The Specificities of Lisbon as an International (City) Actor

Sofia José Santos, OBSERVARE - Autonomous University of Lisbon, Portugal
Luís Moita, OBSERVARE - Autonomous University of Lisbon, Portugal
Brígida Rocha Brito, OBSERVARE - Autonomous University of Lisbon, Portugal
Célia Quintas, OBSERVARE - Autonomous University of Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract
States have been, traditionally, the key analytical category to reason on International Relations (IR) with different renounced authors explicitly or implicitly acknowledging it. However, on par with states, cities are an organizing form and space of political, social, cultural, demographic, environmental and economic life. They are nowadays one of the actors of the global, and engage the global directly, often sidestepping the national in distinct areas. They hold, hence, the power to influence international dynamics and decisions. Although endeavours to attribute cities the same analytical importance as the one held by States in IR still constitute a huge challenge to the discipline, literature advocating for the acknowledgement of cities as international actors has been burgeoning within this academic field. Nevertheless, much of existing literature focuses on "global cities" such as New York, London, São Paulo or Tokyo as the strategic axes of international relations. This paper argues that cities are indeed international actors as such, and that not only global cities hold international relations agency, but also middle-range and low-range cities. To put these arguments forward this paper presents the results of fieldwork undertaken in Lisbon and highlights the specificities of Lisbon's paradiplomatic initiatives, actors and networks within the domain of culture and tourism.

Keywords: city, paradiplomacy, international relations, Lisbon

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Introduction

Traditionally, States have been the key analytical category when reasoning about International Relations with different renounced authors explicitly or implicitly acknowledging it (Gilpin, 1981; Mearsheimer, 2001). However, on pair with states, cities are an organizing form and space of political, social, cultural, demographic and economic life. Particularly due to "globalization as politics" dynamics (Baylis and Smith, 2001; Milani and Ribeiro, 2011), i.e., globalization understood not only as "a competition for market shares and well-timed economic growth initiatives; neither (…) just a matter of trade opportunities and liberalization (…) [but also as] a social and political struggle for defining [and cooperating on] cultural values and political identities" (Milani and Ribeiro, 2011: 23), increasingly more and more cities can no longer "be located simply in a scalar hierarchy that puts it below the national, regional, and global" (Sassen, 2007,p. 102). Cities are nowadays one of the actors of the global, and engage the global directly, often sidestepping the national in distinct areas (Sassen, 2007, p. 102). Both by means of governmental and non-governmental agencies, cities are increasingly operating at an international level with local and international repercussions and crosscutting distinct areas, such as politics, policy, economy, culture, tourism, environment, security, among others – to which they are clearly critical engines (Acuto, 2015). As a consequence, cities become increasingly the strategic sites where powerful and influencing operations, in all matters, take place (Sassen, 2007; Acuto, 2015), highlighting their own power to influence international dynamics and decisions.

Endeavours to attribute cities the same analytical importance as the one held by States in International Relations constitute, nevertheless, an ongoing huge challenge to the discipline, as International Relations Theory is predominantly informed by a state-centric paradigm (Calder and Freytas, 2009), based on an ontology that privileges a sovereign state-led anarchic international system and is "conditioned to examine a world of territorial nation-states" (Curtis, 2010: 1). The so far marginalization of cities within IR analysis can be somehow justified by the well-known "Westphalia straightjacket" (Barthwal-Datta, 2009). Along with this state-centrism insistence, there is also the perspective that the "the impact of cities on international systems may seem to be a trivial, or at least a marginal subject—particularly when compared to factors of such overwhelming importance as the $400 billion annual military expenditures of the national governments of the world" (Alger, 2014, p. 35). In recent years, studies of international relations have begun to consider and argue the key importance of cities *per se* in the international order (Acuto, 2013; Barber, 2013; Bouteligier, 2013; Curtis, 2010, 2014; Kissack, 2013; Calder and Freytas, 2009), and to question the idea that the State is the most significant and fundamental actor and unit of analysis in IR. However, much of this existing literature has been focused on "global cities" such as New York, London, São Paulo or Tokyo as the strategic axes of international relations. By shedding light merely on "global cities", dismissing as less important or as inexistent other middle-range and low-range cities' international agency, existing literature has been reproducing their critique towards traditional IR: to conform to conservative analytical patterns and to misleadingly opt for a scale criteria that recognises only the macro and most visible ones. By so doing, literature reproduces the same invisibilising logic they were said to criticise and overcome.

Based upon two presuppositions - that to hold international agency is to be able to influence IR and that internationalisation is a key dimension of international influence - this paper argues, first, that cities are an organizing principle and unit in International Relations since they actively influence and are, in turn, influenced by the international realm. Second, this paper argues that despite dominant literature on the topic of cities agency in IR focus solely on "global cities", middle-range and low-range cities also hold international relations agency, particularly (although not exclusively) through municipal paradiplomatic activities. Third, it states that not only activity within the area of economics, finance and high politics gives cities the capacity to play an international role within the international realm. To put these arguments forward this paper presents Lisbon as case study, highlighting the specificities of Lisbon's paradiplomatic initiatives, actors and networks within the domain of culture and tourism.

Cities as International Actors

The international actor IR Theory traditionally comprises is the nation-state (Gilpin, 1981; Mearsheimer, 2001;). Attempts to include other actors within the realm of International Relations have, nevertheless, emerged at different times. The common denominator the different authors reasoning of this topic (and regardless of their theoretical perspective) use to identify a specific subject as international relations' actor is the ability to influence International Relations. In fact, to hold agency in IR is to hold the capacity of exerting power to influence and to be considered an ally or an obstacle. In this sense, "gobal cities transcend our traditional and IR-dominated theoretical frames of reference, bypassing scalar (globe, state, region) as well as political (supra-national, governmental, regional and local) hierarchies and piercing through the layers of sovereignty in the Westphalian system" (Acuto, 2013, p. 159).

Indeed, first, most of the international relations of the world do entail mostly relations among cities crosscutting different thematic, political and operational areas of the international system. Second, "(w)hat passes as urban policies today is increasingly suffused with issues that every so often touch upon "high politics" (Ljungkvist, 2014, p. 42). Third, ongoing dynamics show that "(i)t is not only the international which is piercing through the outer layers of the state, but it is also the inside of the state which is pushing its way outwards" (Eslava, 2014, p. 260), a phenomena which Susan Strange (1995, p. 56) termed as the "leaking away" (upwards, sideways, and downwards) of power from the territorial state, and which calls increasingly into question the idea that issues can be framed as "purely municipal, purely national, or purely international" (Eslava, 2014). Fourth, whereas there is still an insistence on perceiving the international system as an anarchic security-based and state-centered system, there is also the growing and cumulative crystal clear understanding that the international system is defined and influenced increasingly by many other actors and dynamics beyond both the nation state (Booth, 2005; Alger, 2014) and the security realm (Nye, 2004; Keohane and Nye, 2012; Barber, 2013). Fifth, the intensity of urbanization of our societies and their role as important "knots" within (and supporting) the globalization of the web, made cities to become "a fundamental pole of internationalization" (Curto et al, 2014) and subsequently an important agent of the new non-state diplomacy, i.e., "paradiplomacy" (Aldecoa et. al., 2013; Santos Neves, 2010; Curto et al, 2014) or "city diplomacy" (Pluijm, 2007) with clear agency and impact at the international level.

On the basis of the aforementioned arguments lies what has been labelled as "globalization as politics" (Baylis and Smith, 2001; Milani and Ribeiro, 2011), i.e., globalization understood not only as "a competition for market shares and well-timed economic growth initiatives; neither (…) just a matter of trade opportunities and liberalization (…) [but also as] a social and political struggle for defining [and cooperating on] cultural values and political identities" (Milani and Ribeiro, 2011, p. 23) with major consequences concerning the internationalization of politics through the increasing development of transnational actors, networks and institutions (Ibidem). Indeed, "multiple globalization processes assume concrete localized forms, electronic networks intersect with thick environments (whether financial centers or activist meetings), and new subjectivities arise from the encounters of people from all around the world" (Sassen, 2012).

Indeed, as Atwell (2014: 374) claims, "the idea of nimble, confident city-regions forging practical partnerships to solve problems while lumbering nation states struggle to achieve traction on a range of issues, from Syria to Climate change, has intuitive [political] appeal". In practical terms, cities are present at the international scene both directly and indirectly (Bucar, 1995). They do so in direct terms by means of paradipçlomacy, i.e., conducting foreign policy, communicating strategically with its counterparts, by forming their own organizations and by being members of international (intergovernmental) organizations. In turn, by exerting influence on their national governments and on foreign states cities indirectly assure their presence in the international sphere (Bucar, 1995).

Going beyond 'global cities': introducing middle and low-range cities in the international scene

When confronted with the idea of city, one has a very clear and intuitive image of what city means and entails. Specific characteristics, services, dynamics and velocities create a common ground from where the idea of 'city' emerges to one self. The same applies whenever one wants to grasp the way cities influence and are in turn influenced by the international sphere. Nevertheless, when it comes to set analytical boundaries on the extent of elements and agents that personify the city as an international actor, that same intuition gets blurred. A crystal clear understanding of what city is and entails starts depending on analytical choices which, in turn, highlight or dismiss as less important city layers, interpretations and agents. Consequently, different conceptions of international city can emerge, hence, highlighting different fundamental relations and shedding light on different specific processes.

Grasping with this challenge different authors came up with distinct concepts of the city as a global actor. Sassen (1991; 2007) coined the term "global city" and Calder and Freytas (2009) uses the term "global political city". Also, different literature reasons on the cities as international actors (Acuto, 2013; Barber, 2013; Bouteligier, 2013; Curtis, 2010, 2014; Kissack, 2013; Calder and Freytas, 2009). However, much of this existing literature has been focused merely (or mostly) on high range cities, such as New York, London, São Paulo, Paris or Tokyo as the strategic axes of international relations, reproducing, thus, the same invisibilising logic they were said to criticise and overcome.

Two logics support our argument that also middle-range and low-range cities can be an international actor: one is a logic scale, another is the statement of specificity.Indeed, when things are smaller or bigger the basic principles and processes that underpin them or that they create and sustain are fundamentally the same. It is a matter of progression of sizes. For example, every company regardless of their size hire employees, have a Human Resources and Accountant Departments and aim at profit. However, to manage or work for a local enterprise is not the same as to manage or work for a big multinational. In fact, if on the one hand, smaller is just a matter of scale in the sense that fundaments and principles that sustain the object or subject are the same. On the other hand, when things are smaller or bigger, it's not just the scale that changes. Scale subsequent specificities make the subject or the object fundamentally different from the bigger or smaller ones (Donald, 2011). When a company is small there are specific dynamics and characteristics that define them and that at some point can be either an asset or a limitation. Nevertheless, both of them – big and small companies – should be considered as such – companies, despite of their different scale. [1]The same applies to cities.

Lisbon as an international relations (City) actor

Lisbon has historically played a key role as a place of internationalization throughout times with historical relevance for ocean navigation (the city is favoured by its geographical location on the edge of the Tagus estuary) and in certain periods the centre of key trade routes. Despite these records, during the period of the "Estado Novo", Lisbon closed on itself. The carnation revolution, in the 25th April 1974, and the subsequent end of dictatorship, broke with this closure and isolation. However, in the following decade the city was still extremely focused on the internal politics and concerns. Only in the mid-1980s, did the municipality create an International Office and establish formal partnerships across Lusophony. Since then, participation in distinct networks and institutions, celebration of twinning cities agreements and bilateral (formal and informal; strategic or by chance) partnerships have increasingly taken place within the internationalisation of Lisbon. Tacking stock in international trends, Lisbon's internationalisation projection and strategy has been increasingly undertaken in specialised sectors. Today, as a capital city in the EU, bathed by the Atlantic and with increasing international population and flows, Lisbon reunites, more than ever, distinct factors which enhance its internationalization strategy and outcomes in different areas, such as tourism, culture, urbanism, science, economy and innovation, environment.

The Cultural Sector

The culture sector management is led by the Lisbon City Council who is also in charge of the management of cultural facilities, such as municipal museums and palaces, ateliers, galleries, to name but a few) and the organization of events, alone or by means of partnerships or through the participation in networks. Part of this work load and responsibility is managed by EGEAC: the municipal company that manages the cultural facilities of the city of Lisbon as well as many shows and festivities that happen on the streets. The EGEAC undertakes the central management of the

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[1] This example is based on the book: Donald, John Brodie (2011) Catataxis: When More of the Same Is Different, London: Quartet Books Limited.

facilities, but each of these facilities is an autonomous entity and has its own budget given by EGEAC and, in turn, by the municipality. As such, each facility is in itself an actor participating in the internationalisation of Lisbon.

The cultural action of the municipality are the following: cultural management of facilities and programming, participation and organization of fairs and conferences and international networks, the organization of events and mega events, such as the Rock in Rio Lisbon, in which the municipality participates as a partner organization and which usually attracts more than 350,000 spectators among which a considerable (increasing) amount are international visitors (Simões, 2012). One of the important aspects of the internationalisation of the cultural sector in Lisbon is the great number of international vistors (in most facilities they represent the majority of the visitors), which enables the Lisbon programming offer to be more diversified and Lisbon to be in the map and in conversations within the international realm.

Cultural facility	Year	Number of international visitors	Number of national visitors
Castelo de S. Jorge	2015	1.464.470	105.270
Padrão dos Descobrimentos.	2015	268.176	43.017

Figure 1: Vistors per cultural facility (EGEAC, 2015, p. 6-24).

Fado Museum is an illustrative example of the presence of the international in Lisbon cultural life and, conversely, in the presence of the Lisbon cultural life in the international. By maximizing the image of fado as an intangible cultural heritage of humanity, Museu do Fado developed a set of cultural activities targeting the international public: Bogota fado festival; Fado Festival of Buenos Aires; Fado Festival of Madrid; Seville fado festival (EGEAC, 2015, p. 17).

Culture is one of revitalization axes and affirmation of the centrality of Lisbon in the world, and is one of the basic strategic areas framed in the Strategic Lisbon Charter 2010-2024. According to the Councillor for Culture, Catarina Vaz Pinto,[2] although the guidelines given are very clear and going in line to increase as much as possible the participation in networks and international cultural events., "there are no formal specifications on these guidelines", which allow for leaderships to draw a strategy while also being able to take opportunities which were not envisaged when drawing the initial strategy, fostering, hence, the possibilities for a diversified internationalisation. As for the criteria to choose to participate or not, Catarina Vaz Pinto names two: centrality and importance to the municipality.

The cultural sector is part of an overall strategy drawn to give centrality to the metropolitan area of Lisbon, by means of focusing on its euro- Atlantic relations. As described on table 2,[3] the main international interactions for the aforementioned

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[2] Data obtained in an interview with the councillor of Culture of Lisbon City Council: Catarina Vaz Pinto

[3] Data obtained in an interview with the councillor of Culture of Lisbon City Council, Catarina Vaz Pinto, and in an interview with EGEAC representatives Helena Costa and João Senha.

events take place in Europe, particularly in Spain, France and Italy, followed by other Euro-Atlantic destinations.

Activities	Geographical area
XVII Exhibition of the European Council, Európália 91	Lisbon
Lisboa 94 – Cultural Capital of Europe 1994	Lisbon
Expo 98	Lisbon
International Toursim Fair BTL- Anual	Lisbon
The Universal Exposition of Seville (Expo '92)	Sevilla
Frankfurt Book Fair in 1997	Frankfurt
Venice Bienal Internacional	Venice
Salon du Livre de Paris, em 2000	Paris
Best Travel in Barcelona- Bianual	Barcelona
Expo Vacaciones-annual	Bilbau
Macau International Fair. Anula	Macau
Expogalicia	Vigo

Figure 2: Privileged geographical areas of cultural activities

As in all other sectors, the participation in networks is a key instrument of internationalization of the city. In this regard, two European projects must be highlighted. The first is the River Cities Platform - a platform for cultural organizations in cities with riverfront – in which EGEAC entered in 2007 funded by European money. The second project is the The Use of Culture to Increase Access to, and Engagement in, European Waterfronts, within the Grundtvig program, funded by the European Community. These two projects aim, from a cultural standpoint to enhance the interconnection between European cities with riverfront to discuss common problems and strategies.

The case of River Cities is particularly worth exploring. It involved seven partners - Poland, Sweden, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, Austria and Greece – although the platform is much broader. According to Helena Costa and João Senha from EGEAC, in an interview conducted by our project,*"it was not exactly a city project, but rather a project of cultural cities with riverfront."*. In terms of partnerships, the seven entities involved held different interests, stood in cities with very different characteristics and with distinct areas of interest making the project increasingly richer (e.g. in Warsaw and Stockholm the partners were cultural production entities, in Lisbon it was EGEAC; in Vienna it was the education section of a political party, etc).[4] The project produced different results, namely:

1.   Organization of seminars in each city with a similar structure but dedicated to specific aspects of the cultural impact in various aspects (e.g. citizenship, economy

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[4] Data obtained in an interview with Helena Costa and João Senha (EGEAC).

and tourism development, governance policies, public space, sustainable development policy and regeneration of the coastline)

2.   Training of partner organizations to identify and develop the impact of culture in various aspects, such as: waterfront regeneration volunteering / involvement of civil society, public space / urban planning, environment, sustainable development.

3.   Study of the use of culture and its contribution to the development of european societies, social inclusion and increase of civic participation;

4.   Meetings of experts and representatives of distinct sectors aiming at exchanging knowledge and experiences and raise the competences of all participants;

5.   Disseminate the results of the project to contribute to a better comprehension of the role of cultural in the economy;

6.   A book on the project;

7.   A film on the project.

The Tourism Sector

In terms of internationalisation, over the last twenty years, the development of the tourism sector has been marked by an increasing international dynamic, largely due to the nature of the tourism area itself, which attracts many internationals to Lisbon, but also to the ongoing strategy for the Lisbon region, which is under implementation until 2019. Statistics show that tourism in Lisbon is particularly focused on international tourist flows, which requires strategic planning with particular emphasis on the marketing and promotion of the destination, tracking and monitoring of projects as well as joint initiatives with the aim of promoting the city abroad, contributing to its rise in world rankings.

Given both the increase in the number of international tourists and the increase of tourism segments diversification, with emphasis on the promotion of business and events, the priorities endorsed to the internationalisation of the tourism sector are the following: integration of international networks, identification of key partners, and the promotion of Lisbon as a tourist destination of excellence. Despite the "Strategic Plan for Tourism in the Lisbon Region 2015-2019" (Turismo de Lisboa, 2014) presents proposals aimed at fostering the tourism sector based on models centered on the relationship with the international, the creation and the strengthening of a brand image of the city continues to be focused on both the local and regional potential.

The promotion of tourism in the city of Lisbon is a responsibility assigned to the Tourism Association of Lisbon - Visitors Convention Bureau,[5], which is also the Regional Tourism Promotion Agency for the Region of Lisbon.

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[5]   A Associação Turismo de Lisboa is a private association of public interest and with no profits (http://www.visitlisboa.com/) created in 1997, being coordinated by a team nominated by the Mayor.

The internationalization model in the Tourism sector in Lisbon has been guided by three types of intervention, specifically:

a)   The establishment of international relations with partners, including the integration in networks and projects/actions framed by international cooperation, particularly in the area of statistical production and dissemination (e.g. the active participation within the European Cities Marketing (ECM). [6]

b)   Meetings of informally created Working Groups which are constituted by similar entities of partner cities and which aim at promoting specific technical training in certain common areas of work.

c)   The organization of "fam trips", ie, trips aimed at making foreign tour operators and journalists more familiarised with the city. The main goal of these initiatives is to foster the image of the city abroad. This also allows the identification of new segments allowing also to , where the aim is to enhance the image of the city of Lisbon on the outside, allowing to identify new market segments or niches that are perceived as important to be promote and stimulated: "we partner with tour operators from other countries, especially at an early stage when they want to start working 'Lisbon', we do joint marketing by means of campaigns and brochures" (André Barata Moura, Tourism Observatory, in an interview).

Actions to promote the city as a tourist destination have achieved the objectives set as, according to the Travel BI of Tourism of Portugal (2016), Lisbon is ranked 9th in the world ranking of cities considered tourist destinations, which shows a rate of growth of international tourism demand of around 6% per year since 2009. This data is confirmed by the analysis of tourism statistics (Turismo de Lisboa, 2014, p. 11 ff): the total occupancy rate was increased by 27% between 2009 and 2013 and is relevant to mention that in respect of foreign tourists it increased by 37.7% for the same period of time. The strategic investment in the sector's internationalization is of course justified by the interest that the city has aroused abroad as a competitive tourist destination compared to other capital cities. Analysis of the main markets allow us to see a trend of continued appreciation of Lisbon by European tourists, including Spanish, French, German, English, Italian and Dutch, even if some variations by segment are to be considered. Outside the European context, a predominance of Brazilian, American, Russian and Chinese markets is registered, and there is a clear commitment to encourage the maintenance of this interest.

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[6]   ECM is a network of 104 European cities. See: http://www.europeancitiesmarketing.com

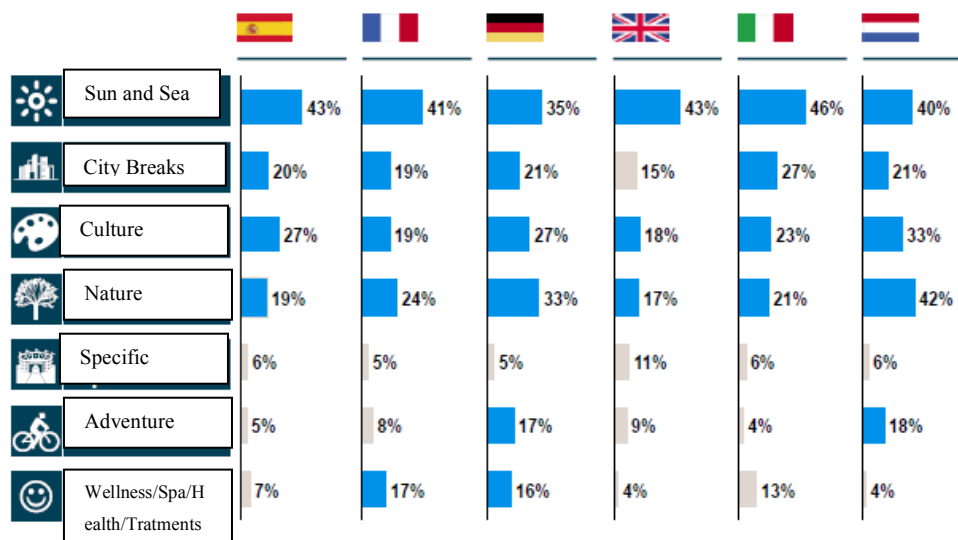|	Spain	France	Germany	UK	Italy	Netherlands
Sun and Sea	43%	41%	35%	43%	46%	40%
City Breaks	20%	19%	21%	15%	27%	21%
Culture	27%	19%	27%	18%	23%	33%
Nature	19%	24%	33%	17%	21%	42%
Specific	6%	5%	5%	11%	6%	6%
Adventure	5%	8%	17%	9%	4%	18%
Wellness/Spa/Health/Tratments	7%	17%	16%	4%	13%	4%

Figure 3: Identification of the main touristic motivations per European country
(Turismo de Lisboa, 2014,p. 13)

The main motivations for a visit to Lisbon identified by Turismo de Lisboa, (see figure 3) reflect the fact that the internationalization strategy is guided by the aim of boosting tourism in the city with a specific stimulus towards the diversification of segments, taking stock on the identified and consensually internationally recognized Lisbon's potential. Some motivational factors should be understood as relevant, namely: the landscape diversity; cultural ancestry, including gastronomy and the dates of festive celebrations; material heritage and history; architectural modernity – all of these combined with geophysical, climate, and security elements. These elements are valued by Turismo de Lisboa in the identification and clarification of comparative advantages that contribute to the development of an attractive and competitive environment when establishing connections with the outside (connectivity), either with partner cities or industry representatives.

Alongside the promotion of conventional and alternative segments of tourism (e.g, cultural tourism, sun and beach or helicopter, nature, wellness, etc.), both the business and the events segment (Meeting Industry) have been greatly valued by the Turismo de Lisboa. In the world ranking of the International Congress and Convention Association (ICCA), Lisbon is ranked 9th with 145 events in 2015 (ICCA, 2016: 19) and 8th in the European ranking. Given that only six cities (Barcelona, Paris, Madrid, Berlin, London and Vienna), at European level, are considered as potential for the realization of indoor international events (conferences, workshops, seminars, ...) and large outdoor events (sports events, festivals music, ...), i.e., with more than 2,000 participants, the option of boosting Lisbon as a city of events has become a reality.

Similarly, the cruise tourism and the activities in river environments have become increasingly important in the recognition of the added benefits of Lisbon as a port city, which holds high boat carrying capacity (port of Lisbon and marinas), including large vessels size. The rehabilitation of public space in the riverside track, from the east zone to Belém, with the subsequence improvement of circulation and navigability, led to the creation of pedestrian and conviviality spaces as well as of bike paths. From a tourist point of view, these constitute a high attractiveness factor, hence creating

confluence zones with the area of international events in open space: tracks, races and marathons, competitions, races, shows, festivals, among others.

Given the criteria aforementioned, sectoral areas of greatest importance and which have influenced the options regarding the definition of strategic partnerships with international scope (see Figure 4) can be identified:

1.   The socio-demographic and cultural factors which characterize the city of Lisbon and have given it cosmopolitanism traces, particularly evidenced by the diversity of backgrounds of both residents and visitors (costumes, food, religious practices, ...);

2.   The economic dynamism and foreign investment opportunities in the sector in both direct and indirect activities that stimulate job creation, training and entrepreneurship (hostels, local accommodation, catering and similar equipment for the provision of services, tourist entertainment, transports, ...)

3.   The environmental framework, with a specific focus on the influence of the river and the green spaces (Parque Florestal de Monsanto), including the recreated ones (gardens and parks);

4.   The dynamism imposed by technological development (communications) and by the extension of the transport network.

Sector	Sectoral areas across the globe
Tourism	Transports
	Technology
	Environment
	Economics
	Demographic
	Socio-cultural

Figure 5: Sectoral areas with implications in creating motivations for internationalization in the tourism sector (Turismo de Lisboa, 2014)

Being particularly focused on the activities which disseminate the image of the city going along promotional and marketing goals at the international level, the deepening of relations with similar entities in cities and emitting countries of tourists has been a priority for the internationalisation strategy of the tourism sector[7]. As such:

a)   Tourism segments were defined (the product) to support the promotion strategy of the sector in the city;

b)   Connectivity with potential source markets, both European and others, including American (USA, Brazil) and Asia (China) has been established;

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[7]   Informação disponibilizada por André Barata Moura do Observatório do Turismo e confirmada no Plano Estratégico (Turismo de Lisboa, 2014, p. 62).

c)   A strategy based upon the creation of a "mosaic of experiences" and using a proximity approach with key partners (Turismo de Lisboa, 2014: 62) and oriented towards "market intelligence" (online channel, thematic communities, programs travel television, ...) was created.

Preliminary Conclusion

A preliminary analysis of both sectors – culture and tourism – shows the importance of the international within the life of the city of Lisbon, as well as its specificities as a middle-range European and Atlantic city with a particular cosmopolitan slant. As such, there are some evidences that go in line with our argument. The importance of a multi-sectoral analysis should be highlighted here and that is the research our project is now undertaking.

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