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Il Trimestrale del Laboratorio

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DIPARTIMENTO DI SCIENZE POLITICHE
Università di Pisa

PER ORIENTARSI NELL'INTERAZIONISMO SIMBOLICO CONTEMPORANEO.

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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» (2016a, 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.

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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 intrinsecamente connessa alle miriadi e variegate 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, 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 raffonti con correnti di pensiero complementari, come la fenomenologia, l'etnometododia, etc. –, per lo più, perlustrano i "mesodominii" 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 ricostuiscono codici di significati e dinamiche sociali più ampii. 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 pregidizio che nelle cose più minute vi sia un minore contento di verità. In tal senso, cominciano a esservi crescenti "aperture", anche nel campo della sociologia "convenzionale" e, giustamente, 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» (2016b, 28). Una famiglia necessariamente "allargata", in cui convivono molteplici *framework* concettuali.

L'intendo 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 volume. 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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