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Spanish cultural diplomacy in Portugal: Cultural programming of the Instituto Cervantes de Lisboa and SPAIN arts & culture

ABSTRACT

The Instituto Cervantes and the government platform SPAIN arts & culture are two of the primary protagonists of Spanish cultural diplomacy abroad. Based on two corpora prepared with the cultural activities published by the Instituto Cervantes de Lisboa and the government platform SPAIN arts & culture on their websites, the main objective of this article is to portray Spanish cultural diplomacy in Portugal. The data obtained manually or semi-automatically suggest that Spanish cultural diplomacy is an unequivocal object of interest in Portugal, with Lisbon being its main geo-cultural hub. Moreover, the incorporation of other agents in what is termed cultural paradiplomacy is not a common practice.

KEYWORDS

cultural activities
cultural diffusion
manual analysis
national brand
semi-automatic analysis
Spanish–Portuguese relations

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PALABRAS CLAVE

actividades culturales
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relaciones
hispano-portuguesas

RESUMEN

A partir de dos corpora elaborados con las actividades culturales publicadas por el Instituto Cervantes de Lisboa y la plataforma gubernamental SPAIN arts & culture en sus páginas web, en este artículo se presenta un análisis cuyo objetivo principal es contribuir a la caracterización de la diplomacia cultural española en Portugal. Los datos obtenidos de forma manual o semiautomática nos permiten plantear, como hipótesis, que la diplomacia cultural española tiene en Portugal un objeto de interés inequívoco, siendo Lisboa su principal espacio geocultural de actuación o que no forma parte de sus dinámicas más frecuentes la incorporación de otros agentes del ámbito de lo que se ha denominado paradiplomacia cultural.

INTRODUCTION

This article examines Spanish cultural diplomacy in Portugal based on a study of the programming of cultural activities that are included in two of the most important entities promoting Spanish culture in its neighbouring country: the Instituto Cervantes de Lisboa and the government platform, SPAIN arts & culture. The article responds to an ongoing line of research on the topic. It presents a series of partial analyses (Castañer Berenguer et al. 2023; Pazos-Justo et al. 2020; Castañer Berenguer 2020) and provides some provisional conclusions on Spanish cultural diplomacy in Portugal.

The proposed study is directly influenced by the trajectory of Iberian relations. For hundreds of years, relations between the two Iberian states were marked by numerous episodes of war and rapprochement (Vázquez Cuesta 1986). In contemporary times, Iberian relations have been conditioned by (anti) Iberianism, disinterest and rejection (Sardica 2013; Chato 2018; Pereira 2018; Santos and Sousa 2018; Rina 2020). Notwithstanding this, various projects have focused on Luso-Spanish cultural relations (Sáez and Pérez 2018), as well as on similar comparisons between Portugal and Catalonia (Martínez-Gil 2010; Revelles 2022) and between Portugal and Galicia (Villares 1983, 2022; Núñez Seixas 1993; Torres Feijó 1999, 2019; Pageaux 2010).

This sequence of events has undergone significant and historically unprecedented changes since the democratization processes of the 1970s and, particularly, since the accession of the two peninsular states to the European Economic Community (now the European Union) in 1986. As a result, since 1985, economic and political relations have clearly intensified (Cabero Diéguez 2004; Lois et al. 2019), as illustrated in the Iberian Summits (or, since 1991, the Ibero-American Summits of Heads of State and Government). At the same time, there have been many significant social and cultural changes:

> [W]e can say that the bilateral [Spanish-Portuguese] relationship is, in the cultural field, the best in recent history. The fact that more than 1.5 million Spaniards visit Portugal and 1.3 million Portuguese visit Spain every year is a good demonstration of this, even though official tourism data does not count the daily movement of citizens along the border, despite the fact that the infrastructure now allows for comfortable and convenient border crossings to the other country.
>
> (Badillo 2017: 20–21)[1]

The trajectory of Iberian relations is marked, in general terms, by political, economic, social and cultural developments that, with the necessary nuances

1. All translations into English are the authors', unless otherwise stated.

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(cf. Badillo and Carvalho 2022), can be exemplified by the rapid implementation of Spanish as a foreign language in the Portuguese non-university education system. Around 90,000 students study Spanish in Portugal today. This is a significant development, as Spanish was alien to the Portuguese education system at the beginning of the 1990s (Ponce de León 2009, 2014; Santos Rovira and Serrano Lucas 2022). In contrast to the scholarly interest in Spanish culture(s) in Portuguese literary and historical relations (Valério 2001; Magalhães 2007), especially within Iberian studies (Sáez and Pérez 2018; Martínez and Pérez 2019), the presence and performance of Spanish culture(s) in Portugal has not attracted sufficient academic attention.

SPANISH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

Cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, soft power, cultural cooperation, dialogue of cultures, international public relations, etc. are some of the terms used when culture plays a relevant role in international relations. For Nye, *soft power* 'is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment' (2008: 94). High culture and pop culture, two examples of soft power, reflect this assertion (Nye 2008: 107). Here, we understand cultural diplomacy (hereafter CD), from a broad perspective, as 'the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture between nations and their peoples to foster mutual understanding' (Cummings, in Saddiki 2009: 109). In narrower terms, this article draws on Badillo's definition of CD as a 'form of foreign communication policy of states in which culture plays a central but instrumental role, subordinated to objectives linked to the country's external image' (Badillo 2014: 7). The main objective of Spanish CD in Portugal is to improve Spain's image in the neighbouring state for economic and social purposes. CD actions aligned with this aim include the promotion of exchanges, festivals or funding for the production or consumption of diverse cultural products, for example, in different artistic fields (Noya 2007: 117), which are undertaken by both public and private entities (Badillo 2014: 4).

Spanish CD is, however, multifaceted: that which is promoted by public entities of the Spanish government is complemented, to a greater or lesser extent, by cultural paradiplomacy, i.e. foreign cultural policies that follow decentralized governmental schemes – typically autonomous communities – that programme activities according to their own political and cultural agendas (Martín and Rius 2016; Menéndez 2018). Although such schemes are noteworthy in Portugal, they are beyond the scope of this article. Conversely, academic interest in *nation brand* at an international level has increased considerably (Montanari et al. 2020: 2158). Taking Spain as an example, it is evident that the country's international image has become increasingly important for state policies in recent decades (Faber 2022). Through different bodies and policy initiatives such as, for example, the 'Marca España' ('Spain Brand') or, as it was called between 2018 and 2021, España Global (Global Spain), the country's external image has been the object of notable attention.

According to Belloso's definition (2010: n.pag.), Global Spain (https://www.thisistherealrealspain.com/?i=2, accessed 3 May 2023) was responsible for the conscious management of Spain's image and reputation, and its aim was to improve the perception of the country abroad and among Spaniards themselves. The main reason for the change of name of this entity was the clear intention to integrate and globalize all the coexisting cultures within

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the Hispanic world, as Luis García Montero, current director of the Instituto Cervantes (IC) since 2018, stated at a conference in 2019: '[C]ulture in Spanish is not the same as Spanish culture' (García Montero 2019: n.pag.).

In addition to Global Spain, another important state policy is the Plan de Acción Cultural Exterior (PACE) (Foreign Cultural Action Plan), which was resumed in 2019. This document sets out the following general objectives: the reinforcement of the 'Spain Brand' abroad; the promotion of Spanish and the co-official languages of the state (together with the Spanish Department of Education); the organization of unique cultural events; support for the culture and development policy with countries receiving official aid, and the promotion of cultural tourism. The core of PACE originally constituted the Foreign Affairs Department (Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y Cooperación), the Spanish Culture Department (Ministerio de Cultura), the IC and AC/E (Acción Cultural Exterior). Alongside these entities, the Real Instituto Elcano (The Elcano Royal Institute) and the Foro Consultivo Cultural Exterior (External Cultural Advisory Forum) provide external advice and a channel for dialogue with the most representative companies, foundations and associations in the sector (Delgado 2014: 40–41). The aim of PACE was to promote institutional cooperation in projecting culture abroad, something that continues to be valid in the strategies recently taken up with CD issues.

At present, and with the clear intention of institutionalizing coordination and cooperation when implementing CD strategies, the following are fundamental pillars of PACE: the AECID (Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo/Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation), AC/E and the IC. First, AECID is a public entity that is part of the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation), through the Secretaría de Estado de Cooperación Internacional (State Secretariat for International Cooperation). Second, AC/E is a public entity created from the merger, in 2010, of three pre-existing associations: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones (State Commemmoration Society), Acción Exterior (External Action) and the association in charge of participation in congresses and exhibitions. AC/E is a public limited company (linked to the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación), with full public capital, owned by the Ministries of Culture and Foreign Affairs, in addition to the Ministerio de Hacienda (Ministry of Finance). The projects carried out through AC/E:

> [H]ighlight Spain's diverse contribution to global culture, as well as the recent contributions of its most current creators in the main creative fields, from science to history, from the plastic, performing and audio-visual arts (to literature, music, architecture and design, among many others.
>
> (Acción Cultural Española 2023: n.pag.)

Third, the IC is the public institution that was created precisely to carry out the functions of the cultural transfer that the CD represents, which will be addressed in more detail in the following section.

INSTITUTO CERVANTES DE LISBOA

The functions of the IC, created in 1991, are the teaching, study and use of Spanish, on the one hand, and 'the dissemination of culture abroad in

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coordination with the other competent bodies of the State Administration' on the other (Instituto Cervantes Official Website 2023: n.pag.). The transfer to the IC of the Cultural Centres created since the 1950s and the Spanish houses promoted by the Instituto Nacional de Emigración provided the institution with its first network, which has been continuously remodelled since then with closures and new openings (Badillo 2014: 18).

The creation and development of the IC were clear evidence that the 'public authorities have become aware that […] language and culture are key to our [Spain's] image abroad' (Noya 2003: 7). Since its creation, the IC has established itself as one of the 'flagships' of Spain's external image (Noya 2003: 7; Herrera 2006; Vázquez 2011; Lamo and Badillo 2017). Together with the Real Academia Española, it also functions as one of the central agencies in the linguistic planning of Spanish (Valle 2007: n.pag.).

In the Portuguese case, the Centro Cultural Español de Lisboa, founded in 1991, was transformed in 1993 into what is known today as the Instituto Cervantes de Lisboa (hereafter ICL). With a track record of almost 30 years, it is an entity that 'in addition to offering general and specialised Spanish language courses […] aims to disseminate Spanish and Latin American culture in its various aspects', according to its website (Instituto Cervantes 2023: n.pag.). The ICL not only presents a cultural programme that includes music, theatre, exhibitions, cinema, dance, conferences and meetings for the general public but also serves as a meeting place for leading figures in Hispanic and Portuguese cultures.

SPAIN ARTS & CULTURE

SPAIN arts & culture (hereafter SA&C) is a government platform, dependent on the Spanish Embassy in Lisbon, which aims to disseminate and promote cultural events and activities related to Spanish culture that take place in Portugal (since 2011). Through the website's domain (Spain Arts & Culture at Portugal 2023: n.pag.), users can access, free of charge, the programming that is compiled on the platform. The purpose of this online space is, on the one hand, to promote and disseminate all the cultural events to which the platform has access, either because these are activities of their own creation and organization or because these are organized jointly with the Department of Culture of the Spanish Embassy in Portugal. It should be noted that this institutional platform only operates in Belgium, the United Kingdom, the United States (Washington and New York), Canada and Portugal. Each of these domains is managed independently and the content that appears on them is not in any of the official languages of Spain, but in the language of the target country. Visually, in all the above cases, the platform maintains a stylistic unity and the colour red stands out as a corporate element.

SA&C also carries out its promotional activity through social networks, as it has at least one account on some of the most popular social networks (Twitter, Facebook and Instagram), as well as a monthly newsletter which provides information not only about the cultural programme but also about grants, prizes and aid offered by various Spanish institutions. Overall, the SA&C platform is one of the instruments of promotion and dissemination at the service of the Spanish Government's CD in Portugal.

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RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In line with other works (Vázquez 2011; Puebla et al. 2013; Ettahri 2015; Prieto-Gutiérrez and Rubio 2018), we propose an approach to Spanish CD in Portugal based on the analysis of the programming of cultural activities that are included in the ICL and SA&C. Therefore, we have constructed a corpus based on the public information available on the ICL and SA&C websites. For the analysis of the two corpora, similar, although not identical, methodologies have been used, given the intrinsic characteristics of each interface, but also due to the time when each of the studies was carried out. However, both studies rely on the information available on the two websites, in order to perform a manual and semi-automatic analysis based on the data collected.

CORPUS OF THE INSTITUTO CERVANTES DE LISBOA

With the information about the cultural programme collected on the website of the ICL, we created a corpus with data of each of the cultural activities that took place between 2009 and 2018. This chronological framework was selected, first, because the extended timespan allows for a more comprehensive analysis, and second, because the dates align closely with the period during which the study was conducted, allowing us to capture a portrait that closely reflects the current reality. From this corpus, a double analysis was carried out: manual and automatic. For the manual analysis, a series of classification parameters were taken into account, which were subsequently crossed with the data extracted from the automatic analysis of the texts, which obtained similar results. The parameters in Table 1 were considered in the manual analysis.

Manual analysis of each of the parameters described in Table 1 does not entail the same level of difficulty. Questions such as the start or end date, or the duration of each of the activities, are quantitative data that involve no more than a numerical categorization. On the other hand, when we set out to catalogue the nature of each of these events based on the classification of cultural

Table 1: Parameters for manual or non-automatic analysis.

Parameters	
1. Starting date	12. Location
2. End date	13. City
3. Name of the activity	14. Profile of the expected audience
4. Cultural domain	15. Access requirements
5. Typology	16. Cultures in focus
6. Theme	17. Intercultural dialogue
7. Type of activity representing a major event	18. Price
8. Name of the activity considered a major event	19. Duration
9. Organizing entities	20. Repetition
10. Collaborating entities	21. Language
11. Sponsoring entities	22. Subtitles

Source: Own elaboration.

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domains established by UNESCO (UNESCO-UIS 2009), the process becomes more complex than it might seem, due to its limited analytical profitability.

For this reason, in order to better profile this issue, other related categorizations were chosen, such as the type of activity (Table 3) and content-focused themes (Table 4). For the creation of these tables, the classifications outlined by Puebla et al. (2013) were followed.

According to the information registered on the website of the ICL, there are three types of entities present in the activities of the ICL's cultural programme: organizers, collaborators and sponsors. Each of these may be public or private entities. All events have at least one organizing entity, the

Table 2: UNESCO cultural domains.

Cultural and natural heritage	**Performance and celebration**	**Visual arts and crafts**	**Books and press**	**Audio-visual and interactive media**	**Design and creative services**
Museums, archaeological and historical places, cultural landscapes and natural heritage	Performing arts, music, festivals, feasts and fairs	Fine arts, photography and crafts	Books, newspaper and magazine, other printed matter, library and book fairs	Film and video, TV and radio, internet podcasting and video games	Fashion design, graphic and interior design, landscape design, architectural and advertising services

Source: Own elaboration based on UNESCO (2009: 24).

Table 3: Typology of the activity.

a	Theatre	i	Meeting with writers
b	Dance	j	Concerts
c	Performance	k	Workshop/course
d	Literary/poetic recital	l	Round table
e	Exhibition	m	Colloquium or book club
f	Book presentations	n	Congress or symposium
g	Conferences	o	Seminar
h	Projections	p	Other

Source: Own elaboration based on Puebla et al. (2013).

Table 4: Themes of the activity.

1	**Performing arts**
2	Visual arts
3	Science and history
4	Cinema
5	Literature and thought
6	Music
7	Workshops and seminars

Source: Own elaboration based on Puebla et al. (2013).

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vast majority of which is the ICL (89 per cent). Each activity also involves at least one organizing entity, but the participation of collaborating entities and, sometimes, sponsors, is also very common. However, the number of sponsors (2 per cent) is considerably lower when compared to the number of organizers (69 per cent) or collaborators (29 per cent).

In addition to the manual analysis, we compared the information obtained with data derived from an automated analysis methodology employing computer tools. *Bootcat* (Baroni and Bernardini 2004) was used to extract data from the web. We used quantitative text analysis tools, such as *Linguakit* (Gamallo and Garcia 2017), to convert the data into structured information based on keywords (monoverbal and pluriverbal). With the data obtained from this double analysis, we not only compare results but also prove the utility of this type of analysis, the automatic lexicometric analysis, for future projects.

CORPUS OF SPAIN ARTS & CULTURE

Although the corpus elaborated with the SA&C data was not as exhaustive as that of the ICL, the data obtained were of particular interest. In the case of SA&C, the period of analysis covers the years 2011–21. This timeframe spans the date of creation of the platform in Portugal (a year when only four activities were registered) to the date when the study was carried out. To conduct this analysis, we constructed a corpus, utilizing the website's filtering tools to gather initial data swiftly, including location, date and event type. Subsequently, we complemented these findings with a semi-automatic analysis. This involved extracting data from the website using a Perl script and the *Linguakit* toolkit. This approach enabled us to extend our analysis beyond lemma extraction and quantification to incorporate additional lexicometric analyses, such as identifying mentioned entities and extracting keywords. In addition to an automatic data extraction through *Linguakit*, a manual categorization process was carried out, since many of the lemmas were repeated as they appeared in both Spanish and Portuguese. With this analysis, we were able to obtain the data of the entities participating in the activities, as well as to contrast the information with that previously obtained through the filtering system of the platform itself. The research on SA&C was complemented by a diagnostic interview (on 14 September 2021, remotely) where we met with the cultural counsellor of the Spanish Embassy in Lisbon, Lourdes Meléndez García, and the director of the ICL, Iñaki Abad. During the meeting, we were able to learn about the nature and functioning of the SA&C platform, which was very useful in outlining our research.

RESULTS

In a first overall analysis, it is significant that the total number of activities accounted for over the selected decade in each of the analyses is quite similar (see Table 5).

Table 5: Total activities collected.

	ICL (2009–18)	SA&C (2011–21)
Total activities	648	793

Source: Own elaboration.

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In relation to the location of the activities, the Portuguese capital is the protagonist not only in most of the cultural events organized by the ICL (94 per cent) but also in those collected from the SA&C platform, since 442 of the 793 activities took place in Lisbon (55.73 per cent), a number that reaffirms the semi-automatic analysis, since Lisbon appears as a location 1769 times (65.3 per cent).

When analysing the nature of the activities, we used the UNESCO cultural domains (UNESCO-UIS 2009) as a reference, as well as two classifications related to the type and theme of the event in question (Tables 3 and 4, respectively), with the intention of obtaining the most accurate information possible for each of the events. The results obtained are as follows:

Table 6 shows that the data obtained in the three categories coincide in the first position: audio-visual and interactive domains, projections and cinema, and mostly correspond in the second and third, with a small oscillation between type and theme: books and press, literature and philosophy, and conferences; visual arts and crafts, exhibitions, and music. The main percentages of the three parameters are striking, as they indicate that around half of the activities carried out at the ICL during this decade were related to cinema and, most likely, were film screenings.

Regarding the nature of the activities promoted by SA&C, the left column of Table 8 shows the data obtained from manual analysis using the platform's filtering tools, corresponding to each of the parameters (in Portuguese, as this is how they are collected on the website). The right column (Table 8) reflects the data obtained from a semi-automatic extraction of lemmas related to each of the semantic fields (following the classification of Puebla et al. [2013]). Considering that the total number of activities collected is 793, the type of activity that stands out in the manual analysis is that related to the label 'music' (29.5 per cent) and in the semi-automatic analysis (for which a total of 15,204 lemmas have been selected and classified), the semantic field 'cinema' stands out (21.73 per cent). Although the parameters do not coincide directly between the two studies, it is striking how the same categories oscillate along the first four places in Table 8: *music* (29.5 per cent)/music (19.37 per cent); *performing arts* (19.67 per cent)/theatre and entertainment (20.44 per cent); *cinema* (16.77 per cent)/cinema (21.73 per cent); *visual arts* (15.13 per cent)/plastic and visual arts (19.23 per cent).

Table 6: Lisbon as a location.

	ICL (2009–18) (%)	**SA&C (2011–21) (%)**
Manual analysis	94.9	55.73
Semi-automatic analysis	79.7	65.3

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 7: Nature of the ICL's activities.

Domains	**Type**	**Theme**
Audio-visual and interactive 46.7%	Projections 46%	Cinema 47%
Books and press 26.3%	Exhibitions 9.1%	Literature and philosophy 23%
Visual arts and crafts 15.4%	Conferences 8.5%	Music 11%

Source: Own elaboration.

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It is important to analyse in both studies the entities that participate in the cultural activities of each programme. Given that the manual analysis of SA&C was carried out through filtering tools, it has not had the same impact. In the case of the ICL, however, the semi-automatic analysis has allowed us to obtain relevant information, complementary to the study of the organizations that participate in the cultural programming. First, in addition to the ICL, the main organizers are the Mexican Embassy in Brazil and the Spanish Embassy in Portugal. They are followed by three private associations: Puro Flamenco PT, Olhares do Mediterrâneo and the Janela Indiscreta Cultural Association. In terms of collaborating entities, the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores Unión Europea y Cooperación and the ICL are predominant, followed by the Spanish Embassy and the Mexican Embassy in Portugal, as well as the AECID. The only private organization that stands out as a collaborating entity is the airline Air Europa. Finally, the presence of sponsoring entities is much smaller. There are 30 in total, and the NH Hotel in Lisbon stands out as a private entity (participating in thirteen events), ahead of other public entities such as the Regional Ministry of Culture, the Institut Ramon Llull, the Representation of the European Community in Portugal, the European Commission and the IC of Madrid, among others. It is only natural that the emergence and participation of these private entities should play a role, to a greater or lesser extent, as large companies increasingly recognize the value of engaging in CD. This collaboration, viewed as a matter of national interest, helps shape an external image that contributes to the global positioning of their brands (Marco and Otero Roth 2010 in Badillo 2014).

In the case of SA&C, out of 586 entities identified, 47 per cent are non-governmental agencies and 39.1 per cent are governmental bodies. In the case of the ICL, we counted 1181 organizations, which are the ones we use as a reference in Table 9. Of these, 90.2 per cent are public and 1.3 per cent are private activities.

The data about SA&C also show that approximately 5 per cent of sub-state entities were event organizers, with only about 2 per cent from the Hispanic/Ibero-American world. These data coincide with those of the ICL, which

Table 8: Nature of SPAIN arts & culture activities (2011–21).

Manual analysis	**Semi-automatic analysis**
Music 29.5%	Cinema 21.73%
Performing arts 19.67%	Theatre and entertainment 20.44%
Cinema 16.77%	Music 19.37%
Visual arts 15.13%	Plastic and visual arts 19.23%
Cultural heritage 6.68%	Literature 15.56%
Literature 4.79%	Workshops and seminars 2.86%
Children 2.01%	
Architecture 1.89%	
Design 1.38%	
Culinary art 1%	
Urban culture 0.88%	
Science 0.25%	

Source: Own elaboration.

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Table 9: Nature of the main registered organizations.

Organizations	ICL (2009–18) (%)	SA&C (2011–21) (%)
Public nature	90.2	39.1
Private nature	1.3	47
Public and private	0.6	–

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 10: Organizations that appear most frequently in the cultural programme and number of activities in which they participate.

ICL (2009–18)	SA&C (2011–21)
Instituto Cervantes de Lisboa 1151 activities	Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte de España 88 activities
Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID) 181 activities	Instituto Cervantes de Lisboa 85 activities
Embajada de España en Portugal 27 activities	Acción Cultural Española (AC/E) 73 activities
Embajada de México en Portugal 18 activities	Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID) 52 activities
Hotel NH de Lisboa 13 activities	Mostra Espanha 50 activities

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 11: Organizations present in the cultural programming of SPAIN arts & culture (semi-automatic analysis).

	SA&C (2011–21) (%)
Portuguese organizations	70
Spanish organizations	24.2

Source: Own elaboration.

show sub-state organizations representing only 0.5 per cent. Hispanic-Ibero-American organizations also demonstrate a limited presence of only 0.5 per cent, represented by the Embassies of Mexico and Colombia in Portugal.

Table 10 lists, in descending order, the organizations that appear most frequently in the case of the ICL and SA&C, regardless of whether they participate as organizers, sponsors or collaborators. Of the 793 SA&C events analysed, 586 different organizations have been identified (through semi-automatic analysis), participating on 1662 occasions. These data show that 70 per cent of the organizations that participated in the cultural programming collected in SA&C are Portuguese (Table 11).

CONCLUSIONS

From a methodological point of view, the results of the study carried out to date indicate the feasibility of moving forward with a semi-automatic analysis

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of the corpora constructed, as the contrast between the data obtained by the manual and semi-automatic methods shows a significant coincidence in the vast majority of selected parameters. This not only illustrates the viability and relevance of this method of analysis but also shows how useful its application would be for the analysis of larger or more diverse corpora, as well as its potential applicability to other parameters not analysed here (such as, for example, references to specific people).

The analysis of the results obtained should not lose sight of the fact that the ICL and SA&C clearly differ in terms of nature and functionality. While the ICL is an educational and cultural governmental organization, central to Spanish CD, the SA&C platform is a governmental agency at the service of CD. The different nature of these organizations, however, does not make the type of study proposed here unfeasible, although it is true that it problematizes the joint analysis of certain parameters. This study is based on the set of cultural activities promoted by the ICL (2009–18) and those collected by SA&C (2011–21) and does not take into account other organizations that we hope to be able to include in future studies (e.g. Mostra Espanha).

In analysing the results obtained, it is reasonable to conclude that the notable number of cultural activities identified (648 for the ICL; 793 for SA&C) is evidence of the interest of Spanish CD in Portugal. The very existence of SA&C in Portugal (it exists only in two European countries, as well as in Canada and the United States) is a strong indication of this interest. In relation to the organizations involved, the data obtained do not reveal clear and unequivocal dynamics, beyond the unquestionable centrality of the ICL in Spanish CD in Portugal. However, it is possible to put forward a twofold hypothesis: first, Spanish CD in Portugal relies heavily on the action of Spanish governmental organizations (mainly the ICL) which have significant influence, and second, this reliance does not prevent the CD under analysis from actively seeking local partners to enhance visibility and results (as exemplified by the fact that 70 per cent of the entities identified in the case of SA&C are Portuguese).

In light of the results, one could even hypothesize that Spanish CD in Portugal is marked by a policy of alliances in which Latin American governmental organizations (the Mexican Embassy, e.g.) are desired actors. Similarly, in relation to cultural paradiplomacy, Spanish CD in Portugal could be described as uninterested in promoting the cultural plurality of the Spanish state and, consequently, failing to give visibility to other actors. It is also worth asking to what extent other actors (e.g. the Generalitat de Catalunya or the Basque Government) are openly interested in collaborating with the Spanish government's institutional network in the scope of external projection. In the case of Portugal, we are only aware of a sustained collaboration over time in the case of the Junta de Extremadura.

In terms of the subject matter of the activities, cinema (especially in the case of the ICL) and music (particularly in relation to SA&C) stand out. In relation to the former, as Ettahri (2015: 70) points out in his study on the IC in Morocco, this may be because cinema is available in the library and documentation collections of the IC centres and is less expensive when compared to other cultural activities (the ICL also has its own space for film screenings). The higher number of local and non-governmental organizations can explain the greater number of activities in the musical field, in the case of SA&C. These facts show a commitment to more popular themes, in the sense of potentially appealing to broad sectors of the Portuguese public.

Based on the results obtained, there is no doubt that there is a clear tendency to concentrate the efforts and resources of Spanish CD in the

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Portuguese capital, Lisbon (in line, incidentally, with the centralist logic of the Portuguese state). Thus, in contrast to the apparent desire to seek local allies when programming cultural activities, everything seems to indicate that the diffusion of Spanish CD is scarce in the Portuguese territory as a whole. In conclusion, despite the limitations that such a proposal for analysis implies, the work carried out provides solid evidence about Spanish CD in Portugal. Methodological issues aside, the following points are worth highlighting:

1. The interest of Spanish CD in Portugal is significant, taking into account the number of cultural activities identified (648 for the ICL; 793 for SA&C) and the very existence of the SA&C platform.
2. The centrality of the Cervantes Institute of Lisbon in Spanish CD, as well as the tendency to work with other local organizations, and the use of the cinematographic and musical products.
3. The data indicate a dearth of visibility of other Spanish cultures (Catalan, Galician and Basque, particularly) in the sphere of Spanish CD in Portugal, which could be described as Castilian-centric.
4. The data analysis leads to the conclusion that Spanish CD focuses on the Portuguese capital, Lisbon, which is a privileged venue for most of the activities analysed. This indicates a lack of commitment to reach out to the rest of Portugal.

Finally, one might ask to what extent the proliferation of Spanish CD actions in Portugal, such as those analysed here, has contributed to the very significant increase in trade relations between the two states or to the very likely improvement of Spain's image in Portugal. We hope to address these questions and analyse the hypotheses raised in future work.

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