Parents’ perceptions of their children’s agency within the context of family bilingualism

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: The present thesis aims to gain an insight into parents’ perceptions of their children’s agentic role while raising them in Greek-bilingual families. The study was conducted within the field of family language policy and family bilingualism.

Methods: A small-scale, qualitative study was designed, which included semi-structured interviews with parents of bilingual preschoolers, residing in Patras, Greece. Six participants were interviewed and audio-recorded. Then, the transcriptions were translated into English and finally analysed using thematic analysis. Parents were interviewed regarding their children’s use of languages concerning to the possibility to influence changes in their everyday lives as bilingual families.

Results: According to the findings of this study, parents within Greek-bilingual families argue that their children negotiate their own language acquisition and the language use of the adults around them. Specifically, parents think that their children a) influence parents’ confidence in the chosen language policy, b) resist to inconsistent language use, and c) influence the parents’ language use.

Conclusions: The present thesis highlights what parents within Greek-bilingual families think about their children’s agentic role regarding influencing changes in the family language policy and the socialization of members of the family. The small-scaled study entails that the results give the readers an insightful account, instead of absolute truth. Results of the study motivate further research on the agentic role of children in Greek families and its implementation on how childhood is experienced.

Keywords: parents’ perceptions; children’s agency; bilingualism; bilingual-Greek speakers; qualitative; family language policy
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INTRODUCTION

Family and children’s bilingualism/multilingualism has been reported as an emerging research area, since a significant part of the world’s population is “functioning in more than one language” (Macrory, 2006, p. 160). Parents have been introducing more than one language to their children at a young age, over the last few years. This second language can be either a heritage language or the societal one. Bilingualism is defined as the ability to native-like control two languages (p. 160), or more in cases of multilingualism. Previous studies on bilingualism consider both children who acquire an additional language since their birth and those who learn a second language while being preschoolers as bilingual (pp. 160-161). Furthermore, bilingualism has been described both as a challenge and achievement (p. 166) for the individual and the family (p. 159). For instance, Park and Sarkar (2007, p. 224) suggest that parents’ positive or negative attitudes towards their heritage language influence the maintenance of this language by the children.

Since the birth of a child or even before, parents start making decisions on their children. These decisions are part of the process of parenting, which is defined clearly by James and James (2012, p. 84) as taking care of a dependable child and providing him/her with support and stimulation regarding holistic development. Speech acquisition is an important aspect of a child’s development, and many parents decide to raise bilingual or multilingual children. According to their parenting behaviours and expectations, they adopt a proper family language policy. Parenting behaviours and attitudes are influenced by various experiences including perceptions of their own parents’ behaviours (Bowlby, 1980), the place or ethnic group they have been raised in (Newland et al., 2013, p. 534), and the expectations they have for their children. Scholars claim that children negotiate the use of the acquired languages instead of passively responding to their parents’ beliefs (Gyogi, 2015, p. 750). This is how one could describe the complex concept of agency in the context of family language policy briefly. Montgomery (2013) states that agency possession by children is recognised, together with the ability that they can influence their own lives, the lives of those around them, and the societies in which they live (cited in Kehily, 2013, pp. 182-183).
While discussing bilingual families and agency, I should mention that my personal interest in parents raising their children bilingually increased after I got to know a couple of bilingual families and the parents shared their thoughts and expectations with me. I was surprised by their attitudes of power relations over their children. I was problematized and therefore was interested in exploring how do parents consider children’s possibilities to influence things in Greek families. According to my knowledge as a Greek native, there is not a widely spread perception of children’s agency in the society. Makrinioti (1994) in her texts about childhood in Greece, writes that the involvement of children in decisions related to them, supervision during their everyday life, and their dependence on adults is limited (as cited in Pechtelidis, 2015, p. 145).

Agency is a central concept in Child Studies and Sociology of Childhood. Makrinioti (2003, p. 14) argues that different policies that are in effect and various social factors existing in every society during different periods, influence our perceptions of children’s agency. Additionally, Spyrou (2009, p.156) argues that the critical research in Child Studies, with its emphasis on children’s role as agents while “considering the larger structural contexts in which their lives are embedded, provides a productive framework” for exploring related concepts. Therefore, in an attempt to study the important concept of children’s agency in Greek families, family language policy was chosen as a suitable micro-level in which children’s agency could be studied.

The present thesis is part of the Master’s programme in Social Science with a major in Child Studies offered by Linkoping University. The complex concept of children’s agency within the field of family bilingualism is here investigated. Using thematic analyses of interviews with parents of preschoolers, the present thesis aims to shed light on parents’ perceptions of their children’s agency in terms of family bilingualism and family language policy. Therefore, six parents with children before school age, in Greek bilingual families were interviewed. The derived data were analysed and divided into themes according to repeated patterns in their utterances that show the agentic role of children. Hopefully, this study could add to the existent research on children’s agency in relation to family language policy and explore the way in which the concept of children’s agency in Greek-bilingual families correlates to the concept of children’s agency in Greek literature at large.
AIMS

The current study seeks to give a deeper understanding of parents’ perceptions of their children’s agency in terms of family bilingualism and family language policy. Currently, many scholars in the field of Child Studies are interested in the agentic role of children. According to Kellett (2012), agency is defined as the state of children being accepted as the “experts of their own lives” and therefore capable of making decisions and influencing change in their lives and the lives of those around them. Similarly, in this study, the term agency is understood as “how children affect their everyday decisions”, and this is how it was described to the participants. This active role of children has been studied in relation to family bilingualism since there is evidence that children participate actively in the process of formation of the language policy around them (Kheirkhah and Cekaite 2015, p. 321).

This study will examine what parents of young children, residing in Greece, think about their children’s language choices and if we can recognise how they perceive their children’s active role in the creation and maintenance of the family language policy when they describe their everyday lives as bilingual families.

Consequently, the researcher seeks to address the following research question:

- How do parents of preschoolers talk about their children’s agency in relation to their everyday life as bilingual families?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter offers the theoretical framework needed for this study. The thesis is situated within the field of family language policy and language socialisation. Therefore, a small review of previous research within the related fields will be presented while the central concepts used in the thesis will be described.

Pechtelidis (2015, p. 11) highlights that crisis in Greece and the negative events on a European but also on a global scale, lead us to focus on the social, political, and economic processes that affect the lives of children. There is an emerging need to understand the problems children face today, what are the perspectives of children in a world of uncertain future, their own views of their lives and the problematic situations they face every day. He concludes saying that from a sociological perspective, the study
of childhood is linked to an in-depth understanding of society as a whole. The critical study of language provides a tool in the hands of researchers that helps them understand childhood and the society. Hence, language use, i.e. how children negotiate their family language policies, is going to be the point of departure of this study, in order to research the concept of children’ agency.

**Family language policy, family bilingualism**

At this stage, it is necessary to describe what family language policy and language socialisation are briefly. The term family language policy is used to refer to the “explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members” (Fogle and King, 2013, p. 1). The family negotiates which strategy to employ so that bilingualism is maintained. Among the methods that have been suggested when raising a child bilingually, there is one that seems to be chosen deliberately. The conscious creation of a one-parent-one-language environment, where each language is spoken respectively by each parent (Saunders, 1988, p. 43) reinforces that children are consistently exposed to each language (p.49). For this study, as suggested in Kheirkhah and Cekaite, (2015, p. 321), family language policies are viewed as socially constructed. Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) define language socialisation as the process through which children are socialised and acquire the social values and expectations associated with different linguistic codes (as cited in Kheirkhah and Cekaite, 2015, p. 321).

Kheirkhah and Cekaite, (2015, p. 320) point out that “family (...) constitutes a complex, intergenerational context for negotiating language policies and expectations regarding language use”. While earlier language socialization research has considered children as the objects of linguistic practices of adults (Luykx, 2005, p. 1407), recent studies portray children as agents who negotiate their own socialization and who themselves socialize members of their family into particular language practices (Kheirkhah, 2016, p. 93; Luykx, 2005, p. 1408). In the literature, there are few examples of studies that examine how children’s use of languages may impact the language use of other people around them (Luykx, 2005, p. 1408). King and Fogle, (2013) in their article, present a timeline which includes the most influential studies in the research area of “family language policy and bilingual parenting” (p. 173).
Children’s agency

In the late 1980s, the concept of children’s agency emerged together with the notion of a competent child, active in constructing the world around him/her, whose voice could and should be heard. Children’s agency is perceived as children’s capability to influence their lives and the lives of those around them, or as children’s right to choice. However, there is insufficient evidence that children’s agency has been studied within Greek literature. Dr Spyros Spyrou, a social anthropologist, from Greek-speaking Cyprus, shared his doubts whether “children’s agency” is extensively used in the Greek literature. He explained to me that agency is a term that has been primarily developed in the Anglo-Saxon world (S. Spyrou, personal communication, May 26, 2017). My initial search for a Greek term for agency also brought back a limited number of results about children’s agency in the Greek literature. Specifically, a Google Scholar search, using the most common Greek term attributed to the term of agency\(^1\), added with the Greek word for children returned 28 results with most of them being irrelevant to the concept of children’s agency.

Greek literature contains plenty of theoretical framework on child-centred or adult-centred education or parenthood, but research on how adults listen to their children’s voices and consider them when making their decisions is limited. The small sample consists of texts that define and explain the concept in terms of children’s participation in activities planned by adults (e.g. Bitou, 2010), or related to The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (e.g. Fasoulis, 2012), or finally in accordance with the notion of the competent child (e.g. Pechtelidis, 2015). In our communication, S. Spyrou pointed out that the concept of children’s agency is often examined in relation to the concepts of children’s voice and children’s participation (S. Spyrou, personal communication, May 26, 2017). It is very common that the concepts of children and young people’s participation, voice, and agency are used interchangeably (Kellett, 2012).

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\(^1\) A Google Scholar search, using the most common Greek term attributed to the term of agency, added with the Greek word for children ["κοινωνικοί δρόντες", παιδιά - "koinwnikoi dróntes", paidiá (transliterated), social actors (translated into English], returned 28 results. [June 16., 2017]
A rare example of research on children’s agency within Greek literature is Bitou’s study (2010) of children’s participation in planning the curriculum in early years’ settings in Greece and England. The study indicated that Greek pre-school teachers define participation as a child’s duty to participate in an activity organised by an adult (Bitou, 2010, p. 8). According to the current theories and evidence on the connected concepts of agency and participation, we would expect the teachers to conceptualise it as children’s willingness to take part in adult-initiated activities, or express thoughts on adults offering alternatives to these activities according to the interest shown by children. Spyrou has also contributed to the search of children’s perspectives through their voices. His earlier article (Spyrou, 2011, p. 151) problematizes the notion of children’s voices in child-centred research, and his later one (Spyrou, 2016a, p. 7) focuses on the importance of researchers considering the feature of silence when working with children. He thinks of children “as fully capable of reflecting and offering unique perspectives on their world” (Spyrou, 2016b) and is constantly giving Greek-Cypriot children a voice through his research. His work contains studies on children’s national identities (see Spyrou, 2000, as cited in Spyrou, 2016a, p. 10; Christou and Spyrou, 2017, p. 51) and on children’s understandings of immigration (Spyrou, 2009, p. 156) and less focus is on the concept of agency solely.

**Children’s agency within family language policy**

Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2015, p. 321) state that children participate actively in the process of formation of the language policy around them, “and their willing participation in adult-initiated practices cannot be assumed”. Children’s agency is suggested as one important area of investigation in the emerging field of family language policy (Gyogi, 2015, p. 749). The term agency has been defined by James and James (2012, p. 3) as “the capacity of individuals to act independently”. It can also be described as the capability of individuals to “exercise power in the sense of the ability to bring about effects and to (re)constitute the world” (Ahearn, 2001, p. 113). Since the late 1980s, children have been conceptualised as agentic beings who make some impact on the world (Oswell, 2013, p. 37), not as “incomplete adults,” and “not measured according to normative adult views and structures” (p. 41). James and Prout, groundbreakers of the field of sociology of childhood, identify children as “active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, of those around them and of the societies in which they live” (1997, p. 8). The idea that children can be considered
as actors within social processes has gained widespread acceptance (James and Prout, 1997, p. xii), but still is a complex notion with several definitions to be found (Gyogi, 2015, p. 750).

Therefore, agency needs to be situated in specific settings, and for this paper, it will be located within the context of family language policies combined with a language socialisation approach. Specifically, children’s agency will be conceptualised in relation to what parents say about their children’s use of language and the possibility that they influence changes in their use of language, the language use of people around them, and generally the ability of children to co-create their bilingual family language policy. New sociology of childhood suggests that children should be addressed as agentic beings, with the right of choice and the ability to participate in decision making. They play their role in the wider society as humans with rights instead of incomplete adults. Makrinioti (2003, p. 15) highlights that approaching children as agents motivates many qualitative studies, which demonstrate how children experience their childhood and their relationships with peers and adults, solve problems that arise within their social environment, shape and reshape their daily reality. Consequently, this study suggests further research of children’s agency related with various concepts of children’s reality like family bilingualism.

**METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK**

The present study aims to examine in what ways do parents of bilingual preschoolers talk about their children’s agency in relation to their everyday life as bilingual families. Therefore, qualitative methods are chosen as more suitable than quantitative (Silverman, 2015, pp. 5-7). As suggested by Silverman (2015, p. 32), a small-scale study was designed, giving the opportunity to the researcher to analyse parents’ detailed descriptions efficiently. The design of the study included semi-structured interviews with parents, which were audio-recorded. The 3.5-hours recorded material was later analysed with thematic analysis. A detailed account of the choice of the methods, both data collection and data analysis used in the thesis, is following.
DATA COLLECTION

The data for this study consists of interviews with parents of preschool, bilingual children residing in Patras, Greece. Six parents, five mothers and one father, participated in the study by accepting to be interviewed and share their thoughts about their bilingual children. Consequently, I had data derived from five audio-recorded interviews with six parents, four individual interviews and one with a couple.

Recruitment

The study design included five interviews with parents with at least one preschool, bilingual child, who was given the second language acquisition opportunity within house setting by at least one of the parents. The research was conducted in Greece, where under-school-age is defined as under six years old. The families would preferably live in Patras, Greece where I would have the opportunity to interview them in person.

Early before I started my research, I posted a request on two Facebook groups where local families are represented, and parents discuss aspects of their lives in relation to their children and support each other. Facebook is a social platform that can help a researcher reach people in the broader community and can be considered as a tool. The groups that were chosen are very popular among parents who live in the city of Patras in Greece. The first group attracts parents who raise their children in the city and the second represents a local breastfeeding-support group. I have been a member of these groups for two years, and according to my knowledge, the groups are mostly used by mothers. Thus, I was aware of the possibility that more mothers than fathers would respond to my request. In addition, I cannot be sure about the types of parents I approached since demographics of the groups were not available at the time of recruitment.

I posted in both groups, introducing myself and asking parents who raise their children bilingually to contact me\(^2\). During private conversations with them, I ended up with the details of those fulfilling the requirements. The study’s initial design required a small sample to be used for the study. Hence, after ending up with eight potential participants,

\(^2\) See Appendix A, p. 31
I chose to conduct the interviews with the first five parents who contacted me, regardless of gender, or any other socioeconomic factor. These factors were not included in the study design in order to ensure more generalised results. Prioritizing the qualified participants instead of randomly selecting was purposeful (Silverman, 2015, p. 60-61). Sargeant (2012, p. 1) suggests that qualitative studies do not require the standardisation of procedures that quantitative studies require. Accordingly, the researcher can select the sample that best suits the purpose. For that reason, the first five participants were identified as appropriate since there was a sample of five Greek-bilingual families with similarities in age, marriage status and considerable variation in the second spoken languages.

**Participants**

In this part, I will describe each participant according to information derived from the interviews. The required characteristics of the participants according to the study design have been described in a previous section.

The participants consisted of five mothers and one father. All of them with very young children from 15 months to 4.5 years, raising them bilingually and living in Greece as it was required. During and after the interviews, it was figured that all the participants’ children were bilingual-Greek speakers and the one parent one language policy (OPOL) was followed. Some of the children attended Greek preschools, but this study focuses on home language interactions. The parents’ age was not a requirement; therefore, it was not asked during the interview, but as assumed by the interviewer they were all between 30 and 40 years old. They were all married and often used the plural number in their answers saying “we” instead of “I”. One of the mothers came to the interview accompanied by her husband, which gave me the chance to listen to both. I will shortly describe the participants in the following. The information was collected from the interviews and the conversations before and after.

**Maria**

The first participant was a mother of two children, a 3-year-old daughter and a 15-month-old son. She and her husband were both Greek; consequently, the common

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3 The ages at the time when interviews were conducted.
language was Greek. Her proficiency in English led them to the decision to raise their children bilingually. Therefore, regardless of the context, she was speaking only English to them. According to her, her daughter had an excellent acquisition of both languages and her baby son seemed to have a very good understanding.

**Irene, Alex**

The second mother (Irene) came along with her husband (Alex), who was willing to participate in the interview. They were not interviewed separately so that the data for this case were merged. They were both native Greeks, having one 2-year-old son and expecting one more child. Father was fluent in Italian. Thus, he has spoken Italian to his son since he was six months old. They were planning to introduce the second language from the birth to the second child. Both thought that Greek was their son’s first language, as it was commonly used and heard by both parents. The father had second thoughts regarding his expression of feelings which was easier to be done in Greek which was his first language.

**Alexandra**

This was a Russian-speaking mother from Ukraine, with high comprehension of Greek. Her husband was Greek, and as a couple, they were speaking Greek. She had a 4-year-old daughter who was attending pre-school. Her daughter was speaking Russian only with her and some friends and relatives on Skype calls.

**Eleni**

This participant was a Greek mother, competent in English. Her 4-year-old son was bilingual, speaking only Greek with her and English with his father. The father was English with a minimal comprehension in Greek. Therefore English was the common family language. Her son was attending a Greek pre-school where some English lessons were taking place.

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4 Read more about the unexpected father in p. 15.
Sophia

The sixth participant was a mother of a 2-year-old boy. She was multilingual in Dutch, German and Greek. She was speaking Dutch to her son, and his father was speaking Greek to him. The couple was speaking both languages with each other. She was worried about her son’s low speaking abilities.

Interviews

The data for each parent were collected after one individual thirty minutes interview with each one of them in the Greek language. Silverman (2015, p. 43) suggests interviews as one of the major methods used by qualitative researchers. Interviews were considered as the most suitable method to gain an accurate understanding of parents’ experiences and thoughts, given the limitations of this project (Silverman, 2015, p. 169). This qualitative research is based on data that would not occur without being provoked by the researcher (Silverman, 2015, p. 316), thus a guide of a semi-structured interview was designed (Silverman, 2015, p. 166) before the meeting, consisting of open-ended questions towards the parents that would inspire utterances concerning their beliefs and parenting attitudes towards family bilingualism and their interpretations of their children’s reactions and choices regarding the languages spoken in the house. Every question aimed to facilitate fruitful discussion to examine if parents consider their young children’s agentic role within the bilingual context. Given that parental behaviours are often shaped by someone’s cultural and social background (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 356), discussions about their background and the choice of languages were also facilitated. Even though children’s agency is the main concept of this study, it was not defined to the parents as it is an uncommon term in Greece, without a clear definition. Also, I did not want to intervene in their way of thinking before our discussion. When explained to them, the research question was rephrased into how they believed that their children affect their everyday decisions or lives as bilingual families, so that the purpose of the study could be better understood.

Participants were already informed that the discussions would be audio-recorded so that I could document my transcripts accurately (Silverman, 215, p. 88), while still being

\[\text{__________________________}\]

\[5\text{ See Appendix B, p. 32}\]
focused on them instead of taking notes. This helped me preserve an informal atmosphere between us (Kheirkhah, 2016, p. 26) and observe their facial expressions. They seemed comfortable with that, and some of them expressed their worries about environmental noise and suggested a quiet place for the interview themselves. During our initial conversations through Facebook or phone, parents were free to propose a convenient place for the interview. Two of them invited me to their homes, and the rest chose a public place. Therefore, three interviews took place in public areas, and two in the participants’ houses.

Every parent was friendly and excited to meet with me and help me. All of them were fluent during the discussion and seemed willing to talk about different topics. Getting out of the topic of discussion was easy. The interview guide was used, but the discussion was being adapted to every participant, as planned. For example, clarifying questions were posed when answers were vague, or I was repeating some of their phrases asking if this is what they meant when I was finding something in their utterances confusing.

**DATA ANALYSIS**

After gaining an insight into the dominant methods of data analysis for qualitative research (see Braun and Clarke, 2006; Silverman, 2015), thematic analysis was chosen as the most suitable method to analyse the drawn data in this study. Braun & Clarke define thematic analysis as “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data”. (2006, 79). Furthermore, it is a widely-used method, and still flexible (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 79). Hence, this approach allows the researcher to be open towards new patterns and themes, sometimes unexpected, irrelevant to the count of instances a theme is repeated, that may occur from the participants’ answers. This can be very crucial for the review and redefinition of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 91). Moreover, thematic analysis can be adjusted into both inductive and theoretical approached analysis (p. 86). That gives the researcher the opportunity to postpone an in-depth literature review in order to prevent him/her from introducing bias to the data and enhance his/her ability to be innovative (Vaismoradi et al., 2016, p. 106). Furthermore, as suggested by Silverman (2015, p. 213), data obtained by qualitative research often have much in common. Hence, the results derived by generating naturally-occurred themes from the given answers. The themes that
appeared repeatedly and were related to the research question are discussed in the present study.

**Processing and analysing data**

Audio recordings of the five interviews in Greek were transcribed in detail and were subjected to thematic analysis according to the systematic guide for thematic analysis given by Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 87). The six phases of thematic analysis were followed:

1. become familiar with the data,
2. generate initial codes,
3. search for themes,
4. review,
5. define and name these themes, and finally,
6. produce the report.

Familiarisation with the data started already while obtaining the data. The interviews were conducted in Greek and then transcribed and translated into English by the researcher. During the transcription of the data, initial codes were generated. Those codes consisted of parents’ thoughts or descriptions of their children affecting their everyday lives or their family language policies. Vaismoradi et al., (2016, p. 101) argue that “a text may involve multiple meaning” and a researcher should be very careful while in the analytical process. Therefore, in this study, the interest was focused in codes that enabled the researcher to approach the research question. Participants’ repeated ideas were organised into themes as literature on thematic analysis suggests (see Braun and Clarke, 2006; Bryman, 2012; Vaismoradi et al., 2016). The Framework approach to thematic analysis as described by Bryman (2012, p. 579) was used at this point. The Framework approach is a “method for ordering and synthesizing data” (Ritchie et al., 2003, as cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 579). The themes produced by the reading of the transcribed data and the participants were represented in a matrix. Parent’s extracts were displayed within the matrix. This could help the researcher identify the repeated patterns. Once the themes were developed, related literature was studied in order to relate themes into established knowledge and conclude to the finalisation of the study. Selection of related literature was based on previous research of the area as it was presented in the theoretical framework. More literature was also accessed according to keywords representing the generated themes.
ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A researcher has the responsibility to protect the group s/he studies (Silverman, 2015, p.140) and eventually produce work of high ethical standards. The present study has been conducted as part of a master’s programme at a Swedish University, but the data were collected in Greece. Therefore, it follows the ethical requirements of the Swedish Research Council (CODEX, n.d.), and Greek codes of ethics were considered. Ethical considerations in research and the relevant legislation may differ between countries (Farrell, 2005, p. 2). My findings indicated that the Greek legal basis of ethics in research originate from Community legislations and international conventions or declarations (e.g. Declaration of Helsinki) (Boumpoukas, 2010, p. 24), most of them exactly as described in Farrell (2005, p. 16). Based on such legislations, ethics commissions established by Universities and other research centres formulate their codes of ethics (Boumpoukas, 2010, p. 25).

A researcher should have ethical considerations in mind since the early steps of the preparation of his/her research proposal until the end of the study (Silverman, 2015, p. 152). Description of the personal motivation, the purpose, and the relevance of the research questions to the studied discipline play a major role and help avoid ethical restrictions. I consider that devotion to ethics significant for my research.

Research data were collected through interviews with adult parents. That simplified the process of formal consent. As suggested by Silverman (2015, p. 149), detailed information about the purpose of the research and my role as an interviewer was provided (p. 160). The parents received consent letters in Greek\(^6\), which contained information about the study, description of the process of data collection and the conditions for participation. Every important detail that the participants needed was presented in a way and language familiar to them (Farrell, 2005, p. 33). It was clarified that they had the right to withdraw whenever they wanted (Silverman, 2015, p.148).

\(^6\) See the informed consent translated into English in Appendix C, p. 33
that the interviews were going to be audio recorded and used for research purposes (p. 151), and that their personal details would be confidential and anonymised if published.

At this point, I should clarify that even though children’s agency is the main concept of this study, it was not defined to the parents as it is not a common term in Greece and as a researcher I did not want to intervene in their way of thinking before our discussion. The research question was rephrased to something that can be better understood. The participants were recognised as competent communicators with the ability to express themselves freely.

Engaging in discussion about family life requires a trustful relationship between a researcher and a parent. The opportunity not only to offer voluntary participation but then signing their informed consent was a formalisation of the procedure and was a good start to the establishment of a positive atmosphere. Supplement to that is that the participants were reassured that when the thesis is ready, I will approach them again with a summary of the results of the study or the master thesis itself. I find this decent enough, as they were thinking of themselves as a helpful and important part of the research and they expected some feedback.

During the interview, unexpected, related, and sometimes unrelated themes emerged and were discussed. As Kheirkhah (2016, p. 26) notes, parents were sometimes asking for suggestions regarding their language practices. I explained to them that my role was not to give any feedback on their family language policy, but to talk about their everyday life within their bilingual family. Another unexpected incident was that one of the mothers who participated came to the arranged interview accompanied by her husband. Even though it was clear that we would do the interview one by one, her husband came with her and was willing to participate. It seemed to me that they were in agreement. He was the one speaking the non-societal language to the child and was very curious. Furthermore, mother was close to her expected date of birth and probably was always accompanied by someone. I decided to take the opportunity to interview a couple, despite the difficulties that could come; specifically, longer interview, both talking at once, messy conversation. It was explained to them that the interview would

\[\text{See Interviews, p. 11}\]
last longer and that I would like them both to answer my questions or intervene when they share different opinions.

RESULTS

This section reports the themes, which emerged from the qualitative data analysis. As suggested by Bryman (2012, p. 580), the described themes are the ones that were noted similarly in most of the participant’s responses and were relevant to the research questions. Relevant extracts from the interviews with the parents have been included in the description of each theme.

Parents’ perceptions of their children’s agency while describing their everyday lives as bilingual families can be grouped under the following themes for this study:

A. Influencing parents’ confidence in the chosen language policy,
B. Resistance to inconsistent language use, and
C. Influence on the parents’ language use.

A. Influencing parents’ confidence in the chosen language policy

All the parents had second thoughts when they started raising their children as bilinguals, because of other people discouraging them, saying that their child will get confused. Some of them asked professionals for advice:

“I had that discussion with our paediatrician because some relatives objected to us saying that she will mix up the languages”. [Maria]

Statements like those are similar to King, Fogle and Logan-Terry, (2008, p. 913), who argue that parental beliefs about language use are influenced by individuals’ past language learning experiences, family members’ suggestions, and other professional sources; like books, websites, and training, with expert literature playing a minor role.

What was interesting is that even though parents described that they had second thoughts when they decided to raise their children bilingually, later in their utterances, they made some contradictory statements.

“I was anxious at the beginning that she would confuse the languages as many people were saying that to me. I am grateful that she does not.” [Alexandra]
They were glad they did not listen to previous advice because their children proved them wrong. The same mother whose words I used above, continued saying:

“[…] It is fascinating to watch how easy it is for a child to handle one language, or many languages without mixing them.” [Maria]

Another extract of a mother’s words is following:

“He does not say as many words as other children (at his age), but we can communicate with him perfectly. I mean... He fully understands everything in both languages. He is the one showing us that we made the right decision.”

[Sophia]

It is evident in this extract, that this mother and her husband, as one can assume from the use of plural “us”, are convinced that they made the right decision to use more than one language in their household after their son gave clues of comprehension. The same mother stated that “I would do the same with my second child”. Apparently, the child’s competence and language choice affect the continuity of this family language policy.

Another parent shared his anxiety when he started using a second language when talking to his son. In this situation, the young child’s use of the language caused a shift in this father-son interaction:

“From the moment I saw him responding, I switched to only Italian.” [Alex]

According to the interview with this couple, they added a second language after their son was six months old. During the interview, the expecting-mother shared that they will speak both Italian and Greek to their newborn from the first day. Following their thought, they let their son decide to change their strategy. The same idea can be seen in another example that follows;

“He learned some (Greek) letters in preschool, spelling and writing, so his father started doing some things with him”. [Eleni]

Those parents had not been ready to introduce English letters or grammar and had been thinking how they would do that in the future, but their son was faster than them. Following his development, his father introduced some basic English grammar to him.
What we see in this theme is that parents describe children as agentic beings “Influencing parents’ confidence in the chosen language policy”. According to that, when children show the first clues of comprehension in the languages their parents are trying to introduce to them, the latter feel more confident about their decision regardless to their first ambivalent feelings. Immediately, they start listening to their children and follow up their language development. This study seems to show that after children show competence in their languages, parents feel more confident to stick to the existing family policy or alternate it according to their children clues.

B. Resistance to inconsistent language use

During the interviews with the parents, they described some incidents of resistance to inconsistent language use. Firstly, parents shared their thoughts on their young children choosing their language use accordingly to their interlocutor. Then, some of the participants expressed that their children were responding with silence or with a negative attitude to people who were speaking to them in a different language than the one that was consistently used.

Many researchers, who study how bi/multilingual children develop the acquired languages, agree that children from a very young age are capable of differentiating their languages and using them appropriately according to the person with whom they have a conversation (Genesee, 2009, p. 5). Parents widely talked about the ability of their children to use their languages separately, according to the person who speaks to them. A mother’s account of her son’s use of languages is making that clear:

“He never talked to me in English. He knows, very well, that I can speak (English), so he might ask me something out of curiosity, but he never addresses to me (in English). It is his father’s language.” [Eleni]

Back to the description of the participants, it was stated that all of them were following the one parent one language policy. What the mother describes above is that her child insists on the consistent use of this strategy by all members of the family.

Another mother of a two-year-old, who had started saying his first words by the time of the interview shares similar thoughts:
“It is like he dissociates that he speaks Italian with his dad […] from that he speaks Greek to anyone else who speaks Greek to him.” [Irene]

Indeed, Genesee (2009, p. 5) claims that bilingual children in early stages of language development have the ability described above.

Mothers of older children in this study noticed that at the beginning of language development their children used both languages, but soon they developed awareness of with whom to speak each language:

“When she started talking, she was speaking Greek to me as well. Of course, she knew that I could speak the language […] Now she speaks only English to me, and Greek to my husband. […] For example, she will say: ‘Oh mommy, look! A dog (in English) to me, and she will turn to her dad saying: ‘Daddy, daddy look! A puppy! (in Greek). She feels the need that in order to be understood by someone, she has to speak in his language” [Maria]

In addition to that, parents seem to understand when their children use the other language than the one they usually speak with them. See for example what a mother shares while talking about her daughter:

“[…] she has never got confused while speaking Russian to me. […] When she addresses to me in Greek, I know it is because she wants other people around us to understand her. She has the same need (like adults) to be heard and understood.” [Alexandra]

Her respect for her daughter’s choice of what language to use is evident. The mother makes a step back regarding her strategy, which was that her daughter would use only Russian with her and Greek as a societal language. Every member of the family takes part in the reconstruction of their family language policy. For this family, one parent one language (OPOL) approach is not working anymore. Evidence to that is De Houwer’s (2007, cited in King and Fogle, 2013, p. 189) argument that “OPOL provides neither necessary nor sufficient input conditions for balanced bilingual development”.

Young children of this study are not becoming passive bilinguals, but use each parent’s language separately (see Kheirkhah, 2016, p. 15). Complementary to the use of languages depending on who is the other speaker, some of the participants expressed
that their children were not responding to people who were speaking to them in a different language than the one they commonly used. A mother shared her story about a Greek relative of hers who started speaking English with her son:

“His relationship with everyone is a respectively different code. […] He never speaks in a different language than the one he is used that you speak. The little one’s response, when a Greek-speaker talks to him in English or the other way around, is silence”. [Eleni]

This child chose silence, while others have other negative responses, like the one below:

“Her paternal grandfather used to say some words in Russian […] When he does that, she corrects him, saying: No! You speak Greek!” [Alexandra]

“She has heard me speaking Greek. This is the language I speak with her father and out of the house. […] Once I started singing in Greek, then she told me: No, mum does not sing Greek, dad will sing that. No mommy! Don’t sing!” [Maria]

“If someone says something in Italian because he knows that his father speaks Italian to him, he does not pay attention. He only answers to his dad.” [Irene]

Findings of studies in family language policy indicate that choices about language may be emotionally motivated (Kheirkhah, 2016, p. 16). Therefore, parents decide to achieve family bilingualism so that their children can have positive, strong social relations with family members (p. 16). Additionally, the lack of peer influence can contribute to that. When someone else invades their relationship with this significant other with whom they speak one language, they can be disturbed or distracted.

Here, parents seem to understand that their young children do not want to switch languages and they take this negative response as something positive and natural. Their young children still need a language routine in their life.

In this theme, parents seem to describe another way according to which their children exercise agency. It is revealed that very young children can control the use of adequate language, even their speaking ability is premature. Surprisingly to their parents, children’s agency comes through as “resistance to inconsistent use of language”. Children are seen to promote and negotiate consistent language use. Thus, parents
ensure that they have an unvarying family language policy (see Saunders, 1988, p. 43) and also make sure that other adults who are related to their children speak to the children consistently in one language.

C. Influence on the parents’ language use

Parents reported different examples in which the effect of language choice in the house is recognised. The couple below started using a third language in the house after realising that they needed to conceal some of their sayings:

“He has begun understanding everything in both languages. Therefore we (participant and his wife) use English to hide ourselves”. [Alex]

Another situation is that some parents, especially the ones who were not fluent in their significant other’s language wanted to learn the language after their child used that.

“I learn Italian. I would like to understand as well. I think that when they speak to each other (husband and son), I cannot be part of the discussion”. [Irene]

“Listening to us speaking in English, her father is also learning the language” [Maria]

This finding can initiate research on how preschool-aged children affect their parents’ socialisation practices. Language socialisation is an interplay. Tuominen (1999, cited in King et al., 2008, p. 913) argues that “Children in multilingual families are socialising their parents instead of being socialised by them”. Two parents of this study, who were self-defined as monolinguals at the time of the interview, were ready to start learning another language in their household, by their own children through caregiver-child interactions. This study points that children can negotiate their parents’ language choices.

Another mother says that she has expanded her vocabulary in the house:

“She is developing her Greek-language skills faster. I knew this was going to happen when she starts preschool. They discuss different topics there. I try to create opportunities to talk about different things so that she can have a richer Russian vocabulary as well.” [Alexandra]
Luykx (2005, p. 1409) present three ways children can influence the language development of their parents. Adaptation of parents’ “own language use in order to promote desired linguistic competencies in their children” is described by the author and considered as an indirect way in which children affect their parents’ language use.

Concluding, according to this last theme that was derived from the data of this study children are seen by their parents to “Influence the parents’ language use”. As described by the parents, children influence the former’s language development, which eventually can affect parent’s socialisation practices. This is a striking finding since we can understand that children’s agentic role is not restricted only in the household and into how family bilingualism can be achieved and maintained. In this representation of agency, parents improve the way they speak or learn a new skill. Their children’s use of languages elicits improvements in their everyday socialisation activities. This study provides further support that children can negotiate their parents’ language choices.

**Children’s agency in the Greek family**

Each of the themes described before corresponded to parents’ perceptions of children’s agency as reported by the former. The analysis revealed that parents of preschool-aged children, who raise them in Greek-bilingual families, and permanently reside in Greece, talk about their children’s ability to influence changes in their families. Therefore, they consider their agentic role. As was mentioned in the Methodological Framework, children’s agency was explained to the parents briefly as the action of children to affect the family’s everyday decisions or lives. Intentionally, there was no question, whether they recognise their children’s agency. I tried to elicit if this is the case through their thoughts and descriptions. All the parents shared thoughts about having changed their family language policy, or were ready to proceed to change. An implication of this is the possibility that parents do not only recognise the concept but embrace it in their family.

This study did not produce divergent results, but I am aware that answers that contradict parents’ perceptions of their children as active influencers could be derived in different cases of participants. Even the timing of our interview could affect those nuanced results. There is an argument already within the sociology of childhood that children are understood as both competent beings and dependent on adults around them (Sparrman & Sandin, 2012, p. 14), that cannot be omitted in this study. In relation to
that, it is of major significance for the reader to acknowledge that in this study parents’ perceptions of their children’s agency are explored within a family bilingualism context that was predetermined by the parents without the children being considered.

DISCUSSION

This section begins with a discussion of the findings of this study. Then, I will present the limitations of my study. Finally, I will make some suggestions for further research.

The result of this study shows three ways that parents in bilingual families consider the influence of their children on the language use when describing their everyday lives;

A. Influencing parents’ confidence in the chosen language policy,
B. Resistance to inconsistent language use
C. Influence on the parents’ language use.

Findings of the study challenged previous results stating that parental beliefs about language use get influenced by third parties (King, Fogle and Logan-Terry, 2008, p. 913). According to the first type of agency that parents reported; namely “Influencing parents’ confidence in the chosen language policy”, children’s competence in both spoken languages influences parents’ emotional security about their choices regarding family language policies. This fluency in the languages can cause the continuity of the present family language policy or a change in the way parents and children use their languages. These findings correlate with King and Fogle’s (2013, p.16) research and further support that children’s competence in their parental languages influences both parent-children interactions and the decisions parents make about family language policy.

The second type of agency, which parents describe is “Resistance to inconsistent language use”. Children resist to the use of a language in two situations; when they are using the acquired languages according to what language does their interlocutor consistently use, and when they respond with silence or correct their interlocutor when he/she switch to a language that they are not used that he/she speaks. Other scholars have confirmed that children can resist types of talk, and therefore resist adults’ language choice of interaction (Fogle and King, 2013, p. 14). The next finding has not confirmed previous research, where Genesee claims that young children will use their
languages appropriately when “with strangers with whom they have had no prior experience” (Genesee, 2009, p. 5). In this study, parents recognise their children’s agentic role in relation to both their private use of language and other people who interact with their children. This type of agency consists a significant result of the study since we understand that young children do not only affect the language policy in their bilingual family but also affect third parties’ use of language when they are with them.

Last but not least, parents describe “Influence on the parents’ language use” as a third type of agency. Children, from a very young age, influence parents’ language development. Some parents change or improve the way they speak, while others start learning a new language. Both admit that their children’s use of language motivated them. As proposed by Fogle and King (2013, p. 2) as well, this evidence points that children can negotiate their parents’ language choices and therefore their socialisation practices. In accordance with this result, Tuominen’s research (1999, cited in King et al., 2008, p. 913) proved that school-aged children might affect their parents’ socialisation policies. These results are probably showing that parents consider their children’s agency out of the micro-level of their family language policy. Parents seem to think that their children influence their lives as adults interrelated to their life in the family.

Parents were willing to talk about their everyday lives in their Greek-bilingual families. Taken together, the results indicate that parents of preschoolers recognise actions that cause changes in the family language policies or their life as bilingual families. It seems that lack of a common definition used in Greek society does not relate with parents’ perceptions of their children as capable of participating in decision-making procedures actively.

**Limitations of the study**

While planning a study design, one cannot eliminate unexpected factors. For this study, I had the following unexpected facts that were later integrated into the thesis during analysis. First, there was this father who unexpectedly appeared in an interview with his wife. He and his wife were treated equally and were interviewed together. I cannot be sure whether their answers would be different if each of them had been interviewed alone. Then, all the participants were married and often used the plural personal pronoun “we” when referring to their thoughts, implying that the couple thinks in the
same way. The unexpected situations described above could lead to future research about couples’ interpretations of their children’s agency.

Furthermore, the study was unable to bring evidence on how children influence the language use of their siblings or peers. Probably, this is due to the sample of parents of preschoolers. I could avoid recruiting parents of preschoolers and therefore have some stronger stories from families with older children, with talkative siblings or peers from school or the neighbourhood. There is a considerable amount of research on bilingualism in families, which is usually focused on the language development of children under the age of five (Kheirkhah and Cekaite, 2017, p. 1), but still there is a significant discussion in the child-centered research community about the exclusion or limited participation of children with low speaking abilities (Oswell, 2013, p. 37) like infants, toddlers, and preschoolers. For that reason, even though I did not interview children but their parents, I chose parents to young preschool-children to be represented in this thesis, despite the weaknesses that could arise. Spyrou (2011, p. 151) argues that children’s voices should be heard and presented to the world, instead of being muted, so that childhood can be better understood.

These were not the only weak points in my study. One significant limitation was the restricted timeline that led me to the study of a small sample of parents. The findings might not be representative of all parents within Greek-bilingual families, although all of the interviewed parents consider their children’s agentic role in their everyday lives. Thus, I think that my results are interesting but given that they are based on a limited number of parents they should be treated with caution.

Finally, as mentioned before, children’s agency is a complex concept, which has been barely studied empirically within the Greek society. Limited previous literature within the Greek context regarding parent’s perspectives of their children’s agency within bilingual families did not allow me to compare my results to similar studies. However, access to related empirical and theoretical data in the international body of research, concerned with family bilingualism and particularly the aspects of family language policy, and socialisation in relation to children’s agency (see, for example, Ahearn, 2001; Curdt-Christansen, 2009; Gyogi, 2015; Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015; King and Fogle, 2013) was helpful in order to analyse the data.
According to my knowledge, there is no earlier research on Greek children’s agentic role within family bilingualism. Therefore, it is of great significance to argue about how innovative this study is. Despite all limitations, this study adds to the existing research on children’s agency and family bilingualism and more importantly it contributes to the research of children’s agency within the Greek context.

**Suggestions for further research**

This study has proved that parents of bilingual children in Greece consider and embrace their children’s agentic role within their family. The findings of this study confirm that Greek children are perceived as active agents by their parents, who therefore negotiate their own language acquisition and the language use of the adults around them. Within the scope of this study, I often refer to the ways that parents consider their children influence in their bilingual family as “types of agency”. They cannot be considered types of children’s agency before further research validates these results. Hopefully, this study will serve as a base to further research on Greek children’s agency.

The same study would be interesting if home-based observations would be taken into consideration as a supplement method. Children and parents’ activities could be observed by the researcher. Thus, someone can get a bigger picture of what happens in practice and create knowledge in addition to what parents report about their family life in their bilingual environment. Moreover, the results of this study should be validated by a larger sample size, or maybe for a different sample, i.e. parents of older children or couples interviewed together. Such a study should be conducted on other various micro-levels than family language policy. Furthermore, each type of agency could be fundamental for separate studies. For example, the interesting finding on how children are able to influence their parent’s language development, can initiate research on how preschool-aged children affect their parents’ socialisation practices. Broadly speaking, future research is recommended in order to gain a deeper understanding of the complex concept of children’s agency within the Greek-context. Complementary research can be conducted in relation to various aspects of children and childhood, like parenthood, education, or play.
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Appendix A

Request for participants

Good afternoon! I am a graduate student at a university in Sweden, and my field is related to Children. I am getting prepared for my thesis, and I am looking for parents who raise their children bilingually. If anyone is interested in devoting some personal time, please contact me via message.

Thank you very much!

In the personal message, I explained to them that I would like to interview them and that I would contact them again later when I would be ready. It was unexpected that they were interested in helping and invited me over before I explain the research in detail.
Appendix B

Interview guide

The questions below serve as guidance for a semi-structured interview (duration of 30 mins), which will provide data for my first-year master thesis on “Parents’ perceptions of their children’s agency within the context of family bilingualism.” During the interview, I will use phrases that will help me clarify what is said or will ask questions that will give me more details.

Thank you for participating in this interview. My research area is family bilingualism, and I would like to discuss how everyday life is in a bilingual family. I will kindly remind you that we can stop the interview whenever you would like, or you can withdraw if you want.

Before we start, I would like to learn more about you and your family. (Warm-up questions)
- How many children do you have?
- How old are they? (I will ask to get focused on the preschooler).
- Does s/he attend preschool?

You responded to my request because you raise your child bilingually,

1. How did you get into raising your child mu/bilingually?
   a. [If it is not mentioned] What languages are spoken in the house?
   b. How many languages do the children speak?
   c. Why did you choose those languages?
   d. Are both languages used on an everyday basis?
   e. Who speaks what language to the child?

2. What language does your child mostly use? [In case of very young child, below two years old, I can explain that by “use,” we can talk about responding]
   a. With whom does s/he use that language?
   b. Can you give me an example when this occurs?
   c. Why do you think that your child uses that language with that person?
   d. [If the answer is too vague] Can you specify that?
   e. What do you think about that?
   f. Have you noticed when s/he chooses this language?
   g. Does your child use more than one languages?
   h. How does s/he do that?
   i. It would be great if you shared an example!
   j. What do you think about that he sometime uses another language [with you/with the father]?

3. [Closure] It would be interesting to listen to what his/her favourite song is.

It sounds like you are doing an excellent job! I imagine how wonderful a day in your house would be! Thank you for your time!
Appendix C

Consent form\(^8\) *(translated into English)*

Faculty of Arts and Science
Department of Thematic Studies
Master of Social Science with a major in Child Studies

**Informed Consent Form**

The presented informed consent form is for parents with bilingual or multilingual children of preschool age. You are invited to participate in research on parents’ view on how children affect family life regarding the spoken languages. The research is conducted by Foteini Karagrigori as a part of her postgraduate thesis.

This form consists of two parts:
- The first part has information about the study.
- The second part is where you signify your consent to participate.

**Part One: Research Information**

**Introduction:**
I am Foteini Karagrigori, and I am a postgraduate student at the University of Linköping, Sweden. My master’s programme is related to children and childhood, and my thesis aims to examine parental thoughts about the influence of children on family decisions, particularly in bilingual or multilingual families’ context. This form contains some research information and the conditions for participation in the interviews. I am available to answer any questions you may have.

**Type of Research Intervention:**
A qualitative survey was designed with the use of semi-structured interview, to analyse parents’ thoughts about their children. This means that an interview will be conducted where we will discuss how everyday life is in your bilingual family. The data will be analysed by me and will be presented to a committee at Linköping’s University.

**Participant Selection:**
You were chosen to participate in the study by yourself after you responded to my request on Facebook and after we confirmed that you are a parent of a bilingual child under the age of six years old.

**Voluntary Participation:**
Your participation is voluntary. It is your personal choice whether to participate or not. In case you participate, you may stop the discussion at any time, without mentioning the reason.

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\(^8\) Created in Greek after consulting the next form: http://www2.media.uoa.gr/institute/journalism/assets/docs/EPIIE_Informed_Consent_Jrn_Sexual_Victimization.pdf. Google search indicated that it was inspired by the templates given here http://www.who.int/rpc/research_ethics/informed_consent/en/
Procedures:
If you accept to take part in an interview with me, the interview will be held where you think it is better and more convenient. The interview will be audio-recorded and then will be transcribed by myself. Parts will be translated into English to be included in the study.

Duration:
The interview will be an open discussion and is designed to last approximately 30 minutes. The timeframe may increase if you feel you want to talk more.

Confidentiality and Anonymity:
The information you will share will be completely confidential, and no one than me will have access to it. During transcription, any personal information (for example, your name) will be changed. Anonymity is going to be retained in any published text.

Sharing the Results:
Once the study is completed (September 2017), I can contact you to send you a digital copy or an abstract in Greek.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw:
Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and includes the right to withdraw. You can interrupt the discussion and even stop it whenever you wish (during or after the end of the interview).

Contact Information:
You can contact me anytime you wish for further clarifications or anything else you might need. My full contact details are:
Phone Number: +30 6975029856
Email: fotka918@student.liu.se
Facebook: www.facebook.com/f.karagrigori

Thank you very much for your intention to participate,
Foteini Karagrigori

Part two: Certificate of Consent

- I have read the given information.
- I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I had, have been answered to my satisfaction.
- I understand that excerpts of my replies can be used anonymously in future publications.
- I know that the interview will be audio-recorded.
- I understand that I can withdraw whenever I want.
- I am aware of all the above and I voluntarily consent to participate in the research.

Full Name  Signature  Date