

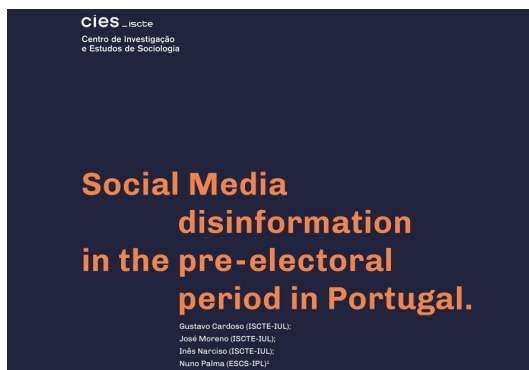
People, not Narratives

EDMO Training Series: Identity-based
disinformation about minorities and migrants

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Politics and social media in electoral processes



- Election monitoring since **2019**
- Focus on **political speech** during election cycles and **disinformation**
- Methodology centered on a combination of **monitoring lists** and **keywords**
- Last three elections with **Lusa** and **CNE**
- Last 2 elections also participating in the **EU Rapid Response System** set out in the Code of Conduct on Disinformation

Disinformation during the 2019 parliamentary election

43 Facebook pages monitored » Total **1.36 million fans** (non-exclusive)

Page	Total Interactions
1 O Pais Do Mete NOJO	38,028
2 Anonymous PORTUGAL	22,275
3 A culpa é do Passos	16,965
4 Direita Política	15,971
5 Movimento Zero	14,549
6 Sentinela VI	13,117
7 Viriato Lusitano	12,816
8 Tugaleaks	11,770
9 Burlados Do Continente	8,395
10 JornalQ	7,892
11 Notícias Viriato	6,382
12 Portugal - Liberdade em Democracia	5,958
13 União Nacional	4,675
14 Portugal glorioso	4,516
15 Tuga.press	4,512

Page	Total Interactions
16 Lesados do Estado	4,062
17 O Gato Político	3,700
18 CORRUPÇÃO À VISTA DE TODOS. ACORDEM	2,582
19 Frente Anti-comunista Portuguesa	2,538
20 Anonymous Legion Portugal	2,106
21 Luso Jornal 2015	1,621
22 RiseUP Portugal	1,436
23 O Bom Europeu	1,226
24 Associação Portugueses Primeiro	1,170
25 Democracia21	1,091
26 CharliePapa vídeos	800
27 Lesados e enganados nos balcões BES/NB	477
28 Evento XXI	287
29 A Voz da Razão	164
30 POVO	2

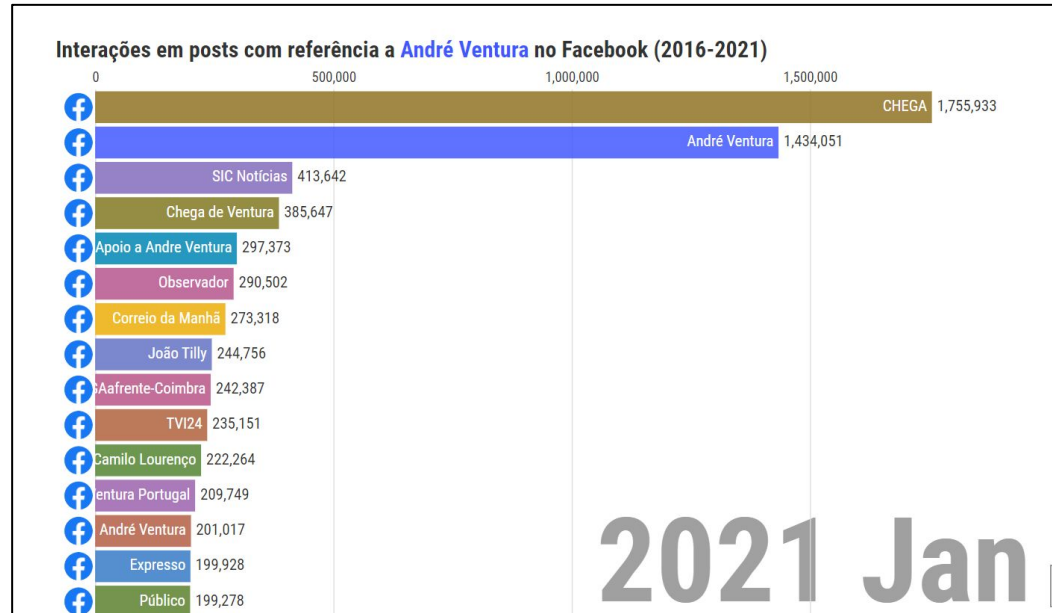
Page	Total Interactions
31 Indignados Lisboa	1
32 Escudo Identitário	0
33 Movimento Dos Indignados De Portugal	0
34 Submarino Amarelo	0
35 PS - Partido da Bancarrota	0
36 Carro de Patrulha	0
37 Motoristas de Portugal	0
38 Motoristas Lusitanos	0
39 Desobediência Civil Eleitoral Queselixeotar	0
40 Mais Portugal	0
41 Direita Política	0
42 Carro De Patrulha 2	0
43 Pickpocket in Lisbon	0

Total interactions (likes, comments, and shares) in one week:

- Total records in one week: **1,480 posts**
- Sorted by interactions, likes, growth rate, etc...
- Analysis of the historical evolution of each page or each post

2021 presidential election

- Research on the reach and impact of **presidential candidates** in January 2021. Data collected from **Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram**.
- Detailed analysis of the construction of the **media celebrity** of candidate **André Ventura** through the collection of data from interactions on Facebook since 2016
- Primarily **quantitative** analysis.



2024 parliamentary election

Ranking da performance dos candidatos no Twitter/X, TikTok, Facebook e Instagram, por ordem do número total de interações (entre 08 e 14 de fevereiro)

FACEBOOK			
Candidato	Gostos no perfil/página	Publicações	Interações
Pedro Nuno Santos	25 361	15	42 777
André Ventura	254 711	28	23 427
Luís Montenegro	11 164	32	7 333
Mariana Mortágua	71 658	16	3 584
Rui Tavares	16 201	10	317
Inês Sousa Real	6 569	4	282
TOTAL	385 664	105	77 720

TWITTER/X			
Candidato	Seguidores	Publicações	Interações
André Ventura	145 822	19	35 156
Mariana Mortágua	82 627	11	12 226
Rui Tavares	103 886	28	8 029
Luís Montenegro	18 031	6	7 772
Rui Rocha	27 055	3	3 152
Pedro Nuno Santos	41 094	2	307
Inês Sousa Real	7 708	1	53
TOTAL	426 223	70	66 695

INSTAGRAM			
Candidato	Seguidores	Publicações	Interações
André Ventura	322 613	11	57 292
Mariana Mortágua	43 177	5	20 955
Pedro Nuno Santos	19 771	14	15 207
Rui Tavares	19 527	8	9 078
Inês Sousa Real	8 412	12	8 883
Luís Montenegro	11 781	4	5 178
Rui Rocha	6 284	1	865
TOTAL	431 565	55	117 458

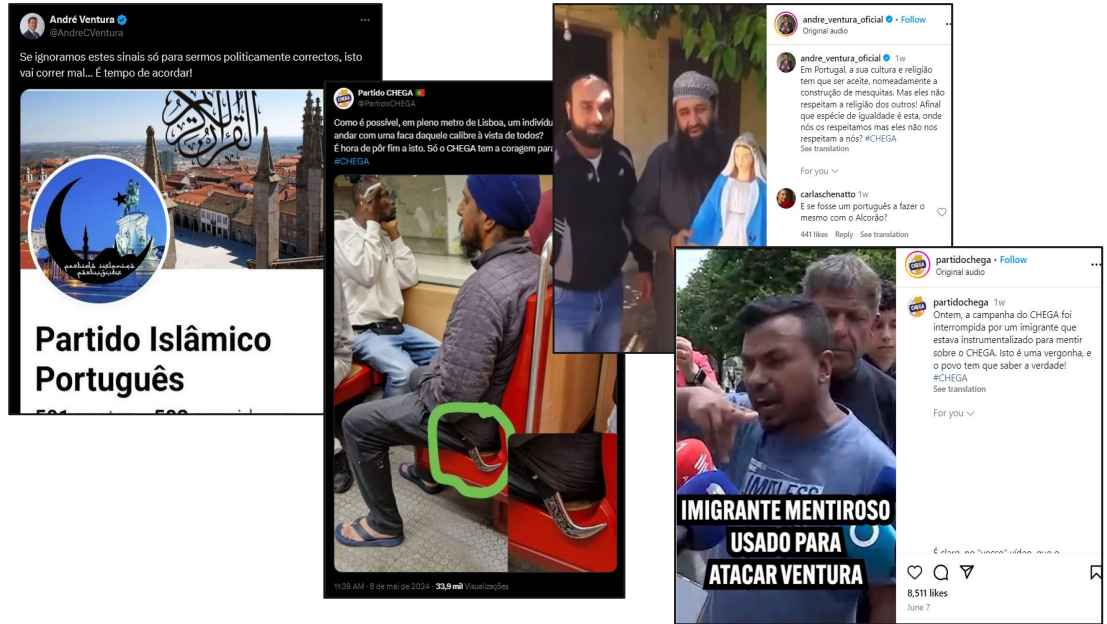
TIKTOK			
Candidato	Seguidores	Publicações	Interações
André Ventura	210 371	7	23 964
Pedro Nuno Santos	1 137	15	1 211
Inês Sousa Real	6 904	1	740
TOTAL		23	25 915

» Among the political leaders, **André Ventura** dominates in terms of followers and interactions.

» **Instagram** becomes more relevant than other networks for all candidates.

2024 european election

Similar to what was seen throughout Europe, it was in the context of the European election that the **issue of immigration** started to be predominantly used as a subject for **political discourse**, and also as a topic for **spreading disinformation**.



2024 european election

» Two social media posts from **two different political parties**, in two European countries, published on the same day and during the same European election

» Suggests political **coordination** between populist parties from different countries

» The message is **decontextualized**



2024 european election

EDMO and Iberifier networks cooperated in detecting main disinformation narratives elections for European Parliament.

Many topics of disinformation in Europe **were not detected in Portugal.**

Portugal can be considered an **outlier** with regard to these topics of relevant in the European scope.

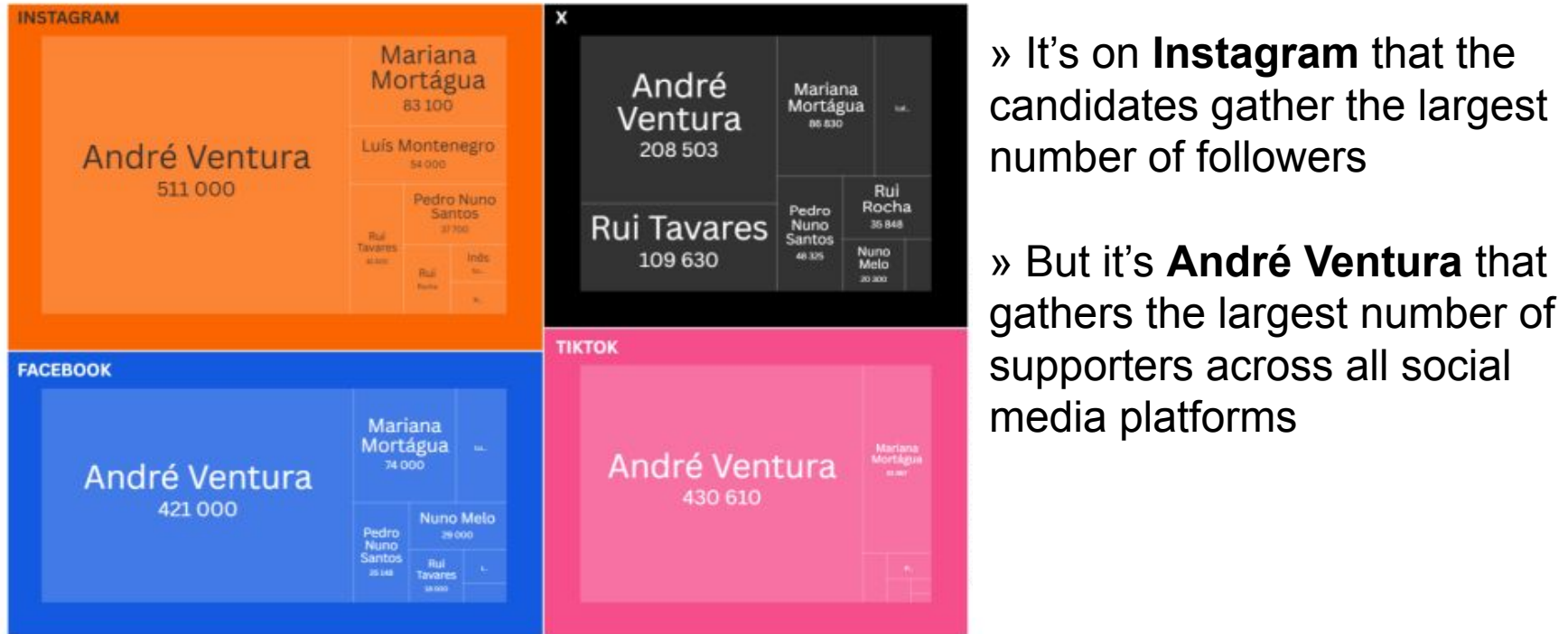
Main disinformation narratives in Portugal

Immigration	Ethnic minorities (roma)
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Main disinformation narratives in Europe

Immigration	Climate
Ukraine war	Politics and politicians
Electoral process	Covid-19
Gender and LGBTQ+ issues	

2025 Parliamentary election

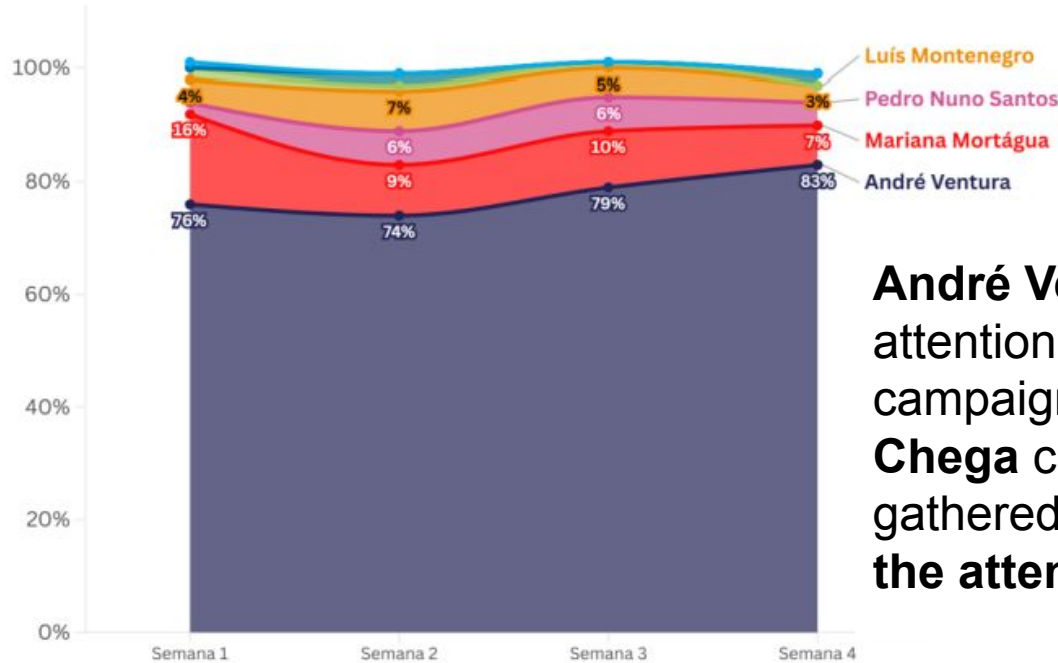


» It's on **Instagram** that the candidates gather the largest number of followers

» But it's **André Ventura** that gathers the largest number of supporters across all social media platforms

Figura 1. Seguidores de cada líder partidário nas redes sociais em 2025

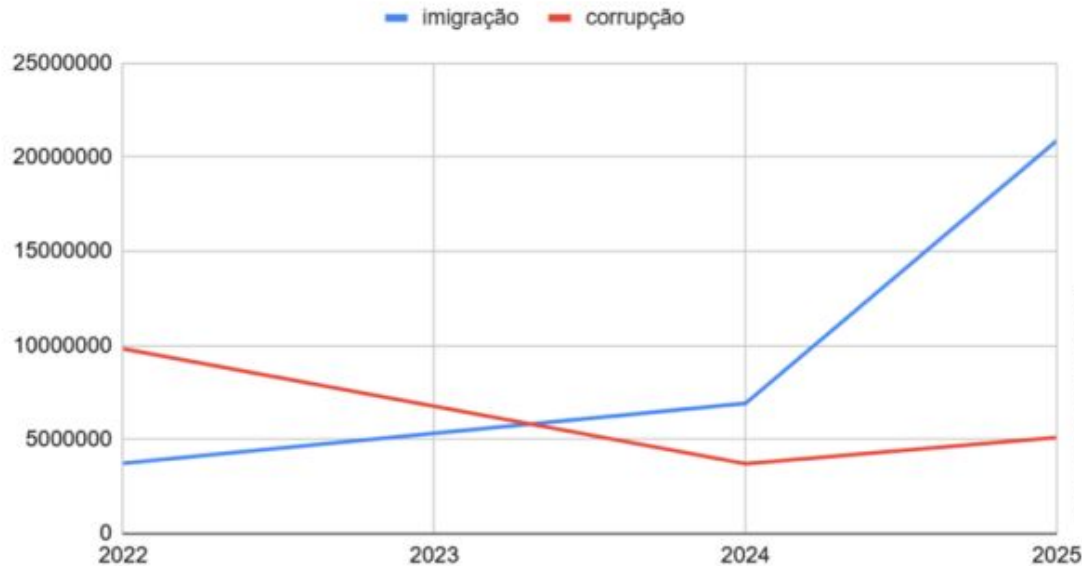
2025 Parliamentary election



André Ventura is dominant in capturing attention on social media. During the campaign and pre-campaign period, the **Chega** candidate for prime-minister gathered between **74 and 83 percent of the attention** given to all candidates.

Figura 2. Evolução do peso de cada candidato no total de visualizações nas redes sociais, ao longo de 4 semanas

2025 Parliamentary election



Between 2024 and 2025, the **number of impressions** on posts about **immigration** on Facebook increased by approximately **200%**.

Figura 3. Evolução do número de impressões em publicações no Facebook sobre os temas “corrupção” e “imigração” entre as Legislativas de 2022, 2024 e 2025

2025 Parliamentary election

SALVAÇÃO DE PORTUGAL - ANDRÉ VENTURA
José Rocha · May 3 at 2:00 AM

Se isto é verdade então a corrupção e a estupidez não têm limites, vale tudo para o PS ter votos e não interessa como, o que interessa é estar no poder para sempre, neste momento Portugal deve ter no total mais de 2M de Imigrantes incluindo os que conseguiram o Passaporte-Português de toda a maneira, os filhos dos Imigrantes e os ilegais. São 20% da População Portuguesa, é chocante para um País tão pequeno sem as condições necessárias para aceitar tanta gente, mas o mais grave é que o PS importou um barril-de-pólvora, não pudemos esquecer que ha muitas desigualdades culturais e muita insegurança a mistura.

Mas o pior vai ser quando eles disserem que o País é deles, vai ser o fim da nossa História e o Inferno para os Portugueses!...

"O PS prometeu-nos apoio em troca de votos"
Compreendem agora o porquê de tanta imigração, visto que mais directo é impossível.



RANA TÁBLIM UDDÍN - LÍDER COMUNIDADE BANGLADESH
OPERAÇÃO NO MARÍTIM MOHIZ

"O PARTIDO SOCIALISTA PROMETEU-NOS APOIO EM TROCA DE VOTOS"

26 comments 112 shares

Post alleging a secret agreement between the Socialist Party and the leaders of the community from Bangladesh for support in exchange for votes



AQUI AO LADO JÁ ESTÃO A AGIR

"A Espanha é cristã, não muçulmana": protestos nas ruas da Espanha  contra a migração

 Samuel Silva · Follow

Aqui ao lado em Espanha já estão a agir

6.4K
579
4.4K

Post suggesting that the population of Spain is mobilizing against immigration and in favour of remigration

2025 Parliamentary election



Video with unclear images allegedly from riots in Brussels attributed to immigrants. Video edited and out of context

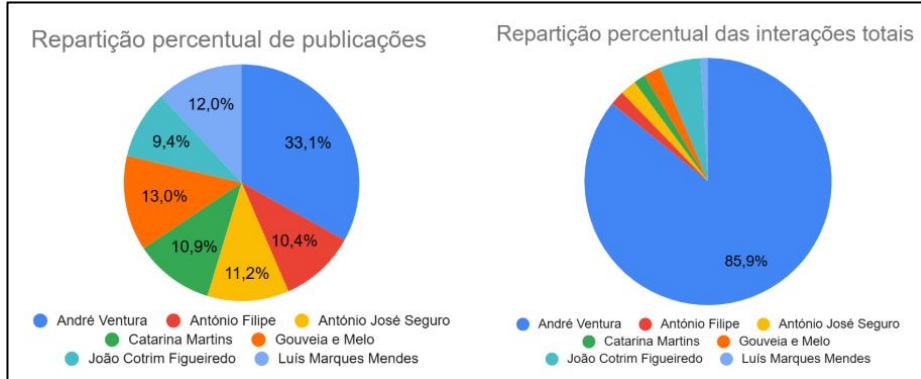


Post suggesting coordination between the center-left party and Sikh immigrant community for support. Image out of context.

2026 Presidential election

Candidate	Followers	Posts	Total interactions
André Ventura	2,394,009	124	1,254,049
João Cotrim Figueiredo	184,822	29	109,471
Catarina Martins	268,398	67	45,922
António Filipe	31,811	47	45,145
António José Seguro	75,517	62	36,881
Gouveia e Melo	55,784	66	34,147
Luís Marques Mendes	15,585	48	14,132
Jorge Pinto	6,962	11	7,856

In one typical week, **André Ventura captures 86% of all the attention** given to the candidates on social media (measured by total interactions on their social media platforms).



Ventura has **more followers, publishes more** and gets **more interactions** than all the other candidates combined.

2026 Presidential election



“This is not Bangladesh”

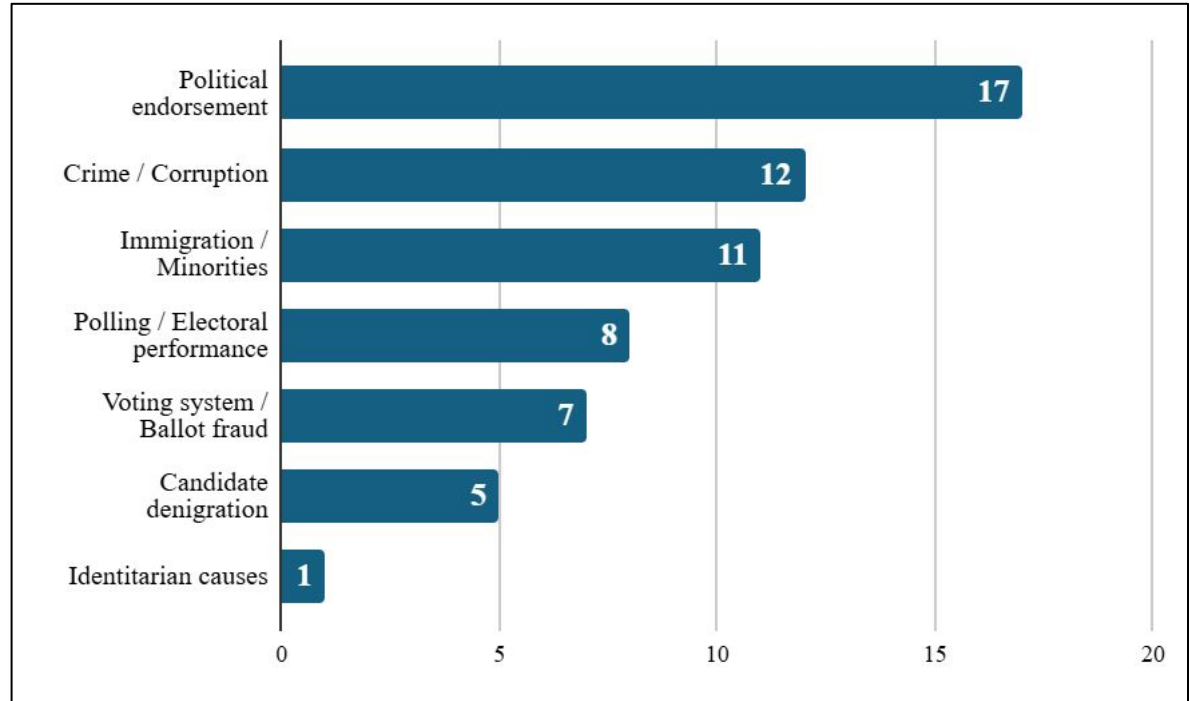


“Roma people have to obey the law”

The first outdoors from Ventura’s campaign follow up on a long **narrative against minorities**, namely **immigrants and roma** people, fuelled by both political **information and disinformation**

2026 Presidential election

Of the total **61 items** flagged under the **Rapid Response System**, fake **Political Endorsements** was the most frequent, followed by **Crime/Corruption** and **Immigration/Minorities**.



2026 Presidential election

MAIN NARRATIVES

About immigration:

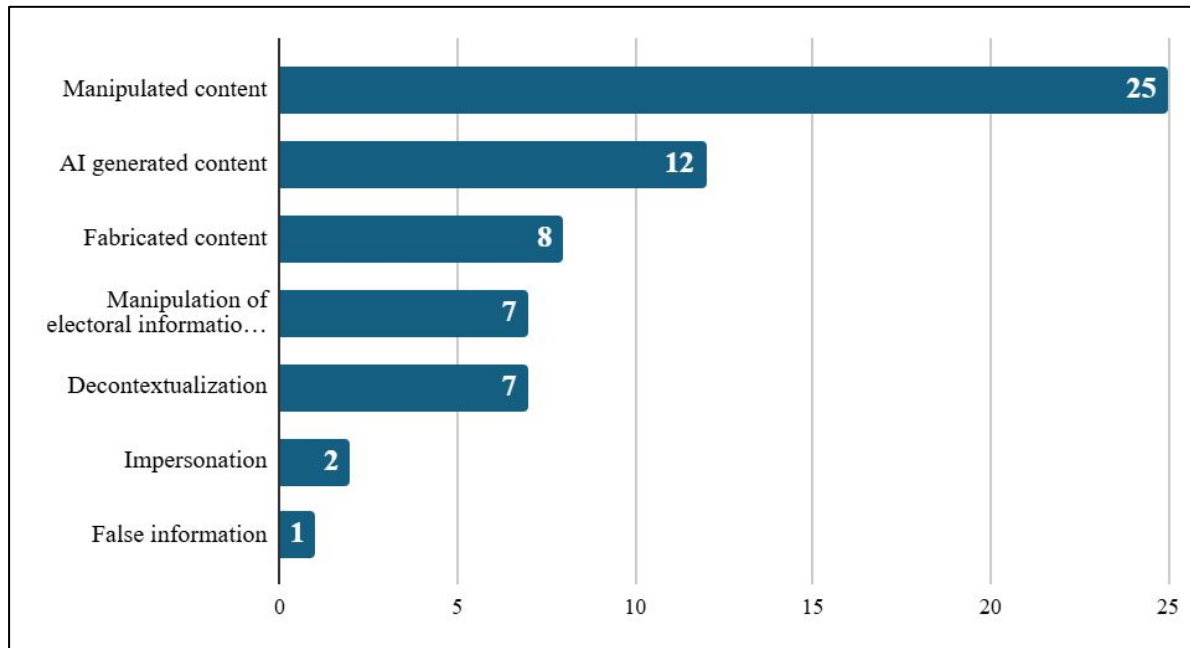
- The state provides immigrants with **automatic subsidies**
- Immigration is **out of control**
- Immigration increases **insecurity and criminality**
- Immigrants are **against christmas** and other christian holy dates

- **"Islamic invasion" and population substitution:** Decontextualized videos of religious celebrations presented as evidence of a takeover.
- **Immigration Vote:** Edited videos suggesting candidates prioritize immigrants over Portuguese citizens.
- **Social Behavior:** Out-of-context videos (sometimes with AI voiceovers) focusing on the behavior of immigrants in public spaces.

2026 Presidential election

Manipulated content was the most frequent type of content flagged. This includes editing real images, videos and news reports.

AI generated content was also detected, as well as **fabricated content** and **decontextualization**

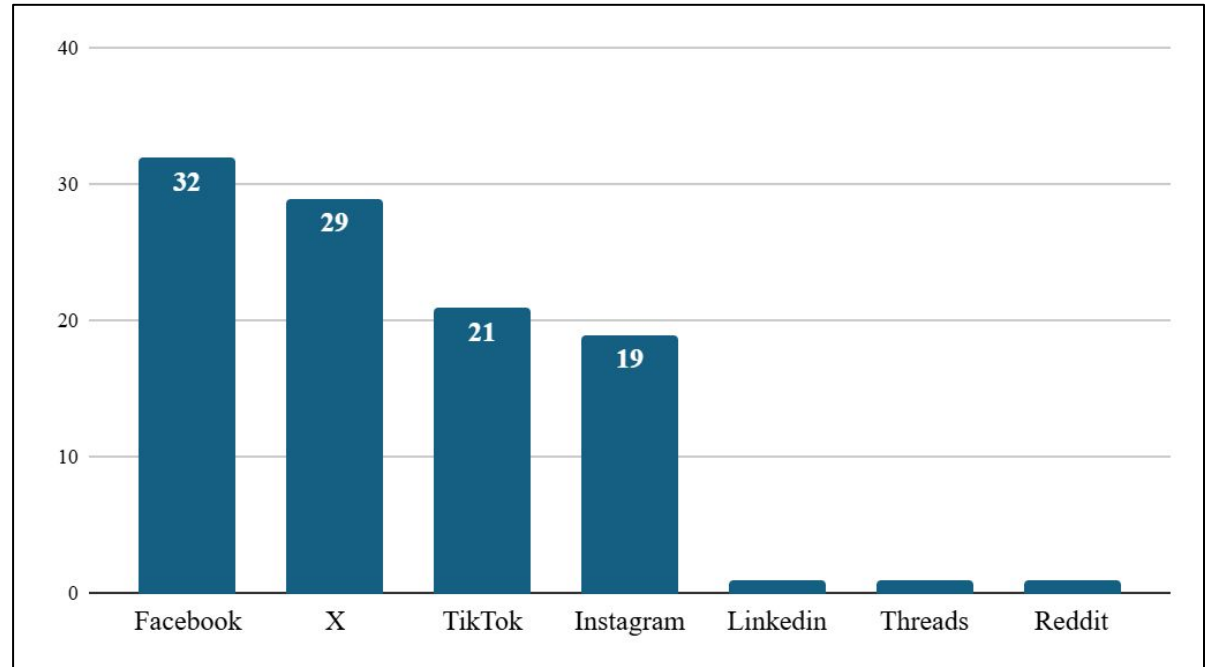


2026 Presidential election

Facebook was the platform where most cases were detected and flagged, followed by **TikTok** and **Instagram**.

A significant number of cases also detected on **X** (but not reported, as X is not included in the Code of Conduct).

Most of the cases detected were **cross-platform** (total=104)



2026 Presidential election

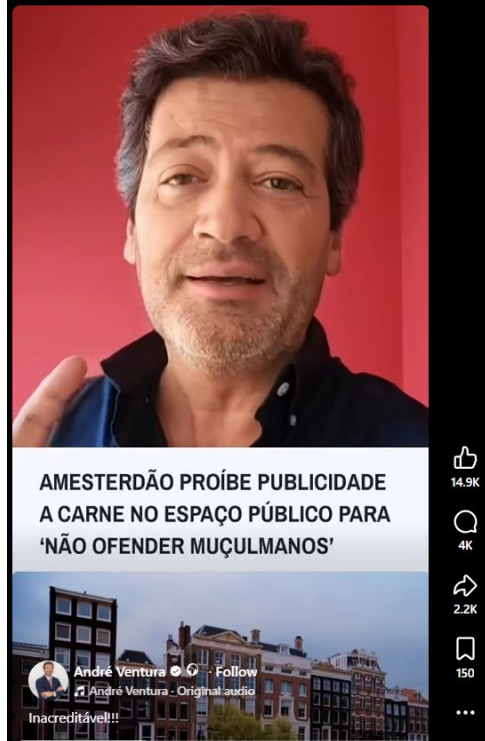


Video of an holiday celebration by an immigrant community outside Lisbon presented as an “islamic invasion”



Video from a public altercation between two individuals attributed to immigrants as a proof of increasing insecurity in the streets

From a couple of days ago...



64.000 aggregated interactions
862.000 aggregated views

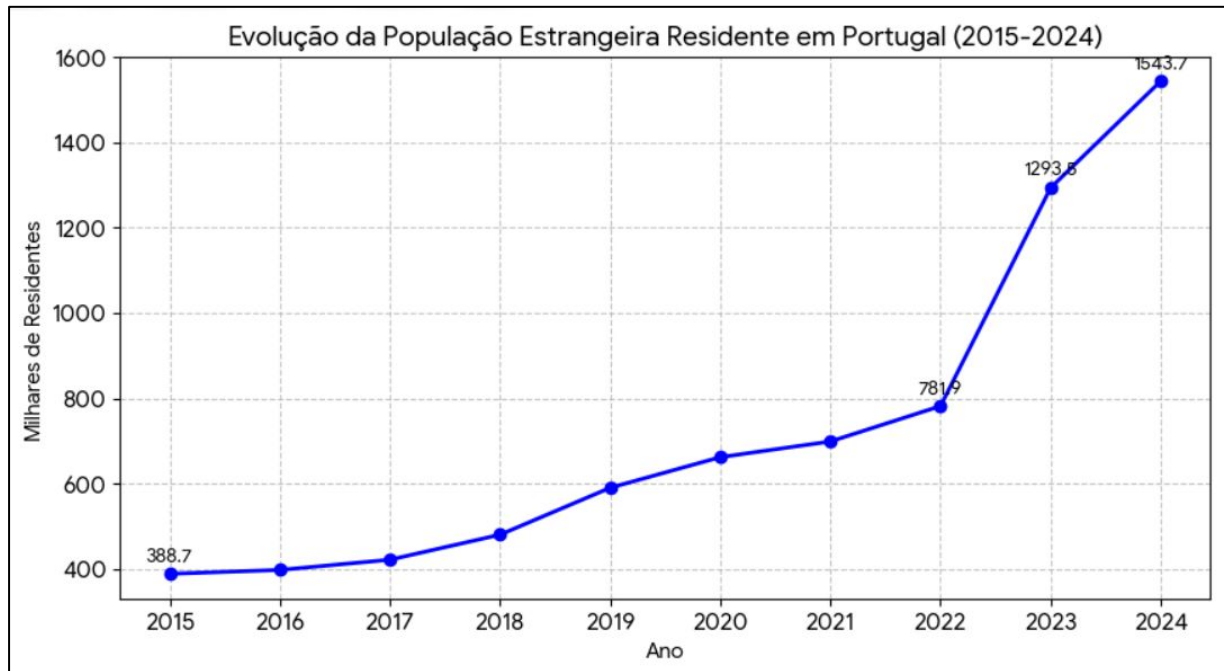
A video in which André Ventura says shocked about Amsterdam prohibiting ads for meat as not to offend muslims.



Debunked by Polígrafo and by Público



Immigration in Portugal



Source: SEF/AIMA

The **number of immigrants** in Portugal registered a **very steep increase** between 2022 and 2024.

Country	Number
Brazil	484 596
India	98 616
Angola	92 348
Ukraine	79 232
Cape Verde	65 507
Nepal	58 086
Bangladesh	55 199
UK	48 238
Guinea Bissau	47 252
Pakistan	41 508

Key takeaways

- **Facebook** is still a major channel for political content and political disinformation, but **Instagram and TikTok** are rapidly gaining ground.
- **Algorithmic amplification** favours the politicians and political parties that are better at **taking advantage of the workings of the algorithm**.
- **Immigration, not corruption**, is the main topic of political discussion and the **main source of disinformation** in Portugal.
- **Crime, insecurity and the dilution of national identity** are all associated with immigration. “**Islamic invasion**” and “**the great replacement**” theory play a role.
- Use of photos, videos or news **out of context** and **manipulated** is the most frequent form of disinformation.
- But **artificial intelligence** is also increasingly used to give image or video support to prevailing narratives.

Thank you for your attention.
