

## RIGANS

Due to the recently complicated patterns of migration, it is difficult to determine the ratio of Rīga-born Rigans versus those born elsewhere. The interviews revealed that having been born in Rīga is not the main criterion for being a "real" Rigan; instead, it is living here and having a sense of belonging, for example, being able to meet people you know or have met, in the streets of Rīga. Ksenija (18 y.o.) thinks that those people who are permanently located in Rīga and are interested and involved in the local events are "real Rigans". Among the surveyed Russophones, "patriotism for Rīga" and a sense of care for this city appeared as a defining factor. Sergejs (42 y.o.): *"A genuine Rigan loves this city and attempts to do something so that the city that he or she cares for would be nice and pleasant to live in."* Konstantīns (21 y.o.): *"I consider myself a real Rigan because I was born in Rīga 21 years ago and have never lived in any other city. I am proud of this fact, and I love Rīga."* For Maksims (36 y.o.), a "real Rigan" is someone who is Latvian and comes from artistic circles: [actress] Vija Artmane, [composer and musician] Raimonds Pauls and the Kokars brothers, who are choral conductors. Those who have come to live in Rīga from other parts of Latvia often share the views of Mārtiņš Sirmāis, chef and presenter of the *Sirmā ēdienkarte* TV programme, who lives in Rīga since the time he was in the tenth grade: they do live in Rīga but their homes are where they grew up. Mārtiņš believes that those Rigans who come from rural backgrounds are often very active in recreating Rīga in their own way: *"The [former] rural dwellers are those that keep changing Rīga; they have ideas and they're active, because they are "new kids in town" with their particular views on what Rīga should be like. Their self-identification is with their birthplaces, however they do get "stuck" and ultimately transform into Rigans."* Rigans, since they represent a metropolitan locality, are perceived as more individualistic and inward-looking than those who live elsewhere in Latvia. Broadly speaking, Rigans appear self-absorbed and lacking interest in other people's lives: they "don't look into your eyes". This is how Mārtiņš Sirmāis describes it: *"When I had moved to Rīga and there were still a lot of Gypsies and Hutsuls gathering in the railway station, Rigans used to pass them by appearing actually frightened. Outside Rīga, there are more attempts to see the human qualities of the actual person."* On the other hand, Alla Petropavlovska (journalist and editor-in-chief of the *Ļubļu* magazine) remarked that it is the more open temperament and openness of views on different things that sets "real Rigans" apart from other Latvians. Moreover, she characterised Rīga as *"the most mixed part of the population of Latvia. There are very different people here – even without considering language, just look at the mentality and traditions."* The idea of a mixed population also appears in the comments by foreign citizens (Theis Klauberg, a German lawyer and owner of a Rīga-based business company).

Irina (43 y.o.) mentions lack of free time as a typical characteristic of Rigans: *"The average Rigan is always busy. He or she works a lot and has little time for recreation or relaxation. The more fortunate ones among them own a holiday or garden home, in which they can "clear out" their minds. One's job still stands first, which is to certain extent detrimental to one's family because of insufficient amount of quality time spent with it. I think that many would in fact want to have more time for their families."* According to the official statistics, however, those Rigans who are employed do not,

on average, work significantly longer hours than people in other parts of Latvia, the average being 42.51 hours per week; but, they do spend three hours less on caring for family needs (just 12.7 hours per week) than do employed people elsewhere in Latvia (15.51 hours per week). The employed Rigans have approximately the same amount of free time as the rest of Latvians (average: 24.1 hours per week) because they spend the hours "economised" on household-related activities in sleep and commuting.<sup>1</sup> As the survey discovered, Rigans spend their free time consuming a variety of products and services and also leaving Rīga during weekends, travelling abroad and visiting their rural homes/relatives or summer homes/cottages. It is believed that the central area of Rīga, especially the "quiet centre", is devoid of activity ("there's nothing to do there") during holidays.

### **DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS OF RĪGA AMONG LATVIANS AND RUSSIANS**

When discussing the two most distinct communities of Latvia (and Rīga), Latvians and Russophones, it must be mentioned that due to the likely risk of any statements being interpreted in a political light, therefore studies of differences are hardly ever carried out. Within this study, it was possible, basing on interviews and reporting in the media, to outline certain trends regarding the differences in perception of Rīga by Russian and Latvian Rigans. It may be said that Russophone Rigans have more straightforward relationship with Rīga than do Latvians, many of whom were not born in Rīga and have traditionally perceived Rīga as a citadel of "foreigners and non-Latvians". Several Russophones among the surveyed mentioned that the main qualifying factor for a real Rigan is "love for Rīga", which should also be realised in practical terms (helping to maintain and organise the surroundings), while Latvians quite often fancy leaving Rīga and settling to live in a less urbanised place. Virtually all the Russophones emphasised that they are real Rigans because they do not intend to leave. Ksenija (18 y.o.), after listing several circumstances that she finds unsatisfying in Rīga, adds: "*I am a patriot; unfortunately it prevents me from leaving.*" Because for Russophones of Latvia identifying with the country is more complicated than for Latvians, it is often Rīga that forms their identity. Alla Petropavlovskaja says that only Rīga can define her identity because since she's neither exactly Latvian nor Russian, she cannot find any "strict identity"; she finds "Rigan" very suitable because she doesn't belong to areas of Latvia outside Rīga or to Russia. "*Rīga is where I feel like at home.*" The absence of "belonging to Russia" was stressed in the focus group that was interviewed in Russian.

There have been a number of studies that touched upon the vast difference in the experiences of Russophones and of Latvians, particularly because of the divided media. Same as in the relations between Latvia and Russia, interpretation of history is considered the most significant stumbling block. It can also be noticed in the perceptions of Rīga. For Russophones, the 'good times' are related to the glorious, vibrant, developing Rīga of the soviet rule (tentatively associated with the 1970s and 1980s); for Latvians, in the words of Alise Tīfentāle, a writer and editor-in-chief of the *Foto kvartāls* magazine, it is the elitist 1930s Rīga with its "high society", opera-goers and certain products which, according to her, explains the popularity of the Stenders soap and Emīls Gustavs chocolate shops. "*The image of Rīga is based in the traditions of the first republic, such as high-society parties. Many consider it an ideal.*"

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<sup>1</sup> [http://old.csb.gov.lv/lteksts.cfm?tem\\_kods=dz\\_lim&datums=%7Bts%20'2005-02-23%2013%3A00%3A00%7D](http://old.csb.gov.lv/lteksts.cfm?tem_kods=dz_lim&datums=%7Bts%20'2005-02-23%2013%3A00%3A00%7D) (accessed on January 2, 2007).

*It's elitist, bourgeois and narrow-mindedly middle class.*" The historical differences in distribution of populations also create an ethnic basis for territorial perceptions. What distinguishes the culture of "microdistricts", for example, from the culture of central Rīga and the older districts is the fact that Russophones are happier about living in microdistricts than Latvians. This can also be seen in the [Russophones'] choices made regarding entertainment areas: the local district or Jūrmala and Bolderāja seaside areas. Larisa (35 y.o.): *"Ethnic Latvians are more focused on the central area of Rīga with its old buildings. My friends who are Latvians prefer to party in the old town. Russophones choose outskirts or Jūrmala."*

The interviews revealed that majority of responders perceive the two communities of Rīga as separate, parallel systems, based on culture and mentality. Sergejs (42 y.o.): *"Alas, this goes back as far as I can remember. Both Latvia and Rīga unfortunately are divided into two communities: Russophones and Latvians. They exist in the form of two inward-looking tribes. Sometimes their paths do cross and there are conflicts. The differing ways of thinking can be seen on a daily basis."* Irina (43 y.o.): *"I do believe there is a dissimilarity due to different perceptions. In my view, Latvians are more melancholic and balanced. Not that they are "slow", but... Russians are quicker to react to various events, more emotional and extroverted. The ethnically typical character traits are expressed in behaviours and lifestyles."* Responders who work in creative professions hold similar views.

The younger generation of Russians, even while admitting the differing cultures, see more overlapping between the Russian and Latvian cultures. Ksenija (18 y.o.): *"In any case, Russians are able to participate in Latvian events; they can speak Latvian, work with Latvians and the rights are equal."* She also wished that, in a decade, the country's president in his independence day address would point not just at Latvians but also at Russians. The self-perception of outsidership among the Russophone Rīgans, as described by Konstantīns (21 y.o.): *"Russians have their own culture and interests, and Latvians have different ones. But quite often there's an overlap. The Latvian culture is, so to speak, separate, because they have their own theatres, their own musical tastes and even clubs where Latvian young people are in the majority. The same applies also to Russians. This is somewhat rooted in the political attitudes. Let's avoid politics, but [I could say that] Russians here feel more offended."* Alla Petropavlovskā thinks that increasingly the Russophones are better informed about the on-goings of the other community than Latvians are informed about them. She recalls a case that happened during a project when a Latvian woman from a region outside Rīga appeared thrilled that her children would finally meet some Russians "in flesh and blood". Petropavlovskā adds, *"It is about integrating Latvians because Russians, whatever the circumstances, have learnt about Latvians. Politicians, officials and scientists are heard and [their] views are printed in the newspapers. While in the Latvian media, there exist no Russians; there is just a 'Russian crowd'."*

The Russophone Rīgans feel that they lack information specifically about arts and entertainment. Information is mostly obtained from the web, from acquaintances and from the *5 minūtes* newspaper. A survey of media showed, for example, that Andrejsala events were much less covered by the Russian-language publications than by Latvian ones. Alla Petropavlovskā thinks this is because of the lack of flexibility and shortage of personnel in the Russian-language media: *"The subculture of the Russophone journalists takes the form of a narrow circle which confines the networks*

*of contacts. Writing information and inviting is necessary. Then the Russians will be informed. I do read Latvian newspapers because, apart from being interested in the stances of Latvians and Russians, I can also find more detailed and comprehensive information there."* The fact that the Russians in Latvia have few publicly known figures who are Russians living in Latvia and who can influence the opinions of the general public was confirmed also in discussions with other respondents and the participants of a Russophone focus group. There were mentions of Raimonds Pauls, Vija Artmane, Nils Ušakovs, Ždanoka and Marija Naumova, however with some scepticism whether everyone in the society knew them.

### **RĪGA: COSMOPOLITAN OR PROVINCIAL? OUTSIDERS' VIEWS.**

Most of the foreigners surveyed could agree that Rīga is a metropolitan city however they lacked unanimity on whether it is truly cosmopolitan. Toms Cakuls, a Latvian Canadian, who spent the last summer in Latvia and actively enjoyed arts and entertainment in Rīga says: *"To me Rīga does seem quite cosmopolitan because of the mixed population of Latvians and Russians and because the local civic leaders and institutions have experienced a great deal of influence from foreign examples."* Theis Klauberg, in turn, thinks that despite the status of the central city of the three Baltic countries Rīga is rather provincial because of a lack of a "milieu of foreigners": *"I think it is very provincial because there are so few foreigners here (maybe about one thousand); the locals do not seem to go out at all, and those that do so have previously stayed or lived in a foreign country."* The foreign citizens that were part of this survey particularly touched upon socialising with the locals, both Latvians and Russians. Sherwin Das, an American who has lived outside the USA for seven years and spent two of them in Rīga, says: *"I'm not acquainted to typical Latvians and those who I do know have wider interests than just in Latvia, they have studied in other countries and are very sociable. This is not the case with a typical Latvian. I haven't met Russians at all despite that I live in Latvia for two years already."* Theis Klauberg says: *"To me Latvia seems similar to Germany in the 1950s. It is quite natural. The transformations [here] took place just 15 years ago. Hangouts like 'Istaba' did not and could not have existed a decade ago."* Rīga (its central part) was described as monolithic, i.e, lacking variety. Sherwin Das says: *"In Rīga, there are no [specific] 'neighbourhoods', like the ones in Paris, London, Los Angeles, San Francisco; each quarter there has a distinct atmosphere. Whether you go to Vecrīga or to 'Teātra bārs', the feel is the same. I know it may be justified that there is less diversity in Rīga, but that's what I miss here. Also there are numerous bars and restaurants here, however most of them are just about average."*

The interviewees also mentioned that meeting new people is very difficult in Rīga. Peter Faulkin, a Canadian investment analyst who had lived in Latvia for 18 months, commented: *"There are no suitable places where you can meet someone new and perhaps engage in an interesting conversation; in nine out of ten occasions, the interesting conversations that I had were with those whom I already knew from before."* He also guesses that the language barrier might be the culprit. By contrast, Theis Klauber, who does speak Latvian, adds that he is still excluded from the "private networks" of Rigans: there are few Latvians who throw parties at home, the reason being that many of the local flats are not suitable for social gatherings as well as certain aspects of the relationships among people. Theis describes that Latvians

tend to be very formal in friendships. Even among young people, the barriers are broken only when they get drunk but if they don't then they sit glued to their tables and limit their conversations to their circle of friends. He explains his feeling that the circles of friends seem to stem from pre-school age and new acquaintances are not made. In her novel *'Rīgas siltums'* Alise Tīfentāle portrays the exclusive networking in Rīga as "based in certain groups of people who may not immediately know each other but whose dealings are concluded via a close network of referrals, which is difficult to penetrate unless you have approached it already while studying." Alla Petropavlovskā correlates the communication problems that were complained about both by locals and by foreigners with a depression caused by societal changes and says that she's observed that the younger generation is different in this aspect. Petropavloska comments: "*Here, everyone spends their time in their flats and workplaces, while in Paris or Barcelona they live in the city. It's the going out for coffee or hitting the streets in the evening. Here it's different, and the overall impression is depressing. Even gloomy. In the summer we do go out, but in autumn and winter people remain inside, it is dark and there are no decorations. The city fails to give an impression of a festive and optimistic place; it looks run down. Regardless of whether you choose to be active or passive, the town has no aura of the inviting kind. There are blacked out areas in every street: One area may be revived, but a few yards down the street, there begins a 'ghetto'. This is utterly mad.*" In Alise Tīfentāle's words, the incongruous tastes exhibited in Rīga stem from a lack of maturity: "*Showing off indicates that you lack character maturity; you think that the big car you're going to buy is your big bet...But this gives out a half-Slavic mentality, not one of Europe.*" The showing off has been noted also by foreigners living in Rīga. For example, Theis Klauberg says: "*The concentration is on building prestigious properties in the centre of Rīga, and there is no construction going on elsewhere.*" This also has a role in the spatial perceptions of Rīga.

#### **RĪGA AS A SPACE: MENTAL MAPPING OF RIGANS**

Mārtiņš Sirmāis says: "*The typical real Rigan is someone who has lived here for quite a long time and may not even be aware of the whereabouts of Purvciems, and so on. He works a lot, sticks around his flat and minds his own business. I know many who stick to their few usual routines and may have lived like this perhaps already during a couple of generations. After work they go home and watch telly.*" Quite certainly, there seems to be a beaten track for every Rigan, however their mental maps of the city are not limited to just workplace and home. The local symbols differ between Russians and Latvians. Russians mentioned "the love bridge", Bolderāja and the sea, including the Jūrmala area, as associated with Rīga. Nearly all of the interviewees mentioned the parks, the architecture (art nouveau) of the downtown area and sometimes that of Vecrīga. The 'Lido' restaurant in Krasta Street was mentioned frequently as a positive example, however not because of spatial perceptions but because it responds to the need of the locals to avail of a place that is suitable for recreation with one's family. The Central Market, along with an apprehension that it may be closed down, got a lot of mention. Both the focus group discussions and interviews brought up the lack of children-friendly places and a "general absence of promenading areas". Although it is a port city, Rīga is mostly associated with the Daugava instead of the sea. The commercial potential of port activities is mostly overlooked because it is located outside the downtown area and there are plans to move it even closer to the Gulf of Rīga. The mental mapping also showed

supermarkets and shopping. Many Rigans attach a lot of importance to experiencing of closeness with nature, introduction of more greenery, improving tidiness, maintenance of parks and better organisation of traffic. Most of the responders favour preservation of the authentic feel of central Rīga, i.e. there is resistance to new construction that resembles the building of Hansabanka; nevertheless, several respondents said that they in principle didn't mind skyscrapers.

### **RĪGA COMPARED TO OTHER CITIES**

Comparisons were drawn with London (both in the Russian and Latvian focus groups) – especially its Canary Wharf – as well as with Stockholm, Copenhagen, Bremen, Prague, Vilnius, Tallinn, Budapest and Buenos Aires. Toms Cakuls says: *"It may sound strange but to me Rīga seems to be like [the Argentine capital] Buenos Aires which is very beautiful and has a strong local identity but is also somewhat distanced from the on-goings of the Western civilisation. In other cities, there is less emphasis on the national features. My Latvian friends who I spent time with had a 'local' taste in arts and entertainment, that is, they preferred Latvian products over foreign ones."* Most of the experts with a creative background would favour a Rīga that resembles Berlin or simply is unique. Russophones were nearly unanimous that an ideal Rīga would be "modelled after itself" but it may also resemble Oslo and Prague ("the part that is in the old town and has a hill and a church"). There was disbelief in the probability that Rīga could change and become more multicultural ("how on earth could it interest potential Turkish immigrants?"), and it evoked less positive responses because of changes affecting Rīga. Maksim (36 y.o.) says: *"I don't think Rīga should become like London or Dublin. I wasn't born in Rīga but have lived here for 20 years, and my skin colour, way of thought and other things are basically the same as those of Latvians. I support this culture, the Latvian traditions and the current legislation. If there are immigrants from, let's say Bulgaria, Rumania or Turkey, they will instantly start imposing their own culture. I think Rīga and Latvia should avoid getting melted in the overall Western trends. For example, if 10,000 have migrated now then after one more decade this figure may amount to 100,000. This basically means mass migration."*

### **AN IDEAL CITY: RĪGA OF MUSEUMS, RĪGA OF FESTIVALS OR RĪGA OF BUSINESSMEN?**

An ideal Rīga was associated with two contradicting concepts, one being a clean, green, museum-like town and the other being a vibrant place, always on the move, experiencing festivals and active entrepreneurship. Expansion of Rīga was objected to by the 42-year-old Sergejs: *"It should stay the size it is today. It may extend only in the areas of the soviet-built 'microdistricts'. A city of museums would involve not just the existing collections but also creating of new museums, such as a museum of industry reflecting the industrial past, for example, the Russo-Balt factory, which contributed to the beginnings of the soviet car industry."* Sergejs also doesn't preclude a movement towards a "festive Rīga" with more entertainment and recreation opportunities. Konstantīns (21 y.o.): *"Rīga as a business hub: the half-disintegrated buildings are eliminated from the centre; it should look like a green lawn without pools of dirt."* Again, it was stressed that Rīga is unfestive in its daily life. The people's faces in the streets appear gloomy in comparison to the cities of Southern Europe, where mingling and socialising take place all the time. The climate and the

long, dark winters of Rīga were often mentioned as the chief obstacles for the city in becoming a "happy, optimistic town". Alla Petropavlovskā muses about an ideal Rīga: *"During a festival of Rīga, people hit the streets, all of them; there is a festive mood, and everyone feels happy. On the New Year's Eve, more and more people are out in the streets. When you feel that hundreds and thousands of people feel the same way you feel, it can be incredibly cool."*

## THE FUTURE RĪGA AND RIGANS

It took certain amount of effort to model future visions both in the focus groups and during the interviews. Predictions of the future were mostly based in the current, media-influenced perceptions of Rīga and surrounding issues: badly organised traffic, lack of kindergartens, children's playgrounds and children-friendly places. Influx of tourism was mentioned among the main factors influencing the economy (Rīga as a tourism destination), however it wasn't quite clear what exactly were the attractions – apart from the art nouveau architecture and museums. Many respondents thought that Rīga, as well as their daily lives, will be mostly the same after one or two decades. Respondents who have children said that their choices in the future might be connected with the desires of the children (e.g., the 36-year-old Maksims said that he would leave Latvia if it would be better for his daughter).

The foreigners, however, said that there will be more people arriving from abroad and mentioned the European Union as the reason. Peter Faulkin says: *"In ten to twenty years, there will be more like us. For a million-people city, Rīga lacks diversity. The EU can cause more people to live here but, at that point in time, Rīga will still be behind Germany in terms of living standard."* Alla Petropavlovskā echoes his desire for more diversity: *"I think that Rīga should become more like New York. It is my second favourite after Rīga, where I also feel at home. I don't know really why... but there are blacks, whites and Asians, and everyone has a niche. It is so cool. This is sort of a hope that it is possible. I also suspect that if there were immigration of other races to Latvia, then it would give rise to xenophobia. It could give a uniting reason for Latvians and Russians. Already in the near future there are no good prospects, but later on it will be inevitable because the EU system will persist, the third-world countries will continue to struggle and there will be emigration."* Theis Klauberg thinks Latvia, in comparison with the other EU countries, has certain advantages in terms of attracting foreigners: *"I'd say that in Latvia it is certainly better than in Finland. Better climate, and it is an employment paradise, especially for a German. I didn't what it was like to live in a country where there's no unemployment."* He observed a trend that those citizens of EU countries who have moved to Latvia did so because they married Latvians. *"Several Germans applied for jobs at our company because they had married Latvians. Latvians [abroad] want to repatriate because the feeling of roots is extremely strong."* Since for foreigners the younger generation of Latvians are simpler to socialise with, the foreigners responded that in ten or fifteen years it will have become even easier. The priorities of Rigans are likely to change. Mārtiņš Sirmāis believes that the local consumer behaviour will shift from quantity, glamour-based/status-seeking and mass-produced goods to demands for higher quality. *"It's about two or three years since such changes have been brewing. A new generation has come of age. My generation has started having their own kids. We've got hold of washing machines, computers and the rest, but then we start paying more*

attention to quality food. Some health issues start cropping up, due to age. People become more discriminate about what they eat. Before, there was a lot of hollow pretence: anyone could redecorate a space, hire some inexpensive cooks, and thus come up with a self-styled eatery. It is now time when the consumers start to dictate, not the suppliers. If Latvians have to shell out in excess of five or ten lats, then they are very willing to exhibit that the customer is the king. What matters today is not anymore the ambience and the 'bells and whistles' but the actual food. Going out has ceased to have the effect of mere showing off." Preference of quality over quantity and sheer prestige was repeatedly emphasised also in the context of Andrejsala because the respondents demonstrably chose to picture property offerings that could ensure a high standard of living as opposed to impressive structures or run-of-the-mill architecture.

### **RĪGA AND THE "CREATIVE CLASS" OF RICHARD FLORIDA**

Especially in the focus groups and interviews, future Rīgans were described also as 'virtual citizens' who perhaps do not actually live in Rīga but work via e-mail from a home somewhere else in Latvia or abroad or in some cases use parks and cafés of Rīga instead of regular offices. This kind of mobility and 'virtuality' characterises also the creative class described by Richard Florida (see the theoretical chapter).<sup>2</sup> Florida is convinced that the creative class is the basis for economic growth in various cities around the world and that representatives of this class choose to live, for example, in places where there are plentiful, untraditional opportunities to consume arts and culture. The importance of this aspect is confirmed in the response of one participant of the Russophone focus group: *"If you read books, you can do it not just in Rīga but basically anywhere. But I consider myself an urban person and wish to live in Rīga. Keeping up with stock quotes can be done anywhere but the lifestyle and socialising opportunities would make me choose Rīga."*

Regarding the arts and entertainment offerings, Rīga is fairly diverse. Whilst Mārtiņš Sirmāis said he enjoyed the punk rock scene, Sherwin Das pointed at the diversity: *"For a city this small, the arts scene is quite rich and varied: an Indian sitar player, a fado singer. After all, Rīga is less homogeneous than I had expected."* Still, the Latvian concept of culture would need to be expanded. 'Arts' are overwhelmingly defined as synonymous with the traditional values or the so-called 'high art' while the rest is regarded at the level of subculture (punk rock, Andrejsala, etc.). Alise Tīfentāle conveys the differing concepts: *"I'd say that there are two parallel worlds in Latvia, each with its own idea about arts. First, there are the traditional values: art galleries with their exhibits of 'real art', visitors and buyers of the artwork. Secondly, the Berlin-type alternative setting. Andrejsala belongs to the second one."* The 'real art' world in Rīga (and Latvia in general) tends to be elitist and, similarly to other social networks, noticeably exclusive. Alise Tīfentāle characterises it further: *"This is a distinct circle or stratum of people who wield a certain amount of power (or*

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<sup>2</sup> According to Florida, the creative workers can be classified into super-creative core professions comprising IT and computers, maths, architecture, engineering, humanities, natural and social sciences, education and training, librarianship, art, design, entertainment, sports and the media and the creative professionals: managers, business executives and financiers, lawyers, physicians and technologists, wholesalers and retailers. Florida, R., *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Basic Books, New York, 2002, 328

*authority) and whose opinions matter when deciding who's a real artist and who's not. The TV and press have enormous influence on public opinion. It follows the 'Rīga heat-seeking' instinct."* Thus, the untraditional subcultures are often the channels that allow one to offer their creations in the general market of culture products and to avoid being too aggressive while putting one's foot in the door of the 'real art' world.