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# **Experiences of Epistemic Injustice Among Minority Language Students Aged 6-16 in the Nordics**

## **A Literature Review**

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## **Abstract**

This article-based master's thesis is organised in two parts. It begins with an extended summary that covers the methodological considerations and theoretical framework. Following that, is the article draft, "Experiences of Epistemic Injustice Among Minority Language Students Aged 6-16 in the Nordics: A Literature Review", written for submission to Educational Psychology Review. This review examines the perceptions of teachers towards students of immigrant backgrounds that may influence the type of student-teacher interactions resulting in experiences of epistemic injustice. Additionally, this review also examines if such perceptions lead to disparities in whom special educational services are provided and if it leads to further segregation of students of immigrant backgrounds.

Overarching categories, followed by synonyms were identified in order to answer the research questions. After which a literature search was conducted on nine databases that were chosen because of their relation to education. This resulted in a total of 3959 articles. Duplicates were first removed, followed by screening and removal of articles that did not meet the inclusion criteria. The final eight articles were then accessed for quality and checked for risk of bias by two interraters. The findings were analysed according to five categories, epistemic injustice, cultural competence, teachers' perceptions, student-teacher interactions and disparities in special needs education or assessment.

The literature revealed that teachers' negative perceptions towards students of immigrant backgrounds influenced student-teacher interactions, some of which resulted in experiences of epistemic injustice and students being singled out. None of the studies provided concrete evidence if this resulted in disparities in special education services or further segregation. As the studies conducted in the literature were mostly situated in Denmark, due to the lack of information from other locations, more research needs to be done to truly understand the experiences of epistemic injustice, if it leads to disparities in special education services and further segregation.

## **Preface**

The inspiration for this thesis has been multifaceted, inspired by all aspects of my professional and personal life. As an immigrant myself, I long for the day that everyone is with respect and the credibility that they deserve, seen for the individuals that they are with a recognition of their cultural values. That we are reflexive in our communication and treatment of others. This rings especially true for children who are in the process of developing their identities as people of the future. The development of children is dependent on the opportunities that we afford them as well as the way we see them; as fellow human beings that are not less than but our equal. This thesis was written in hopes to provide a different perspective towards interactions in the classroom and in hopes of a more reflexive approach as educators and as people not only to the students that we teach but also towards others that we meet in our daily life.

I would like to thank Ståle for his patience and support over the years, constantly inspiring and asking questions to elicit greater critical thinking from me.

Thank you Luca Tateo for the inspiration that set me on my journey for this thesis. Your patience, calmness, positivity and support have been vital to my learning process.

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# **1 Introduction**

## **1.1 The two parts and their connections**

This article-based master's thesis is divided into two parts, according to the requirements of UiO. The first part, the extended summary, contextualises the choices made to create the framework for this master's thesis followed by a wider analysis of the theoretical implications not covered in the article draft. The theoretical framework will introduce the context of education in the Nordics, the teacher's role in development and learning, the concept of epistemic injustice and finally its role in education. The second part that follows is the article draft written double spaced according to the guidelines of the selected journal. The detail pertaining to the journal guidelines for submission is also found in the extended summary (see Appendix 1). The article draft assesses the relationship between the perceptions of teachers towards students of immigrant backgrounds and the type of interactions as a result of these perceptions to determine if there were experiences of epistemic injustice. The article draft also investigates if these perceptions lead to a disparity in whom special education services are provided and if it leads to further segregation of students of immigrant backgrounds.

### **1.1.1 Educational Psychology Review**

The draft for the article was written according to the guidelines of Educational Psychology Review, ISSN 1573-336X (electronic), an international forum for the publishing of peer-reviewed articles pertaining to educational psychology since 1989. It is published by Springer Science+ Business Media, LLC, part of Springer Nature. The Educational Psychology Review was the natural choice as it is an international forum with a wide breadth of coverage and readership in educational psychology and is an approved level 1 scientific publication channel in Norway.

### **1.1.2 Choice of Data**

A preliminary search on the topic of experiences of epistemic injustice among students of immigrant backgrounds did not yield anything, thus it seems to be an unexplored field. Since the topic of epistemic injustice involves a stereotype that influences the interactions between the hearer and the speaker, the focus was then placed on teachers' perceptions towards

students of immigrant backgrounds and their interactions. The term immigrant students was used during this search and the results from it revealed the different terms used to describe immigrant students. Thus the terms *minority language*, *multilingual* and *migrant students*, found during the preliminary search were also included in the search process of this review that was conducted on the chosen nine databases. The reason for these nine databases, ERIC, Google Scholar, JSTOR, ProQuest, PsychInfo, PubMed, Sage Journals, Science Direct, and Scopus, was their relation to education as well as to have a wider scope to be able to gather as much as possible.

## 1.2 The Research Problem

Knowledge is the epitome of education as it is continuously produced by teachers and students throughout a school day. Teachers gain insight into how much the student knows through classroom interactions, daily assignments and assessments. In addition to knowledge, the assessments of students are also influenced by the perceptions and preconceptions that teachers have of them (Urhahne & Wijnia, 2021; Glock, 2016) such that it may result in positive or negative evaluations. The teacher's perceptions towards a student are dependent on the disposition of the student, for instance, their behaviour in class, engagement, and attitudes towards learning, as well as whether the student is shy or confident. These factors determine if a student-teacher relationship is positive or negative. Students who show higher levels of academic performance, and better attitudes towards learning form closer relationships with their teachers (Nurmi, 2012). In addition, the perceptions that teachers have of students, especially students with an immigrant background, may affect how they assess the knowledge of their students. For example, a student coming from another country may be attributed a stereotype that they may not have the same access to education compared to a student from Norway and is thus seen as less educated (Hilt, 2016).

This brings us to the topic of epistemic injustice, further discussed in *section 4*. Epistemic injustice is a psychological wrong done to an individual based on their capacity as a knower and is further broken down into two concepts, testimonial injustice which is the focus of this thesis, and hermeneutical injustice. Testimonial injustice is a prejudice held by the hearer towards the speaker that gives the speaker a deflated level of credibility. It is also this constant injustice that causes erosion in the speaker's epistemic confidence and a continuous disadvantage in which they fail to learn (Fricker, 2007).



Immigrants hold a lower status in the Nordics and are often given labels (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017; Nørreby, 2019). Thus it would be useful to know if these stereotypes track into the classrooms through the perceptions of teachers towards their students of immigrant backgrounds such that it leads to experiences of epistemic injustice. Since little was found on the topic of epistemic injustice, the following questions were formulated in order to find out if there are experiences of epistemic injustice of students of immigrant backgrounds in the Nordics.

- What does the literature say about the teacher's perception of immigrant students that may influence the type of interactions that they have?
- Does this perception lead to disparities in whom special education services are provided?
- Does this lead to further segregation of immigrant students?

## **2 The Nordic Education Context**

This section will cover the education context in the Nordics, specifically Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. The Nordic countries hold similar values in terms of their rootedness in democracy, equality and inclusion (Island, 2014; Schweden, 2018). Compulsory education is offered between the ages 6-16 in Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Sweden (Compulsory school act, 2008; Ministry of Children and Education, 2018; Rydman et al., 2000; Utdanning.no, 2022) and ages 7 to 17 in Finland (Ministry of Education and Culture, n.d.).

Students in the Nordics whose mother tongue is not the national language of their destination country are entitled to language instruction so that they are able to follow the teaching in ordinary classes (BEK, 2016; Compulsory school act, 2008; Finnish National Agency for Education (EDUFI), n.d.; Opplæringslova, 1998; SFS, 2010). In Sweden, this includes newly arrived students and students who have been living abroad, and have started their education later that autumn when they turn seven (SFS, 2010). The student is evaluated, followed by a discussion between the school, professionals, parents and the student to determine the type and extent of instruction the student will receive (BEK, 2016; Compulsory school act, 2008; EDUFI, n.d.; Opplæringslova, 1998; SFS, 2010). The choice in which the student receives additional Norwegian as a second language is voluntary and given only with agreement from the student and parents (Opplæringslova, 1998). In Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, the language instruction is organised by the municipality, thus the type of support provided is also dependent on the municipality in which the student resides. The language instruction can be organised in special classes or groups or as one-to-one support until the student is able to follow regular lessons in ordinary classes (BEK, 2016; EDUFI, n.d.; Opplæringslova, 1998; SFS, 2010). In Denmark, students who are able to participate in the ordinary class are allowed to have Danish as a second language integrated as part of the ordinary class (BEK, 2016). The length of this preparatory class differs from country to country. It can be provided for up to one year in Finland (EDUFI, n.d.), and no more than two years in Norway and Sweden (Opplæringslova, 1998; SFS, 2010).

### **2.1 Immigrant Status**

The provision of language support is important as it gives the student an opportunity to learn the local language quickly to be integrated as part of the ordinary class. However, since some

of these classes are organised separately from the rest of the school population (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017; Hilt, 2016), one has to ask if this arrangement plays an additional factor in the segregation of immigrants. This arrangement perhaps adds to the already stereotyped categorisation of students of immigrant backgrounds. In Finland, immigrants are seen as a threat and are often related to negative stereotypes (Nshom et al., 2022). Additionally, students of immigrant backgrounds hold low social statuses, with labels that connect with their background as an immigrant such as *utlending* (foreigner), *araber* (Arab) or *perker*. These labels are also linked to socially deviant behaviour such as laziness or non-compliance with the norms of the society or school norms (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017; Nørreby, 2019). In addition to labels, immigrant students are stereotyped with character traits attributed to them because of behaviours or attitudes that deviate from those exhibited by majority students which are considered the norm (Juva & Holm, 2017). For example, immigrant students are loud or are not independent learners. Moreover, immigrants have been defined by the way that they speak, with labels such as *perker language* (Nørreby, 2019), *jalla-språk* (jalla language) or *kebab-norsk* (kebab language). Such labels are given by non-ethnolectal users to multiethnolects due to the integration of words from other languages used by immigrants with the majority language. Users feel that this is condescending and creating us and them; the majorities and the minorities (Svendsen & Røyneland, 2008).

## **2.2 The Notion of Inclusion**

With its prominence in the Nordics, the concept of inclusion converts the school into a place that focuses on equality and neutrality. This focus makes it such that teaching and social interactions are culturally neutral but yet the idea of what it is to be a normal student is still predominantly white (Juva & Holm, 2017). The idea of a good student is rooted in the nordic values of independence and the ability to be in control of one's own learning. This is opposite to schools previously attended by students of immigrant backgrounds that use rote learning and have a more hands-on approach. (Hilt, 2016; Juva & Holm, 2017; Obondo et al., 2016). This suggests that for students of immigrant backgrounds to be considered "good" students, they are expected to blend into the local culture. This fails to recognise and understand the complexities of being an immigrant, that this student not only has to become accustomed to a new environment and a different way of life but has to do it in a foreign language without the friends that they used to know and perhaps with lesser moral support than before.

The extent to which a student is included differs depending on the location of the school, resources available as well as the teacher. The interpretation of inclusion along with their experience, such as their experience with students of immigrant backgrounds, can influence how much a student is included in daily activities (Sinkkonen & Kyttälä, 2014). Teachers can have very different views and practices of inclusion. Some choose to take a simplistic view, by placing the responsibility of inclusion in the hands of what students can do to prevent exclusion from their environment (Kovač & Jortveit, 2011). While others express the need to change how we teach, incorporating the previous experiences of students, (Hilt, 2016; Obondo et al., 2016) and the importance of seeing their students as individuals (Juva & Holm, 2017; Thomassen & Munthe, 2020).

Teachers hold different views of marginalisation and what constitutes racism, resulting in different reasons for avoiding discussions of these topics. Marginalisation in the view of one teacher does not exist in Norway and in the view of another, the assumption that everyone is integrated due to the small size of the school (Eriksen & Stein, 2021; Thomassen & Munthe, 2020). With the school an equal and neutral place, teachers seem to ignore the occurrences of racism, citing them as regular conflicts. In addition, teachers also show reluctance in addressing instances of racism, issues pertaining to racism (Juva & Holm, 2017; Rosvall & Öhrn, 2014; Thomassen & Munthe, 2020), politics, or the roles that they play in them. Student teachers explained how such discussions can potentially be a problematic form of normativity. Adding that they had doubts about whether there is an ability to remain neutral without influencing students with their own perspectives (Eriksen & Stein, 2021). This implies awareness of their own attitudes and how they may influence neutrality in normative education. One other reason for avoiding discussions of race and racism is care and not wanting anyone to feel hurt. One may ask what are the repercussions of this reluctance to address issues of racism and politics?

Teachers express a lack of experience (Acquah et al., 2016) with some expressing that they lack sufficient information about their students such as their backgrounds or previous experiences. The reason for this is that such information may be confidential and might be inappropriate to query students about it (Harju-Autti & Sinkkonen, 2020). Moreover, teachers reveal that they lack the training needed to teach students of immigrant backgrounds (Illman & Pietilä, 2018), and are uncertain of what can or cannot be said for fear of saying the wrong thing (Hancock et al., 2021.; Thomassen & Munthe, 2020). Students of immigrant

backgrounds in Denmark reported lower perceptions of student-teacher relationships (Zhu & Chiu, 2020). While in Norway, although teachers reported high cross-cultural knowledge, students felt their teachers did not know enough about their culture (Alhassan & Bawa, 2012). As presented so far, are the views of teachers towards inclusion and working with students of immigrant backgrounds. As we can see, the perspectives, experiences, as well as knowledge of teachers, can influence their practices and interactions with their students.

In the following section, we will discuss the role of the teacher in the learning and development of the student. This section will show the importance of the perceptions of teachers in students' learning and development.

### **3 Teacher's Role in Student Development and learning**

The role of a teacher is multifaceted. In addition to teaching, teachers have to pay attention to the emotional, academic and physical needs of their students. When planning lessons, the needs of each student in the classroom are taken into consideration while making sure that the lessons planned are within the curriculum. When not teaching, the list of to-dos goes on. Teachers have to communicate with parents, report to the school and work with other professionals to provide students with the help they need. Considering the number of hours a teacher spends with their student, they play a substantial role in the motivation through the relationships that they foster (Schmid et al., 2021). They are as important to the student as a director of a movie, guiding the student each step of the way. Since they are in constant interaction with the student, in addition to motivation (Daniels, 2011) teachers can affect goal orientation, values and efficacy (Smart, 2014). Thus characteristics that teachers have, play a role in the classroom climate that influences learning as well as the achievement of students. In addition to the characteristics of teachers, the perceptions that teachers have of their students contribute to the development of the student's self-image (Damber et al., 2012).

Bandura's (1997) social cognitive theory suggests four sources of self-efficacy. The four sources are *mastery experiences* (based on previous experiences), *vicarious experiences* (through observation of actions of others), *social persuasions* (self-efficacy information received from others), and *affective and physiological states* (states of arousal, fatigue, anxiety or mood). For example, the confidence of a student can affect their level of anxiety thus affecting their performance on a test. Teachers and peers contribute to vicarious experiences and social persuasions through their behaviours and feedback. Furthermore, teachers can contribute to the mastery experiences of the student through the assignments they provide. In the following sections, we will discuss the importance of teachers in the development of students' self-efficacy and factors that can influence the learning of students in the classroom such as teachers' beliefs and expectations, dialogue, feedback and student-teacher relationships.

#### **3.1 Teacher's Beliefs and Expectations**

The beliefs that we hold are context-dependent, they can be stable or change as time goes by through our interactions with the environment (Rogoff, 2003). Implicit cultural values that teachers have grown up with as well as professional experiences, shape the beliefs and

expectations of teachers. It carries with it stereotypes, prejudices and expectations that can be projected onto their students. As teachers hold positions of power, they evoke the potential to turn their beliefs and expectations into self-fulfilling prophecies that are either positive or stigmatising, also known as the *Pygmalion effect* (Termes López, 2017). Teachers' beliefs are one of the factors that affect the judgement of their students. Teachers were found to have more difficulty in accurately judging low performing than high performing students (Urhahne & Wijnia, 2021). Their beliefs and expectations can also influence their perception of ethnic minority students. Teachers were less accurate in judging the language proficiency of ethnic minority students, considering them less proficient than majority students who perform at the same level (Glock, 2016; Paleczek et al., 2017; Wold, 2013).

In addition to the cognitive skills of the student, the teacher has to also assess motivation, emotion and social skills in order to properly respond and provide the right materials and aid. Thus her beliefs in what the students need and what she expects of the students influence the type of classroom management and interactions. Teachers' beliefs of cultural diversity affect intercultural sensitivity and openness in a way of what they expect of the student. Teachers who hold culturally ethnocentric attitudes, or schools that promote monoculturalism are accustomed to a set way and thus behaviours shown by students of immigrant backgrounds are considered deviant or unacceptable (Leutwyler & Mantel, 2015). The risk of this is exclusion and bullying of the student as well as invisibility to teachers who choose to ignore such instances experienced by the student with "deviant" behaviour (Juva et al., 2020). Additionally, the attitudes that teachers have towards students of immigrant backgrounds have different effects on their teaching practices, with teachers who believe in integration or assimilation having a higher tendency to punish students for misbehaviour (Makarova & Herzog, 2013).

Teachers' beliefs and expectations towards their students can affect how they see their abilities and what is expected of them. This influences the type of assignments and aid that is given to students. Teachers may provide undemanding and unchallenging assignments based on the low expectations, and beliefs that they hold of their students, resulting in a decrease in the level of engagement from the students due to the lack of intellectual demand (Wedin, 2015). From a social cognitive point of view, opportunities for mastery experiences for the development of self-efficacy are lacking. Participation in challenging activities grants students the opportunity to see improvement in their abilities resulting in increased beliefs in

self-efficacy which is positively correlated to performance outcomes (Fast et al., 2010). Moreover the lack of engagement results in the need for constant encouragement. The lack of engagement may also be interpreted by teachers as a lack of interest in school, or a “behavioural issue” which could also lead to further marginalisation of weaker students through grouping or classroom placements.

Teachers can also influence the self-perceived confidence of a student through her beliefs and expectations (Bohlmann & Weinstein, 2013; Wedin, 2015) as they guide the way they give feedback and interact through dialogues, which we will discuss in the following sections.

### **3.1.1 Dialogue**

Dialogue and feedback can either engage and motivate students or kill the ideas that students have. Critical dialogue allows students to examine what they think about the world, life and educational choices. In engaging in critical dialogue, students get to voice out ideas and experiment with them (Marjanovic-Shane et al., 2019). Whether critical dialogue happens depends on different factors. For example, time constraints can cut dialogues short with the promise of continuation the next day but never happens as it may have slipped the mind of the teacher or student. The deconstruction of one’s knowledge, beliefs, values, and convention are involved in critical dialogue. Hence the subjective views of individuals influenced by their history and culture determines the type of dialogues that teachers may have with their students. The response of the teacher influenced by their beliefs or perceptions may encourage or discourage a student from engaging further in the dialogue. The direction of the dialogue depends on whether a teacher is reflexive enough to understand and consider the true meaning of what the student is trying to convey. Critical dialogue may also be reduced in some cases where teachers find the dialogue intimidating which may in turn silence a student (Marjanovic-Shane et al., 2019). For instance, a teacher who is reluctant to discuss racism for fear of saying something wrong may redirect or brush off when a student of immigrant background is trying to explain the unfairness faced by her ethnic group. Thus it is hard to say that the interactions between the teacher and a particular student can be completely unbiased because of the beliefs and perceptions that the teacher may hold.

### **3.1.2 Feedback**

Social persuasions from others are one of the sources of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997). Feedback occurs every day in the classroom (Howe & Abedin, 2013), and is a set of



strategies teachers use to assess and evaluate the performance of students. It gives cues on the next step of action, or clarification of any misunderstanding (Eriksson et al., 2017). Research that has gone into teacher feedback has shown that the type of feedback given affects student motivation, engagement, learning as well as self-esteem (Strandberg & Lindberg, 2012). Feedback is contextual and depends on the teacher and student's interpretation of the context and message that is conveyed. Thus the type of feedback differs from classroom to classroom (Eriksson et al., 2017). For example, the feedback given by one teacher in different classrooms may differ due to the assignment at that moment as well as the individual student. A teacher's beliefs and expectations as well as cultural background can influence the way and type of feedback given (Eriksson et al., 2017; Strandberg & Lindberg, 2012). A teacher who has grown up only with positive encouragement from her environment may believe in giving positive feedback and encouragement, versus a teacher who has grown up in a highly critical environment, whose feedback may come across as direct and unfeeling. Likewise, the way the student interprets feedback may also depend on their background. Some students may find positive feedback unhelpful and would prefer one that is direct and critical, while others may find such feedback rude. Therefore there is a need for cultural competency and information to cater to students of different backgrounds (Strandberg & Lindberg, 2012).

Eriksson et al (2017) identified five categories of strategies for teacher feedback: *expecting* (based on previous performances), *emotionally responding* (affective responses of the teacher towards the student's actions), *normalising* (attributing to probable cause that is out of the control of the student), *steering* (communication of correct or desirable strategy according to the assessment of action) and *deliberating* (involves deliberation and exploration). Feedback given is based on the actions of the students. It can be used to elicit behaviour or response and is tied to self-worth, appealing to the emotions of the individual. Feedback can be in the moment as the action is being performed, or it can be delayed, based on previous performances pre-evaluated by the teachers conveying the expectations of the teacher about their students' abilities (Eriksson et al., 2017). A teacher who has doubt about the ability of the student may convey that before the student has already begun the task. "This assignment may be too difficult for you, let me know if you need help." The teacher in this excerpt has already decided that the task is too difficult for her student. Although the teacher offers her aid, she has also conveyed that she does not have too high of an expectation for this student and thus has lowered the expectations that the student can complete the task independently.

As a result, this student may either lose confidence in her own abilities or try her hardest to prove this teacher wrong.

A study on high- and low-efficacy students showed that students with high efficacy received feedback from teachers that were positive, and encouraging. Teachers also expressed the need to provide opportunities for high-efficacy students to succeed. Low-efficacy students, on the other hand, felt that feedback from teachers was discouraging and in turn affected their confidence. In addition, it made them lose belief in their abilities since the adults had no faith in them. Low-efficacy students also sensed impatience from teachers towards questions which affected how they saw their abilities and lowered their motivation in learning. This was in tune with the low expectations that teachers had of their students. One teacher, in particular, expressed that they see a student in jail and are unable to foresee success when asked about his future (Usher, 2009). To persuade and motivate a student, the teacher has to first believe in the competence of the student.

We have seen so far the influence of teacher beliefs and expectations on dialogue and feedback, which are both crucial to building a relationship. In the next section, we will discuss the implications of the beliefs and expectations of teachers on student-teacher relationships and how this can influence learning.

### **3.2 Student-Teacher Relationship**

Since teachers spend so much time with their students, it is hard not to form a relationship, be it positive or negative. Studies show the importance of student-teacher relationships in learning, engagement and promoting a sense of belonging in the school. A positive relationship increases the student's motivation to learn (Allen & Kern, 2019; Schmid et al., 2021) and can compensate for low task accuracy (Liew et al., 2010). Teacher beliefs and expectations play a role in the direction of student-teacher relationships. Positive student-teacher relationships are related to the positive expectations of teachers (Schmid et al., 2021) as well as student characteristics. High levels of engagement, motivation and academic performance are correlated to higher levels of closeness (Nurmi, 2012). This, however, depends on the subjectiveness of the teacher's judgement, as discussed in section 3.1. As discussed a teacher's expectations and values can influence the type of feedback given thus affecting motivation. The accuracy of judgement may also depend on the teachers' beliefs and expectations towards certain groups. Studies in Germany and Norway revealed

discrepancies in the accuracy of teacher judgement in minority and majority language students (Glock, 2016; Wold, 2013). Whereas a Dutch study of track recommendations showed contrasting results, with higher recommendations for minority language students compared to majority, even though teachers rated a lower level of closeness. The authors of this study had no conclusive explanation for this result but added that this may be a result of a fear of being accused of racism or a consequence of positive discrimination (Timmermans et al., 2019) which also poses a risk for epistemic injustice that will be discussed in section 4.

Teachers can foster or hinder a sense of belonging in school. A low-quality student-teacher relationship is often characterised by distant, conflicting and non-supportiveness towards possible at-risk students, such as students who are facing exclusion by peers or students of low statuses. Such relationships have the propensity to increase bullying and bullying behaviours and can exacerbate an already negative relationship with students (Marengo et al., 2021). Additionally, a low-quality relationship has negative effects on the teachers and students. Students who have high levels of internal problem behaviour, shyness or exhibited high levels of problem behaviour resulted in more conflict and dependency and less closeness (Nurmi, 2012), which can affect the effectiveness of the teacher in handling and protecting a student from victimisation.

In the final section of this extended summary, an overview of epistemic injustice will be given, the role of culture in epistemic injustice and the importance of epistemic injustice in schools.

## 4 Epistemic Injustice

### 4.1 Epistemic Injustice

Epistemic injustice coined by Miranda Fricker in 2007, refers to psychological harm done to an individual based on the prejudice about their capacity as a knower and is further defined as *testimonial injustice* and *hermeneutical injustice*. *Testimonial injustice* is an injustice in which prejudice causes the hearer to give the speaker a deflated level of credibility (Fricker, 2007). For example, when the words of an individual are determined to be less credible due to the colour of their skin or as a result of a stereotype. *Hermeneutical injustice* is a result of a structural prejudice that happens at the initial stage, where making sense of a social experience is impossible due to a gap in collective interpretive resources that puts an individual at a disadvantage. In other words, there is a missing concept to describe a situation (Fricker, 2007). An act of epistemic injustice is inflicted when an individual is denied the credibility that they deserve. While one commits epistemic exclusion when a person is denied the role of contributing as an epistemic agent (Carel & Györffy, 2014). In instances where it is a masculine environment, the idea that women and children should be seen and not heard is a form of epistemic exclusion. Repeated exposure to testimonial injustice, erodes an individual's confidence in a way that they begin to lose certainty in their general intellectual abilities and beliefs as well as the ability to justify those beliefs. This puts them at a continuous disadvantage in which they fail to learn (Fricker 2007).

The act of epistemic injustice is affected by social power. The influence of power as explained by Fricker (2007), has an effect on our functioning as rational beings. It eliminates or distracts us from differentiating between the why we think and what social power does to our thinking. The concept of identity power is introduced as a form of social power that is reliant on shared social concepts tied to social identities. Identity power can be active or passive; active only if this power is acted on in the capacity of the social agent. Such as a teacher meting out punishment to a student who is late, or instances where one social group sees themselves as superior forcing the other to integrate into their ways.

A hearer is placed in a situation where they are given the immediate task of estimating the likelihood of truth from their speaker. This can be difficult, especially if the speaker is a stranger. The prejudice of the hearer, as well as the impression of their social identity, can affect how they communicate, react and interpret the speaker's words (Fricker, 2007).

Prejudice comes in many forms. The identity which the speaker holds can contribute to such prejudice if the hearer bases their evaluation solely on the identity of the speaker. This can be their social identity or the status that their identity holds in a social context. Does this person belong to a majority population or a minority population that is stereotyped to be violent trouble-makers? Identity power operationalises in identity prejudice, and thus influences the credibility judgement of the hearer. Also known as *identity-prejudicial credibility deficit*, a speaker suffers testimonial injustice if and only they suffer a credibility deficit due to identity prejudice (Fricker, 2007). Such as a teacher's prejudice towards a student. For example, their identity as an immigrant can cloud their judgement while mitigating a disagreement between that student and one that is local. A hearer who thinks that they hold a higher status or social identity may give the speaker less credibility if they think that the social identity of the speaker is beneath them. For instance an adult versus a child.

#### **4.1.1 The Role of Culture in Epistemic Injustice**

Epistemic injustice is socially situated, as Fricker (2007) suggests, epistemic injustice is influenced by social power. How and what defines social power is dependent on the social context that is shaped by history and culture. For example, in some cultures, it is a matriarchy where the women hold the authority instead of the men. Fricker (2007) also mentions the role of stereotypes and prejudicial stereotypes in credibility judgements, she defines stereotypes as "widely held associations between a given social group and one or more attributes". This definition is broad enough to be defined positively or negatively, such that it allows the stereotype to be held as a belief. It is also neutral enough for the generalisation to be reliable or unreliable. The formation of these stereotypes is culturally embedded. The cultural-historical perspective suggests that development happens through interactions with the environment and between the people in that environment. The environment we are born into provides a structure through joint activities. Our attitudes, habits and beliefs are formed through these activities rich in historical practices and beliefs that are carried through generations (Rogoff, 2003; Vygotsky, 1981).

*'All phenomena be studied as processes in motion and in change'*

- Vygotsky (1981, pp.6-7)

Marx's theory assumes a fundamental role in Vygotsky's idea, that changes occurring in history as well as material changes, conditions human nature (Vygotsky, 1981). Our current and future activities are historically influenced and every phenomenon has a history that has

been characterised by changes in their structure and attributes. Thus what we deem as social power is heavily situated in the social context that we are in. It is also because of this that we are not free from stereotypes. Since it takes too much for our cognitive processes to pay attention, recall and perceive the information presented to us, stereotypes work as a form of categorisation to help us to simplify the information that we possess about others. Routine discussions of actions and attributes of others, and the repeated sharing of social information results in the unintentional and spontaneous formation of stereotypes (Martin et al., 2014). Since development happens through the interactions with the environment that we are in, these stereotypes that we know and come to learn are then also embedded in these interactions. Thus the prejudice the hearer has toward the speaker that results in epistemic injustice is culturally embedded and influenced by the hearer's cultural experiences.

## **4.2 The Importance of Epistemic Injustice in Schools**

Epistemic injustice can happen to any student, not just students of immigrant backgrounds. Epistemic injustice happens to anyone who is subjected to prejudice or stereotype. A child with special needs, a student who is easily distracted in class, or a student who rarely participates. Children are more vulnerable to epistemic injustice due to differing epistemic abilities at different development stages (Burroughs & Tollefsen, 2016; Carel & Györffy, 2014). Younger children are often considered poor providers of testimony due to limited language skills and memory gaps (Carel & Györffy, 2014). Therefore the testimonies of younger students, students with special educational needs, or students of immigrant backgrounds are met with the risk of being perceived as poor providers of testimony due to their limited language skills.

In a school setting, teachers usually hold more social power due to their identity as 1) an adult and 2) a teacher with more educational background than a child that is eight years old and thus 3) more eloquent and knowledgeable than a student. Teachers can be given inflated credibility due to their social identity as an adult and a teacher. An inflated level of credibility can occur when others assume that a person is in the position to provide the information they need, or perhaps when the person is held in such high regard and admiration (Fricker, 2007). Teachers communicate with parents, and other professionals as well as with each other about common students. As teachers constantly evaluate their students, the inflated credibility

attributed to the social identity can result in incorrect information conveyed to others if the teacher holds prejudices toward the student.

Another reason for the importance of epistemic injustice in schools is that learning is an interactive process that is co-dependent (Vygotsky, 1978). Epistemic injustice is important in schools because knowledge is the epitome of teaching and learning and is constantly produced and exchanged. The knowledge of students is evaluated daily through assignments, classroom participation, and discussions as well as standardised tests. Because of the lack of proficiency in the local language, immigrants tend to be rated lower by teachers (Glock, 2016; Paleczek et al., 2017; Wold, 2013). The perceptions of the hearer toward the speaker are the line that determines whether the speaker becomes a victim of epistemic injustice. If the teacher holds negative perceptions of their students, in this example their language proficiency, the accuracy in which the teacher predicts the support the student truly needs is then affected. The *zone of proximal development (ZPD)* is the distance between the true developmental level of the student, where they are able to independently solve a problem, and the level of potential development when they are able to solve a problem with guidance from an adult or more capable peers (Vygotsky, 1978). The ZPD is important in learning and development, which we will discuss in the following section.

#### **4.2.1 Epistemic Injustice in the Role of Learning and Development**

Epistemic injustice can influence learning in a way that the prejudice held by the teacher clouds her judgement in accurately identifying the ZPD of the student. As mentioned, ZPD is the distance between a student's ability to solve a problem independently and the ability to solve a problem with the guidance of an adult or more capable peers (Vygotsky, 1978). Known as scaffolding, teachers provide temporary support to help students develop new concepts, abilities and understanding of the assignment which is then removed when the students acquire the skills that they need (Hammond & Gibbons, 2005). To provide the right scaffolding, the teacher has to identify the extent to which a student is able to solve a problem independently, and when the student needs support. The teacher also has to correctly identify what the student is struggling with in order to provide the right type of support. Testimonial injustice experienced by a student due to their identity can influence the support provided by the teacher. In this excerpt given by a student in an interview in Norway:

*“I got extra attention from teachers after I started wearing the hijab at school. It seems as if teachers think that I need extra help just because I wear the hijab, something I don’t need all the time.” (Leilah, aged 16, from Iraq) (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017).*

The donning of the hijab seemed to influence how the teacher saw this student due to a change in her identity. When the student assumed the identity of a Muslim, it highlighted her identity as a foreigner, which subjected her to an identity-prejudicial credibility deficit. The perceptions of the teacher and other students can also lead to the epistemic exclusion of students as epistemic agents. This can happen in the form of lacking opportunities to participate in class or not getting picked to be part of a group project. For example, students of immigrant backgrounds not being picked to collaborate on assignments (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017) excluding them from contributing as epistemic agents. Teachers may also give students an inflated level of credibility that puts the student at a disadvantage due to their identity as capable epistemic agents. Perceptions of students of immigrant backgrounds may differ due to their ethnicity resulting in differential treatment or a missed opportunity to learn. As described by a student from Lithuania in Chinga-Ramirez (2017), teachers find pupils from Europe automatically better at school and thus task them to help other students of immigrant backgrounds. As a result, she almost does not get help with her own language learning. Though this student did not suffer from epistemic injustice, she was put at a disadvantage because of the perceptions of the teacher of her as a better student.

As mentioned in 4.1, repeated exposure to testimonial injustice can erode an individual’s confidence in their intellectual abilities. As a result, causing the individual to lose confidence in their beliefs and their justification for those beliefs, putting them at a disadvantage in which they fail to learn (Fricker, 2007). When teachers constantly undermine the epistemic contributions of students they inadvertently begin the process of silencing their students as students lose confidence in their abilities. When students become unwilling to express themselves or when their voices are actively suppressed, when they are not heard, ideas die (Marjanovic-Shane et al., 2019) as they are no longer allowed to be developed.

### **4.3 The Importance of the Research of Epistemic Injustice in Schools**

With the ease of travel as well as the reception of asylum seekers to countries, the integration of immigrant students into the local context through integration has always been a part of



inclusion. Even though policies such as the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) are in place to ensure equal opportunities for all, policies to integrate immigrant students are sometimes not very inclusive and may result in increased segregation through external language classes (Hilt, 2016).

Teachers play an immense role in the inclusion of students in the classroom and school context by providing students opportunities for participation and for their voices to be heard (Marjanovic-Shane et al., 2019). Teachers also play a part in what the students learn, and do so by supporting them if extra help is needed. A lot of research has been done on teacher attitudes, beliefs, classroom management, and school context towards implementing inclusion. To gain a better understanding of inclusion, teachers' perception of their students plays an important role in a way of how these perceptions influence the type of interactions they may have (de Boer et al., 2011; Galović et al., 2014). Understanding how teachers' perceptions influence the type of interactions they may have with their students, can give us insight into why some students feel excluded. In addition, such information can change what is being taught in teacher education, to include better ways of communicating with diverse students and more reflexiveness on the side of the teacher. It can also influence classroom interactions into one that is culturally sensitive and reflexive, ensuring equal opportunities among majority students and students of immigrant backgrounds.

In section 3, we discussed how the beliefs and expectations of teachers influence the development of self-efficacy as well as opportunities afforded to them to learn and develop. If teachers afford a deflated amount of credibility to students, it affects their overall development emotionally (loss of confidence), cognitively (less belief in the abilities of the student, which means easier assignments), and socially (lack of opportunities to participate and interact with other students). In order to empower students and motivate them to be in charge of learning, teachers have to give credit where it is due. Researching epistemic injustice in schools can give insight into why students of immigrant backgrounds are falling behind as well as why they are excluded by peers.

## **5 Strengths and Limitations of this Study**

### **5.1 Strengths**

The results from this study can inform whether there is a need for more research in the area of epistemic injustice in schools in the Nordics as well as the rest of the world. It informs us of how the minute details of our interactions in the classroom affect the formation of the epistemic identities of students.

### **5.2 Limitations**

While procedures such as setting the criteria for inclusion, and having an interrater to reduce bias was in place. One must take into account that even with such procedures, the selection of the articles is still subjected to the subjectivity of the author as well as the second-rater. How well do these articles answer the research questions? What are the thresholds of the author and interrater in the assessment of the articles?

### **5.3 Ethical Considerations**

As this is a literature review, there is no need for ethical considerations.

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## **Attachments to the Extended Summary**

### **Appendix**

#### **Instruction for Authors, Educational Psychology Review**

APA Style

Please follow the 6th Edition of the APA Style Guide

Text must be double-spaced, 12-point Times New Roman with standard 1-inch margins on all sides.

Manuscripts should not exceed 40 pages (or 12,000 words), including title page, Abstract, tables, appendices, and notes, but excluding all necessary references and figures (for an approximate total length of no more than 50 pages). Manuscripts that exceed 50 pages may be returned without a review.

#### **Types of papers**

Review, Meta-Analysis, Editorial, Commentary, Interview, Replication, Intervention

#### **General Information**

If problem encountered during submission through EM please contact Fred Paas (EiC)

#### **Title Page**

Please make sure your title page contains the following information.

#### **Title**

The title should be concise and informative.

#### **Author information**

- The name(s) of the author(s)
- The affiliation(s) of the author(s), i.e. institution, (department), city, (state), country
- A clear indication and an active e-mail address of the corresponding author
- If available, the 16-digit ORCID of the author(s)

If address information is provided with the affiliation(s) it will also be published.

For authors that are (temporarily) unaffiliated we will only capture their city and country of residence, not their e-mail address unless specifically requested.

### **Abstract**

Please provide an abstract of 150 to 250 words. The abstract should not contain any undefined abbreviations or unspecified references.

### **Keywords**

Please provide 4 to 6 keywords which can be used for indexing purposes.

### **Statements and Declarations**

The following statements should be included under the heading "Statements and Declarations" for inclusion in the published paper. Please note that submissions that do not include relevant declarations will be returned as incomplete.

- **Competing Interests:** Authors are required to disclose financial or non-financial interests that are directly or indirectly related to the work submitted for publication. Please refer to “Competing Interests and Funding” below for more information on how to complete this section.

Please see the relevant sections in the submission guidelines for further information as well as various examples of wording. Please revise/customize the sample statements according to your own needs.

### **Text**

#### **Text Formatting**

Manuscripts should be submitted in Word.

- Use a normal, plain font (e.g., 10-point Times Roman) for text.
- Use italics for emphasis.
- Use the automatic page numbering function to number the pages.
- Do not use field functions.
- Use tab stops or other commands for indents, not the space bar.
- Use the table function, not spreadsheets, to make tables.
- Use the equation editor or MathType for equations.

- Save your file in docx format (Word 2007 or higher) or doc format (older Word versions).

Manuscripts with mathematical content can also be submitted in LaTeX. We recommend using Springer Nature's LaTeX template.

## **Headings**

Please use no more than three levels of displayed headings.

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Abbreviations should be defined at first mention and used consistently thereafter.

## **Footnotes**

Footnotes can be used to give additional information, which may include the citation of a reference included in the reference list. They should not consist solely of a reference citation, and they should never include the bibliographic details of a reference. They should also not contain any figures or tables.

Footnotes to the text are numbered consecutively; those to tables should be indicated by superscript lower-case letters (or asterisks for significance values and other statistical data).

Footnotes to the title or the authors of the article are not given reference symbols.

Always use footnotes instead of endnotes.

## **Acknowledgments**

Acknowledgments of people, grants, funds, etc. should be placed in a separate section on the title page. The names of funding organizations should be written in full.

## **References**

### **Citation**

Cite references in the text by name and year in parentheses. Some examples:

- Negotiation research spans many disciplines (Thompson, 1990).
- This result was later contradicted by Becker and Seligman (1996).

- This effect has been widely studied (Abbott, 1991; Barakat et al., 1995; Kelso & Smith, 1998; Medvec et al., 1999).

Authors are encouraged to follow official APA version 7 guidelines on the number of authors included in reference list entries (i.e., include all authors up to 20; for larger groups, give the first 19 names followed by an ellipsis and the final author's name). However, if authors shorten the author group by using et al., this will be retained.

## Reference list

The list of references should only include works that are cited in the text and that have been published or accepted for publication. Personal communications and unpublished works should only be mentioned in the text.

Reference list entries should be alphabetized by the last names of the first author of each work.

Journal names and book titles should be italicized.

If available, please always include DOIs as full DOI links in your reference list (e.g. “<https://doi.org/abc>”).

- Journal article Grady, J. S., Her, M., Moreno, G., Perez, C., & Yelinek, J. (2019). Emotions in storybooks: A comparison of storybooks that represent ethnic and racial groups in the United States. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, 8(3), 207–217. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ppm0000185>
- Article by DOI Hong, I., Knox, S., Pryor, L., Mroz, T. M., Graham, J., Shields, M. F., & Reistetter, T. A. (2020). Is referral to home health rehabilitation following inpatient rehabilitation facility associated with 90-day hospital readmission for adult patients with stroke? *American Journal of Physical Medicine & Rehabilitation*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1097/PHM.0000000000001435>
- Book Sapolsky, R. M. (2017). *Behave: The biology of humans at our best and worst*. Penguin Books.
- Book chapter Dillard, J. P. (2020). Currents in the study of persuasion. In M. B. Oliver, A. A. Raney, & J. Bryant (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (4th ed., pp. 115–129). Routledge.
- Online document Fagan, J. (2019, March 25). Nursing clinical brain. OER Commons. Retrieved January 7, 2020, from <https://www.oercommons.org/authoring/53029-nursing-clinical-brain/view>

## Tables

- All tables are to be numbered using Arabic numerals.
- Tables should always be cited in text in consecutive numerical order.
- For each table, please supply a table caption (title) explaining the components of the table.
- Identify any previously published material by giving the original source in the form of a reference at the end of the table caption.
- Footnotes to tables should be indicated by superscript lower-case letters (or asterisks for significance values and other statistical data) and included beneath the table body.

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### Figure Lettering

- To add lettering, it is best to use Helvetica or Arial (sans serif fonts).
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- Variance of type size within an illustration should be minimal, e.g., do not use 8-pt type on an axis and 20-pt type for the axis label.
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- Do not include titles or captions within your illustrations.

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- All figures are to be numbered using Arabic numerals.
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- If an appendix appears in your article and it contains one or more figures, continue the consecutive numbering of the main text. Do not number the appendix figures, "A1, A2, A3, etc." Figures in online appendices [Supplementary Information (SI)] should, however, be numbered separately.

### Figure Captions

- Each figure should have a concise caption describing accurately what the figure depicts. Include the captions in the text file of the manuscript, not in the figure file.
- Figure captions begin with the term Fig. in bold type, followed by the figure number, also in bold type.



- No punctuation is to be included after the number, nor is any punctuation to be placed at the end of the caption.
- Identify all elements found in the figure in the figure caption; and use boxes, circles, etc., as coordinate points in graphs.
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### **Figure Placement and Size**

- Figures should be submitted separately from the text, if possible.
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This journal is committed to upholding the integrity of the scientific record. As a member of the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) the journal will follow the COPE guidelines on how to deal with potential acts of misconduct.

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A Graduate Student's Guide to Determining Authorship Credit and Authorship Order, APA Science Student Council 2006

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**Experiences of Epistemic Injustice Among Minority Language Students Aged 6-16 in  
the Nordics: A Literature Review**

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Department of Special Needs Education, Faculty of Educational Science, University of Oslo,  
Oslo, Norway

## Abstract

This review investigates the experiences of epistemic injustice among students of immigrant backgrounds. It examines the perceptions teachers have towards students of immigrant backgrounds and if such perceptions influence the type of student-teacher interactions they have. In addition, this review aims to find out if such perceptions lead to disparities in whom special education services are provided and further segregation of students of immigrant backgrounds. A literature review was conducted on nine databases to gain more understanding of the topic. A total of eight studies that focused on the perceptions of teachers toward students of immigrant backgrounds and student-teacher interaction were included. Key sentences were retrieved from the results and discussion sections. The findings were then analysed according to five categories, *epistemic injustice*, *cultural competence*, *teacher's perceptions*, *student-teacher interactions* and *disparities in special education and assessment*. The review shows that the perception of teachers toward students of immigrant backgrounds influences the type of student-teacher interactions in verbal and non-verbal ways. The negative perceptions that teachers held toward students of immigrant backgrounds led to experiences of epistemic injustice and epistemic exclusion. The literature provided no information on disparities in special needs education and assessment. Due to the limited literature found on this topic, further research needs to be done in order to fully understand experiences of epistemic injustice in schools. Future research can provide more information on why students of immigrant backgrounds feel excluded as well as why they are lagging behind.

*Keywords:* epistemic injustice, immigrant students, nordics, primary, secondary

## Introduction

This article sets its focus on the experiences of epistemic injustice among students of immigrant backgrounds in the classrooms. Highlighting the importance of epistemic injustice in schools, it looks into the repercussions that epistemic injustice can have on learning and the identity formation of students. With the ease of transportation, moving to another country is as easy as a plane ride away. This together with unrest in some countries sees more people on the move towards better opportunities, a different scenery or escape. The move of people means bringing their children along or forming families in the place that they now call home. It involves learning the language of their destination country and getting accustomed to a different way of life. Children begin in schools that have practices different from what they are used to and have to learn the ways of their destination country. The countries in the Nordics hold similar values in their education, focusing on democracy, equality and inclusion (Island, 2014; Schweden, 2018). Therefore the inclusion of students of immigrant backgrounds should not pose a problem. However, immigrants in the Nordics hold a lower status and are seen as threatening, negative stereotypes (Alrø et al., 2010; Nørreby, 2019; Nshom et al., 2022). The Nordics have legislation in place to ensure the inclusion of students of immigrant backgrounds. Students whose mother tongue is not the language of their destination country, are entitled to language instruction so that they are able to follow the teaching in ordinary classes (BEK, 2016; Compulsory school act, 2008; Finnish National Agency for Education (EDUFI), n.d. ; Opplæringslova, 1998; SFS, 2010). More than 60 000 students start first grade in Norway each autumn, and over six percent of these students require Norwegian language instruction (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2021). Even with legislation in place, there are many other factors that play a role in the inclusion of students. Factors such as school context, the environment and the teachers. Since teachers are in constant interactions with students every day, they play an important role in the sense of belonging,

motivation and engagement of their students (Daniels, 2011; Schmid et al., 2021). The extent to which a student feels included, motivated and engaged, depends on the perceptions of their teachers. Teachers with lower perceptions of their students can affect the motivation and engagement of a student negatively, by giving discouraging feedback, showing impatience (Usher, 2009) or providing unchallenging tasks (Wedin, 2015).

Epistemic injustice is psychological harm done to an individual based on their capacity as a knower as a result of prejudice (Fricker, 2007). This harm is related to the hearer's perception of the speaker. Since knowledge is the epitome of education, together with the low status of immigrants, the perception of the teachers towards students of immigrant backgrounds is important in knowing if such perceptions contribute to experiences of epistemic injustice.

As we find ways to improve inclusion in schools, the perceptions of teachers are important in finding out if they influence the type of student-teacher interactions that may affect the sense of belonging of the student. Moreover, the topic of epistemic injustice in Nordic schools is still considered uncharted waters. Thus the aim of this article is to find out what the current literature says about the teacher's perceptions of immigrant students and how it may influence the type of interactions that they have. How does this perception lead to disparities in whom special education services are provided? And if this leads to further segregation of immigrant students.

### **The Context in the Nordics**

Democracy, equality and inclusion are at the heart of the education in the Nordics. The ideal of democracy implies the acknowledgement of every individual as a legitimate subject of knowledge (Silva Filho, Rocha & Dazzani 2013). Indeed, no real dialogue and understanding

is possible if one does not recognize the interlocutor as a subject fully entitled of possessing reliable knowledge, legitimate needs and emotions.

In the Nordics, the ideal of democracy is pursued through offering compulsory education to children from 6 to 16 in Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Sweden (Compulsory school act, 2008; Ministry of Children and Education, 2018; Rydman et al., 2000; Utdanning.no, 2022) and 7 to 17 in Finland (Ministry of Education and Culture, n.d.). Students who are newly arrived in the country, whose mother tongue is not the language of their destination country, are entitled to specific language instruction. Following the evaluation of the student, discussions between the school, professionals, parents and the student are carried out to determine the type and extent of instruction they will receive (BEK, 2016; Compulsory school act, 2008; EDUFI, n.d.; Opplæringslova, 1998; SFS, 2010). In Norway, additional language instruction is voluntary and is subjected to the consent of the parent and student (Opplæringslova, 1998). Depending on the resources available in the municipality where the student resides, language instruction can be offered as special classes also known as preparatory or introduction classes, in groups or one-to-one support. The reason for this is so that the student can be part of and benefit from the ordinary class as soon as possible (BEK, 2016; EDUFI, n.d.; Opplæringslova, 1998; SFS, 2010). Students in Denmark who are assessed to be able to participate in the ordinary class, are allowed to have Danish as a second language, integrated as part of that class (BEK, 2016). The duration of language instruction differs in different countries, up to one year in Finland (EDUFI, n.d.) and a maximum of two years in Norway and Sweden (Opplæringslova, 1998; SFS, 2010).

### *Inclusion*

The notion of inclusion in the Nordics converts the school into an equal and neutral place (Juva & Holm, 2017) that is colourblind, lacking consideration for the cultural backgrounds



of students (Cekaite, 2012). Despite this, the idea of what it is to be a normal student is still predominantly white (Juva & Holm, 2017). What it means to be a good student is to have the nordic values of learning. One that is independent, with the ability to take control of their own learning and contribute to classroom discussions, as opposed to what students of immigrant background are supposedly used to. For instance, rote learning and the hands-on approach of teachers (Hilt, 2016; Juva & Holm, 2017; Obondo et al., 2016). This notion trivialises previous and current experiences by failing to recognise the complexities as well as the difficulties students of immigrant backgrounds face when relocating to a new country.

The idea of inclusion and the degree to which a student is included is dependent on the context of the school, as well as the teachers. The teacher's concept of inclusion, experience in teaching diverse students, openness and exposure to other cultures can result in diverging practices in their inclusion of the student. It determines whether or not they choose to consider and incorporate the cultural backgrounds of the students in teaching and learning as well as how they see their students (Hilt, 2016; Juva & Holm, 2017; Obondo et al., 2016; Thomassen & Munthe, 2020).

Preservice teachers in the Nordics describe a lack of training or experience with other cultures, which seems to affect the strategies and resources that they use in class (Acquah et al., 2016; Illman & Pietilä, 2018). Moreover, as some information may be confidential, teachers lack information about the backgrounds and previous experiences of their students and feel that it is inappropriate to ask (Harju-Autti & Sinkkonen, 2020). In the context of equality and neutrality, teachers show reluctance in discussing racism, instances of racism, politics, as well as the roles that they play in them (Juva & Holm, 2017; Rosvall & Öhrn, 2014; Thomassen & Munthe, 2020). The teachers listed multiple reasons for their reluctance.

They question their ability to remain neutral in such discussions and fear creating a problematic form of normativity. Some teachers cite care as one of the reasons, for not wanting anyone to feel hurt (Eriksen & Stein, 2021), while others are not sure what can be said, for fear of saying the wrong thing. This leaves one to wonder about the consequences of choosing to avoid these topics and if it does promote equality.

### ***Immigrant Status in the Nordics***

The concept of sameness, the idea of Finnishness, Swedishness, and what it is to be a Dane or Norwegian is prominent in schools in the Nordics, as it is related to the co-development of the public education system in relation to the definition of ethnic and national identities by the 19th Century (Alrø et al., 2010; Chinga-Ramirez, 2017; Johansson & Olofsson, 2011; Juva & Holm, 2017). The idea of a good student is being able to blend in with the rest and not stand out. With language support that is held separately from ordinary classes, along with the stereotypes and low status of immigrants, how does this contribute to segregation? Linked to negative behaviours, such as laziness, the use of expletives, or behaviours that do not comply with social or school norms, labels such as *utlending* (foreigner), *araber* (Arab), or *perker* are given to students of immigrant backgrounds (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017; Nørreby, 2019). Students of immigrant backgrounds are considered rowdier and the language that they use, characterised by combining words from other languages together with the majority language, is given names by non-ethnolectal users. Names such as *perker language*, *jallaspråk* (jalla language) (Nørreby, 2019) and *kebab-norsk* (kebab language), are considered demeaning and condescending by their users (Svendsen & Røyneland, 2008). These already discriminating labels, together with the segregated classrooms of language support, seem to amplify the already low status of immigrants and create an us and them situation rather than an inclusive setting.

## **The Role of the Teacher**

Teachers play an important role in the lives of their students. They pay attention to the emotional, academic and physical needs of their students and try to incorporate them into lessons while making sure they are within the framework of the curriculum. The amount of time teachers spend with their students allows them to foster relationships that play a substantial role in the motivation of their students (Schmid et al., 2021). Teachers also affect the goal orientation, values and efficacy of their students through their interactions with them (Smart, 2014). All these, however, are influenced by the beliefs and perceptions that teachers have of their students.

### ***Beliefs and Perception***

Beliefs, expectations and perceptions play a role in the development of students as well as experiences of epistemic injustice among students. The beliefs and perceptions that we hold are context-dependent and can be stable or change with time and experience. As our beliefs are formed through our interactions with the environment, they may also include prejudices and practices that have been carried down through generations (Rogoff, 2003). This affects our expectations towards others and their practices. For instance, people in developed countries who have higher expectations for efficiency and hygiene, may frown upon delays and avoid street food when visiting developing countries. Though beliefs may change in time and not fit with our current ones, they still reside in us subconsciously (Fricker, 2007). Implicit beliefs and values, together with experiences from professional and daily lives may carry with them stereotypes, prejudices and expectations. As teachers hold positions of power, these beliefs and expectations may be projected onto their students, potentially turning into positive or stigmatising self-fulfilling prophecies also known as the *Pygmalion effect* (Termes López, 2017). Found to be a factor in the teacher's prediction of their students,

teachers' beliefs affected the accuracy of their judgement and were more inaccurate in judging their low performing than high performing students (Urhahne & Wijnia, 2021). Similarly, teachers were more inaccurate in judging the language proficiency of ethnic minority students than majority students performing at the same level (Glock, 2016; Paleczek et al., 2017; Wold, 2013). Accuracy in assessing students is essential for providing the right learning support, assignments and responses such as feedback and dialogue. Teachers who had lower expectations of their students gave feedback that was discouraging and showed impatience when responding to them. This in turn lowered the motivation and confidence of their students (Usher, 2009).

The relationships that teachers foster with their students are important in learning, engagement and promoting a sense of belonging among students. A positive student-teacher relationship increases the motivation of students (Allen & Kern, 2019; Schmid et al., 2021) and can function as a compensatory factor for low task accuracy (Liew et al., 2010). The direction in which student-teacher relationships take is dependent on the beliefs and expectations of teachers as well as student characteristics. Positive student-teacher relationships are associated with positive expectations of teachers (Schmid et al., 2021). Students who show high levels of engagement, academic performance and motivation are also reported to have higher levels of closeness with their teachers. While students with high levels of internal or exhibited problem behaviour and shyness are reported to have less closeness, more conflict and dependency on their teachers (Nurmi, 2012). Possible at-risk students, such as students who are excluded by peers, or students of low statuses, experience low-quality student-teacher relationships that are characterised by distant, conflicting and non-supportiveness. Such relationships that are negative and low in quality have the tendency to increase bullying and bullying behaviours. It exacerbates an already negative

student-teacher relationship (Marengo et al., 2021), therefore affecting a student's sense of belonging.

The culture and experiences of the teacher may also influence classroom management in a way of what she believes is deviant behaviour. In a culturally ethnocentric environment, or schools that promote a monoculture, along with the little experience that teachers have with other cultures, behaviours exhibited by students of immigrant backgrounds may be interpreted as deviant behaviour as it does not conform to that particular social context (Leutwyler & Mantel, 2015). Teachers who strongly believe in assimilation or integration may be quicker in meting out punishments for what they consider deviant behaviour (Makarova & Herzog, 2013). While some choose to punish, other teachers choose to ignore what they perceive as deviant behaviour along with occurrences of bullying that follow, resulting in the exclusion, continued bullying and invisibility of the student (Juva et al., 2020).

### **Epistemic Injustice**

Epistemic injustice coined by Miranda Fricker (2007), is the psychological harm done to an individual based on prejudice on their capacity as a knower. Elaborated further as *hermeneutical* and *testimonial injustice*. *Hermeneutical injustice* occurs as a result of structural prejudice. It happens at an initial stage where it is impossible to make sense of a social experience because of a gap in collective interpretive resources, putting the individual at a disadvantage. *Testimonial injustice*, which is the focus of this review, is defined by prejudice that causes the hearer to give the speaker a deflated level of credibility. An act of epistemic injustice is committed when an individual is denied the credibility they deserve. For instance when a student offers an answer but is met with doubt because of their identity

as an immigrant who is assumed to have little to no education. *Epistemic exclusion* is committed when one denies the individual to contribute as an epistemic agent (Carel & Györfy, 2014) such as when a teacher only chooses certain students to answer her questions all the time and consistently ignores the attempts of a certain individual or group.

The act of epistemic injustice is related to social power. Social power affects our thoughts by eliminating or distracting us from reasoning and functioning as rational human beings. Identity power, a form of social power that is held by an individual, is based on a shared social concept and tied to social identities (Fricker, 2007). This is culturally formed and differs from culture to culture. For instance, some cultures regard the teacher as a fellow parent, allowing them to act as co-parents. While others regard teachers as nannies to watch over their children and are blamed for minor issues, such as paint on the child's clothes.

The hearer is given the instant task of determining the credibility of the speaker. They have to estimate the likelihood that the speaker is speaking the truth. The prejudice that the hearer holds towards the speaker can cloud their judgement in determining the credibility of the speaker's words. The social identity that the speaker holds contributes to the prejudice held by the hearer, should the hearer decide to base the speaker's credibility solely on their identity. This subjects the speaker to *prejudicial credibility deficit* (Fricker, 2007). Prejudice can come in many forms, one such is identity prejudice which is related to a person's social identity. *Identity-prejudicial credibility deficit* happens if the speaker receives a credibility deficit solely due to identity prejudice that results in testimonial injustice (Fricker, 2007). Such is common to children due to their abilities at different developmental ages. The words of children are often taken less seriously for instance in court or at the doctor's. The identity of a child is seen as one that is less knowledgeable, with less reasoning skills and limited

language. For these reasons, children are more susceptible to testimonial injustice (Burroughs & Tollefsen, 2016; Carel & Györffy, 2014). Students of immigrant background, not only hold the identity of a child, but they also have limited language skills in the language of their destination country. Furthermore, in addition to their identity as a child, students of immigrant backgrounds may suffer testimonial injustice due to negative stereotypes and the low status of immigrants in the Nordics. Testimonial injustice can be intended or unintended. Intended due to prejudice, or unintended due to prejudicial residue from the side of the hearer.

### ***Culture and Epistemic Injustice***

As we have seen so far in the previous section, epistemic injustice is socially situated. The formation of social identity and identity power is based on a shared social context. In this section, we talk about the formation of stereotypes and the role of culture in the formation of them. Stereotypes are introduced by Fricker (2007) as “*widely held associations between a given social group and one or more attributes*”. Similar to our brain that forms cognitive schemas in order to reduce cognitive load to process information effectively (Plass & Kalyuga, 2019), stereotypes help us to simplify the information that we have about others since it takes too much to pay attention to available information, recall information and perceive what is being communicated (Martin et al., 2014). Cultural-historical perspective theorises that development happens through interactions between us and the environment. The environment that we are born into shapes us, forming habits, beliefs and attitudes that we have come to learn through joint activities that are rich in beliefs and experiences carried through history (Rogoff, 2003; Vygotsky, 1978).

Our frequent discussions of the actions and attributes of others along with the frequent sharing of social information results in the spontaneous and unintentional formation of

cultural stereotypes (Martin et al., 2014). The formation of stereotypes happens when we are chatting with friends, when we read or hear things from the media, like news articles, social media, or forum sites. It is these stereotypes that play a role in epistemic injustice. Even though we may not agree with these stereotypes or the beliefs that we have come to acquire growing up, they still reside in us and unbeknownst to us, play a role in our interactions with others, resulting in epistemic injustice. This is also known as epistemic injustice as a result of prejudicial residue

### ***Importance of Epistemic Injustice in Schools***

As children develop, their experiences, skills and knowledge are not as honed as adults and are therefore vulnerable to testimonial injustice. Because of their age and their assumed abilities at that age, adults tend to take what they say with less seriousness (Burroughs & Tollefsen, 2016; Carel & Györfy, 2014). Understanding epistemic injustice in schools is important because knowledge is the epitome of teaching and learning and the production of knowledge is ongoing between students and teachers throughout the day. Students are evaluated daily based on the knowledge that they show in class through assignments, classroom participation and discussions as well as standardised tests. School assessment can be metaphorically described as the evaluation of the student's capability of proving to be an independent producer and carrier of the knowledge that is promoted by the school's system of values (Tateo, 2019). For instance, in the case of students of immigrant backgrounds, their previous knowledge (e.g. native language, culture, customs, history, etc.) can be undervalued by the formal education system of values. This can lead to an unfair assessment of the student as a legitimate knower.



Within dominant values' framework, the negative perceptions that the teacher holds toward the student can result in epistemic injustice. If the teacher holds negative perceptions of their students, it then affects the accuracy in which the teacher predicts the support the student truly needs. In order to provide the support that the student needs, the teacher has to accurately identify the true *zone of proximal development* (ZPD); the distance between the true developmental level of the student where they are able to independently solve a problem and the level of potential development when they are able to solve a problem with guidance from an adult or more capable peers (Vygotsky, 1978). In identifying the student's ZPD, the teacher can then provide scaffolding, temporary support to assist students in understanding and acquiring new concepts and skills and remove them when the student has acquired the skills needed (Hammond & Gibbons, 2005). The perceptions of the teacher towards the student as a knower can affect their ability to identify the true ZPD of the student and fully assess what the student needs. Chinga-Ramirez (2017) presents an example of such when a student was assumed to require extra help only when she started wearing a hijab.

The issue with testimonial injustice is that repeated exposure to intrinsic epistemic insult that questions the intellectual abilities of individuals erodes their confidence such that they begin to lose confidence in their general intellectual abilities. The repeated undermining puts them in a position where they begin to lose confidence in what they believe in, as well as the ability to justify those beliefs, putting the student at a continuous disadvantage in that they are unable to learn (Fricker 2007). The loss of confidence and loss of ability to justify their beliefs can contribute to the unwillingness of the students to express themselves as when they suffer epistemic injustice, their voices are actively suppressed or in the case of epistemic exclusion; not heard. This is when the ideas and creativity of students start to die, as they are not given the opportunity to develop those ideas (Marjanovic-Shane et al., 2019).

## **Method**

A literature review was conducted to see what the current literature says about epistemic injustice, the perceptions of teachers towards students of immigrant backgrounds and the type of student-teacher interactions as a result of these perceptions. It also aims to see if there are disparities in whom special education services are provided and if it leads to further segregation. This literature review was done based on the methods of Booth et al. (2022). The analysis, selection and exclusion were then conducted in accordance with the PRISMA Statement 2020 (Page et al., 2021).

### **The Choice of the Age Group**

The focus of this article is on students 6 to 16, and 7 to 17 years of age as this is when compulsory education begins in the Nordics (Compulsory school act, 2008; Ministry of Children and Education, 2018; Ministry of Education and Culture, n.d; Rydman et al., 2000; Utdanning.no, 2022). In order to include as many articles as possible, articles that had plus or minus one year of the chosen age range while including the chosen age range were included as they still included children from 6 to 16 but did not stray too far from the target age such as 16 to 19.

### **Literature Search**

In order to meet the aim of this article, overarching categories for the search was first identified from the topic in order to answer the research questions, which were *immigrant students, teacher perception and epistemic injustice*. Initial research on the topic of students of immigrant backgrounds in the five Nordic countries identified different terms used to describe immigrant students. Synonyms and related terms were then identified based on the

topics of epistemic injustice, and teacher perception as well as the implications of teacher perception shown in Table 1.

**Table 1**

*Search terms by category*

Categories	Terms
Immigrant Students	minority language, multicultural, migrant students, immigrant students
Teacher Perception	teacher perceptions, teacher expectations, teacher judgements, teacher beliefs, teacher assessment, teacher interactions, teacher disposition, student assessment
Epistemic Injustice	epistemic injustice, epistemic justice, epistemic violence, epistemic identity, social injustice,

A total of nine databases, ERIC, Google Scholar, JSTOR, ProQuest, PsychInfo, PubMed, Sage Journals, Science Direct, and Scopus, were selected based on their relation to education. The search was conducted over a two month period from January to February 2022 using terms in the category of immigrant students paired with a term from the other categories. Searching with the initially paired phrases revealed repeated results for JSTOR, PsychInfo and Sage Journals, thus to focus mainly on students of immigrant backgrounds, the phrase immigrant backgrounds and its synonyms were used instead. Additional limits/filters were applied to include papers published from 2007 as it was when the term epistemic injustice was coined. Language filters were used to filter English, Danish, Finnish, Icelandic,

Norwegian and Swedish as well as subject area limits: Education, Humanities, Language and Communication Psychology, Sociology, and Social Sciences.

### **Selection of Articles**

The abstracts of the articles was gone through during the search to pick out articles from the Nordics, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden including Greenland. This phase included abstracts that mentioned primary or secondary immigrant students/minority/multilingual or migrant students and teachers' perceptions. Abstracts that mentioned non-Nordic countries were not included while those that had no mention of location, immigrants or age were included for further screening.

After removing duplicates, the introduction and methods were then screened to remove all articles that were not located in the Nordics. After which, articles were then excluded based on the following exclusion criteria. *First exclusion*: all articles not related to primary and secondary students (aged 6 to 17) and non-immigrants. *Second exclusion*: All articles that do not describe classroom interactions/feedback or teacher perception, response to pupils or teacher's assessment of students. This section focused on whether the literature touched on the topic of teachers' perceptions of immigrant/minority language students. Therefore articles with students' descriptions of experiences with their teachers in the classroom/school were not excluded.

### **Methodological Quality**

The articles used in the review were assessed for quality using QualSyst (Kmet et al., 2004) as it has scoring systems for both qualitative and quantitative studies that are suitable for the broad nature of this thesis. Since none of the included articles was quantitative studies, they were therefore assessed according to the Kmet (2004) *Manuals for Quality Scoring of*

*Qualitative Studies* along with the checklists provided. Each of the literature was assessed and scored: a score  $> 80\%$  was considered strong quality; a score between 70-79% was considered good quality; a score between 50 to 69% was considered fair quality and a score  $< 50\%$  was considered poor quality.

### **Data Items and Risk of Bias**

Each of the included articles were rated by two independent authors according to Kmet's (2004) Quallsysts checklists for qualitative studies to avoid bias. The scores from both the raters were then compared to see if they differed greatly.

### **Analysing the data**

The aim of this review is to synthesise qualitative and quantitative data in order to see if there are experiences of epistemic injustice towards students of immigrant backgrounds. If the perceptions of teachers lead to different interactions compared to the majority population as well as whether this leads to disparities in whom special education is provided and if it leads to further segregation. Five categories were used to analyse the data using key sentences retrieved from the results and discussion sections for analysis.

### ***Epistemic Injustice***

As it is the essence of this article, are there any mentions of epistemic injustice in the articles or incidences that resemble epistemic injustice?

### ***Cultural Competence***

As mentioned, epistemic injustice is socially and culturally influenced, thus it is important to look at the cultural competence of the teacher. This article is interested in looking at the teacher's perception of their cultural competence and their reflections on teaching students of

immigrant backgrounds. This includes factors such as the teacher's exposure to different cultures and the openness toward other cultures. A teacher's cultural competence is essential in how she perceives and responds to students from other cultures, such as the extent to which she imposes her own ideals and dismisses what is important to the culture of that student. For example liberal views versus the more conservative religious views.

### ***Teacher's Perception of Students***

Instances of epistemic injustice is caused by the hearer's prejudice toward the speaker. This domain explores the perceptions and stereotypes that teachers have towards students of immigrant backgrounds in terms of culture, student performance and behaviour. It includes stereotypes that the teacher may have of students from a specific country or immigrants in general. For instance, the perception that students of immigrant backgrounds do not have a mind of their own or do not participate in class.

### ***Student-Teacher Interactions***

Part of this review is to find out if the perceptions of teachers influence student-teacher interactions, especially among students of immigrant backgrounds. Thus special attention was paid to see if the interactions that teachers had with their students of immigrant backgrounds differed from the majority population as a result of the perceptions of the teacher. Such as the teacher reacting differently to two students in a somewhat similar situation.

The analysis of this category involves both verbal and non-verbal interactions between student and teacher. For instance, what is said to a student of immigrant background? Is the student questioned repeatedly? Does the teacher brush off the statements of the student or does the teacher impose their ideals on the student? The tone of voice or actions towards the students.

## *Disparities in Special Needs Education or Assessment*

The final aim of this review is to find out if there are disparities among students of immigrant backgrounds and special needs education. The extent to which it is influenced by epistemic injustice and the perceptions of the teacher. This domain aims to explore if the perceptions of the teachers influence the assessment of their students.

### Results

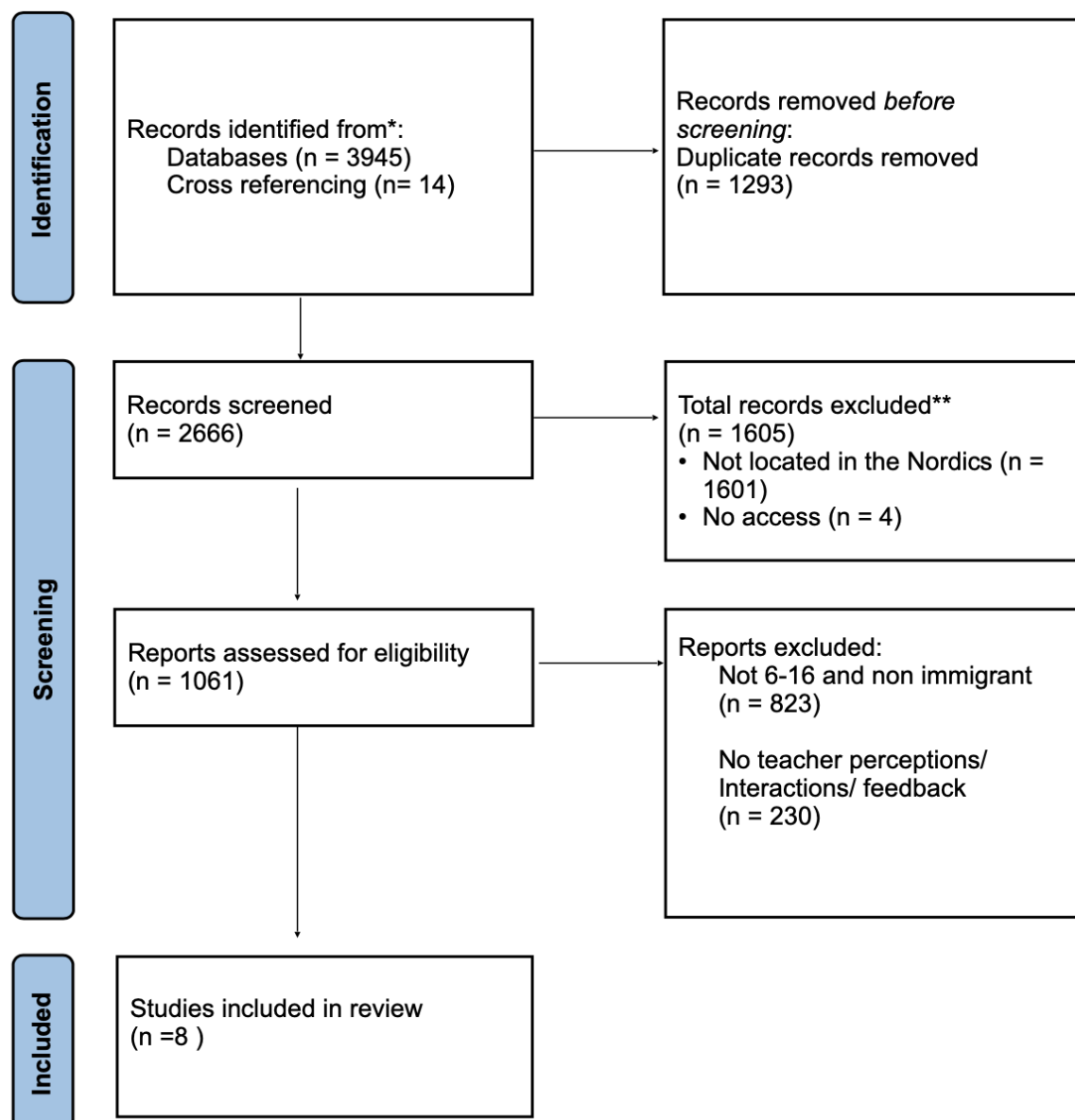


Fig. 1 PRISMA 2020 flow diagram

**Table 2***Methodological quality for all included articles*

Reference	Kmet Score (%)	Kmet Methodological Quality
1. Åberg, I.B., 2021	12/20 (60%)	Fair
2. Jaffe-Walter, R., 2013	15/20 (75)	Good
3. Jaffe-Walter, R., 2019	15/20 (75)	Good
4. Juva, I., & Holm, G., 2017	15/20 (75)	Good
5. Karrebæk, M. S., 2012	15/20 (75)	Good
6. Karrebæk, M. S., 2013	15/20 (75)	Good
7. Karrebæk, M. S., 2014	12/20 (60)	Fair
8. Layne et al., 2018	17/18 (94)	Strong

### Methodological Quality

Table 2 present the results of the methodological quality of the articles. The majority of the articles scored 75% and are of good methodological quality. Only one article scored a strong 94%.

### Results of inter-rater

The differences between inter-rater scores ranged from 0.05 to 0.12. Both raters assigned the same score to Article 3. Five of the eight articles had a difference of less than 0.1.

### The Articles

A total of eight articles were included in this review. All eight were qualitative studies that looked into the perceptions of teachers. Table 3 shows the study characteristics of the articles. There were five papers from Denmark, two from Finland and one from Norway. There were



very few papers from Iceland, those that made it past screening did not meet the inclusion criteria as they were of preschool, upper secondary or university students, and views of parents. All eight included studies were of students of immigrant backgrounds, students of migrant backgrounds, and schools that are multicultural or have ethnic diversity. Two studies were conducted in English (Jaffe-Walter, 2013, 2019), and had the main focus on Muslim students. Two studies had a focus on the views of teachers on cultural differences and diversity in students. Three studies were from the same setting with a focus on healthy food and lunchtime interactions between the teachers and students.

### **Epistemic Injustice**

While none of the articles had the term epistemic injustice. The definition of epistemic injustice was used to analyse the included articles. 7 articles (Åberg, 2022; Jaffe-Walter, 2013, 2019; Juva & Holm, 2017; Karrebæk, 2012, 2013, 2014) describe instances of epistemic injustice or epistemic exclusion.

### **Cultural Competence**

In this section we look for the reflections of teachers on their cultural competence, reflections on teaching students of immigrant backgrounds, the exposure they have to other cultures and finally openness toward other cultures.

#### ***Reflection on cultural competence***

None of the articles mentioned self-evaluation of the teachers' cultural competence.

**Table 3***Study characteristics, domains discussed in the study*

Study Characteristics						Domains Discussed in The Study				
	Design	Data Collection Measures	Language of Instruction	Country	Age/Grade	Epistemic Injustice	Cultural Competence	Teacher Perception	Classroom Interactions	Disparities in Special Needs or Assessment
Åberg, I.B., 2021	Qualitative	I, A	Norwegian	Norway	13-16/Lower Secondary	-	-	✓	✓	-
Jaffe-Walter, R., 2013	Qualitative	I,O	English	Denmark	Lower Secondary	-	-	✓	✓	-
Jaffe-Walter, R., 2019	Qualitative	I,O	English	Denmark	Lower Secondary	-	-	✓	✓	-
Juva, I., & Holm, G., 2017	Qualitative	I,O	Finnish	Finland	Lower Secondary	-	-	✓	✓	-
Karrebæk, M. S., 2012	Qualitative	A,V	Danish	Denmark	5-7/ Primary	-	-	✓	✓	-
Karrebæk, M. S., 2013	Qualitative	A,V	Danish	Denmark	5-7/ Primary	-	-	✓	✓	-
Karrebæk, M. S., 2014	Qualitative	A,V	Danish	Denmark	5-7/ Primary	-	-	✓	✓	-
Layne et al., 2018	Qualitative	I	Finnish	Finland	Primary/ Lower & Upper Secondary	-	-	✓	-	✓

Note: I= Interviews, O= Observation, A= Audio Recording, V= Video Recording  
Age/Grade signifies the age and grade level of the students mentioned in the articles.

### ***Teachers' reflections on teaching students of immigrant backgrounds***

In two articles (Åberg, 2022; Layne et al., 2018) teachers reflected on the complexities of teaching students of immigrant backgrounds. They showed awareness of the cultural backgrounds of their students and expressed a wish to incorporate them into their teaching. One article (Åberg, 2022) describes the reflections of some teachers in teaching students of immigrant backgrounds. One particular teacher expresses that so long as there are no language difficulties and the students are socially integrated, culture is irrelevant in teaching. While another stated that although she does not consider the background of her students, she sees them as individuals, accepting their experiences are a part of them, regarding their diversity as a resource in learning. Other teachers express hesitancy and show discomfort in discussing cultural backgrounds and differences. They indicate a need to be on guard in such discussions for fear of what students might say. In two articles (Juva & Holm, 2017; Layne et al., 2018), teachers interviewed expressed that they view their students as individuals, adding that the students in the school are tolerant and accepting of each other regardless of skin colour and cultural background (Juva & Holm, 2017). In Juva and Holm (2017) and Jaffe-Walter (2019), teachers mentioned the focus on equality in schools, openness and creating a climate where all opinions are valued (Jaffe-Walter, 2019). In two articles (Jaffe-Walter, 2013, 2019), teachers describe their role as helping their students to become individuals with a desire to support the welfare of Muslim girls and integrate them. In addition, the role of a “good teacher” as described by one, is to show disapproval towards expressions of religious differences in his classroom in order to promote the “*integration of immigrant girls*” (Jaffe-Walter, 2013).

### ***Exposure to other cultures***

None of the articles describes the experience or exposure of teachers to other cultures.

## *Openness*

In 5 articles (Jaffe-Walter, 2013, 2019; Karrebæk, 2012, 2013, 2014), teachers show a lack of openness to other practices. Teachers in Jaffe-Walter (2013, 2019) mentioned that openness is needed on the part of students to be able to embrace Danish values. However, the teachers showed a lack of openness towards Muslim practices by refusing to accept the answers of students in class and applying the stereotype that being a Muslim stops the students from being individuals. Teachers in Karrebæk (2012, 2013, 2014), displayed a lack of openness towards other types of food; that all students should have and consume only the rye bread in their lunch boxes.

The idea of sameness is expressed in seven articles (Åberg, 2022; Jaffe-Walter, 2013, 2019; Juva & Holm, 2017; Karrebæk, 2012, 2013, 2014). The definition of a successful immigrant is one who has assimilated or integrated into society (Jaffe-Walter, 2019). The teachers in Juva and Holm (2017), show similar beliefs by connecting good behaviour to ethnic Finns. Teachers in Åberg (2022) adopt the idea of sameness by avoiding discussions pertaining to different attitudes and issues related to them. Presented in the form of healthy food in the Danish context, sameness is exhibited through the disapproval of teachers towards foods of other cultures in Karrebæk (2012, 2013, 2014).

## **Teachers' Perception of Students**

### *Culture and Stereotypes*

This section sets its focus on the perception of teachers towards other cultures as well as the possession of stereotypes towards their students. Three articles describe the negative perceptions teachers have towards the cultures of their students. Teachers in Layne et al., (2018) describe home cultures and the religious demands of students of immigrant

backgrounds as a hassle. The cultural practices of Muslim families, religious affiliations and ethnic neighbourhoods are regarded as having a negative effect on female students by teachers in Jaffe-Walter (2013, 2019) adding that it is oppressive and suppressive. Teachers believe that the cultural practices of Muslim students hinder them from being individuals, impeding their thinking skills and individual development. The teachers also believe that it is due to their religious beliefs that they lack engagement. Furthermore, students are thought by teachers to lack the ability to think radically and operate in the Danish values of openness expressing the belief that sexual liberation is a path to integration.

All eight articles described stereotypes formed by teachers towards students of immigrant backgrounds. In two articles (Juva & Holm, 2017; Layne et al., 2018), teachers expressed that they saw students as individuals, but at the same time assigned special characteristics related to immigrants, as described in Layne et al., (2018) “all Muslim students are going to grow up homophobic”. Teachers in Juva and Holm (2017) describe the school as a multicultural place where everyone is accepted and tolerated independent of skin colour but categorise the students into groups such as the immigrants and Finns, or the Somalis.

Four articles (Åberg, 2022; Karrebæk, 2012, 2013, 2014) had no descriptions of what teachers thought of other cultural practices or stereotypes but voiced opinions of their own culture and practices. Teachers in Åberg (2022) felt that Norwegian students were more familiar with democracy than students of immigrant backgrounds. The idea of healthy food as described by teachers in Karrebæk (2012, 2013, 2014) was in the Danish context of rye bread and oats. Therefore teachers saw other types of foods that were not the norm in Danish culture as unhealthy, expressing that students who did not have rye bread as those who had more general problems, belonging to the category of immigrants.

Only one article (Layne et al., 2018) was positive about the cultural backgrounds of students. Two teachers of immigrant backgrounds discussed the importance of bilingualism, family background, and a sense of belonging and believed that students should have the opportunity to know their roots.

### ***Behaviour***

Three articles (Jaffe-Walter, 2019; Juva & Holm, 2017; Karrebaek, 2012) described teachers' perceptions of behaviour among students of immigrant backgrounds. Teachers in Juva & Holm (2017) perceived students of immigrant backgrounds as social and disturbing and described them as loud-mouthed hence putting a negative twist on their verbal interactions. They add that students of immigrant backgrounds seem to have the need to emphasise their identities which is not a common behaviour among the Finns. As opposed to ethnic Finns where bad behaviour is attributed to an individual, teachers put students of immigrant backgrounds in a category, relating bad behaviour to a whole cultural group, attributing it to culture or background. The teachers in Juva & Holm (2017) describe two types of behaviour, normal behaviour characterised as being motivated, with a good attitude and following time schedules, and not normal behaviour. They add a third which they call exceptions, to describe well-behaving students of immigrant backgrounds.

Teachers in Jaffe-Walter (2019) describe a lack of participation and engagement from students of immigrant backgrounds and add that they never ask questions. Teachers in Karrebæk (2012), did not mention the behaviour of students, but described families who do not pack rye bread as difficult to deal with, associating the lack of rye bread lunch boxes with attitudinal problems.

### ***School Performance***

The focus of this section is the perception of teachers toward the performance of students as learners. A total of five articles describe the perception of their students as learners. Two articles (Juva & Holm, 2017; Layne et al., 2018) describe teachers referring to students as having poorer and limited language skills. Both articles also mentioned a less promising future for the students. Students of immigrant backgrounds are anticipated to score lower and are guided to lower professions (Layne et al., 2018). Considered a “challenging group”, students of immigrant backgrounds are anticipated to have potential difficulties graduating and forming successful social relations. Though teachers had a generally negative perception of students of immigrant backgrounds, they held positive perceptions towards Russian and Estonian students, expressing that they possess more ambitious and positive attitudes than other students of immigrant backgrounds (Juva & Holm, 2017).

Teachers in Jaffe-Walter (2019) expressed that students lacked the ability to express critical views, or form an opinion and would prefer assignments that consisted of a page for them to “*write two numbers*” or yes or no questions. While teachers in Karrebæk (2012, 2014) did not form an opinion on the performance of their students, they made statements during interactions with their students, expressing that those who consume rye bread will become smart and strong. Additionally, one teacher was observed addressing the class during lunch, that “students who brought rye bread are smart and wise”

### **Student-Teacher Interactions**

There were seven articles that had descriptions of student-teacher interactions which were retrieved from transcribed observations of interactions in the classrooms and descriptions by teachers and students.

Teachers in Åberg (2022) showed reservations in discussing religious topics and expressed the need to show discretion with what is said, as well as be on guard to notice the reactions of students. Five studies (Jaffe-Walter, 2013, 2019; Karrebæk, 2012, 2013, 2014) illustrate the scepticism teachers had towards the answers of students. This was met with repeated questioning leading to situations where students felt singled out. In one study (Jaffe-Walter, 2013), a student was met with repeated questioning from her teacher as her answer did not meet the standards of Danish liberal views. The question was rephrased and asked four times, ending with an address to the class to reflect on that student's answer. Jaffe-Walter (2013, 2019) observed that students of immigrant backgrounds were urged by teachers to question their beliefs, whereas Danish students were never observed to be asked by teachers to question Danish or European values. Classroom observations in Karrebæk (2012, 2013, 2014) revealed that students with other foods were questioned by their teacher leading to occasions where students had their lunch boxes checked and bags rummaged. This also led to interactions where students were met with disbelief and more questioning if they truly did not have rye bread. Students who had rye bread in addition to other foods, on the other hand, were told to consume the rye bread, if they had started with the other food, the students were told to stop eating and to consume the rye bread instead.

Three studies (Jaffe-Walter, 2013, 2019; Juva & Holm, 2017) showed a difference in the treatment of students when they expressed cultural differences. In two of the studies (Jaffe-Walter, 2013; Juva & Holm, 2017), teachers voiced the need to police students who showed expressions of religious, cultural and linguistic differences. As a result, students in Jaffe-Walter's (2013) study reported a decrease in support and a change in the student-teacher relationships after donning a hijab.



Six studies (Jaffe-Walter, 2013, 2019; Juva & Holm, 2017; Karrebaek, 2012; Karrebæk, 2013, 2014) showed a difference in treatment between the majority students and students of immigrant backgrounds. Jaffe-Walter (2013) observed that sexual education was conducted in extra danish classes and not in regular classrooms as it was the intention of teachers to liberalise Muslim girls. In his later study, students of immigrant backgrounds were observed to be placed in the back of the classroom during a discussion developed for Danish students. During this observation, it was noticed that the teacher had his attention focused only on the Danish students and made no effort in engaging or bringing the students seated in the back of the classroom into the conversation (Jaffe-Walter, 2019). Classroom observations of Juva and Holm (2017) revealed that regular participation by students of immigrant backgrounds was taken as mouthing off. In one observation, a Somali student was silenced and reprimanded for not raising her hand while asking about a relevant topic, as opposed to the lack of intervention when ethnic Finns discussed topics unrelated to the class. In Karrebæk (2012, 2013, 2014), the lunch boxes of the majority of students were rarely scrutinised in contrast to the rummaging of bags and checking of lunch boxes belonging to students of immigrant backgrounds. Teachers were also observed to express pity to those students.

Three studies (Jaffe-Walter, 2019; Juva & Holm, 2017; Karrebaek, 2012) describe teachers dismissing the words of their students or situations of racism. When explaining his religion, a student was met with “it doesn’t really matter” from a teacher in Jaffe-Walter (2019). Juva & Holm (2017) found that teachers ignored racist comments such as “the Somalis are making a ruckus again” considering it harmless and justified it as the way students interact in a multicultural school. Teachers in Juva & Holm (2017) were also dismissive of intergroup conflict between students of immigrant backgrounds and ethnic Finns, attributing it to individual feelings about themselves. In Karrebæk (2012), it was observed that students who

expressed dislike for rye bread were dismissed as not telling the truth or they were told to remove the toppings and eat the rye bread.

### **Disparities in Special Needs Education or Assessment**

While none of the articles mentioned if there was a disparity in whom special educational services were provided, two studies (Juva & Holm, 2017; Layne et al., 2018) revealed lower perceptions of the academic performance of students of immigrant backgrounds. A student in Jaffe-Walter (2013) reported experiencing a difference in their teacher's perception of homework submission before and after donning a hijab, resulting in negative feedback to her parents. Two teachers of immigrant backgrounds in Layne (2018) expressed concern that students are placed in special classes for a lack of language proficiency in Finnish or their mother tongue instead of a learning disability

### ***Segregation***

None of the eight articles had concrete descriptions of segregation, however, one of the articles mentioned the formation of groups, the Finns and the immigrants (Juva & Holm, 2017).

### **Summary of the Findings**

All the literature except for one in this review described the perception of teachers towards students of immigrant backgrounds as well as the type of interactions that occur in the classrooms. None of the literature mentioned epistemic injustice, reflections of cultural competence, exposure to other cultures and segregation. Neither do any of the literature present concrete numbers on disparities in whom special educational services are provided.

**Table 4***Summary of perceptions of teachers and student-teacher interactions*

<i>Study</i>	<i>Perception</i>	<i>Interaction</i>
Åberg, I.B., 2021	Norwegian students are more familiar with the values and practices of democracy, whereas minority students feel less connected to them	Teachers showed signs of discomfort and were hesitant to include the stories of students.
Jaffe-Walter, R., 2013	Female Muslim students were suppressed, oppressed and lack the freedom to choose	Repeated questioning of their choices in the classroom, discussion on premarital sex in extra danish class as opposed to the lack of sex education in the regular class.
Jaffe-Walter, R., 2013; Juva, I., & Holm, G., 2017	Believe that students have to adopt Danish or Finnish values	Intervened whenever students expressed cultural differences. Teachers were perceived as being stricter by students wearing a hijab.
Jaffe-Walter, R., 2013, 2019	View that immigrant students are held back from development due to religion and culture	Students of immigrant backgrounds are repeatedly asked to question their beliefs as opposed to the lack of such requests on Danish students. Dismissed student's explanation of his religion.
Jaffe-Walter, R., 2019	Perceived students as lacking engagement and opinions	Students of immigrant backgrounds were placed in the back of the class with no effort from the teacher to engage or bring those students into the conversation.

**Table 3 (continued)**

<i>Study</i>	<i>Perception</i>	<i>Interaction</i>
Juva, I., & Holm, G., 2017	Perceived students of immigrant backgrounds as loud and mouthing off.	Silencing the student asking a relevant question while ignoring Finnish students who were having conversations unrelated to class.
Juva, I., & Holm, G., 2017	Perceived the students to be tolerant and accepting toward each other due to the diversity of the school.	Ignored racist comments.
Juva, I., & Holm, G., 2017; Layne et al., 2018	Perception that students of immigrant backgrounds have poor language skills and lower performance.	Guided to lower professions.
Karrebaek, M.S., 2012, 2013, 2014	Rye bread and oats are healthy food.	Repeated questioning of “why/if the student has rye bread, when there was a lack of rye bread or when students did not have oats for breakfast. Rummaging the bags and lunch boxes. Expressing pity to those who do not have rye bread. Dismissed students when they expressed dislike for rye bread. Expressed that those who have rye bread are smart.

As one of the aims of this study is to find out if the teacher's perception of immigrant students influences the type of interactions that they have, a summary of perceptions of teachers and student-teacher interactions influenced by that perception is compiled in Table 4.

### **Discussion**

The purpose of this study was to find literature discussing the concept of epistemic injustice in relation to the perception of teachers that influenced their interactions in the classroom. The findings were arranged into five main categories, epistemic injustice, cultural competence, teacher perception, student-teacher interactions and disparities in special needs education. Although none of the articles included in this review mentioned epistemic injustice, analysis of the literature revealed instances of epistemic exclusion as well as experiences of epistemic injustice as a result of the perceptions teachers have towards students of immigrant backgrounds.

The findings lacked an evaluation of the cultural competence of teachers but indicated the awareness of teachers toward the cultural backgrounds of their students. Despite the awareness of teachers, the majority of the studies indicated that teachers found the cultural backgrounds of students of immigrant background irrelevant and showed resistance. This was demonstrated by a reluctance to discuss issues, hesitating to include the stories of students (Åberg, 2022), as well a need to intervene when students express their cultural differences (Jaffe-Walter, 2013; Juva & Holm, 2017). Epistemic exclusion happens when an individual is denied the opportunity to contribute as an epistemic agent (Carel & Györffy, 2014). The hesitancy to include the stories of students and a need to intervene during expressions of cultural differences inadvertently silences the voices of students and creates a circumstance of epistemic exclusion as it denies the students the opportunity to contribute as epistemic agents

of knowledge brought about by their experiences and backgrounds. Furthermore, it reinforces the idea of neutrality in the context of Nordic education that fails to recognise the cultural backgrounds of students.

Teachers in Jaffe-Walter (2013, 2019) mentioned openness and open-mindedness that are needed from the students to embrace the values and practices of the country that they live in now but failed to recognise the lack of openness towards their students on their part. This not only denies students of immigrant backgrounds the opportunity of connecting with their identity but fortifies the idea of a normal student that is predominantly white with Nordic values.

Although some teachers in the studies expressed that they saw their students as individuals (Juva & Holm, 2017; Layne et al., 2018), it did not stop them from forming stereotypes that were revealed as the interviews went on. The grouping and referring to the students as immigrants and Finns in Juva and Holm (2017), categorises students of immigrant backgrounds and places them in a position where bad behaviour is a result of their culture and is seen as a group identity as opposed to individual action. One example was the teacher's perception of students of immigrant backgrounds as loud and mouthing off. This led to unfair treatment of a student who was reprimanded for trying to ask a related question, while Finns were not reprimanded for discussing topics irrelevant to class. There are two points to be made of this incident. The first is the student's identity. By reprimanding the student of immigrant background and ignoring behaviour by the Finnish students, the teacher creates a situation that is unfair, highlighting the difference in identity between the student and the Finns possibly contributing to further segregation of students of immigrant backgrounds and an us and them situation. Secondly, by letting her perceptions of students of immigrant

backgrounds as loud and mouthing off cloud her judgement, a learning opportunity was taken away from the student, putting the student at a disadvantage to learn.

The negative perceptions teachers had towards their students as epistemic agents resulted in the epistemic exclusion of students of immigrant backgrounds. A teacher in Jaffe-Walter (2019) held the perception that students of immigrant backgrounds are unable to think critically and do not engage in class. This led to the organisation of the classroom in a way that the students of immigrant backgrounds were placed in the back of the class creating an environment that was segregated. As his attention was directed only to the Danish students, with no effort to engage or include the students of immigrant backgrounds in conversation, he failed to acknowledge their presence, as well as failed to recognise them as contributing epistemic agents. Turning them invisible.

Epistemic injustice is a psychological harm done to an individual in their capacity as a knower. The focus of this article is testimonial injustice and is defined by prejudice that causes the hearer to give the speaker a deflated level of credibility (Fricker, 2007). The literature presented multiple scenarios of epistemic injustice, specifically, testimonial injustice where students were subjected to repeated questioning as their answers of students were not accepted as they deviated from the expectations of the teachers (Jaffe-Walter, 2013; Karrebæk, 2012). Additionally, students were dismissed for providing information (Jaffe-Walter, 2019; Karrebæk, 2012), with teachers responding with “it doesn’t really matter”, that it is not the truth or told to remove the toppings and eat the rye bread. Such responses did not address the issues at hand, for instance in Karrebæk (2012), students voiced their dislike of rye bread but were called out by teachers as a lie, since they had eaten it many times though unwillingly. Such practices seem to make students feel singled out

(Jaffe-Walter, 2013) or create scenarios when students were quick to call out others who did not follow the practices of the classroom (Karrebaek, 2012; Karrebæk, 2013, 2014).

Although the literature did not mention segregation, singling out students and creating inconsistent treatment of majority students and students of immigrant backgrounds give rise to the potential for the formation of stereotypes and segregation. Additionally as mentioned, continuous experiences of epistemic injustice erode an individual's confidence in a sense that they begin to lose confidence in their general abilities, beliefs, and the justification of those beliefs (Fricker, 2007). The paragraphs above present scenarios of experiences of epistemic injustice and epistemic exclusion. The students who faced in-class scrutiny as described by the literature withdrew from social interactions as they felt that it was not safe to respond to anti-Muslim discourses. Furthermore, they stopped seeking support from teachers due to misrecognition and for fear of being penalised, belittled or challenged (Jaffe-Walter, 2013, 2019). This is in line with the theory and puts the students at disadvantage for learning because they have stopped seeking support from their teacher and cannot clarify what they do not understand. By not seeking support, teachers are unable to know what the student is struggling with. Moreover withdrawing from social interactions gives fewer opportunities for participation in the classroom, further affecting the perceptions teachers have of them.

### **Limitations**

The results from this review revealed that the negative perceptions and stereotypes teachers have towards students of immigrant backgrounds influenced student-teacher interactions that lead to experiences of epistemic injustice in the classroom. The literature has not provided us with concrete answers on whether this leads to disparities in whom special education services are provided or whether it leads to further segregation. It should be noted that although there



were experiences of epistemic injustice among students of immigrant backgrounds, five of eight of the studies were focused on Denmark and did not give us enough information on the rest of the Nordic countries.

Moreover, although the literature revealed instances of epistemic injustices and exclusions, they have not mentioned the cultural competence of the teachers, as well as their experiences. Experiences of other cultures and whether teachers grew up in a culturally ethnographic environment are important in understanding why epistemic injustice happens. Since our perceptions and stereotypes are culturally formed they influence our understanding and openness towards other cultures which may impact student-teacher interactions.

### **Suggestions for Future Research**

Although the current review has given us some insight into experiences of epistemic injustice among students of immigrant backgrounds, more questions remain for future research. Such as if epistemic injustice contributes to disparities in whom special educational services are provided and whether it leads to further segregation. Given the complexity of human thoughts and behaviour, research into epistemic injustice needs to be planned with care. Researchers should be careful, so as not to be too quick to place blame or suggest fault of the teachers. Research in epistemic injustice should be for enlightening practices. Therefore it should include teachers as part of the brainstorming and reflexive process as they are at the forefront and can provide valuable knowledge to support the research. Teachers are placed in demanding situations where they have to devote attention to a whole classroom of students. With multiple students to care for and the stressors of time constraints, it is sometimes difficult for teachers to be reflexive at the moment. Thus classroom observations should be

done with the help of video recordings and a video annotation tool, for teachers to analyse and reflect.

### **Implications**

The data gathered from the current review as well as future research may highlight issues that are important to and possibly overlooked in the strive toward inclusion. It looks into the well-being of the students of immigrant backgrounds, such as student-teacher interactions as they impact the sense of belonging and how included a student feels in school. These findings can also be applied to students of special educational needs as epistemic injustice does not impact only students of immigrant backgrounds, but anyone who is prejudiced against or part of a stereotype. Data from this current review reveal a gap in the knowledge of inclusion in hopes of spearheading the research into epistemic injustice in schools as well as development in teacher education and better strategies and communication methods to keep students as part of the regular classroom instead of being taken out of class.

### **Conclusion**

Previous research shows that the perceptions of teachers affect the accuracy in the judgement of students as well as giving feedback. But none has really focused on the instances of epistemic injustice among students and how it affects them. This review has provided us insight into the relationship between the perceptions of teachers and the type of student-teacher relationship. The negative perspectives of teachers influenced student-teacher relationships in a negative way which contributed to experiences of epistemic injustice. Additionally, the negative perceptions created situations where the students were treated unfairly, in some instances, teachers were more strict and quick to reprimand students of immigrant backgrounds. While this review has provided us with the evidence of experiences

of epistemic injustice, as well as the self-silencing of students as a result of those experiences, most of the literature was limited only to Denmark. More research needs to be done in order to find out if the negative perceptions and stereotypes that teachers hold result in experiences of epistemic injustice. The worry here is that if it indeed does, then students of immigrant backgrounds are thus at a disadvantage in learning. On top of that, the effect of experiences of epistemic injustice on their psychological well-being and the development of their identity.

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## **Declarations**

The authors have no competing interests to declare that are relevant to the content of this article.

## Appendix

### Kmet Appendix B: Manual for Quality Scoring of Qualitative Studies

#### *Definitions and Instructions for Quality Assessment Scoring*

#### **How to calculate the summary score**

**Total sum** = (number of “yes” \* 2) + (number of “partials” \* 1)

**Total possible sum** = 20

**Summary score:** total sum / total possible sum

#### **Quality assessment**

##### 1. *Question / objective clearly described?*

**Yes:** Research question or objective is clear by the end of the research process (if not at the outset).

**Partial:** Research question or objective is vaguely/incompletely reported.

**No:** Question or objective is not reported, or is incomprehensible.

##### 2. *Design evident and appropriate to answer study question?*

(If the study question is not clearly identified, infer appropriateness from results/conclusions.)

**Yes:** Design is easily identified and is appropriate to address the study question.

**Partial:** Design is not clearly identified, but gross inappropriateness is not evident; *or* design is easily identified but a different method would have been more appropriate.

**No:** Design used is not appropriate to the study question (e.g. a causal hypothesis is tested using qualitative methods); *or* design cannot be identified.

##### 3. *Context for the study is clear?*

**Yes:** The context/setting is adequately described, permitting the reader to relate the findings to other settings.

**Partial:** The context/setting is partially described.

**No:** The context/setting is not described

4. *Connection to a theoretical framework / wider body of knowledge?*

**Yes:** The theoretical framework/wider body of knowledge informing the study and the methods used is sufficiently described and justified.

**Partial:** The theoretical framework/wider body of knowledge is not well described or justified; link to the study methods is not clear.

**No:** Theoretical framework/wider body of knowledge is not discussed.

5. *Sampling strategy described, relevant and justified?*

**Yes:** The sampling strategy is clearly described and justified. The sample includes the full range of relevant, possible cases/settings (i.e., more than simple convenience sampling), permitting conceptual (rather than statistical) generalizations.

**Partial:** The sampling strategy is not completely described, or is not fully justified. Or the sample does not include the full range of relevant, possible cases/settings (i.e., includes a convenience sample only).

**No:** Sampling strategy is not described.

6. *Data collection methods clearly described and systematic?*

**Yes:** The data collection procedures are systematic, and clearly described, permitting an “audit trail” such that the procedures could be replicated.

**Partial:** Data collection procedures are not clearly described; difficult to determine if systematic or replicable.

**No:** Data collection procedures are not described.

7. *Data analysis clearly described, complete and systematic?*

**Yes:** Systematic analytic methods are clearly described, permitting an “audit trail” such that the procedures could be replicated. The iteration between the data and the explanations for the data (i.e., the theory) is clear – it is apparent how early, simple classifications evolved into more sophisticated coding structures which then evolved

into clearly defined concepts/explanations for the data). Sufficient data is provided to allow the reader to judge whether the interpretation offered is adequately supported by the data.

**Partial:** Analytic methods are not fully described. *Or* the iterative link between data and theory is not clear.

**No:** The analytic methods are not described. *Or* it is not apparent that a link to theory informs the analysis.

8. *Use of verification procedure(s) to establish credibility of the study?*

**Yes:** One or more verification procedures were used to help establish credibility/trustworthiness of the study (e.g., prolonged engagement in the field, triangulation, peer review or debriefing, negative case analysis, member checks, external audits/inter-rater reliability, “batch” analysis).

**No:** Verification procedure(s) not evident.

9. *Conclusions supported by the results?*

**Yes:** Sufficient original evidence supports the conclusions. A link to theory informs any claims of generalizability.

**Partial:** The conclusions are only partly supported by the data. *Or* claims of generalizability are not supported.

**No:** The conclusions are not supported by the data. *Or* conclusions are absent.

10. *Reflexivity of the account?*

**Yes:** The researcher explicitly assessed the likely impact of their own personal characteristics (such as age, sex and professional status) and the methods used on the data obtained.

**Partial:** Possible sources of influence on the data obtained were mentioned, but the likely impact of the influence or influences was not discussed.

**No:** There is no evidence of reflexivity in the study report.



**Kmet Appendix B: Kmet form**

<b>Appendix B (Kmet form)</b>				
<b>Criteria</b>		<b>Yes (2)</b>	<b>Partial (1)</b>	<b>No (0)</b>
1	Question/objective sufficiently described?			
2	Study design evident and appropriate?			
3	Context for the study is clear?			
4	Connection to a theoretical framework/wider body of knowledge?			
5	Sampling strategy described, relevant and justified?			
6	Data collection methods clearly described and systematic?			
7	Data collection methods clearly described and systematic?			
8	Use of verification procedure(s) to establish credibility of the study?			
9	Conclusions supported by results?			
10	Reflexivity of the account?			
<b>Total sum = (number of “yes” * 2) + (number of “partials” * 1)</b>				
<b>Total possible sum = 20</b>				
<b>Summary score: total sum / total possible sum</b>				