



Cultural policies in the cities with campuses in the province of Cadiz and the experience of the university extension of the UCA. Cadiz, Puerto Real, Jerez and Algeciras.

J. Luis Ben Andrés

Cultural manager. President of La Comuna del Sur.
Spain.

lben@dipucadiz.es

Article received: 28/10/2021. Revised: 02/11/2021. Accepted: 02/11/2021

Abstract: Universities are territorial cultural agents in the sense that they exert a clear influence on the cultural life of the cities in which they are based. The case of the University of Cádiz (UCA) is peculiar in that said institution has four different campuses in the province of Cádiz (Algeciras, Cádiz, Jerez and Puerto Real). This fact means that its influence is that of a provincial agent that reaches at least 60% of the population of said territory. In recent years, the UCA has exerted a clear influence on local cultural policies with a balanced distribution of its resources among the four municipalities and even in some others that do not have a campus. Undoubtedly, the cultural ecosystem of the province of Cádiz would not consider the UCA an essential part of it.

Keywords: cultural policies; territory; municipalities; university campus.



University or cultural Extension as an educational phenomenon is related to the thoughts of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, but also to the international currents that had been set in motion in the social teaching environment. The international experience follows two currents: the English University Extension and the French Popular Universities, both within the dynamics of social teaching which represented a rapprochement of intellectuals with the people. Anatole France describes the French experience in these terms: "your association is constituted to ask each other to think and reflect".

Chus Cantero

The concept of University Extension throughout history.

I.- Municipal cultural policies in democratic Spain (1979-2021). General framework

In Spain's recent history, during the twentieth century, town councils have been clear indicators that new and hopeful stages of democratisation were opening up, that Spanish society in general was initiating processes of profound political change. Changes that went beyond the merely local level. Two occasions demonstrate this very clearly: the municipal elections of 14 April 1931, which marked the arrival of the Second Republic as a democratising and modernising political project for Spanish society. Then, almost half a century later, in April 1979, the first free municipal elections after the death of the dictator signalled to us at that time that the adventure of the return to democracy was serious. Both projects, the republican of 1931 and the Transition of 1979, had in the municipalities the motors and sources of democratic vocation. And in both cases, more clearly in the second, culture was an essential component of the emerging democratic municipalities. Undoubtedly, culture, municipality and democracy maintain unquestionable and solid links in the Spanish political tradition.

In 1979 the first free municipal elections were held after almost forty years of dictatorship. In these elections, the majority of left-wing candidates came to power as a result of coalitions, above all between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, supported by other minor left-wing forces and some regionalist and nationalist parties. The main consequence was the renewal of the local administrations both in terms of their political leaders and the beginning of profound reforms in their organisational structures and political objectives. From the outset, culture was one of the objectives and priorities of the new corporations. From culturally stale and grey city councils, there was an explosion of activism, sometimes disorderly but always enthusiastic, in the field of cultural life. What did these town councils mean for the cultural life of towns and cities? We can consider four aspects in which they began to work from a different approach:

- The recovery of public space. The new-found freedom was to be reflected in public space, in its possibilities for creative use by citizens.
- Administrative modernisation. The dictatorship had left in almost all administrations, but especially

in local administrations, a jibarised, obsolete and inefficient management structure in most cases. The modernisation of the administrations was a survival priority.

- Offering more and better public services to citizens. An objective closely linked to the previous one and, above all, to the aspiration of citizens to have access to the service levels of neighbouring European countries.
- Increasing the political protagonism of culture. Municipal cultural action under Franco's regime consisted essentially of one-off activities such as flower shows, a few grants and support for traditional folklore groups. Only the so-called festivals of Spain brought large-scale, high-quality stage and musical performances to provincial capitals. The political change brought about a vindication of culture as a space of freedom to which all citizens had the right of access and, among other effects, made possible the emergence of cultural activities that had been banned or little tolerated by the previous Francoist authorities. In this sense, the new town councils made culture one of the pillars of their daily action.

From the point of view of cultural policies, those town councils, in the course of time, drew a fairly clear paradigm. As has been pointed out by some experts (FONT, 2002), «the city councils have tried to develop, more or less explicitly, the two basic axes of any democratic cultural policy: the democratisation of culture, guaranteeing in a stable manner precise ways for citizens to access cultural goods. The progressive advance towards cultural democracy, that is, towards that horizon in which citizens have the capacity to be culturally active subjects, generators of content, creators». However, forty years of democratic municipalism, not exempt from conflicts and problems, have been a long time in cultural policies. We must consider that the orientation of municipal policies indicated by Jordi Font is maintained, but we must also be aware that over time they have suffered important ups and downs, as well as the onslaught of both the periodic crises and the general political drifts of the country as a whole.

To know what the cultural policy of a Spanish municipality is today means knowing something of the

history of these policies in those years. A brief synopsis of its different phases would be as follows:

1. The era of **construction and discovery**. A period of time from the aforementioned 1979 elections until 1992, which was a milestone in the contemporary history of Spain. Construction in the sense we spoke of above, of a new administration that included both organisational structures and new policies (democratisation and cultural democracy). 1992 seems to be the date that consolidates the country as a democratic, modern and European society capable of successfully organising the Olympics and a universal exhibition. An atmosphere of euphoria also reached the local councils, which believed themselves capable, in the cultural sphere, of offering quality services (libraries, museums, theatre, cultural centres and community centres, etc.), as well as projects or spaces of great symbolic and spectacular content at the local level. These trends were to be consolidated in the following period. A time when local cultural policies were being constructed, in fact at all levels of government, and when it was discovered that we were capable of meeting European standards of management and efficiency. Or so we thought.
2. The **consolidation and expansion** phase. From 1992 onwards, despite a cyclical economic crisis, which today we would call minor, culture continued to be a recurrent area of action for Spanish public authorities, and even more so for municipalities of all sizes. This may be the moment when cultural departments and services acquire greater political centrality, their human resources increase considerably and their spending budgets are most generous. This stage also coincides with the beginnings and rise of city marketing strategies with which, above all, the big cities play at positioning themselves in globalisation, trying to follow in the footsteps of the success of Seville and Barcelona. These are the moments of an explosion of contemporary art

centres and museums of spectacular dimensions and ambition. We are not only witnessing the birth or consolidation of large centres in cities such as Madrid (Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia), Barcelona (MACBA) or Valencia (IVAM), but also a deployment throughout Spain. A generalisation of centres that they cover all kinds of cities and towns¹. It is commonplace to attribute this fashion to the success of an emblematic centre that changed the image of a city: the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao². A major cultural operation that transformed Bilbao from a decadent and dirty industrial city of the 20th century into a beautiful metropolis of advanced tertiary services of the 21st century, and of which the museum became a powerful symbol. A success in terms of the city's image and its reconversion that is pushing many cities and towns in Spain to imitate it, each one fighting to have its own local and global Guggenheim. This phenomenon of contemporary art, applicable to other spheres of culture, is an example of a certain excess that is taking hold of the country's cultural administrations, also, and very much so, of the town councils. If we had to give a name to this period, it would be that of the «cultural brick». In every city and town, mayors and cultural councillors are obsessed with building cultural facilities, each one more advanced and avant-garde. Municipal policies include building theatres, exhibition halls, museums, new libraries, art centres, reconstructing monumental heritage, and so on. What we are witnessing is an expansion without planning, a race that on many occasions leaves aside the real needs of the territories, the agents of the sector and the citizens. The dark side of this bubble was not yet on the horizon, but it would come.

3. Times of **economism and entrepreneurship**.

The turn of the millennium was not a dark and pessimistic medieval millenarianism. On the contrary, the world of culture was hopeful and self-confident at the time. The problems of the local

administrations at that time were mainly one of overflow: too many physical facilities to attend to, to provide more or less qualified staff, to provide funds for their regular functioning, to provide rules for their use, etc. Municipalities of all sizes were overwhelmed in their attempts to sustain quality public services. The number of public employees was at its maximum and still not enough to sustain the cultural facilities and services of each municipality. But in reality, if we dig a little deeper, we find that the real problem, apart from the municipal vice of unplanned growth, is that there is an unfinished business and essential in public cultural policies in Spain: the balanced distribution of competences and economic resources among the three levels of administration. As Jordi Font rightly points out, «with regard to public spending in a composite state such as Spain's, experts place a reasonable distribution of resources in the following proportion: 40% State, 30% Autonomous Communities, 30% Local Administration. In the early days of democracy, we started with 80-85% in the hands of the State. With the development of the State of Autonomies, a first objective was set - 50%-25%-25%-25% - which has only been partially achieved: the Autonomous Communities have exceeded 25% and local financing has stagnated, with the current situation of public spending being as follows: 13% by Local Administration, around 30% by the Autonomous Communities and over 57% by the Central Administration. The rebalancing in favour of Local Administration is an issue that cannot be postponed» (FONT, 2002). The Spanish Constitution (1978) envisaged an administrative and political decentralisation of the state and a very deep, almost federalising, process which in culture is being carried out rapidly and with relative ease. The State and the Autonomous Communities reached large and stable agreements on competences and resources that have been maintained to the present day. However, the scope of competences and public

obligations of municipalities and local authorities has never been clear. The municipalities, in times of expansion and prosperity, fell into the trap of taking on competencies and services, but when the lean times came, the problem exploded. A problem that has not been solved and that we are still dragging on today. Jordi Borja stated in his day, anticipating certain dissonances in the system that was being born, that «a large part of the new social and economic functions of the State have been carried out through local administrations and have almost always dealt with basic issues for collective life (urban planning, public health, culture, social services, transport, water, supplies, housing, etc.). The modern Welfare State would not exist without this action by local authorities» (BORJA, 1988). Faced with this situation of excessive obligations assumed by local governments, the reaction was not to rationalise and plan their public services and duties; on the contrary, they clung desperately to keeping these services open in terms of precariousness and false appearances. But an alternative path was also open to them in the new discourse emerging in the world of culture, a discourse with profoundly economic roots, that of cultural industries and entrepreneurs. This option proposed to place cultural industries at the centre of public policies and was based on the potential capacity for economic growth of industries derived from the world of culture. The great advantage for the local authorities, also for other overwhelmed administrations such as the autonomous ones, was that it discharged the responsibility for cultural development in the private world and in the energy of the entrepreneurs who turned out to be above all young people in search of stable jobs. The topic is open for a broad debate and this is not the place, but for the purposes of local policies we can point out two essential questions: the first is where the idea of culture as a right remained, a constitutional precept collected in several articles. And secondly, where was the idea

of culture as a public service of the first order? A question, without a doubt, derived from the first question. For the purposes of this work, the conclusion is that a model of citizen services policies was replaced by a paradigm of culture as an industry sustained by the innovative work capacity of the so-called cultural entrepreneurs.

4. **4. Years of overlapping crisis and return to the margins.** 2008 marks the beginning of a new era for all of society, but especially for culture as a sector. The great financial crisis that opens our century mercilessly hits the cultural sector and local public administrations even more than the state and regional ones. For two reasons, the first because of their size, since although city councils and county councils add and gain in spending, equipment and human resources, their fragmentation and autonomy makes them more vulnerable taken one by one. But also, as we mentioned above, they continue to bear the greatest burden of spending and cultural services in the country today, because «while public spending in Spain stands, with few variations, at 57% percentages for the Administration Central, 30% for the regional level and 13% for the Local Administration, if we turn our attention to public spending on culture, we are faced with the fact that the Central Administration dedicates 0.5% of its budget to culture, a 4% the Autonomous Administration and 8% the Local Administration, the latter being the one with the least definition (and therefore greater vagueness) of competences. However, a quick look at our country confronts us with the reality that it is the Local Administration which is in charge of most of the cultural services in Spain» (RODERO, 2016). This imbalance has made the municipalities the pagan public of both financial and health crises, at the same time that it has thrown them, probably together with a large part of the cultural sector, back towards the margins of the system. To this day, the State is in a position to launch new and necessary campaigns

to recover the cultural sector, European aid and the fortunate anti-austerity policies make this possible. However, the municipalities depend on the decisions of the state and the autonomous communities both in the design and in the push for policies for the recovery of the sector and services. The root of the problem is repeated: local autonomy without financial autonomy and autonomy of competences is neither really autonomy nor is it anything like it. The marginality of public cultural policies in the municipalities is tangible, it is a reality.

We can affirm by way of balance that the municipalities and the other local authorities have supported, badly rather than well, most of the country's public cultural policy. But «this exercise has, however, had obvious costs in cultural policies. One of the most serious was the desertion by public administrations of policies based on cultural rights in favour of economic and entrepreneurial models. This trend minimised contributions to services that we can undoubtedly qualify as basic (public reading, proximity, support for creation, etc.) to the detriment of support for the so-called cultural or creative industries» (BEN, 2019). However, also at the local level, local councils have fallen into a trap, since «the dominant discourse of industries and entrepreneurship is nothing more than the justification for the budgetary and competence reduction of cultural public services, those that are based on the battery of rights and principles listed so exhaustively in the Spanish Constitution. The local authorities have been caught in a sophisticated trap as a result of the crisis: on the one hand, the lack of definition and flexibility of the framework of competences allowed them to develop cultural policies close to the demands of citizens and even for institutional showcasing, but once the lean times arrived, they were overwhelmed by the shortages, weighed down by the commitments made (especially in terms of equipment and periodic activities) and finally overwhelmed by the lack of economic resources. The appeal to entrepreneurship, innovation and the economic narrative seems to be nothing more than a lifeline to cling to in times of strangulation» (BEN, 2019).

If we make a comparative exercise between what Spanish municipalities

wanted to be in 1979 and what they probably are in 2021, we would obtain from the contrast a very accurate profile of what our target municipalities are like: Cádiz, Jerez, Puerto Real and Algeciras.

What did the municipalities want in 1979 from their cultural policies for their territories and citizens? Sometimes in a very intuitive and unspoken way, what they aspired to was to:

- To be guarantors of an efficient and aesthetic use of public space.
- To implement policies that would promote sustainable development.
- To be guarantors of citizens' rights, which undoubtedly included cultural rights.
- Culture as a democratising action.
- Culture as an instrument of civic education.
- To offer quality and accessible cultural services.

And in 2021, what outlook do the municipalities offer us in general terms? After forty years, several economic crises, a pandemic, a disorderly growth of services and facilities, what are municipal cultural policies today?

- A collection of scattered, poorly designed and poorly communicated public services.
- Showcases for other more fashionable public policies: tourism, promotion, city branding, etc.
- A set of merely propositional political speeches, which are incapable of descending from words to budget.
- Mausoleums of other times remembered as better.
- Spaces of a populist re-elitisation. Adamist and simplistic proposals that ignore history.
- Incapable of supporting the restructuring of both the cultural sector and the civil society that needs it.

We are in the midst of these uncertain times which have not yet come to an end. A situation which, as we shall see, can be applied in general terms to cultural policies and to the situation of the sector in Cádiz, Jerez, Puerto Real and Algeciras.

II.- Cultural public policies in the municipalities of the province of Cadiz with university campuses

If there is one element that differentiates the University of Cadiz (UCA) from other public universities

in Spain, it is undoubtedly its supralocal or, if you like, provincial character. The vast majority of universities, by historical tradition, normally refer to a city, a municipality. In fact, in the case of large cities, more than two or three usually coexist, if not compete with each other. Think of Madrid or Barcelona, or even the nearest one, Seville, where two public universities coexist. There is no doubt that the UCA, from a territorial perspective, obeys a very different dynamic from the historical universities which are usually anchored to one city although their sphere of influence is territorially wider; in some cases almost universal if their historical and academic trajectory favours it. The University of Cádiz, young in time, has responded since its creation to a very peculiar territorial reality and a complex history marked above all by diversity. Countryside and sea, diverse historical legacies (Hispano-Roman, Punic, Tartessian, Iberian, Celtic, Arab, medieval Christian, English colonial, etc.), a long history that leaves an extensive and hybrid heritage. A heritage that is currently reflected in a provincial territory fragmented into three clear headwaters (Jerez, Cádiz and Algeciras) which in turn are projected onto their immediate surroundings.

In this sense, before going into each municipality, perhaps the most convenient thing to do is to get to know the common territory shared by the municipalities on one side and the university on the other, i.e. the province.

a. The province of Cadiz

The province of Cadiz is the southernmost territory of Andalusia and the Spanish State (with the exception of the Canary Islands) and one of the southernmost of the European Union. With an area of 7,442 km² it is the seventh largest of the eight provinces of Andalusia in terms of territorial extension, while with 1,244,049 habitants it is the third largest in terms of population after the

Seville and Malaga. It is a province with forty-five municipalities, the fewest in Spain, and with numerous urban centres (between 20,000 and just over 200,000 inhabitants), a total of fifteen, which are home to 85% of the population. The rest of the population, slightly less than 200,000 inhabitants, is to be found in the remaining 29 municipalities which can be described as rural. Of its six natural regions, the UCA has a stable academic and cultural presence in the Bay of Cádiz (with campuses in Cádiz and Puerto Real), the Bay of Algeciras (with a campus in Algeciras itself and summer

courses in San Roque) and in Jerez (whose municipal district is an urban centre surrounded by a large and rich countryside). For this reason, this territorial distribution, we can affirm that the university is present at the doorstep of 70% or more of the population in a direct and very accessible way. It could be said that the university is undoubtedly one of the institutions that vertebrates the province of Cadiz. It does not do so in the same way as the Diputación Provincial, whose legal mandate is to rebalance the territory economically and socially, so its presence is, and should be, more intense in rural areas than in urban areas. Apart from this, a provincial council is a public administration whose scope goes beyond the specific aims of the universities. However, this characteristic of extensive and direct territorial influence over the municipalities makes the university a more relevant political and administrative agent in the case of the province of Cadiz than in many other universities and provinces.

However, continuing with the brief but intense photograph that we propose, we can add some interesting data to get to know the territory in which the UCA moves and works. The main problem in the province of Cadiz is the very high unemployment rates that have been dragging on for a long time and have been aggravated by the crisis. While the national unemployment rate (EPA data from the second quarter of 2021) was 15.26%, in Andalusia it rose to 21.6%, and in the case of Cadiz it stood at 25.55%. A situation that places it ten points above the national average, a distance that has traditionally been maintained in this environment both in good times and in times of depression. Unemployment, undoubtedly, is very much structural and increases the province's need for a dynamic university to raise the level and professional qualifications of its citizens

In spite of this negative employment panorama, the province is the first in Andalusia in terms of exports and after the first three in Spain (Barcelona, Madrid and Valencia) is in a group of provinces that stand out for their ability to export sectors such as Vizcaya, A Coruña and Murcia. At present, both tourism and other emerging economic activities (some of them linked to culture) are incapable of absorbing the surplus labour coming from the naval sector, agriculture or fishing, among others, which were sources of employment and wealth. Problems of human capital and the capacity to absorb labour efficiently are at the root of this phenomenon.

In line with the above, Cádiz has a GDP per capita far behind that of Spain as a whole, at 18,050 euros compared with the national average of 25,750 euros. It is even slightly lower than the 19,118 euros per capita GDP of Andalusia.

From a cultural perspective, the province of Cádiz is a rich, diverse and well-equipped territory. As far as popular culture is concerned, flamenco is its main source of creativity and is undoubtedly the form of literary, musical and dance expression with the greatest universal projection beyond Spain's borders. In the case of the city of Cádiz, we must add Carnival as a festive and cultural expression of popular roots which gives it a strong external projection. Expressions of modernity and avant-garde in the world of art are frequent and the existence of trends, artists and groups that are very active in this sense can be detected and confirmed.

With regard to cultural facilities of all kinds, a survey by the Diputación (provincial council) put their number at 476 in 2006, and from that date to the present day a significant number of them have been added. Theatres, libraries, museums and/or cultural centres proliferate in all municipalities, towns and neighbourhoods. There are several and sufficient official artistic training centres (conservatories, dance and theatre centres, artistic trade schools, etc.) and informal ones (municipal and public schools).

Culture and its protagonists, the creators, have been hit hard by the financial crisis of 2008 and the pandemic crisis of 2020. A recent study by the Andalusian Association of Cultural Management Professionals³ carried out in this province offers some enlightening data on the current situation of the sector. Specifically, it points out that "culture, as an economic sector, in the province of Cádiz was in a precarious situation marked by:

- Weak and fragmented business fabric.
- Low public investment and spending.
- Dependence on the public sector.
- Low investment by state and autonomous community administrations.
- Spectacularisation of culture around big summer music events in the hands of external promoters.
- Excessive (and unrequited) subordination to the tourist sector".

With regard to the cultural habits of the people of Cádiz, the Diputación de Cádiz carried out surveys in 2006 and 2010 to find out about them. Very briefly, in the light of the results it can be affirmed that the people of Cádiz maintain the same levels of consumption as the rest of the Spanish and Andalusians if we compare the data with the surveys carried out periodically by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Culture. Unfortunately, we do not have more recent studies to confirm whether the situation remains the same or has changed significantly.

b. Municipalities with UCA campuses

The four municipalities with UCA campuses can be considered as fully urban. In fact, three of them (Cádiz, Jerez and Algeciras) are the most populated in the province and articulate two large territorial areas considered as urban: the Bay of Cádiz and the Bay of Algeciras. The fourth, Puerto Real, is part of the Bay of Cádiz. As we pointed out above, between the four of them they account for a high percentage of the urban population of the province and also, given their geographical size and territorial distribution, they are accessible to people from the rest of the province and even from neighbouring regions in other Andalusian provinces.

In an attempt to delve into their cultural policies, we have drawn up a table with what can be considered the basic figures for culture in these municipalities, always based on the activity of their respective town councils and referring to their public intervention. The data have been obtained mostly from municipal websites and some by means of occasional consultations with public workers in the cultural services of the municipalities⁴.

UCA Campus Town Councils

Municipal figures of the city councils in culture					
	Algeciras	Cádiz	Jerez	Puerto Real	Global
Habitant	123.078	115.439	213.105	41.700	493.322
Spending Budget	119.348.249 €	164.847.610 €	224.463.970 €	32.962.829 €	541.622.658 €
Budget Culture	4.545.508 €	7.809.362 €	7.408.881 €	275.472 €	20.039.223 €
% Culture	3,81 %	4,74 %	3,3 %	0,83 %	3,17 %
€ by population	36,93 €	67,65 €	34,77 €	6,60 €	36,49 €
Equipments AA.EE.	1	3	2	1	7
Spectator seats AA.EE.	650	1.634	1.314	450	4.048
Seat/1000 habitant (1)	5,28	14,15	6,16	10,79	8,2
Exhibition spaces	3	7	6	1	17
Libraries (2)	3	4	9	1	17
Habitant by libraries	41.026	28.859	23.678	41.700	33.815,75
Installations patrimonial (3)	4	3	3	2	12
Arts festivals	2	4	6	0	12
Organs of Participation	No	Yes	No	Yes	50 %
(1)	Guide Indicator FEMP 2009				
(2)	Neighborhood libraries have been included and reading rooms				
(3)	Museums, archives, art centers.				

For this comparative analysis of the four municipalities, we have considered twelve indicators referring to their cultural action and policies. Comparing data, figures or statistics is still a difficult exercise given the heterogeneity with which information and data on culture are collected and structured. The body that offers the most data and information is the Ministry of Culture and Sport, which has been offering statistical series and information on culture in Spain since 2005. This is a highly praiseworthy and valuable work, but it does not reach the local level, since the level of disaggregation of these figures only reaches the autonomous community level. Both the provincial and municipal levels lack standardised, standardised and comparable figures and data. For this reason, we have to turn to municipal sources, and these are diverse, sometimes with different formats, and on numerous occasions some councils offer information, others do not consider it relevant, and on many occasions searching for information on their respective websites is even a sterile task. Nevertheless, we were able to find and specify the precise information for these twelve indicators. They are quite simple but can give us a fairly approximate picture of the current situation.

1.- Economic and budgetary indicators.

- Percentage of the expenditure budget that the local corporation allocates to culture. This indicator is more expressive than if we simply take the total expenditure on culture. Knowing the proportion of the total gives us information on the political will of the local authorities with regard to culture. In three of the municipalities it exceeds three percent (Cádiz 4.74%, Algeciras, 3.81% and Jerez de la Frontera 3.3%), with only Puerto Real lagging far behind with a meagre 0.83%, probably due to the fact that it is a municipality with serious economic problems that have been dragging on for a long time and have been aggravated by the crisis. In this indicator, it is interesting to make a comparison with the other two levels of administration in Spain. The figures we obtain from the Ministry of Culture and Sport of the Government of Spain show a very discreet 0.15% in 2018, and for the Ministry of Culture of the Andalusian Regional Government, 4.17%. The latter

data show that cultural decentralisation in Spain has taken place from the central to the regional level, as we saw above. On the one hand, the Ministry's level of expenditure is understandable, as it has basically taken over the management of large and emblematic facilities (Prado Museum, Reina Sofia Museum, National Auditorium, National Library and the like) and some so-called production units such as dance and theatre companies, which are managed by INAEM (National Institute of Performing Arts and Music), handing over a large part of the management and competencies to the autonomous communities. The most expressive aspect of this indicator is that local councils in general, and in our specific case, make a considerable budgetary effort in the cultural sector. This effort shows that they continue to give a certain centrality to cultural policies within their general policies.

- Euros per inhabitant invested in culture according to the expenditure budget. In this case we find two extreme situations between our four municipalities. Cádiz invests a total of 67.65 euros per inhabitant while Puerto Real invests only 6.6 euros per inhabitant, a ratio of ten to one in favour of the capital municipality. The other two municipalities are in the same range, with expenditure of 36.93 euros in Algeciras and 34.77 euros in Jerez. To make the indicator more expressive, we can compare it with other Spanish cities with a similar population. We chose three cases with a population range between Cádiz and Jerez and in dispersed geographical points. Thus, we used data from San Sebastián/Donostia (Basque Country), Tarragona (Catalonia) and Albacete (Castile-La Mancha). The result is shown in the following table:

Other similar cities

	Habitant	Budget Culture	€ x habitant
Albacete	173.050	9.776.941 €	56,50 €
San Sebastián/Donostia	186.665	39.812.351 €	213,28 €
Tarragona	132.299	7.075.605 €	53,48 €

We can see that in all three cases they are above the average range set by Jerez and Algeciras (34.77 and 36.93), although Albacete and Tarragona are below the expenditure of Cádiz capital. San Sebastian’s expenditure is worthy of special mention, as it denotes a city with resources located in one of the richest regions of the European Union. What the indicator shows us, apart from the exception of San Sebastián, is that the municipalities of Cádiz make a considerable effort in their cultural investment, which is not very far from Spanish standards, although they still have some way to go. Local cultural policy in these cities in the province of Cadiz still has some way to go when it comes to investment in culture. Finally, it is worth noting that per capita spending in the other administrations is 14.8 euros in the case of the Ministry and 24 euros in the Junta de Andalucía. As we can see, this is lower than that of the municipalities, with the added condition that the territorial distribution of spending is not equitable, being more so in the case of the municipalities. These two economic indicators show that although the cities analysed in the province of Cádiz make an effort in terms of cultural spending in their budgets, they are still some way behind other cities of similar size. In these conditions, the political discourse of the local authorities in favour of culture as a driving force for development still sounds more like a proposal than a reality.

2.- Indicators of cultural facilities/infrastructures.

For these indicators, we have focused exclusively on cultural spaces or facilities owned and managed by the municipalities, as we are analysing the public policies of the local corporations. Logically, there are other cultural facilities in these cities, both private and dependent on other administrations, but, as we have said, the aim is to analyse the policies of the local authorities exclusively, and later on the influence of the university on these policies.

We have focused on only a few basic facilities such as stage, exhibition and heritage facilities, with the municipal public libraries standing out among the latter. It would have been interesting to include the so-called proximity facilities (cultural centres and civic centres), but the reality is poor in this respect. Old networks such as those that existed in Jerez and were tried in Cádiz have not survived the passing of the years, as they have either deteriorated or have been damaged. Or the equipment have come to depend on other areas of municipal management. If the facilities analysed give us information on the ease of access to culture by citizens (democratisation of culture), the latter would have been a good index of the degree of development of cultural democracy in these municipalities, but as the classics said, “each one is the architect of his own destiny”⁵. Let us consider the indicators used and what they tell us:

- **Number of Performing Arts facilities.** We see that there are not too many in any case. Perhaps Cadiz offers a higher figure in which three facilities

are included, each of one kind: a large-format Italian theatre more than a century old (reformed in the 1980s), a so-called puppet theatre, which is a medium-format hall for 330 spectators and, finally, a non-traditional format hall for all kinds of small-format stage and musical shows. Even so, we observe that each city has what, in proportion to its inhabitants, we can call a great theatre: the Teatro Villamarta in Jerez, the Teatro Florida in Algeciras, the Teatro Principal in Puerto Real and the Gran Teatro Falla in Cádiz. The conclusion is that the municipalities are in a position, as far as suitable spaces are concerned, to offer the population live cultural productions such as theatre, opera, dance, music in general and the like.

- **Stage venues per thousand inhabitants.** In this case we have taken an indicator from the Guide for the evaluation of local cultural policies designed by the FEMP (Spanish Federation of Municipalities and Provinces) in 2009, a comprehensive and, unfortunately, little used work at the time. We have taken the indicator marked E170, which literally aims to “measure the total capacity of the local stage spaces managed by the local government in relation to the number of inhabitants”. This is a simple calculation that gives us the capacity of the performing arts venues in terms of audiences. Cadiz has the greatest capacity with 14.15 seats per thousand inhabitants, followed by Puerto Real with 10.79, which is explained by the fact that it has the least inhabitants. Jerez with 6.16 and Algeciras with 5.28 are very close. At present, we have few figures available for municipalities in which this indicator is specified. The survey municipality by municipality is a task that is beyond our reach and strength. However, we can find documented figures that help us to better interpret the indicator. A study on the Performing Arts sector from the economic perspective offers us some clues (BONET, 2009). It shows that Madrid has twelve public theatres and Barcelona has nine. Given the demographic dimensions of both cities, we could venture that the ratio of seats to inhabitants is not so unfavourable for

the municipalities of Cádiz. It is true that the supply of seats in private venues is even greater, but even so, we would not be facing serious deficits in our case.

- **Exhibition spaces.** All the municipalities analysed have exhibition halls and spaces of different sizes and possibilities, some of which are located in buildings and sites of heritage value and cataloguing. Once again, Puerto Real is the weakest municipality, with only one municipal exhibition space, compared to seven in Cádiz, six in Jerez and three in Algeciras. The diversity of sizes and capacities of the spaces means that, in general terms, it can be said that there is sufficient municipal provision.
- **Libraries and inhabitants per library.** The public reading network is the only obligation that municipalities have in Spain and which literally appears in the legal system. Specifically, the Ley Reguladora de las Bases del Régimen Local⁶ states in Article 26 that “The municipalities, either on their own or in association with others, must provide the following services: (...) b.- In municipalities with more than 5,000 inhabitants (...) the public library”. We can affirm that this is the only article that specifies a municipal cultural competence in a direct, concrete and unambiguous manner. The reality is that if Spanish local administrations had stuck to the letter of the law, they would practically be exercising a competence, that of public reading through the library service. Focusing on our municipalities, we see that there is a wide range, from Jerez with nine libraries to Puerto Real with only one. One possible explanation for this is that Puerto Real, with fewer inhabitants, has hardly any important rural centres, while Jerez, with five times the population, does have one. Has in its extensive municipal area a considerable number of so-called ELA (Entidades Locales Autónomas), some of which have a considerable population and are governed by their own autonomous town councils. This makes the Jerez network by far the largest. In the case of Cádiz we have observed a certain flexibility in giving the status of library to some neighbourhood reading rooms. What may be of interest is how many citizens on average are

served by each facility. Again, we would like to make a comparison with Madrid and Barcelona, the two largest cities in the country. Madrid has a network of 232 municipal libraries, each serving an average of 29,106 inhabitants. Barcelona, on the other hand, with a network of 240 libraries, would serve an average of 23,602 inhabitants per library. As we can see, the figures for Cadiz and Jerez do not distort the figures for the large cities, with Algeciras and Puerto Real lagging somewhat behind.

- **Heritage facilities.** Under this heading we refer essentially to museums, archives and art centres. This is a wide range of facilities, ranging, for example, from the Archaeological Museum in Jerez to the ECCO (Contemporary Creation Space) in Cadiz, via the historical archives of any of the four city councils. These spaces are depositories of both historical and contemporary documentary memory. Our municipalities report between four and two heritage facilities, with a predominance of museums. The themes of the museums vary from archaeological (Jerez) to the period of the first Spanish Cortes of 1812 (Cádiz) or a general municipal museum (Algeciras). In almost all cases they are small museums, more or less endowed and rarely with a clear museum project, closer to collecting than to museology. In the vast majority of cases, with a few isolated exceptions, they lack sufficient qualified staff and budgets to enable them to undertake modernisation and improvement tasks as public services.

3.- Participation indicators

Participation is one of the most complex aspects of public policy to address. Moreover, the administrations themselves do not usually provide much data on participation beyond the provision of figures, sometimes poorly contrasted and scarcely reliable, about attendance at cultural activities. In most cases, it is even difficult to access these statistics, and when they are obtained, the classification and structuring formats vary not only from city to city, but almost from neighbourhood to neighbourhood. Accessing the annual activity reports of these town councils, if they exist, is a traditional archiving task in situ. It is hard to understand,

at this stage of digitalisation and transparency, how they are not accessible on their websites. In this respect, it is worth mentioning the exemplary performance of the university itself, whose activity reports have been available since 1990⁷ and which constitute an authentic and extremely useful repository for research and analysis. However, this inaccessibility to local councils' management data forces us to take other paths, especially in the case of participation.

Participation can have two approaches in the case of culture. First, the so-called passive participation, that of the spectator of cultural activities (theatre, cinema, music, recitals, library users, etc.), which is undoubtedly the easiest to measure and basically consists of counting the people who attend cultural events. Unfortunately, as we said above, we lack such simple data from the information provided by the town councils themselves. We have therefore used an indirect indicator, namely the number of festivals organised by the municipalities. We understand a festival to be a set of cultural activities, with an extraordinary programme, with a common theme or sector and which seek both to disseminate an artistic discipline and to promote the cultural consumption of citizens. Clear examples in this case would be both the Ibero-American Theatre Festival of Cádiz⁸ and the Jerez⁹ Flamenco Festival. In our opinion, they denote, apart from being a cultural escape for the city, a desire on the part of the municipal administrations to promote citizens' access to cultural activities with criteria of artistic quality. The second approach refers to a more active participation model; we asked about the existence of institutionalised bodies for citizen participation in the management and design of the municipality's cultural policies. Let us look at both indicators:

- Arts festivals. The figures vary from zero festivals in Puerto Real to six in Jerez, four in Cádiz and two in Algeciras. The festivals have a wide variety of themes (Ibero-American theatre, flamenco, documentary film, science fiction and fantasy, etc.) and creative sectors (cinema, theatre, literature, comics, etc.). As we pointed out earlier, there is a desire on the part of local councils to offer their residents attractive, quality and enriching cultural activities. However, there are serious budgetary obstacles that slow down or limit the offer. In fact, it must be acknowledged

that without the participation of other higher administrations (the State and the autonomous community) these festivals would be beyond the reach of municipal cultural services. A case study is Puerto Real, a municipality that once had festivals of great prestige and tradition (theatre and jazz), now lost.

- Citizen participation bodies. In the field of local politics, this would be an indicator of governance, of good democratic practices. Our simple indicator is only limited to establishing whether or not this type of body exists, which usually appears under the name of the Local Cultural Council or similar. We found them in two of the cases: Cádiz and Puerto Real. In the first of these, it was set up by the municipal government team in the 2015-2019 term of office and seems to be maintained at the present time. Puerto Real has had a cultural council for more years. This indicator shows that at least in half of the municipalities there is a concern and a desire to give citizens a role in the design and evaluation of public policies. It is a different matter to know their level of autonomy, their influence on municipal cultural decisions and policies and, finally, their level of representativeness of the local cultural sector.

To complement this small battery of indicators, a short and easy-to-complete survey was sent to the local political leaders of the municipalities, to qualified municipal managers and to cultural managers external to the municipal cultural services of each locality. The aim was to obtain more qualitative information to complement the information provided by the previous indicators. Of the municipal delegates for culture, only one responded to the questionnaire, that of Jerez de la Frontera. Obviously, we are grateful for his response and his kindness, but the absence of a response from the other three municipalities makes it impossible to extract useful information for the municipalities as a whole and for the purposes of this study. In the case of cultural managers, both municipal and external, the response was somewhat more significant. Of the eight people to whom the questionnaire was sent, five replied, three and two municipal ones. With this proportion, all of them being well acquainted

with the reality of their municipalities, it is possible to add some ideas and conclusions that enrich the knowledge of the cultural policies of the municipalities at present. In this sense, the most significant data would be the following:

1. Local strategic planning for culture. Cádiz has a plan called Culturas Comunes (Common Cultures) which was drawn up by the corporation in the period 2015-2019. Jerez is currently drawing up a plan, which has been entrusted to a private consultancy firm. Neither Puerto Real nor Algeciras have references to strategic plans. These data reveal that the exercise of planning is lagging behind in the cultural sector in these municipalities. There is only one recent plan and another under construction.
2. It is a general opinion that the key political decisions are taken by the Councillor for culture. Neither the mayors nor other spaces for discussion or debate are considered to be decisive in municipal cultural policies. From this we can draw two hypotheses rather than conclusions. First, that the lack of interest of the heads of local councils shows a growing marginalisation of culture in local policies. A second hypothesis could be that culture is not so much considered a citizen's right or an element of local development as an entertainment offer or complementary to other policies which are now more central, such as tourism.
3. The assessment of the quality of the services offered to citizens is very low, 1 on a scale of 0 to 5. The professionals themselves detect a serious problem, a reality that should be analysed in depth. All the managers point out the serious budgetary shortcomings as well as the lack of professional staff.
4. Theatres are almost unanimously pointed out as the emblematic cultural facilities in these cities. Large theatres clearly prevail over museums and art centres. However, with regard to the level of autonomy (for technical programming and communication management) of these same theatres, we find very different realities, ranging from 1 in Cadiz to 4 in Jerez.
5. Citizen and cultural sector participation bodies are only present in two municipalities (Cádiz and Puerto

Real), but it is also pointed out that they have very little influence on the decisions, design and evaluation of the cultural policies of the municipalities. Where they do exist, they seem to be of little importance: in Cádiz they are rated 1 out of 5 and in Puerto Real 2.

With these data provided by the questionnaires, and with the indicators analysed above, we can try to check whether the cultural policies and services of these four municipalities are in line with the general reality of the country as we pointed out in the previous chapter. Let's see:

- In the cities in question, are public cultural services generally dispersed, poorly designed and poorly communicated? Undoubtedly, at present, cultural services struggle with budget shortages, staff shortages and tend to focus on trying to maintain the inertia of more exciting times gone by.
- Are the current cultural policies of these municipalities nowadays showcases for other more fashionable public policies: tourism, promotion, city branding, etc.? We can also affirm that cultural policies and services have clearly lost centrality and momentum.
- Are the cultural policies and proposals of these municipalities currently a set of merely propositional political discourses that are incapable of being translated from words to budget? Obviously, the fragility of budgets and resources make official discourses of support for the cultural sector hardly credible.
- Are the cultural policies of these cities currently spaces of a populist reeliticism? Adamist and simplistic proposals that ignore history? With the data we have and have been able to reflect in these pages, we are not in a position to answer a question of this depth.
- Are the cultural policies of these municipalities unable to support the restructuring of both the cultural sector and the civil society that needs it? With the current budget level, with the current staff, with the loss of centrality of cultural policies, with the low level of existing planning and with the pressure of other public policies that are considered

more priority, we believe that these municipalities are not in the right place. Currently in a position to seriously support the culture sector in its recovery and, likewise, in a position to offer public services with the quality required by the cultural rights of citizens.

c.- The Vice-Rectorate and the University Extension Service of the UCA as an observer, dynamiser and supporter of cultural policies and services in the province of Cadiz

The University of Cadiz, through its University Extension Service, has a wide territorial influence in the cultural sphere that goes beyond a specific municipality in the province. Not only in the four municipalities analysed, but also in others that receive activities and services from the UCA, as is the case of San Roque with its traditional Summer Courses. The need to attend to four campuses and at least four towns has meant that the organisation of the university extension service has developed structures, functions and organisational tools to a different extent to other universities with more limited headquarters and campuses. We have already pointed out that the UCA may have a structuring role in the territory in the province. We can also add that the fact of having to attend to four campuses has produced a service in which the diversity of the territories in which it operates has clearly marked it.

First of all, it must be pointed out that all the information that has allowed us to carry out this work has been obtained from the reports published annually and in a disciplined and serious manner by the University Extension Service since 1990, as we indicated above. This is quite uncommon in Spanish administrations and is to be welcomed as it facilitates certain research tasks such as the one we are attempting to undertake here. We are going to analyse the UCA's University Extension from a double perspective. First, the service as a management structure and organisation of activities. Then we will try to analyse the most important programmes and activities they carry out. In both cases, we will try to trace the influence of the UCA on the cultural policies of the cities with campuses.

It should be noted that for this third part of the paper we have taken the ten years from 2010 to 2019. On the one hand, to analyse from

the first reports of the 1990s would be to overcomplicate the research beyond the temporal and spatial limits of the assignment. On the other hand, a quick reading of all its reports shows that the UCA has maintained a regular line of work and that its programmes and activities have a very high degree of stability in their programming, with the dynamic being one of progressive expansion and consolidation.

1.- Organisational and management culture of the university extension service

The first thing that is striking about the service is its solid culture and tradition of developing and applying technical management tools. A custom that should be obligatory in all public administration, but which, however, is more infrequent than desirable. Let's take a look at these good habits and practices:

- A perfectly defined charter of services, set out in clear, simple terms and periodically reviewed. The first thing to note is that the mission of the UCA's university extension is specified in four essential aspects: historical, service, social responsibility and formative responsibility. It is the social responsibility that interests us most here and which is described in the sense that «the University must give back to society in an informative way the knowledge and culture that it stores». We understand that this exercise of responsibility is translated in this case into cooperation with the municipalities for the realisation of cultural activities, preferably. The charter includes the rights of users, fundamentally accessibility mechanisms for citizens, as well as the commitment to respect and safeguard certain fundamental rights. The charter of services includes a list of eight main functions of which we highlight:
- Number 8, «coordination and management of cultural relations with other institutions and agents», a function that we understand opens the door to work with the city councils of the cities that have campuses and with others in the surrounding area.
- Another section specifies the services provided by university extension. It is

an extensive list divided into several sections. The first of these, which deals with the cultural offer, is a list of possible artistic and cultural activities that are hardly any different from those offered by other institutions public, especially town councils and provincial councils. There is reference to two of its own products (Coral Universitaria and Phersu Teatro Clásico).

- Also within the list of services we find an unusual one nowadays: a Cultural Observatory, the so-called Cultural Observatory of the Atalaya Project (OCPA). The observatories are tools for analysing the sector and the territory that base their usefulness on offering clear, precise and ordered information that helps political and technical decision-makers to make decisions. According to this definition, we could deduce that in the case of the province of Cádiz, due to its size and territorial distribution of the population and the different municipalities, it would be a body that should at least be led by the Provincial Council. However, this is not the case. There was an initiative at one time but it did not come to fruition. The UCA participated in that project as one of the partners and, probably for that reason, decided to take over or take advantage of the gap. Moreover, Atalaya has a regional scope as the UCA leads this programme which includes the ten public universities of Andalusia. Undoubtedly, this would not be possible if university extension, its service, did not have an efficient organisation and a certain consolidated prestige.
- A system of indicators. This is set out in the service charter, which not only specifies and defines each of the sixteen indicators that comprise it, but also breaks down other commitments that act as goals to be achieved in the development of these indicators. Among these are indicators of various types: process, user satisfaction, goals and objectives and budgetary, essentially.

A noteworthy element is the programme known as the Opina Project, which is basically a satisfaction survey aimed at users of the Cultural Agenda. It is a survey that, as stated in the annual reports, is carried out regularly. The



results of the 2019 survey show a fairly positive balance, with an average score of 6 to 7 out of 10 in almost all the aspects evaluated. The number of (anonymous) surveys is 1,228, which is quite a significant sample.

Another aspect of the organisational culture of the service concerns human resources and their organisation. At the technical level, which is the one that interests us in this case, nine people work in university outreach: a Director of the Activities Service, a Director of the University Extension Service, a Director of the University Extension Service, and a Director of the University Extension Service.

The other positions are distributed in different denominations that denote an acceptable degree of technical qualification of the staff. Another aspect is that the campuses of Jerez and Algeciras have their own delegated staff who assist the central services (this denomination is ours) in the activity on these campuses. Given the scale of activity that the UCA generates in this service, the impression is that we are not faced with an excessive and not at all oversized staff. Let us consider that this team offers services to more than

twenty thousand university students, four municipalities with campuses, several other municipalities in the area of influence of the above, some seven hundred thousand inhabitants and, to top it all off, programmes for the other nine Andalusian public universities.

The annual management reports also explain the university extension collaborators. This data is interesting because on the one hand it shows the external openness of the organisation and its scope. In this sense, we find a very broad list of collaborators, most of them institutional, ranging from financial institutions to private initiative festivals and literary foundations (GONZÁLEZ, 2020). In our case, we will focus on the municipalities, six of which are listed: the four with a campus and the subject of this work, and then El Puerto de Santa María and San Roque. Both municipalities are within the area of influence of the four campuses. Specifically, El Puerto de Santa María is almost equidistant from the campuses of Jerez, Puerto Real and Cádiz. San Roque is located in the region of El Campo de Gibraltar and close to the Algeciras campus.

In conclusion, we can affirm that the University Extension Service of the UCA is characterised by the following organisational culture:

1. Being a service open beyond the university community. Its offer is likely to reach a minimum of 65% of the population of the province.
2. It is a service that has forged numerous and stable management and supply alliances with a wide range of institutions and organisations. In this case, the municipalities with campuses have a preferential role. Firstly because they are the recipients of the vast majority of the activities and programmes, as we will see in the following section, and also because many of the other collaborating organisations have their headquarters in these municipalities. And this is not the rule for the rest of Spain, but rather the exception that proves the rule: «The cultural dimension does not lead the shared agenda of the cities». It does not occupy a coordinating and integrating role that would be welcomed by society and cultural agents (GONZALEZ and ARIÑO, 2020,219).
3. Its organisational model, with the technical tools it uses, allows it to maintain positive synergies both with the municipalities on its campuses and with the public and other collaborating organisations.

2.- The expenditure budget of the University Extension Service.

A fundamental aspect when analysing an organisation, especially in public administrations, is to know the spending budget, how much, how and on what the organisation spends its money. Let’s start by knowing the expenditure over time and according to the variant of own resources and external resources. The table will help us in this task:

Year	Own resources	External resources	Total
2010	362.978,93 €	561.565,95 €	924.544,88 €
2011	362.345,25 €	692.563,85 €	1.054.909,10 €
2012	264.191,56 €	659.760,02 €	923.951,58 €
2013	110.900,90 €	601.730,17 €	712.631,07 €
2014	100.000,00 €	476.662,65 €	576.662,65 €
2015	90.000,00 €	564.524,02 €	654.524,02 €
2016	78.000,00 €	522.638,11 €	600.638,11 €
2017	94.207,69 €	443.480,29 €	537.687,98 €
2018	99.500,00 €	450.495,12 €	549.995,12 €
2019	93.000,00 €	597.162,83 €	690.162,83 €

280

From the observation of table 3 we can draw some interesting conclusions:

In the years of the study, the service has always managed more external resources, coming from the different

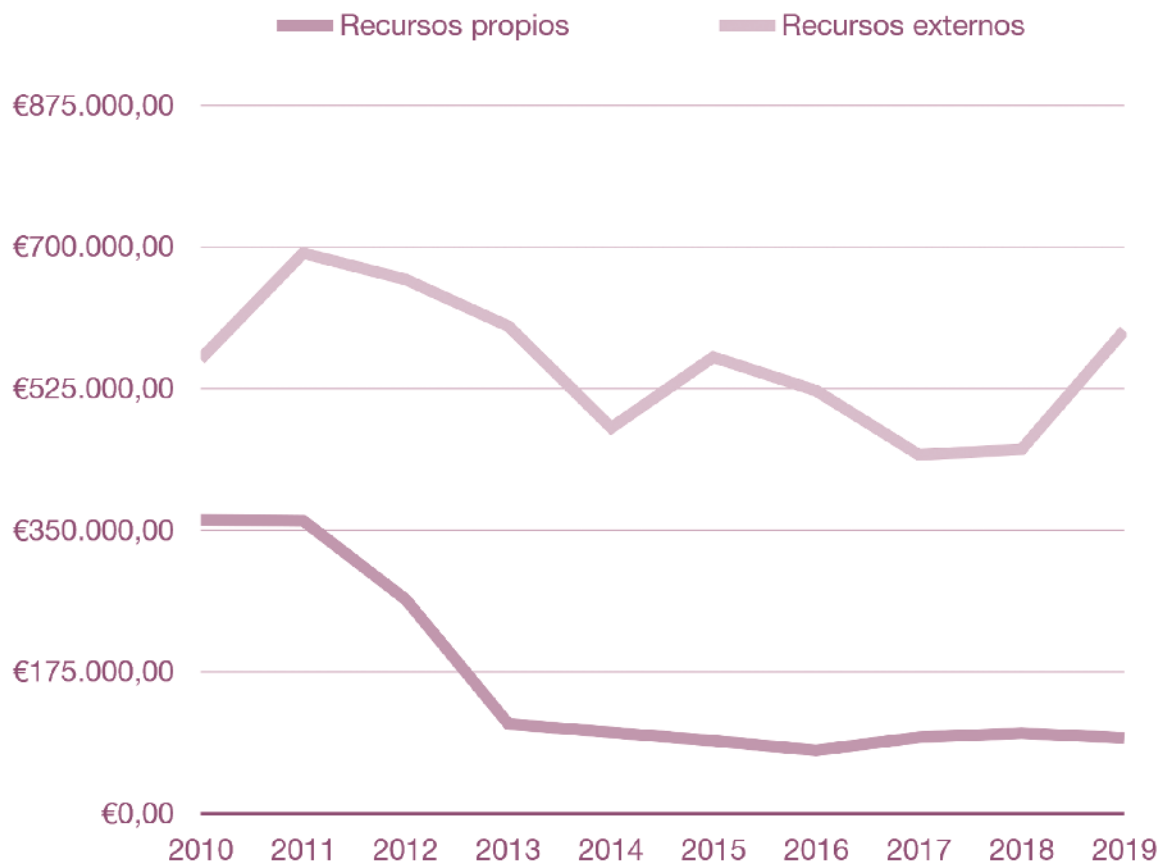
partners, than its own resources allocated in the university's budget. Moreover, these external resources have always exceeded 60% of expenditure, sometimes by far.

It can be seen that over time, the trend is that the UCA's own resources, both in total figures and in percentages, have been decreasing. In the last year under consideration, 2019, the university's investment was only 93,000 euros.

In this sense, it is safe to say that the university extension services have a high capacity to attract and capture external resources. A capacity that would not be possible without a good organisation and a quality and attractive management.

On the other hand, there is a clear risk that a drop in external resources, and we are in uncertain times, could lead to a loss of capacity and efficiency of the service. Just as the ability to attract resources is a good indicator, so too much dependence on external resources can be a weakness to be considered.

Let's look at the same data from the perspective of a graph:

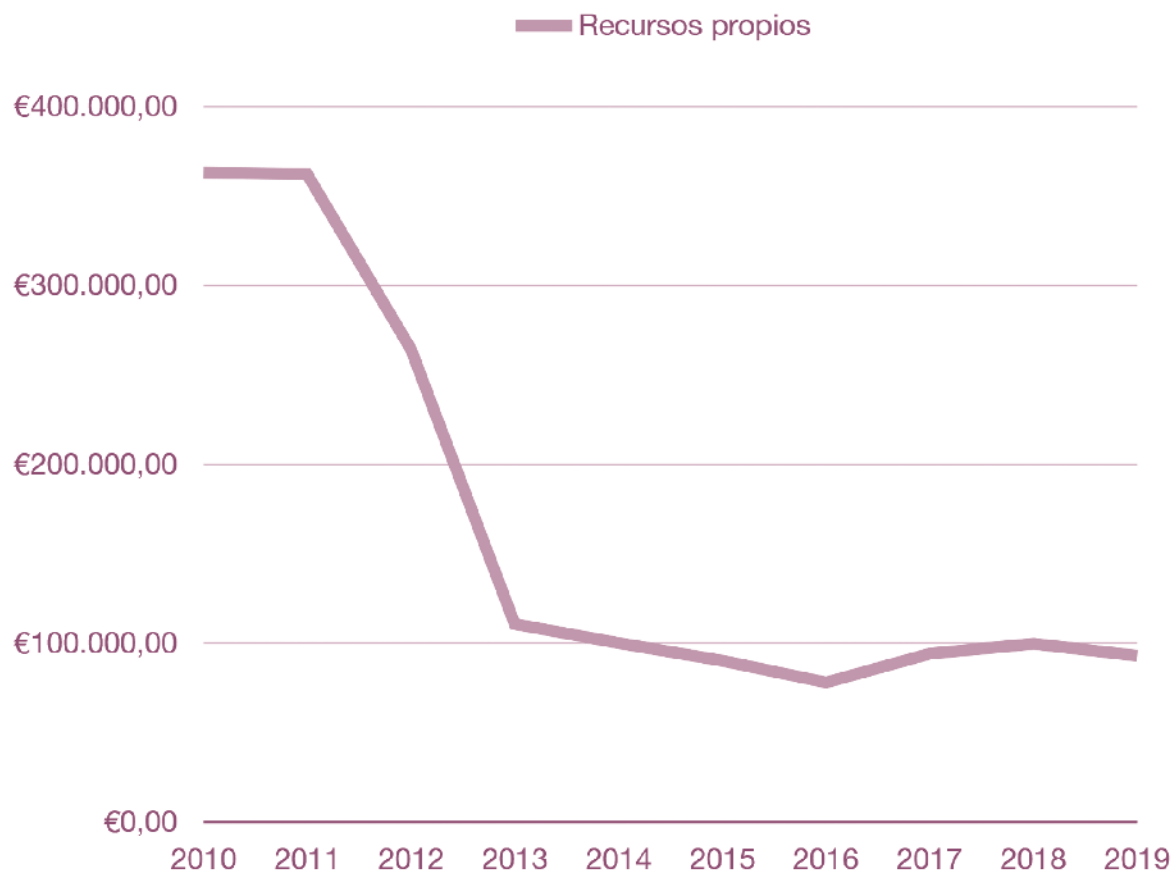


We can see that:

Own resources have been permanently falling since the beginning of the decade. The financial crisis of 2008 affected the university like other public administrations, but nevertheless it has maintained austerity in the expenditure of its own resources.

External resources have been decreasing, although there have been significant upturns in 2015 and 2019. In this aspect we can see that the two lines are not exactly parallel. Sometimes they seem to follow significantly different dynamics.

The UCA's expenditure on culture is characterised by capitalising a high percentage of external expenditure and by a high impact of the 2008 crisis on its own resources from which it has not yet recovered, as can be seen in the graph:



We can observe a chain of significant falls, some of which, such as those in 2012 of 27% of own resources, and above all the one that occurred in 2013, which was 42%. These latest data only reaffirm the conclusions drawn above regarding the UCA's cultural investment and expenditure: great capacity to attract and potential weakness in the face of a withdrawal of external resources. The universities have

The UCA is a great attraction, given its academic prestige, but in this case we believe that two other elements also play a role:

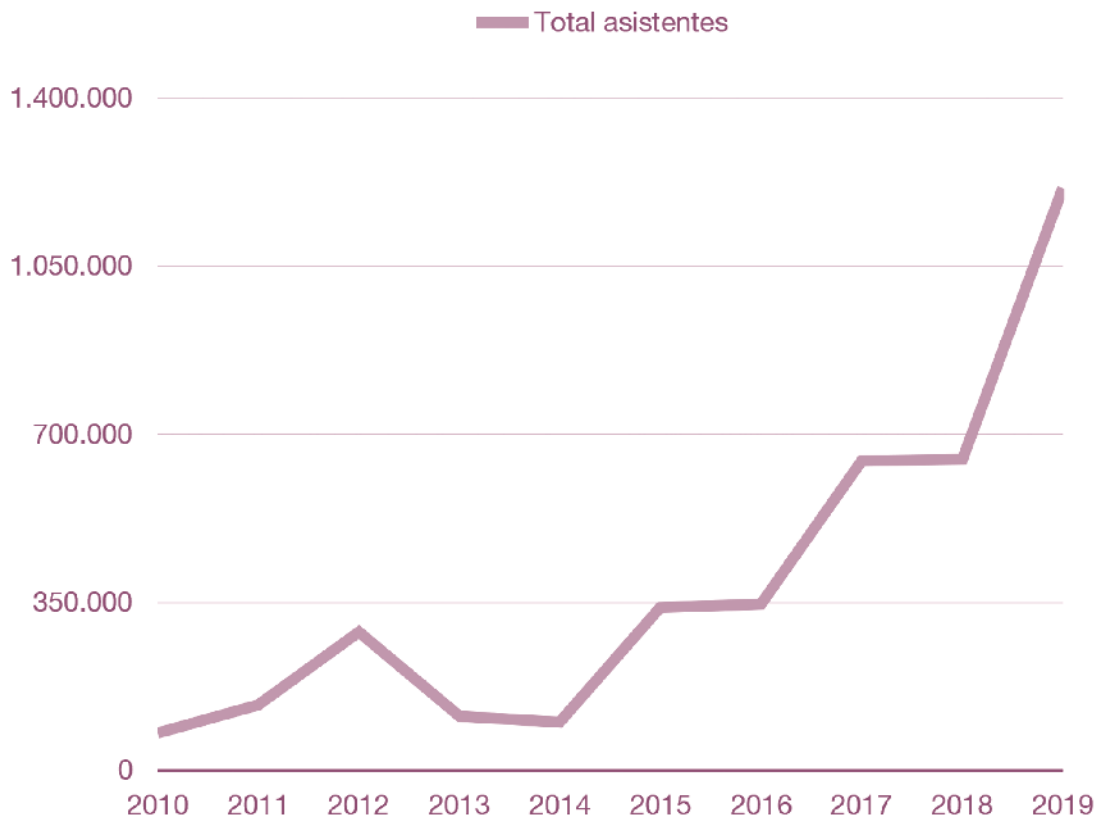
The territorial scope and the range of interlocutors offered by the four campuses with the cities they include and their spheres of influence. Four municipalities obviously mean more services to provide but also more potential alliances to forge.

Good technical management sustained over time, which gives the university credibility and quality assurance in the search for external alliances and resources.

3.- Programmes, activities and audiences of the University Extension Service.

The University and its cultural service are very active and powerful programmers in the province of Cadiz, especially in the four municipalities with campuses. In the years analysed they have carried out an annual average of 449 activities, highlighting years such as 2012 with a peak of 937 activities, although this was an extraordinary occasion as it was the bicentenary of the Constitution of Cadiz (1812). In none of the annual periods did it fall below three hundred and fifty activities, which is an index, as we pointed out earlier, of a very singular activity and productivity.

Something similar could be said with regard to the number of people attending activities. Attendance at events follows an upward curve of participants with little drop-off. There is also a spectacular growth in attendance when the digitisation of activities increases. The figures soar to 50% in 2019. In a decade, the university goes from 78,023 in 2010 to 1,213,786 attendees in 2019. It is quite clear that university extension had strongly taken the path of digitisation. The graph is eloquent and clear in this respect.



One aspect that interests us greatly in this work is the typology of the programmes managed by the University Extension Service of the UCA, in terms of its cooperation with the municipalities and the possible influences and impacts they have on their cultural life.

Through the annual reports of the service we can make an approximation of the issue. The UCA distinguishes the following types of programmes:

- Own Programmes. These are programmes which we understand to be mainly financed by the university itself and managed directly by its staff. We highlight:
 - Kursala, an exhibition hall focused on photography and located on the campus of the city of Cadiz.
 - Exhibition Hall of the Campus de la Merced (Jerez).
 - Presences. These are cycles of conferences with the presence of creators or experts from different creative disciplines. They are held in four areas (literary, flamenco, cinematographic and those called peripheral by the magazine of the same name published by the university itself). These activities take place on the different campuses.
 - Prizes. For literary creation, photography and fast painting. They are aimed above all at students and therefore take place in the municipalities of the four campuses.
 - Schools. These are training spaces for different forms of artistic creation. They usually have a workshop format and are open to people outside the university community. They are distributed throughout the four campuses.
 - Own or supervised production. We are referring to the University Choir and the theatre group Phersu Teatro Clásico. Their productions are not only shown in the municipalities with campuses but also in other municipalities in the province and beyond.
 - Seasonal programmes. This refers to the summer and autumn courses, a traditional formula for the dissemination

of knowledge in Spanish universities. The UCA organises four different ones: Summer Courses in Cádiz (71 editions); Summer, in San Roque (40 editions); Autumn, in Jerez (25 editions), and Autumn, in Algeciras (25 editions). These courses obviously have a notable impact on the localities where they are held and the corresponding town councils are usually co-organisers and sponsors of the courses. A curious detail to note here is that the Puerto Real campus does not have any of these seasonal courses, while San Roque, a town without a campus, has some courses with a certain tradition.

- Programmes agreed with municipalities. In this area, there are two that bear the name Campus. These are Campus Rock and Campus Jazz. In 2019, the former held six concerts in Cádiz and the latter five in Algeciras. These are concerts that in both cases have been rotating through the different localities with campuses over the years.
- Digital programmes. In this typology we include above all the Andalusian Culture on the Net, which includes sections on Flamenco, Andalusian Literature, Rock and Cinema. As these are digital activities, it is more complex to specify the localities of the users, although it is foreseeable that the province of Cadiz will have a significant increase in the number of users. The Cultural Agenda, which has been in existence for more than twenty-five years, and the UCA Alerts (a newsletter system) complete these programmes from the perspective of communicating the university's cultural activity.
- Cultural Observatory of the Atalaya Project. This is an original programme, unique and not common in other universities in the country. Basically, it is a proposal financed to a large extent by the Andalusian Regional Government and in which the UCA leads and coordinates a set of programmes that make up a project in which the essential function is the observatory function, in this case of the field of culture in the world of the Andalusian public university and the territories in which it is located. It includes actions such as the Cultural Management Web Manual, the publication of the Peripheral Journal of cultural management and policies, studies

of cultural uses, habits and demand, research grants and the Cultural Resource Centre, among others. Few territories have a cultural observatory of this level in Spain, although for the purposes of our work it is significant for the service it provides to the province and Andalusia as a whole and because, essentially, it is a quality and prestigious service for the university.

As we can deduce from the above description, the University of Cadiz has a broad presence in the municipalities of the province's campuses. In this context, it is not a stretch to believe that the university extension, in terms of resources and the level of activity generated, has an important influence in the municipalities of the campuses and even in many others in the province of Cadiz. In this relationship between the University and the municipalities, and by way of conclusions, we can affirm:

1. The territorial distribution of resources and activities carried out by the university is balanced between the respective campuses it manages. Therefore, it is logical to deduce that its impact on local cultural policies, at least in these four municipalities, is important and produces a bias that affects them in terms of quality and quantity.
2. The UCA, through the action of the University Extension, is undoubtedly a territorial cultural agent of the first order in the province of Cadiz and above all in the municipalities with a university campus.
3. University Extension is also a collaborating and cooperating cultural agent that has made its capacity to generate alliances a strength that not only affects it but also transmits synergies in this sense to the municipalities with campuses.
4. The cultural action of the UCA undoubtedly has a considerable influence on the local cultural agenda of the municipalities with campuses. Due to the volume of its programming, the programming models it proposes, the quality of the contents and its territorial implantation, it has a greater leadership in cultural policies than it would have in a more traditional model of university cultural management.

5. The cultural ecosystem of the province of Cadiz, including the municipalities with campuses, would not be complete and could not be fully understood without considering the UCA and its university extension service as an essential cultural agent in the province capable of influencing municipal cultural policies and their management models.
6. If the local authorities of the province of Cadiz (municipalities with campuses, provincial councils and other municipalities) decide to undertake the much-needed renovation and adjustment of local cultural policies, the UCA should be an active interlocutor in this process. The capital of knowledge and talent that University Extension has accumulated over the last twenty years makes it an essential ally in this task.

Notes

1. In this sense, the province of Cádiz is no stranger to this phenomenon, and we can see how in a town like Vejer de la Frontera, with a little less than 13,000 inhabitants, the Montonmedio Foundation was established. See <https://fundacionnmac.org/es/>. There are other examples.
2. <https://www.guggenheim-bilbao.es>
3. Analysis for the strengthening of culture in Cadiz. VV.AA. GECA. Cádiz, 2020. Download at <https://gecaandalucia.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/DOCUMENTO-ANÁLISIS-SECTOR-CULTURAL-PROVINCIA-CÁDIZ.pdf>
4. The calculation and processing of the data from primary sources was the work of the author of this paper. The reference year for the data has been 2018, firstly because it was prior to the shock of the pandemic, which altered all forecasts and caused a break that deserves separate attention. Then, also, because it is the last year in which we found data from all the institutions and administrations that we needed.
5. Faber est suae quisque fortunae. Pseudo Salustio, Epistula ad Cesarem senem de republica, 1, 1, 2
6. <https://www.boe.es/buscar/act.php?id=BOE-A-1985-5392>
7. <https://extension.uca.es/historico-de-extension-memorias-y-documentos/>
8. <https://www.fitdecadiz.org>
9. <https://www.festivaldejerez.es>

Bibliography/References

Ben, J. Luis: *Ámbito competencial. Has local autonomy been lost?* In *Informe sobre el estado de la Cultura en España 2019. Local culture, democracy, development*. Fundación Alternativas. Madrid, 2019.

Bonet, Lluís (Dir.): *Economic analysis of the Performing Arts sector in Spain*. Barcelona, 2008.

Borja, Jordi: *State and city*. Barcelona, 1988.

Escudero Méndez, Juana (Coord.): *Guide for the evaluation of cultural policies local*. Spanish. Federation of Municipalities and Provinces (FEMP), Madrid, 2009.

Font i Cardona, Jordi: *Radiography of local cultural policy: competences, functions and prospects*. In *The cultural policy in the municipality*. Spanish Federation of Municipalities and Provinces (FEMP) Madrid, 2002. 35 35.

GONZÁLEZ RUEDA, A. J. and Ariño Villarroya, A. (2020): "The cultural dimension of the Spanish university. State of the question ", *Debats. Magazine of culture, power and society*, 134 (1), pp. 217-232. doi: 10.28939 / iam.debats.134-1.13.

GONZÁLEZ RUEDA, A. J .: *Literary heritage and cultural management: foundations, legacies and other tribulations*. Madara Editores, Jaén, 2020.

Rodero, Estefanía: *Dancing with your hands tied: Local regime and cultural policies in Spain* (2016). <https://estefaniarodero.es/bailar-con-las-manos-atadas-regimen-local-y-politicas-culturales-en-espana/>. Accessed 18 October 2021. Guatemala City