

Inclusive horizontal and exclusive vertical – spatial practices of exclusion and inclusion in Skopje

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Abstract

The spatial form and the spatial practices of cities have always been associated with the socio-political order. It is the spatial emanation and the result of political concepts and practice that shape the vision of space, urban imagery and spatial practice in the urban society. In the context of contemporary urban societies that has become highly polarized and compromised with inequalities and impaired social justice, we argue that spatial practices within cities coincide with political practices representing the exclusive and inclusive policies.

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.

Key-words: exclusive, public space, spatial practices

1. Re-politicizing the city

In the global era the city has re-emerged as a place of the major social and political practices reconfiguring or at least challenging the existing social order. The city and the dependent urban regions are the locations where major trends materialize as an emanation of the everyday social and spatial practices of citizens and civic institutions. But it is just a recent fact that a city is recognized as a heuristic space – a space capable of producing knowledge about some of the major transformations of an epoch (Sassen, 2011). These spatial evidences in cities, even when not only urban, spatial or material, can provide a solid knowledge for better understanding of the processes that are shaping the society.

The spatial form and spatial practices of the cities have always been associated with the socio-political order and thus political orders are historically, also spatial orders (Stavrakakis, 2007). It is a spatial emanation and a result of political concepts, shaping the vision of space, urban imagery and spatial practice in the urban society. The Greek polis seems to paradigmatically unite both dimensions where the city indicates the indissoluble link between the urban form of the social community and the autonomy of the political decisions which are structurally characterized by the urban form. In the Greek idea of *polis* and the Roman one of *res publica* the concepts of polity, politics and policy tend to converge in the very idea of the city: it is the city that simultaneously represents the place, purpose and practices through which the political can deliver for the community (Tebaldi & Calaresu, 2015).

It is thus not a surprise that the challenges of contemporary politics emerge and acquire presence in space and even more, thinking about politics without some reference to space seems to corrupt and compromise its conceptual and practical relevance. It is worth noting that the idea of space here should not be reduced merely to its architectural/planning interpretations or even the formal materialization of a single agent, but should include every use of space as a representation of the social aspect.

The recent global financial crisis has surpassed the economic aspect and emerged as a social, environmental and spatial crisis with devastating effect on the social structure of society. In a context of contemporary urban societies that fact has created highly polarized political and conceptual arena with compromised legitimacy of the ruling elite and urgent need to change the role of the marginalized and suppressed. Hence, in a society ramified by inequalities and impaired social justice the present fixed and conservative spatial practices become obsolete and the manifestation of power through architecture and urban space finds itself confronted with novel organizational structures and mobile practices defying the traditional and symbolic exercise of politics in an urban space. We argue that spatial practices within the cities and in particular in Skopje coincide with political practices representing the exclusive and inclusive policies, thus re-creating the city as a place and space for the main political processes.

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 the public spaces. The spatial and formal practice of this urban project showcased the disintegration of the complex social strata of public and private space into “sanitized” social hybrids and has provoked emergence of new opposing spatial practices. In the case of “Skopje 2014” project, the spatial and formal practice of the ruling elite has become especially relevant, given that the production of symbolic meaning in Skopje has been developed as if there had been nothing there before and oblivious of any historical circumstances and critique.

2. Spatial practices in cities

The link between the form of the city and the form of the society is best described by the concept of spatial practices that are socially relevant. The inherent spatial nature of political concepts and social emergence coincides and sometimes

creates the spatial structure of the city framed by its form. The spatial practices of everyday life are not based on the rational or formal structure, but according to de Certeau, the city is a complex and barely visible conglomeration of the patterns of its users and their social praxis (de Certeau, 1984). According to Bourdieu the social praxis refers to the relationship between the human and the world that comprises all the acts that we perform in relation to the external physical, but most of all social reality (Bourdieu, 1990). In that sense, this relationship between space and social practices could not be tackled without a strong focus on spatiality of the process and the spatial manifestation of citizens' acts in the cities (Marina, 2015). This position is similar to de Certeau's persuasive treatment of the planners' view from above that reveals the rigid grid organization and formal order of the urban space depicted by crosscutting streets at right angles and the act of transgression of this order by walkers at the street level whose trajectories cut through the planned corridors of movement (Ward, 2000).

However, when we attempt to construct a sufficiently consensual and shared representation and an image of the spaces in our cities, the appearance of dissonant stances and multiplicity of positions and images cannot be avoided. In the words of Boeri to describe the urban environment in a convincing way, we must allow space for the voices of multiple subjects and interpretation angles without trying to condense them into a single narrative or a meta-discourse (Boeri, 1999). Moreover, even when the emergence of the new social structures requires dislocation of the previous hegemonic order, it still must acquire a spatial representation of its own. In the words of Lefebvre "new social relationships call for a new space" (Lefebvre, 1991:55) and if no spatial innovation occurs, if no new space is created - there must be a failure in the transition (Lefebvre, 1991:51).

This process is not pre-given and could not be considered that all the manifestation of the citizenship or institutionalized action even when it is bottom-up driven are unconditionally and uncritically good and in favour of the values and members of the civic community. Critique of the contemporary rhetoric of bottom-up

strategies for the informal city refers to the most radical instances of social newness that emerged within the crisis of modern forms of labour (Aureli, 2009). These radical political actions today take the form of informal social behaviours that escape intelligible forms of political life.

With the intensification of urbanisation outward and inward the urban territories a sort of socio-spatial explosion and implosion occurs as institutions, policies, urban practices, infrastructure and social and spatial networks are projected into and across the non-urban realm surpassing any differentiation between the form and the territory of the city (Lefebvre, 2003). Through this process of concentration and dispersion across places, territories, scales and morphologies new patterns of behaviour emerge, creating novel socio-spatial arrangements. These new urban conditions impose new constraints upon the use and transformation of the built environment, posing potential dangerous inequalities and conflicts, but at the same time providing new opportunities for democratic and plural appropriation of urban spaces. Such spatialisations are important in the recognition of diverse practices of the dominant groups exercising power through formal and spatial actions in cities, but even more it is important for facilitation of emergence of different identities of emerging or excluded groups showcasing the difference and antagonism in the society. There is a profound challenge of the legitimacy and recognition of genuinely constructed spatial practices in the cities and political interventions utilizing the differences through the technocratic solutions levelling the tension through tempering the process of representation in space. In that manner, the once underground form of protest and rebellion becomes main stream and inspires advertising rhetoric and on the other side, critical discourses and artistic practices use over-identification and exaggerate the institutional forms of behaviour to oppose and destabilize the hegemonic attachment. Hence we are experiencing colonization of the *alterity*, of the *heteron*, so important for the creation of the city's political and spatial experience, with the normalizing experiences and practices that should calm every crisis resolve

in an impartial manner every antagonism and abort political explosions (Stavrakakis, 2007).

In this sense, it is more than important that we can recognize the emergence of new spatial practices in our cities which provide space for different representations of the politics in the city, addressing the considerations and needs of the citizens in a social and spatial manner and in its best attempt for improving the politics of welfare and quality of life of the local community. Hence, there are certain necessary spatial considerations for constructing effective citizens' participation in creating politics and policies in the city that we could map and learn from this newly acquired knowledge.

3. Inclusive horizontal and exclusive vertical in cities

The tension between the cities acting as a spatial context of civic life has become additionally poignant with the relation between the public and the private that cannot anymore be clearly defined. Instead, the contemporary public realm exists with many gradations of social activities and praxis of citizens with overlapping between the public, collective and private notions of space in the cities. In a pursuit of a more effective and efficient government on the local level many societies involve civic engagement as a concept that is a fundamental component of a healthy democratic society. Actively involved and engaged citizens in the social practices that provide improvement to their communities is essential for a vibrant civil society and is the main indicator of healthy communities and satisfied citizens.

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 city government.

In an era marked by protests against the form and formality of the utilitarian urbanism, the concept of horizontality has been introduced as a result of the growing fascination with the generic horizontal space of urban development. In that sense horizontality is usually associated with the idea of the non-figurative field in architecture and urbanism or rather as an opposition to the mere figurative expressions of dominant social and spatial representation of the ruling elite. Within this stance urban space and architecture is appreciated for its organizational and programmatic attributes and not for its figurative qualities. According to this, the contemporary city is a vastly stretched horizontal plane of field conditions rather than a collection of vertical figures or singular and exclusive buildings (Turan, 2013). In a time of globalization and connectivity the concept of a horizontal field is a suitable metaphor for a seamless social urban space that embodies all the spatial practices in it. Its inclusivity is inherent to its nature and in the same time it is a tool for integration and diffusion of the practice shaping the city. In the words of Andrea Branzi, the architecture is seen rather as an activity which is less figurative and more enzymatic i.e. which transforms the territory horizontally ... closer to agriculture... because it is the culture that is horizontal, spread out that does not define the boundary that can change. It is a territory that is almost infinite and that changes over time, but which has never produced a “cathedral”, in other words, a powerful symbol” (Branzi, 2006).

In search for a horizontally distributed inclusivity of the territory of contemporary cities that will never produce or emanate the singular objects and symbols of power we will map the social and spatial practices in Skopje, exploring not just the political but also the spatial and architectural capacity for change.

4. Experiencing the political, creating the spatial

4.1. Fixed narratives of exclusive spatiality

With the change in the political and social system in the 1990's, 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 has become even more conflicting. This condition, oddly enough, will lead into 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 the urban territory and memory by constructing institutional buildings in the centre of the city and “normalization” of the public space in the centre of the city by introducing new standards of what has been denounced as a desirable public behaviour (Marina, 2014). “Skopje 2014” urban project ended up reducing the complex structure of the city to a semantic nightmare and politically banal image with a dubious meta-historical narrative behind it.

The 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 the national grandeur exclusive in its existence and emergence (Janev, 2012). In the practice of this urban project we can see the emergence of a politically dubious process that disintegrates into two dimensions, the formal one of aestheticization of the public and the authoritarian one that appropriates and transforms the public and private space into “sanitized” hybrids. The former concludes in the process of museumification or mediatization of the space due to the intention to eradicate the differences in the urban space and to introduce a dominant political, social or even national paradigm, bringing the narrative of the urban identity to the level of banal representation. The latter is established with the urban space “normalization” where all the differences and elements that deviate from the publicly declared standards of what is socially and politically accepted as a norm and normal should be eradicated and are

not socially acceptable. This political and aesthetic sanitization of the public domain through promotion of the single socially and politically acceptable behaviour 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.

It is neither a proposal for a new city nor a utopian vision for a transformation of an existing city, but a clear consequence and materialization of the social disambiguation and disappointment in the power of politics to cope with the needs and challenges of society in solving the problems while providing new visions of the future world. It is also a disillusionment of the power of architecture, freed from the influences of urban context and drawn to the level of banal shape-maker that could not produce differences in the space. Finally, it is evident that “Skopje 2014”, being a politically poignant project, implemented by constructing many new buildings in the centre of the city, in its essence, refrains from architecture, and only attempts to architecturally frame the political project of a society faced with an identity crisis.

One of the most prominent examples of transformation of buildings and public spaces in Skopje is the transformation of the facade of the building of central government 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).



Figure 1. Building of the central government of Republic of Macedonia before the transformation (left) and after (right)

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 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 with the new façade in eclectic neo-baroque style but most importantly the addition of the impenetrable fence around the building preventing the citizens to use the public space and emitting a strong message of exclusion as a dominant spatial practice of the political elite rattled with its 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. These actions that emerge as a new urban tactics of appropriation of social inclusion and visibility are in 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.

4.2. Diffusion of the inclusive horizontality

The conservative and fixed narratives of the governmentally sponsored project and resulting policies of state institutions that reflect the closed and exclusive approach to different layers of the society and culture have induced a resulting 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 poignant with symbols from the past and national mythologies, usually depicted through meta-historic formal and spatial practices that should provide legitimacy of the present through (re)constructed and virtual past. In a situation like this the question is what could actually oppose such a dominant and yet rigid practice.

In Skopje the answer was two folded both in the domain of architecture and its associated spatial practices and the social and political structures that have emerged within this opposition.

CAC (Contemporary Art Center - Skopje) in 2014 constructed and promoted a CAC mobile gallery. The mobile gallery of contemporary art is a project funded with an 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 up for 3 to 4 weeks at the most (a period sufficient for 3 to 4 projects). After that the gallery changed its micro location. The cost of its construction was 7000 Euros (approx. USD 9700) and the main idea behind this project is to provide a space where institutionally restricted artistic practices and artists could exhibit their works or organize events. The gallery's measurements are 5 x 9 x 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, being available "on demand" for all interested artists or cultural/civil society sector operators all across Macedonia.

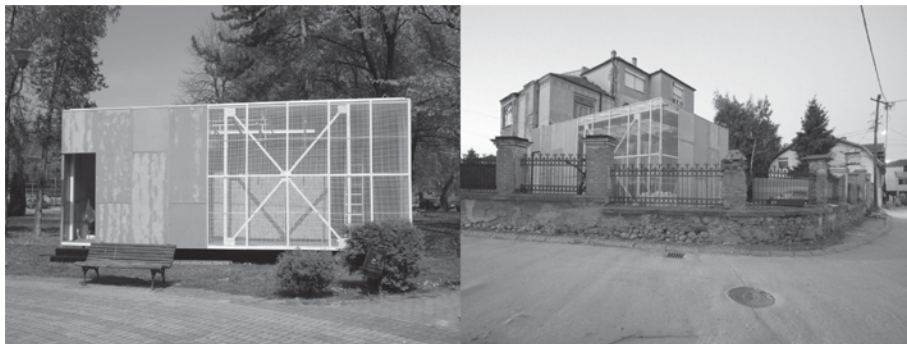


Figure 2. CAC mobile gallery positioned in Skopje (left) and Bitola (right)

CAC mobile gallery is an architectural response emanating into an object with a specific regime and spatial presence that its existence does not restrict to a single place. It is a flexible and yet tangible enough to represent the opposition to the dominant artistic and curatorial conservative praxis of the state funded institutions

restricting the access for the broader and more diverse artistic community to the institutions, while enabling through its mobile and horizontally distributed existence an extension of the space for diverse artistic action and providing public space for different views and spatial practices. The inclusive horizontality of this spatial practice in Skopje proves to be very successful and productive.

A sort of a social counterpart to the architecturally shaped response to state institutions' rigidity and the imposed restrictions on creative social practices, structured in the mobile art gallery is the emergence of the variety of civic groups, 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 and specifically in 2015 in Macedonia due to the allegations and suspicion of corruptive actions by the central government challenging all major policies promoted by the de-legitimized political elite. The emergence and the nature of these protests have challenged some authors (Sticks and Horvat, 2014) 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 the 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 to be very volatile followed by confusion and contradictory political messages. But it is precisely the organizational structure of these movements emerging as horizontally organized plenums that turns them into a powerful tool for opposing the strong and hierarchically organized opponent 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, direct and horizontal democracy. The spatial manifestation of their actions ranging from occupation the University campuses to protest walks throughout the city have been diversified with the invitation to all citizens to join them in a debate about education, culture, freedom of speech and other issues of public importance and in addition 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 their future actions.

The social and spatial practice of horizontally distributed inclusivity give rise to movement for direct democracy, which is seen as the necessary corrective of electoral democracy and partitocracy and possibly an alternative to it. However, without protests or any other action, the plenums have lost their potential to apply pressure and without plenums the protests have lost their legitimacy and articulation (Stiks & Horvat, 2014). 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 this practices could be seen only through a means of political organization that puts them back within the existing and disputed structure of power distribution.

4.3. Spatial creativity and new urban drifting

Radicalizing and idealizing the transitory aspects of the political event and action in cities, the emerging and new spatial practices has gained the capacity to deliver social and political relevance through collective creation and yet to remain efficient and transparent. These spatial practices are mainly the act of protest or discontent with the dominant social and political elite opposing it through forms that are beyond the structure of the exclusive systems of power distribution and gaining its strengths from the inclusivity of the everyday, additionally reinforced with the repetitiveness and omnipresence of the acts of protest in almost all layers of society.

The key for understanding these new urban spatial practices could be found in the description of the unitary urbanism that dates back in 1958 and that will become

the guidelines for the Situationist movement. 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." (Heynen, 1996). In this respect the spatial and social practice of cities of the future will be created through continuous experiments in new modes of behaviour. The technique of choice will be the traversing urban environments through *derive*, or aimless drifting. The detailed instructions for carrying out *derive* correctly is as follow: it should take a fixed amount of time (preferably twelve or twenty-four hours) and involve a group of people whose path is determined by a combination of system and randomness, conscious choice and chance (Debord, 1958). 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 the freedom and play would have a central role. Operating collectively, they sought to achieve creative interpretations of the everyday and to promote the practices that will be subversive to the normal state of affairs (Heynen, 1996).

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 civic discontent expressed publicly with various intensity the civic protest against the government eventually has gained a form of drifting demonstrations. The so called "colourful revolution" 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, which is much better equipped and trained for violent confrontation.



Figure 3. “Colorful” revolution of new urban drifters shifting the meta-narratives of buildings and monuments of “Skopje 2014” project

The repetitive spatial occurrence of the protest with uncompromised determination of the participants and with the ritual walking similar to the religious procession that narrates the story of interactions (and confrontations) and struggles among different groups to acquire their newly gained spatial and social relevance (Nejad, 2015) creates a space for encounters and shaping of the city’s future. The spatial and temporal flexibility of the protest in not having a pre-determined route is amended with the colouring of buildings and symbols of the Skopje 2014 project and thus de-contextualizing them and ridiculing the meta-narrative used for this project. It is transgressing the existing and dominant spatial practices and 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 conservative, unitary and fixed narratives that are banalizing the public space and appearance of the institutional buildings in the centre of the city are disturbed with variety of colours symbolizing the plurality of symbols, appearance and social practices in a multicultural society. It is a sort of a 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 promoting creative and innovative practices in an urban space subverting the reality into a society open for diversity of social and political practices.

The contemporary urban derive proved to be resistant to any repression from the institutions 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 only spatial action often having the 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 enabling unrestricted politicization of the public space and the city without jeopardizing the rights of all citizens to the city.

5. Conclusions

In a time of the crisis and growing complexity of the world the interest for the city is growing not just due to the emerging insight in the political and urban theories, but most of all as the result of the events occurring on the streets and squares of the cities around the world. Today, the cities can be recognized not just as a driving force of the world economy, but also as places of emerging conflicts and negotiations in societies rattled by social, spatial and economic inequalities.

The emerging spatial practices in the cities as a result of the differences and the discontent from the existing models of government among the dominant political and economic elites are depicting processes that have growing importance for better comprehension of the processes that are shaping our societies, but are inherent and specific for the urban context. Hence we can confirm that the cities can be seen as heuristic places where social practices emanated through spatial emergence are re-politicizing the city.

We have argued that the spatial practices in the cities have transformed the political temporal event into a more tangible spatial manifestation of the social and political agenda of citizens. The three main models of democracy which attributes have been used to explore the spatial practices in Skopje are suggesting a strong link

between the political agendas and policies of different social groups and elites and their spatial emanation and manifestation in the city.

The spatial practices and objects that exhibit the exclusivity of the dominant class where singularity of the building poignant with symbols of dominance and exclusion is exaggerated in the public space downgraded to an urban infrastructure (streets not boulevards and squares not piazzas – Jacobs, 2011) can be associated and framed within the descriptive models of democracy. They are promoting conservative narratives and objects fixed in its social relevance and style which acts as a symbolic representation of the need to preserve and continue the existing models of rule with the dominant class still in place. These spatial practices in the city are showcasing the most important symbol of the dominant model in the inherent hierarchical verticality of the political ideology versus the plurality of the horizontal distribution of the new social and innovative spatial practices in the city.

The participative model of democracy promotes plurality of the narratives through inclusion of the numerous voices and tries to provide legitimacy of the political through inclusive but yet finite models of participation and organization of the political act in the city. This civil activism has its own spatial manifestation in plenums that almost ritually are transgressing the existing social and cultural structure of the city with its walks around the city. The mobility of these spatial practices is representing the decentralized structure of the political organization of plenums trying to preserve their own *raison d-etre* in order to enable citizens to oppose the dominant models of governance though their horizontally distributed and inclusive structure and spatial practices. Although the model of the civic plenum provides a strong participatory frame and relatively successful spatial representation of the political agenda that is fluid enough and yet concretely manifested in space the structure of the plenum, remains to be also its biggest challenge. The diffusion of the ideas and the links between the agents of the plenum that must remain in place in order to have a tangible and distinctive organization emerging in time and space of the city is also the

main restriction for development of more innovative and effective political practices that will go beyond the visibility of social and political groups in the space of the city.

The most prominent spatial practices and the framing model that promise to obtain a suitable theoretical and practical background for innovative and creative activism in the city that has regained its political relevance could be the neo-idealistic models of democracy with strong addition of innovative spatial practices as results of creative social practices in the cities. The new urban drifters that are mobile, flexible and playful enough in their confrontation with the petrified structure of the dominant social and political model are an unsolvable puzzle due to their horizontal organizational and spatial structure for the otherwise rigid and inflexible social structures and power apparatus of the State. In this game, the urban drifters are able to create new spaces of encounters and interactions between diversities in the city, thus making a paradigmatic shift and defeating its opponents in the very essence of their restrictive and oppressive systems.

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