normally absent from the representational process of the image, becomes embedded in it.

And this dynamic becomes even more evident in the case of mirror shots, as they include the camera itself within the representational field. Here, self-reflection is quite literally reflection of the self.

Thus, the manner in which the "bae" meme borrows not only visual elements from the selfie but also the selfie's stance toward representation makes legible Cameron's own "selfie." Though Cameron's tweet is not *visually* a selfie, the tension between the first-person text and the third-person photograph highlights the artifice of the tweet, just as the selfies of Delaney and Stewart mockingly emphasize artifice through their use of metaphoric phones. In turn, this gesture toward artifice invokes the self-conscious stance relative to representation that is characteristic of the selfie and is exploited by the "bae" meme. What is lacking in the "bae" meme, in Cameron's original tweet, and in Delaney's and Stewart's replies is a sense of photography as the capture of the candid and the unstaged. Instead, all four convey the selfie's sense of photography—a stance that emphasizes the artificial and the staged. In this way, Cameron's tweet is just as much a selfie as are Delaney's and Stewart's tweets—albeit not visually so—and this is why news outlets could so easily read Cameron's photograph as such.

With this in mind, it is possible to see that Cameron's tweet is decidedly *not* a confounding case to scholars of digital culture. To the contrary, this unusual selfie contributes to the burgeoning academic study of selfies in two ways: First, it usefully highlights the ways in which the genre of the selfie is assembled from more than visual characteristics; and second, it demonstrates that the selfie invokes, to use Shifman's term, a particular *stance* toward representation as such. In turn, this points to an issue of much broader importance to scholars of digital culture: the limitations of identifying and analyzing genres of online content according to their explicit features (e.g., self-photography). The actual life of genres is much more complex than this, even to the extent that a given artifact may embody a genre's stance toward representation while simultaneously disavowing that genre in its content. There is, in other words, more to genre—and to the selfie—than what meets the eye.

References

- Blundy, R. (2014, March 6). David Cameron mocked for Barack Obama "Ukraine crisis talks" phone call picture. *The Evening Standard*. Retrieved from <http://www.standard.co.uk/news/uk/david-cameron-mocked-for-barack-obama-ukraine-crisis-talks-phone-call-picture-9173957.html>
- Cameron, D. (2014a, February 11). Twitter/David_Cameron: At Gold Command in Taunton . . . *Twitter*. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/David_Cameron/status/433217328520523776
- Cameron, D. (2014b, February 16). Twitter/David_Cameron: Great to see the UK's digital . . . *Twitter*. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/David_Cameron/status/435058596121157633
- Cameron, D. (2014c, February 20). Twitter/David_Cameron: I've announced details of new . . . *Twitter*. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/David_Cameron/status/436485395006889984

- Cameron, D. (2014d, February 24). Twitter/David_Cameron: As I was shown around . . . *Twitter*. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/David_Cameron/status/437906589056782337
- Cameron, D. (2014e, March 5). Twitter/David_Cameron: I've been speaking to . . . *Twitter*. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/David_Cameron/statuses/441306815733579776
- Cameron, D. (n.d.). David Cameron (David_Cameron) on Twitter. *Twitter*. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/David_Cameron
- Caught Me Sleeping/Bae Caught Me Slippin. (n.d.). *Know your meme*. Retrieved from <http://knowyourmeme.com/memes/caught-me-sleeping-bae-caught-me-slippin>
- Celebrities mock David Cameron's Twitter selfie. (2014, March 6). *Al Arabiya News*. Retrieved from <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/variety/2014/03/06/Celebrities-mock-David-Cameron-s-Twitter-selfie.html>
- Delaney, R. (2014, March 5). Twitter/robdelaney: .@David_Cameron @BarackObama . . . *Twitter*. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/robdelaney/statuses/441334785340747777>
- Hartley-Parkinson, R. (2014, March 6). Twitter ridicules David Cameron's self-promoting selfie taken during Ukraine crisis phone call. *Mirror*. Retrieved from <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/davecalls-david-cameron-selfie-twitter-3212866>
- Haynes, J. (2014, March 6). Cameron's "on-the-phone-to-Obama" selfie tweet parodied by celebrities. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/mar/06/celebrities-parody-camerons-on-the-phone-to-obama-selfie-tweet>
- Hooten, C. (2014, March 6). David Cameron's serious phone selfie: Patrick Stewart patches into Prime Minister and Barack Obama's Ukraine talks with wet wipes. *BelfastTelegraph.co.uk*. Retrieved from <http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/local-national/uk/david-camerons-serious-phone-selfie-patrick-stewart-patches-into-prime-minister-and-barack-obamas-ukraine-talks-with-wet-wipes-30070260.html>
- LaFrance, A. (2014, March 25). When did group pictures become "selfies"? *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from <http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2014/03/when-did-group-pictures-become-selfies/359556/>
- Lasén, A., & Gómez-Cruz, E. (2009). Digital photography and picture sharing: Redefining the public/private divide. *Knowledge, Technology & Policy*, 22(3), 205–215. doi:10.1007/s12130-009-9086-8
- Lüders, M., Prøitz, L., & Rasmussen, T. (2010). Emerging personal media genres. *New Media & Society*, 12(6), 947–963. doi:10.1177/1461444809352203

- Meredith, C. (2014, March 6). David Cameron posts a picture of himself on the phone: Twitter reacts. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/03/06/david-cameron-selfie-twitter_n_4909425.html
- Miller, V. (2008). New media, networking, and phatic culture. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 14(4), 387–400. doi:10.1177/1354856508094659
- Schwarz, O. (2010). On friendship, boobs, and the logic of the catalogue: Online self-portraits as a means for the exchange of capital. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 16(2), 163–183. doi:10.1177/1354856509357582
- Shifman, L. (2014). *Memes in digital culture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Stewart, P. (2014, March 5). Twitter/SirPatStew: .@robdelaney @David_Cameron . . . *Twitter*. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/SirPatStew/statuses/441340093643894784>
- The Oxford Dictionaries word of the year 2013 is . . . (2013, November 19). *OxfordWords Blog*. Retrieved from <http://blog.oxforddictionaries.com/2013/11/word-of-the-year-2013-winner>