斯科普里的专有性和包容性空间实践
Spatial Practices of Exclusion and Inclusion in Skopje

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记忆与再生

本期栏目探讨了以马其顿共和国首都斯科普里为背景的专有性（城市空间的分层利用）和包容性（公共空间的占用策略）之间的关系。在中国，"包容"是一个关于新城市化进程中社区建设的重要的关键词，而斯科普里城市肌理的层级化为探讨在城市更新过程中的此种现象呈现了新的方式。奥格内·马里纳和亚历山德罗·阿曼多在过去 3 年间一直致力于"包容性城市"的国际课题的研究。

Memory and Regeneration

This issue of the column deals with the relation between exclusivity (hierarchical use of the urban space) and inclusivity (tactics of appropriation of the public space) in the capital of the Republic of Macedonia – Skopje. While in China "inclusivity" is a key-word mainly concerning the settle-down of communities in new urbanizations, the stratification of the urban fabric in Skopje shows new ways of discussing such phenomenon within a process of urban regeneration. Ognen Marina and Alessandro Armando devoted to "inclusive cities" – an international research in the last three years.

这个名为"斯科普里 2014"的项目旨在重塑斯科普里的城市中心，其政治叙事已经转变了城市公共领域的身份认同和意向，以精英主义的方式实践了在空间和其他方面的公共空间专有性质。这个城市项目的空间与形式实践激发出了许多反对它的空间实践出现。

许多结构扁平化与非永久性管理的组织已经展开了反对公共空间专有和反对减少包容性政治政策的行动，他们在理论和时间上都反对当地政府专有性政策中具有强烈上下等级制的垂直从属结构。这些行动，作为新的社会包容性和可见性实践的新城市策略，就是我们研究的重点。这一系列的市民活动、艺术介入和新形式的包容性已经获得认可和得以探索，让我们获得补充性空间知识。借助这些知识我们能让城市变得更加美好，更有包容性。

1 专有空间性的固定表现手法

随着 1990 年代政治、社会体制的变革，以及随着依照商业化和私有化原则调控的财产转让和财产重审，城市和社会景观变得更不协调。这种奇怪的情形，会导致城市形象被"再创造"，城市空间被理所当然地消耗。在斯科普里市第一次城市规划近一个世纪后，政府提供资金启动了名为"斯科普里 2014"的城市计划。其主要目标是，通过在市中心建造公共机构建筑来将城市和民族的身份"重新构建"为城市领土和记忆的历史遗产，以及通过引入新的标准来使市中心的公共空间正常化[1]。"斯科普里 2014"城市计划项目最终使该城市的整体结构降格为噩梦般的、平庸的政治形象，背后隐藏着含糊不清的元历学（meta-historical）表现手法。

日常实践证明，"斯科普里 2014"的想象性表现手法是对现实过度简化的竭力表现，同时空间实践总是揭示出这些对比。该城市的历史层面与过去的记忆之间的差异已经崩溃为其存在和出现的民族辉煌专有性[2]。在该城市项目的实践中，我们可以看见出现了政治上含糊的过程，并分化为两个维度，一个是正式的公众审美化，一个是将公共和私人空间转化为"被净化"混合体的专制。前者因为意图消除城市空间的差异和引入主流政治、社会甚至国家范例，采用了博物馆化和调解的过程，将城市身份的表现手法带到平庸的再表现的水平上。后者使用城市空间"正常化"的方式来建立，其中与在政治上和社会上被广泛接受为标准和常态的公开标准相背离的差异和元素被消除，并不被社会接受。后者宣扬某种在社会上和政治上被接受的行为，从而对公共领域进行政治和美学净化，并主张将平庸的美学风格作为唯一被接受的民族和城市识别建筑的表现途径，以此来强化这种净化。

关于斯科普里的建筑和公共空间改造，最显著的例子之一就是斯科普里中央政府建筑的立面改造。其原始建筑建造于 1970 年，由马其顿建筑师彼得·穆利凯奥夫斯基设计。该建筑是具有混凝土元素的现代主义建筑（图 1）。

其特殊的混凝土核心结构支撑着从地面立起的 6 个体量，这种结构用来在建筑的主要构件周围和下面提供空间；因此，这些公共空间及其具有接纳性和包容性的形象，是该城市结构中这一建筑的本质和空间外观的体现。在"斯科普里 2014"项目中，该建筑的改造不是用平庸的非巴洛克风格来替换，而是在建筑周围增加了阻隔性的围墙，防止市民使用公共空间，借此传达出一个强烈的信号，即这是政治精英的专属支配空间，是其存在和身份的象征。

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1 马其顿共和国中央政府大楼改造前（左）和改造后（右）/Building of the central government of Republic of Macedonia before the transformation (left) and after (right)

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The political narratives of the project for re-shaping the Skopje city centre named "Skopje 2014" have transformed the identity and imagery of the public domain in the city, exercising the elitist approach and social and other exclusion from public spaces. The spatial and formal practice of this urban project has provoked emergence of new opposing spatial practices.

The actions against the exclusivity of the public domain and reduction of inclusive political policies have exercised horizontally structured and temporally managed organization that conceptually and practically oppose the vertical and strongly hierarchically subordinated structure of the exclusive policies of the local government. The spatial practices of these actions that emerge as new urban tactics of appropriation of social inclusion and visibility are in the focus of our research. The series of civic activities, governmentally supported projects, artistic interventions and new forms of exclusion and inclusion have been explored as a potentially important addition to spatial knowledge that could help us make our cities better and more inclusive.

1 Fixed narratives of exclusive spatiality

With the change in the political and social system in the 1990s, followed by the transfer and re-examination of property regulated by the principles of commercialization and privatization, the urban and social landscape of the city of Skopje has become even more conflicted. This condition, oddly enough, will lead to the "re-invention" of an urban image and un-scruple consumption of public space. Almost one century after the first urban plan for the city of Skopje, a new governmentally financed urban project titled "Skopje 2014" was promoted. Its main purpose has been to "re-construct" the identity of the city and of the nation as a historical legacy to urban territory and memory by constructing institutional buildings in the center of the city and "normalizing" the public space in the center of the city; it has done so by introducing new standards of what has been denounced as desirable public behavior.[1] The "Skopje 2014" urban project ended up reducing the complex structure of the city to a semantic nightmare and a politically banal image with a dubious meta-historical narrative behind it.

Everyday practice proves the "Skopje 2014" imaginary narrative to be an impoverished and oversimplified representation of reality, while spatial practices invariably reveal those contrasts. The differences between the historic layers of the city and the memory of the past have collapsed into a unique and repetitive imagery of national grandeur exclusive in its existence and emergence.[2] In the practice of this urban project, we can see the emergence of a politically dubious process that disintegrates into two dimensions: the formal aestheticization of the public, and the authoritarian appropriation and transformation of public and private space into "sanitized" hybrids. The former concludes in the process of museumification or mediatization of the space owing to the intention to eradicate the differences of the urban space and introduce a dominant political, social, or even national paradigm, bringing the narrative of the urban identity to the level of banal re-presentation. The latter is established through urban space "normalization" where all the differences and elements that deviate from the publicly declared standards of what is socially and politically accepted as norms and normal are eradicated and are not treated as socially acceptable. This political and aesthetical sanitization of the public domain through promotion of a single socially and politically acceptable form of behavior is enhanced with the propagation of an eclectic architectural style as the only acceptable way of articulating the architecture of the national, and therefore urban, identification.

One of the most prominent examples of the transformation of buildings and public spaces in Skopje is the transformation of the facade of the central government building in Skopje. The original building was built in 1970 and designed by Macedonian architect Petar Mulichovski. It was a modernist building with concrete brut elements (Figure 1).

Its specific structure of concrete cores that supported the ensemble of six objects elevated above the ground was used in order to provide space around and below the building's main elements; hence the public space and the image of the accessible and inclusive institution was inherent to the nature and spatial appearance of this building in the urban structure of the city. The transformation of this building within the "Skopje 2014" project meant not just the substitution of the new facade in eclectic neo-baroque style, but most importantly, the addition of an impenetrable fence around the building that prevents the citizens from using the public space, and emits a strong message of exclusion as a dominant spatial practice of the political elite, who are rattled by their own existence and identity.

This new urban reality shaped by the fixed and conservative spatial and formal practices and actions in Skopje is strongly opposed by the new and innovative spatial practices. The actions that have emerged as a new form of urban tactics of appropriation of social inclusion and visibility are the focus of our research. The series of civic activities, artistic interventions, and new forms of inclusion have been recognized and explored as a potentially important addition to the spatial knowledge that could help us make our cities better and more inclusive.

2 Diffusion of the inclusive horizontality

The conservative and fixed narratives of the governmentally sponsored project, and the resulting policies of state institutions that reflect a closed and exclusive approach to different layers of the society and culture have induced a response in the domain of architecture. This response opposes the eclectic and rigid view on culture and art in the society promoted by the state-funded institutions like museums and art galleries, emanating the corresponding image to the dominant ideology; nevertheless, it is poignant with symbols from the past and national mythologies, usually depicted through meta-historic formal and spatial practices that provide a legitimacy to the present through a (re)constructed and virtual past. In a situation

由固定的、保守的空间和形式实践塑造新城市的这一现实，遭到创新型空间实践派的强烈反对。这些行动，作为新的社会包容性和可见性实践的新城市策略，就是我们研究的重点。这一系列的市民活动、艺术介入和新形式的包容性已经获得认可和得以探索，让我们获得补充性空间知识。借助这些知识我们能让我们的城市变得更加美好，更有包容性。

2 横向包容性的传播

政府出资主导的项目采用保守、固定的表现手法，因此制定的国家机构政策反应了通往不同社会和文化层次的封闭性专有途径，这样在建筑领域引起了回应。这种回应反对国家拨款机构所宣扬的平庸而又僵硬的文化和艺术观点，这些机构有博物馆和美术馆，它们用过去和民族神话的符号来通过相应的图像呈现思想上的鲜活记忆，通常通过元－历史的形式和空间实践来进行描述，通过（再）建造的和虚拟的过去来表现现在的合理性。在这种情况下，问题就是什么能实际反对这类主流但僵硬的实践。在斯科普里，答案包含在建筑领域及其相关空间实践中以及包含在这种反对过程出现的社会、政治结构中。

斯科普里现代艺术中心（CAC）在2014年建造和推广了CAC移动艺术馆。出资建立这种移动现代艺术馆的目的，就是在马其顿现代艺术领域，为

不被正式国家机构所承认或支持的艺术和艺术实践的表现提供动态空间。艺术馆被设计成移动的、易于拆装的，以便在一个地方最多停留三四个星期（一段足够开展三四个项目的时间）。然后，艺术馆稍微改变位置。其建造成本为7000欧元（约为5.2万人民币），该项目背后的理念就是为受机构限制的艺术实践和艺术家能展示其作品或组织活动。艺术馆的尺寸为5m×9m×3.6m，可以从密闭空间转换为开放式的空间——这取决于具体艺术项目或活动的需要，马其顿所有有兴趣的艺术家或文化／民间社会领域运作者都可申请使用。

CAC移动艺术馆（图2）是建筑学回应的表现，这种回应表示为具有具体规则和空间存在的物体，其存在不限制在某个地方。移动艺术馆足够灵活，足够真实，可以表示对国家资助的主流艺术和馆长式保守实践的反对，因为这些机构限制更广泛更多样的艺术群体进入机构。移动艺术馆同时通过其移动和横向分布的存在，来扩展多样化艺术行动的空间，为不同观点和空间实践提供公共空间。斯科普里这种空间时间的横向包容性被证明是非常成功的，而且是富有成效的。

这种移动艺术馆的建筑形式反对国家机构的刻板印象，反对对创造性社会实践的限制，还有一些社会活动也有类似性质。这就是各种民间团体的出现，这些民间团体通常发动和参与具体的抗议，表

达对政府政策和实践的不满。自从欧洲爆发金融危机后，因为中央政府的腐败行为违背了非法政治精英宣扬的主要政策，引起了指控和怀疑，所以抗议和民众骚乱已经在巴尔干半岛爆发，特别是2015年在马其顿。这些抗议的出现和性质已经使某些作者[3]重新考虑用于解释抗议的社会、政治、经济背景的类别。但是可以清楚地看到，这些运动的组织结构开始出现扁平化组织的全体会议，并成为有力工具来反对国家机构之类的以等级形式组织的强大对手。采取这种组织形式的学生和其他全体会议，被证明是用占领、直接民主和横向民主进行试验性实践的肥沃土壤。他们所采取行动的空间表达方式有多种形式，从占领大学校园，到在整个城市的示威游行等，邀请所有市民加入他们来讨论教育、文化、自由言论和其他重要的公共问题，以及在公开包容性论坛上决定每天的抗议行动方向，其中在论坛上，扁平化组织的全体会议的每个成员都有权利来为他们今后的行动做贡献。

在城市的政治和空间领域，缺少更多具体的、有创造力的或者至少具有象征性的空间实践，已经让全体会议不能实现更有意义的目标，实践只能通过政治组织的方式来最终实现，而这将他们带回现有的有争议的权力分配结构的范围内。

3 空间创造性和新型城市实践

随着对城市中政治事件和行动的时效性方面的

2 CAC移动艺术馆在斯科普里（左）和比托拉（右）/CAC mobile gallery positioned in Skopje (left) and Bitola (right)

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like this the question is what could actually oppose such a dominant and yet rigid practice. In Skopje, the answer was two-fold both in the domain of architecture and its associated spatial practices, and in the social and political structures that have emerged within this opposition.

In 2014, CAC (Contemporary Art Center – Skopje) constructed and promoted a CAC mobile gallery. This mobile gallery of contemporary art is a project funded with the intention to provide an alternative space and place for presentation of art and artistic practices that are not recognized and supported by the formal and national institutions in the field of contemporary arts in Macedonia. The gallery was designed to be mobile and easy to dismantle in order to stay at same place for three to four weeks at the most (a period sufficient for three to four projects). After that, the gallery changed its micro location. The cost of its construction was 7000 Euros (approx. 9700 USD), and the main idea behind this project was to provide a space where institutionally restricted artistic practices and artists could exhibit their works or organize events. The gallery's measurements are 5×9×3.6 meters, and it could be transformed from a closed to an open space—depending on the needs of a specific art project or event; as such it is available "on demand" for all interested artists or cultural/civil society sector operators all across Macedonia.

The CAC mobile gallery(Figure 2) is an architectural response realized in an object with a specific regime and spatial presence whose existence is not restricted to a single place. It is flexible and yet tangible enough to represent the opposition to the dominant artistic and curatorial conservative praxis of the state-funded institutions that restrict the access of the broader and more diverse artistic community to the institutions; at the same time it enables an extension of the space for diverse artistic action and provides public space for different views and spatial practices through its mobile and horizontally distributed existence. The inclusive horizontality of this spatial practice in Skopje has proved to be very successful and productive.

As a sort of social counterpart to the architecturally shaped response to state institutions' rigidity, and the restrictions imposed on creative social practices structured into the mobile art gallery is the emergence of a variety of civic groups. These are usually initiated and related to a specific protest and civic discontent with government policies and practices. Since the outbreak of the financial crisis in Europe, protests and civic unrest have been erupting in the Balkans to challenge all major policies promoted by the de-legitimized political elite; in 2015, in Macedonia specifically, these have occurred owing to the allegations and suspicion of corrupt actions by the central government. The emergence and nature of these protests have challenged some authors[3] to rethink the categories used to explain the social, political, and economic context of the protests. It is also compelling to reconsider the nature of state institutions, their weaknesses and failures, and the regimes that are in power in a post-socialist period marked by a never-ending transition. These power structures have proved to be very fragile and non-resistant to the weight imposed upon them due to their inherent contradictions, and hence institutional instability and social vulnerability. The fact that these actions are against an elusive opponent––regimes that are much harder to define since there is no single-faceted manifestation of the same, and more often they are not characterized by open repression–– makes these occasional expressions of protest very volatile, followed by confusion and contradictory political messages. However, it is precisely the organizational structure of these movements emerging as horizontally organized plenums that turns them into a powerful tool for opposing strong and hierarchically organized opponents such as state institutions. The examples of students' and other plenums that exercise such an organization have proved to be a fertile ground for experimental practices with occupations, and direct and horizontal democracy. The spatial manifestations of their actions, ranging from occupation of the University campuses to protest walks throughout the city, have been diversified by the invitation to all citizens to join them in a debate about education, culture, freedom of speech, and other issues of public importance; the public is also invited to decide about the course of the protest day by day in an open and inclusive forum where each member of the horizontally organized plenum has the right to contribute to future actions.

The lack of more specific and creative or at least symbolic spatial practice in the political and spatial domain of cities has prevented the plenums from achieving more significant goals where the ultimate realization of these practices could be seen only through a means of political organization that puts them back within the existing and disputed structure of power distribution.

3 Spatial creativity and new urban practices

By radicalizing and idealizing the transitory aspects of the political event and action in cities, the emerging and new spatial practices have gained the capacity to deliver social and political relevance through collective creation, and yet remain efficient and transparent. These spatial practices are mainly acts of protest or discontent with the dominant social and political elite, and oppose them through forms that are beyond the structure of the exclusive systems of power distribution. They gain their strength from the inclusivity of the everyday, reinforced by the repetitiveness and omnipresence of acts of protest in almost all layers of society.

The key for understanding these new urban spatial practices can be found in the description of the unitary urbanism that would become the guidelines for the Situationist movement and that dates back to 1958. Condemning the banality of the dominant utilitarianism in urbanism, it devises a new role for the urban scene where "The appearance of the notion of relativity in the modern mind allows one to surmise the experimental aspect of the next civilization. … On the basis of the mobile civilization, architecture will, at least initially, be a means of experimenting with a thousand ways of modifying life, with a view to a mythic synthesis."[4] In this respect, the spatial and social practice

激进式和理想化推动，新出现的空间实践已经通过集体创造来获得传递社会和政治相关性的能力，同时保持效率和透明性。这些空间实践主要是对主流社会、政治精英的抗议和不满，以超越专有的权力分配体制结构的形式来进行反对，从每天的包容性获得力量，通过遍布社会各阶层的抗议行动来加强。

要理解这些新的城市空间实践，可从 1958 年有关单一都市化的描述中找到关键要领，而这些关键要领将成为情境画家运动的指导方针。它谴责都市化中的主流功利主义，为都市场景描述新的作用，"现代思维中相关性概念的出现让我们想象下一个文明的试验性方面……在易变文明的基础上，建筑将至少是用虚拟混合的观念以上千种方式改变生活的初始试验性手段。"[4] 在这方面，城市的空间和社会实践将通过持续的新行为方式来创造。选择的技巧将是通过衍生或无目的的漂移来贯穿城市环境。展开衍生行动的具体指导说明如下：将占用固定量的时间（最好 12~24 个小时），组织一群人参与，这些人的路径由系统的、随机的、自觉的选择和机会来共同决定。其目标是在没有事先预定计划的情况下贯穿城市，由此激发意外的事件和冲突。

这种空间实践拒绝消费社会的功利性逻辑，相反针对动态城市的实现，希望在城市中让自由和游戏发挥中心作用。通过集体运作的形式，他们寻求实现对日常生活的解释，主张开展对事件正常状态形成颠覆的实践。

2015 年在斯科普里爆发的市民骚乱，最开始被描述为与政府机构和警察的正面暴力对抗，后来获得时间和空间上创造性对抗的一些技巧。一年后，斯科普里最初的抗议，以及民间公开表达对政府的不同程度的不满和抗议，已经采用了移动示威的形式。所谓的"颜色革命"（图 3）从没有具体路线的抗议开始，但是每天都在组织，出现在现场，并使用社会媒体进行某类直接决策。抗议者的城市漂移通常从一个机构建筑到一些其他机构建筑，朝具体的机构建筑和"斯科普里 2014"项目符号扔涂绘的"炸弹"。其移动性使抗议者避免与有精良装备的、接受过暴力冲突训练的警察直接冲突。

抗议者重复着空间实践，参与者具有永不妥协的决心，例行游行类似宗教游行，不同群体间通过互动（冲突）和斗争获得空间和社会相关性的故事在上演 [5]，这样便于碰撞群体以及将来城市的塑造创造了空间。抗议者在空间和时间上具有灵活性，没有预定的路线，辅以对建筑和"斯科普里 2014"项目标志的涂色，因而使他们脱离背景，嘲笑用于该项目的"元 – 表现"手法。这通过动态的、创造

性的、临时性空间行动，穿越了现有腐朽精英阶层的主流空间实践和形式表现方式。斯科普里 2014 项目的历史表现手法肤浅又虚伪，将市中心的机构建筑的公共空间和外观平庸化。这种表现手法遭到各种颜色的干扰，这些颜色象征的是多元文化社会中各种符号、外观和社会实践的多元性。这是对《游戏人》所传达能力的致敬，通过游戏的方式混合多种符号，以此赋予日常生活以新的意义，某些时候给平庸的现实带来新的含义。通过这种能力，我们可以开启社会和政治实践多样性的现实，在城市空间实施有创意的、有创造性的实践。

现代城市衍生应在为城市和社会表达不同政治前景的同时，能抵抗来自机构的任何抑制力量。这不能降格为单纯的政治、社会或空间行为，这些行为通常是各种特征的结合，在斯科普里市产生独特的、但仍具有集体性和创造性的空间，同时伴随不同的社会和空间实践，因此在不损害所有城市公民的权益的情况下，使公共空间和城市得以不受限制的政治化。□（版权声明：《斯科普里的专有性和包容性空间实践》是一篇论文的大摘要，该论文将于 2016 年 11 月在黎巴嫩卢艾泽圣母大学组织的"街道的形成与再形成：21 世纪城市街道的转变"主题的"城市街道二会议"上发表和演讲。）

3 新都市漂流者的"颜色革命"转变建筑的元叙事和"斯科普里2014"项目的纪念物/"Colorful" revolution of new urban drifters shifting the meta-narratives of buildings and monuments of "Skopje 2014" project

of cities of the future will be created through continuous experiments in new modes of behavior. The technique of choice will be the traversing of urban environments through derive, or aimless drifting. The detailed instructions for carrying out derive correctly are as follows: it should take a fixed amount of time (preferably 12 or 24 hours) and involve a group of people whose path is determined by a combination of systematicity and randomness, conscious choice, and chance. The aim is to move through the city without pre-determined plan, thus provoking unexpected occurrences and encounters.

This spatial practice rejected the utilitarian logic of the consumer society, aiming instead for the realization of a dynamic city, a city in which freedom and play would have a central role. Operating collectively, they sought to achieve creative interpretations of the everyday and to promote practices that would subvert the normal state of affairs.

The outburst of citizens' unrest that occurred in May 2015 in Skopje, while first depicted as violent and in frontal confrontation with the government institutions and police, later acquired some of these techniques of creative resistance in space and time. One year after the first protests in Skopje, and having had civic discontent expressed publicly with various intensity, the civic protests against the government have eventually gained the form of drifting demonstrations. The so-called "colorful revolution"(Figure 3) started as a protest with no specific route, but organized every day, on the spot, and with some sort of direct decision-making using social media. The urban drifting of the protestors usually is from one institutional building to several others, throwing paint "bombs" at specific institutional buildings and symbols of the Skopje 2014 project. Its mobility enables protestors to escape direct confrontation with the police, who are much better equipped and trained for violent confrontation.

The repetitive spatial occurrence of the protest together with the uncompromised determination of the participants and the ritual walking are similar to a religious procession that narrates the story of interactions (and confrontations) and struggles among different groups to acquire a newly gained spatial and social relevance[5]; doing so creates a space for encounters and shaping the city's future. In not having a pre-determined route, the spatial and temporal flexibility of the protest is amended by the coloring of buildings and symbols of the Skopje 2014 project, thus de-contextualizing them and ridiculing the meta-narrative used for this project. It is transgressing the existing and dominant spatial practices, and the formal emanations of the corrupted elite through a dynamic and creative spatial-temporal action. The superficial and fake historic narrative of the Skopje 2014 project with its conservative, unitary, and fixed narratives that are making the public space and appearance of the institutional buildings in the center of the city banal, are disturbed with a variety of colors symbolizing the plurality of symbols, appearances, and social practices in a multicultural society. It is a sort of homage to the capacity of homo ludens to initiate new interactions and to give new meanings and semantics to the everyday and sometimes banal reality through playful hybridization of a variety of symbols. Such engagement is a capacity that promotes creative and innovative practices in the urban space by opening its reality to the diversity of social and political practices.

The contemporary urban derive has proved to be resistant to any institutional repression while providing a suitable and inclusive enough frame for expression of different political visions of the city and the society. It cannot be reduced to just political, social, or spatial action alone but often has a combination of all these features in various combinations that produce the unique, but still collective and innovative space in the city of Skopje alongside different social and spatial practices. Hence, it enables unrestricted politicization of the public space and the city without jeopardizing the rights of all citizens to the city.□ (Acknowledgments: Text "Spatial Practices of exclusion and inclusion in Skopje" has been written as an extended abstract of the paper produced and presented at the City Street 2 Conference (CS2) "Street-Forming-Re-forming: Transforming the 21st Century City Streets" to be held in Beirut, Lebanon organized by Notre Dame University Louaize, Lebanon in November, 2016.)

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