

**CHALLENGES IN
ARCHITECTURE,
URBAN DESIGN
AND ART**

PROCEEDINGS

**CHAPTER #1 MODELING THE FUTURE
– MODELING OF THE FUTURE ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN
WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR ENVIRONMENT AND SOCIETY**

**CHAPTER #2 GOING DIGITAL
– INNOVATIONS IN THE CONTEMPORARY LIFE**

**CHAPTER #3 ARCHITECTURE AND/OR ART
– INSPIRATION FOR CREATING**

**CHAPTER #4 NEW IDEA OR PROJECT REALIZATION
IN ARCHITECTURE, URBAN DESIGN OR ART**

ON ARCHITECTURE

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PREFACE

There is a large number of political and economic forces within cities all over the world, which influence the manner of development and functioning of new urban micro- and macro-environments, specific by the same or similar shaping. Those forces form a new, internationally led urban paradigm. Politicians, designers, urban planners and architects together create this new image. Still, the shaping of cities is apparently significantly influenced by the powerful forces of intellectual and financial globalization – that should be neither underestimated nor dismissed. The role of planning and urban design in that hierarchy can be potentially highly ranked, but also denied.

We are experiencing an unprecedented era in the history of urbanization. Some of the defining challenges of the 21st century dictate the pace of urban growth, create new approaches in architecture, increase the quality of living spaces, and control the environmental quality. At the same time, they also present an opportunity to create living spaces that are smarter, more efficient, more sustainable, more equal and safer. Architecture and urban Design in the small are the key for improvement and quality of urban and living space.

The themes of the Conference and Exhibition are promoting quality design in different scale, which improves the life of resident citizens and visitors, with attractive living places. Creation of quality design is important for individual living in architecture object as the micro scale of significance - as well as for the design in a wider macro scale, which emphasizes the advantages of a city and potentials for more attractive business, qualified manpower, attraction of students, tourist potential, and events of wider significance. It is what makes an exciting, vibrant city that offers knowledge about new trends in art, architecture and urban design.

The new methodological approach is also focused on pioneering research on interactive graphic design at the time of unprecedented data abundance, such as research designer programs that redefine the production tool, applicable for further development of other designer participants as open source. Or other methodological approaches that explore drawing as a tool, in different ways, or mapping the space or processing data diagrams.

Modeling the Future combines analogue and digital modelling technologies to create a realistic, live-time mapping tool.

The game represents a database of information on the City's architecture and public space which could become an invaluable tool for architecture and urban planning, even the basis that multiple disciplines (designers, architects, urban planners, artist) can work with in order to learn how to transform cities.

One of the conference topics is innovation and creativity in the digital era, with focus on art, architecture, technology, and science as being among the leading proponents of innovative change. Innovation is not new, nor a privilege of the digital age. It has always been present in human endeavors to solve problems, organize community better, improve the quality of life, work more efficiently, and so on. The digital age, however, has brought about unprecedented and ubiquitous possibilities of innovation in all spheres of life.

In the digital age, perhaps more than ever before, there is growing need for multi-disciplinary approach in the research on Arts, Architecture, Design, Science and Technology to deal with challenges of modern society.

Conference will discuss complexity and various meanings of architecture, urban design and art. Interdisciplinary approach is a milestone in defining thematic blocks:

- Modeling the Future - modeling of the future architecture and design with implications for environment and society,
- Going Digital - innovation in contemporary life in digital era,
- Architecture and/or Art - inspiration for creating
- New idea or project realization in Architecture, Urban Design or Art.

Editor

OLD LOCATIONS FOR NEW ECONOMIES

CASE STUDY OF CITY OF SKOPJE

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ABSTRACT

Rapid urbanization and forced industrialization during socialism, lead to enormous extension of urban territory and unrestricted and irrational utilization of locations for industrial production. The end of socialist system caused multiple processes of transformation in the city, where one of the most expressed was the deindustrialization. It produced vast areas and numerous locations to be permanently abandoned or insufficiently utilized.

This paper examines and presents the opportunities for reuse of abandoned or unused industrial locations and buildings within the urban territory of the city of Skopje. The industrial locations and buildings had become valuable and attractive urban assets with potential for reuse. In addition, both represent important part of city history, where the process of industrialization contributed tremendously to social, economic and cultural development of Skopje. Their prospect use shall create link with social-economic background, culture and architecture of certain era and continuity with the past.

We represent the standing that abandoned industrial locations and buildings in Skopje should be used by creative and non-material production industries. The creative economy as generator of growth can be treated as crucial sector for innovation, knowledge transfer, economic diversification, pool of highly skilled educated employees necessary to achieve sustainable development goals for the city of future.

Key words: industrial location, deindustrialization, creative industry, non-material production industry

From industry transformation to creative industry

The twentieth century marked the era of exponential growth of existing manufacturing industries and development and expansion of new ones, hence becoming a period of rapid industrial development, urbanization and modernization. The introduction and advancement of new technologies, materials and substances, new modes of production and modern business management techniques had enormous impact in economic and social development, initially in the developed countries in Western Europe and North America, and after the WWII in the so called socialist countries. The era depicted with the image of mass production assembly lines, the so called Fordist regime of mass production, became a system of economic and social development based on mass production, mass consumption, full employment and wide-range of social measures and politics of the welfare state.

After several decades of ongoing growth, in the early 1970s the system encountered obstructions. The reasons for the downturn were elaborated by many authors from many aspects. Ash Amin (1994) finds the reasons for the crisis in capitalism's "... inherited tendencies towards instability, crisis and change, and its ability to coalesce and stabilize around a set of institutions, rules and norms which serve to secure a relatively long period of economic stability" (p. 7). Through the interdisciplinary approach David Harvey (1990) argues that the decline was consequence of inherited rigidity of capitalism. "There were problems of rigidity of long term and large scale fixed capital investments in mass production systems that precluded much flexibility of design and presumed stable growth in invariant consumer markets. There were problems of rigidities in labor markets, labor allocations, labor contracts (especially in the so-called 'monopoly' sector)..." (p. 142).

The advances of digital technology, personal computers, information and communication technologies paved the way to fundamental economic change. Greater connectivity enabled globalization and outsourcing, while easier communication changed the interaction among individuals and companies. All of these facilitated liberalization of markets, externalization of production activities and introduced the new economy generated by innovation in broad sense. Taking into consideration this perspective, as opposite of Fordist rigid accumulation, Harvey (1990) introduces the term 'flexible accumulation' "... characterized by the emerge entirely [of] new sectors of productions, new ways of providing financial services, new markets and above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological and organizational innovation" (p. 147). In line of this reasoning, many authors find that source of internal rigidity is the inability of organizations to adopt new technologies, to make ongoing advances in production process and in modes of organization of factories. Consequentially, the organization can use the new advances in technology, production and modes of organization only after being substantially restructured. Scott and Storper (1990) advocate that the restructuring of manufacturers' plants is driven by the 'flexible production methods' being referred to as "... the variety of ways in which producers shift promptly from one process and/or product to another, to adjust quantities of output upward and downward in the short run without any strongly deleterious effects on level of productivity" (p. 22). Furthermore, authors argue that the flexibility is "... achieved by fragmentation of manufacturing process into a multiplicity of individual producers, thus facilitating rapid changes in networks of vertical and horizontal interlinkage, and making possible rapid shifts between different products and output levels" (Scott & Storper, 1990, p. 22). Soja summarizes that transformation of industry should not be regarded only as transformation of manufacturing industry, rather than a transformation of "... social production, expanded to include not only goods and services but also information, entertainment, and the 'production of culture' in what are called the 'cultural industries'..." (Soja, 2000, p. 160).

The newly defined terms 'creative industry', 'creative sector', 'cultural industry', 'creative economy' reflect the complexity of making clear distinction between creative and mass production products and services. Nevertheless, the aim of this paper is not define borderline of used terms, rather than to establish a consensus of the used concept, the innovations as main promoters of economic and social life in 'creative and cultural' industry and 'creative economy'. The term 'creative industry' initially was defined in 1998 by the UK Government Department for Culture, Media and Sport [DCMS] as "... those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS 1998, p. 6). Since the first introduction, the definition of 'creative industry' remained unchanged and widely adapted, while the methodology for classification of sectors and labor force occupations differ among different national legislations, institutions and international organizations providing statistics for measuring the impact of these industries in the economy. UNESCO defines the cultural and creative industries in broader sense as

activities whose "... main objective [is] production or reproduction, promotion, distribution or commercialization of goods, services and activities of a cultural, artistic or heritage-related nature" (EYGL, 2015, p. 11). The latest UNCTAD Creative Economy Outlook (2018) defines the following sub-categories of creative goods: art crafts, audiovisuals (films, DVDs, CDS, etc.), design (architecture, fashion, interior, jewellery, toys, etc.), digital fabrication (3D printers, 3D scanners, laser cutters, CNC milling, CNC shopbots, etc.), new media (recorded media, video games, etc.), performing arts (musical instruments, printed music, etc.), publishing (books, newspaper, etc.) and visual arts (antiques, painting, photography, sculpture, etc.) (p.13); and the following categories of creative services and services with a significant creative component: advertising, market research and public opinion services; architectural, engineering and other technical services; research and development services; personal, cultural and recreational services; audiovisual and related services and other personal, cultural and recreational services (p.13).

Term 'creative economy' has been regarded as economic system based on relationship between creativity and economic, embedding new practices to create value and wealth (Howkins, 2001). The main building element of these economies is the knowledge and its application in various economic activities, the so called 'creative industries'. In 'creative economy' the final output is not only the production of creative goods and creative services; it is the trade, the employment, the infrastructure, the communications, networking and dynamics of creativity as main driving force of sustainable economic growth. As Scott's (2006) explains 'creative economy' can be regarded as "... creative field that undergirds the new economy constituted as a constellation of workers, firms, institutions, infrastructures, communication channels, and other active ingredients stretched out at varying densities across geographic space" (p. 21).

Industrial space transformation and new industrial places

As observed by Soja, the transformation of industry caused by the 'flexibility' introduced changes in three main areas of production process: organizational, technological and spatial. Changes in organization relate to disintegration of manufacturing process and externalization of production activities by using products and services that were previously made or rendered internally. Changes in technology of the production process relate to introduction of new computer technologies, automated production, application of new system for inventory management (just-in-time), as well as introduction of complementary technologies to reduce production costs. Changes in spatial organization of manufacturing process relate to disconnection of geographic location and the production activity, decentralization and dispersion of industrial activity and creation of new forms of spatial organization (Soja, 2000). The deconcentration of industry created deconcentration of space, shifting the production facilities and labor from former industrial site to new unindustrialized areas. According to Scott "... many new industrial spaces have sprung into existence on the landscape of capitalism. These spaces are the outcome of the twofold processes involving a tendency for modern flexible production system to avoid older centers of accumulation, combined with a dynamic of locational implosion resulting from increasing levels of externalizations" (Scott, 1988, p. 17). He argues that the first tendency, avoidance of old industrial centers appeared since new production facilities with new technologies and new industries were not dependent on present production inputs and structures, relations and labor force qualification. The second tendency, the decrease in size of manufacturing premises he finds that was result of change in organization and management production processes, mostly its externalization that attributed to free allocation of production facilities in different areas. Furthermore Scott explains that the benefits of locational externalization affects, as opposite force, on the process of dispersion, thus creating 'spatial forms of agglomeration economies' (Scott, 1988). He analysis the concentration of manufacturing companies in the new areas of production activity through two different spatial forms of agglomeration. The first form are the new locations within the present production areas where the revitalized artisan industries (such as clothing, furniture, jewelry etc) and the new high technology industries are simultaneously present. In the second form of agglomeration different types of high technology industries exist along side with its associated suppliers and subcontractors. The new industrial locations are developed with incredible swift pace and with different economic activities. Soja (2000) classifies the most propulsive activities where the process of agglomeration is particularly expressed, in the following three categories: "... (1) high-technology-based production, especially in electronics, aerospace and biomedicine... (2) craft based and often highly labor and design intensive industries, ranging from the production of garments, furniture and jewelry, to guided missiles and movies; and (3) the so-called FIRE sector, consisting of finance-insurance-real estate firms as well as related activities in advertising, promotion and legal services" (p.164).

It has to be emphasized that the new industrial places are not dominant expression of new industrial paradigm following the Fordist regime of mass production. Fordist regime of production didn't cease to exist, while the new flexible regime of production cannot be considered to be the dominant and unique form of production activity. What is present today is the dual regime of production. In this context, Piore and Sabel (1986) argue that in each economy two regimes of production coexist, the mass production and the artisan or flexible production. Which shall be dominant regime of production or 'dominant technological paradigm' depends on "... politically defined interest of producers and consumers rather than in the logic of industrial efficiency" (Piore & Sabel, 1986, p.21). They summarize that "... not only do craft and mass production appear to be complements, but also, under slightly different historical conditions, the former might have been more equal partner of the latter" (Piore & Sabel, 1986, p.23). Harvey (1990) argues that as Fordist production wasn't dominant worldwide it can be expected that the Postfordist flexible production shall not become one. The former regime of production still exists as "... mix of highly efficient Fordist production (often nuanced by flexible technology and output) in some sectors and regions (like cars in the USA, Japan, or South Korea) and more traditional production systems (such as those of Singapore, Taiwan, or Hong Kong) resting on 'artisanal,' paternalistic, or patriarchal (familial) labour relations, embodying quite different mechanisms of labour control" (Harvey, 1990, p. 191). To conclude, the new industrial spaces appear with the changeability of the production space, or as Ann Markusen argues "NIDs [new industrial district] owe their stickiness to the role of small, innovative firms, embedded within a regionally cooperative system of industrial governance which enables them to adapt and flourish despite globalizing tendencies" (Markusen, 1996, p. 294).

Socialist industry transformation and its spatial outcome

Although in socialist countries the means of production were owned by the state and the market mechanism was substituted by government planning, its production system as Lefebvre notes was based on "... capitalist growth strategies, supporting only the proven advantages of large-scale enterprises and big cities..." (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 155). Hence, the production activity was established on the same pillars of the capitalistic regime of mass production: economies of scale, industrial gigantism, centralization of production and vertical integration of the production process. Initially, the process of intensive industrialization gave positive effects in economic growth and overall improvement of social life and welfare. However, the society cannot base its growth strategy ultimately only on existence and significance of industry in constantly changing economic, political and business environment. Dawson argues that the "... rapid growth of industry cannot go on forever: societies turn increasingly to services and they become more wealthy. New resources may be discovered and resource-based industry established, but it will probably be less labour-intensive than in the past, and, as other industry becomes more footloose in response to more efficient means of transport and to reduction in weight losses in process of manufacturing, and more hygienic, its role in town creation and the shaping of the urban form will probably decrease" (Dawson, 1979, p. 383).

The symptoms of crisis and stagnation in industrial production appeared in 1960s, and fostered in the 1980s, but not until the 1989, with the change of the political system, the production system started the process of restructuring. "Socialism was and remained until the very end obsessed with size, centralized planning, dampening of diversity and suppressing the momentum of centralism and authoritarianism" (Kumar, 2005, p. 77). The introduction of private ownership of means of production, market economy, entrepreneurship and pluralist political system enabled the countries to connect more interactively in global flows. The transformation of industry in these countries should be addressed in its comprehensiveness and relations with the economic, political and social aspect of transformation. Each individual socialist industrial enterprises undergone ownership, organizational and technological transformation. For decades the production process remained unmodified using outdated and inefficient technologies and organization of production, whereas the final outputs of the process were mainly non-competitive, expensive and low quality products.

Transformation of industry inevitable induced transformation of industrial and urban space. During the process of rapid industrialization in the socialism the industry was considered as main driving element for growth, urbanization and modernism. In the first years following the WWII the socialist industry was developed on industrial locations dating from pre-socialist period through the process of nationalization of survived manufacturing plants or on new empty locations within the city in order to utilize the advantages of urban surrounding, the economy of scale and qualified labour force. Its dominant role was

also supported by urban planners by allocating enormous areas of urban land for production activity. Manufacturing activities and labour force was concentrating in the socialist cities, contributing to 20-25% of cities' urban territory, which is on average 2 or 3 times more than cities in Western Europe (Kiss, 2007). Barta (2006) claims that spatial changes that occurred after 1989 in post-socialist cities were outcome of two different processes: economic restructuring and economic suburbanization. Economic restructuring or substitution of manufacturing activity with services and other non-industrial sectors caused segmentation in the urban and industrial space. As industrial activity withdraw from the location, the former unique industrial areas within the city became mosaic in character. The industrial locations were segmented and developed for miscellaneous purposes. Economic suburbanization came into existence through "... occupation of space by the new economy, with multiplication of economic actors and the merger of enterprises in agglomerations and their networking and clustering..." (Barta, 2006, p. 58). This process displaced industry further from the urban centres and caused suburbanization of industrial production.

It has to be emphasized that the new industrial space of transformed socialist industry cannot be identical with the new industrial space of transformed capitalist industry. For post-socialist economies industry is still "... focusing on low or medium technology activities, the lack of innovative products and relying on labor cost as the most comparative advantage" (Lux, 2008, p. 33).

Case study of city of Skopje

After 1991 the economic restructuring of industrial companies in Skopje became imperative. Induced by general changes in the economy, the introduction of market economy and private ownership, the processes of reorganization and transformation began. The former giants of industrial production activity transformed in different ways. Some companies ceased to exist, closed the plants and stopped the production activity thus leaving behind abandoned premises and locations. Other companies continued with production activity organized either in single plant, or as a result of organizational transformation, defragmented into separate organizational structures, i.e. different companies for distinctive production processes and economic activities. The third ones, not to be underestimated, changed the production activity and continued its existence in another economic activity, mostly trade. The common characteristics of all these three different manners of companies transformation is the enormous and dramatic decline in industrial production and total industrial employment, causing tremendous decline, shrinkage and permanent extinguishment of industry.

In spatial context the area once used for industry, underwent through the complex processes of deindustrialization, industry renewal and reindustrialization. Table 1 below summarizes spatial outcome of transformation of socialist industry locations as of 2013.

Table 1. Summary of transformation of socialist industry locations in Skopje, 2013

Socialist industry	Abandoned industry	Functional transformation	Renewal of industry	Reindustrialization	Total
Total area (ha)	443,9	36,1	366,2	16,2	862,4
No. of locations	65	25	67	9	166

Source: rearranged by author as per Table 5.11 (Mickovski, 2015, p. 162)

As the process of deindustrialization became typical manifestation of economic transformation of the companies, it also became dominant manner of transformation of industrial locations (51.5% of the analyzed industrial locations). Deindustrialisation manifested through permanent or occasional abandonment of industrial activity has negative connotation and relates to creating brownfield areas, a damaged locations either by former users or by surrounding areas, derelict or under-used, that require involvement to be re-used, with outstanding or possible environmental issues. Identifying these areas within the urban areas is necessary to determine the possibilities of its future re-use and their enormous potential of being "... 'golden reserves' for the future growth of the city" (Kiss, 2007 , p. 154). Functional transformation is introduction of non-industrial activity on industrial location, such as commerce, service, housing, administrative functions and other activities as education, recreation, tourism, logistics, etc. Although it has a positive connotation since it relates to utilization of existing buildings and locations

through involvement of non-industrial activities, it is considered as just another form of deindustrialization (4,2% of the of the analyzed industrial locations). Industry renewal relates to various changes towards modernisation, reconstruction and adaptation of existing industrial activities. The key for industry renewal are changes towards introduction of new production technologies and innovations, adapting market changes, new distributions channels and new manners of management and organization of companies. Industry renewal occurs within former socialist companies where the dominant manufacturing activity is still present. Renewal of industry is typical manifestation of location transformation for 42.5% of the analyzed industrial locations. Reindustrialisation relates to establishing new manufacturing activities on former socialist industry locations by introducing new industrial sectors or introducing new production activity on locations supporting the manufacturing activity, such as warehousing or services associated with industry. The attractiveness for industrial re-use of these locations come from industrial character of the local surroundings, the exceptional infrastructure and transport communication, nearby residential settlements and markets, and tolerance of the area towards environmental pollution. Reindustrialisation has positive connotation since it addresses the present and future issues of urban space use, while it attributes only to 1.8% of the transformed analyzed industrial locations.

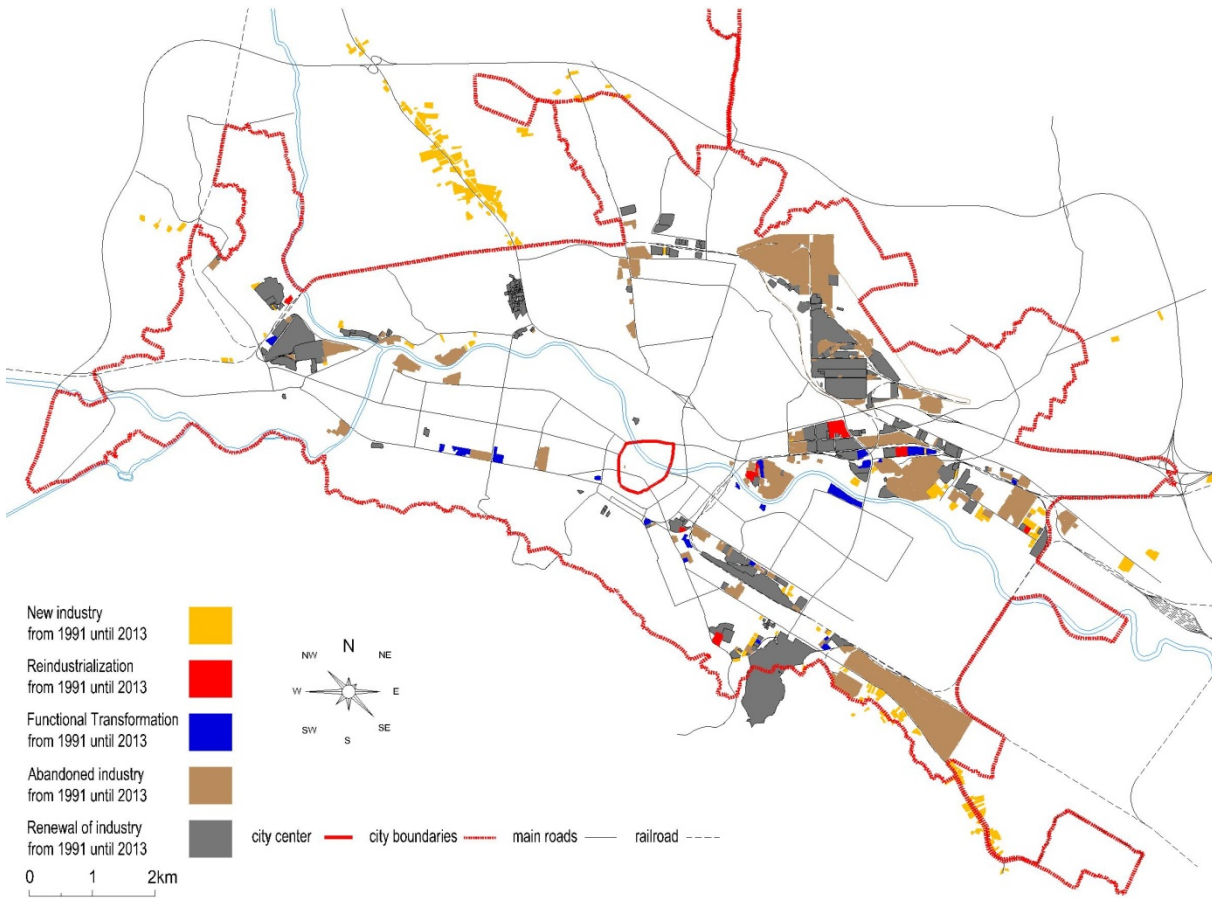
There is no official statistics available about the creative companies and sectors and their share in the total economy, not only for Skopje, but for the whole Republic of North Macedonia. In absence of available local statistics about the share and relative importance of this industry, we shall use the most recent UNCTAD country's creative industry data (2018, p. 409-411). The country profile of trade performances of creative goods and services outlines the main trends in this segment, presenting the available data by product types and main countries of foreign trade cooperation. The analyzed value of exported goods for the period 2005-2014 doubled from 15,6 to 30.7 mil. USD, while value of import rise from 70,3 mil. USD to 130.6 mil. USD. The creative goods by product type on import and export side were more or less the same, within design, visual arts and art craft (2018, p. 409). In creative service segment, for the period 2010-2014 the export rise from 61,1 to 95.1 mil. USD with computers services as dominant creative service with share of 80,1% in 2010 and 81.7% in 2014. On the other hand, for the same period the import of creative services was reduced in value from 75.8 to 70.6 mil. USD, with the largest share in computer services, that reduced its participation from 71,64% in 2010 to 59,77% in 2014 (2018, p. 411). It can be concluded that the ICT sector develops most intensely and that represents the most propulsive and innovative segment of the creative industries. Furthermore, the analysis of creative industry mapping made by Ministry of culture of Republic of North Macedonia (2010, p. 67-70) revealed the following features of the companies in creative industry: mainly engaged in advertising (13%), publishing (12.6%), art crafts (10.9%), film (9.6%), art (16,1%), architecture (7.4%) and software (7%); knowledge based industries (51,1% considered that creative industry is what was formerly known as knowledge industry); predominantly micro and small enterprises (84.2% from the companies are with less than 24 employees, where as 47.4% are with less than 4); different markets and different responses to changes with relative low demand for products (46% of creative goods are exported, 29.4% used for domestic consumption, no targeted specialization towards consumer groups or individuals and only 25.3% of the companies reported high demand for their creative goods); and the necessity to be significantly supported by the public sector (92,9% consider that creative industries are integral part in creating public policies whereas 61,7% accept the state support through tax incentives).

In spatial context there are no official studies about distribution and spatial forms of organization of creative industries. Yet, the comprehensive database created as part of the author's research regarding the transformation of socialist industry (Mickovski, 2013) can be used to elaborate observed simplified tendencies of spatial distribution and potential tendency of spatial agglomeration pattern for creative industry occupying former and new industrial space. From the total of 166 locations creative industries can be found in each process of transformation: within deindustrialization as production capacities being under-used or randomly used; within functional transformation as buildings being transformed from manufacturing function to creative artisan and design industry and services supporting the creative industry; within industry renewal as modernization of former industries, predominately in design and production of textile, shoes, cardboard/paper and printing; and in reindustrialization as introduction of new creative industries, such as software, digital animation, books and publishing and digital fabrication, in existing industrial buildings. The spatial forms of these industries at micro level are very hard to observe. Their inherited flexibility and tendency to alter result in temporary use of the location and most likely temporary engagement within the industry itself. The production process and organization in these industries does not require larger premises and locations, special surroundings and environmental

considerations, vicinity to communication networks and direct excess to frequent streets. It can be argued that the requirements of these industries simplify and even remove the role that location and space have for their existence and growth. However, through the process of socialist industry transformation it can be seen that location still matters, either as requirement of production process and technology or as inevitability of agglomeration tendencies in industrial companies.

Therefore, the attempt to map the transformation of socialist industry locations for creative industries is unhelpful in understanding the nature of the transformation itself. Nevertheless, the value created by these industries extends beyond just manifestation of production of creative goods and services. It triggers the processes of transformation across the entire urban tissue of Skopje and embeds these activities in the broader economic, social and cultural life of the city of Skopje. Map 1 presented in this paper envisages the role of location, industrial space and urban area in transformation of socialist industry towards creative one. It should be read in terms of spatial outcome of 'holistic' significance of creative industry in the context of creating new sustainable places for new industry and economy.

Map 1. Transformation of socialist industry in Skopje 1991-2013



Source: author as per Map 5.1, Map 5.2, Map 5.3 and Map 5.6 (Mickovski, 2013)

The Map 1 shows that the transformation of industrial locations is fragmented, spontaneous and uneven, with abandoned industry in industrial zones as dominant spatial outcome. The present socialist industry heritage consisted of locations, buildings, derelicts and infrastructures is being regarded, both by private investors and urban planners, as enormous potential for current and future industrial and urban land re-use and redevelopment. Further on, the mosaic character of multifunctional transformation proves the economic realm that manufacturing industry is no longer perceived as main contributor to city's growth and development. The new industrial places in the city of Skopje micro-located on existing socialist industry (within the industrial zones or on scattered locations), or on unused locations within the industrial areas, near the edges of urban boundaries or within Skopje's region, create new local geography of industrial space. In this context the new industry is predominantly observed through the flexibility of production and organization within the creative and non-material industries. Thirdly, there are

tendencies of agglomeration, both for new industry and for renewed industry that are driven solely by the locational factors, thus proving the advantages of relationship, transactions and interactions between organization in specific urban place.

CLOSING REMARKS

The post-socialist transformation of industry in Skopje altered once moncentric spatial organization of industry into fragmented and mosaic one, being dispersed in the city's urban area, near the city's urban edges and beyond, in the new poles of growth, with tendency to concentrate and agglomerate in new spatial forms of business-economic zones and industrial-technological zones. Yet, it has to be stated that processes are modest and spontaneous and relate to relative small number of companies that cannot create new industrial places in terms of 'space of flows'.

In addition, creative industry cannot be observed as particular industry, rather than as any other industry with its specific cycle of creation, manufacture and distribution of creative goods and services. Hence, the spatial distribution of creative industries should be considered in relationship with particularity of production technologies used and the characteristics of the organization form, thus embedding particularities of place, industry and time in the relative dynamics of Skopje's industrial space.

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