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THE NEW LIFE FOR THE GDANSK SHIPYARD

Abstract

Since year 2000 the Gdansk city officials together with real estate business and their external experts try to regenerate the former area of Gdansk Shipyard. This urban regeneration process however, ignores issues of public participation, particularly concerning historical heritage related to both, industrial shipbuilding and world-famous birthplace of Solidarity. As a reaction to such situation, many artists-activists' groups have become engaged with protecting unique local specificity of the Gdansk Shipyard since 2002 and within several years have succeeded to radically change social perception of its heritage values. The cranes are now new iconic symbols of contemporary Gdansk. Consequently, Gdansk's citizens have become mobilized and engaged in protests whenever there is a danger of demolition of any significant post-shipyard object. Quite recently, a new generation of Gdansk's activists have formed active network using Facebook called "NO – for the Shipyard's destruction" which now gathers almost 2.000 participants. This group aims to make pressure on local government to keep its promises and effectively protect Shipyard's heritage.

An active engagement of citizens in the planning process, including the early stages of research and analysis in many professional and academic circles is still considered as a kind of utopia. Thus the paper's objective is to present analysis of the roles of the artists-activists during the urban regeneration process of the Gdansk Shipyard over the last twelve years in the social knowledge creation, altering common perceptions about the heritage value of this place and engaging public in active participation with a use of modern communication technologies.

The paper is based on a single case study of the Gdansk Shipyard regeneration and participant observation in particular carried out since 2000 to date. The analysis is supported by general outline of the critique of the mainstream planning and the evolution of more radical-participative methods as well as the theory of the rhizomatic multitude developed by Deleuze and Guattari as well as Negri and Hardt.

Introduction

The urban regeneration refers to a transformation process aiming at sustainable improvement of built environment as well as social and economic wellbeing, quality of life and of public realm. One of its key challenges is to reconcile economic growth with preservation of local cultural identity.¹ For that, urban regeneration process requires the public access to local planning and policy-making. I argue that widening this access and involvement of local communities in the process can be facilitated through participatory artists-activists-led approaches with an effective application of modern communication technologies.

Since the beginning of the 19th century, the Gdansk Shipyard was a source of regional socio-economic power and the largest employer for local communities. Fortunately, the original 19th and 20th century industrial infrastructure survived the Second World War demolition of the central Gdansk area. The post-war Gdansk became a place of resistance against the Communist regime that involved shipyard workers. In 1980, Solidarity movement led by Lech Walesa was established in the Gdansk Shipyard as the first independent trade union in then the Soviet Block, commencing so-called Solidarity Revolution that eventually resulted in

¹Evans, G. and Shaw P. (2004) *The Contribution of Culture to Regeneration in the UK: A Review of Evidence*. [online]. London: Department for Culture Media and Sport.
<http://66.102.1.104/scholar?hl=en&lr=&q=cache:LGxVMMEfJcUJ:www.citiesinstitute.org.uk/wwwroot/publications/Reports/Culture%2520at%2520heart%2520of%2520regeneration.pdf>

the abolishment of Berlin Wall and subsequent systemic changes across Central European countries. In June 2004, the historical boards with 21 postulates of the protesting shipyard's workers were added to the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Paradoxically, in 1995 the Gdansk Shipyard went bankrupt and four years later more than half of its grounds were bought out by two American investment funds, managed by the land development company Synergia 99 with an aim to transform this area into a new, modern central waterfront district of Gdansk called the Young City.² The shipbuilding industry has been concentrated in the remaining area, now owned by the Ukrainian consortium ISD (75%) and the Polish Ministry of Treasury (25%).³

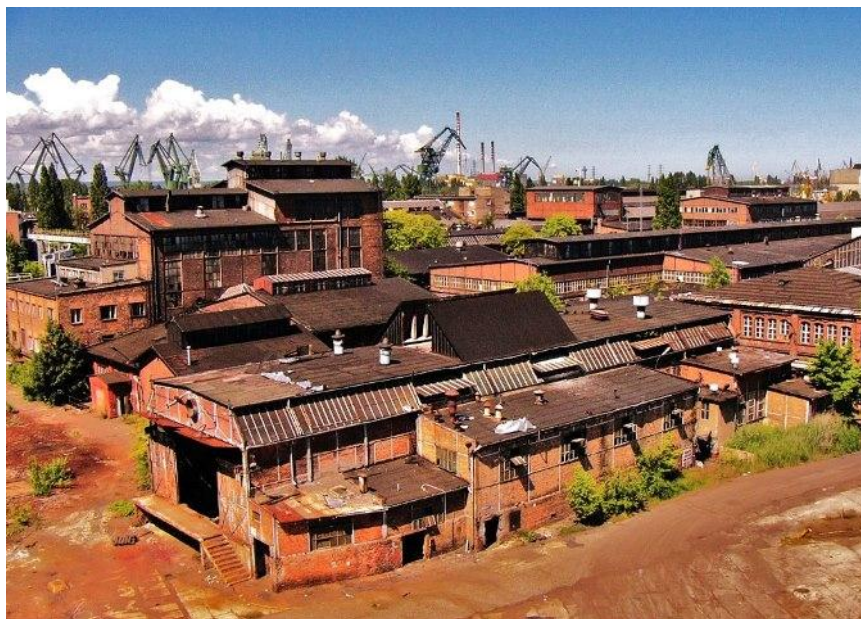


Image 1

19th century Imperial Shipyard
Photograph: Roman Sebastyanski

In order to gain a positive response of Gdansk's citizens toward the envisioned transformations, in 2001 Synergia 99 invited artists into shipyard's premises, offering them space for inspiration and a place to live and work. In 2002, the group of about 20 artists adapted the former telephone exchange building for workshops and studios, a small independent art gallery and an informal club. In the same year, a cultural organization "Wyspa", with a group of associated artists took over the small hall at the shipyard's premises and transformed it into an exhibition space. In 2004 "Wyspa" established the Art Institute in the former building of the shipbuilding school.

The empirical section of the paper is based on a single case study analyzing the role of artists-activists' collective in urban regeneration planning process, with a particular focus on cultural heritage. The study draws on insights from interviews with artists-activists conducted between years 2004-2006 and participant observation carried out since 2000 to date. The interviews focused on methods and techniques used by artists to create a publicly shared knowledge about the importance of the shipyard's heritage. Observations were centered on the organizational aspects of artists' activities. Data was also drawn from archival research. Documentation and literature concerning the post-shipyard urban regeneration planning process as well as artists' activities in the Gdansk Shipyard between 2002-2013 was examined, including analysis of plans and

²Sebastyanski, R. (2003) Young City, Gdansk. *Topos, European Landscape Magazine*. September 44 2003: Munchen Callwey

³Sebastyanski, R. (2011) in Jolanta Woszczenko (ed.) *The Artists' Colony in the Gdansk Shipyard 2001-2011*. Gdansk, Poland: Laznia Contemporary Art Centre

projects' descriptions, operational programmes, exhibitions catalogues and associated publications. The exposure in both, official and social media was also analyzed, including Internet websites, newspapers and magazines as well as Facebook and Youtube. Media-generated data revealed insights into the public response to artistic activities and artists' influence over the general views concerning the shipyard's heritage preservation.

Critique of the mainstream planning and the evolution of more radical-participative methods

One of the key criticism against official planning policies, conceived after World War II, was launched in the late 1950s in Paris by urban-artistic movement, called Situationist International led by Guy Debord. Situationists criticized dominating and controlling system of bureaucratic capitalism compared by Debord to a 'ruling spectacle' with its reification and instrumentalisation of reason which reduces everyone to a passive, isolated consumer. They called for intervention, proposing community-based active engagement and developed a theory and practice of a unitary urbanism; an urban social network aiming at collective transformation through combined use of participatory arts and other techniques, including psychogeography, urban drift, constructing situations and urban detournements.⁴

In the United States, widespread critique and resistance to post-war official urban planning was initiated by journalist and urban activist Jane Jacobs in her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). She argued that official "rationalist" top-down planning methods were based on deductive reasoning which did not respect the needs of local communities. Her criticism was supported by sociologist Herbert Gans who stated that the architectural roots of planning need to be replaced by an understanding of behavioral sciences, particularly that of urban sociology.⁵ Jacobs proposed ideas and actions to improve urban planning with increased role of local culture and social capital.⁶ She then organized successful grassroots efforts to protect existing neighborhoods, such as New York City's Greenwich Village, against plans to build the Lower Manhattan Expressway directly through Washington Square Park in 1968.

By the end of 1960s, as the civil rights movements swept across the Western World, criticism of mainstream planning methods became a norm. In the United States Alan Altshuler, an academic and government official, demonstrated that so-called "rational-comprehensive" plans were neither rational nor comprehensive and instead, politically powerful groups deeply influenced city plans to suit their specific interests, which deviated from the general public interest of urban residents.⁷ In Great Britain, Paul Barker, journalist and writer in collaboration with architects and urban planners: Rayner Banham, Peter Hall and Cedric Price challenged physical planning orthodoxy by calling for resistance to imposed aesthetics, promoting a playful civil participation in shaping urban living environments in their article "Non-Plan: an experiment in freedom", published in *New Society* magazine in 1969.⁸

In 1973, the first book in planning theory with word "radical" in the title was written by two American academics Allen Heskin and Stephen Grabow. In their book *Foundations for a Radical Concept of Planning* the authors offered a critique of the official, bureaucratic planning methods as centralized, elitist, based on dominance as well as change-resistant, and proposed instead, a new paradigm based on concepts of

⁴Kotanyi and Vaneigem in Knabb, K. (ed) (2006) *Situationist International, Anthology*. (Knabb, K. trans.) Berkeley CA: Bureau of Public Secrets, p.89

⁵ Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villages: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1962)

⁶ Flint, A. (2009) *Wrestling with Moses: How Jane Jacobs Took On New York's Master Builder and Transformed the American City*. New York: Random House.

⁷ Altshuler, A. (1966) *The City Planning Process: A Political Analysis*. Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press

⁸ Huges, J. and Sadler, S. (ed) (2000) *Non-Plan: Essays on Freedom, Participation and Change in Modern Architecture and Urbanism*. Oxford and Woburn: Architectural Press

decentralized and communal society, facilitation human development and participation as well as consideration of ecological issues.⁹

The operational method and practice of radical planning for the recovery of collective self-reliant political community and the self-production of life outside of the political terrain held by the state and the corporate capital were developed by John Friedmann in his book *Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action* (1987). He defines radical planning as self-organized practice that depends for its effectiveness on interpersonal relations based on trust. As a result of the participative planning process more individuals and groups can link up together, generating more political power based on a synergic self-empowerment. The social organization engaged in planning requires the means to access to the bases of social political power including informal networks and relevant information. The provisional and ephemeral knowledge for radical practice comes from communication which is mostly discursive. This communicative knowledge, aiming to reach a critical understanding, is socially produced and for that it is necessarily contextual; embedded in specific local social values and norms as well as more flexible for local experimentation.¹⁰

Since the 1980s, urban regeneration planning methods have started to evolve from top-down and government-led focused predominantly on built environment to bottom-up and community-led approaches focused on local public. In the 1990s, the notion of active participation has replaced the notion of access, determined more in consumption terms by adding a dimension of empowerment. Also at that time, more emergent methods of culture-led regeneration appeared where the role of culture in the official planning processes moved away from applications centered on built environment, such as iconic cultural landmarks or creative industries quarters, and turning more towards community involvement through arts. This evolution has partly been influenced by the emergence of new communication technologies, with the Internet in particular¹¹

However, the effectiveness of official culture-led regeneration strategies, based on physical development of a new flagship cultural institution (e.g. Guggenheim in Bilbao, Lowry Centre in Manchester or Tate Modern in London) or the entire cultural quarters (e.g. El Raval in Barcelona, Rope Walks Quarter in Liverpool, or Nottingham's Lace Market) have been widely questioned. The criticism points to such problems as gentrification and erasing local histories by commercial 'culturally-led' schemes based on the patterns of marketization and consumerism.¹² More populist cultural policies lead to "a growing banality and impoverishment where the critical potential and emancipatory dimension of the cultural experience based on the articulation of real experiences and problems was eliminated in favor of a false participation."¹³ Similar criticisms can be applied to more participatory approaches to culture-led urban regeneration planning that engage artists and consult wider public but only at the stage when the experts-led decisions on spatial and economic issues are already made. Musgrave and Cumberland argue that cultural, ecological and community concerns tend to be addressed secondarily rather than integrated with the planning process which results in unimaginative, short-term thinking.¹⁴

⁹ McConnell, S. (1981) *Theories for Planning*. London: David & Charles

¹⁰ Friedmann, J. (1987) *Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action*. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press. pp.393-402

¹¹ Evans, G. and Shaw P. (2004) *The Contribution of Culture to Regeneration in the UK: A Review of Evidence*. [online]. London: Department for Culture Media and Sport.

<http://66.102.1.104/scholar?hl=en&lr=&q=cache:L GxVMMEfJcUJ:www.citiesinstitute.org.uk/wwwroot/publications/Reports/Culture%2520at%2520heart%2520of%2520regeneration.pdf>

¹² Miles, M. (2005) Interruptions: Testing the Rhetoric of Culturally Led Urban Development. *Urban Studies*, Vol. 42 p. 890

¹³ Ribalta, J. (2004) *Mediation and Construction of Publics. The MACBA Experience*. [online]. Republican Art, http://republicanart.net/disc/institution/ribalta01_en.pdf

¹⁴ in Miessen, M. Basar, S. (ed) (2006) *Did Someone Say Participate? An Atlas of Spatial Practice*. Frankfurt am Main: Revolver p.82

Thus, successful culturally-led urban regeneration planning process needs to be holistic, multidisciplinary and involve local community.¹⁵ An alternative approach can be offered by participatory artists-led strategy which can suggest symbols and metaphors for transformation in the search of common identity of a place and have a positive impact on local image of a place, inspiring a vision for desired transformations.¹⁶ Social media and mobile communication technologies may facilitate personalized communities that communicate simultaneously in virtual and real spaces.

Alternative and participative process of the Gdansk Shipyard's regeneration

Despite the rhetoric of public officials as well as private businesses, concerning the need to protect and preserve the Gdansk Shipyard's unique heritage, the reality has proved something opposite. Over last twelve years, many objects of the shipyard's infrastructure have been demolished without consulting the public.



Image 2

Demolition of Director's Villa
Photograph: Roman Sebastyanski

In such vacuum of social dialogue and barrier for the public to participate in the urban regeneration planning of the post-shipyard area the local artists-activists have become engaged, mainly with the issues of the heritage protection. Their biggest challenge was finding out how to explore its unique identity and how to translate their research into artworks as well as disseminate results to the wider public. They utilized various independent media to engage public in specific social and political interventions concerning problems with officially planned urban regeneration. Participative actions of the artists-activists encompassed a sphere of public awareness. They have succeeded to engage wider public in discussions about the shipyard's heritage values, emphasizing a need for its preservation for future generations.

The artists were linking their activities both inside the shipyard as well as outside. One of such early examples was the two years artistic workshop „Confrontations – Shipyard – the look from outside” (2003 and 2004). This project has dialogically connected artists from the Gdansk Academy of Fine Arts, Hochschule der Kunst from Berlin, Slade School of Fine Art from London, Ritveld Kunst Akademie from Amsterdam and University of the West of England from Bristol. They got engaged in various social political actions

¹⁵Musgrave and Cumberlidge in Miessen, M. Basar, S. (ed) (2006) *Did Someone Say Participate? An Atlas of Spatial Practice*. Frankfurt am Main: Revolver

¹⁶Matarasso, F. (1997) in Evans, G. and Shaw P. (2004) *The Contribution of Culture to Regeneration in the UK: A Review of Evidence*. [online]. London: Department for Culture Media and Sport.
<http://66.102.1.104/scholar?hl=en&lr=&q=cache:LGxVMMEfJcUJ:www.citiesinstitute.org.uk/wwwroot/publications/Reports/Culture%2520at%2520heart%2520of%2520regeneration.pdf>

concerning planned urban regeneration of the post-shipyard area with a use of independent media. This diverse and creative network was integrated by an artist from Obin.org in the open-sourced “System of the workshop’s news desk”. This System was an Internet platform of cooperation between artists, organizers and the wide public.¹⁷

For the photographer Michał Szlaga, his artistic colonization of the shipyard was an opportunity to observe and grasp a sense of diversity of a place. Firstly, he got involved in analysing the monumentality of the industrial plant itself; its halls, cranes, slipways and the complex processes of shipbuilding. Being able to live and work at the shipyard’s premises, he documented on-going changes against historical traces of the industrial era. Secondly, he began to engage with working people on the premises. For sometime, he worked as a hull painter at the part of the shipyard in operation. Meetings with shipbuilders enabled him to acquire valuable knowledge about working lives. He continues his explorations of the shipyard’s changes and argues that the most important is a sense of continuous discovery while documenting fast-paced material and systemic transformations.¹⁸ He presents his work concerning the shipyard transformation on his personal photo-blog.¹⁹ While preventing his photographs to be commented directly there he then links particular presentations to his Facebook profile to initiate discussion and eventual intervention. His blog is a vast source of information and knowledge for both formal and social media which helps spreading information widely, also to a traditional ‘paper-based’ audiences.

Over the years, since its formation in 2004, the “Wyspa” Art Institute has attempted to create critical methods and tools supporting artistic engagement in the complex planning processes of the post-shipyard transformation into a future waterfront central district of Gdansk. The Art Institute conducted a series of activities concerning long-term, interdisciplinary research of the post-shipyard contexts involving and cooperating with specialists of different fields, including architects and urban planners. Their main objective was to counteract official political strategies that use historical heritage for propaganda and political manipulation. Understanding that the context produces meaning, the artists associated with the Art Institute have started exploring post-industrial specificities, translating the research results into another, more symbolic language and transmitting discovered meanings through various forms of social relations, including Internet in particular.²⁰



Image 3

Cover page (fragment): *Dock Watchers* publication (2005)
Curtsey of the Wyspa Art Institute

¹⁷ Based on [mal2008](http://mal2008.com) (2004) „Confrontations – Shipyard – the look from outside” <<http://konfrontacje.wordpress.com/konfrontacje-2004/>>

¹⁸ Szlaga, M. (2005) *My photography in the Gdansk Shipyard heritage protection*. Video interview in the atelier of Michał Szlaga in the Gdansk Shipyard. Gdansk, April, 17

¹⁹ <http://szlaga.blogspot.co.uk/search/label/shipyard>

²⁰ Szylak, A. & Klamann, G. (2007) *Role of the “Wyspa” Institute of Art in transformation of the former Gdansk Shipyard*. Video interview at the “Wyspa” Institute of Art in Gdansk, August, 14.

Progressively, actions of the artists-activists carried out at the shipyard premises have started to attract public attention. They have succeeded to build a ‘communication bridge’ connecting this closed down and derelict place with the rest of the city, simultaneously transforming public perception of the Gdansk Shipyard. Local citizens have started to associate themselves with the post- shipyard’s landscape. From 2005, the shipyard’s cranes began to appear in the public visual sphere, including the banners-posters of rock concerts and festivals or public charitable funds and become the new iconic symbol of contemporary Gdansk. The research contracted by the municipal authorities indicated that 98% of local citizens postulate formal protection of the Gdansk Shipyard heritage and cranes in particular.²¹

It could be argued that these highly qualified artistic ‘colonizers’ of the post-shipyard space have gained social trust and thus represent reliable partners for consultation over its heritage. As a consequence, in the beginning of 2012, the Mayor of Gdansk has invited representatives of the artists-activists’ groups to the newly established Young City’s Stakeholders’ Board, a formalized space aimed to meet, exchange information and ideas on the post-shipyard urban regeneration process among owners-developers, municipal administration, existing and operating Gdansk Shipyard board, Solidarity Trade Union, Solidarity Center Foundation, the European Solidarity Center as well as other cultural and artistic organizations. Under pressure of alternative groups, the detailed inventory of the shipyard’s cranes, was completed by the municipal administration, in September last year and was presented on the specially dedicated part of the Gdansk municipality’s website. It was also discussed at the Young City’s Stakeholders’ Board and decisions on the concrete planning procedures of their preservation were collectively made, including financial ones. This time, however, the Gdansk’s citizens have been mobilized to put pressure upon the local government to keep its promise to protect Shipyard’s heritage.

By the end of November 2012 the announcement of young activist appeared on Facebook inviting all interested to participate in the new project established by the informal group, named „NO for the Shipyard’s Destruction”. This first electronic announcement encouraged potential participants to act both (and usually even simultaneously) in the real, ‘analogue’ space of the Gdansk Shipyard and the meeting room of the “Wyspa” Art Institute located there as well as virtual space of the Internet with a use of Facebook, Skype or Mumble, etc. *“Do not feel that you do not have influence because it is not true”* – said the announcement.²²



Image 4

Banner “NO for the Shipyard’s destruction – raise the Gdansk!” (April 2012)
Curtsey of the NO for the Shipyard’s destruction

²¹ Study of the Young City’s landscape and the cranes in particular: Report of social research (2012) Gdansk: City Development Office

²² <http://www.facebook.com/StoczniaAlive?fref=ts>

The task of the first meeting scheduled on the 2nd of December 2012 in the Art Institute was to discuss and agree upon the common goals and the action plan. After the meeting the first draft of the general program of the Social Initiative “NO for the Shipyard’s Destruction” with presentation of a group, its goals and the ways to achieve them was published on Facebook.

The group presented itself as all equal organizers independent from political parties and without formal leaders. It accepts having representatives based on the competences required in a particular situations. It has no ideology but the will to cooperate and act all together concerning protection of the Gdansk Shipyard heritage. The cooperation should be based on the sharing information and knowledge as well as responsibility. The group proposed all accessible forms of communication to share information and reach all possible audiences (to turn them into participants): Facebook, radio, live streaming, posters, happening, music and ‘word of mouth’.²³ The main goals of the group were to enhance social consciousness about unique values of the post-shipyard area and to protect its cultural heritage as well as secure public access to the riverfront. This should be achieved by controlling the post-shipyard regeneration process through wide public debate and participation.²⁴

This presentation of the group and its goals as well as the ways to achieve them, made both in the real and virtual space, has initiated wider public debate. In the mid of December 2012 the group organized a public photo-walk through the Gdansk Shipyard with a meeting in the Art Institute to discuss possible ways of protecting shipyard’s cranes. All such actions are immediately published on the group’s Facebook as well as most of local official media (paper, and Internet).

After several active weeks (online and off-line) the group has generated 1.500 Facebook participants which share information, discuss it and decide on the further actions. In February 2013 the group managed to invite two commissions of the Gdansk City Council (for the revitalization and spatial development) and organized public debate on the form of the post-shipyard regeneration.

Today the group „NO for the Shipyard’s Destruction” counts 1.800 Facebook ‘members’ and represent a strong social movement engaged in the protection of the Gdansk Shipyard heritage. Its recent initiative organized together with two formal local associations; “Our Gdansk” and “Association for Care about Landmarks” is the petition called “Let us save the Gdansk’s cranes” directed to the Prime Minister of the Polish government and the Minister of Culture and National Heritage. This action aims at receiving minimum 2.000 signatures until 3rd June 2013 supporting social requirement to formally register selected cranes and other industrial facilities as historical landmarks. More than half of the required signatures is already collected.²⁵

Publicly shared knowledge of the rhizomatic multitude

I argue that in the evolution of the radical-participative urban planning methods, the gradual and practical widening of the public involvement in the policy making has been possible through lowering barriers and costs of using modern communication technologies on a larger scale. This allowed their creative adoption by independent artists and activists to engage wide public in alternative, bottom-up and participatory planning processes. Artists-activists’ actions were realized through an expanded connectivity that forms multidimensional networks that are open and inherently discontinuous, flexible and mobile as well as unstable and unpredictable. Such an organizational form refers to what Deleuze and Guattari call *rhizome* in their book *A Thousand Plateaus*.²⁶ The rhizomatic practice based on the alternative networks outside of the dominating system cannot be formally represented and establishes foundations of equality and solidarity which is crucial in radical planning process.²⁷

²³ <http://www.facebook.com/StoczniaAlive?fref=ts>

²⁴ <http://www.facebook.com/StoczniaAlive?fref=ts>

²⁵ <http://www.petycje.pl/petycja/9514/>

²⁶ Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1988) *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Massumi, B. London: Athlone Press.p.7

²⁷ Hardt, M. and Negri, A. (2001) *Empire*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p.406

The artists-activists has succeeded in building a locally and nationally identified rhizomatic network which operated as an autonomous and alternative public sphere of dialogue and cooperation, concerned with researching and communicating the meanings of the cultural heritage of the Gdansk Shipyard. While Synergia 99 and the municipal administration worked more or less together with a support of external experts, the artists-activists functioned parallel and independently of them focusing more on engaging Gdansk citizens to the process. They were constructing social relations and platforms for dialogic interactions, usually with a use of modern communication technologies. As a consequence, artists-activists could learn and communicate practical-political knowledge related to the issues of the shipyard's cultural heritage and to engage the public in the alternative planning process.

This publicly shared political knowledge, referred by Virno as general or public intellect is an important resource of the radical planning.²⁸ The publicness of this intellect blurs the rigid division of labour disciplines and dependence on rules endowed with coercive power but simultaneously fosters personal interdependence and demands more responsibility from individuals participating in radical planning and transformative action.

Success of the artists-activists' performance related to the preservation of the cultural heritage within the scheme of the Gdansk shipyard regeneration has depended upon the rhizomatic and dialogic social organization in which artists with cultural, academic as well as social institutions and the media, have succeeded to bring this closed down industrial plant to the public sphere of dialogue and to build a resource of the shared knowledge concerning the shipyard's historical and cultural context as a fundamental basis for an effective continuation of the regeneration with consideration of cultural heritage issues.

It is important to acknowledge that the artists-activists have not come to defend shipbuilding production but accepted the end of an industrial era and have never questioned that fact. They have understood that something new has to be created and in this context, they have somehow inscribed themselves into a consequence of transformation of the post-shipyard areas. For that they could be treated as partners from the early beginning for both, developers and the city authorities. The artists did not act against the plans of the Gdansk authorities and developers but rather tried to influence their decisions indirectly by approaching the wider public with an alternative concepts. Over ten years, the artists managed to convince the public about the industrial and political heritage as the great potentials for the future development of this place. For that, it could be argued that alternative groups of artists-activists created and proposed and applied more effective method, concerning the regeneration of post-shipyard land than businesses and bureaucrats combined.

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²⁸Virno, P. (1996) *Virtuosity and Revolution: The Political Theory of Exodus*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

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