Adolescenza, riti di passaggio e società futura
Adolescence, rites of passage and future society

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Nel secolo scorso, un certo sguardo sull’adolescenza è servito a spiegare il ruolo dell’adolescenza come età del “passaggio” nel processo socio-culturale volto ad assicurare la successione tra le generazioni. Di fronte alla “crisi del milien educativo” del Novecento, le categorie evolutive di tipo psico-biologico appaiono però poco utili per comprendere la peculiarità dell’adolescenza nel mutamento dello scenario contemporaneo. Questo intervento propone quindi di non parlare più genericamente di “adolescenza”, ma di interrogare le dimensioni materiali e simboliche che sorreggono la struttura esperienziale di ciò che chiamiamo “fare esperienza di adolescenza” nella concreteness quotidiana. A partire da qui è possibile rimettere a tema la questione del “futuro” come orizzonte esistenziale, non più come costruzione e esito di una “abilità al transito”, bensì come riconoscimento di una “competenza liminale” che consente di fare esperienza e di costruire significati nell’incertezza. In questo tratto sembra consistere la specificità dell’adolescenza contemporanea.

Parole chiave: adolescenza, riti di passaggio, materialità educativa

Keywords: adolescence, rites of passage, educational materiality

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1. ADOLESCENCE AND SCHOOL: IMPRESSIONS

I would like to open this paper by recalling scenes from films that in recent times have celebrated the relationship between adolescents and school. One of the most emblematic, which has remained impressed on my mind, is undoubtedly the opening scene of Paolo Virzì’s film: "Caterina va in città". As the opening

33"Caterina va in città" directed by, ITA 2003. With Sergio Castellitto, Margherita Buy, Claudio Amendola, Alice Teghil.
credits run, Sergio Castellitto, a teacher of business economics at a technical institute, is shown writing the syllabus for the year on the blackboard, and informing the class that he is about to move to a different school. He then addresses his students in a brief but meaning-laden monologue, of which I particularly remember the following extract: "Now that I am bidding you goodbye, I would just like to say one thing: that all the hours I’ve spent in this classroom, all the days I’ve spent here, have been the most useless and depressing of my entire life. I wonder why you have wasted so much of your time coming to a school that in itself is no good for anything...". The camera meanwhile lingers among the school desks, encountering the faces and bodies of bored, fed up, disinterested, alienated teenagers; until, at the sound of the bell, these same bodies explode into a frenzy of liberating voices and movements marking the end of their "torture".

Another emblematic scene comes from the film "Detachment" 34, in which Adrien Brody, playing the part of a young substitute teacher in an American high school, meets a class for the first time and after introducing himself and assigning the students an essay theme, has a heated exchange with a student who: first comes threateningly up to the teacher saying that he doesn’t have any paper to write on, then insults the teacher verbally, and finally takes the teacher’s bag and flings it against the wall. At this point the teacher, in a calm and firm tone of voice, says: "That bag, it doesn’t have any feelings, it’s empty. I don’t have any feelings you can hurt either. OK? I understand you’re angry, I used to be very angry too, ok? I get it. You have no reason to be angry with me because I’m one of the few people that’s here trying’ to give you an opportunity. Now, I’m going to ask you to just sit down, and do your best, and I’ll give you a piece of paper, how’s that?" (taking out his own notepad and pulling off a sheet to give to the student).

I have chosen to begin with these scenes because I believe that they offer an interesting representation of the current collective imaginary on adolescents’ relationship with school: a relationship marked by boredom, passivity, alienation, and detachment, which generate two main types of response, apathetic indifference and aggressive anger. However, these movie excerpts also provide an apt representation of the teacher’s role: crushed between the frustration of not being able to break through the wall of apathy erected by the students and the extraordinary gift of knowing how to manage and modulate adolescent rage.

Nonetheless, it seems to me that what these scenes represent above all is the caricature of a more complex relationship: of course, at one level, they do reflect recognizable features of school life; we all know that there are difficult contexts in which "making school happen" poses a daily challenge. And yet we also know that the relationship between teenagers and school is not fully captured in these representations, while still less is it captured in the even more highly caricatured

34 "Detachment" directed by Toni Kaye, USA 2011. With Adrien Brody, James Caan, Christina Hendricks, Lucy Liu.
books that in recent years have been offering collections of off-the-wall teenage behaviours in the form of "disciplinary notes from class registers." For better or for worse, schools continue to be a highly significant place of education, both in the lived experience of adolescent boys and girls, and in broader social perceptions. This is borne out by the harshness with which the periodic attempts at educational reform are debated at the political and cultural levels. Indeed, despite the more catastrophic — but also more superficial — interpretations, which read the schools crisis as an irreversible undermining of its role as an educational agency in the globalized information society, it is precisely the volume of publications and persistent production of interpretations and discourses characterizing the highly polarized debate about school that proves the meaningfulness of this ancient institution. Thus, both the caricatures and the negative media hype that enter the schools debate through the all-pervasive television talk shows are in reality "the symptoms of what has been repressed": beneath these representations and beneath given interpretations of the problems experienced by teachers, families and adolescents, it is possible to identify a further discourse which remains for the most part unsaid and perhaps even unspeakable. The materiality of school life. Aside from the invitations and stimuli launched over the past decade by educationalists, in part based on the analytical work of Riccardo Massa, on the themes of reforming the school system and teacher training, it may safely be said that, none of the subsequent legislation has paid sufficient attention to the key latent educational dimension represented by school life as it happens in the everyday material and concrete experience of adults and adolescents. This material dimension is consistently repressed, while it is sought to given schools back their lost "vocation" via functional or engineering-style solutions.

35 Cfr. Beer J. (2006), La classe fa la ola mentre spiega, Rizzoli, Milano. This is the first of a series of books on the same theme published by the same author under the same pseudonym.
37 Ivi, p. 59.
2. The Western Myth of the Fully-Formed Adult and "Discursive Formations" Concerning Adolescence

I believe however that this imaginary is consistent with a historically determined, cultural vision of adolescence that emphasizes the teenage years’ excesses, turbulent nature, and failure to live up the idealized notion of an adult who today no longer exists and perhaps, from a social perspective, never existed in the first place: an adult who is the cultural projection of a model rooted in antiquity. The origins of this model of idealized adult, expressing intellectual, spiritual and relational completeness, may be traced back to the philosophers of the 4th century B.C.. Plato’s philosophical model was the first to systematically conceptualize this representation; the mirroring of singularity in universality via the link joining the cosmos with society and the individual – a key concept underlying all of Plato’s representations of his ideal Republic – constantly evokes the relationship among the rational nature of the spirit, the balancing function of virtue and the animal nature of the body. The constitution of man as a thinking subject capable of self-realization is closely bound up with the search for virtues to express his greatness. The virtues in turn have always been based on a certain definition of balance and stability, as individual and social values entitling the subject capable of putting them to good use to be viewed as an adult and free man. Similar themes are dealt with in Xenophon and Aristotle in relation to the characteristics of the good citizen. It is clear that our Western vision of adulthood took shape within this cultural model. The expression of a power that acts through the legitimate domination of the adult male over women, children and slaves: a domination that was philosophically justified by assuming truth to be equivalent to reason. Thus, the myth of maturity as a condition expressing a man’s completeness is the corollary that, in some sense inevitably, stems from the relationship between rationality and balance as the specific characteristics of the adult man. While all of this fits well with a cultural and social imaginary of adulthood that, as we have said, is rooted in Western philosophical thought, this particular myth of the completeness of the adult has been challenged by recent research in the fields of sociology and educational psychology, from the life cycle studies pioneered by Erik H. Erikson to "systemic" approaches that have pointed up the biological and psychic processes underlying development. In this regard, a key contribution from within Italian pedagogy has been Duccio Demetrio’s redefinition of adulthood as a phase of existence characterized by numerous metabletic components that continue to reshape identity well beyond the narrow period of adolescence. This

approach speaks to the historic, economic and socio-cultural changes that affect how we become adults. It provides a more useful perspective for contemporary studies on adulthood by setting aside the stereotypical representation of completeness and engaging with the contradictions of an era marked by a social, professional and affective insecurity that is increasingly forcing the adult into the condition of the eternal adolescent.

Adolescents, for their part, are constantly subject to generalizations linking them with deviance and social transgression. There is a sort of implicit truth in the discursive formations defining the specific field of adolescence, which for the last two hundred years at least has tended to associate being young with an imaginary of risk and proximity to deviance. Indeed this is another representation that is strongly rooted in Western culture, for which the equation being a "minor" = being irresponsible = representing a social threat, is not only scientifically valid but creates and defines the possibility of educational and re-educational treatment. The image of the "minor" as a socially lesser being appears to stem from a model that was shaped above all within the legal, medical and social, educational and familial structures and procedures of the 1700s and 1800s, scene of a "cultural and material production (of laws, medical practices, and intra- and extra-familial educational approaches) that essentially infantilized minors, independently of their age".

For one thing, adolescents lay bare the deformed face of monstrosity, which may readily be associated with both the meaningless and brutality of certain acts, and a presumed lack of morals. Indeed, behaving counter to the human being's social nature is the monster's most characteristic trait: who other than a monster could stain himself with terrible crimes and at the same time not be able to perceive their ethical valence— the ultimate expression of irresponsibility and amorality.

Furthermore, adolescents also present the inexpressive face of mediocrity, as reflected in the acritical consumerism, lack of idealism, incapacity to make meaningful plans, cultural flattening and shallow approach to dealing with reality that are typical of their generation. Teenagers essentially appear to be impressionable and easily influenced spectators of events occurring in the real world, almost as though they were watching these events on television, in the sense that they appear to be incapable of manipulating contents or re-elaborating their meanings.

However, deep down, it suits us and reassures us to go on imagining adolescents in this double guise of mediocrity and monstrosity. Most of all, we are reassured by the fact that discursive formations about adolescence emphasize the

\[\text{visiutti e delle origini},\text{ Carocci, Roma; Idem (2005), In età adulta. Le mutevoli fisionomie, Guerini e Associati, Milano.}\]

\[\text{41 Cfr., Barone P. (2009), Pedagogia dell'adolescenza, Guerini, Milano: pp. 43-46.}\]


\[\text{43 Ivi, p. 91.}\]
extent to which the typical adolescent crisis is a natural part of the developmental process: the characteristics of this crisis, such as emotional instability, insecurity, fragility, anger, confrontation, aggression, transgressive tendencies, chaotic behaviour (in general: an existence that is disordered to some degree) have become developmental markers, used to explain the "peculiar nature" of the adolescent phase.

A certain vision of adolescence is helpful in trying to understand something that continuously eludes scientific theorizing. Developing a universal definition of the typical traits of an adolescence that arrives at its "social debut" with an un-tidy baggage of uncertainty, fragility, instability, conflict and anger has served to explain phenomena that characterized Western intergenerational experience in the last century: amongst other things it has facilitated the interpretation and explanation of a peculiar tension that has been a constant feature of the Western world from the fourteenth century onwards, accompanying its social, cultural and economic transformation: a tension that for better or for worse has allowed adolescents and young adults to play a leading role, first in Medieval and Modern Europe and later in Industrial Europe – on the one hand in battles, resistance movements and micro-revolutions against the ruling powers, and on the other hand in extrajudicial punitive actions demanded by "popular feeling", functioning as a "punishing arm" toward those whom the dominant culture wished to exorcise. Lawlessness and disorderly conduct, transversal and persistent representations typifying Western social culture over the centuries, are associated with adolescence because they are a "natural" part of the adolescent period's developmental function: this is the theoretical justification for the rebellious adolescent of the second half of the twentieth century, as celebrated in literature and cinema.

The question which we are bound to ask ourselves is whether this perspective and interpretation help us to understand the experience of adolescence today. We continue to believe for example that adolescence is a transition or passage whose ultimate purpose is the attainment of adulthood. Therefore, let us turn our attention to the concept of transition…

3. SOCIAL DRAMA AND RITES OF PASSAGE

Thematizing the issue of transition is of notable interest, given – amongst other factors – the light that research in social psychology and cultural anthropology has shed on the historical function of rites of passage in human societies, from the perspectives of both the individual and the community. I will not go

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into detail on the famous pioneering work of Van Gennep\textsuperscript{46}, which was followed by many other studies on the theme in the ethno-anthropological and other disciplines. By way of example, I cite in passing an intriguing and well-known psychoanalytical work by Bettelheim, who explored the implicit rites of "symbolic wounds" in the clinical case histories of adolescent patients\textsuperscript{47}, as well as more recent social anthropological studies, including an appealing work by Le Breton on the function of "risk" in contemporary experience\textsuperscript{48}. For my purposes here, however, I mainly draw on Victor Turner's valuable analysis of the social function of rites of passage, understood as an intergenerational phenomenon: specifically, the British anthropologist argued that there is a strong link between the initiatory practices in rites of passage and the resolution of intergenerational conflicts. In Turner's view, the rite of passage is a sort of "social drama", not dissimilar in function to the drama of Greek theatre: it provides the opportunity to give symbolic and material form to, and represent, a conflict – present in the community – that may be either explicit or implicit. The rite of passage, like the theatre drama, creates a time and fictional "place" in which the conflict may be staged and resolved via a sophisticated but effective symbolic-material process\textsuperscript{49}.

The outcome of the initiatory rituals implicated in the rite of passage, again according to Turner, is that of ensuring the community's historical continuity, while the innovations contributed by the younger generations are simultaneously incorporated into the group's social traditions. Thus, in the past, rites of passage helped societies to address the difficult task of achieving generational succession, through the symbolization of a conflict that was both generative and necessary for the survival of the community. The rite symbolically and materially embodied the handing down of leadership from one generation to the next.

This brings us to a critical juncture in our reflection on contemporary adolescence. The idea of adolescence that has been developed by the social sciences is clearly situated within a developmental paradigm that frames adolescence as a transitional phase of human existence with its own specific biological, psychological and social characteristics. In recent decades, this model was accepted by practically all of us who have an interest in the theme of adolescence, on the basis that it was widely shared across the human sciences. From this perspective, adolescence is a transition, a "middle earth", as Mantegazza and I\textsuperscript{50} defined it a

\textsuperscript{50} Barone P., Mantegazza R. (1999), La terra di mezzo. Gli elaboratori pedagogici dell'adolescenza, Unicopli, Milano.
number of years ago, or the "ability to transit" to use the nicely phrased definition of Melucci and Fabbrini\textsuperscript{51}. But today what has become of this "transition"?

This question was already posed 15 years ago, with extraordinary foresight, by Riccardo Massa – for many of us a great, and much mourned, teacher – in November 1999, in what unfortunately was to be his last conference paper. Invited to speak about educational work with adolescents in youth centres, Massa offered a detailed interpretation of the social changes underway, in which the educational issue of the passage of leadership among generations appeared to have been turned on its head. "The crisis of the educational milieu", that is to say, the context of experience and belonging within which young people in the twentieth century were able to find meaning for their own development process and to take their place alongside, and make a meaningful connection with, the older generations, has implied "the onset of a crisis in intergenerational dialectics"\textsuperscript{52}. The former handing down of leadership no longer takes place because the context that used to confirm its meaning from a historical and social point of view is in a state of crisis. It would seem that the adolescents of today are unable to take over leadership because there are no adults able / willing to pass it on to them: but this symbolic fracture is also reflected in the material lack of places taking on and embodying the "fictional" value of the social drama: places that pedagogically speaking might function as symbolic and material dispositives of passage.

4. THE END OF ADOLESCENCE IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

At this point, I would like to focus on some of the effects of the developments we have just outlined: the representation of adolescence as rebellious and idealistic, confrontational and transgressive that accompanied and lent support to a given scientific interpretation in vogue in the last century is currently in crisis. Similarly in crisis is the developmental paradigm that saw growth as taking place in stages, each with its own function, relying heavily on the theory of adolescence "as a period of transition". The intergenerational dialectics that guaranteed organic continuity to the social community have been interrupted. We are therefore faced with a historic fracture that demands a radical rethinking of the categories we have used up to now to explain adolescence; that requires us to change our perspective in order to grasp the experience of adolescence as it concretely takes place.

Historical and social determinations bring about the peculiar and difficult to interpret characteristics of the new generations: what we previously knew about


adolescence does not help us to understand contemporary phenomena. I do not believe that the solution lies in updating the old categories; I think that we need to look in other directions. First of all, I propose that we should no longer speak generically of "adolescence", but ask ourselves what it means "to experience adolescence". This shift in perspective should yield two key effects: we would no longer labour under the scientific obligation to develop a theory of adolescence, but recognize the historic and material, cultural and social dimensions of a concept, bound up with an experience, that undergoes constant transformation; and, specifically in the field of pedagogy, we would focus our enquiry on how experience is structured, recognizing in it the irreducible singularity of each of the boys and girls who are going through this period of life.

From this viewpoint the key question would no longer be "who are the adolescents of today?" but "what kind of adolescence is experienced today?"

Clearly, when the question is formulated like this, we are forced to thematize the structural dimensions of experience. In other words, to look at how adolescents experience corporeality, space and time at the beginning of the third millennium.

5. SPEAKING OF SCHOOL AND FUTURE SOCIETY

Today, multiple factors come to bear on everyday experience, with the power to rapidly transform its quality and meanings. Authoritative reflections from a variety of fields within the human and social sciences 53 have pointed up the radical nature of social and cultural change, beginning with our modified relationship with the structural dimensions of existence, namely: the body, time and space. The new technologies are undoubtedly playing a key role in the restructuring of communication and social experience, in which novel connections between space and time allow us to experience reality in new and unprecedented ways. More specifically, one aspect of the current debate concerns the impact on individual experience of the opportunity to virtually eliminate distance and the passage of time thanks to mobile communication devices: "by combining synchrony and asynchrony, the new technologies allow us, and in a certain sense, force us to operate simultaneously in more than one time-frame. This phenomenon might be defined as polychrony, and it is key to understanding the novel nature of multi-tasking environments, in which it is possible to carry out different tasks both in sequence and simultaneously" 54.


What are the implications, therefore, for learning experience? How are knowledge acquisition processes reconfigured when mediated by technological objects in adolescents' daily experience? And how is school impacted by these same processes?

Let us take for example the "space-time" variable in school experience: spatial-temporal structure is still firmly anchored to a model based on the linear succession of disciplinary contents within an institutionalized ritual framework. It is superfluous to point out that, despite numerous attempts to experiment with change over recent decades, school continues to be mainly organized according to a principle of sequentiality, which translates into allotting a certain number of teaching hours to each subject on the curriculum. A principle that fixes school time within a productive and cumulative framework, replicating the model of incremental knowledge acquisition dear to the positivist paradigm. Within this framework, the key educational object remains the technology of the "book": "This dematerialised object which no longer projects us into a living tradition but into a universe of concepts whose leading traits are order, sequentiality, linearity and systematicness. This is what has shaped the modern individual, transforming his/her way of life and way of thinking". However, this model is blatantly anachronistic with respect to the modes of experience that characterize today's teens' relationship with learning. Time in the learning mediated by the use of new communication technologies is typified by depth rather than linearity, and by simultaneity rather than sequentiality: the multi-tasking experience made possible by technological environments generates an experiential flow that immerses the subject in a sensory experience that is different to and more complex than traditional alphabetic experience. Once again, this change in education was closely observed by Massa, who wrote:

The digital world alters the entire framework of reference. The contents of experience and learning incessantly combine in ways that are always new and different with respect to the information sources. Intelligence and its sources are decentralized and distributed in a never-ending peripheral multiplicity. The great educational dream of transferring intelligence from the transmitter to the receiver can now be fully realized. The person being educated can select and combine the available resources at will. The world of education becomes an open and intrinsically expandable system, to whose outward movement one can accede without following a predetermined order. Knowledge contents will be shaped by the student, rather than by an instructor or trainer arranging them in sequence in line with given objectives. The supremacy of the medium, contents and form will

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have to give way to the supremacy of method and sign, that is to say of fractals and structure. Massa, far from acritically and enthusiastically embracing a universal "digital pedagogy", expressed some of the key questions needing to be addressed if we are to rethink the school-form in light of the changes currently underway. He saw the technological turn as potentially enabling schools to take a "structural and experiential turn. Not the mere application of materials or didactic procedures based on obsolete behaviourist and cognitivist models". Because what the new technologies offer at the experiential level is precisely the opportunity to recover "the traits of simultaneity and sensoriality characterizing any authentic educational experience".

Here I believe it is possible to identify a peculiar dimension of experiencing adolescence: the transitivity among the multisensory experience offered by the most recent technological devices, the experience of flow in performative practices (whether artistic, musical or part of ethnocultural rituals), and the experience that is had in an "authentically educational situation". The unique and unrepeatable interweaving of the dimensions of time and space and the corporeality of the subject immersed in the experiential flow make up the structure supported by which education may potentially take place: it is experience in the making. Captured in the lived experience of a "situated body" that as with the passing of time, perceives itself to be within a unified flow in which the cognitive distinction between subject and environment disappears. Today it is unthinkable to overlook the impact of particular ways of using space and time on the existential modes of adolescents. On boys and girls who from earliest childhood have been immersed in experiences of simultaneity and polychrony. It is therefore equally unthinkable not to revisit educational work in light of this metamorphosis. In my view, trying to understand what is involved in experiencing adolescence in the contemporary era, means first trying to describe how the very structures of experience are being modified. Structures that support the possibility of constructing adolescent identity. It follows that we need to rethink the places in which adolescence is experienced to take these structural changes into account. Once we have established that the structural experience of school, independently of the many discourses about it, has remained close to its original form, even failing to respond to the (unfortunately rare) drives for change originating in the broader social context, we must of necessity try to look beyond this.

A first crucial step is to recover the repressed dimension of educational materiality. Cultivating awareness of "how school is made to happen" provides us

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58 Ivi, p. 158.
59 Ivi, p. 159.
with a key to understanding the concrete processes of change that are part of adolescents' experience today. Even moreso because school is the place in which, at the "micro" level, all the contradictions of our global society are reproduced along with its social mechanisms, cultural dynamics, and socio-anthropological changes. Thus, today it is imperative to go beyond the generalizations that are typical of the discourses about the relationship between adolescents and school outlined earlier – and to truly give voice to the more vital dimensions of the material reality of school. From the way in which the experiential setting is laid out, to the roles and scripts, strategies and techniques, instruments and styles adopted and put into practice by both adults and adolescents in making school happen on a day-to-day basis. The quality of school experience is reflected in the educational quadrangle made up of "context", "strategies", "meanings" and "affect", whose intersection allows us to define educational materiality.

Focusing our pedagogical enquiry on the experiential structures through which school actually functions, allows us to identify what determines the peculiar vitality of school and to detect phenomena expressing the changes taking place among the adolescents of this new century. We must unavoidably lay aside the idea of adolescence as a time for overcoming oneself in fulfillment of one's developmental duty as it were. The fragmentation of society and identities, caused by the changes in our relationship with time and space, along with the undetermined and uncertain nature of the educational context (the milieu of the last century) require us to look at the boys and girls born around the turn of the millennium with a more neutral gaze. While some decades ago the social and cultural organization of societies demanded the "ability to transit"\textsuperscript{62}, today it seems that the most distinctive trait is that of a "liminal competence", or the ability to remain in an undefined condition that is an irremovable feature of the postmodern era.

Changing our perspective on adolescence carries with it the need to redefine the issue of the "future". The uncertainty and lack of definition that goes with "liminal competence" in experiencing adolescence, redefines the life course, obliging the new generations to reformulate the issue of planning their future existences: from the possibility of matching one's own personal dream with a plan bearing future promise – expression of the progressive hopes of the twentieth century, we have transited – in the critical passage at the turn of the century – to the narrow alley of a totalizing present that has swallowed up the future, now threatening and hazardous\textsuperscript{63}. Today, what is more, we may even note a further shift underway, from the "present without a future" to the "future without prospects", a peculiar expression of the "liminal competence" of adolescents displaying the ability to deal with the "fragmentation and uncertainty of their environ-

ment as an unalterable given to be transformed into a resource by constantly making use of awareness and reflectivity".64

While the defining traits of adolescence such as "a phase for experimenting", "putting to the test", or "exploring" widely featured in educational and psychological studies clearly reflect the dimensions of enquiry that are characteristic of this period of life, it appears to me that today these dimensions constitute the very "experience of adolescence" within the contemporary context of a complex system of change.65 Viewing the adolescent as a "researcher" is therefore the necessary equivalent to the figure of the "teacher-researcher"66, through whom we may begin to rethink school. This will mean rethinking both the "form" and "structures of experience" that involve adolescents and teachers, and thereby bringing to light the educational materiality that expresses the irrepressible vital force of school.

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