

**Challenges and critical perspectives in intercultural communication between Brazil and Portugal: A case study on the “Brazilian Guiana” meme**

**Desafios e perspetivas críticas na comunicação intercultural entre Brasil e Portugal: Um estudo de caso sobre o meme da Guiana Brasileira**

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**ABSTRACT:** This article discusses intercultural communicative practices in digital culture, within the context of intercultural relations between Brazil and Portugal, based on the case study of the meme “Guiana Brasileira” and its repercussions in the Lusophone sphere. The main objective is to problematise the ethical, cultural and communicative challenges involved in the contemporary production of content about immigration in Portugal, considering how the absence of critical and integrated training may encourage superficial and polarised discursive practices. The research adopts a qualitative approach based on a case study (Yin, 2018), combining empirical and statistical data with documentary sources to analyse communicative dynamics in digital environments. The analysis focuses on content production for social media and observes two levels of interaction: the role of digital influencers as cultural mediators and the horizontal exchanges within online communities. The findings underscore the need to rethink the intercultural training of communicators through the integration of critical, linguistic, and media competences. These competences should foster intercultural dialogue and reinforce discursive responsibility in contexts characterised by identity tensions and symbolic disputes.

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**KEYWORDS:** Intercultural communication. Digital culture. Migration. Portugal.

**RESUMO:** O presente artigo discute as práticas comunicativas interculturais na cultura digital, no contexto das relações interculturais entre Brasil-Portugal, a partir do estudo de caso do meme “Guiana Brasileira” e das suas repercussões no espaço lusófono. O objetivo consiste em problematizar os desafios éticos, culturais e comunicacionais envolvidos na produção contemporânea de conteúdos sobre imigração em Portugal, considerando como a ausência de uma formação crítica e integrada pode favorecer práticas discursivas superficiais e polarizadas. A investigação se desenvolve a partir de uma abordagem qualitativa baseada no Estudo de Caso (Yin, 2018), articulando dados empíricos, estatísticos e fontes documentais para analisar as dinâmicas comunicativas em ambientes digitais. A análise centra-se na produção de conteúdo para as redes sociais e observa dois níveis de interação: a atuação de influenciadores digitais como mediadores culturais e as trocas horizontais em comunidades online. Os resultados evidenciam a necessidade de repensar a formação intercultural dos comunicadores por meio da integração de competências críticas, linguísticas e mediáticas. Tais competências poderiam promover o diálogo intercultural e reforçar a responsabilidade discursiva em contextos marcados por tensões identitárias e disputas simbólicas.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Comunicação intercultural. Cultura digital. Migração. Portugal.

## **Introduction**

In November 2024, the meme entitled “Guiana Brasileira”<sup>3</sup> gained popularity on social media and began to be used satirically to refer to Portugal, rapidly consolidating itself as a widely replicated meme across digital platforms through videos, edited images and comments that simulated a symbolic inversion of historical and geopolitical roles (Melguiso, 2025). The rapid viralisation of the meme and the reactions it provoked made visible a scenario in which different cultural, historical and linguistic repertoires generated both forms of proximity and tensions. The content produced through the paratextual reference to the meme generated public reactions, particularly among Portuguese influencers who interpreted the narrative as disrespectful towards national history. The repercussions of this interaction reignited debate concerning the limits of digital humour within the context of

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<sup>3</sup> For further clarification regarding the “Guiana Brasileira” meme, see the video: <https://g1.globo.com/turismo-e-viagem/noticia/2025/04/18/meme-guiana-brasileira-irrita-portugueses-nas-redes-sociais-isso-nao-e-brincadeira.ghtml>

intercultural relations, especially when considering identity tensions within the contemporary Lusophone sphere.

The case of the “Guiana Brasileira” meme suggests that intercultural dialogue in networked environments does not follow a linear trajectory, frequently being shaped by communicative noise, symbolic disputes and asymmetrical interpretations that emerge from the circulation of content across digital platforms. Networked communication, characterised by immediacy and algorithmic logics, manifests itself in complex ways, capable of amplifying partial perceptions, reinforcing polarised readings and complicating the construction of shared understandings, thereby problematising the very notion of intercultural dialogue as a harmonious space of exchange, as already discussed by Bhabha (1994). Within this context, it is essential to reflect upon the conditions under which communicative practices occur within digital culture. Interactions in this environment are inherently ambivalent and therefore require forms of critical preparation in order to operate within such a complex communicative landscape. In this regard, particular attention should be paid to the role of migrants as key agents of content creation and as catalysts for horizontal interaction in digital environments. Thinking about a critical intercultural education oriented towards good communicative practices in networked environments therefore requires an intersectional and decentralised approach capable of integrating intercultural, critical, linguistic and media dimensions within a formative process that transcends disciplinary boundaries (Holliday, 2011; Dervin, 2016). Beyond the mere mastery of communicative techniques, there is an urgent need to cultivate cultural sensitivity, critical awareness of discourse, media competence and contextual skills, as well as the ability to interact in media environments as agents of dialogue and inclusion (Liu, 2022; Guilherme, 2021). It is necessary to recognise that an educational framework oriented towards dialogue between different forms of knowledge must acknowledge communication as a social and ethical practice directed towards the development of a reflective stance in relation to contemporary dynamics. Within this perspective, it is essential to prepare individuals capable of understanding and mediating complex cultural relations in contexts marked by sociocultural mobility and a plurality of experiences and identities, grounded in a critical and interdisciplinary approach (Leurs & Prabhakar, 2018; Leurs, 2023).

This article aims to discuss communicative practices within digital culture in the context of intercultural relations, problematising the ethical, cultural and epistemological challenges involved in the contemporary production of content concerning immigration. It seeks to understand how the absence of integrated and critical educational frameworks, particularly when considering migrant communities, has contributed to superficial and polarised communicative practices, and it aims to propose educational pathways capable of articulating dialogue, cultural sensitivity and discursive responsibility.

The methodological approach is structured as a qualitative case study (Yin, 2018), drawing upon statistical data, empirical evidence and documentary sources relating to the “Guiana Brasileira” case in order to support the discussion. The analysis observes two levels of communicative practices in digital environments: the role of digital influencers as cultural mediators and the horizontal exchanges occurring within online communities. These dynamics reveal how meanings are negotiated, contested and reinterpreted both within immigrant communities and host communities, in this case the Portuguese community.

It is important to emphasise that the present study does not pursue to pathologise the communicative practices of migrant communities. Rather, the perspective adopted seeks to highlight contextual particularities that arise from their insertion into specific digital ecosystems. These should be considered in reflections on intercultural mediation and communicative responsibility, in line with critical perspectives that draw attention to tendencies related to the promotion of participatory citizenship (Dervin, 2016; Holliday, 2011). Accordingly, this study explores the complexities of critical intercultural education that considers the need to develop good communicative practices within the context of intercultural dialogue.

## **1. Theoretical framework**

### **1.1 Intracommunity and Intercultural Communication in the Migratory Context**

To consider communication from the lived experience of migrant communities without drawing upon the concept of communicative interculturality is to overlook the symbolic, political and affective complexity that permeates contemporary migratory processes. The migrant condition, rather than representing merely a geographical displacement, constitutes a communicative displacement, insofar as it involves the encounter of distinct linguistic repertoires, values, narratives and lived experiences (Hall, 1992; Dervin, 2016; Leurs, 2023). Within this intersection, interculturality ceases to function solely as an analytical lens and becomes an epistemological necessity for understanding how meaning is produced, contested and transformed between migrant subjects and host societies.

Within communicative practices, interculturality may be understood, following Dervin (2016), as an interactive and dialogical process through which individuals from different cultural backgrounds construct meanings, negotiate identities and establish forms of coexistence within contexts of diversity. In this framework, communication transcends an instrumental function centred on the transmission of information within intracommunity interactions, that is, among immigrants, and instead takes shape as a space of intercultural mediation between migrants and host societies, in which experiences of belonging, displacement and recognition are articulated.

Latin American scholars such as Walsh (2009) and Canclini (2015) emphasise interculturality as a practice of resistance and cultural reconstruction. Within the field of migration studies, intercultural communication may therefore be understood as a political act through which migrant subjects claim voice, visibility and recognition within social structures that are frequently exclusionary. Numerous scholars have contributed to understanding how flows of human mobility generate new forms of interaction and mediation between those who migrate and those who remain (Dervin, 2016; Guilherme, 2021). More recent studies on intercultural communication in contexts of immigration have focused on examining communicative dynamics emerging within globally interconnected societies characterised by mobility, multilingualism and unequal access to information.

Within the context of social media platforms, communities formed by migrants, including influencers, communicators and media outlets, align with the framework proposed by Leurs (2023), who conceptualises such interactions through the emerging field of “digital migration practices”. According to the author, these dynamics express a collective and collaborative communicative culture in which migrant subjects generate visibility, share information and construct senses of belonging outside dominant institutional media structures. As Leurs (2023) argues, understanding these practices requires an interdisciplinary and critical approach grounded in the integration of multiple fields of study, including media studies, cultural studies and migration studies, in order to reveal the forms of expression and resistance embedded within contemporary intercultural communication.

As previously indicated by Martín-Barbero (2010) and Canclini (2015), intercultural communication must be understood as an integral component of contemporary processes of mobility and cultural diversity. As a consequence of globalisation, digital technologies have produced new communicative ecologies, redefining the ways in which migrants and diverse communities interact, learn and participate in public life. Nevertheless, as Alfaro (2013) and Canclini (2015) observe, these same technologies, while enabling the expansion of new forms of intercultural interaction, also possess the potential to reproduce symbolic boundaries and digital inequalities, rendering the limits between intracommunity communication and intercultural communication increasingly diffuse.

In light of the growing overlap between communicative flows, defined in this study as intracommunity communication among migrants and intercultural communication between migrants and host societies within digital environments, it is necessary to conceptualise this dialogue as occurring within a porous zone of contact and symbolic negotiation. This perspective may be approached through an analogy with the notion of the Third Space proposed by Bhabha (1994). Interactions mediated by digital platforms challenge the traditional distinction between “speaking among ourselves” and “speaking with the other”, given that messages produced within migrant communities frequently extend beyond their initial audiences, reaching broader spheres of visibility

and circulation. In this sense, the concept of the Third Space (Bhabha, 1994) offers a valuable framework for understanding these dynamics of communicative hybridisation, in which identities, linguistic repertoires and meanings are reconfigured through encounters between cultures.

The Third Space can be understood as an in-between site where cultural meanings converge, but where meanings are negotiated and reinterpreted, destabilising fixed notions of identity and belonging. It is within this Third Space that it becomes possible to conceptualise critical interculturality, in which communication extends beyond a simple exchange of meanings and linguistic codes and instead operates as a performative process through which new meanings emerge from interaction, ambiguity and displacement. When transposed to the field of digital communication, this perspective allows us to understand interactions between migrant groups and host societies as fluid discursive zones in which linguistic, cultural and symbolic boundaries become permeable. This perspective is further developed by scholars such as Androutsopoulos (2015) and Leurs (2023), who demonstrate how digital environments operate within this intermediate territory, simultaneously intimate and public, local and transnational, where migrants construct meanings, perform belonging and translate experiences across multiple cultural horizons.

The following diagram illustrates how the author’s concept has been adapted and applied to conceptualise digital communication both within and between communities.



**Figure 1.** Convergence of Communication Flows in Digital Spaces  
Note. Prepared by the authors (2026).

Recognising its originally discursive and unstable character, the “Third Space” is mobilised here as an interpretative framework for analysing the zones of symbolic negotiation that emerge within networked interactions. From this metaphorical perspective, the discussion proposed here considers the possibility of conceptualising a Third Space within contemporary digital culture as a site of

interaction between groups, characterised by the presence of frictions, porous boundaries and the emergence of new forms of expression, where the symbolic distinctions between “us” and “them” become increasingly less visible.

When migrants use social media to share experiences, memes, information and comments, a plurality of languages, dialects, cultural references and communicative styles is mobilised. Within the context of these interactions, historical tensions, resentments, affective bonds and feelings of belonging and exclusion that permeate such exchanges become visible. The central issue does not lie in the existence of contradictions and divergences that emerge within this third space, but rather in the ways in which these interactions are amplified by particular actors, frequently intensifying and encouraging the circulation of rage-bait content, in which controversy and provocation are strategically mobilised in the pursuit of visibility and engagement, thereby distancing communicative practices from the principles of critical dialogue. It is precisely this dynamic that the present study seeks to examine.

## **1.2 Theoretical Perspectives in Intercultural Communicative Practice**

In order to address recent developments at the intersection of intercultural communication studies and the context of migrant experiences, recent research has advanced the development of approaches and theoretical models centred on the notion of dialogue as a structuring axis of communicative experience between migrants and host societies (Liu, 2022; Dervin, 2024). Recent literature emphasises that contemporary intercultural communication must encompass processes of ethical interlocution, mutual recognition and the shared construction of meaning, focusing on the development of relational spaces in which diverse experiences and cultural references dialogue and generate meanings collectively.

Emerging as an interdisciplinary theoretical and analytical field, Digital Migration Studies have consolidated the investigation of the relationships between migration, communication and digital technologies (Leurs & Prabhakar, 2018; Leurs, 2023), seeking to understand how communication mediated by digital technologies functions as a structuring element of migratory experiences. Such communication enables the maintenance of affective and cultural ties with countries of origin while simultaneously facilitating processes of social insertion and the formation of new networks within host societies. This perspective encourages a critical reading of digital communication within migratory phenomena, emphasising its ambivalence and its role in the reproduction and reconfiguration of symbolic and technopolitical boundaries (Diminescu, 2008; Leurs & Prabhakar, 2018; Komito, 2011; Alencar, 2020).

Within a similar framework, ten Thije (2022) proposes understanding intercultural mediation as a dynamic, relational and processual competence that emerges through interactions in which

interlocutors construct mutual understanding through reflexivity and communicative adaptation. Recent empirical studies demonstrate that digital communication produced by migrants has tangible effects on the ways in which they are perceived and treated within host societies (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2022). Research by Leurs (2023) contributes to this discussion by demonstrating that social media platforms function as hybrid communicative spaces in which migrants maintain both intracommunity and intercultural relations, increasingly blurring the boundaries between the local and the transnational, the private and the public. These dynamics highlight the complexities surrounding interactions between migrants and members of host societies.

Scholars such as Leurs (2023) and Halualani and Nakayama (2023) therefore advocate a critical turn in intercultural communication studies, conceptualising the digital sphere as a space for the production of meaning and political agency in which the discursive boundaries of digital citizenship are redefined. Perspectives such as digital transculturalism (Kraidy, 2017) and performative interculturality (Calafell & Eguchi, 2019) further expand this debate by emphasising that migrant communication also functions as an aesthetic and political practice of visibility, constituting a way of existing and resisting publicly within host societies. In this sense, the notion of communicative citizenship understands citizenship as a process constructed through communicative practices that articulate rights, recognition and political participation. Within this perspective, citizenship extends beyond a purely legal dimension and encompasses the right to speak and to be heard within the public sphere in participatory ways, thereby shaping hierarchies and struggles for discursive legitimacy (Livio, 2017). Communicative citizenship may therefore be understood as a field of collective action in which historically marginalised subjects mobilise symbols, produce meanings and evoke emotions in order to claim rights and transform their political condition (Tamayo Gómez, 2017).

A growing tendency can be observed towards theoretical and empirical convergence between studies of communication, migrant communities and interculturality. This convergence is guided by the understanding that intercultural integration must be conceptualised beyond a process of unilateral adaptation by migrants to host societies and should instead centre upon relational and interactive practices among all actors involved in intercultural relations (Leurs, 2023; Halualani & Nakayama, 2023), as illustrated in Figure 01. Such a perspective requires recognising communication within intercultural dialogue as a relational and multi-dialogical process that extends beyond a purely dialogical logic, as it involves the participation and intervention of diverse social actors. In this sense, the dynamics extend beyond interactions among migrants alone and include host societies, their institutions and other agents that participate within a continuous spectrum across social media platforms, acting and intervening in processes of negotiating meanings, identities and forms of belonging. Within this framework, communication constitutes the structuring axis of mediation

dynamics and symbolic contestation both between and within communities (Hall, 1992; Bhabha, 1994).

Developing critical and substantive communicative participation within the context of digital culture entails achieving a high and reflexive level of engagement by citizens interacting in processes of production, circulation and interpretation of media discourse, particularly considering the redistribution of communicative power and the capacity to influence media practices and structures (Couldry et al., 2013; Kraidy, 2017). The approach proposed here shifts the analytical focus from integration as assimilation towards a perspective that highlights the responsibility of migrant communities within intercultural interactions, recognising them as active participants in the negotiation and reconfiguration of the public sphere and social narratives (Leurs & Prabhakar, 2018; Calafell & Eguchi, 2019).

This conceptual orientation represents a significant theoretical advance and engages directly with contemporary debates in intercultural communication, particularly within migratory contexts. Preserving the philosophical foundation articulated by Bennett (1998), authentic intercultural dialogue requires the cultivation of intercultural sensitivity capable of integrating both cognitive and affective dimensions of empathy, thereby enabling recognition of the legitimacy and coherence of the cultural perspectives of others. Within this framework, scholars such as Holmes and Dervin (2024), Leurs (2023), and Halualani and Nakayama (2023) propose that contemporary intercultural education must develop discursive and critical competencies capable of translating cultural codes, contextualising meanings, guiding the formation of mediators and fostering horizontal symbolic interactions in societies characterised by mobility and diversity.

Consequently, contemporary theoretical perspectives converge around the need to rearticulate the communicative practices of migrants through approaches that move beyond traditional models of integration and representation. These perspectives propose a critical and emancipatory interpretation of the use of technologies and communicative spaces. Within this context, the role of immigrant influencers and content creators on digital platforms acquires particular significance, as they increasingly occupy central positions in the circulation of narratives and in processes of intercultural mediation.

### **1.3 Influencers and Content Creators on Digital Platforms in Portugal**

According to recent Eurobarometer data, disinformation represents one of the structural concerns within the online public sphere. Only 45% of citizens in the European Union identify fake news and disinformation as one of the digital issues with the greatest impact on their lives, while 81% consider the dissemination of false information to constitute a threat to democracy (European

Commission, 2024; European Parliament, 2025). In Portugal, levels of concern regarding disinformation and the impact of social media are similarly high, reflecting a growing public awareness of the risks associated with digital communication. According to the Digital News Report Portugal 2025, 71% of Portuguese respondents report concern about disinformation and the difficulty of distinguishing between true and false information on the internet, a figure above the global average that places the country among those most apprehensive about this phenomenon (OberCom, 2025). This perception emerges within a context characterised by the intensification of the circulation of digital content related to immigration and the concurrent rise of far-right political forces in Portugal, processes that have contributed to the increasing politicisation and polarisation of public debate surrounding migration and to the growth of stigma directed at migrant communities (Carvalho, 2025).

In recent years, the expansion of social media platforms has underscored the growing influence of users in shaping immigration narratives. Studies such as that of van Dijck et al., (2018) demonstrate that the algorithmic logic of social media, oriented towards maximising visibility and engagement, has favoured sensationalist approaches and biased content, thereby facilitating the spread of disinformation and the stimulation of hate speech between migrant communities and host societies. The available data present projections that warrant careful attention. The report *An Iberian Outlook: Report on Social Media Disinformation in Spanish, Portuguese and EU Elections and Detection Tools* (Paisana et al., 2025) indicates a consistent increase in disinformation within electoral contexts in Portugal and Spain, highlighting the central role of social media in the circulation and amplification of false, manipulated or misleading content. It further identifies the recurrence of specific themes, such as immigration, in the structuring of these narratives, frequently driven by political actors and by the transnational circulation of discursive frames. Within this context, content produced by ordinary users may be appropriated and recontextualised by political actors, becoming integrated into broader discursive strategies of mobilisation, legitimisation and amplification of particular narratives.

In 2022, data reported by Público (2023) revealed that the Portuguese Immigration and Borders Service initiated an investigation into a group of migrant influencers for disseminating false information regarding legalisation procedures. The individuals under investigation circulated content encouraging irregular practices of entry and residence in the country, including the dissemination of “tips” on how to enter as tourists and subsequently obtain documentation. In some cases, online content also promoted informal mediation services, housing arrangements and advisory services related to legalisation procedures (Caetano, 2022).

Empirical evidence indicates that content produced by migrant communicators in this context frequently lacks ethical training and cultural sensitivity, often functioning as a performative practice centred on self-promotion or the commercialisation of services, as illustrated in the aforementioned

case. The central role assumed by content production generated within migrant communities therefore raises significant questions concerning the quality, reliability and, above all, the responsibility associated with the information shared by these actors, particularly within a digital environment characterised by the rapid dissemination of messages and the limited presence of editorial mediation (Guedes et al., 2025).

Content creators frequently occupy positions of authority within their communities, even in the absence of technical training or institutional validation, often accumulating thousands of followers on platforms such as TikTok and Instagram. Within the algorithmic logic of social media platforms, oriented towards maximising visibility and engagement, there is a growing circulation of simplified content, generalisations and guidance based on individual experiences. This environment is further intensified by the adoption of rage-bait strategies by certain users, who exploit polarisation and indignation as mechanisms for attracting attention, frequently at the expense of the complexity that characterises legal and administrative processes. It should be noted that such dynamics are not exclusive to migrant communicators and are instead largely shaped by the sociotechnical logics of digital platforms that affect different social groups.

In this sense, the data reinforce the understanding that content production extends beyond a purely communicative function, constituting a form of influence capable of shaping migratory decisions as well as expectations concerning processes of integration (IOM, 2021). This dimension becomes particularly sensitive when content initially produced for intracommunity interaction among migrants enters into tension with host societies.

Recent literature demonstrates that content production in the context of immigration generates ambivalent communicative effects. A case study conducted by Santos Neto (2024) involved a six-month experiment on an Instagram profile dedicated to content about Brazilian immigration in Portugal. The study demonstrated that content creators frequently become central actors in mediating migratory experiences. Although many posts displayed an informational character, the interactions generated on the platform revealed behavioural tendencies among users that pointed to the spontaneous emergence of polarised and hostile discourse. The findings suggest that content produced by creators can intensify social tensions and contribute to the expansion of hate speech, reinforcing the notion that the platform logics of visibility, engagement and monetisation encourage systematic content production while also favouring simplified narratives that shape users' perceptions of migration and intercultural relations.

Furthermore, the experiment revealed that even when the initial purpose of the content is informational, the interactions generated on social media platforms may facilitate the emergence of hostile discourse, stereotypes and identity conflicts within comment spaces. This dynamic, further

amplified by the algorithmic logic of social media platforms that prioritise emotional and controversial content, contributes to the circulation and interaction of xenophobic discourse between communities, thereby distancing communicative practices from the promotion of meaningful intercultural dialogue (Santos Neto, 2024). This context demands increased attention to processes of curation, critical interpretation and ethical responsibility in the creation and dissemination of digital content. Migrant communities, including both influencers and those who sustain and participate in horizontal networks of interaction, therefore assume a significant role in the construction and promotion of bridges within intercultural relations.

## **2. Methodology**

The present study adopts the case study as its research strategy, following the framework outlined by Yin (2018), who defines the method as an empirical approach directed towards understanding contemporary phenomena within their real-life contexts, particularly when the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not clearly distinguishable. Based on this framework, and in accordance with the perspective advanced by Denzin and Lincoln (2018), the investigation developed here adopts a qualitative approach aimed at understanding the meanings that individuals attribute to their practices and social interactions, situating them within their cultural and historical contexts. The study therefore proposes an analytical and contextualised reading of the intercultural and mediated communication of the Brazilian diaspora in Portugal, problematising the communicative practices that emerge within digital spaces of interaction among migrants.

The case study examines intercultural communication in a migratory context through two complementary levels: (1) digital influencers as cultural mediators and (2) online communities as spaces of horizontal intracommunity communication. The initial analytical perspective focuses on a more vertical dynamic, observing communication produced by digital influencers who operate as cultural mediators and as nodes of symbolic diffusion within migratory contexts on social media platforms. Subsequently, the analytical focus shifts towards a horizontal logic, centred on communicative exchanges that emerge within migrant communities themselves, where support networks are constructed through groups, forums and other collective interaction spaces.

As the referential object of the case study, the analysis focuses on the meme known as “Guiana Brasileira”, which circulated across social media platforms between 2024 and 2025. In order to support the discussion, the study relied on a data collection process related to the episode, conducted through structured searches in search engines using descriptors associated with the term and related expressions. The temporal scope of the analysis covers the period between November 2024 and the second half of 2025, enabling the observation of the phases of emergence, stabilisation and

amplification of the meme. The corpus was composed of news reports published in Brazilian and Portuguese journalistic outlets that reported on or analysed the phenomenon. Secondary data concerning disinformation and digital culture in Portugal were also incorporated, drawing on institutional reports, specialised studies and statistical surveys produced by national and European organisations. This material made it possible to situate the case within broader trends in the Portuguese communicational ecosystem, particularly in relation to the dynamics of viral content circulation, discursive polarisation and algorithmic mediation.

## **2.1 The Case of the Brazilian Guiana Meme**

The case of the meme referred to as “Guiana Brasileira” concerns an episode of large-scale circulation of digital content originating from interactions between Brazilian and Portuguese users on social media platforms, particularly from the end of 2024 and throughout 2025. The event began in November 2024 when the announcement of the signing of Kika Nazareth by Barcelona was captioned with the expression “Fala, galera!” (Melguiso, 2025). Many Portuguese supporters perceived the greeting as an unfamiliar Brazilian expression, which triggered a series of critical reactions on X (formerly Twitter) and generated expressions of dissatisfaction among Brazilian users, exemplified by comments such as: “Portugal only exists because it is related to Brazil, which is why it is the Brazilian Guiana.” The linguistic choice was interpreted by some Portuguese users as excessively marked by the Brazilian variant of Portuguese, thereby triggering online debates concerning linguistic variation, normativity and cultural influence among Lusophone countries (Feitoza, 2025; Melguiso, 2025).

Within this context, Brazilian users began to employ the expression “Guiana Brasileira” across digital platforms as a satirical and depreciative label to refer to Portugal, symbolically suggesting a geopolitical inversion in which the European country would be represented as a territorial extension of Brazil (Lima, 2025). The term originally refers to the Amazonian region historically known as Brazilian Guiana, located in parts of Pará and neighbouring states and historically associated with territorial disputes during the colonial period. Within the meme, however, the reference also evokes French Guiana, a French overseas territory bordering Brazil, thereby suggesting, in a humorous and symbolic manner, that Portugal would now constitute a Brazilian colony.

The consolidation of the meme occurred through processes typical of digital replication, sustained by the continuous participation of users and by circulation across widely used platforms such as TikTok, X and Instagram. Within networked interactions, content creators began commenting on, recreating and reacting to the initial posts, contributing to a continuous cycle of visibility and thematic renewal (Braun, 2025). In this context, what initially emerged as a form of intracommunity dialogue

within digital environments ultimately evolved into a discussion of an intercultural nature, marked by symbolic tensions and by the mobilisation of polarising sentiments between cultures.

The expression subsequently appeared in short-form videos, visual edits and textual posts that simulated the symbolic annexation of Portugal, frequently employing altered maps, edited flags, humorous captions and fictional administrative regions that attributed imaginary administrative statuses to the country (Lima, 2025). This diversity of formats facilitated the rapid comprehension of the concept and contributed to its large-scale reproduction, allowing the meme to become a recognisable marker within Lusophone digital culture (Melguiso, 2025; Braun, 2025). Data documented by media outlets indicate that content related to the meme reached millions of views, demonstrating the capacity for algorithmic amplification and the intense circulation of such material across follower networks. With the rapid viralisation of the meme, the topic entered the sphere of traditional media, with reports published in news portals and entertainment outlets, reinforcing the legitimacy of the phenomenon as an object of public attention and extending its reach beyond digital communities (Lima, 2025).

A number of Portuguese digital influencers reacted with indignation to the circulation of the “Guiana Brasileira” meme, interpreting it as a form of symbolic disrespect towards the country’s national history and cultural identity (Braun, 2025). In videos published on social media and subsequently reported by journalistic outlets, some users argued that the satirical inversion of colonial roles exceeded the boundaries of humour and contributed to the trivialisation of historically sensitive processes, particularly the Portuguese imperial past and contemporary Luso-Brazilian relations (Moreira, 2025). Reports documenting these reactions indicate that such positions emerged primarily in response to the increasing volume of viral content portraying Portugal as a territory subordinated to Brazil, which certain influencers characterised as a symbolic attack on historical memory and cultural sovereignty (Lima, 2025; Braun, 2025; Moreira, 2025).

The Portuguese response also generated counter-memes. In Portugal, the so-called “Portuguese Greenland” meme circulated, which ironically referred to Rio Grande do Sul, a southern region of Brazil, by comparing it to the icy territory of Greenland (Moreira, 2025). This public reaction, amplified by digital platforms themselves, became an integral component of the meme’s circulation dynamics and contributed to intensifying debate concerning the boundaries between humour, national identity and historical memory within the Lusophone media space (Moreira, 2025).

The case study of the “Guiana Brasileira” meme may therefore be understood through four principal stages: the triggering event associated with the linguistic controversy surrounding the football club’s publication at the end of 2024 and the beginning of 2025; the formulation and stabilisation of the expression “Guiana Brasileira” as a memetic label across social media; the phase of viralisation

throughout 2025, marked by the mass production of audiovisual and textual content as well as the increase in online searches; and the expansion of visibility through media coverage in Portugal and Brazil. This trajectory reflects a circulation pattern typical of contemporary digital memes, characterised by rapid replication and by the participation of new users who contribute to its transformation into a recognisable symbol within broader communicational ecosystems (Lima, 2025; Braun, 2025; Moreira, 2025).

### **3 Towards Critical Intercultural Education: Challenges and Future Perspectives**

#### **3.1 Challenges in Rethinking Intercultural Dialogue in Migration Contexts**

The increase in tensions between migrant communities and host societies, combined with the intensification of content production and circulation on digital platforms and the insufficient development of critical and media competences necessary for the exercise of qualified civic communication, contributes to the configuration of a socially and informationally sensitive environment. The research indicates that the promotion of reductionist discourse, driven by the immediacy of “likes” and by the performative logic of rage-bait content, reinforces a gap associated with the absence of intercultural, linguistic and media competences. Deficiencies in communicative training constitute one of the structural elements of this issue, as has already been observed by Portuguese governmental bodies (Huertas-Tato et al., 2025).

According to Eurobarometer data (European Commission, 2024; European Parliament, 2025), only 45% of Portuguese respondents consider that the right to a trustworthy digital environment with reduced levels of disinformation is effectively ensured in the country, placing Portugal among the lowest values within the European Union, while approximately 26% state that they are unable to assess this issue (p. 52). In parallel, 17% identify protection against disinformation and illegal online content as one of the main national priorities for the digital decade (Annexes, p. 21). These indicators suggest a digital environment marked by informational fragilities and low levels of trust, conditions that tend to amplify the circulation of simplified and polarised narratives on social media platforms, particularly regarding socially sensitive issues such as immigration, thereby contributing to the formation of distorted perceptions and the reinforcement of symbolic tensions within the public sphere.

The proliferation of xenophobic discourse online also converges in this direction, pointing to the absence of qualified communicative mediation in broader contexts. The report of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI, 2025) identifies an increase in hate content directed at migrants and minorities across Portuguese digital platforms, frequently promoted by popular accounts and micro-influencers. These data reinforce a scenario in which trust in news in Portugal has reached one of the lowest levels of the past decade, according to findings from the Digital

News Report Portugal 2025. The study indicates that only slightly more than half of the Portuguese population, 54%, report trusting news most of the time.

According to a study published by the Iberian Digital Media Observatory (Iberifier, 2025), Portugal has emerged as one of the principal European centres of disinformation related to immigration, a phenomenon that forms part of a broader trend identified across several European Union countries. The recent growth in migratory flows to Portugal, combined with the intense circulation of content on social media platforms and the increasing polarisation of political debate, may have contributed to the expansion of the production and dissemination of misleading content on the topic, placing the country in a prominent position within comparative European analyses. These findings reveal a structural problem. Content relating to immigration or to bilateral relations between Brazil and Portugal is frequently produced without critical training or ethical mediation, transforming the digital sphere into a space for the reproduction of inequalities and symbolic competition in the struggle for meaning, further distancing communicative practices from the principles of intercultural dialogue.

The growing activity of migrant digital influencers and content producers addressing migration reveals itself as an ambivalent phenomenon within the contemporary communicative landscape. Earlier contributions by scholars such as Moran (2023) and Komito (2011) emphasise that the use of social media platforms by these actors can expand the visibility of migratory experiences. It is equally important to recognise that many of these agents operate within performative and market-oriented logics that prioritise self-promotion and algorithmic engagement at the expense of ethical responsibility and intercultural dialogue. Interactions within digital migrant communities in Portugal must therefore also be understood from the perspective of the responsibility that accompanies networked communication, where dialogue between Brazilians and Portuguese extends beyond geographical and cultural boundaries and stimulates participation among actors within host communities.

As discussed by Dervin (2016) and Holliday (2011), intercultural communication involves relational responsibility and an ethics of encounter between groups. Communication across cultures cannot be understood as a neutral act. It constitutes a practice that requires the recognition of power asymmetries and the capacity to listen to and interact with others in non-instrumental ways. In many instances, rather than fostering rapprochement between migrant communities and host societies, certain communicative practices contribute to the intensification of polarisation dynamics. This situation highlights the need to consider the critical capacities and competences of digital actors capable of mitigating narratives that may generate or reinforce hate speech.

When considered alongside the reflections of Hall (1992) and Dervin (2016) within the context of immigration in Portugal, it becomes possible to understand that communicative misunderstandings, even among speakers of the same language, such as when Portuguese audiences do not understand Brazilian memes, generally do not stem from linguistic barriers alone. Instead, they derive from cultural and symbolic differences that reveal historical inequalities and power asymmetries within the Lusophone sphere. Understanding the cultural universe underlying the production of content, including memes and popular expressions originating in both countries, rarely consists of a mere act of linguistic translation. Rather, it constitutes an act of intercultural dialogue in which active listening and the recognition of alterity become essential conditions for communicative coexistence between social groups. As Dervin (2016) emphasises, communicative interculturality requires more than visibility. It demands reflexivity, attentive listening and ethical empathy capable of mitigating the harmful effects of mediatization, particularly when communication is shaped by algorithmic dynamics and logics of self-promotion.

The challenges associated with conceptualising intercultural communicative practices grounded in the principles of communicative citizenship are multiple and complex, particularly in contexts characterised by migration and bilateral tensions. Persistent asymmetries in technological competences, as well as linguistic and sociocultural barriers, continue to limit the full participation of migrants within media spaces (Leurs & Prabhakar, 2018; Leurs, 2023). Furthermore, the algorithmic logics of digital platforms frequently reinforce cultural echo chambers and polarised discourse, thereby limiting opportunities for listening and intercultural dialogue. These dynamics are compounded by the absence of critical education regarding the social role of media among both producers and consumers of content, a condition that facilitates the circulation of stereotypes and disinformation.

Another challenge lies in reconciling the preservation of cultural identities with openness to alterity without generating processes of homogenisation or discursive fragmentation (Livio, 2017; Tamayo Gómez, 2017). Promoting intercultural communication guided by the ethical principles of participatory citizenship therefore requires confronting these structural tensions and developing educational strategies and inclusive communicative policies capable of ensuring the right to expression and the right to be heard under conditions of respect and equity (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2018; Liu, 2022). Within this perspective, it becomes evident that greater emphasis should be placed on the quality of interactions and discourses circulating within digital environments, recognising responsibility and critical understanding within digital culture as central elements for the consolidation of more ethical communicative practices in the construction of the Third Space proposed by Bhabha (1994).

In this direction, it is necessary to critically consider the interactions and discourses circulating within these environments. In this sense, the integration of intercultural communication studies and media literacy becomes fundamental to achieving a broader understanding of the role of migrant communities as communicating subjects in both the production and consumption of content, particularly given the complexity of interactions and relationships within digital culture (Darvin, 2016; Guilherme, 2021; Leurs, 2023). Such an analytical convergence makes it possible to demonstrate that intercultural media practices extend beyond identity expression and function simultaneously as forms of social participation, cultural mediation and the construction of citizenship.

Numerous academic and institutional initiatives at the international level have sought to connect intercultural communication with media literacy, particularly in relation to migrant and refugee populations. In migration contexts, this perspective is reinforced by studies showing that digital platforms shape migrants' practices of identity construction, belonging and participation in public discourse (Darvin, 2016; Leurs, 2023). UNESCO's work on media and information literacy and intercultural dialogue has linked media education to cultural dialogue, social cohesion and communicative inclusion, framing media literacy as a key competence for critical participation in diverse societies (UNESCO, 2021). Initiatives such as the EU Horizon 2020 project Media and Migration in Europe demonstrate how media literacy within an intercultural framework can strengthen the communicative citizenship of migrant communities by promoting critical and ethical engagement with media representations (Chouliaraki & Georgiou, 2022).

These perspectives reveal an emerging tendency towards convergence between different fields of knowledge, recognising that the development of intercultural and media competences constitutes an essential condition for strengthening democratic dialogue and promoting communicative justice within multicultural societies. Within this perspective, there is increasing recognition of the value of an intersectional and interdisciplinary approach that integrates contributions from sociological, communicational and migration studies alongside public policy perspectives in order to foster good communicative practices within the context of intercultural communication.

### **3.2 Circulation, Interaction and Communication Between Communities**

The case of the "Guiana Brasileira" meme draws attention to the ways in which content initially produced and circulated within specific communicational circuits oriented towards the Brazilian community can transcend its original contexts and acquire visibility across different levels of circulation, as already demonstrated by Santos Neto (2024). The expansion of this type of memetic content highlights the dynamics characteristic of contemporary participatory cultures, in which processes of replication, adaptation and continuous reinterpretation stimulate and invite users to

participate within networked public spaces. In this context, beyond the role performed by content producers and users on social media platforms, it is also necessary to consider the role of migrants themselves as central agents in the circulation, appropriation and reactivation of the meme. The data presented illustrate how the incorporation of new interlocutors into the debate, including members of the host society, in this case Portuguese users, who initially appear as attentive observers of the discussions, may intervene, comment and actively participate in the construction and negotiation of meanings surrounding the meme.

Within this framework, beyond the relationship established between users and influencers or content creators, interactions developed within groups and forums through horizontally structured conversational networks constitute spaces of informal cultural mediation. In these environments, individual experiences are shared, reinterpreted and gradually transformed into collective references concerning the challenges, opportunities and everyday dynamics of life in Portugal (Góis & Marques, 2018).

The scale and intensity of digitally mediated communication can be observed in the very structure of online communities formed around migratory experiences, as documented in earlier studies (Diminescu, 2008; Saturnino, 2009, 2011; Oliveira & Monteiro Neto, 2016). These communities are organised through distributed networks centred on horizontal interaction, facilitating the formation of interconnected micro-groups in which the circulation of information, experiences and guidance occurs continuously and in a decentralised manner. Such dynamics correspond to the many-to-many communicational model, which differs from the one-to-many model commonly adopted by influencers. Within this horizontal model of information circulation among multiple participants, users simultaneously assume the roles of senders, receivers and mediators (van Dijck et al., 2018; Bucher, 2018; Hund, 2023).

On platforms such as Facebook and Telegram, thousands of Brazilians share information daily concerning employment, housing, documentation and healthcare, while also exchanging experiences related to migratory processes (Oliveira, 2018; Ribeiro, 2022). Saturnino (2011) had already observed that such networks function as spaces for identity reconstruction and belonging, in which digital dialogue enables both the maintenance of affective ties with Brazil and the establishment of new social networks in Portugal. This communicational dimension demonstrates that the online environment has consolidated itself as a symbolic extension of migrant communities, functioning as a support structure for adaptation and cultural expression.

Although several studies have emphasised the positive role of these interactions in the context of contemporary migration, it is also necessary to examine more closely the internal dynamics of these communicative environments and to recognise how these communities may also participate in the

dissemination of external content. This includes the circulation of decontextualised or ideologically framed digital content, as well as the distribution of biased materials whose circulation is sometimes driven by far-right digital networks that use social media to spread propaganda, hate speech and divisive narratives, thereby contributing to processes of online radicalisation and, in some cases, offline hate crimes and violence (Cecchini Múrua & Martín Varela., 2024). A similar dynamic can be observed in the case of the “Guiana Brasileira” meme, whose circulation was significantly propelled by horizontal interactions within intracommunity networks through the exchange, repetition and reframing of information.

Research on disinformation indicates that audiovisual content removed from its original context tends to generate higher levels of engagement and polarisation, particularly when disseminated on social media platforms through sensationalist framing (Donovan, 2020). Recent reports from the European Digital Media Observatory indicate that the manipulation of videos, the recombination of authentic images with fabricated narratives and the coordinated action of groups across social media platforms continue to reinforce stereotypes and exclusionary discourse directed towards migrants and refugees (European Digital Media Observatory, 2023, 2024). Projections suggest that the use of generative artificial intelligence technologies, such as deepfakes and speech synthesis, to produce manipulated audiovisual content aimed at spreading disinformation about migration will intensify in the coming years. Recent studies also point to the increasing activity of coordinated transnational groups, including pages and channels operating in Portuguese and Spanish that are integrated into broader European disinformation networks. At the same time, the role of micro-influencers and smaller accounts has expanded, functioning as central agents in the participatory and decentralised dissemination of such narratives (European Digital Media Observatory & EU DisinfoLab, 2024).

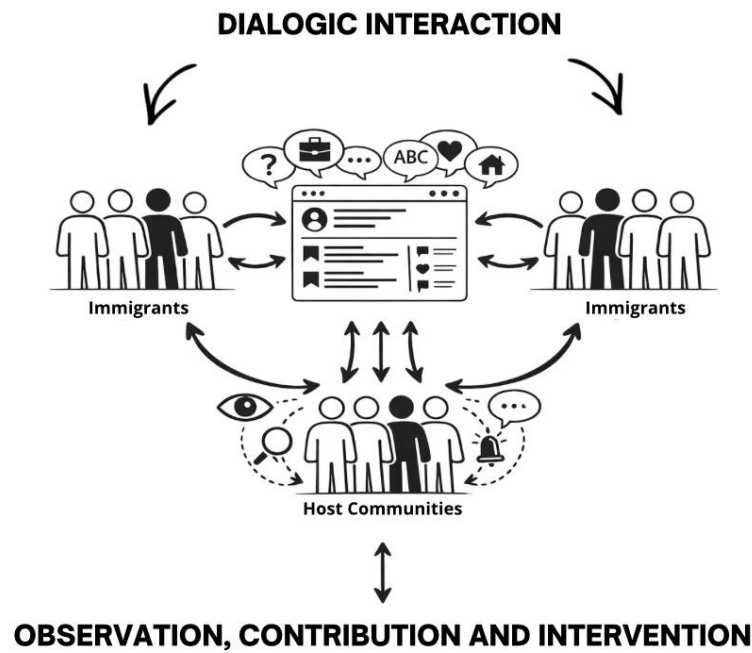
Within the Portuguese context, analyses of audiovisual content consumption indicate that the online media ecosystem has facilitated the rapid circulation of fragmented and emotionally charged material, increasing the risks of disinformation and reinforcing negative perceptions of particular social groups (Cardoso et al., 2022), alongside a general decline in trust in online news, with only 39% of respondents expressing confidence, and a growing tendency towards fragmented and audiovisual media consumption. Portuguese audiences remain particularly exposed to disinformation through multimodal formats, including videos, images and memes, as highlighted by Cardoso et al. (2024).

This communicational modus operandi has progressively been recognised and instrumentalised by political actors, including far-right parties such as Chega, which have begun to exploit these dynamics through the amplification of polarising content and the mobilisation of simplified narratives concerning immigration and national identity, with the aim of disseminating disinformation across networked interactions (Santos, 2024; Prior, 2024).

Within semi-open environments, such as Facebook groups and Telegram channels, participation and content circulation are not restricted solely to migrant communities, which expands both the reach and the complexity of interactions (Leurs & Prabhakar, 2018; European Digital Media Observatory, 2023). The interactions that develop within these environments frequently extend beyond the digital sphere, reverberating in concrete social practices that mobilise communities, reinforce networks of support and, in some cases, intensify polarisation and intercultural tensions (van Dijck et al., 2018; Leurs, 2023). This dynamic highlights how seemingly superficial content can generate meanings and shape relational dynamics, including the escalation of hate speech that extends beyond digital platforms.

The circulation of such discourse illustrates the dual potential of digital networks. On the one hand, they function as instruments of empowerment and visibility. On the other hand, they facilitate the propagation of exclusionary and nationalist narratives that may legitimise anti-immigration rhetoric.

Figure 2 illustrates the communication dynamics within digital migrant networks, highlighting the horizontal interaction between members of migrant communities mediated through conversational environments such as forums and groups on social media platforms. The central space symbolises the environment of interaction where experiences, information and practical guidance are exchanged, forming interconnected clusters among migrant communities. In the lower section of the figure, the representation of another group symbolises the host society, namely Portuguese citizens who, through visual elements associated with attention, observation and the possibility of intervention, are depicted as actors who follow and potentially engage with the interactions occurring within these communicational networks.



**Figure 2.** Conceptual model for relations between migrant and host communities  
Source: Prepared by the authors (2026).

The figure illustrates how content initially produced within open and semi-open environments may extend beyond the intracommunity relations that structure these networks, gradually becoming subject to monitoring, appropriation and participation by external actors. This process contributes to the reconfiguration of circulating meanings and to the production of concrete effects within the dynamics of intercultural dialogue. Within this context, the fluidity and speed that characterise digital platforms reinforce the process through which discourse moves across communicative spaces, understood as the continuous circulation and displacement of messages and debates between private and public contexts (Donovan, 2020; Dooly & Darvin, 2022; Hund, 2023). Discursive conflicts do not necessarily lead to the disintegration of communities, yet they may constitute points of departure for the emergence of hate speech and the incitement of xenophobia.

Earlier studies, such as Saturnino’s (2011) research on communities on Orkut, had already identified this characteristic by demonstrating how discussions concerning “being Brazilian in Portugal” resonated beyond the digital environment, reaching both the media and everyday social interactions. Today, on platforms such as Reddit and Facebook, this dynamic is significantly amplified, as messages initially shared within semi-open groups frequently cease to remain restricted to specific audiences and instead become accessible to external actors, particularly members of host societies who follow, monitor and, at times, intervene in these debates.

The report *Discurso de Ódio e Imigração em Portugal* (2025) presents data that highlight the centrality of digital social media as privileged spaces for the circulation and perception of hostility towards migrants. Based on an online survey conducted with 262 participants, the majority of whom were Brazilian (83.6%), 32.4% identified social media platforms as the primary environments in which hate speech is observed, followed by the internet in general (17.9%) and comment sections in online publications (10.3%). Furthermore, 79.8% of respondents reported having already experienced hate speech online, with Instagram (36.9%) and Facebook (26.3%) identified as the platforms most frequently associated with such experiences.

The data indicate that xenophobia emerges as the dominant form of hostility, accounting for 80.4% of reported cases. There is also a widespread perception of intensification, with 67.2% of respondents strongly agreeing that hate speech has increased and 58.3% considering that it has become more violent. These findings reveal how digital interactions are exposed to new interpretative frameworks capable of reconfiguring the original meaning of exchanges, intensifying discursive disputes and introducing asymmetries of symbolic power within spaces that initially function as environments of peer-based support and exchange.

The dissemination of content across channels and profiles, together with the interactions generated within digital communities formed by migrants, illustrates the emergence of extensive and complex communicational networks constructed outside institutional circuits. These networks are characterised by dynamism, instability and a multiplicity of actors, conditions that make it difficult to clearly delimit the contours of this empirical field (Andrade & Sousa, 2020; Brasileiro et al., 2024).

## **Conclusions**

The objective of this article was to discuss communicative practices within digital culture in the context of intercultural relations, problematising the ethical, cultural and epistemological challenges involved in the contemporary production of content concerning immigration. Through the analysis of a case study centred on the circulation of the “Guiana Brasileira” meme, the study proposed a critical examination supported by theoretical and empirical evidence in order to reflect on the need for critical education focused on intercultural communicative practice within the migratory context in Portugal.

Based on the analysis of collected data, the study identifies several challenges associated with social media platforms, demonstrating that interactions tend to circulate across expanded networks and reach heterogeneous audiences. Although a significant proportion of content is produced with the migrant community as its primary audience, thereby constituting intracommunity communication in principle, the circulation dynamics of these platforms frequently escape the control of these networks,

crossing symbolic boundaries and reaching host communities as well. In this sense, the study draws attention to the porosity that characterises these interactional dynamics and to the difficulty of establishing a stable distinction between communication directed “inwards” to the community and communication directed “outwards”. Online communicative practices therefore constitute zones of contact marked by discursive overlap and contestation of meaning, which demands greater attention to the quality of interactions and to the discursive effects produced within the relationship between migrants and host societies.

These results point to broader reflections that will be further explored in future research. The central question concerns how to conceive a critical educational framework centred on intercultural dialogue capable of fostering responsible communicative practices and supporting the exercise of communicative citizenship within the context of tensions in Brazil–Portugal relations. Addressing this issue requires shifting analytical attention away from traditional and centralised models of communication education towards a framework that integrates intercultural, critical, linguistic and media dimensions. Within this framework, promoting responsible communication goes beyond fostering the capacity for cross-cultural message transmission. It also requires preparing them to understand and intervene in communicative processes as social and political practices shaped by power relations and by the production of meaning.

Contemporary scholarship increasingly understands interculturality as a complex and critical communicative practice in which dialogue with difference constitutes both an ethical ideal and a political and epistemological condition for the construction of plural, just and reflexive societies. In this context, it becomes essential to articulate intercultural education with the field of media literacy, particularly because contemporary symbolic mediation occurs largely within digital ecosystems. Media literacy, understood in a critical sense as proposed by Buckingham (2019) and Choi (2016), offers a productive framework for dialogue, as it enables the development of intercultural competence through the capacity to analyse, produce and reinterpret media narratives that shape perceptions of the “Other”.

As emphasised by Dooly and Darvin (2022), intercultural dialogue mediated through digital platforms requires critical media competences capable of recognising how media discourse constructs cultural stereotypes, reinforces symbolic hierarchies and influences perceptions of other social groups. Integrating these dimensions implies the formation of individuals capable of navigating different cultural contexts while critically examining the media representations that structure perceptions, identities and power relations, thereby contributing to the consolidation of a more equitable and socially responsible public dialogue.

The study concludes that the absence of an intersectional intercultural educational framework capable of preparing individuals to intervene ethically and reflexively in the mediation of discourses concerning human mobility represents a significant concern in a context marked by communicative inequalities, xenophobic discourse and increasing symbolic polarisation surrounding migration. Consequently, educational initiatives should promote dialogical and reflective spaces in which diverse actors learn to negotiate meanings, recognise alterity and exercise ethical and mediating listening practices in response to the complexity of contemporary intercultural encounters.

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