



VAIKEAT AIHEET LUOKKAHUONEESSA - KOHTAAMISIA, DIALOGIA JA VÄLINEITÄ

Antisemitismin käsittely koulussa -seminaari

2.9.2026

Mikko Puustinen, Helsingin yliopisto

Erimielisten tila

*Vaikeiden aiheiden
käsittely opetuksessa*

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MITÄ OVAT VAIKEAT AIHEET?

- Herättävät keskustelijoissa syviä, identiteetteihin asti ulottuvia erimielisyyksiä ja vahvoja tunteita
 - Poliitiikka, maailmankuva, arvot, katsomukset
- Kontekstisidonnaisia ja ajassa eläviä
 - Muutokset yhteiskuntien arvoissa ja eri näkemysten valtavirtaisuudessa
- erimielisyys siitä, miten jokin ongelma saataisiin ratkaistua, mutta myös se, mikä koko ongelman luonne on tai onko ongelmaa ylipäänsä olemassa
- Mutta: vaikea ei sama kuin kiistanalainen



Mitkä ovat vaikeita aiheita yliopistolla?

MIKKO PUUSTINEN & JENNI MARJOKORPI

Länsimaissa on viime vuosina havahduttu keskustelukulttuurin heikentymiseen. Tähän ovat vaikuttaneet yhteiskunnallinen polarisaatio ja muuttuvat käsitykset sallitun kielenkäytön tavoista. Artikkelissa tarkastellaan, millaisia keskustelunaiheita suomalaiset yliopisto-opiskelijat pitävät vaikeina. Yhteiskunnallisesti kiistaa aiheuttavat kysymykset ovat vaikeita myös yliopistolla.

English summary at the end of the article

Johdanto

Demokratian ihanteisiin kuuluu, että yhteisistä asioista keskustellaan erimielisyydestä huolimatta. Demokraattinen yhteiskunta vahvistuu, jos kansalaisilla on mahdollisuus kuvitella vaihtoehtoisia tulevaisuuksia, keskustella tietoon perustuen ja rakentaa yhteiskuntaa yhdessä (Alhanen 2016; Eskelinen 2019). Tällaista keskustelua vaikeuttaa affektiivinen eli sosiaalisiin identiteetteihin kytkeytyvä polarisaatio, joka näyttää lisääntyneen Suomessa (Isotalo ym. 2021). Kehityksen taustalla voi nähdä ainakin sosiaalisen median vaikutuksen, sosiokulttuuristen tekijöiden korostumisen politiikassa sosioekonomisten tekijöiden sijaan, sukupuolien välisen eron sekä identiteettien politisoitumisen (esim. Saarinen 2022).

Sosiokulttuurisesti polarisoivat aiheet ovat usein identiteetteihin kytkeytyviä ja leimaaville tulkintoille alttiita (Saarinen 2022), minkä vuoksi niistä ei ole helppoa keskustella. Tällaisia aiheita kutsumme vaikeiksi aiheiksi. Monet vaikeat aiheet ovat myös kiistanalaisia eli "aiheita, jotka herättävät voimakkaita tunteita ja jakavat mielipiteitä yhteisöjen sisällä ja yhteiskunnassa" (Euroopan neuvosto 2017, 9). Kiistanalaiset aiheet ovat kontekstisidonnaisia: esimerkiksi Italias-

sa kiistoja aiheuttanut krusifiksien pito koulujen seinillä ei ole noussut Suomessa tunteikkaaksi kiistakapulaksi.

Yhdysvalloissa on viime vuosina todistettu keskustelukulttuurin tulehtumista, jossa halu kuunnella erimielisiä on romahtanut (esim. Pew Research Center 2022). Ilmiön ytimessä ovat olleet yliopistokampukset; havainnot paitsi Yhdysvalloista (esim. Lukianoff & Haidt 2018) myös esimerkiksi Saksasta (Revers & Traummüller 2019) ja Uudesta-Seelannista (Halberstadt ym. 2022) kertovat, että yhteiskunnallisen ilmapiirin jakautuminen rajoittaa aiheita, joita opetustilanteissa voidaan käsitellä. Yhtäältä keskustelun rajoja koskevissa kiistoissa on peräänkuulutettu turvallisia tiloja eli keskustelukulttuuria, jossa puheenaiteita ja kielenkäyttöä säännellään osallistujien emotionaalisen hyvinvoinnin varmistamiseksi (Flensner & Von der Lippe 2019). Toisenlaista näkökulmaa edustavat Chicagon yliopiston (2022) periaatteiden kaltaiset kannanotot, joissa nostetaan esiin yliopiston tehtävä totuuden etsijänä ja kriittisten ajattelutaitojen opettajana. Tällöin myös inhoavilta ja moraalitajun vastaisilta tuntuvilla näkökulmilla pitäisi käsitellä, jotta opiskelijat oppisivat argumentoimaan niitä vastaan. Kriittikittömän ajattelun ja tiedollis-moraalisen relativismin on nähty, muun muassa Hannah Arendtin (2013) ajattelua seuraten, toimivan jopa totalitarismin esiasteena.

Tässä tutkimuksessa pyrimme tarkentamaan käsitystä vaikeista aiheista suomalaisessa yliopistossa. Kysymme, mitkä aiheet ovat vaikeita yliopis-

Tutkimus on saanut rahoitusta Helsingin yliopiston humanistis-yhteiskuntatieteelliseltä instituutilta (HSH). Kiitämme professori Liisa Tainiota, professori Jukka Rantalaa ja dosentti Janne Sääntä heidän panoksestaan aineistonkeruun suunnittelussa.



ANTISEMITISMI

”Antisemitismi on tietty juutalaisia koskeva näkemys, joka voi ilmetä vihana juutalaisia kohtaan. Antisemitismin retoriset ja fyysiset ilmentymät on suunnattu juutalaisiin tai muihin kuin juutalaisiin henkilöihin ja/tai heidän omaisuuteensa, juutalaisyhteisön instituutioihin ja uskonnollisiin tiloihin.”

Kansainvälisen holokaustin muistoa kunnioittava liiton (IHRA) määritelmä

”Antisemitismi viittaa juutalaisiin tai juutalaisina pidettyihin henkilöihin kohdistuvaan monitahoiseen ja järjestäytyneeseen ennakkoluuloon ja sortoon. Kyseessä on historian pitkäkestoisin yhteen ihmisryhmään kohdistuva vihan muoto.”

Paavo Ahonen (2024). Antisemitismi: Käsitteen synty ja ilmiön tutkimisen ensivaiheet maailmalla ja Suomessa. *Teologinen aikakauskirja*.

Millaisia oikein ja väärinymmärryksiä antisemitismiin liittyy?

Miten antisemitismiä voisi määritellä oppilaiden kanssa?

Kenellä on oikeus määritellä mikä on antisemitismiä (esim. nyky-Israelin kritisoinnin rajat)?

FIGURE C

Global risks ranked by severity over the short and long term

"Please estimate the likely impact (severity) of the following risks over a 2-year and 10-year period."

Risk categories

- Economic
- Environmental
- Geopolitical
- Societal
- Technological

2 years



10 years



Source

World Economic Forum Global Risks
Perception Survey 2023-2024.

Comment



In 2021, the UK National Health Service used billboards to counter misinformation about the COVID-19 pandemic.

Misinformation remains a threat to democracy

Ullrich Ecker, Jon Roozendaek, Sander van der Linden, Li Qian Tay, John Cook, Naomi Oreskes & Stephan Lewandowsky

In today's polarized political climate, researchers who combat mistruths have come under attack and been labelled as unelected arbiters of truth. But the fight against misinformation is valid, warranted and urgently required.

Around four billion people have the opportunity to cast their votes in a series of major elections this year. However, the threat to democratic integrity posed by misinformation and disinformation looms large. An effective democracy relies on evidence-based discourse and informed citizens. Concern about the expected blizzard of election-related misinformation is warranted, given the capacity of false information to boost polarization and undermine trust in electoral processes¹⁻³.

Specifically, there is widespread worry about malign influence on voters, be it through conventional propaganda (including war-mongering and xenophobic disinformation), unsubstantiated claims about candidates or

AI-generated deepfakes (digitally altered visual media). Anti-democratic agents might also attack the electoral process directly, as was, for instance, seen in Spain in July last year, when malicious foreign actors set up an imitation of the Regional Government of Madrid's website just before an election to falsely claim that terrorists planned to attack polling stations.

Several mechanisms to protect the public against misinformation exist – from general educational interventions to specific attempts to counter misleading messages with evidence-based campaigns⁴. But the deployment of these mechanisms requires the resolution of three issues by scholars and practitioners: recognition of the seriousness

Comment

of the problem; acceptance that classifying information as false or misleading is often warranted; and an assurance that interventions against misinformation uphold democratic principles, including freedom of expression. As misinformation researchers, we have witnessed an undermining of all these pre-conditions over the past few years. With the rise of populist political movements, along with a general attitude of suspicion towards 'experts' in some communities, misinformation researchers – like climate scientists and public health authorities – have at times been portrayed as uneducated arbiters of truth and subjected to harsh criticism.

Some critics, even in the scholarly community, have claimed that concerns related to the spread of misinformation reflect a type of 'moral panic'. They think that the threat has been overblown, that classifying information as false is generally problematic because the truth is difficult to determine; and that countermeasures might violate democratic principles because people have a right to believe and express what they want⁵. This trend must be reversed, because it is based on selective reading of the available evidence.

We encourage researchers all over the world to redouble their efforts to combat misinformation, and we offer evidence to show that the deployment of countermeasures is valid and warranted.

Why truth matters

The Holocaust did happen. COVID-19 vaccines have saved millions of lives. There was no widespread fraud in the 2020 US presidential election. The evidence for each of these facts has been established beyond reasonable doubt, but false beliefs on each of these topics remain widespread.

For example, a survey in July 2023 found that almost 40% of the US public – and almost 70% of Republicans – negated the legitimacy of the 2020 presidential election outcome (see go.nature.com/4e3p2c). These beliefs have real-world consequences, such as hate campaigns that target poll workers and their families.

We argue that acquiescence in the face of widespread misinformation and denial of the prospect that information can ever be confidently classified as true or false^{6,7} are morally troubling choices. The fact that veracity is often conceptualized better as a continuum than as a dichotomy⁸, and that some claims cannot be unambiguously classified as true or false, must not detract from the reality that there are many incontrovertible historical and scientific facts.

The interplay between evidence-based reasoning and disinformation cannot be illustrated better than with scientifically informed issues, in which disinformation is often organized rather than haphazard, and historians

(including some of us) have carefully examined how evidence is accumulated and knowledge is formed. Scientific knowledge cannot be understood as absolute, but this does not imply that scientific findings are arbitrary or unreliable, or that there are no valid standards for adjudicating scientific claims^{9,10}.

Similar standards exist for domains outside science, in which knowledge can be accumulated and shared through processes such as journalism, legal proceedings, corporate investigations and formal public inquiries. A blinker reluctance to assign labels of credibility to information is therefore unwarranted, despite the real difficulties that can sometimes arise with classifying information as true or false, especially in real time. The promotion of opinions that go against expert consensus is often done by individuals who present themselves as heroic rebels. But in many instances in which an expert consensus is questioned, there is evidence that the opposing arguments are untenable or deny fundamental knowledge and are driven by political or ideological motivations¹¹.

How to counter falsehoods

The idea that misinformation cannot be reliably identified is often accompanied by claims that it is premature to conclude that there is a problem, and therefore premature to act¹². This argument is familiar. It was used in the decades-long campaigns led by the tobacco and fossil-fuel industries to delay regulation and mitigate action. However, there is sufficient firmly established scientific knowledge to warrant both concern about misinformation and widespread deployment of countermeasures.

For example, researchers know that false and misleading claims are believed more when they are repeated and can have measurable impacts on beliefs, attitudes and behaviours, both directly and indirectly by shaping ideological narratives, and that corrections and fact checks are only partially effective, even when people have no motivation to cling to a false piece of information¹³.

Communication also has access to a number of tools that are able to protect people against being misinformed or misled¹⁴. If the objective falsity of a claim is known and the misinformation has already been communicated, fact checking and refuting a specific claim retroactively – or 'debunking' – is the intervention of choice. However, it requires the targeted misinformation to be identifiable and falsifiable, which limits scalability. By definition, the intervention is also reactive rather than proactive.

To be proactive – for example, if the misinformation is anticipated but not yet disseminated – psychological inoculation is a strong option that governments and public authorities can consider using. Inoculation involves a forewarning and pre-emptive correction – or 'prebunking' – of

– and it can be fact-based or logic-based.

To illustrate the former, the US administration led by President Joe Biden pre-empted Russian President Vladimir Putin's justification for invading Ukraine in February 2022. In a public communication, citizens in several countries were forewarned. The administration explained how Putin would seek to make misleading claims about Ukrainian aggression in the Donbas region to rationalize the decision to invade, which might have served to limit the international community's willingness to believe Putin's claims when they were subsequently made.

Logic-based inoculation, by contrast, is useful even when false claims are not specifically known, because it aims to educate citizens more generally about misleading argumentation. The intervention focuses on whether arguments

are logical or fallacious, rather than on specific claims. As we have argued elsewhere¹⁵, inoculation is a useful tool for countering misinformation, but it is not a silver bullet. It must be used in conjunction with other tools, such as fact checking and refuting a specific claim retroactively. Inoculation is also not a one-time intervention. It must be repeated and reinforced over time. It must be tailored to the specific audience and the specific context. It must be evaluated and refined as needed. It must be part of a broader strategy to combat misinformation.

open societies – for forewarning voters about narrative techniques that often feature in misinformation-laden messages (see go.nature.com/4bqkbg).

Although the information provided by Jigsaw can be translated into 24 languages, users in many smaller EU countries will be unable to access these videos only in English. And although one might hope that the techniques necessary to identify misleading content are universal, the relevant topics and themes, as well as the levels of trust in government and the media, will differ between countries.

Ideally, generic interventions with local relevance need to be complemented with local initiatives, using locally trusted sources and relevant examples. This illustrates the inherent difficulty of countering misinformation and disinformation on a big scale. Unfounded criticism that is directed at misinformation researchers provides intellectual cover for disinformers and makes this work even harder.

A call to defend democracy

The deployment of any countermeasures must satisfy some critics who think that misinformation interventions are generally unethical and antidemocratic because they tell people what to think¹⁶. This thinking is fundamentally flawed for at least two reasons. First, it misrepresents what the interventions aim to achieve: seeking to influence people's thinking in good faith through evidence-based information, rather than telling people what to think. Second, it misrepresents how both disinformation and interventions interact with democratic principles.

Democracy relies on authentic deliberation and open debate that transparently share decision-making processes. Misinformation disturbs this fundamental mechanism of democracy. It is essential building block of this pursuit and the antithesis of deception. To illustrate, correcting election fraud misinformation in the United States has been shown to positively affect trust in electoral processes, thereby affecting a protective effect on democracy¹⁷.

Critics have also argued that misinformation countermeasures curtail individual freedom by constraining the exchange of ideas. We think it is important to scrutinize which individual freedoms are in fact being threatened and by what or whom. Such scrutiny will recognize that disinformation impinges on a person's right to be accurately informed about the risks they are facing (be it from tobacco, climate change or long COVID, for example). Accordingly, the public is concerned mainly about freedom from manipulation and misdirection and is

not concerned about freedom of expression. In general, it is unethical and antidemocratic for anyone – including scientists and those in power – to deceive and disenfranchise the public on important matters that affect them, such as public health issues or the risks from climate change. However, it does not follow that it is unethical or problematic to counter such disinformation. On the contrary, identifying and countering misinformation is a discerning public good to ignore is to uphold democracy. Empowering people to seek the truth – to 'evaluate evidence and spot manipulation' – is a laudable goal.

"Many scholars have become wary of defending facts and even of the concept of factualness."

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Claims of voter fraud in the 2020 US presidential election led to the storming of the US Capitol.

therefore broadly supportive of interventions that aim to reduce misinformation spread, susceptibility or impacts¹⁸.

What can be done

Public-facing communicators at all levels – including governments, non-governmental organizations, the media and the research community – should be encouraged to distribute evidence-based information and counter misinformation when it is deemed likely to be harmful¹⁹.

To illustrate, false claims about climate change, the efficacy of proven public health measures, and the 'big lie' about the 2020 US presidential election have all had clear detrimental impacts that could have been at least partially mitigated in a healthier information environment. We specifically urge academics to use the silence of voices that push back against evidence-informed argumentation under the guise of free speech. Because the truth can be vexed, difficult to pin down and sometimes impossible to prove, many scholars have become wary of defending facts and even of the concept of factualness.

Simply declaring that 'facts are facts' is not sufficient, particularly given that people's processing of evidence and knowledge claims is to some extent determined by social factors. It is precisely because truth is not self-evident that malicious actors can easily create confusion. Therefore, academics, intellectuals and editors need to promote evidence and stand firm against claims, until and unless they are proven wrong. From first-hand experience, we know that it is a frustrating experience to see the truth being obscured by disinformation for decades.

But given the number and the impact they are having on society, we must be more urgent. Not every biguiously classified as a can be. Not all misdeeds but many are. If scholar body of evidence, it mig into the hands of malic democratic and antic actors will welcome the existence of ground justification of interve ideologically motivated

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Social media is an important channel for political communication and discussion in India.

How prevalent is AI misinformation? What our studies in India show so far

Kiran Garimella & Simon Chauhan

A sample of two million messages received by people through WhatsApp groups in rural India sheds light on the type and spread of political content generated by artificial intelligence.

The ability of generative artificial intelligence (genAI) to create seemingly authentic text, images, audio and video is causing rising concern worldwide. As many nations head to the polls this year, the potential of such content to fuel misinformation and manipulate political narratives is a troublesome addition to the list of challenges that election authorities face. Over the past 12 months, several high-profile examples of deepfake production by genAI have emerged. These include images of US

Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump in the company of a group of African American supporters, an audio recording of a Slovakian politician claiming to have rigged an upcoming election and a depiction of an explosion outside the US Department of Defense's Pentagon building.

Besides the immediate attention that such deepfakes garner, systematic studies on the impact of genAI on misinformation are limited. This is mainly because access to comprehensive data is restricted owing to privacy concerns and limitations imposed by social media platforms. Many crucial questions remain unanswered.

For instance, it's unclear how prevalent AI-produced 'fake news' is – few concrete data are available on how often AI-generated images are used to create deceptive content. Nor do researchers yet understand the extent to which AI-generated false information is being shared on social media, or the impact it has on public opinion. These uncertainties under score the challenges of tackling AI-driven misinformation and highlights the need for more robust research and monitoring to grasp the



”Tämän päivän kriisiä ruokkii kyynisyys, usko siihen, ettei mitään voi uskoa, että totuuden ja valheen rajaa ei ole, että tieto riippuu lähinnä siitä, kuka sen sanoo. Siksi koulujen täytyy tehdä kaikkensa opettaakseen totuuden ja menetelmät sen löytämiseen.

Walter C. Parker (2025), Hannah Arendtia (2005) seuraten

(It is this cynicism that defines and fuels today’s crisis, the belief that nothing can be believed, that the boundary between truth and falsehood has dissolved, and that knowledge depends mainly on who said it. This is why schools need to do what they can to teach the truth and methods of finding it [...].)



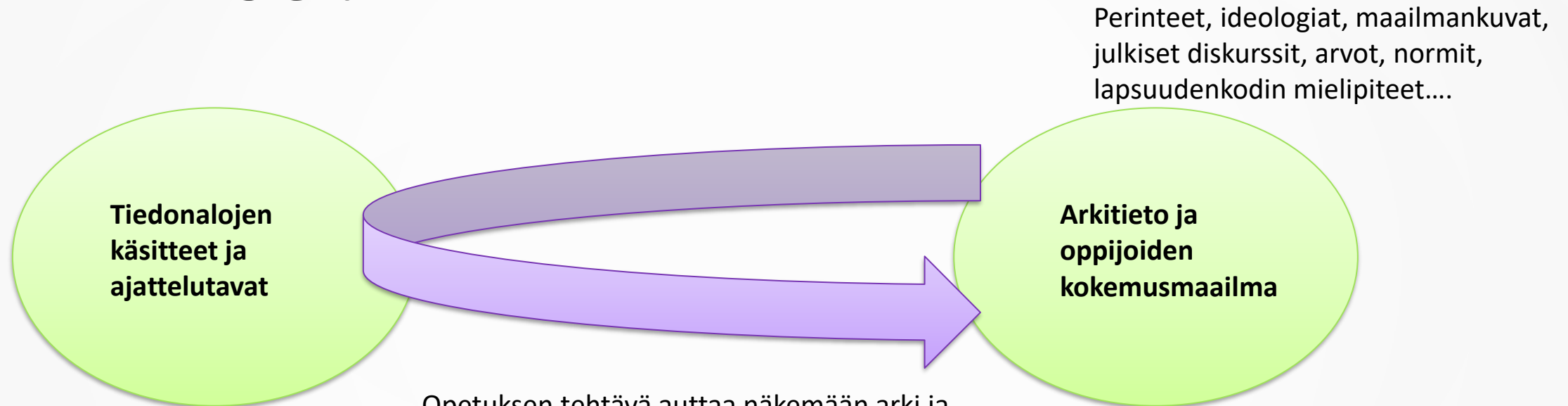
TIETOON NOJAAVA DIALOGI

- Kaikkien pitäisi voida osallistua yhteiseen keskusteluun, mutta samaan aikaan kaikkia ajattelutapoja tai väitteitä ei voida pitää episteemisesti yhtä pätevinä
 - Ei epistokratiaa
 - Ei valtaapitävien lukittua tietoa
 - Ei ”näin tämä koetaan” -relativismia
- Demokraattista keskustelua tietoon perustuen
 - oikaiseva (tieteellinen konsensus; esim. holokausti, ilmastonmuutos, evoluutio)
 - analyyttinen (arvot; esim. verotus)

Mitä nämä voisivat
tarkoittaa
antisemitismin
käsittelyn yhteydessä?



MILLAISTA OLISI TIETOON NOJAAVA DIALOGI?



Opetuksen tehtävä auttaa näkemään arki ja maailma uusin silmin. Samalla rakentuu toimintavalmiuksia ja voidaan oikaista balanssiharhoja.

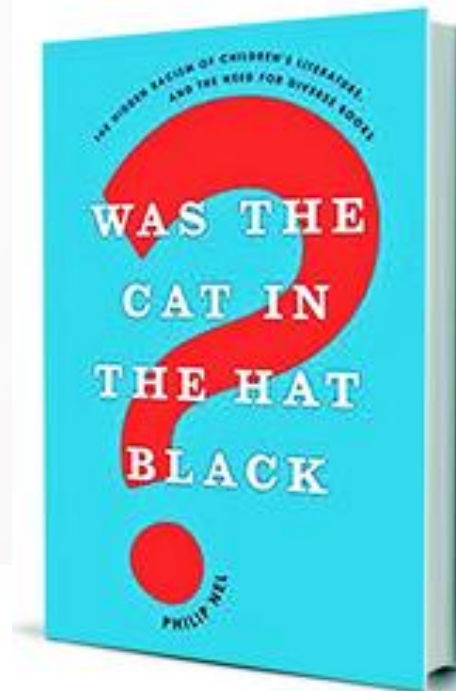
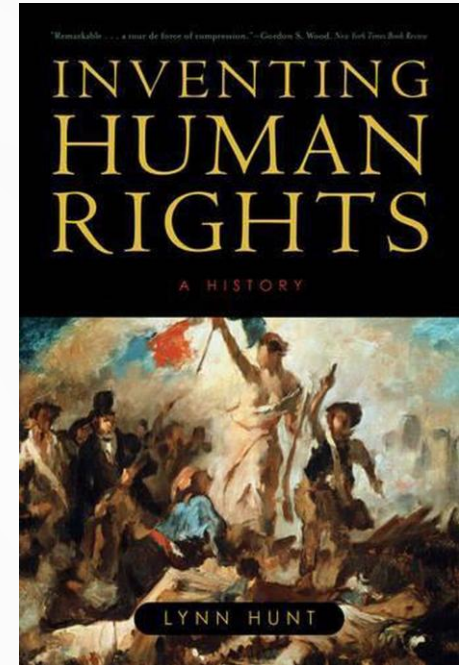
Tarvitaan dialogia

- Opettajan ja oppijoiden välillä
- Oppijoiden kesken
- Tieteenalatiedon ja arkitiedon välillä



HISTORIAN JA KIRJALLISUUDEN MAHDOLLISUUS

- Etäännyttäminen; vaikean aiheen tarkastelu menneisyyden tai fiktion kautta
- Erilaisten toiseuttamisen tapojen avoin käsittely tekee näkyväksi ihmisoikeuksien merkityksen
- Suomen (varsin) tasa-arvoisesta yhteiskunnasta käsin järjestelmällistä sortoa mahdoton kuvitella? Vai onko?
 - Keskiajan juutalaisvainot, orjuus, holokausti, Gaza....
- Historiallinen empatia ja kaunokirjallisuuden kautta eläytyminen
- Tunteet voimavarana: myötätunto, epäkohtiin tarttuminen





YHTEISTÄ POHDITTAVAA

- Millaisia tilanteita olet kohdannut käsitellessäni vaikeita aiheita opetustilanteissa?
- Miten olet tilanteet ratkaissut?
- Pohtikaa tänään kuultujen alustusten pohjalta, olisiko tilanteet olisi voinut ratkaista toisin tai paremmin. (Voitte myös miettiä kuvitteellisia tilanteita)