

The article aims to present the first results of the first phase of the amateur theatre study conducted throughout Estonia in 2019 and to compare the results with the field of professional theatre. The article is divided into four parts. First, the authors introduce the methodology of the research. In the second part, they give a statistical overview of Estonian amateur theatre. After that, they compare the political strategies implemented in professional and amateur theatres. Finally, they introduce the biggest challenges of amateur groups and potential solutions.

Out of approximately 200 adult amateur theatres, 85 (43%) answered the questionnaire. Of those Estonian amateur theatres responding, 39% is a part of a larger organisation, usually a local cultural house. A few (29%) operate as NGOs, or they have no legal status (28%). 65% of the theatres receive regular funding, but many of them and almost all the others apply for project-based funding also. The most important funding body is local municipalities, which support 79% of the theatres. The highest cost items are transport and workshops. Estonian amateur theatres produce mostly spoken theatre. Festivals play a crucial role in the amateur theatre field, and most of the theatres attend festivals regularly. The three most significant challenges of amateurs are related to membership issues, repertoire and funding.

Keywords: amateur theatre, Estonian theatre, cultural policy, challenges of amateurs, STEP

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The Challenges of the Estonian Amateur Theatre Field¹

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Introduction

In 2018, the international working group STEP (Project on European Theatre Systems) started a comparative research project on the amateur theatre field. This article aims to present the first results of the first phase of the amateur theatre study conducted throughout Estonia and to compare the results with the field of professional theatre.

Estonia is a small country in Northern Europe. Theatre has always been an essential cornerstone of national identity here, and the number of theatre visits currently equals the number of inhabitants – 1.3 million. There are approximately 50 institutions that produce theatre with professionals, and almost 30 of them receive state subsidy. The Estonian amateur theatre field is also very active. According to Statistics Estonia (Statistikaamet), there were 431 amateur theatres in Estonia in 2018, approximately 200 of them are adult groups, and the rest are school theatres. The 150-year-long tradition of amateur theatres, mostly in rural areas, has always existed as if in a parallel universe to the mostly urban located professional theatres. Although Estonian professional theatre is quite well-covered by statistics and research, the amateur theatre has thus far been primarily outside the researcher's scope because of its relative distance (financially, politically and aesthetically) from the professional theatre field. The field is understood here in the Bourdieusian sense, meaning “a separate social universe having its own laws of functioning” (Bourdieu 162). Thus, this article is the first attempt to map the Estonian amateur theatre field.

The article is divided into four parts. First, we introduce the methodology of the research. In the second part, we give a statistical overview of Estonian amateur theatre. After that, we compare the political strategies implemented in the professional and amateur theatres. Finally, we introduce the biggest challenges of amateur groups and potential solutions.

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1. Methodology and questionnaire

In many European countries, quantitative data about the activities of professional theatres is gathered annually and centrally. On the contrary, the data about amateur theatres is either very general, random or incomplete. Therefore, we decided to start our project by collecting general data about amateur theatres following the same methodology that the STEP group used in its earlier research (See Van Maanen, Kotte, Saro and *Amfiteater*). The collectively-developed questionnaire relied partly on examples already in use in the Netherlands and in Switzerland to make our findings comparable with existing data.

In general, the questions are the same for each country; some varieties might be found in the answers because of cultural differences.² It was also possible to add questions, which are not of interest from the comparative perspective but have local importance, to the end of the questionnaire. The first version of the questionnaire was developed in English and then translated into local languages. In Estonia, the questionnaire was then reviewed by the board of the Estonian Amateur Theatre Association and by other experts. Following their suggestions, questions were added about the geographical reach of theatres and about the participation in festivals (the importance of festivals will be discussed later). In each county, the questionnaire was sent to the theatres giving public performances (accessible to everybody), which means that in Estonia, the school theatres were left out from the research.

The questionnaire consisted of three parts:

- 1) Questions concerning the functioning of the theatre: name, founding year, address, legal status, number and division of members according to age and gender. We also asked how the number of members has changed during recent years, whether actors receive training and which are the two biggest challenges the theatre is facing right now.
- 2) Questions concerning the funding of the theatre: who is funding and how, what are the highest cost items and the evaluation of the current economic situation.
- 3) Questions about the artistic activities: number of premières, performances and visits during the last year; the geographical range of giving performances and receiving visits; the types of performances; the types of texts used for performances; the languages used (as well as dialects); the target groups; performing in festivals in Estonia and abroad; possible collaborations with professionals and amateurs.

² For example, in Malta "church" was listed as one of the options to the list of funding bodies. In Estonia, this was not the case, as churches generally do not support amateur groups.

We conducted the research among the Estonian amateur theatres in spring 2019 with the aim of mapping the institutional, economic and aesthetic functioning of the theatres. With the help of the Estonian Amateur Theatre Association, the questionnaire was distributed among its members (65 theatres) and through its contact persons in 14 Estonian counties.

Out of approximately 200 adult amateur theatres, 85 (43%) answered the questionnaire. In some cases, there were two different people from the same theatre answering the questionnaire, and their responses were different. We included the responses that were posted last. The sample was not entirely representative. Thus, the responses could not be generalised to the whole amateur theatre field. Still, considering the variety of groups answering the questionnaire, some tendencies are predominant and characterise the field in general.

2. What characterises the Estonian amateur theatre field?

The general overview of the results is divided into three parts: general organisational aspects, the funding and artistic activities.

2.1. Organisational aspects

The Estonian amateur theatres are generally steady organisations – 80% of them are regularly operating. The highest number of theatres (39%) are part of a larger organisation, usually a local cultural house (Table 1). Fewer theatres (29%) operate as NGOs³, or they have no legal status (29%). The latter theatres might find it difficult to apply for project-based funding because often only a legal body can apply for this type of funding.

Legal body	Number of theatres	Per cent
Part of a larger organisation	32	39%
NGO	25	29%
No legal body	25	29%
Private limited company	2	2%
Other	1	1%
Total	85	100%

Table 1. The legal bodies of Estonian amateur theatres.

³ NGO – non-governmental organisation.

Even though the challenges related to membership issues are among the biggest (see below), 50% of the theatres state that the number of their members has been stable for the last three years; in 28% of the theatres, the number has risen. Approximately one-fifth of the organisations have experienced a decrease of members.

On average, there are 14 members in an Estonian amateur theatre (minimum of 2 and maximum of 70). Having supporting members (who either support financially or offer services for free) seems not to be a common practice in Estonia since 62% of the theatres claim to have no so-called passive members. However, the more members – either active or passive – a theatre has, the stronger the connections it can form with the local community and the more it can increase its social relevance.

According to the data by Statistics Estonia (Statistikaamet), women take part in different cultural activities twice as often as men. Our research confirms this statistic since 66% of the members of the amateur theatres are female, and 34% are male. This ratio is similar to the division of spectators in professional theatre, for which, among the theatre-goers older than 15 years, 62% were women, and 38% were men in 2017 (Leinbock 388). At the same time, the gender division of professional actors is more equitable: there are 286 male and 264 female members in the Association of Professional Actors of Estonia (Sein).

As Estonia has a very lively school theatre scene, only 11% of the members of the adult amateur theatres are younger than 20 years. The largest number of members (51%) are 41–65 years old, followed by 21–40 years old (30% of the members). The smallest number of members (8%) are older than 65 years. People in their 40s and 50s often have more time for hobbies, as less time is needed for childcare or studies. Likewise, they should have fewer health problems than people in their 60s and 70s.

2.2. Funding

Of those responding, 65% of the theatres have regular, i.e., monthly, quarterly or annual funding. This percentage shows that the majority of theatres have a stable income, but of course, it varies among theatres. Despite this, 65% of the theatres apply for project-based funding, among them, also 35% of the theatres with a stable income, as well as others, which do not have stable funding from some local organisation or municipality. The support on the local level usually means free access to rehearsal rooms provided by the local cultural house or that the local municipality is paying the salary of the artistic leader or director. Other costs are usually covered either by members or by project-based funding.

The most significant funding body is local municipalities, which support 79% of the theatres (Table 2). This is because the local amateur activities and hobby education are funded by local municipalities. 59% of the theatres also collect fees from their members or receive services and goods from them. 39% of the theatres are funded by the state by applying for project-based funding from the Estonian Cultural Endowment and the Folk Culture Centre. A little bit more than one third also have sponsors, less than one-tenth are supported by local organisations. It is striking that only one of the theatres has gotten support from a private fund and none through crowdfunding. Amateur theatres also sell tickets to their performances.

Funding body	Number of theatres	Per cent
Local municipality	67	79%
Membership fees and free services and goods from members	50	59%
State	33	39%
Sponsors (money, services, goods)	29	35%
Regional organisation	6	7%
None	4	5%
Private fund	1	1%
Crowdfunding	0	0%

Table 2. Main funding bodies.

Almost half of the theatres consider their financial status satisfactory; 20% rate it as poor and 5% alarming. Only six theatres find their financial status good or very good, and all these are a part of a larger organisation or operate as NGOs. Only two of those are funded regularly, and the other four combine regular and project-based funding. Thus, it can be concluded that economic satisfaction is not only connected to a legal body or to the number of funding bodies.

As many of the theatres are situated in local cultural houses (or in other organisations of the same type), costs on rent and utilities are minimal. This is in contrast to

professional theatres, in which these types of expenses form a big part of the budget. This situation is somewhat more complicated for the theatres operating in cities. They often do not have their own rehearsal spaces and must rent rehearsal rooms and a stage for performances and can use the stage only during the last few stage rehearsals before the première.

The highest cost items are transport and workshops (for 87% of the theatres) (Table 3). The transport costs include travelling to festivals and guest performances. Festivals are a crucial means for showing performances to wider audiences, learning from each other, making new acquaintances and therefore strengthening the amateur theatre community.

The second-biggest expenditures are made on set design and costumes (73%). It is quite clear that amateur theatres do not want to skimp on artistic qualities and use an empty stage or minimal set design. Set design and costumes that depict specific places or characters can improve the quality of the production and the actors' performance by creating a particular atmosphere for them.

Thirdly, 59% of the theatres spend money on authorship fees (see also the biggest challenges for amateur theatres henceforth) and 53% on advertising. Less than half also point out salaries of technical and creative staff, rent of performing venues and expenditure on plays, texts and other similar costs. Considering that the groups consist of amateur actors, hardly any of them get any fee.

Cost item	Number of theatres	Per cent
Transport and workshops	74	87%
Set design, costumes, etc.	62	73%
Authorship fees	50	59%
Advertising	45	53%
Fees for directors	38	45%
Fees for the technical team (light and sound design, etc.)	31	36%
Rent of performing spaces	23	27%
Fees for the creative team (set design, composer, etc.)	20	24%
Expenditure on the source text	11	13%
Fees for actors	9	11%
Rent of rehearsal rooms	7	8%

Table 3. The highest cost items for amateur theatres.

In conclusion, the highest costs of amateur theatres are related to performing and self-development (workshops), in contrast to professional theatres, which spend the most on personnel and utility costs.

2.3. Performing activities

In general, the theatres in our survey prepare a première one to three times a year and give around 11 performances during a year or a season. Only 25% of the theatres give 20 or more performances during a year.

The most popular type of theatre is spoken (produced by 91% of the theatres), followed by 29% of different types of *Kleinkunst* or comic short forms (stand-up, skits, cabaret, etc.) (Table 4).

Type of theatre	Number of theatres	Per cent
Spoken theatre	77	91%
Music theatre	9	11%
Dance theatre	3	4%
Puppet theatre	2	2%
Stand-up, skits, cabaret	25	29%
Physical theatre	7	8%

Table 4. Types of theatre produced by amateur theatres.

Amateurs also make more demanding types of productions such as music, dance, physical and puppet theatre. Under the category “Other”, few theatres mentioned also Playback Theatre or improvisational theatre. This division is quite similar to the division of types of theatre produced by professionals.⁴ Likewise, professionals produce spoken theatre the most (63% of performances in 2018), followed by dance⁵ (11% of the repertoire) and music performances (8%) (Sippol 382).

87% of the theatres use existing plays for their productions. A little more than half (53%) perform texts devised by the group or written by a single member of the company. Devised theatre could be a way to overcome such obstacles as expensive authorship fees or challenges of finding suitable repertoire (see below). A quarter of

⁴Even though the Estonian Theatre Agency, which is responsible for collecting data about professional theatre, counts the number of productions and we counted the number of theatres in our survey, the patterns of performing activities can be compared on these bases.

⁵The totals of the categories “dance theatre” and “physical theatre” in our survey should be summed to make them comparable with the category “dance theatre” in the data of the Estonian Theatre Agency.

the theatres also stage adaptations of movies, novels, etc.

Eighty-three theatres give performances in Estonian; eight additional groups also use a dialect (Tartu, Võru and Mulgi are Southern Estonian dialects, Hiiu and Saare dialects are spoken on the two biggest islands in the West of the country); and two groups perform in Russian.⁶ One improvisational theatre has also performed in English.

The main target group for the majority (92%) of theatres are people over 20 years old. Families are seen as a target group by 40% of the theatres, young audiences by 24% and children (younger than 12) by 13%. Additionally, elderly people and teachers were pointed out as target groups. In professional theatre in the period of 2016–2018, 71% of the productions are made for adults, 21% for children, 8% for teenagers and young people (people between 12–20 years old) (Eesti Teatri Agentuur). Even though the methodology to collect data about professional theatres differs from ours (see footnote 4), we can conclude that amateur theatres are more focused on young audiences and teenagers compared to professional theatres. Unfortunately, the statistics about professional theatre do not distinguish productions targeted for families, but it can be assumed that many of the children and youth performances are also enjoyable for parents and other accompanying adults.

Amateur theatres are quite local in their activities: 44% of performances are given on their home stages; about 25% in the area of 20 km; and 33% of performances further than 20 km. The audience is even more local: 54% of them are assumed to come from the city or village where the theatre operates; 24% is from the area of 20 km; and 23% come from further away. This means that theatres go to their audiences instead of the other way around.

It is vital for amateur theatres to perform at festivals, and only 13% of the theatres have not done that. 72% of the theatres have attended a festival in Estonia and 15%, in addition, have performed at a foreign festival. Estonian amateur theatre festivals make a lively scene with a long history. Each year there are regional festivals in all 14 counties as well as some dedicated festivals, specialising in mono or short performances, an author or improvisation. The Estonian Amateur Theatre Association organises an annual festival that is open for everybody and, in every second year, a national festival that presents only preselected performances considered to be at a high artistic level or demonstrate the diversity of the field.

We were also interested in how much amateur theatres collaborate with each other and with professionals. A little bit more than a half of the theatres (55%) have collaborated with other amateur theatres, more than a quarter (31%) with

⁶The capital city Tallinn, located at the Northern coast of Estonia is the centre of local immigration. 583,000 people, i.e., 44% of the Estonian population, live in Tallinn or in the surrounding Harju county. Russian is the biggest minority language in Estonia with 28% of the population using it daily. (Statistikaamet)

professional directors and choreographers, one-fifth (20%) with professional actors or dancers. There has been less collaboration with professional set designers (13%), playwrights (11%) and professional musicians and singers (8%). A quarter of the theatres have not collaborated with anyone.

Collaboration	Number of theatres	Per cent
Other amateur theatres	49	55 %
Professional directors and choreographers	26	31 %
Professional actors and dancers	17	20 %
Professional set designers, light designers, composers, etc.	11	13 %
Professional playwrights	9	11 %
Professional musicians and singers	6	8 %
No one	24	28 %

Table 5. Collaboration with other bodies.

Under the option “other”, theatres also marked amateur musicians and choirs and experts (for example, in local cultural history or anthropology) during the rehearsal process. It was also mentioned that even if there is no collaboration at the moment, amateurs are interested, but “afraid to offer themselves” for collaborative projects.

3. What kind of functions do the professional theatre and the amateur theatre have in Estonian cultural policy?

To understand the functions and value of the amateur theatre in Estonia, it is reasonable to compare it to professional theatre. For that, we use six strategic dilemmas of cultural policy as presented by François Matarasso and Charles Landry (1999) in their work *Balancing Act: Twenty-one Strategic Dilemmas in Cultural Policy*. These dilemmas have also been used in the study *The main terms and tendencies in Estonian cultural policy* (Aadamsoo et al.), in which experts of different arts compared how the dilemmas appear in the policy and in the practice of different fields.

1. Culture as the arts or Culture as a way of life. Amateur culture, despite its content, is gathered under the umbrella term “folk culture” in Estonia and is considered to be a separate field next to other professional arts, i.e., theatre policies do not embrace the amateur culture. The experts of folk culture considered the dilemma as an opposition between professional and amateur culture in Estonia (Aadamsoo et al. 6, 8).

2. Cultural democracy or Democratisation of culture. When cultural democracy prioritises access to culture (consumption) among different social groups, then the democratisation of culture aims to increase access to the means of cultural production (Matarasso, Landry 13–14). Emanating from the breach between professional and amateur arts as separated systems of funding and governance, cultural democracy dominates in the field of professional art and the democratisation of culture in the field of amateur culture (Aadamsoo et al. 6, 10). State subsidies to the professional theatre are allocated based on audience numbers and artistic quality. The principles and values of the support systems of amateur theatres vary and need further investigation. Based on limited empirical material, we assume that either participation in general (through free access to cultural houses) and diversity of cultural production (minority languages and cultures, for example) are supported.

3. Heritage or Contemporary. The term “folk culture” already in itself indicates an inclination towards traditional values and aesthetics. In Estonian professional theatre, novelty is more valued, despite the implicit task to preserve Estonian language and cultural heritage.

4. Consumption or Production. Subsidies to professional theatres depend mostly on consumption and subsidies to amateur theatres on participation, i.e., on production. (See also Dilemma 2.)

5. Centralisation or Decentralisation. In Estonian state cultural policy, centralisation dominates, since professional arts are subsidised and governed predominantly by the Ministry of Culture. All municipal subsidies to professional theatres were on average 3% of theatres’ budgets (Sippol 385). Politics and financial support of amateur culture (incl. theatre) is decentralised and depends mostly on local municipalities. There are 79 municipalities (15 cities and 64 parishes) in Estonia; thus, the diversity of different politics and support allocation systems is considerable. Nevertheless, local governments support more than 80% of the theatres, often the subsidies are very low because of the scarce budget of small (low number of inhabitants) municipalities. Because of that, state and project-based funding are also crucial to amateurs.

6. Infrastructure or Activity. When both infrastructure and activity of professional theatres are supported by the state, then often only infrastructure (a space for rehearsals and performances) is provided for amateurs by local municipalities (Aadamsoo et al. 44–47). 39% of the amateur theatres are part of a larger organisation (usually a local cultural house), and only 8% of respondents stated that they have to pay for rehearsal rooms. Nevertheless, some municipalities do not support activities of amateur theatres at all or support only youngsters and retired people.

In conclusion, the professional theatre and the amateur theatre in Estonia are separated from each other legally, economically and aesthetically. Estonian cultural policy is mainly focused on professional and institutional culture, leaving the responsibility for participation in culture to local municipalities (Aadamsoo et al. 6). Municipalities often lack human and financial resources to support and develop the amateur culture field and local or state cultural policy.

4. What are currently the biggest challenges of Estonian amateur theatre?

We asked theatres to mark two of their biggest challenges (Table 6). The three biggest are connected to membership issues, repertoire and funding. The respondents also had a chance to comment on these challenges, and extracts of the comments will be used to illustrate the challenges more thoroughly.

Biggest challenges	Number of theatres	Per cent
Membership issues	41	48%
Repertoire	32	37%
Funding	31	36%
Publicity and visibility in media	19	22%
The creative team (lack of it, maintaining it)	19	22%
Space (rehearsal and performance)	14	16%
Set design materials	14	16%
Artistic management	11	13%
Volunteers (lack, maintaining them)	3	4%
Cooperation with other organisations	3	4%
Board and board members	2	2%
Laws and regulations	0	0%
Other	9	10%

Table 6. The biggest challenges of amateur theatres (possibility to choose the two biggest).

Membership issues, marked by 48% of the respondents, makes it the biggest challenge for Estonian amateur theatres. The problem is strongly connected to the socio-political situation in rural areas and urbanisation. The population in small towns and villages is ageing; young people tend to leave or are not interested in participating. A considerable amount of people also commute because of work, which leads to a situation best characterised like this: "Workplaces are far away from home, people arrive late. Weekends are dedicated to families and taking time off. There is not enough time for rehearsals even though people are interested in participating."

It is also hard to find suitable rehearsal times when the organisation also has other cultural obligations: "Our NGO also organises other events, the members are also participating in other organisations. Therefore, these activities sometimes have to be put off to meet at least once a week. And when someone is missing, the whole group has to work with the same scene twice."

Theatre as an organisation depends not only on actors but also on people with different profiles, knowledge and skills. An amateur theatre is often an organisation that has "actors", who are at the same time looking for or making costumes, looking for or making set design and props, designing or printing (programmes, posters), doing publicity and advertising, inventing sound systems, selling tickets online and on the location, organising transport, selling performances and communicating with possible guest venues, keeping the chronicle, someone is the "HR specialist" and dealing with all kinds of administrative issues someone is looking for texts to stage and also preparing them for rehearsals, someone is also directing in addition to acting.

A critical amount of members is crucial because all the activities mentioned above are relevant in production and performing processes. Sometimes all these tasks are the responsibility of a few people. Surely, this is tiring: "We have to do all by ourselves, to be, so to say, universal. We have only two such persons. They are carrying a hard burden. We urgently need helpers." Tensions between members rise easily since not all members can only act onstage, but some should also take responsibility for other tasks. Because of the membership issues, artistic quality may suffer a decline, even when high quality is a top priority of amateur theatres.

Many point out the lack of people who would be interested in technical tasks: "The lack of lighting technicians is the biggest problem because in small rural areas it is very difficult to find people interested in this."

As previously mentioned, amateur theatres attract more female than male participants, and the lack of men is also a problem for many. As amateur theatres also attract more middle-aged people, the situation in which many members are middle-aged women can raise problems in finding suitable repertoire; this is the second-biggest challenge,

pointed out by 37% of the theatres: “As more than a half of our members are 60 years old or older, it is quite hard to find suitable repertoire for them.” Besides, usually, all members want to be onstage: “You have to choose the repertoire by evaluating who can be in the cast. To retain the group, everybody has to get a part. If you leave someone out, they will not return the next season.”

Staging plays, scenarios or music works also implies authorship fees, which are marked as the third-highest cost item (see Table 3). Even though 53% of the theatres stage texts created by themselves, 87% use also existing plays that could raise the costs. Especially contemporary plays are more expensive, which makes some of the theatres prefer older ones. According to the Copyright Law, one has to pay authorship fees to living authors and for 70 years after his or her death (Autoriõiguse). The theatres often prefer classical plays from the beginning of the 20th century not only because of financial reasons but also because the many characters in these plays allow for many persons to be onstage.

Funding is the third-biggest challenge (36% of respondents). 65% of amateur theatres are funded regularly, but this is not sustainable, as 65% also apply for project-based money. Rooms for rehearsals and performing are often provided by local cultural houses. Yet, often, a theatre has to share it with other hobby groups (amateurs mostly want to practise their hobbies in the evening hours) or the rooms are not suitable for making theatre. Sometimes local cultural houses also pay a small salary to the creative head of theatre, but it could be as little as 60 euros per month. Many of the respondents point out that they cannot afford to give guest performances, yet touring and festivals are essential for amateurs.

Even though more than half of the theatres spend money on publicity, the lack of sustainable funding prevents the possibilities of strategic publicity campaigns.

We propose three solutions to the challenges.

First, cultural priorities and subsidy allocation systems of local municipalities should be more transparent, enabling amateur theatres to plan their activities better (funding) and encouraging current or potential members of amateur theatres to invest their time in theatre (membership).

Second, Estonian amateur theatre is based predominantly on pre-written texts, which is costly and which determines the number and gender of characters (membership). Directors and dramaturgs working with amateurs should learn techniques such as rewriting, devised theatre and community theatre. These forms of theatre-making diminish the challenges with repertoire, membership and funding.

Third, transferring some of the symbolic capital of Estonian professional theatre to

the field of amateur theatre through different forms of collaboration could raise the prestige and value of amateur theatre. Special state funds should be established that support theatre professionals who work with amateurs. Research on amateur theatre also raises the value of the field.

Concluding remarks

In this article, we analysed Estonian amateur theatre as a consistent and structured field (in the Bourdieusian sense), as is usually done with the professional theatre of a country. When delving into the statistical data, we concluded that the analysis of amateur theatre – unregulated and heterogeneous phenomena – might be more fruitful when investigated not through the lens of a field but of a landscape, as is done in recent British theatre scholarship. An ecological approach to theatre focuses not on outcomes (performances) but on processes, practices, shared knowledge and relations, on the ways theatre models human lives, communities and places (Nicholson et al. 6, 12). It means that the next phase should investigate practices of different amateur theatres; relationships between members of a group and between a group and a community; and the reasons, values and influences of amateur theatre, etc.

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