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## Multicultura e intercultura. Breve rassegna bibliografica.

### INTRODUZIONE

*Esistono difficoltà oggettive nel voler classificare in maniera sistematica la bibliografia concernente l'argomento, non solo a motivo dell'abbondanza e dell'eterogeneità del materiale, ma soprattutto perché negli ultimi 30 anni si è verificata una continua evoluzione a livello di definizioni e tipologie relative ai processi interculturali. Potrebbe quindi risultare azzardato ed ingiustificato voler distinguere i diversi settori.*

*Si è passati dai problemi tecnici relativi al bilinguismo che interessano prevalentemente la pedagogia – su cui sono poi intervenuti massicciamente i socio ed i psicolinguisti – al multilinguismo. Negli anni '70 la riscoperta dei gruppi etnici e l'accentuarsi delle questioni razziali hanno prodotto come risultato una interminabile serie di studi sull'eredità etnico-multiculturale, favorendo così l'idea di una società pluralistica e portando a prediligere la tipologia del multiculturalismo, un concetto più dinamico, in divenire, con connotazioni ed implicazioni spesso squisitamente politiche.*

*Accanto agli studi sulle minoranze stanziali, si sono moltiplicati gli studi a carattere storico-culturale sui vari gruppi etnici che compongono il mosaico di una nazione. Potremmo citare volumi come A.F. Rolle, *The American Italians. Their history and culture*, pubblicato nel 1972, che costituiscono un buon sussidio per un approccio più corretto all'intercultura. Si potrebbe, d'altro canto, anche rimarcare come spesso si parli di modelli culturali presenti in un determinato gruppo e che tralasciano del tutto la nascita e lo sviluppo, nel paese ospite, di una "cultura immigrata", derivata cioè dallo status specifico di immigrato. Significativa, a tale proposito, l'organizzazione di un Convegno dell'UCEI nel 1978 su "Emigrazione è cultura".*

Bisogna ricordare che accanto a situazioni pluriethniche, sorte a motivo della particolare formazione storica degli stati nazionali europei, si sono moltiplicati altri gruppi culturali minoritari, nati per motivi economici (i flussi migratori) o politici (il movimento dei profughi e dei rifugiati). Nelle Americhe il pluralismo culturale introdotto dalle migrazioni è venuto ad aggiungersi o sovrapporsi al pluralismo etnico introdotto con la schiavitù. In Europa il pluralismo culturale introdotto dalle migrazioni si è sovrapposto a quello sorto con la formazione storica degli stati nazionali e con il processo di decolonizzazione degli ex paesi coloniali.

Negli anni '80 il dibattito si incentra sull'interculturalismo, cui viene dato un significato più ampio del multiculturalismo, mirante al rispetto e alla salvaguardia di tutti i modelli culturali e ad un arricchimento reciproco. "Si va oggi delineando una società interculturale, cioè una società che, pur sostenendo la necessità di norme e di linguaggi comuni, sia capace di far posto alle minoranze e nella quale la diversità possa essere recepita come fonte di arricchimento reciproco. Dunque una società fondata sul riconoscimento delle differenze culturali, sull'apertura dei diversi 'insiemi' culturali e sull'accettazione del cambiamento" (Dalla prefazione ai 2 volumi curati da C. Clanet *L'interculturel en éducation et en sciences humaines*).

Il reperimento delle fonti potrebbe anche seguire direttrici geografiche: mentre negli USA abbondano gli studi sul bilinguismo, soprattutto negli stati di frontiera del sud-ovest, in Gran Bretagna l'accento viene posto sulla componente multirazziale della società che esige precise scelte in campo pedagogico. Sia il Canada che l'Australia puntano invece decisamente sul multiculturalismo come risposta all'assillante problema della loro identità nazionale. Questa opzione politica tenta poi di diffondersi in tutti gli strati sociali ed istituzionali, ma con quella precarietà tipica di tutti i prodotti legati ad una progettualità politica. In Europa ci si interroga più in generale sui mutamenti in atto e sul passaggio epocale da una monocultura ad una convivenza di più culture. Il Consiglio d'Europa, al di là delle sperimentazioni condotte su classi ristrette di alunni, sembra trovare notevoli ostacoli di fronte alla politica di chiusura attuata dagli stati europei che sono renitenti nell'adottare in pieno le conseguenze dell'intercultura, poiché si tratta di rinnovare profondamente istituzioni e modelli di vita.

Il passaggio da una società *de facto* pluriethnica ad una società interculturale non si è ancora verificato. Come sostiene A. Perotti, uno dei più attivi fautori dell'interculturalismo in Europa, il cammino verso la democrazia sociale, politica e culturale richiede che il pluralismo culturale *de facto* delle popolazioni residenti nei diversi paesi di immigrazione non sbocchi in un processo di eliminazione del pluriculturalismo (assimilazione forzata) o in una sua ghettizzazione, gerarchizzazione o in una fusione sincretica (*melting pot/cosmopolitismo*) oppure in un semplice pluriculturalismo giustapposto. Occorre, con la partecipazione di tutte le componenti sociali, costruire un nuovo progetto politico che si proponga il passaggio dall'attuale situazione di società pluriculturale ad una società interculturale, dove i diversi gruppi culturali interagiscono tra di loro nell'interesse comune.

La breve rassegna bibliografica che presentiamo è suddivisa in settori.

Per quanto concerne gli studi bibliografici, sono copiosi quelli relativi al bilinguismo su cui non ci siamo soffermati molto, mentre sono ancora scarse le analisi

*bibliografiche sul multiculturalismo. (Usiamo questa accezione preferita nel mondo anglosassone, pur sapendo che il significato del termine è molto più ristretto del termine 'interculturale').*

*Abbondanti pure i manuali, le guide, gli strumenti di lavoro soprattutto per insegnanti cui sono affidate classi pluriculturali. In particolare sono tanti i sussidi e guide per aiutare i docenti a comprendere i tratti culturali specifici degli alunni provenienti da culture non dominanti. Abbiamo comunque ommesso questi sussidi specifici poiché si limitano a descrivere alcuni tratti di singole culture, una precondizione per lo sviluppo del processo interculturale e che spesso si limitano ad impressioni e non sono il risultato di studi antropologici approfonditi.*

*Accanto ai corsi ed ai sussidi di "cultural awareness", sorti in un contesto di immigrazione, ci imbattiamo in manuali nati come sussidi per movimenti internazionali come i Peace Corps statunitensi o nell'ambito dei corsi tenuti per tecnici e volontari operanti nei Paesi in via di sviluppo.*

*Vi sono altresì numerosi testi scolastici sull'insegnamento della lingua materna ai figli degli emigrati o antologie bilingui con brani sui tratti culturali del gruppo.*

*Non abbiamo elencato questi particolari sussidi, rimandando il lettore a bibliografie specifiche sui bisogni culturali della seconda generazione nonché alle analisi psico-sociologiche sulle differenze culturali tra i giovani del posto e i giovani appartenenti a determinati gruppi etnici.*

*È interessante tuttavia notare come, accanto ai corsi di "cultural awareness" a livello scolastico, si stiano formulando elaborazioni per corsi indirizzati al personale medico e paramedico chiamato ad operare in un contesto multicultural. Si tratta ancora di primi tentativi, non ancora completamente sistematizzati, ragion per cui non vengono riportati. Numerosi altri settori istituzionali sono toccati dal fenomeno o hanno specifiche connotazioni interculturali, come il problema degli anziani in una società multiculturale, un aspetto approfondito soprattutto in Australia, la donna ed il multiculturalismo, o addirittura gli aspetti urbanistico-architettonici e l'interculturale.*

*Se nel settore dei sussidi scolastici vi è dovizia di testi, non mancano anche indicazioni propedeutiche per altri settori che intendono aprirsi alla pratica dell'interculturale. Si tratta di metodi e proposte atti a superare quei sintomi di disagio derivanti da una convivenza non ancora pienamente accettata, ma che non sempre però mirano ad influire sulle cause strutturali ed economiche che impediscono di fatto l'applicazione di una politica interculturale a tutto campo. Stenta a prendere quota il laboratorio interculturale e molti sono i rifiuti personali ed istituzionali dei modelli culturali "altri".*

*Anche nel campo dell'organizzazione del lavoro si incontrano alcuni tentativi di approcci interculturali con corsi per managers e capireparto, tentativi in voga soprattutto durante il boom della presenza delle grandi imprese multinazionali nei Paesi del Golfo. Da notare invece la scarsità di sussidi per quadri sindacali che operano in ambito interculturale.*

*Significativo pure un altro aspetto: l'attenzione che alcune biblioteche pubbliche dedicano al fenomeno dell'interculturale nel mondo anglosassone. Ci si chiede ripetutamente come questo servizio pubblico possa soddisfare ai bisogni interculturali degli utenti. Si tratta ancora di spunti e di intuizioni brevemente accennati nel-*

le riviste specializzate di biblioteconomia, ma che stanno a significare l'ampia gamma di possibilità reali offerte nel campo.

I saggi sul bilinguismo, multilinguismo, biculturalismo a livello di ipotesi pedagogiche, presentazione di programmi scolastici, analisi degli effetti del bilinguismo, studi a livello sociolinguistico sono numerosissimi, specie dove il vivere quotidiano evidenzia la necessità di soluzioni pedagogiche che tengano in debito conto di questa realtà.

Ma anche in isole monoculturali si pone il problema pedagogico specifico se si tiene presente il futuro che fa intravedere uno scenario sempre meno monoculturale. Accanto agli studi nordamericani e australiani, i saggi patrocinati dal Consiglio d'Europa offrono ampi spazi di sperimentazioni pedagogiche.

Naturalmente abbiamo trascurato questioni squisitamente tecniche concernenti il bilinguismo e che interessano la psico e sociolinguistica. Inoltre non abbiamo accennato agli studi psicologici sugli effetti del multi o bilinguismo, temi ricorrenti nelle numerose riviste di psicolinguistica applicata.

E parlando di periodici, si possono citare riviste e bollettini di collegamento come «Mosaic» o «Ethnos», espressioni di gruppi legati a governi regionali o nazionali o, a livello pedagogico, «Multicultural Teaching», «V.A.M.E. Newsletter», «Journal of Intercultural Studies», «International Journal of Intercultural Relations», «Polyphony», «Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development», «Multiracial Education», cui rimandiamo per saggi tecnici. Spesso, tuttavia, a prescindere da problemi attinenti al bilinguismo e all'insegnamento delle lingue straniere, vengono presentati soltanto brevi rapporti sul lavoro in progress nei vari settori nonché i commenti e le strategie dei gruppi di pressione favorevoli o contrari all'educazione bilingue, all'interculturalità, o all'adozione di una sola lingua nazionale, come indica il dibattito attualmente in corso negli USA per l'adozione dell'inglese come unica lingua nazionale.

Le proposte avanzate dai sostenitori dell'interculturalismo, soprattutto in nazioni dove non è ben definita la specificità dell'identità nazionale, servono anche a puntualizzare i pericoli di una società dove la scuola, se non accetta l'ideale interculturale, si trasforma in agente di livellamento e di assimilazione.

Il sistema educativo, infatti, è una spia precisa della volontà di una nazione a tutelare gli interessi ed i diritti di un gruppo minoritario.

Emerge allora il problema dei diritti specifici delle minoranze in campo interculturale, sebbene siano ancora assai scarsi gli studi in questo campo.

Numerose invece le proposte di programmi scolastici interculturali e di corsi universitari sulla materia, anche se si tratta di pianificazioni e programmi locali, non ancora sufficientemente testati a livello regionale o nazionale.

Si sono moltiplicati, soprattutto in Canada ed in Australia, gli interventi "politici" in campo interculturale. Il lancio di questa nuova strategia ha evidenziato la presenza di alcuni leaders coraggiosi ed innovativi, come A. Grassby in Australia, distintosi per i suoi numerosi 'statements' a tutti i livelli, con l'intento di disseminare il concetto e la pratica interculturale. Tuttavia da un'analisi delle prese di posizione degli speakers dei partiti - ne riportiamo solo alcune - è difficile distinguere le idealità di fondo dalla mera strategia intesa a procacciarsi l'appoggio elettorale delle 'minoranze'. Lo si può notare, come già accennato, anche dallo scarso rilievo dato allo studio dei diritti interculturali degli immigrati.

*Non si può negare comunque che questo interesse politico abbia prodotto una pletera di interventi a tutti i livelli. Anche se si tratta spesso di interventi giornalistici, emerge la necessità della formazione di operatori interculturali in campo sanitario, dei mass media, del tempo libero: nascono nuove professioni e nuove specializzazioni che il cambiamento esige.*

*La crescente sensibilità al fenomeno si riflette anche nelle ricerche condotte sul multiculturalismo in campo psicologico e sociologico, in campo sanitario e in campo religioso e nel campo dei mezzi di comunicazione sociale. I brevi accenni sono un invito ad approfondire la tematica.*

*Questa bibliografia intende costituire un primo approccio nel campo dell'intercultura in un contesto in cui non si sono ancora dimostrate specifiche attenzioni alla vasta gamma di possibilità e di adempimenti da attuare. Abbiamo tralasciato numerosi testi sui problemi del bilinguismo. Ovviamente si sono omessi anche gli studi teorici e pratici sul processo di acculturazione e tutto quanto concerne la scolarizzazione dei figli degli emigrati, come pure l'analisi degli effetti dello sradicamento e delle difficoltà di inserimento di una cultura altra, privilegiando il processo di "integrazione attiva" in un contesto de facto pluriculturale.*

*Chiaramente le riviste specializzate cui si è fatto cenno sopra, nonché le riviste specializzate di emigrazione e le segnalazioni bibliografiche del CHOMI DAS offrono allo studioso che desidera approfondire le tematiche attinenti all'intercultura spunti e precisazioni utili.*

GRAZIANO TASSELLO

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