

who have been employed by the state for a longer period of time, the exit options for public-sector employees seem to have declined, which in turn reduced the likelihood of protest (p. 125). This explains why 'cognitive mobilization is not uniformly the consequence of rising affluence, education and specialization', leading in turn to the conclusion that the growth of the middle class does not ipso facto lead to democratic protest (pp. 130–132).

Broadly speaking, Bryn Rosenfeld's book impresses through analytical clarity and a finely tuned analysis that sheds new light on a seemingly entrenched scholarly consensus regarding the middle class and democratisation. By carefully disentangling overlapping factors that usually influence political preferences and electoral behaviour, the author manages to highlight clear causal channels between state employment and authoritarian support or the lack thereof. While at times part of the argument is indirect, by drawing particularly from sociology, the author manages to add new layers to the political science literature on democratisation. In breaking down the umbrella concept of the 'middle class', the book sends out the strong message that, particularly in the tricky area of electoral behaviour, state dependency has different effects on discrete socio-economic groups.

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- Lýdia Grešáková, Zuzana Tabačková, Spolka (eds): *Mapping the In-Between. Interdisciplinary Methods for Envisioning Other Futures***
Košice 2020: Spolka, 144 pp.

Cities around the world are facing a problem regarding the question of how to revitalise previously developed land that is no longer being utilised. Places like brownfields and vast post-industrial factories seem to have no particular purpose, but what if they have a character of their own? With the problem of the revitalisation of previously developed lands comes the question of what revitalisation plan would best benefit the city's citizens and the landscape? Traditionally, a revitalisation plan is conducted by investors, property developers, and policymakers in the field of urban planning. Recently, however, the idea of involving citizens in participative planning has become popular.

This bilingual publication *Mapping the In-Between*, by a Slovak group of women architects, sociologists, and urbanists called Spolka, is a collective work by participants in the Never-Never summer school. All the

contributions are related to the participants' experience of one particular brownfield in the city of Košice. The brownfield around Hornád River is in danger of insensitive redevelopment and revitalisation: developers plan to build luxury apartments there, get rid of the greenery, and build, for instance, a parking lot instead. Using diverse experimental methods, the authors mapped the land around Hornád River, which seemed to be empty and desolate, only to find that a network of relations and activities already exists there. Since brownfields, as we will see, have a character of their own, these networks should be the starting point for future planning, instead of planning from a blank slate. Such planning, the authors argue, should also be based on participative methods of rethinking the space, in which we can all draw on our daily experience of the city and its environs.

Mapping the In-Between is composed of various types of texts, ranging from academic articles and essays to poems and collages. The book's authors also come from a variety of backgrounds, such as architecture, geography, sociology, and the arts. The diverse styles and backgrounds offer a variety of methods and ways in which to envision a utopian future of the place studied. Interdisciplinarity is one of the main pillars of the collective since, as the authors argue, we should look at planning through a different lens than that of architects and urbanists – 'virtually anyone can have a say, as we all have knowledge of the city through our daily interactions with it' (p. 11). In the end, it is primarily us, ordinary people, who will live there.

The authors enter the debate on current urban development, a debate that is centred on the trend of constant growth and progress. Brownfields seemingly provide an opportunity for a new start; they are traditionally viewed as *tabula rasa*, on which planners can conceive a new vision. The authors argue, however, that brown-

fields are not blank slates as existing nets of relations and activities are intrinsic to them. The authors thus envision a utopia where planning is a sensitive and caring process, both towards the citizens and the land. They take a stand against the centralistic, rationalistic, and modernistic way of planning 'from above' and against the neoliberal urge to demolish the old, build the new, and profit from it. Brownfields are, instead, envisioned in the book as "overlooked spaces that can often be the emotive or the irrational that fill the gaps between rational structures and lines of cities" (p. 62). It is important to preserve the remains of such places that are not touched by rationalistic planning because they offer something more – something unusual, certain emotions, a wilderness, a piece of nature – in cities full of predictability and rationality, where people lose touch with nature. They are a 'strip of unorganized green landscape and abandoned objects that are gradually taken over by nature' (p. 13). So far we have been remaking nature according to our image for our exploitative purposes. Now we have come to a critical point where we need to rethink our interconnected relationship with nature.

Another important aspect of the book is the emphasis on participative methods of planning aimed at 'testing not just being within the site, but also being with each other and learning from one another' (p. 11). The authors participate both with each other and with their surroundings. In contrast to the usual way of experiencing the world through the eyes, the whole body becomes an instrument of experiencing, discovering, and mapping the brownfield. They participate with the dwellers (the unhoused people) and objects (the garbage, plants, soil, or small community gardens) that already exist there. Using different methods of participation, they show how we can make contact with nature in the Anthropocene age. We have

been taught that human-made culture and nature are two different worlds, but this book shows how we can use our whole body to get in touch with our surroundings. We can read, for example, how to practise deep listening and soundwalks (in the chapter 'Listen to In-Between'), or how to treat garbage as archaeological material (in the chapter 'Memories of an Antique Future'). Participation becomes a process of mapping a place and getting to know it.

The revitalisation of brownfields has become an issue widely discussed even among lay people living in cities. Many cities have to consider managing their brownfields and how to use them. The topic of brownfields moreover has not yet been thoroughly mapped and studied. Brownfields are often seen as places waiting to be revitalised, instead of places with a character of their own. Recently, however, many urbanists and architects have become interested in this overlooked subject, and Spolka shows how even brownfields can have their own *genius loci*, soul, and purpose. The book is perfect for those interested in the topics of landscapes and brownfields and their present and future. It provides inspiration by showing how we can learn from each other's experiences and different approaches as architects and urbanists (who bring their own point of view), sociologists (who put an emphasis on the social context), and artists (who tend to be more imaginative).

The quality of the texts fluctuates rather widely. Since every text has a different form, it is difficult to evaluate the book as a whole. Some texts are clear and compelling, while others are ambiguous, experimental, and vague, which sometimes makes it challenging to understand the point being made – like, for example, the chapter 'Spatial Intimacy – Mapping as a Performative Action'. But overall, the book meets its set goals, because it is most importantly a dialogue with and criticism of modernist planning. It sketches out op-

tions for collaborative work and utopian thinking very well. After all, the publication is the outcome of a summer school programme and the participants' work, so we cannot expect it to cover every possible aspect of brownfields – there are different books for that. *Mapping the In-Between* provides a novel and original look at the issues of brownfields, their revitalisation, and planning as a participative process.

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Levy del Aguila Marchena: *Communism, Political Power, and Personal Freedom in Marx: Beyond the Dualism of Realism*
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This book takes the view that communism culminated because of a historical process and that Marxist communism is not just about the historical conditions in which social reproduction occurred and radical changes to those conditions, but it is also about the freedom of humans to control production after abandoning the alienated terms of their previous reproduction. Although the book can be criticised, it is important because it reflects on three approaches: the philosophy of history, political economy and political conceptions, and the anthropological basis of political power and personal freedom.

The author explains that, on the one hand, Marxian theory has been in decline since the early 1980s; on the other hand, it has remained valid in some regions of the world – for example, in North American political economy and in European discussions of communism and its perspectives. Latin America had continuous political conflict about the antagonisms of political life and the antagonisms of citizenship. The