

Challenges for researchers when getting access to children and young people and their consent in research. A scoping review

Hervor Alma Arnadottir, Guðrún Kristinsdottir, Sissel Seim & Svein Vis

To cite this article: Hervor Alma Arnadottir, Guðrún Kristinsdottir, Sissel Seim & Svein Vis (04 Dec 2023): Challenges for researchers when getting access to children and young people and their consent in research. A scoping review, Nordic Social Work Research, DOI: [10.1080/2156857X.2023.2290129](https://doi.org/10.1080/2156857X.2023.2290129)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/2156857X.2023.2290129>



Published online: 04 Dec 2023.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 68



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Challenges for researchers when getting access to children and young people and their consent in research. A scoping review

Hervor Alma Arnadottir^a, Guðrún Kristinsdóttir^a, Sissel Seim^b and Svein Vis^c

^aFaculty of Education and Diversity, School of Education, University of Iceland, Reykjavik, Iceland; ^bDepartment of Social Work, Child Welfare and Social Policy, Oslo Metropolitan University, Reykjavik, Iceland; ^cFaculty of Health Sciences, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, Tromsø, Norway

ABSTRACT

This article aims to support researchers in addressing the challenges when seeking access to CYP and their consent to participate in research. Despite the growing consensus about the need to involve children and young people in research, there is a lack of literature on how to increase their participation in welfare research. Researchers have reported that seeking contact with children and young people can be challenging, requiring approval from numerous gatekeepers. This scoping review discusses challenges researchers must address when seeking access to children and young people and getting their consent for research. The article reports on findings from 14 qualitative studies, using thematic analysis to identify common topics. We conclude that the main challenges are a lack of clarity and confidence in researchers' communications with gatekeepers, children, and young people. To overcome those challenges, researchers should write clear research plans, demonstrate and clarify that they are qualified to work with children and young people and incorporate time for trust-building. However, we also conclude that more evidence from children's and young people's perspectives is needed to shed better light on their experiences participating in welfare research and what motivates them to agree to participate.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 30 January 2023
Accepted 27 November 2023

KEYWORDS

Child; consent; participation; research; gatekeeper

Introduction

There has been growing awareness about children's rights and the importance of participation of children and young people [CYP] in research projects (Bradbury-Jones, Isham, and Taylor 2018; Carter 2009; Stafford et al. 2021; UNCRC 1989). Three approaches have been used to identify the level of CYP's participation in research: Research *on* children, *with* children, and *by* children (Asselin and Doiron 2016). Clavering and McLaughlin (2010) describe cooperative research as being conducted *with* or *by* participants rather than *to*, *about* or *for* them. Research with CYP should use a rights-based approach (Bessell 2015; Colling 2012) that recognizes CYP's vulnerability and lack of power. It should also respect CYP's entitlement to express opinions about their lives and environment. Using a rights-based approach, researchers employ theories that authorize CYP to actively represent their perceptions of issues in their lives using child-friendly participatory methods, including drawing, talking, photographs, and making crafts (Bessell 2015; Colling 2012; Farmer and Cepin 2015; Guttormsdóttir and Kristinsdóttir 2017). Even though research *with* CYP has increased, there is still a gap in research on the participation of CYP who are getting support from the child welfare system (Cojocarú 2013; Fleming 2011; Garcia-Quiroga and Agoglia 2020;

Horwath 2011; Mossige and Backe-Hansen 2013; Perry-Hazan 2016). To produce research findings that are helpful in developing services in professional social and health practice (Drisko and Grady 2015), it is essential to have data from all groups of people, including CYP (Kennan, Fives, and Canavan 2012; Kiili, Moilanen, and Larkins 2023; Seim and Slettebø 2017; Stabler and Carro 2020). CYP are not a homogenous group; they have diverse needs and expectations (Arnadottir and Olafsdottir 2019; Merkel- Holguin et al. 2020; Stabler and Carro 2020). By recognizing CYP and supporting their participation in research, researchers can give CYP new experiences and an increased understanding of their rights (Kiili, Moilanen, and Larkins 2023).

Ethical standards that encourage trust and fairness are required in research involving CYP. Legal regulations differ between countries and sometimes even between ethical committees inside each country. The same applies to regulations regarding age limits for children's consent to participation. In any case, the researcher needs to follow specific standards to ensure the quality of the research (European Commission 2021; Kristinsdottir 2020; Peart and Holdaway 2000). After getting the required formal permission from the ethics committee, researchers need to get clearance regarding access to the target group.

Recruiting CYP receiving support from child welfare services for research projects is often challenging (Merkel- Holguin et al. 2020; Watson, Meineck, and Lancaster 2018) and sometimes results in failure to conduct the research project with the target group. On closer inspection, challenges for the researchers can often be found in their relationship with gatekeepers (Kennan, Fives, and Canavan 2012), who sometimes are called *betweeners* due to their position of being in between the data collectors and potential participants (Heath et al. 2007; Keesling 2011). Based on their personal or work position, gatekeepers can control who has access to the respondent and when (Keesling 2011; Powell and Smith 2009). They include managers and practitioners in welfare organizations and parents/caregivers (Kennan, Fives, and Canavan 2012; Kristinsdottir and Arnadottir 2015). Gatekeepers want to be included in the creation of the research plan early to ensure that it will be appropriate for CYP to participate in the research project (Reeves 2010; Skelton 2008).

Researchers depend on the gatekeepers' time and interest in paving the way to access children. However, the process is obstacle-oriented, leaving some CYP out of having a say in their participation in research (Checkoway 2011; Dentith, Measor, and O'Malley 2009; Fitzgerald and Graham 2011; Garcia-Quiroga and Agoglia 2020). In addition, researchers believe that gatekeepers find it challenging to balance participation and protection because they do not recognize these concepts as cohesive; instead, they see them as conflicting forces (Dempsey et al. 2016; Sandberg 2018; Vis, Holtan, and Thomas 2012). This challenge could lead to the exclusion of CYP in favour of adult participants (Schelbe et al. 2014; Tunestveit, Njøs, and Seim 2022) and failure to include CYP's voices (Carter 2009). The outcome is that researchers adhere to protective ideas about CYP instead of looking at their skills, competencies, and their right to have to say about their lives and sometimes the lives of others (Cojocar 2013; Fitzgerald and Graham 2011; Gallagher et al. 2012; Roose et al. 2009; Seim and Slettebø 2017).

In this review, we point out factors that researchers need to explain better when requesting access to children to increase the likelihood of obtaining consent from all stakeholders. We aim to support researchers in addressing the challenges when seeking access to CYP to participate in research. The purpose is to enhance opportunities for CYP to be involved. Thus, the research question framing the review is: What are the main challenges researchers must overcome when seeking access to CYP and getting their consent in welfare research?

Methods and analysis

In the research methodology literature, it is increasingly common to distinguish between the systematic review and the scoping review approach (Munn et al. 2018). The former usually produces a synthesized answer to a specific problem and may aim to provide best

practice guidance based on the sum of evidence. The scoping review approach, on the other hand, serves different purposes, including identifying the types of evidence available, examining how research is conducted on a particular topic, or identifying gaps in the knowledge base. In this study, we chose a scoping review to map relevant articles and address the current knowledge about challenges researchers face when seeking access to CYP for welfare research.

Sampling criteria

In this review, we chose research articles carried out *with* CYP in welfare research. The focus is on 10–18-year-old CYP because this literature review is part of a larger project where the age limit is 10–18 years. We conducted the searches in Scopus and ProQuest. We used the following keywords for the search: ‘qualitative research’ or ‘social research’, ‘youth or ‘children & youth’, ‘research participation’ or ‘participation in research’ or ‘involvement’, ‘children’s involvement’ or ‘children’s participation’. The entire search string is available from the first author upon request.

We included articles if:

- they were related to issues arising when seeking access to CYP and their consent, aged 10–18,
- they included researchers’ reflections about conducting qualitative research with CYP,
- they were published in English or Icelandic journals between 2015 and 2021,
- full access was attainable,
- the study context was related to research within child welfare services,
- they were scientific peer-reviewed publications.

We excluded articles if:

- the research focused primarily on children younger than 10,
- they concerned adults, 18 years and older,
- the topic was research conducted *by* CYP,
- the study addressed only methodological issues,
- they were review studies.

The process of selecting the final articles for analysis was a reflective journey. First, the research team read through the articles’ full texts and discussed the relevance of the material. The review includes 14 articles with stakeholders: CYP, gatekeepers, and researchers. As shown in [Figure 1](#), the search and retrieval process identified 1163 studies through the initial search process. We read 44 studies in full text to determine if the inclusion criteria were met; this eventually led to the exclusion of 30 of those studies. Later, we identified 12 additional articles by looking for other potentially relevant articles in the reference lists of the previously identified articles and by consulting with colleagues who are experts in the field. We excluded 12 of the remaining studies because they focused on child led projects. Thus, the final sample included in this review is 14 articles.

Analysis

To ensure that the literature is covered and to analyse the findings, we adopted the five stages framework from Arksey and O’Malley (2005) which describes the process from the research question to the discussion. The process is not linear but interactive, requiring reflective thought at every step of the writing process. After creating a research question, we identified keywords to search for relevant studies. Then, reading abstracts, we generated criteria for deciding which upcoming articles suited the research’s aim and purpose. Our analysis process was interactive. We read and coded the text, looking for ‘bottom-up’ patterns and building themes related to the

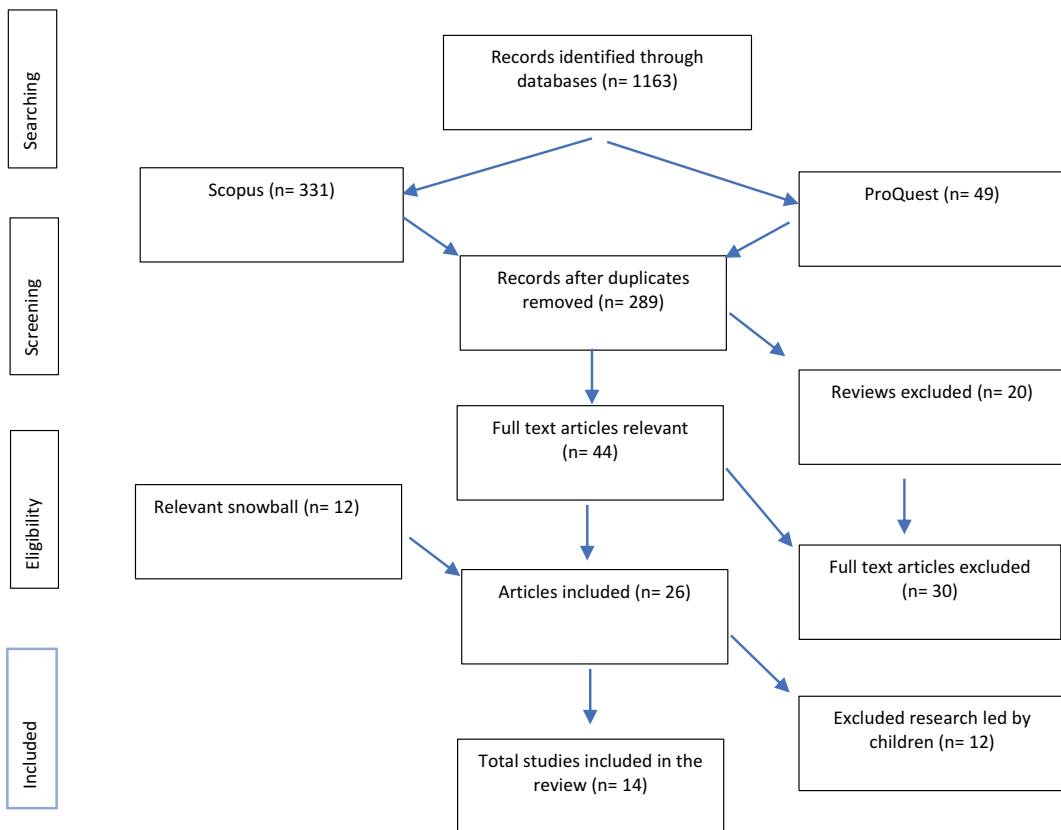


Figure 1. Flowchart of literature search and selection process.

research question and the project's aim. Reading and coding the text led to the themes we present and discuss in this article.

Findings

The 14 articles address the subject of research with CYP differently; some are self-reflections about previous studies, while others use individual or focus group interviews with stakeholders, including CYP and gatekeepers. The included studies were conducted in the Minority world: Australia ($n = 7$), England ($n = 2$), New Zealand ($n = 1$), New Zealand and Australia ($n = 1$), Scotland ($n = 1$), Ireland ($n = 1$), and Portugal ($n = 1$). None of the included articles came from the Majority world as defined by Tisdall and Punch (2012).

Analysis of the articles resulted in three main topics: (1) The researchers' competences, (2) The research project, and (3) Understanding and trust.

Five of the fourteen articles address the gatekeepers' and CYP's concerns about the reputation and qualifications of the researchers when deciding if they want to support the project and participate in the research (Martins, Oliveira, and Tendais 2018; Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018; Moore et al. 2021; Powell et al. 2018, 2020). To support research and open the gates, stakeholders want researchers to be more precise about the following themes: the researchers' background and qualifications.

Table 1. Key characteristics of the included studies characteristics in table 1: 1. The researchers' competences. 2: the research project. 3: understanding and trust.

Author and year	Country	Study design	Main topic	Characteristics
Moore et al. (2021)	Australia	Focus group interview with children 9–16 years old	What factors lead children to agree to participate in social research? Extrinsic and intrinsic motivations for participation.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The researchers' competences 2. The research project 3. Understanding and trust
Powell et al. (2020)	Australia	Semi-structured interviews with 42 adult and child stakeholders	Address and explore factors that influence decision-making from the stakeholders' point-of-view.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The researchers' competences 3. Understanding and trust
Kyritsi (2019)	Scotland	Case study	How to obtain ongoing and informed consent in research with children.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. The research project 3. Understanding and trust
Moore et al. (2018)	Australia	Case study	How to be creative and use pictures when choosing methods for research with children.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The researchers' competences 2. The research project 3. Understanding and trust
Vaswani (2018)	England	Case study	Reflection on researchers' obstacles in seeking children's participation and discussing how to overcome these obstacles.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The researchers' competences 3. Understanding and trust
Martins et al. (2018)	Portugal	Case study	How to obtain informed consent using plain and meaningful language.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The researchers' competences 2. The research project 3. Understanding and trust
Powell et al. (2018)	Australia	Interviews with children, parents, and other stakeholders	Stakeholders' perspectives on what is defined as a sensitive topic to help address a potential concern and facilitate the development of research with children.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The researchers' competences 2. The research project 3. Understanding and trust
Kennan and Dolan (2017)	Ireland	Case study	The challenge of navigating the balance between participation and protection.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Understanding and trust
Turner and Almack (2017)	England	Case study	Exploration of complexities of relationships and negotiations with gatekeepers.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Understanding and trust

(Continued)

Table 1. (Continued).

Author and year	Country	Study design	Main topic	Characteristics
Powell et al. (2016)	New Zealand/Australia	Case study	How to improve practice in qualitative research involving children.	3. Understanding and trust
Collings et al. (2016)	Australia	Case study	To balance and be aware of the tension between parents' and children's rights.	3. Understanding and trust
Moore et al. (2016)	Australia	Case study	How to use reference groups made up of children to promote and help researchers reconsider their research approaches.	2. The research project 3. Understanding and trust
Daley (2015)	Australia	Case study	Balancing protection and participation in research design.	3. Understanding and trust
Graham and Powell (2015)	New Zealand	Case study	How to provide a framework for approaching ethical research involving children.	3. Understanding and trust

The researchers' competences.

Researchers' background

The researchers' responsibility is to provide all stakeholders, professionals, parents/caregivers, and CYP with enough information to decide whether they want to support the researcher's project by participating (Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018; Powell et al. 2018). Moore et al. (2021) and Powell et al. (2020) point out that, from the point of view of the gatekeepers, it is essential that researchers give information about the institution they represent. They emphasize that gatekeepers trust researchers who represent universities more than those representing other agents, like non-governmental organizations. The challenge for researchers is demonstrating the institution's quality and developing genuine respect and trust.

Researchers' qualifications

Moore et al. (2021) and Powell et al. (2020) address the requirements from stakeholders about the quality and experience of researchers working among CYP. In general, researchers must present themselves and their work in a way that demonstrates their ability to work professionally with CYP. For instance, researchers must demonstrate their relevant educational and experiential background for working with CYP. The challenges entail establishing trust and cooperation with CYP. Furthermore, researchers should be capable of informing gatekeepers that they are skilled in various methods when working with CYP and emphasize how they consider their approaches according to age, developmental stage, and cultural background (Martins, Oliveira, and Tendais 2018; Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018; Moore et al. 2021; Powell et al. 2018, 2020). Informed and meaningful participation is a critical aspect of research with children and young people (Martins, Oliveira, and Tendais 2018). Therefore, researchers must provide information to ensure that CYP are fully informed and can freely give or withhold their consent (Vaswani 2018). They must explain to CYP the aims and purpose of the research and how findings will impact their lives both now and possibly in the future (Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018; Powell et al. 2018). Moore et al. (2018) pointed out that researchers too often talk to CYP in complex language, which could lead to CYP not understanding the nature of their involvement in the project (Powell et al. 2020).

The research projects

Five articles describe how, for gatekeepers to be willing to encourage CYP to participate in research, researchers must show that they have chosen creative research design and methods appropriate for children (Kyritsi 2019; Martins, Oliveira, and Tendais 2018; Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018; Moore et al. 2021; Powell et al. 2018).

Creative and meaningful

CYP have expressed their desire to choose whether to participate when asked to contribute or participate in a project. They want to have a say in the time and location of the meeting and whether they will be interviewed alone or in a group (Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018). CYP were more likely to participate if the research issues were related to their daily lives and if the topics were well-known and meaningful. To have a chance to talk about things during the interview and 'get things off your chest' could be healing. Some CYP said it might be better to use face-to-face interviews rather than talking in groups if the topics are sensitive (Moore et al. 2021). Others disagreed, saying they would benefit from being in a group, allowing them to listen to the opinions of other CYP who have had similar experiences (Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018).

CYP were less likely to participate if they did not connect to the subject or found it boring (Moore et al. 2021). While some of the reviewed studies seem to compensate for this by attempting to make the research process more 'fun for children', this can detract from the

purpose of the research (Moore et al. 2021; Moore, Noble-Carr, and McArthur 2016). CYP also reported wanting to know about the potential use of the project. All stakeholders would be more likely to support or participate in a study if they thought it would improve the lives of others (Moore et al. 2021; Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018). Moore et al. (2018) and Kyritsi (2019) emphasize consent as part of an ongoing creative process rather than a unique event by including CYP in every research stage. CYP must understand what the researchers expect from them in the research process, which helps them know what they consent to (Martins, Oliveira, and Tendais 2018; Moore et al. 2021; Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018). In discussing informed consent, Kyritsi (2019) criticized the process of seeking consent regarding participation in research, questioning whether CYP could exercise their fundamental rights when they are the last ones to be asked to participate. She argues that due to this low priority, CYP are powerless, and she questions whether they get to have a voice.

Understanding and trust

Twelve articles discussed gatekeepers' requests for building relationships to work on mutual trust and understanding of the subject and the importance of the research.

It is challenging for all actors to have time and space for reflective discussion about the meaning of CYP participation and protection with that aim to build mutual understanding of the aim and the purpose of the research and trust.

Gatekeepers' beliefs and worries

Six of the included articles discuss challenges related to gatekeepers' beliefs and worries about CYP's participation in research (Daley 2015; Graham and Powell 2015; Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018; Powell et al. 2016, 2020; Vaswani 2018). Although we identified certain common factors in the articles, we found that gatekeepers' concerns varied based on their beliefs, roles, and experience working with CYP (Powell et al. 2020). After obtaining ethical clearance, researchers must negotiate with other gatekeepers, who are often overloaded with work and only sometimes prioritize researchers' applications to recruit participants (Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018). This process has proven challenging and described as protracted, intricate, complicated, and sometimes unworkable for researchers (Vaswani 2018). Moore et al. (2021) discuss doubts among gatekeepers about whether it is always appropriate to ask CYP to participate in research because of their vulnerability and level of maturity. They question if it is appropriate to ask CYP to discuss sensitive topics, including sexual abuse, problems at home, or death. Other studies found that gatekeepers believe CYP can discuss every topic – it just depends on the researchers' qualifications and ability to use suitable approaches and tools. The researcher must contextualize participation appropriately related to CYP's development (Kyritsi 2019; Powell et al. 2020; Vaswani 2018). However, professionals are aware of the gatekeeper's role and the responsibility that comes with it because of children's rights to participate and have their voices heard (Powell et al. 2020). Researchers have noted that some gatekeepers believe that supporting researchers in accessing CYP goes beyond their professional responsibility (Collings, Grace, and Llewelly 2016).

Perception of risk

Eight articles discuss the gatekeepers' concerns about the risk of involving CYP in research as a crucial challenge (Collings, Grace, and Llewelly 2016; Daley 2015; Kennan and Dolan 2017; Kyritsi 2019; Martins, Oliveira, and Tendais 2018; Moore et al. 2021; Powell et al. 2020; Vaswani 2018).

Powell et al. (2020) discuss risk as a critical concern for gatekeepers and underline how researchers need to know how to plan and manage CYP's safety, including the potential impacts of the research. Under some circumstances, participation could traumatize CYP or jeopardize their safety. Daley (2015) and Powell et al. (2020) discuss a tension between respecting CYP's autonomy and the right to participate while protecting them from harm. Powell et al. (2020) found that

whether the research project should be supported was based on potential risks to the child, emphasizing how researchers acted to mitigate these. When discussing the importance of involving diverse groups in research, Daley (2015) argued that excluding people from participation in research can only be justified where there may be potential harm to participants. Daley (2015) discusses that ethical research reviewers are so preoccupied with protecting CYP from risks and harm that they compromise their rights to participate in research and have a voice in matters that affect them. Daley argues that excluding CYP from participation in research will lead to a lack of understanding of how CYP experience their lives and the provided services.

Thus, a protective attitude could result in CYP not being allowed to participate in matters that influence their own lives and environment. Collings et al. (2016) discuss parents' duty to protect their children versus the right of the latter to participate in research. In addition to preventing CYP from suffering emotional harm in research settings, researchers must create a safe and protective physical environment (Martins, Oliveira, and Tendais 2018). According to Moore et al. (2021), some CYP identified schools as safe places for interviews because these familiar environments could empower them and put them in an equal position.

Building relationships

Nine articles discuss the importance of establishing and maintaining good relations with gatekeepers (Collings, Grace, and Llewelly 2016; Martins, Oliveira, and Tendais 2018; Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018; Moore et al. 2021; Powell et al. 2016, 2018, 2020; Turner and Almack 2017; Vaswani 2018). When gaining access to CYP and getting them to participate in research, researchers are often grounded in their competence to develop and maintain relationships with the key actors, gatekeepers, and CYP (Turner and Almack 2017). To the gatekeepers, it was essential to have the opportunity to form relationships with researchers (Moore et al. 2021; Powell et al. 2018), but for some researchers, building these relationships has proven frustrating (Martins, Oliveira, and Tendais 2018; Powell et al. 2020; Turner and Almack 2017). The relationships with gatekeepers give researchers opportunities to present the purpose, potential benefits, context, and details about the conduct of the study (Collings, Grace, and Llewelly 2016). As mentioned earlier, researchers need to share whether they know about CYP's cognitive level and have experience talking to children and young people in a language they understand (Powell et al. 2020; Vaswani 2018). Parents emphasized the importance of relationships with the researcher who would be in contact with their child. In some cases, the researcher's gender was relevant – for example, if the research were about sexual violence (Powell et al. 2020). Some CYP underlined trust and experience because they felt they would be more likely to agree to participate if the researcher had experience working with children and youth, which would increase their trust. Other CYP value the anonymity of an interview with a researcher they did not know before (Moore et al. 2021). Powell et al. (2020) discuss what effect the gatekeepers' relationships with CYP may have on CYP's decision to participate in research. They point out that CYP may not want to participate but feel obliged to because of their relationship with the gatekeeper. From CYP's perspective, this could be the case because of their position at school as class representatives or of loyalty, i.e. because someone they have a relationship with asked them to take part, and they could not refuse (Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018).

Discussion

This scoping review aimed to support researchers in addressing the challenges when seeking access to CYP and their consent to participate in research. Our purpose has been to enhance opportunities for CYP to be involved in research. The research question was: What are the main challenges researchers must overcome when seeking access to CYP and getting their consent in welfare research?

Overall, this review requires ongoing development and analysis of best practices when conducting research with CYP to meet legal rights and the growing requirements regarding CYP in research (Bradbury-Jones, Isham, and Taylor 2018; Carter 2009; Stafford et al. 2021; UNCRC 1989).

We have divided the discussion into three main topics: The researchers' competencies and the research project itself (including the need to be creative and meaningful). The third topic concerns challenges such as understanding and trust, including beliefs and worries, perceptions of risk, and building trust and relationships. The discussion addresses each topic and presents ideas about overcoming challenges.

Six of the fourteen articles discuss researchers' competencies and challenges (Martins, Oliveira, and Tendais 2018; Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018; Moore et al. 2021; Powell et al. 2018, 2020; Vaswani 2018). In addition, Moore et al. (2021) and Powell et al. (2020) discuss the importance of all stakeholders trusting the researchers' affiliated institution. Improving an institution's reputation would be a long-term task that would depend on factors including the institution's size and the researcher's level of influence. However, being part of or associated with a university will enhance trust.

When researchers seek the support of gatekeepers to access CYP and their consent, they must present their qualifications, knowledge and experience working with children.

Even if the researcher has appropriate approval from an ethical board, this does not necessarily guarantee access. Other gatekeepers may want to consider if the researcher is qualified enough. The gatekeeper's personal and professional values also impact the standards for such consideration. Vis et al. (2012) mention that gatekeepers have criticized researchers for lack of knowledge and experience when working with CYP in complicated situations. Gatekeepers have also criticized researchers for writing complex and lengthy introductions to their research plans, making it difficult for stakeholders to understand the study and how it benefits children. A lack of clarity regarding researchers' qualifications can reduce the likelihood of participation and trust among stakeholders.

The second topic, being creative and meaningful, refers to how researchers can meet participants' needs by offering them choices regarding location and approach (Fleming 2011; Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018). Researchers are responsible for using appropriate methods to ensure the study is in the CYP's best interests. CYP have emphasized that the research topics must be relevant and meaningful (Mossige and Backe-Hansen 2013). Martins et al. (2018) and Kyritsi (2019) have presented ideas for a child-friendly interface and equipment to make the participation of CYP in research more meaningful for children. Using pictures and conversation cards has also proved useful (Guttormsdóttir and Kristinsdóttir 2017; Woodhead & Faulkner, 2000). In addition, several authors propose that researchers could build self-reflection into their work by inviting CYP to provide feedback throughout the process (Fleming 2011; Mossige and Backe-Hansen 2013; Powell et al. 2016). Stakeholders mention that researchers need to clarify their plans to handle data and information, who will benefit from their research, and how to avoid possible harm to CYP involved in the project. Being clear about the benefits for children is not always easy. One reason is that the primary aim of the research is to gain new knowledge. Unless the study is a clinical intervention, it is only sometimes possible to pinpoint the benefits of possible outcomes (Kennan and Dolan 2017).

Additionally, participation in research may not be enjoyable when the topic is sensitive or severe. However, the research design should be creative and exciting for CYP whenever possible. As children and young people say, they would be more likely to participate in a project that at first sight seems fun and exciting than in a project that seems purposeless and boring (Martins, Oliveira, and Tendais 2018), which aligns with the earlier findings of Stafford et al. (2003). To overcome these challenges, the researcher could be more reflective, use a collaborative approach, and focus on relationships built on trust, respect, and transparency (Powell et al. 2018). Kyritsi (2019) and Moore et al. (2018) offer creative solutions to support CYP in making informed decisions. Moore et al. (2018) offer ways to obtain consent using a graphic rather than text format, how best to explain roles, and other tools helpful in overcoming those challenges. Kyritsi (2019) offers a box with cards that

CYP can use to stop or skip a topic at any time during the research process, corresponding to previous findings of Guttormsdóttir and Kristinsdóttir (2017). Daley (2015) points out the contradiction in emphasizing the rights of CYP to participate in matters concerning them while simultaneously putting them last in line in obtaining consent. When the line of gatekeepers is long and challenging, particularly in the case of marginalized CYP, the latter might never get to choose whether to participate or express their feelings about participating in research. In this context, it is vital to question whether the safeguarding process protects the system, the gatekeepers, or the CYP.

Building understanding and trust between CYP, gatekeepers and researchers in this context includes addressing how their beliefs, expectations and worries may differ. Building a trustful relationship through reflective discussion in the preparation phase is a process towards mutual understanding on the subject and enhancing the researchers' sensitivity to gatekeepers' concerns and CYP's needs. When striving to reach a mutual understanding with children and gatekeepers, it is essential to consider that child participants and researchers cannot negotiate away the power differences between them. Hence, we must recognize how such power differences form the backdrop of our ethical considerations when including children (Kiili, Moilanen, and Larkins 2023; Moore et al. 2021; Powell et al. 2018, 2020; Turner and Almack 2017). From the researchers' point of view, the process stretching from the initial application to getting access to CYP is often long and challenging. Contacting and getting *buy-in* from the gatekeeper is a challenging task for the researcher, sometimes resulting in the termination of the project (Daley 2015). Previous studies relate that such processes have resulted in the exclusion of children and their voices (Carter 2009; Cojocarú 2013; Gallagher et al. 2012; Roose et al. 2009; Seim and Slettebø 2017; Tunestveit, Njøs, and Seim 2022).

There are two main views on the perception of risk. On the one hand, gatekeepers claim that researchers are not being careful enough; on the other hand, researchers claim that gatekeepers' overprotection hinders CYP's participation (Collings, Grace, and Llewelly 2016; Daley 2015; Kennan and Dolan 2017; Kyritsi 2019; Martins, Oliveira, and Tendais 2018; Powell et al. 2020, 2020; Vaswani 2018). Much of the discussion involves gatekeepers' concerns about what is appropriate when inviting CYP to participate in research. The viewpoint is that CYP are sensitive and should be protected, especially if the subject is considered sensitive. Prior research has shown that gatekeepers often see participation and protection as irreconcilable (Dempsey et al. 2016; Sandberg 2018; Vis, Holtan, and Thomas 2012). CYP's participation needs to be meaningful, powerful, and responsive. To fulfil this, the researcher needs to build in time to increase the possibility for CYP to have a positive experience and feel safe participating (Moore, Noble-Carr, and McArthur 2016). Stakeholders ask that researchers plan for more time and have the competence to build trust and relationships when doing the research. They want to have the opportunity to evaluate the work at hand and get to know the researcher (Martins, Oliveira, and Tendais 2018; Powell et al. 2020; Turner and Almack 2017). This point of view corresponds with other research (Hood et al., 1996; Kennan, Fives, and Canavan 2012; Reeves 2010; Skelton 2008), which has found that researchers should use the time to build trust with those who can assess the researchers' competence. Increased demands for speed and efficiency can be challenging and even a barrier for researchers to reserve time to build relationships and trust with gatekeepers. Researchers are often not given enough time to prepare for these issues, which can lead to the failure of the research and the exclusion of certain groups of potential participants (Cojocarú 2013; Fleming 2011; Garcia-Quiroga and Agoglia 2020; Horwath 2011; Kennan, Fives, and Canavan 2012; Mossige and Backe-Hansen 2013; Perry-Hazan 2016). Input from the individuals in these groups can matter when researchers make evidence-based conclusions about their lives (Drisko and Grady 2015).

Conclusion

To overcome the challenges in accessing CYP and getting their consent in research, researchers should give the concerns of gatekeepers and children more attention. As introduced above, researchers should carefully design their studies to meet the stakeholders' expectations and requirements. When preparing the research plan, they must know how to present their qualifications and experiences working with CYP. In addition, they should include time for building a trusting relationship with stakeholders. By explicitly addressing these concerns in the research processes, researchers can be more successful in involving CYP in research.

For future work, it could be interesting to look at recommendations from Collings et al. (2016) that identify champions, people within an organization with positive experiences working with CYP, who could share success stories about their experiences collaborating with researchers. In addition, champions could run workshops for gatekeepers on CYP's rights to participate in research and how it could benefit them and support gatekeepers in making informed decisions about CYP's participation.

Listening to stakeholders' demands and considering their concerns should increase researchers' likelihood of getting through the gates and asking CYP to participate (Daley 2015; Graham and Powell 2015; Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018; Powell et al. 2018, 2020).

Study limitations (1)

This scoping review provides an overview of the challenges researchers need to address in their research plans when they are aiming to include CYP in research. We based the search and the literature identification on a combination of keywords connected to the aim. Although we conducted the literature search using the central social science databases, searching in additional databases with a more comprehensive search of the grey literature might have identified additional publications. Additionally, our procedure may have overlooked one or two relevant studies due to the indexing in research databases. The studies reviewed, however, were diverse concerning context, aim, and scope. This review is limited to identifying specific barriers that authors will mention when planning a study, leaving out more tacit barriers not explicitly communicated in scientific papers.

All the included articles come from the Minority world. None is from the Majority world, which is a significant limitation. Academics have pointed out previous studies' homogeneity and lack of diversity (Tisdall and Punch 2012).

Most of the reviewed research builds on and discusses adults' views on CYP's participation and best practices when attempting to gain access to children and young people and their consent in research due to our sampling criteria. On the other hand, there is a noteworthy increase in research on CYP's participation in decision-making in welfare services (i.e. Cudjoe, Uggerhoj, and Abdullah 2020; Fylkesnes et al. 2021; Husby, Slettebo, and Juul 2018; Kosher and Ben-Arieh 2020; Lauri, Toros, and Lehtme 2021; Mitchell 2022; Nunes 2022; Skauge, Storhaug, and Marthinsen 2021; Toros 2021). These topics are, however, outside the scope of this article. The CYP in the included articles relate what would appeal to them regarding research participation. Future research could address the issue of the hierarchy of gatekeepers and how to ensure that CYP are not the last in line to be invited to participate in research.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

References

- Arksey, H., and L. O'Malley. 2005. "Scoping Studies: Towards a Methodological Framework." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 8 (1): 19–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1364557032000119616>.
- Arnadóttir, H. A., and S. H. Ólafsdóttir. 2019. "Við eigum ekkert hús. Reynsla og upplifun barna af því að búa við fátækt [We have no house. Children's experiences of living with poverty]." *Journal of Social Work* 1, 13:13–20.
- Asselin, M., and R. Doiron. 2016. "Ethical Issues Facing Researchers Working with Children in International Contexts." *Journal of Childhood Studies* 41 (1): 24. <https://doi.org/10.18357/jcs.v41i1.15695>.
- Bessell, S. 2015. "Rights-Based Research with Children: Principles and Practice." In *Methodological Approaches. Geographies of Children and Young People*, 2, edited by, R. Evans, L. Holt, and T. Skelton. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-4585-89-7_17-1.
- Bradbury-Jones, C., L. Isham, and J. Taylor. 2018. "The Complexities and Contradictions in Participatory Research with Vulnerable Children and Young People: A Qualitative Systematic Review." *Social Science & Medicine* 215:80–91. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2018.08.038>.
- Carter, B. 2009. "Tick Box for Child? The Ethical Positioning of Children as Vulnerable, Researchers as Barbarians and Reviewers as Overly Cautious." *International Journal of Nursing Studies* 46 (6): 858–864. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijnurstu.2009.01.003>.
- Checkoway, B. 2011. "What is Youth Participation?" *Children and Youth Services Review* 33 (2): 340–345. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2010.09.017>.
- Clavering, E. K., and J. McLaughlin. 2010. "Children's Participation in Health Research: From Objects to Agents?" *Child: Care, Health, and Development* 36 (5): 603–611. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2214.2010.01094.x>.
- Cojocar, D. 2013. "The Participatory Evaluation of Children in Child Welfare Case Study: The County of Iasi, Romania." *Procedia - Social & Behavioral Sciences* 92:192–196. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.08.658>.
- Colling, T. M. 2012. "Improving Research of Children Using a Rights-Based Approach: A Case Study of Some Psychological Research About Socioeconomic Status." *Frontiers in Psychology* 3:1–4. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2012.00293>.
- Collings, S., R. Grace, and G. Llewelly. 2016. "Negotiating with Gatekeepers in Research with Disadvantaged Children: A Case Study of Children of Mothers with Intellectual Disability." *Children & Society* 30 (6): 499–509. <https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12163>.
- Cudjoe, E., L. Uggerhoj, and A. Abdullah. 2020. "'We are Consultants, Not collaborators': Young People's Experiences with Child Protection Meetings in Ghana." *Children and Youth Services Review* 109:1004748. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2020.104748>.
- Daley, K. 2015. "The Wrongs of Protection: Balancing Protection and Participation in Research with Marginalized Young People." *Journal of Sociology* 51 (2): 121–138. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783313482365>.
- Dempsey, L., M. Dowling, P. Larkin, and K. Murphy. 2016. "Sensitive Interviewing in Qualitative Research." *Research in Nursing & Health* 39 (6): 480–490. <https://doi.org/10.1002/nur.21743>.
- Dentith, A. M., L. Measor, and M. P. O'Malley. 2009. "Stirring Dangerous Waters: Dilemmas for Critical Participatory Research with Young People." *Sociology* 43 (1): 158–168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038508099103>.
- Drisko, J., and M. Grady. 2015. "Evidence-Based Practice in Social Work: A Contemporary Perspective." *Clinical Social Work Journal* 43 (3): 274–282. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-015-0548-z>.
- European Commission. (2021). *Ethics in Social Science & Humanities*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/docs/2021-2027/horizon/guidance/ethics-in-social-science-and-humanities_he_en.pdf.
- Farmer, D., and J. Cepin. 2015. "Creative Visual Methods in Research with Children and Young People." In *Methodological Approaches. Geographies of Children and Young People*, 2, edited by, R. Evans, L. Holt, and T. Skelton. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-4585-89-7_22-1.
- Fitzgerald, R., and A. Graham. 2011. "Something Amazing I Guess": Children's Views on Having a Say About Supervised Contact." *Australian Social Work* 64 (4): 487–501. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2011.573861>.
- Fleming, J. 2011. "Young People's Involvement in Research: Still a Long Way to Go." *Qualitative Social Work* 10 (2): 207–223. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325010364276>.
- Fylkesnes, M., M. Larsen, K. Havnén, Ø. Christiansen, and S. Lehmann. 2021. "Listening to Advice from Young People in Foster Care—From Participation to Belonging." *The British Journal of Social Work* 51 (6): 1983–2000. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcab138>.
- Gallagher, M., M. Smith, M. Hardy, and H. Wilkinson. 2012. "Children and Families' Involvement in Social Work Decision Making." *Children & Society* 26 (1): 74–85. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2011.00409.x>.
- García-Quiroga, M., and I. S. Agolia. 2020. "Too Vulnerable to Participate? Challenges for Meaningful Participation in Research with Children in Alternative Care and Adoption." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 19:1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406920958965>.
- Graham, A., and M. A. Powell. 2015. "Ethical Research Involving Children: Encouraging Reflexive Engagement in Research with Children and Young People." *Children & Society* 29 (5): 331–343. <https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12089>.

- Guttormsdóttir, Á. B., and G. Kristinsdóttir. 2017. “Fósturbarn Eins Og Kría á Steini– Reynsla Barna Af Fóstri Og skólagöngu. [A Child in Foster Care, as an Artic Tern on a Stone - Children’s Experiences of Out-Of-Home Foster Care and Schooling” In *Netla*, on Pedagogy and Education]. School of Education, University of Iceland. [on-line <http://netla.hi.is/greinar/2017/ryn/09>].
- Heath, S., V. Charles, G. Crow, and R. Wiles. 2007. “Informed Consent, Gatekeepers, and Go-Betweens: Negotiating Consent in Child- and Youth- Orientated Institutions.” *British Educational Research Journal* 33 (3): 403–417. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01411920701243651>.
- Horwath, J. 2011. “See the Practitioner, See the Child: The Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and Their Families ten Years on.” *British Journal of Social Work* 41 (6): 1070–1087. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcq137>.
- Husby, I. S. D., T. Slettebo, and R. Juul. 2018. “Partnerships with Children in Child Welfare: The Importance of Trust and Pedagogical Support.” *Child & Family Social Work* 23 (3): 443–450. //WOS:000438199200013. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12435>.
- Keesling, R. 2011. *Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods* 1–3. Sage Publications, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412963947>.
- Kennan, D., and P. Dolan. 2017. “Justifying Children and Young People’s Involvement in Social Research: Assessing Harm and Benefit.” *Irish Journal of Sociology* 25 (3): 297–314. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0791603517711860>.
- Kennan, D., A. Fives, and J. Canavan. 2012. “Accessing a Hard-To-Reach Population: Reflections on Research with Young Careers in Ireland.” *Child and Family Social Work* 17 (3): 275–283. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2011.00778.x>.
- Kiili, J., J. Moilanen, and C. Larkins. 2023. “Child-Researcher Relationships in Child Protection Research: An Integrative Review.” *European Journal of Social Work* 26 (3): 480–493. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2021.2016648>.
- Kosher, H., and A. Ben-Arieh. 2020. “Social workers’ Perceptions of Children’s Right to Participation.” *Child & Family Social Work* 25 (2): 294–303. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12685>.
- Kristinsdóttir, G. 2020. *The Participation of Children in Scientific Research General Guidance*. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/352292004_THE_PARTICIPATION_OF_CHILDREN_IN_SCIENTIFIC_RESEARCH_GENERAL_GUIDANCE.
- Kristinsdóttir, G., and H. A. Arnadóttir. 2015. *Gatekeeper - what is your role? Children’s participation in research [Hliðvörður - hvert er hlutverk þitt?Þátttaka barna í rannsóknum]*. *Netla – Vefímarit um uppeldi og menntun*. Menntavísindasvið Háskóla Íslands. <http://netla.hi.is/greinar/2015/ryn/002.pdf>.
- Kyritsi, K. 2019. “Doing Research with Children: Making Choices on Ethics and Methodology That Encourage Children’s Participation.” *Journal of Childhood Studies* 44 (2): 39–50. <https://doi.org/10.18357/jcs442201919059>.
- Lauri, K., K. Toros, and R. Lehtme. 2021. “Participation in the Child Protection Assessment: Voices from Children in Estonia.” *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal* 38 (2): 211–226. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-020-00724-x>.
- Martins, P. C., V. H. Oliveira, and I. Tendais. 2018. “Research with Children and Young People on Sensitive Topics – the Case of Poverty and Delinquency.” *Childhood* 25 (4): 458–472. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568218793931>.
- Merkel- Holguin, L., L. Schwab-Reese, I. Drury, H. Allan, and D. Hollinshead. 2020. “Nothing About Me without Me: Children’s and Young People’s Experiences with Family Group Conferences.” *Child & Family Social Work* 25 (1): 27–36. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12648>.
- Mitchell, M. 2022. “Because I’m a Kid . . . : The Struggle for Recognition of Children and Young People Involved in Child and Family Social Work [Article].” *Child and Family Social Work* 27 (3): 526–534. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12905>.
- Moore, T., M. McArthur, A. Graham, J. Chalmers, M. A. Powell, and S. Taplin. 2021. “Children and Young People’s Decision-Making in Social Research About Sensitive Issues.” *Children’s Geographies* 19 (6): 689–704. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2020.1866749>.
- Moore, T., M. McArthur, and D. Noble-Carr. 2018. “More a Marathon Than a Hurdle: Towards Children’s Informed Consent in a Study on Safety.” *Qualitative Research QR* 18 (1): 88–107. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794117700708>.
- Moore, T., D. Noble-Carr, and M. McArthur. 2016. “Changing Things for the Better: The Use of Children and Young People’s Reference Groups in Social Research.” *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 19 (2): 241–256. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2014.989640>.
- Mossige, S., and E. Backe-Hansen. 2013. “For Sensitivt for Ungdom [Too Sensitive for Young People?” In *Barn I Forskning [Children in Research]*, edited by H. Fossheim, J. Holen, and H. Ingigerd, 43–71. Oslo: De nasjonale forskningssetiske komiteene.
- Munn, Z., P. D. J. Micah, C. Stern, C. Tufanaru, A. McArthur, and E. Aromataris. 2018. “(2018). Systematic Review or Scoping Review? Guidance for Authors When Choosing Between a Systematic or Scoping Review Approach.” *BMC Medical Research Methodology* 18 (1): 143. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12874-018-0611-x>.
- Nunes, R. R. 2022. “Participation in Child Protection: Empowering Children in Placement Processes.” *The International Journal of Human Rights* 26 (3): 420–436. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2021.1931137>.

- Peart, N., and D. Holdaway. 2000. "Ethical Guidelines for Health Research with Children." *New Zealand Bioethics Journal* 1 (2): 3–9.
- Perry-Hazan, L. 2016. "Children's participation in national policy making: You're so adorable, adorable, adorable! I'm speechless; so much fun!." *Children and Youth Services Review* 67:105–113. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2016.05.015>.
- Powell, M. A., A. Graham, M. McArthur, T. Moore, J. Chalmers, and S. Taplin. 2020. "Children's Participation in Research on Sensitive Topics: Addressing Concerns of Decision-Makers." *Children's Geographies* 18 (3): 325–338. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2019.1639623>.
- Powell, M. A., A. Graham, J. Truscott, M. Vicars, and M. Vicars. 2016. "Ethical Research Involving Children: Facilitating Reflexive Engagement." *Qualitative Research Journal* 16 (2): 120–144. <https://doi.org/10.1108/QRJ-07-2015-0056>.
- Powell, M. A., M. McArthur, J. Chalmers, A. Graham, T. Moore, M. Spriggs, and S. Taplin. 2018. "Sensitive Topics in Social Research Involving Children." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 21 (6): 647–660. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2018.1462882>.
- Powell, M., and A. B. Smith. 2009. "Children's Participation Rights in Research." *Childhood* 16 (1): 124–142. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568208101694>.
- Reeves, C. 2010. "A Difficult Negotiation: Fieldwork Relations with Gatekeepers." *Qualitative Research* 10 (3): 315–331. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794109360150>.
- Roose, R., A. Mottart, N. Dejonckheere, C. Nijnatten, and M. Bie. 2009. "Participatory Social Work and Report Writing." *Child and Family Social Work* 14 (3): 322–330. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2008.00599>.
- Sandberg, K. 2018. "Children's Right to Protection Under the CRC." In *Human Rights in Child Protection. Implications for Professional Practice and Policy*, edited by A. Falch-Eriksen and E. Backe-Hansen, 15–38. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-94800-3>.
- Schelbe, L., A. Chanmugam, T. Moses, S. Saltzburg, L. R. Williams, and J. Letendre. 2014. "Youth Participation in Qualitative Research: Challenges and Possibilities." *Qualitative Social Work* 14 (4): 504–521. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325014556792>.
- Seim, S., and T. Slettebø. 2017. "Challenges of Participation in Child Welfare." *European Journal of Social Work* 20 (6): 882–893. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2017.1320531>.
- Skauge, B., A. S. Storhaug, and E. Marthinsen. 2021. "The What, Why and How of Child Participation—A Review of the Conceptualization of Child participation in Child Welfare." *Social Sciences* 10 (2): 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10020054>.
- Skelton, T. 2008. "Research with Children and Young People: Exploring the Tensions Between Ethics, Competence, and Participation." *Children's Geographies* 6 (1): 21–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733280701791876>.
- Stabler, W. D., and H. Carro. 2020. "What Do Children Think About Their Social Worker? A Q-Method Study of Children's Services." *Child & Family Social Work* 25 (1): 118–126. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12665>.
- Stafford, L., J. Harkin, A. Rolfe, J. Burton, and C. Morley. 2021. "Why Having a Voice is Important to Children Who are Involved in Family Support Services." *Child Abuse & Neglect* 115:1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2021.104987>.
- Stafford, A., A. Laybourn, M. Hill, and M. Walker. 2003. "Having a Say: Children and Young People. Talk, About Consultation." *Children & Society* 17 (5): 361–373. <https://doi.org/10.1002/CHI.758>.
- Tisdall, E. K. M., and S. Punch. 2012. "Not so 'New'? Looking Critically at Childhood Studies." *Children's Geographies* 10 (3): 249–264. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2012.693376>.
- Toros, K. 2021. "A Systematic Review of Children's Participation in Child Protection Decision-Making: Tokenistic Presence or Not?" *Children & Society* 35 (3): 395–411. <https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12418>.
- Tunestveit, M., B. M. Njøs, and S. Seim. 2022. "Collective Participation of Children and Young People in Child Welfare Services – Opportunities and Challenges." *European Journal of Social Work* 26 (2): 285–297. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2022.2092073>.
- Turner, N., and K. Almack. 2017. "Recruiting Young People to Sensitive Research: Turning the 'Wheels within wheels.'" *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 20 (5): 485–497. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2016.1207943>.
- UNCRC [United Nations Convention on the Rights of Children], (1989).
- Vaswani, N. 2018. "Learning from Failure: Are Practitioner Researchers the Answer When Conducting Research on Sensitive Topics with Vulnerable Children and Young People?" *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 21 (4): 499–512. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2018.1434866>.
- Vis, S. A., A. Holtan, and N. Thomas. 2012. "Obstacles for Child Participation in Care and Protection Cases—Why Norwegian Social Workers Find It Difficult." *Child Abuse Review* 21 (1): 7–23. <https://doi.org/10.1002/car.1155>.
- Watson, D. L., C. Meineck, and B. Lancaster. 2018. "Adopted Children's Co-Production and Use of Trove to Better Understand Their Care Histories Through Precious Objects." *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 23 (4): 614–628. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359104518776359>.
- Woodhead, M., and D. Faulkner. 2000. "Subjects, objects or participants?." In *Research with children: Perspectives and practices*, edited by P. Christensen and A. James 9–35. London: Routledge Falmer.