BOOK REVIEWS


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A collective and militant investigation

This book is the result of a collective, self-organized and militant investigation carried out by the research group Emidio di Treviri for over a year. It focuses on the analysis of those processes involving the territories of Italian Central Apennines (distributed among Lazio, Umbria, Marche and Abruzzo regions), which were affected by earthquakes in 2016 and 2017 and consequently compromised in their socio-economic structure. These are "internal areas" already characterized by depopulation and emigration, as well as by lack of infrastructures and adequate development policies, but which show specific differences.

As seismic quakes continued (in August and October 2016 and in January 2017), the intervention area was expanded from the epicenters of the first summer tremors, gradually absorbing the new municipalities which had suffered damages and the corre-
sponding displaced population. Moreover, the emergency phase and its management undergo a growing expansion: indeed, on the legislative level every seismic event is "attached" to the other, constituting one temporal frame and a single modus operandi.

Emidio di Treviri was born from the desire of a group of volunteers, engaged in the post-earthquake thanks to the experience of mutual aid promoted by a network of associations (Active Solidarity Brigades), to put “in relation the knowledge generated by mutual practice and from active politics with the approach of scientific research”(p. 20). A call for research was promoted with the dual purpose of contributing to scientific progress and producing "useful tools for the struggle of the earthquake victims" (p. 21) for an actual participation in the decision making process for reconstruction. About 50 researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds joined to contribute to the investigation, whose this volume contains the results.

Immediately two aspects emerge: the collective and heterogeneous nature of authorship, as well as the openly militant one. The collective aspect of research responds directly to the "need to work in a network among different disciplines [such as sociology, anthropology, psychology, engineering, architecture, urban planning, history, economics and political science] and to look at such a broad process starting from different articulations "(p.21). The militant character of the investigation appears to be a positioning choice towards both the academic institution and the field. It aims to restore the public tension of research within the university by consolidating an applicative approach, but above all to a restitution that takes into account "a continuous confrontation with the territory, in a dialogical relationship between subject and object" (p.23).

Structure and content

The book opens with a preface signed by Luigi Pellizzoni and a collective introduction. They give an account of the formation and conformation of the group itself, as well as offering some mentions of the theoretical framework essentially based on contributions from the sociology of disasters.

Detaching from media narratives, as well as from certain established political practices, the disaster is read as a process. It is not considered as an isolated event, treatable as exceptionality, but rather as the result of deep-rooted historical-social processes that contribute to differentiate its impact on populations in relation to the previous conditions. The indispensable analytical concepts are those of vulnerability and resilience, whose the possible neoliberal drift with regard to the depoliticisation of post-catastrophe management and the responsibility of civil society is highlighted. Further-
more, the sociologist highpoints some further tensions that the investigated phenomenon contain and which result in its discussion. The first couple is composed of the perceived temporal suspension in post-earthquake, which contrasts with a strong acceleration of pre-existing mechanisms; while the second one is contained within the provisional, but permanent nature of interventions, to respond to the housing crisis generated by the destruction. The third one is given by the abstractness and the technification of the management model, not adhering to local peculiarities of places and situations.

Afterwards, the book is divided into eight text chapters, which twenty-five co-writing authors join to report the work of seven subgroups that operate by following "autonomous research lines, though in a close analytical and project connection" (p.28).

1. CHRONICLES OF AN EXODUS. PROVISIONAL LIVING AND DISPLACEMENT DEVICES IN THE POST-DISASTER CENTRAL APENNINES

In the first chapter D'Angelo, Della Valle, Franchina and Olori offer an analysis of the different types of housing proposed by the emergency management, standing by for a fast reconstruction for buildings with non-structural damage, or for SAE (Emergency Housing Solutions), destined to those whose homes have suffered such damage as to require long-term reconstruction. Displaced people are assisted by two alternative solutions: CAS (Support for autonomous accommodation) or accommodation in hotels, mostly located in coastal areas. The only housing solution designed to avoid dislocation is MAPRE, a container for farmers that cannot depart from stables and lands. Finally, after the quakes in October and the increase of displaced people, Umbria and Marche regions mount MAC (Collective Modular Houses).

Specifically, a survey on the effective use of CAS has shown a differentiation in the use of the amount: from a form of income support (in those families with particularly critical situations) to one of income integration (for the medium range), to one of income surplus (when personal savings and property are used). It can be deduced that a rainfall welfare system, based on the number of family members and not on the socio-economic and occupational conditions, on-and-off provided and without guarantee of continuity, has led to a worsening of the daily life for vulnerable groups, as well as to forms of housing spontaneity with various outcomes. On the other hand, the "hotel" solution, is characterized by a high degree of assistance, aimed at the infantilization of the hosted population (mainly made up of the elderly, some large families, migrants, disabled and non-self-sufficient people). Other place, where specific socio-economic groups of the earthquake victims are concentrated thanks to a pre-structuring of the demand by social services, are MACs: collective villages composed by modular accom-
modations with common services and spaces. Finally, the rural units present a series of installation and design defects that depend on the standardization of the building, which does not make it suitable for the Apennine territory.

Overall, these emergency tools can be interpreted as real displacement devices for population which, along with the failed starting of the faster reconstruction and the significant delays in delivering SAEs, have extended the emergency time by producing a perennially transient present, making chronic the delocalization and crystallizing the process of removing population from internal areas.

2. TO THE BEACH IN WINTER. EXTENSION OF EMERGENCY AND HEALTH OF DISPLACED PEOPLE

A separate chapter is dedicated specifically to the condition of population hosted in the accommodation facilities on the coast. Caroselli, Macchiavelli, Marat and Moscatiolo address the issue through the very specific focus of health and adopting a methodology that ranges from qualitative to quantitative analysis up to the presentation of a case study. Different disciplinary orientations correspond to this methodological diversification, ranging from medical anthropology to the quantitative sociological approach.

From interviews it emerges how the aforementioned housing solution becomes chronic and it adds to the forced removal of affected people from one’s own places and the strongly aid-based nature of hosting places (arising in a loss of control on the daily life), increasing the perception of a temporal suspension and the feeling of discomfort. As the authors admit, following analyses appear to be incomplete and weak from the point of view of representativeness, due to the unavailability and lack of systematization of data by institutions responsible for their collection and publication.

Neither considerations relating to the trend of the mortality rate as indicator for the measurement of health, nor the case study on pharmacological consumption in the municipality of Accumoli are able to offer an in-depth and complete framework.

3. LIVING HERE IT IS NOT SO SWEET. GENESIS AND IMPACTS OF EMERGENCY HOUSING SOLUTIONS

Worthy of interest is the analysis of SAE genesis and territorial repercussions that Barra, Marzo, Olcuiiri and Olori propose in the third chapter. The most analyzed aspects are the technical and design ones, initially framed in a historical background aimed at identifying the different housing responses to the disasters activated at national level in the last hundred and fifty years.
Then, the analysis of the ban of contest for SAEs and the subsequent Framework Agreement identifies some critical elements. For example, the lack of an organic perspective and an adequate urban planning which shapes in the dangerous ambiguous ambiguity of the temporary nature of these structures. It also shows the actual effects of their realization by making visible a specific model of neoliberal living.

In particular, by leaving the choice of the structural typology in the total discretion of the competing companies, as well as the design of the settlement layout and that one of the urbanization and foundation works (definitive as for any type of building), the single-family and one-storey proposed model strongly affected the land consumption, which could otherwise be contained. Furthermore, the standardization of the types, without taking into account any territorial differentiation, reveal the lack of a design that is located and adapted to the particular orographic and climatic conditions of the concerned areas.

The result is a failure of population to return and a definitive departure from the places of origin for part of it (that relating to the younger generation for which the urban and coastal areas are more attractive).

4. PUBLISH HOUSING IN POST-ARTHQUEAKE. A POLICY FOR THE DEPOPULATION OF INTERNAL AREAS

In step with these critical remarks is the brief study with a specific focus on public residential buildings. Macchiavelli, Menghi and Olori show how considerable delays accumulated for the delivery of SAEs have led, among other consequences, to the formalization of further housing solutions.

Indeed, it is established that Regions can purchase real estate units for displaced persons, to be allocated to public residential buildings after. While differing from region to region, drafted legislation stipulate that affordable homes must be new, can be located outside the original municipality and include cases of unfinished buildings if delivered within three months.

As soon as building companies are favored in rankings to the detriment of the individual owners, this rule becomes an occasion for the former to liquidate historical unsold property, often located in urbanization along the coast. Once again, the rule ends to favor indirectly the depopulation of affected territories.

Furthermore, principles such as limitation of land use, reuse and urban redevelopment become guiding elements in the rhetoric of the institutions, which legitimize working in this direction. The emblematic case is that one of Tolentino (MC), where the Municipality acquired a semi-built block, to be completed by converting its intended use, and located in an area of considerable landscape value, in order to meet the hous-
ing needs of the displaced persons and in the name of containment of land use and urban regeneration values.

5. GEOGRAPHIES OF UNCERTAINTY
The textual discussion is interspersed with a photographic interlude in which Amato, Casna, Fagioli and Fantini show the material collected by the "visual" section of the group. They reject a rhetoric of representation made of debris and cries, by describing the post-earthquake everyday life. The selected images is conceived as a journey through the crater geography, made up of faces, places and orography.

6. LOSS. MATERIAL CULTURE AND DAILY PRACTICES IN THE EARTHQUAKE AFTERMATH
After the photographic break, in the sixth chapter Amato offers an analysis of the disaster conducted through the lens of anthropological studies on material culture. Starting from the assumption that the earthquake constitutes a fracture of the order of the world for the individuals that affects both in the material aspects of destruction and in practices and habits, the author focuses his attention on the loss of objects and spaces that displaced people are forced to experiment. In particular, detachment from the intimate space of the house, a storage of objects and utensils, and more generally from places of proximity, would involve an upheaval of the usual and the ordinary.

Amato interprets the material loss as a loss in the world, where by missing pre-existing references, the subject is no longer able to navigate, stay, live. Trauma is also reinforced by an emergency management, which completely passivizes the subjects, making them further unable to regain their lives.

7. FIASTRA BETWEEN THE SEA AND MOUNTAINS. AN ACTION OF COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY
The contribution proposed by Chicco and Mela is revealed significant, illustrating a community psychology action research conducted in the municipality of Fiastra (MC). Preliminarily the authors give an account of the theoretical assumptions to which they refer for the intervention on the field. Ample space is given to the concepts of vulnerability and resilience, from which recovery capacity of the community itself depends. Moreover, a specific attention to the phases that constitute the management of the catastrophe not only illuminates the dynamism of resilience, but it elicits the fluctuating trend in activating of community resources, by avoiding mechanistic and dull readings of the capacity of reaction of populations and by emphasizing their active role.
Specifically, psychological intervention was built as a path in support of Fiastra community, through the presence of facilitators, whose purpose was to deal with the fragmentation between those who remained in mountains and those who moved to the coast. To the strong theoretical framework corresponds a qualitative description of the dedication of psychologists. Meetings were held with the Mayor and administrators, but also with standing population with particular attention to the elderly and to psychologically fragile situations. Listening was also activated at the accommodation structures on the coast that welcomed the inhabitants of the village.

8. THE FAULTS OF THE EARTH. A STUDY OF THE RURAL WORLD IN THE CENTRAL APENNINES POST-EARTHQUAKE

In the eighth chapter Breglia, Chiloiro, Insera, Mantineo, Sangiorgi, Serafini and Stasi offer an in-depth analysis on the effects that policies, which were launched in the post-earthquake for supporting agricultural activities, set in motion. The study is supported by the integration between ethnographic research and a critical study of the main ordinances in the field of farming and agriculture produced during the emergency management. Already from the interview excerpts mentioned at the beginning, examples of different positions of agricultural entrepreneurs and farmers of different levels, it is evident how the post-earthquake political planning for this sector must be read and analyzed in relation to the pre-existing inherent differences in local rural world. Indeed, it is clear how the previous insertion in trends already promoted by European and national agricultural policies has constituted a framework for the subjects, which was able to favor access to resources and markets and to restore quickly any suffered damage.

Mostly, agricultural economy of these areas appears to be family-run and based on seasonality, strongly dependent on the direct relationship between producer and consumer ruled by a system of retail production and sale. Characterized by a general entrepreneurial incapacity, it is completely disoriented facing the bureaucratic complexity of post-earthquake regulations. Instead, that agricultural entrepreneurship which, in line with European (Common Agricultural Policy) and national (Rural Development Program) standards, has provided to modernize and restructure its farms and supply chains, appear better equipped. The ability to move adequately in a formalized context of bureaucracy and marketing, as well as that one to capitalize on new technologies and competences in the field of social media for the promotion of one's business, has actually made these situations more resilient to disaster. In addition, there are some extreme results in those areas that are already economically based on enhancing the production of local agricultural and artisan excellences, strongly branded from the me-
dia. This is the case of Castelluccio di Norcia where, in order to relocate production, reception and trade activities, corporations and local administration promote the building of a shopping mall within a national park, from which the exit is hoped in the case of refusal of the necessary urban planning authorizations.

The catastrophe becomes an opportunity for those who decide to conform to the dominant neoliberal development model, marginalizing those who cannot.

9. EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT. POLICIES AND PRACTICES IN NOONE’S EARTHQUAKE

In the ninth chapter Guarino, Menghi, Sinisi, Turchi and Turco approach the study of the various actors involved in emergency management in order to identify the underlying operational logic.

In addition to a prior description of the territorial characteristics of involved areas, which highlights the extent of the disaster and the highly fragmented character of the inhabited centers, a timeline of the major seismic events and their consecutive management interventions leads to a series of in-depth analyzes that outline a multi-scale approach.

Indeed, the work of the Extraordinary Commissioner, which in fact becomes the expression of a governance that overlaps emergency and reconstruction, where the emergency state legitimates and allows the use of ordinances to give immediate impetus to reconstruction, is investigated. The analysis of the role of Civil Protection highlights a change in management, from a top-down centralized to a widespread participation model, more attentive to the strengthening of local powers. Finally, the orientation of the European Union towards an implementation of technocracy is examined.

An overall observation leads to recognizing a governance that seems to move away from the interpretative framework of the state of exception. While maintaining a biopolitical connotation in reinforcing the emergency device, the new pattern would lead, on one hand, to a proliferation of the norm that attempts to incorporate and contain the exception so as to make the boundaries between one and the other extremely fragile. On the other hand, plural and diversified governance would make it impossible to identify the “sovereign” as the sole holder of power.

Finally, a food for thought is given about the relationship between this change in the management of the emergency and the sudden spread of the concept of resilience which, shifting attention on the ability to respond to external causes, empowers citizenship and avoids taking into account those structural vulnerabilities resulting from institutional policies.
Strong points, weak points

As already highlighted, the collective nature of the research work appears to be a fundamental aspect of this publication. "On the earthquake front" is not a miscellaneous work, as stated in the methodological note, rather "all written texts correspond to a sharing of intent, practices and analysis" (p. 8). However, it is precisely on this community character that we need to reflect adequately, to understand the scope of this investigation and to identify its strengths as the elements of least vigor.

The earthquake of the central Apennines assumes a peculiar connotation for the way in which it is legislatively defined and constructed. Indeed, due to their recursion in a prolonged sequence, the various seismic events are merged into a single management block to dilate both the perimeter of the crater and the same emergency time. Moreover, the governance model activated for disaster management, by favoring an operational decentralization, which enhances the role of local administrations, has in fact encouraged the proliferation of regulations not always declined in the same way, in an already particularly fragmented territory from the geophysical point of view.

Consequently, here is the heterogeneity of the field of investigation that immediately emerges both in the territorial dimension and as a characteristic of earthquake, a phenomenon capable of making manifest social and cultural complexity. And it is here that the "augmentative capacity" (p.22) of collective work shows itself in all its force: without a conspicuous number of researchers gathering around a common objective of investigation, it would never have been possible to operate for the reconstruction of an overall picture in such a multi-faceted, broad and many-side context. On the other hand, it would have been impossible to understand the mechanisms that are activated around the catastrophe, above all as regards the dimension of governance, proceeding without a global view that would keep the different thematic strands connected. Therefore, the work has the remarkable merit of conveying within it a conspicuous amount of quantitative and qualitative data and connecting them through specific analytical paths. It also documents a catastrophe to which the social sciences have paid little attention, compared to the extensive literature produced for example on the L'Aquila earthquake.

However, if the interdisciplinary intent of the collective analysis is taken into consideration, it must be pointed out that it is not always concretely realized. Indeed, it is not always possible to notice a constant and profitable dialogue among the different sectors of knowledge within the research networks, in the individual chapters that propose their investigations, as among the different parts of the book itself, beyond the common frame (witnessed by a shared bibliography) and despite the thick intertextual
references. The heterogeneity of the studied phenomenon eventually leads to match a heterogeneity of methodological practices and analytical perspectives that, although depending on the disciplinary differentiation of the members of the research group as well as thematic choices, is not entirely capable of offering an organic and always consistent interpretation.

At the same time, a self-defined militant research should have given more space in this book to the description of the efforts made to participate through a scientific approach to the co-creation of resilient practices together with local communities. This would be an occasion to contribute and make available to the public the debate on the concept of resilience itself as well as on related action-research.

**Emergency / Resilience**

Indeed, there is an aspect of particular importance to be emphasized. Conducted close to the events and following the different phases in which the disaster management was realized, the research gives a description of emergency time taking into account both institutional policies and daily practices of displaced people. By taking the most salient dynamics of emergency, it provides an indispensable piece to understand the process of catastrophe, where management measures often act as devices for accelerating pre-existing mechanisms.

In particular, all the mechanisms produced by the policies, activated by institutional management in response to the housing crisis and which dangerously show an increasingly manifest connection between emergency management and economic neoliberalism, are well highlighted. In this sense, the survey describes and analyzes the acceleration of depopulation phenomenon that already gripped the internal areas affected by the earthquakes and that can ultimately be ascribed to emergency management policies.

In addition, general processes of creative destruction (Harvey 2006), which feed the capitalism of disasters (Schuller 2008), are easily found. The same depopulation becomes functional both to economic recovery of internal areas, of which the pristine nature, the landscape value, the typical products of artisanal realization as attractive elements are emphasized, and for urban regeneration in coastal areas through the restoration of unfinished buildings to be used for displaced people. Despite missing to refer to these analytical categories, which perhaps would have been useful to give an account of the aforementioned phenomena in a more coherent and joint analytical framework, the in-depth analysis of the emergency devices, which the research moni-
tors and presents, constitutes certainly a unprecedented work, able to return precious material.

However, it is not presented as an analytical focus on emergency time but rather as a survey generically placed in "post-earthquake", in "post-catastrophe", in "post-emergency", by meaning emergency as such as the phase immediately following the event, by involving the rescue of human lives, firsthand housing solutions and tent camps.

It almost seems that the discussion itself remains harnessed in the earthquake management meshes. Emergency ends operationally with the dismantling of the tent camps just a month after the first tremors in August, but at the same time the temporal suspension given by the prolongation of emergency state creates a perennial present temporary for displaced people and an equally undefined "post" for researchers.

Therefore, to take into account a subdivision in phases of disaster management could serve to identify the procedural aspects and to examine precisely that expansion of emergency that seems to be a consolidated trend, functional to specific political-economic interests and trajectories.

In the history of Italian earthquakes as in a shared international model, the placement of displaced people is realized by following four phases ranging from emergency sheltering, temporary sheltering, temporary housing to permanent housing. These consist by passing from makeshift shelters often sought autonomously as an immediate solution, to tent camps or temporary shelters of various types, to prefabricated or temporary houses of different kinds, up to a final restoration of their homes (Forino 2012).

However, it is worth to note that these phases lead to hybridize themselves in order to prolong the emergency state, to allow its own instruments to penetrate into time and actions related to the actual reconstruction and to make extremely thin the border between provisional and permanent. This tension and the others found in the book constitute the dynamics that are most evident during the emergency, however an analysis of the post-catastrophe should go from the emergency sheltering to the definitive permanent housing and give an account of their very circuit.

The missing link is identified by Pellizzoni in the preface to the volume. The sociologist states the possibility of "reflecting on the affinity between a post-earthquake management orientation and the approach to proper emergency and to the Civil Protection functions[...]: centered on the conjugation of technocratic centralization and empowerment of individual, as a capacity for mobilization and self-help on the terms of which, however, the latter does not have a say"(p.13). However, the analytic com-
ments developed in this book defy this aim, by giving the idea of a loss of interpretative cohesion because of a heterogeneity of points of view not enough supervised.

Within the volume, the emergency devices are analyzed by taking into account well-established theoretical lines for the interpretation of disaster management: biopolitical outcomes and an articulation of governance in the characteristic mechanisms of the state of exception are identified.

In particular, the research finds that this last analytical framework is inappropriate by considering the proliferation of rules and actors that emergency policies have encouraged in this specific earthquake. Actually, it is interesting to note how the multiplication of regulations serves to weaken the norm itself and how the state of exception is such when power is exercised outside normal political practice, where the necessitating emergency logic functions as legitimizing for the reduction of governance to a purely technical and bureaucratic issue. Furthermore, if the emergency sheltering phase can be considered completed, the emergency management is still running at the time of publication, embodied in the figure of the extraordinary Commissioner. Although the control apparatus of DI.COM.C. has completed its activities in April 2017, by passing the management of the earthquake to the administrations of the involved regions, ordinary and extraordinary tools are added by proposing that friction between provisional and permanent.

Numerous studies are implemented in the field of social sciences to face an analysis of governance models adopted in different emergency phases. A comparison with previous Italian earthquakes, which is not limited to the analysis of official documents, rules and declarations but considers them, it can certainly give an interpretative framework which is able to highlight the modifications in progress together with the continuity and permanence of certain goals.

Moreover, daily activities documented through photography, the description of sensations and feelings born from the loss of objects and habits in relation to the domestic and ordinary world, as well as the housing paths and the forms of relocation, autonomous and assisted, of those who suffered the earthquake, are described with particular attention.

However, the repercussions of emergency management on the daily practices of affected populations underline usual biopolitical results, as if the description of these aspects is functional to that one of management criticalities. The expansion of the emergency time, together with the strong assistance in hosting displaced people, determines a prolongation of waiting time and increases the perception of a temporal suspension in which it becomes very difficult to imagine and plan the future. Therefore, earthquake is felt and interpreted as a break in the order of the world, in that ordinari-
ness that allows habits and common sense to build significant actions that are taken for granted and obvious. Thereby, resilience is inhibited by the same management methods, which do not allow it to be recovered, instead leading to an acceleration of the neoliberal transformation processes of territories and increasing already existing vulnerabilities.

However, without wishing to minimize the effects of emergency management, it can be said certainly that while the existence of a certain interpretative tendency for the analysis of disaster policies is now clear, the perspective through which daily normality that the earthquake seems to break is investigated and described is much less solid.

If the analysis of governance shows a framework for interpretation where the concept of vulnerability plays a central role, that one of resilience is taken into account to outline the depoliticisation of disaster management in the act of empowering citizenship. Nevertheless, not every aspect of resilience is considered, in particular the dynamism that even in some cases is vividly expressed. Stopped in the temporal suspension of a transitory present between an irreparably lost past and an unimaginable future, seismic event is considered as an interruption, by forgetting the process of catastrophe itself.

Indeed, a deeper ethnographic attention can restore a right role to both population and resilience as an aspect of agency as well as a methodology of power (Benadusi 2014), by highlighting the manifestation of the negative capacity (Lanzara 1993) of the involved subjects.

If addressed exclusively by the point of view of political devices this category remains highly ambiguous: declined in the opposite sense to that one of vulnerability that should reduce, it is obscured in analytical terms, as if the analysis of power could not give way to action of individuals if not to underline their passivation.

Actually, this reading is functional to power itself: on the one hand, subjects are reduced to vulnerable victims in order to legitimize external help, on the other they are transformed into resilient survivors capable of activating effective responses to the crisis determined by the disaster. However, this capacity is potentially to be developed and to be built, again this time, with the help of external experts (Benadusi 2014). Then, the tension between vulnerability and resilience translates into that between management and locality, between expertise and local knowledge (Oliver-Smith 2011), without considering those improvised actions that individuals set in motion to cope with the experience of uncertainty, generated by the catastrophe and often amplified by the management methods.

Therefore, we need to make explicit the connection between emergency and resilience in terms of management policies, as well as the underlying rhetoric must be clear-
ly explained. Moreover, it remains to be investigated how resilience, or perhaps a less salvific declination of it, can manifest itself during the prolonged emergency phase in the subjects' everyday life, by accepting the moments of indeterminateness and lack of direction to enjoy the potential of understanding and acting that these situations could contain (Lanzara 1993).

In conclusion, although a greater theoretical systematization and integration of collected data would have benefited, the volume constitutes a fundamental contribution in its ability to open profitable lines of comparison and new reflections.

Bibliography


