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A cura di A. Salvini



Marginalità, devianza e politiche pubbliche

INTERAZIONI INCLUSIVE

A cura di Andrea Salvini

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L'Interazionismo Simbolico tra teoria,
ricerca e intervento sociale


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VIII. Fonti bibliografiche del nuovo secolo interazionista (2000-2016)

di Luca Corchia

Presentazione

La prospettiva interazionista affonda le proprie radici nella tradizione filosofica del Pragmatismo americano, raccogliendone l'eredità e sviluppando un approccio sociologico che si è affermato, attraverso fasi di formazione, consolidamento, sviluppo, critica e riformulazione, durante tutto il secolo passato – principalmente negli Stati Uniti, in alcune sedi universitarie, non solamente a Chicago (Denzin 1992). Eppure, nel descrivere l'*Incontro con l'Interazionismo Simbolico contemporaneo*, Andrea Salvini avverte il lettore che “l'Interazionismo Simbolico è conosciuto in Italia solo in minima parte” e che “gli studenti in sociologia, in psicologia sociale o in servizio sociale hanno avuto e in gran parte continuano ad avere una conoscenza piuttosto scarsa e limitata di questa prospettiva” (p. 19). Non ci sentiamo di escludere che una constatazione analoga valga anche per molti docenti dei nostri Atenei, se allarghiamo il campo di interesse al di là dei consueti riferimenti classici alle opere di George Herbert Mead, Herbert Blumer, Erving Goffman e Howard Becker. Le riflessioni teoriche e le ricerche empiriche che possiamo ricomprendere sotto l'etichetta dell'“Interazionismo Simbolico”, invece, dai primi studi degli anni Trenta, ad essa strettamente riconducibili, sino ad oggi, sono oramai un numero difficilmente quantificabili e, al proprio interno, possiamo differenziare molteplici generazioni di studiosi, scuole di provenienza, prospettive analitiche e ambiti di indagine. Come ha sottolineato Raffaele Rauty, pur mantenendo centrale la costruzione simbolica, per così dire, “proiettiva” e “negoziale” della realtà sociale da parte degli esseri umani, l'interazionismo simbolico non può che essere una costellazione composta di imprese conoscitive, al pari delle difformi e mutevoli forme di vita, da cui consegue una dinamica interna a una tradizione sociologica che muove in più direzioni e problematizza continuamente categorie di pensiero e strumenti di indagine:

Nel caso dell'interazionismo simbolico, questa posizione, nella sua autonomia è anche parte di un'impostazione che continua a riconoscere la realtà empirica intrinseca-

mente connessa alle miriadi e variegata esperienze umane e al senso da loro prodotto. [...] Dunque, in queste discussioni gli interazionisti, proprio nel tener fede, a partire dalla propria realtà composita, al proprio statuto, esprimono riflessioni ambivalenti, parziali e/o assolute, sulle prospettive della teoria [...]. Del resto una riflessione di questo tipo, sulle strategie esistenti come anche su quelle trasformazioni che possono condurre all'emergere di nuovi spunti teorici, è per più motivi interna alla tradizione sociologica (2009, pp. 45-46).

È significativo che su questioni più prossime alla tradizione europea, come ad esempio l'analisi dei processi di strutturazione, gli studiosi interazionisti riescano spesso a proporre interpretazioni diversificate e relativamente innovative, in cui appare preminente la necessità pratico-conoscitiva di combinare le dimensioni micro e macro, le indagini minute sul campo e le riflessioni sulle categorie sociali. Ne scaturisce una congruenza tra l'impianto concettuale e i dispositivi metodologici. Dal nostro limitato punto di vista, quello della ricostruzione bibliografica, ciò emerge in maniera immediata, osservando la natura di scritti che metodologicamente – a parte le sistematizzazioni teoriche, le interpretazioni filologiche di storia delle idee e i raffronti con correnti di pensiero complementari, come la fenomenologia, l'etnometodologia, etc. –, per lo più, perlustrano i “mesodomini” di significati “palmo a palmo”, in una miriade di “*settings* naturali”, privilegiando il “punto di vista delle persone”. È interpretando la realtà di vita quotidiana, con cui essi stessi entrano in relazione, che gli interazionisti ricostituiscono codici di significati e dinamiche sociali più ampi. Chi dovesse limitarsi a scrutare la portata teorica di tali scritti dai soli titoli cadrebbe facilmente in errore, giudicandoli privi di contenuti potenzialmente generalizzabili. Per apprezzarne la rilevanza, al contrario, occorre osservarli ricostruire i fili delle trame di cui, pezzo per pezzo, si compone il grande quadro sociale, abbandonando il pregiudizio che nelle cose più minute vi sia un minore contenuto di verità. In tal senso, cominciano a esservi crescenti “aperture”, anche nel campo della sociologia “convenzionale” e, giustamente, Andrea Salvini afferma che “l'IS ha fornito e continua a fornire i quadri epistemologici e concettuali essenziali su cui si è sviluppata la variegata e differenziata famiglia dei ‘metodi qualitativi’, che oggi sono adottati da un numero crescente di studiosi, e che sta gradualmente guadagnando maggiore legittimità all'interno del panorama metodologico delle scienze sociali” (p. 28). Una famiglia necessariamente “allargata”, in cui convivono molteplici *framework* concettuali.

L'intento di questa appendice bibliografica è quello fornire agli studiosi interessati una sintesi degli scritti interazionisti più recenti, pubblicati a partire dall'anno 2000. Non si tratta, certamente, di una bibliografia esaustiva. Qui, ci siamo limitati a comporre un elenco dei contributi teorici ed empirici più “significativi” e “strategici”, nel definire le linee di sviluppo della prospettiva sociologica interazionista, privilegiando, quindi, gli studiosi che rappresentano un punto di riferimento condiviso in letteratura e quelli i cui lavori sono ritenuti più pertinenti rispetto al presente vo-

lume. E, in particolare, abbiamo selezionato un ventaglio di indagini che coprono l'ampio raggio delle tematiche favorite dagli interazionisti nel "coltivare" una particolare attenzione alla circolarità del rapporto tra teoria, ricerca e prassi di intervento sociale.

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Marginalità, devianza e politiche pubbliche

Questo libro è stato scritto con l'obiettivo di favorire l'incontro intellettuale tra le giovani generazioni di studenti, di studiosi e di professionisti del lavoro sociale con la prospettiva dell'Interazionismo Simbolico, in particolare con le sue espressioni contemporanee. Non si tratta di un manuale didattico, né di una esposizione sistematica dei temi e degli autori interazionisti, ma di un percorso selettivo di discussione di alcune chiavi concettuali e metodologiche per comprendere il contributo che l'Interazionismo Simbolico ha offerto e continua ad offrire allo sviluppo della sociologia, delle scienze sociali e del servizio sociale. L'Interazionismo Simbolico si offre come una prospettiva sociologica contemporanea in grado di combinare la conoscenza accurata dei processi sociali con una tensione etica verso l'umanizzazione della società e il raggiungimento di livelli più consistenti di giustizia sociale. Il volume descrive e discute lo sviluppo dell'Interazionismo Simbolico dalle sue connotazioni classiche alle sue manifestazioni attuali, esplorando l'evoluzione dei concetti più cari alla prospettiva, come quelli di identità, self, interazioni, strutture sociali e l'emergere di nuove linee di lavoro teorico ed empirico – come la Grounded Theory. Una particolare attenzione, inoltre, è dedicata ai processi di costruzione dei problemi sociali e all'approfondimento di questioni di grande attualità, come la violenza, la vittimizzazione e la costruzione di interazioni "pacifiche". Il testo è impreziosito da un'aggiornatissima proposta di riferimenti bibliografici, utili per ulteriori percorsi esplorativi.

Andrea Salvini, è Professore Associato di Sociologia Generale presso il Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche dell'Università di Pisa. I suoi interessi sono indirizzati ai metodi di analisi dei dati nella ricerca sociale; su questo tema ha pubblicato nel 2005 una monografia sull'analisi dei dati nella *Social Network Analysis (Analisi delle reti sociali. Risorse e meccanismi*, Pisa University Press) e nel 2015 sull'analisi dei dati qualitativi secondo la Grounded Theory Costruzionista (*Percorsi di analisi dei dati qualitativi*, Utet). È autore di numerosi saggi e articoli sul volontariato, sulle reti sociali, sulla Grounded Theory e sull'Interazionismo Simbolico (*Grounded Interactionism: un lessico comune per l'Interazionismo Simbolico e la Grounded Theory*, 2016; *Social Network Analysis and Symbolic Interactionism: an Uncertain Encounter*, 2010). È membro dell'Editorial Board della Rivista *Symbolic Interaction* e Coordinatore dell'*European Board of the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction*.

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