CULTURAL POLICIES IN THE MIRROR OF THEATER DIRECTORS IN CALI

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ABSTRACT

The paper analyses the main implications of cultural policy for theaters in the city of Cali through the perspective of directors. Seven theater directors in Cali were contacted to see how they are coping with cultural policy, using semi-structured interviews and some additional information accessible through the Internet, or provided by directors themselves. Despite the willingness expressed by the Colombian government in the formulation and structure of cultural policy through different plans and government bodies, in the eyes of directors such efforts are insufficient for the growth and sustainability of theaters.

Keywords: cultural policy, theater, non-profit organizations, management, entrepreneurship.

INTRODUCTION

Every cultural act has consequences.
And all Cultural Policy leaves a legacy, capable of transforming society"
Paula Marcela Moreno Zapata, Ministry of Culture, Compendium of Cultural Policy, 2010.

The evolution of theater in Colombia has a special episode in the city of Cali, a growing city with around 3 million inhabitants that has been one of the most important point of reference and rich cultural centers of the country. Even though the aboriginal inhabitants of the country had a variety of artistic forms and expressions, theater in Colombia as an artistic expression has its origin in the European tradition, received from Spain and other countries, during the colonial period. After the independence in 1819, theater was limited to the work of certain individuals, that was far from being considered a big, growing movement. Only by the second half of the 20th century, the theater acquired a bigger connotation, adopting the artistic, political and social nature that has been in a great sense the base of what exists today.

A particular characteristic of the theater movement in Colombia, is that it was originated from artists, collectives and universities, with some independent groups being able to evolve and become influential forces nationwide. Since its foundation in 1955, the influence of TEC (Experimental theater of Cali), and more importantly, of Enrique Buenaventura, is undeniable, and remains today; the evolution of the theater has particular characteristics, according to the context of the times. At the same time theater experienced a consolidation, the understanding of Culture from the governments, as an important part of their role, generated changes in the formulation of policies.

There are some studies that deal with the evolution of Cultural Policies and its implications for the development of the theaters. However, there is still need for serious studies focused on understanding the rationale behind the formulation and implementation of such policies, and evaluate what the perspective from the point of view of theaters themselves is; more precisely, from the theater directors, which means finding out not only the main challenges, opportunities, benefits and drawbacks concerning cultural policies. The paper aims to assess through the perspective of directors, the main implications of cultural policy for theaters in Cali, specifically, replying to the following question: "How Cultural Policy shapes the way directors cope with the economic dimensions of theaters?".
It is structures as follows: paragraph 1 considers ....

Cultural Policy for Theaters in Colombia[1]

The tradition of theater in Colombia has evolved over the last 60 years, becoming a dynamic and active sector, making theaters in Colombia particularly exceptional; because they have achieved an important level of recognition, under the limitations that have always existed. Such area of the performing arts demanded policies that fit or make sense with the current economic and cultural contexts, which is why the Ministry of Culture developed the National Plan of Theater (NPT), which has been the most important instrument used by the government to implement the cultural policies for theaters, which is also part of the National Plan of Culture (NPC). The general objective of CP through the NPT, is the consolidation of artistic processes and their respective practices, through the design of strategies that strengthen groups, organizations and theater creators of the country in general. The specific objectives of the NPC[2] are:

Enable the permanent execution of programs and institutional projects, acknowledging diversity and providing visibility to the work of theater institutions.

Promote the dialogue, alliances and agreements with different government layers (national, regional and local) enabling the principles of equity, inclusion, sustainability and cultural citizenship, among others.

Stimulate the research and documentation related to theaters.

Support the educational processes, performed by entities willing to participate, allowing setting standards and qualifying the theater practices en every dimension.

Promote agreements with entities in the areas of theater formation and education, in order to execute specific qualifying programs nationwide.

Support and promote the social projection and appropriation of theater, in all its forms, nationally and internationally.

Strengthen existing programs that support the infrastructure of theaters in the country.

Serve as the link between academic disciplines, theaters and the national system of culture and other areas of the national life.

Promote the development of legislative initiatives, aiming for the sustainability of the theater practices in the country.

In the case of theaters in Cali, the layers of government that intervene are the Ministry of Culture (central government) and the Municipality of Cali (local government), both formulate different lines of action that are transformed into the different policies and plans. The most important policy is the CVP (Concerted Venues Program), which focuses on the preservation of theater infrastructure and access, and it constitutes the most important source of financial support for theaters. It consists in the provisioning of economic resources to venues where all forms of performing arts expressions can take place. It has two main lines, public theater and private venues. In both cases, the program provides resources for the maintenance and wellbeing of the venue; in exchange for the involvement in some activities of support to the community. The CVP is a transversal policy (in the form of grants) that includes theaters among others, from the sectoriality the National Plan for Theaters is the most important one for theaters. Another relevant policy is the National Plan of Grants and Incentives, which offers alternative sources of funding, but for specific projects that have to be presented by theaters, that need to meet some requirements in order to be obtained. This policy also involves the innovation and research, and is supported by many different programs on the national and local levels. In this respect theaters in Cali participate through the presentation of projects and looking for additional means of funding.

From the formulation of policies is possible to determine what the main objectives of Colombian government are. There is a clear emphasis on items such as sustainability, but there is no not acknowledgment of how it can be achieved without a concise and clear taste formation strategy. These last two elements are the basis to create a market that can grants sustainability and embodies better working conditions and the professionalization of the sector.

METHODOLOGY

This study is performed through semis-structured interviews with the directors of each institutions, plus some additional information provided by them, accessible through the website of Fundación CaliTeatro, Domus Teatro, Teatro Esquina Latina, Teatro La Mascara, Teatro Salamandra, Teatro Experimental de Cali, and Teatro Municipal; plus some government bodies in Colombia, such as the ministry of Culture, the National Department of Planning and the Municipality of Cali.

An inductive approach has been applied through multiple case studies, by means of data from documents, interviews and literature review. By this way we expect to arrive to findings, using interpretivism in order to link theoretical and empirical frameworks. The main objective of using case studies, is to shed light on the most relevant economic dimensions, each individual theater takes into account, in order to accomplish its mission.

Theaters selected are small enterprises working under the figure of non-profit organizations, and have different approaches, objectives, missions

1 We decided to leave out the rich literature review on CP in order to focus on the research structure and on its results. A selection of references is provided in the references section.

2 National Plan of Culture 2001-2010, Bogota, Ministry of Culture 2002.

and ownership structures, that vary among family ownership, collective association or municipality-owned. These differences and similarities allowed us to set a baseline for a comparison between the perspectives of directors, that when added to other factors lead the results of our enquiry to different findings. The interviews were held through Skype, when they were at their offices in the theaters, the same way, for interviews made by telephone.

To accomplish an effective analysis, the structure of topics was previously organized, and the topics were consequently discussed during the interview. As the aim of the interviews is to collect in-depth knowledge from the theater director perspective on CP, at the beginning of the interview a short introduction was given in order to build trust, giving confidence, guidance and transparency. During the interview the questions were kept opened, allowing other topics to be introduced and discussed at the same time. Each interview was organized in 7 main topics (table 1).

TABLE 1 – TOPICS OF THE INTERVIEWS AND MAIN QUESTIONS

First Topic: Introduction. The objective was to know about the director, specially about his role in the theater, which in some cases brings information about his background, for how long they have been working in the theater sector, and how the evolution of the theater had been, which is very important, because it includes the background and experience they already have.	I would like to know a little bit more about the ownership of the theater? As director, what is your relationship with the owners? What is the main area of specialization of the theater (types of productions)? Additional areas or activities performed by the theater
Second Topic: Theater operation. In order to know more about the theater in general terms, this second topic deals with the information about the operational aspects of the theater. Like the first topic, some additional background information is provided.	What is the current structure of the theater departments/ organization? *Number of employees?* *How are they classified? Type of contractual relationship*
Third Topic: Introduction to CP – Incentives and Support. It starts exploring the overall context of CP, by means of the perception of directors on government support, by asking them how they financed their activities over the last 5 years.	*What are the existing tax exemptions that affect the theater?* *Which efforts has the theater undertaken to fit with current tax regime?* *Which areas of the current tax regulation should offer additional benefits? Sources of financial support last 5 years?* *Projects undertaken for government support?* *% Government / Private support?* *Opinion on financial support of Cultural Policies?*
Fourth Topic: Professionalization – Labor. It section deals with aspects regarding education, professionalization and working conditions in the sector. Since cultural policies highlight aspects such as the importance of education and the professionalization of the sector, the opinions and experiences of the directors, are a valuable source of information that is looked thoroughly, in order to understand their approach to deal with people working in the theater, from their personal experience.	*Perception of CP on professionalization of the theater sector?* *Contribution of CP to improve working conditions of theater staff?*
Fifth Topic: Entrepreneurship. From the perspective of CP, entrepreneurship becomes an important objective, vital to achieve the sustainability of the sector through the appropriate managerial skills. The questions of this section, explore how it is related to their sustainability, and what is the relationship between the concept of entrepreneurship and CP.	*How do you think the professionalization of theater, involves the development of entrepreneurial skills in directors? How does CP implementation regarding entrepreneurship, benefit the future sustainability of the theater? How do you think CP impacted the behaviour of the theater as a cultural industry?*
Sixth Topic: Democratization/Access – Quality. The government refers to assess as democratization, and by asking directors about their experience regarding the audiences, the relationship with cultural policies provides an understanding of how effective policies have been promoting access, and how the respective economic dimensions have been affected	*How do you think cultural policy is helping theaters to improve the access of population to culture? What has been the case of your theater? How do you measure it? How many attendees per performance and/or season? How do you think the current offer of theaters represent the diversity of the city?* *How do you think access and quality are related?*
Seventh Topic: Concluding remarks. Some additional questions enabled us to end the interview, wrapping up ideas and gathering additional information on the opinions and perspectives of the directors, which might have been missed previously, by asking their opinion, based on their experiences, regarding the feasibility, consistency and implementation of CP.	How do you find the current cultural policies regarding consistency and feasibility? In your view, what are the biggest issues regarding the implementation of cultural policies? Which changes need to be implemented to improve cultural policy? In which levels (local, regional, central)?

The Context: Theaters in Cali
In Cali there are 24 theaters. We used the following selection criteria in order to define our sample:
Legal form: non-profit organizations. Is the most common legal figure for theaters in Colombia;
Ownership of a venue;
Theater network activity (they Are parts of the Concerted Venues Program);
Established tradition: created before 1997.
We obtained a sample of 10 theaters which are part of the local theater network, which means they share common means of government support, they have their own venue and been established for a long period already, with an average of 20 year of existence. 7 out of 10 director theaters decided to accept the interview.

Fundación Escénica CaliTeatro (FCT)
This theater was founded in 1989, and is a non-profit organization, with a family-based ownership that has achieved to maintain a continuous programming in the city, for all kinds of public. The theater currently does not have its own performing group, since it hires the artistic staff, based on the requirements of the projects, as a way to minimize costs. However, it has always had a varied repertoire of classical, modern and contemporary authors, as well as their own creations, some of them have been taken overseas. Apart from this, the theater works in the formation of actors, with workshops and trainings aimed at children between 4 and 15 years old. http://www.caliteatro.com/
Objectives. The objectives are mainly aesthetic; to have ground for artists to grow from very early ages; to add additional ingredients to cultural life of the city.

Domus Teatro (DT)
A theater formed in 1994, with the initiative of a group of students who continue until today, in their own space and venue. Although they do not have their own theater group, they always have people committed to their mission, representing their own plays or classical ones. The venue is also used for guests groups of music, theater and dance. http://www.domusteatro.com/
Objectives. It is very important to create a bridge between the public and the theater, reaching out different communities and minorities through their work. To keep aesthetic objectives, like the relationship between literature and theater.

Teatro Esquina Latina (TEL)
This theater conducts research, works in the creation and promotion of theater. It was funded in 1973, by the initiative of a group of university students. From 1978 the theater achieved its consolidation and continues until today as an autonomous cultural organization of private initiative and public interest, constituted by people dedicated to the theater world, which has an altruist aim. They produce and present classical and their own plays, with their own performing group. http://www.esquinalatina.org/
Objectives. Aesthetic objectives, sustainability of our theater. Diffusion of the theater activity and its important role as an artistic activity in the development of society.

Teatro La Máscara (TLM)
The theater was formed in 1972, by individual initiatives of a group of young people that after having received theater education, wanted to use the theater as a tool to express their critical views on society. The theater is nowadays, a collective society with family origin, and has become the leader on theater of gender in the city. Currently, the theater produces their own plays, and also adapts some classical ones, with their own performing group. They conduct workshops in artistic education, develop social and cultural projects, and work in the creation of awareness on gender (women), using art as a tool. http://www.teatrolamascara.com, http://lamascaracali.blogspot.nl/
Objectives. To be able to transmit to audiences real artistic experiences. As a genre theater, we aim to create imaginary spaces that allow the improvement of social cohesion, and sustainability.

Teatro Salamandra (TS)
The theater has been working since 1994 in the same building, a colonial house in a centric neighborhood of the city. It was a private initiative that started with a group of theater students, which adopted the figure of collective society in the form of a non-profit organization. Today, it has a performing group called "El Barco Ebrio", which adapts and presents plays from different authors, working also in the research and development of other works. Aside from the theater activities, Salamandra also holds AJazzgo, an important Jazz festival with national and international guests. The theater hosts other activities such as painting exhibitions from different contemporary artists, recitals, publications and special events of public interest. The theater director organizes also promotes the theater festival of Cali, an event were theater companies from all over the world participate. The theater also rents its venue to other theater groups that lack their own infrastructure, and takes part in the concerted venues program.
http://www.ajazzgofestival.com/
Objectives. To achieve and maintain a good relationship between theater, aesthetics and poetry, with its diffusion in the community which are the main lines of the theater. To keep working together as a committed team, keeping the theater activity alive in the community and the city.

Teatro Experimental de Cali (TEC)
Created in 1955 by Enrique Buenaventura, as an initiative of some students of the Escuela Departamental de Teatro of Cali, which was part of the faculty of scenic arts of the Universidad del Valle. Today the theater is a non-profit foundation, which is formed by an assembly of members, consisting mostly of theater staff, and has a board of

directors in charge of the decision-making. This is one of the most representative theaters of the city with its own developed collective creation approach to theater that has transcended to other latitudes, and is still subject of study and research.
http://www.enriquebuenaventura.org/cronologia.php
Objective. It is important to keep the method of Collective Creation alive, establishing a link between the art and the public as primary aesthetic objectives, aiming to achieve a sustainable process as well.

Teatro Municipal de Cali (TM)
The theater building was inaugurated in 1927, back then was the result of private initiatives, in a growing city that found the need to create a space for culture and arts. Since then, the theater has hosted a considerable number of performances, from opera, singers, drama, recitals, etc. Since 1999 the theater was declared (by the city council) an independent administrative unit, depending from the Secretary of Culture and Tourism of the city. It is a municipal theater, owned and funded mostly by the city of Cali. From the theaters selected for this thesis, this is the only theater that does not produce performances, but only presents other companies works. The relevancy of this choice lies in the fact that it is a government owned theater, providing an important view to assess how CP is perceived and offering a different perspective that could validate some of my initial thoughts.
http://teatromunicipal.gov.co/
Objectives. To present varied and high quality performances to a broader audience, complying with public administration standards.

TABLE 2- GENERAL INFORMATION OF SELECTED THEATERS

TH.	YEAR OF FOUNDATION	VENUE SIZE	TYPE	MAIN OBJECTIVES	AUDIENCE/ YEAR (APPROX.)	SHOWS YEAR	SEATS	WHAT IS THE CURRENT STRUCTURE OF THE THEATER DEPARTMENTS/ ORGANIZATION?	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES? HOW ARE THEY CLASSIFIED? TYPE OF CONTRACTUAL RELATIONSHIP?	OCCUP.
FCT	1989	150	Producing & Presenting	Diffusion preservation of classic theater tradition.	15.000	120	150	Artistic development area, administrative area and teachers	4 Admin, 3 teachers, 15 freelance actors	125
DT	1994	100	Producing & Presenting	Diffusion, keep link between literature and theater.	10.000	120	100	Administrative and artistic areas, with shared responsibilities of the staff	12 people	84
TEL	1973	80	Producing & Presenting	Sustainability, diffusion	9.500	150	80	Artistic and Administrative areas	14 artistic staff, 10 administrative staff, 8 interns	64
TLM	1972	100	Producing & Presenting	Diffusion, social cohesion and sustainability	9.000	120	100	Artistic and administrative areas	10 artistic staff, 4 administrative staff, 1 accountant and 1 auditor (hourly staffed contractors)	75
TS	1994	75	Producing &Presenting	Diffusion, sustainability, social cohesion.	5.000	80	75	Administrative, commercial, communications, artistic, production, logistics and technical with shared responsibilities	Administrative 9 permanent staff, 11 artistic, permanent. AJazzgo: 40 temp. Theater Festival: 35 temp	63
TEC	1955	180	Producing & Presenting	Keep collective creation methods alive, to achieve acknowledgement from community and local authorities.	18.900	150	180	Administrative and artistic.	14 volunteers (shared ticket sales), 5 administrative, permanent employees	126
TM	1927	1032	Presenting	High quality performances, sustainability	107.000	150	1032	Financial, administrative, commercial and technical areas	20 permanent staff	714

Main results from the interview transcripts
For brevity sake we decided to select the most relevant findings of the interview transcripts of different sections, which later have been checked with the assistance of the software.

Section 1. All theaters have adopted different strategies to cope with the existing limitations, working in these areas: research and development, acting workshops and lessons, lectures and conferences, Community oriented programs and Music, cinema and poetry festivals.

Section 2. One aspect that has been observed in the directors is that there is no consensus on the working conditions of creative staff. Each theater approaches this as they can, including volunteers, interns, free lancers, permanent staff and contractors. A key element identified was the notion of shared responsibilities.

Section 3. The overall consensus is that there are no significant tax exemptions applicable to them, even though they are non-profit organizations. Yet, all seven theaters interviewed comply with all tax obligations as any other for profit organization.

Section 4. With the exception of the TM (not having its own performing group), all of the theaters hold additional activities, such as acting workshops, company trainings to stimulate creativity, rental of the venue, rental of costumes and make up accessories, children workshops, and social projects with communities and organ All the interviewees agreed on the fact that government support is very limited, and despite the increasing budget the Ministry spends on grants and subsidies, there are more groups of theater all over the country applying for them.

Section 5. The general attitude towards the professionalization is positive, with the exception of the TEC, which differs in its approach radically. One point of general consensus in the answers is the general belief that the development of entrepreneurial skills has been a consequence of government inefficiency, and due to the lack of consistency of the cultural policies, quoting the director of TM, *[...]"seeing that government, or the system, have not strengthen our work, through clearer support policies; we have always been entrepreneurs, and that way have kept our institution afloat, adding value to society, as we always intended"*; similarly FCT added: *[...]"in our case, in FCT we have been entrepreneurs for decades now; our venue is small, but if you see it, you will see our pride; over 22 years of the theater standing on its feet, is the result of our entrepreneurship"*. This clearly points out to an interesting finding, which is how the lack of government support has been the source of motivation for theaters, forcing them to adapt and to develop the required entrepreneurial skills, and after all, has been a matter of survival.

Section 6. Analysing the answers of the directors, with no exception (not even the TM), the most obvious aspect is the lack of a consistent approach form the government regarding taste formation.
The common denominator can be found in the words of TEL: *[...] "policies are written in the constitution, but they are not on the right level, in the practice, there is not an established program for the diffusion of (artistic) activities. It is thought that the economic support already limited, is sufficient, and there is not a program, say, with the secretary of education to be in charge of spreading the word in the city"*. The concept of quality is regarded as a key element of attraction of public, on a minor level there is a reference to promotion, which is related to the possibility to promote and advertise the shows. There is total consensus among directors that agree that for a city with around 3 million inhabitants, the current theater offer is not representative of diversity. One of the main reasons for this, has to do with the fact that each theater follows its own interest, which is completely detached from any compromise with all the different groups within the city.

Section 7. In this section, the directors confirmed once again what was analysed in previous chapters regarding the lack of consistency in the CP. Although, having a wide legal framework defined there are still gaps in the way the plans and policies are implemented. At some point the director of the TEC, raises some questions regarding the actual objectives of people implementing the policies, on the local and national level *[...] "There is no consistency in the official policy, every time they change the person in charge, everything changes. It is always following different objectives, and that doesn´t allow any coherence"*.
An important reflection at this point is raised by the director of the TEC, *[...] "maybe the bureaucrats should have more criteria, like before, more artistic criteria. Now there are only social, economic, political and of promotion. They are ultimately policies, but the cultural is not as important as it used to be in CP"*.

Coding with NVivo

The coding of the interviews was first carried out manually. The interviews transcripts were done in a word editing software (MS Word 2003), and were manually checked. The text was highlighted at some points, and some quotes and remarks were underlined, certain parts of the texts were coloured in order to perform the initial coding and the analysis. Afterwards, the data was entered into NVivo 10, where the coding was done again but electronically. Doing this allowed going through the interviews again, finding some relationships that were not spotted beforehand. This provided a different point of view, putting to test some elements of the previous analysis. The present analysis has distributed the nodes in 2 main categories, tree nodes and free nodes.

TABLE 3 - THREE NODES

Type	Name	Sources	References
Tree Node 1	Economic dimensions	8	8
Tree Node 2	Management	8	8
Tree Node 2	Entrepreneurship	8	8
Tree Node 2	Output	8	40
Tree Node 3	Quality	8	8
Tree Node 3	Attendance	8	8
Tree Node 3	Subsidies	8	8
Tree Node 3	Grants	8	8
Tree Node 3	Incentives	8	8
Tree Node 3	Venue	8	8
Tree Node 2	Labour	8	24
Tree Node 3	Professionalization	8	8
Tree Node 1	Policy	8	168
Tree Node 2	Cultural Objectives	8	104
Tree Node 3	Production	8	8
Tree Node 3	Consumption	8	8
Tree Node 3	Access	8	8
Tree Node 3	Innovation	8	8
Tree Node 3	Diversity	8	8
Tree Node 3	Education	8	8
Tree Node 2	Economic objectives	8	56
Tree Node 3	Sustainability	8	8
Tree Node 3	Equity	8	8
Tree Node 3	Growth	8	8
Tree Node 1	Director	8	8
Tree Node 1	Theater	8	8
Tree Node 1	Ministry	7	7
Tree Node 1	Municipality	7	7
Tree Node 1	Audience	7	7

Tree nodes have a succession of hierarchical dependencies up to the 3rd level, and present a division of subtopics or hierarchies. The free nodes are some of this study. The type has been already explained, and the sources box refers to the number of sources including this concept, and references, are the total number of times the concept appears in the sources.

TABLE 4 - FREE NODES

Type	Name	Sources	References
Free node	Theater	8	8
Free node	Ministry	7	7
Free node	Director	8	8
Free node	Audience	7	7
Free node	Municipality	7	7

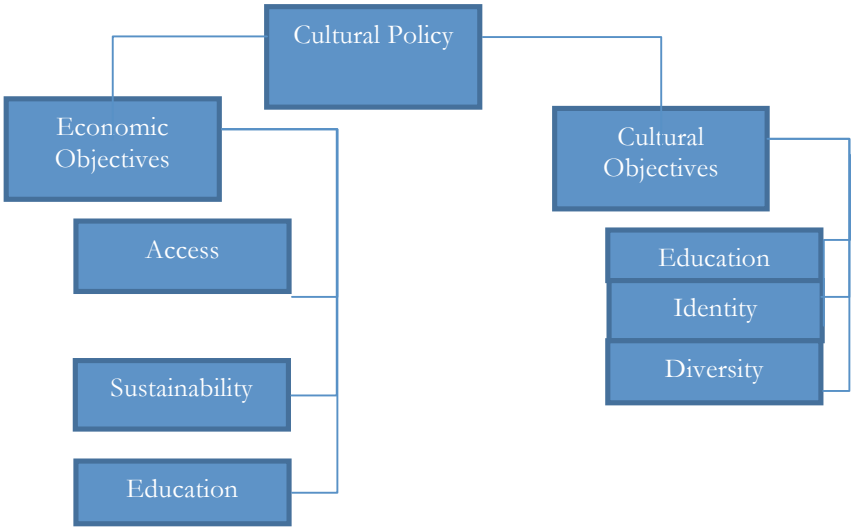
Cultural Policy Tree and Statements

The analysis with NVivo was used to confirm some of the findings obtained from the interview analysis. One of the challenges of working with NVivo was to set the coding in both Spanish and English, keeping consistency in the results. Fortunately, this was achievable thanks to the flexibility of the software and the initial setup.

Considering the results, the expected structures were similar to our initial setup, with a few variations that are visible and represent the actual situation for Colombia of the classification of policies according to the objectives. Although the structure has similarities to the literature, there are marked differences. Among them, sustainability became an important economic objective implying additional areas, but in this case is important to note that in the formulation of policies, to have a dynamic and sustainable performing arts sector, is important. Additionally to this, access is considered more a cultural objective, although, its economic implications are clearly identified, allowing to classify it, providing this way some evidence of the government acknowledgement of its importance beyond the economic scope.

Same as for access, diversity comes as a strong cultural objective, especially in the formulation of policies process. Although the case for theaters is complex from this perspective, since diversity refers to ethnical but also to other set of characteristics that define identity, the conceptual rationale of this is not clear, and brings an ambiguous understanding of the expectations of government regarding diversity. Besides, diversity also involves a wider set of cultural expressions; thus, it is not easy limiting them to theater.

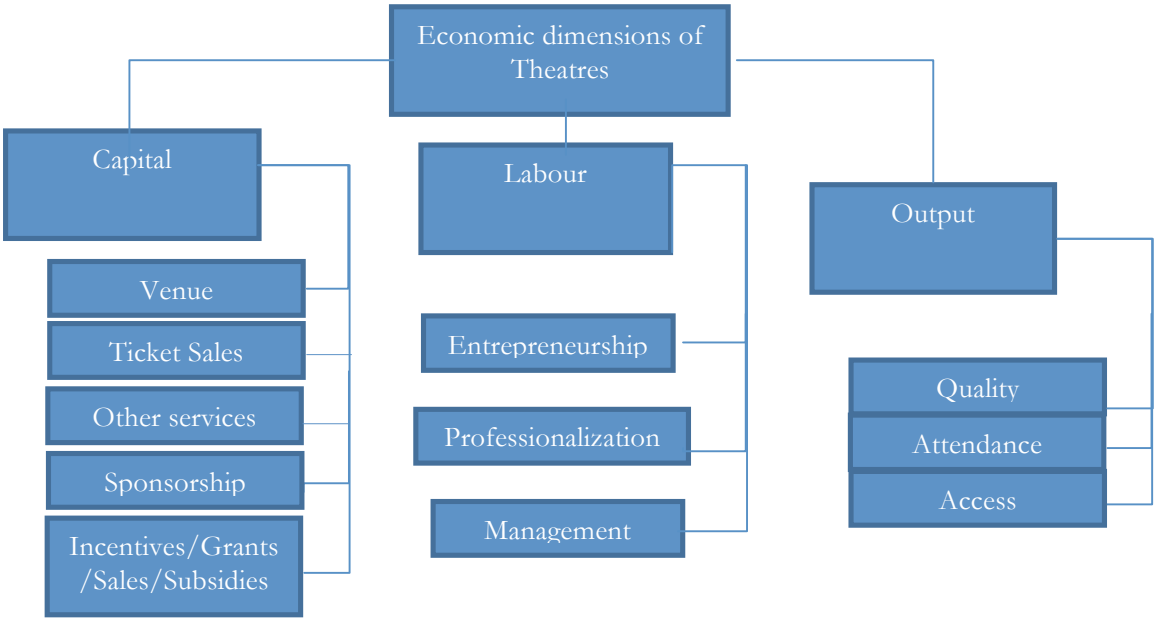
FIGURE 5 - CULTURAL POLICY TREE FROM NVIVO



Theaters Tree and Statements

In the case of theaters, there are some interesting findings. First, the distribution of the economic dimensions (as expected in my initial setup) kept the same structure. However, some differences can be seen as well. First, entrepreneurship and management became more related to labour, even from the point of view of directors and from the formulation of the policies. This indicates, the understanding of entrepreneurial and management abilities (skills), constitute an attribute more oriented to the labour area. Secondly, the capital function offers interesting results as well. With the physical infrastructure acquiring great importance, mostly because the most important and regular form of financial support comes from the CVP. Still, another important element to note is that the other forms of support have been accounted as important elements of the capital dimension.

FIGURE 6 -THEATER TREE FROM NVIVO



On the side of the output, the result brings three elements, quality, which is clearly acknowledged by directors through the interviews, as well as access and attendance. There is an important distinction between attendance an access (although they are closely related). Attendance deals with the people visiting theaters and being part of the audience, whereas access has to do with a notion of allowing people to have the means to go to the theater.

CONCLUSION

CP in Colombia plays a relevant role for theaters, because it aligns the government efforts in all its layers, in order to achieve its strategic objectives. However, the implementation of them is still prone to be improved, especially because the general perception of directors in Cali is that there is a considerable gap between the formulation of policies and plans, and their implementation. The gap between the ambitions (objectives) and the actual outcome of their implementation seems wide in the eyes of directors.
All directors acknowledged the efforts form the Ministry of Culture, and the Secretary of Culture and Tourism of Cali, and also agreed that cultural policy plays an important role in the past and present of theaters, but there is a general consensus about the limitation of their impact and their insufficiency.
Larger efforts are required on the formulation of plans and implementation of strategies that fit better with the reality and needs of theaters. A deeper focus is needed in the education front, and cannot be separated from the education, becoming taste formation an essential area to develop further efforts, towards the creation of a growing and sustainable market for theaters. It is not possible to talk about professionalization, without accounting for the audience, as it is not possible to talk about sustainability or access, when the potential witnesses seem to be detached from the current offer of theaters in Cali.
The directors mentioned that cultural policy has been very influential, but not for the expected reasons, or as a matter in fact no due to the positive outcome of a well implemented set of policies, but actually to the lack of them, which has forced directors to be proactive and entrepreneurs in a surprising way. Fortunately, the fact that theaters remain working tirelessly and passionately gives hope that regardless of the government´s limitations to execute useful policy, they will be able to prevail.

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