



Report Series

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Examining How Actively NGOs Fulfil Their Roles to AMTs

Introduction

Amid the retrenchment of already weak state social protections and a growing humanitarian caseload, NGOs are positioned as the de facto primary humanitarian actors in France. AMTs are an especially vulnerable constituent within migrant populations, rendering NGO interactions with them crucial, and invaluable. The primary roles, as established in the previous report, taken on by NGOs for AMTs therefore including the following:

- Primary material aid provider
- Primary protective agent
- Facilitators of social need realisation
- Primary mechanism for child-status realisation
- Anchors of informational authority

This has led to the expansion of the sector into a complex ecosystem of organisations addressing migrants' rights-based material, social and protective needs. Some NGOs identify and respond to AMTs' unique need profile, strategically eroding the disjuncture between their abstract entitlements and lived experiences. Others, however, exhibit a more uniform approach, operationalising shared rights directly into discrete provisions, rather than tailoring their responses to more holistically address the wider ways in which right-derivative needs manifest amongst specific population groups. Therefore, though indisputably the principal provider for AMTs by virtue of their positioning, the extent to which NGOs actively fulfil this role, thus actively engaging in and constructing their relationship with AMTs is far more nuanced.

In the context of this report, an assessment of how effectively NGOs fulfil their roles to AMTs would be largely redundant, focused on transactional outcomes more reflective of non-engagement and the challenges facing their delivery, rather than the nuances of their relationship. This paper therefore solely focuses on the extent to which roles are actively engaged, through assessing NGO's constitutional efforts to provide separate and specialised provision, the contextualisation of broad-mandate provisions for AMTs and - less structurally - the rational efforts made on an individual level to cater towards them, all of which indicate deliberate participation in such roles.

An overview on the context of France's transitory environment can be found in the introduction to the first paper: Establishing the role of NGOs: Framing NGOs within migratory social protection ecosystems, and characterising the needs of adolescent minors in active irregular transit.

The organisations referred to and statements made on the frequency of certain provision will be qualified in their scope but were primarily identified through a comprehensive collation and analysis of organisations listed in the Paris, Lyon, Nantes and Toulouse Watizat information guides, Channel Information Project's (CHIP) Calais New Arrival Guide (NAG) and InfoMigrant's 'Help For Migrants in France' list of organisations.

Constitutional Arrangements: Dedication of Services

NGOs' intentional participation in the roles they take on for AMTs can be seen most overtly in the development of dedicated organisations, designation of specialised services, and intra-service differentiation.

Dedicated Organisations

Whilst there exist numerous NGOs dedicated to the direct address of adolescent migrants seeking longer-term support, attempting to apply for asylum, or engage with ASE (i.e. Collectif 113, 3AMIE, Midis du Mie, Cajma 22), providing comprehensive services to meet material, social and protective needs, there remains a comparatively significant deficit in organisations dedicated to meeting the needs of AMTs, additionally acute in specific need types.

Social Rights

In Calais, where adolescent-specialised NGOs do exist, they are largely rooted in wellbeing and recreation-enabling contexts - meeting social needs. In this realm, a number of NGOs operate:

- **Kaleidoscope:** Psychosocial support provided through youth work, clubs, workshops, etc for young people aged 12-18 in Calais and Dunkirk. Activities are designed to give the opportunity for agency, self expression, recreational respite, and informal education.
- **Project Play:** Provide play opportunities for children, support caregivers and parents, and refer minors to other age-contingent services to promote holistic wellbeing.

Across France, though NGOs supporting the social integration and by extension needs of adolescent migrants are by no means uncommon, social support dedicated towards *AMTs* is far less extensive. An assessment of all NGOs listed under 'Day Centers' and 'Unaccompanied Minors' across the aforementioned Watizat guides exemplified this, revealing there to be only 7 NGOs specialised in providing age-contingent spaces for adolescents in transit, of a total 62 centers across the country. This number drops to three when discounting those targeted towards minors not in active transit¹, three when discounting spaces welcoming those over eighteen, and four when only accounting for those dedicated to migrants.

Protective Rights

At present, no organisations operate in France with an exclusive mandate to protect *AMTs* from potential exploitation and abuse. However, the fulfilment of a right does not occur in isolation, through discrete and specific provision-right functions, but rather in tandem with others in a breadth of intersecting and complimentary manners. Many of the services provided by the aforementioned NGOs present opportunities for both incidental and intentional protection. This can be seen in Project Play's framing of their service as responsive to the 'stark lack of support and protection available for children', and evident in the creation of safe spaces to facilitate play fostered by both NGOs, which provide opportunity for relief, reflection and intervention. More implicitly, the trust and relationships actively built through these services, increase NGO's visibility as safeguarders and empower the reporting of abuse - both from communities and young people.

The Watizat guides for Toulouse, Nantes, Lyon and Paris list a total of 32 'Legal Assistance' services dedicated to migrants and legal support. Of these, only three were dedicated towards minors, all of which specialised in

¹ Designation of services targeted towards minors not in transit was made conservatively, including primarily those advertising their services as dedicated towards minors who have been rejected state support and/ or awaiting appeal. Similarly included were services overtly and significantly emphasising long term services facilitating integration (e.g. mentorship, french lessons) ahead or in place of more broadly relevant support (e.g. food)

contested rejected ASE applications and are therefore broadly non-applicable to AMTs. A sole example of a dedicated legal organisation appropriate for those in continued transit was identified in research, operating in the North of France:

- **Safe Passage:** Legal support for underage minors seeking family reunification. Key operations include supporting AMTs in France to achieve legal reunification with families in the UK, protecting minors through - where possible - providing an alternative to dangerous irregular migration routes.

Material Rights

There exist a modest number of organisations providing for the material needs of migrant age-contested ASE applicants and adolescent migrants intending to remain in France for the foreseeable future, such as Midis Du Mie, who provide NFI, food, and shelter. Through dedicating themselves to AMTs, such organisations differentiate themselves from broad-mandate provision which may consist of similar materials, through the elimination of compelled competition with adults, embedding of understandings surrounding best practise for engagement with adolescent migrants, and embedding need-based considerations within service design. Whilst levels of dedicated provision remained low, within the category of shelter provision, there was a far higher rate of age-based dedication, likely reflecting safeguarding concerns.

However, such dedicated provisions for AMTs did not appear to exist, with organisations focused on migrant adolescents not only targeting their services towards more static populations, but establishing contingency. Contingency especially characterises the provision of shelter - even where a short term offering. One such example can be found in La R'ssorce's offer of temporary shelter for nineteen days, contingent on the establishing of a relationship with the recipient and the recipient's commitment to a long term action plan.

Whilst AMTs could potentially benefit from an incredibly limited number of services within these NGO's throughout France, such as Midis Du Mie's open food distributions for young people or efforts to provide emergency one-off shelter, throughout France, such organisations providing for the material needs of young people were not identified at all in Calais and Northern France, where the dominant population remain in transit.

Specific Services

Whilst not wholly dedicated to AMTs, a number of larger NGOs have developed specific programmes adjacent to their operations tailored towards AMTs.

Social Rights

The development of distinct social programming for adolescents accessible for those in transit within broader-mandate NGOs was limited, with only five such instances identified across France. All but one of these occurred primarily through the establishment of safe spaces for adolescents in day centers:

- **Secours Catholique:** Established a space in Marseille for local NGO stakeholders to run a programme providing a safe space for adolescents ages 16-25, offering WASH and medical services, legal support, food, and recreational activities.
- **Utopia 56 Toulouse:** Operate an unaccompanied minors center adjacent to their general operations in Toulouse, offering access to legal rights support, and recreational opportunities through artistic and cultural workshops.
- **Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF):** Day centre for unaccompanied minors in Calais, providing medical and psychological support through psychosocial activities and consultation.
- **Red Cross:** One of the three programmes within their 'Mobile Support Device for Exiles' focuses on providing support to unaccompanied minors (UAMs) offering recreational psychosocial activities and informing them of their rights in France.

It should be noted that the existence of such provision is remarkably less extensive than the numerous spaces existing for alternative vulnerable migrant populations, such as women, framing such active fulfilment in the above roles, as both inherently and comparatively limited.

Protective Rights

Whilst the dedication of aforementioned social and to be discussed material provisions invariably facilitates and sometimes maintains the dual goal of protecting AMTs, there seemed to exist only one NGO with dedicated programming primarily for the protection of AMTs, which was located in Calais:

- **ECPAT Calais Project:** Social, informational, psychological and legal support to unaccompanied children and those who are survivors of or at risk of sexual exploitation. By establishing recreational opportunities, trust and sustained presence within migrant communities, they work to restore a sense of individual identity, offer psychosocial respite from precarious living environments and monitor for and prevent ongoing or potential harm both directly and through building capacity within communities.

Insofar as legal protection throughout France, whilst a handful of aforementioned legal services offered advice on the application for asylum and navigation of the legal system for minors and families, this was neither in a distinct nor specialised programmatic capacity².

Material Rights

Dedicated programming for adolescents in the pursuit of material right realisation was primarily identified to exist within healthcare-based NGOs, likely owing to the more overtly acute differentiation in need between AMTs and adult migrant populations.

- **MSF:** Provide a day care center in Paris for unaccompanied adolescent girls, where medical, psychological, social and legal support is offered. Provide a day center in Calais for UAMs.
- **Médecins du Monde:** Three of their eight programmes within Paris are dedicated to the support of unaccompanied minors.

The secondary way in which material rights tend to be distinctly programmed for was in the provision of shelter. Though rarely a sustained provision due to capacity constraints, where resources can be found to accommodate the sheltering of migrants, patterns of dedicating this first towards the formation of services for adolescent minors have been established.

At the time of writing, there appears to exist two sustained provisions:

- **MSF:** Shelter for unaccompanied minors with medical vulnerabilities in Marseille.
- **MSF:** Shelter for unaccompanied girls in vulnerable situations in Panit.

Examples of previous programmes include:

- **Utopia 56 Toulouse (2018-2019):** Housing programme for unaccompanied minors.

Notwithstanding the potential exclusion of accompanied AMTs from these services, whilst the medical and shelter needs of UAMs and AMTs are broadly aligned, and thus programming is likely equally appropriate, the focus placed on UAMs as intended recipients highlights the designation of accompaniment as a primary determinant of

² La Cimade was identified as an organisation providing specific programmatic legal support to 'young people', though this was omitted due to its presenting explicit and sole focus on contesting the denial of ASE, which as discussed in the first paper, remains a largely irrelevant service for adolescents in active transit.

vulnerability, as opposed to age. This limits the extent to which the above examples could constitute NGOs' active construction of and engagement in a relationship with AMTs.

Differentiated Services

In recognition of the population and unique manifestation of right-derived needs amongst AMTs, NGOs are actively attempting to fulfil humanitarian roles for AMTs, can be seen to establish differentiated access and provision within their services, facilitating an equity that achieves the equal realisation of recipient's rights. Through recognising dedicating time to the exclusive address of AMTs within broad-mandate programmes, the creation of safe spaces is facilitated, imperatives to compete with adults for services are removed, and opportunities are created for the focusing of provision to better suit AMTs.

Investigation into the services provided by Watizat, InfoMigrant, and CHIP listed NGOs, demonstrated this practice was somewhat limited. Where present, it exists primarily as moderated iterations of the aforementioned work to create separate programming for healthcare (meeting material rights):

- **Comede (healthcare):** Host dedicated consultations for isolated minors. Offer distinctly formatted health checks for them including a clinical and psychological examination³.
- **Migrations Santé (healthcare):** Exclusively serve young migrants aged 16-30 on Friday afternoons.
- **Medecins du Monde (healthcare):** Dedicate sessions to exclusively serving UAMs.

There appeared to be no overt structural intra-organisational differentiation actively addressing AMTs across other types of existing services. However, it should be noted that instances of inter-organisational collaboration, facilitating the differentiation of services, were raised during the interview process. A former volunteer for a broad-mandate NGO running clothes distributions (Collective Aid), highlighted their working in collaboration with ECPAT to provide NFI to the young people they served, and organising specific clothes drops to avoid exploitation and assure their appropriate accommodation. This partnership has since ceased, following the scaling down and closure of Collective Aid's Calais. Moreover, not identified in further interviews, research or fieldwork, conclusions on the frequency and thus implications of this are both limited and skeptical.

However, in the context of the provision of safe spaces (meeting social and protective rights), and across a number of healthcare provisions, services were found to be differentiated by reference to 'children' and 'families' more commonly than for minors. Examples include:

- **Secours Catholique (safe spaces):** Operate a space within their Calais day centre reserved for 'women and children'.
- **Point Accueil (safe spaces):** Separate access to their day centres between 'women and families', 'women with or without children' and 'men over 25'

However, despite equal minority and child status, the adultification of migrant adolescents and infantilisation of the concept of 'child'⁴ in migratory contexts, often lends to their exclusion from accommodations towards 'children'. Systemic and service-access-based manifestations of this can be found in the tendency of adolescents to be migrating without family accompaniment - excluding them from family and women-centered services. Such differentiated services therefore rarely constitute the recognition of, and active engagement with AMTs, rather a complete failure to even conceptualise the population.

³ Such services are perhaps only available for minors receiving ASE care. Whilst contacted for clarification, no response was received.

⁴ Christinaki, Artemis. "Age assessment and migration control: 'child as method.'" *Global Studies of Childhood*, 19 Feb. 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1177/20436106251319471>.

Conclusions

Overall, within Calais, NGOs actively fulfil their roles for AMTs through the dedication and differentiation of services for them to a varied extent. Where NGOs and programmes are dedicated to the address of AMTs, they appear to actively engage with a number of roles. Outside of Calais, their programmatic fulfilment of such roles appears to broadly be far more incidental.

Facilitators of social right realisation

Within Calais, NGOs are actively participating in their roles of facilitating the realisation of social need for AMTs. A number of dedicated organisations exist enabling the development of safe spaces, working to build capacity within communities and amongst young people, and providing recreational opportunities. Though there did not appear to be any evidence of similar programmatic dedications or differentiations within broad-mandate Calaisian NGOs, this could owe to the perception of collective sufficient structural provision, as opposed to non-recognition of and conscious engagement with AMTs (i.e. a psychosocial focussed NGOs not providing NFI would not be indicative NGO's collective non-engagement with their role of primary material aid provider). External to Calais, however, there is far less active engagement, especially when assessed comparative to deliberate efforts to engage other migrant sub-populations, with NGOs' social functions being incidentally fulfilled through AMTs' invariable address by broad-mandate organisations or services. Moreover, AMTs are not provided differentiated services within broad-mandate social provisions, with distinct spaces and programming instead commonly dedicated to women and children - to which they largely do not fit.

Primary protective agent

Whilst only one instance of explicit programming to protect AMTs was identified in Calais, investigation similarly revealed only one organisation dedicated to the general protection of migrant populations - indicating comparative highly active participation. However, as discussed, the sole dedication of services towards discrete right fulfilment is neither necessary nor efficient - especially within the context of protective support and dual functioning AMT-specialised programming. Deliberate programmatic fulfilment of this role, however, through providing AMT-specific legal services is evidently weak - existing only in Calais.

Primary material aid provider

Intentional and specific participation in this role for AMTs through programming was nonexistent, bar within shelter and healthcare provision. Whilst expectations of identifying organisations or programming dedicated to the provision of NFI and nutritional material needs could be reasonably limited, due to the similarity of resource provision required between AMTs and general migrant populations, there existed no constitutional differentiation in provision for AMTs, ensuring accessibility or appeal and therefore signalling intent within role fulfilment. Whilst limited, comparative to short term shelter provision for other transient populations, specialised provision was strong, however, such provision largely incidentally addressed AMTs, through their significant intersection with UAM populations. Within healthcare, there exists a comparatively fair number of specialised services for AMTs.

Anchors of informational authority

There was no unique engagement with AMTs identified in regards to information provision and thus no programmatic participation in this role.

Mechanism for child-status realisation

The structuring of provision differentiation within social-need responsive NGOs - primarily day centres - to accommodate for children rather than minors can undermine the potential of NGOs to act as an affirmational mechanism for child-status realisation, due to the exclusion of AMTs from the category. However, this mechanism can similarly be observed to be actively sustained and catalysed in provision of opportunities for recreation and inclusion in youth-based services, affirming the child-status of AMTs.

Structural Accommodations: Contextualisation of Services

The active fulfilment of the roles taken on by NGOs for AMTs can also be identified in the structural contextualisation of services to better accommodate for or address AMTs, signalling their intentional targeting, and training content designating as a specific end goal or empowering productive engagement with AMTs.

Accommodations within service design

Accommodations within non-specialised services are at times implemented to ensure the appropriate and effective address of AMTs, in absence of sufficient resources or justification to establish separate services. This is a key way in which especially broad-mandate NGOs fulfilment of social, material, and protected provisory roles can be more effectively fulfilled - and crucially for the purposes of this report - distinguished as intentional.

Policies prioritising the protection and accommodation of vulnerable groups often lend to NGOs active engagement with AMTs, by virtue of their vulnerability as a group. However, this largely bounded in its observed materialisation to the provision of emergency aid - most notably shelter. This can be seen in the following instances:

- **Utopia 56 (material/shelter):** Operates across 9 'anetennes' in France and are one of the primary actors within France's migration NGO landscape. They prioritise the mobilisation of their accommodation networks for most vulnerable when official devices are saturated (single women, families, couples, UAM), and operate with an awareness of meeting the needs of vulnerable migrant subgroups with urgency.
- **Comede (healthcare) :** Operate health centres in Paris, Sainte Ettiene, and the PACA region, where priority health reception is provided to minors.
- **MSF (Jan-March 2024) (material/shelter):** Temporary emergency accommodation with priority given first to UAMs, followed by minors, and then families.

The establishment of protective procedures within intervention design can similarly indicate AMTs as a recognised population for whom they actively intervene, and facilitate AMTs' use of the social or material service in question. ECPAT's case study of Calais, draws best practice recommendations around child protection in migratory contexts, highlighting a way in which protective procedures can be embedded through removing AMTs from migratory contexts and community influences whilst delivering services to 'remove external pressures'⁵. Existence of such procedures is not signposted on websites, limiting the ability to draw conclusions on the extent to which NGOs incorporate them. During interviews, however, one volunteer from a broad-mandate organisation described an adaptation to services made when a recipient was identified as potentially vulnerable: 'it was pretty common to take some space with them away from all the action and start a more private conversation to give them a chance to ask for support, remove all those overwhelming influences, or even just establish a more meaningful relationship so they know we are there'. Whilst not a formal process specific to adolescents, it was noted as far more common during interactions with adolescents, implying a particular awareness of and response to their vulnerability. Fieldnotes recorded similar interventions in two other NGOs, though no formalised AMT-specific or structural procedures surrounding it - rather principles of best practice and recommendations from training.

The principle of designing and integrating equitable distribution policies was raised by a small number of volunteers who had previously taken on responsibilities in coordinating distributions. Whilst described as fulfilling a broader role of ensuring equitable access to aid, the 'inevitable consideration of minors within that', lends to their deliberate engagement through adaptation of humanitarian aid distribution to be accessible to AMTs - actively ensuring they fulfil provisory roles for AMTs. This was characterised as a sector-wide practice.

⁵ ECPAT International, 2024, Case Study: ECPAT France in Calais, France, https://ecpat.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Boy_Case_Study_FRANCE_2024Sep_ENG_v4-1.pdf.

However, evaluation of the consideration and prioritisation of AMTs within generalist NGOs, is highlighted in Kaleidescope's⁶ problem statement as predominantly limited to the consideration of *unaccompanied* minors, as opposed to all. This demonstrates again a consideration of accompaniment-status-related needs rather than developmental-based needs, and AMTs as a population. This nuance is reflected in findings from analysis of the language used across the websites of NGOs mentioned in the Calais NAG, which reveal reference to primarily be made to 'unaccompanied minors' in their service descriptions, rather than adolescents or adjacent terms.

The embedding of opportunities for play within service provision can signal attempts to make experiences more engaging and thus ensure AMTs are accommodated for and included, and as a secondary function, provide social relief. Fieldnotes observed this within the practise of CHIP, a broad-mandate organisation: during electricity recharging sessions which lasted around two hours, games such as Connect 4 and Uno were bought and played between volunteers and service recipients. Whilst, this was reflected on as somewhat unique to the circumstance of this distribution-type, where time was afforded for secondary mechanisms of engagement, reference to the importance of 'social interaction' and thus inclusion of 'a game of football or cricket' in distributions is referenced on NFI distributor Care4Calais' website, highlighting integration of this practise elsewhere. However, these neither are noted to be targeted towards a specific age group, rather used by and offered to all.

Accommodations within services recognising the child-status of some recipients theoretically facilitate the appropriate and preferentially-aligned engagement of AMTs, indicating their active targeting, whilst also working to affirm-child status. Examples could include the specific offering of age appropriate clothes for young people, or the inclusion of developmentally appropriate activities within broad-mandate day centres. Discussion with the aforementioned former volunteer for a formally leading broad-mandate NFI provider within Calais, highlighted no such integrated accommodative practices. Our enquiry into the existence of specific activities or accommodations for 'adolescents and older minors' within the broad-mandate organisation Secours Catholique's Calaisian day centre, was responded to with the reference to the referral of 'unaccompanied children' to 'specialised' organisations. Discussion with a former volunteer affirmed this allusion to a lack of internal accommodation, and offered further insight, highlighting visits by Project Play (specialised social provision) to the day center. Therefore, whilst reference to UAMs suggests a partial non-conceptualisation of the developmental category and need profile of AMTs, intentional collaboration with specialist organisations shows a collective and nuanced active approach to fulfilling their roles. However, it was stated that whilst unaccompanied male minors of any age may enter the women and children's section of the day center, male AMTs 'in practice' did not, indicating such 'child' accommodations do not genuinely engage AMTs. In the absence of strong evidence surrounding the frequency of such practice elsewhere, evaluation of the non-inclusion AMTs within conceptions of 'child' and thus the need for age-based provisions (to be expanded on further within the following report) signal their non-adressal through such accommodations. This is underscored by the aforementioned analysis of website language - of the 6/12 broad-mandate organisations who made reference to age, all but one referred to 'children' as a distinct category to 'minors', 'young people' and 'UAMs'. Therefore, these practises - if existent - likely recognise not AMTs but younger children, actively undermining their child-status and not constituting engagement.

Consideration in service implementation

Where the need manifests uniformly across age-categories, structural indicators of active engagement with AMTs can oftentimes not be identified in service *design*, but rather be found in the content of the training broad-mandate NGO workers receive. Training profoundly shapes service implementation, rendering the inclusion of AMT-specific content on safeguarding, support and delivery greatly indicative of NGO awareness of and deliberate attempts to support and ensure AMTs' reception of their services.

Safeguarding training

The embedding of AMT-specific safeguarding training within NGO volunteers' induction, ensures the inclusion of supportive practices for AMTs as identified service recipients.

⁶ Watkins, Meg, and Anna Cookson. Kaleidescope, 2023, *Kaleidoscope—Project Proposal*, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/64a53080d7b36156d71eba80/t/657b258942773966b4d2bc38/1702569354331/Kaleidoscope+Proposal++2nd+ver+updated++copy.pdf>.

The non-existence of the word 'safeguarding' in French was raised by various interviewees - especially those with French as a first language. In the absence of a linguistic worldview that encodes the holistic and proactive protection that 'safeguarding' implies, challenges could present with conceptualising responsibilities and capacities to actively provide AMTs with the unique and targeted extent of protection they require. However, the majority of NGOs' transnational makeup has worked to combat this, integrating understanding and practise of the concept across the sector ecosystem in France. Interviewees largely raised this as a challenge the sector has identified and effectively begun to emphasise and accommodate within internal policy discussion.

Within Calais, fortnightly safeguarding training sessions are offered to new volunteers supporting the NGOs working across the area. Such sessions are advertised to include 'What is safeguarding? Safeguarding of people who use our services, safeguarding of ourselves (burn-out, vicarious trauma prevention)...'⁷. Fieldnotes and reflections by former attendees on this remain vague and non-specific, though reference a training scenario involving an interaction with a young child, and brief discussion of boundaries. Contact was attempted with the coordinators of this session but unsuccessful, therefore the conclusions which can be drawn on the previous or current implications of such training are limited.

Any above lack of address, however, is supplanted by the existence of minor-specific safeguarding training. Commencing September 2025, MSF delivers a monthly joint training session alongside ECPAT on UAMs to local partner organisations. Covering instruction on identification, referral, legal definitions, and safeguarding and protection procedures, the content matter remains largely focused on UAMs. However, the inclusion of best practice surrounding interactions with minors, for example key behaviours to 'watch for', invariably lends to capacity building surrounding intentional and measured interactions with AMTs more broadly. Project Play similarly appear to offer an open attendance training on 'Keeping Children Safe', though following unsuccessful attempts to establish contact, the focus and frequency of such training was unable to be clarified. Training is advertised to include 'navigating challenges around safeguarding and child protection at this border, signs of child abuse, neglect or exploitation, what to do if you make an observation or receive a disclosure, how to interact with children in a way that keeps them and you safe'⁸.

Whilst the extent to which internal training was reported to directly address the protection adolescents or children varied, interviewees reported training on identifying vulnerable individuals and abuse with some consistency. Similarly consistent was the policy of 'do no harm', with interviewees reporting internal training and discussions giving consideration to ensuring aid recipients - and therefore AMTs - were not harmed by NGO actions. Within the policy to do no harm, many highlighted that a training scenario did include interactions with minors but when prompted reflected this was built around dynamics specific to young children.

NAG training

The NAG is updated monthly by CHIP in the 15 languages most commonly spoken amongst local migrant populations, formatted to accessibly communicate the options available to support the meeting of social, material and protective needs. Further than empowering service-use, providing migrants information about their options provides a critical safeguard against exploitation and empowers an agency crucial to the realisation of social rights. These are stated secondary goals of the NAG and observed to be understood across NGO workers. Fieldnotes highlighted this as the key resource used to inform the referring of migrants and facilitate the dissemination of information by NGOs across Calais. CHIP holds monthly 'NAG training sessions', wherein information on how to navigate the guide and make referrals is shared. Such training refers 'briefly to minors and how to refer them', though does 'not focus on them'.

Fieldnotes did not cover NAG training, though highlighted mixed levels of confidence navigating the NAG, dependent on organisation and length of tenure. Interviews questioned the nature and extent of internal training received on making referrals to other organisations and developing an understanding of NGO provision in the area.

⁷ Advertisement made as a message in the cross-organisational, Calais-wide volunteer group chat.

⁸ Ibid

It was revealed to broadly exist but be mixed in its extent - with some interviewees recounting 'fair' amounts of training inclusive of how to refer minors to appropriate organisations and services, with others recalling 'learning it as you go'.

Internal procedural training

Internal procedures surrounding how to interact with AMTs might ensure that services are implemented in such a way which are sensitive to and meeting the needs of AMTs, actively ensuring their address

Volunteer interviews revealed mixed levels of training and awareness of policies on how they ought to interact with and deliver their services to minors in the field. One interviewee referenced training inclusive of guidance on accommodating for factors such as greater autonomy during interactions with AMTs. Conversely, others reported little to no adolescent, or even-child specific training around delivering support. As a trend, organizations either gave extensive specific consideration to the position of adolescents or overlooked them, instead making generalised references to 'children' or 'minors' - or no references at all.

Conclusions

Primary protective agent

Whilst there exists a clear understanding of the vulnerability-derived priority of these groups, active structural engagement in this manner is largely only catalysed in emergency contexts. Similarly, the embedding of protective procedures within intervention design, whilst potentially existent, neither appeared structural nor AMT-specific. However, though not consistently included on an organisational basis, the inclusion of AMT-specific content within collective training opportunities, structurally embeds awareness of protective roles towards AMTs and empowers their proactive and specialised fulfilment. The extent to which this happens external to Calais is unclear as non-inclusion on an organisational basis may not be a trend but rather an efficient response to the existence of AMT-specific training opportunities avoiding duplication.

Primary material aid provider

In structurally recognising their protective role towards AMTs, through the inclusion of accommodative practises or specialised training, broad-mandate organisations signal awareness of AMT reception of their services and embedding accommodative protective practises. Whilst it could be argued that such awareness refines and instills intentions of active address to AMTs throughout their service, no such procedures existed, and separate structural accommodations in terms of material provision are largely only catalysed from this in emergency contexts.

Broad-mandate NGOs did not appear to engage in direct efforts to accommodate AMTs within material provision, or provision-specific procedural training. The tailoring of services to ensure their access, compliment developmental preferences and needs, and make them more holistically engaging and effective, appeared broadly non-specific or 'child' rather than AMT or minor-based. They therefore do not wholly or directly actively engage with AMTs to fulfil a material provision role - rather only recognising their service use due to their preparation for fulfilling AMT-specific protective roles. However, efforts to direct youth to other organisations where possible should be noted.

Facilitators of social right realisation

Alongside signalling the address of services towards AMTs, the embedding of opportunities for play and child friendly options within material or protective service provision would empower social relief. However, as mentioned, such accommodations were non-specific, or seemingly or explicitly addressed to younger children. This can have the effect of actively harming social need realisation, undermining AMTs' child-status through their exclusion from support given to 'children'. Moreover, the inability to appropriately accommodate for AMTs child developmental status indicates a lack of thorough consideration and focus on the population, implying a lack of any or significant deliberate targeting with services and therefore lack of active participation in such roles.

Mechanism for child-status realisation

As covered above, this role does not appear to be structurally fulfilled, but rather at times, undermined.

Anchors of informational authority

There appears to exist limited but nonetheless present structural accommodations through inclusion of specific training on minor referrals, signalling the active and intentional fulfilment of this role for AMTs.

Overall, an assessment of structural accommodations reveal NGOs to broadly actively fulfil their protective and informational roles towards AMTs. Whilst minor-specific safeguarding training invariably builds capacity for intentional and meaningful interactions across service-type, the purpose is framed as facilitatory of protective and informational roles, thus bounded in constituting their active address elsewhere. Therefore, such efforts to accommodate and increase access for AMTs indicative of active engagement with social and material roles appear wholly incidental, infrequent, and at times harmful.

Rational Adaptations: Delivery of Services

Assessing the extent to which individuals rationally adapt the way in which they deliver services for AMT recipients in a consistent coherent manner, indicates the collective active designation of AMTs as a group for whom is actively provided, and reveals non-structural efforts to fulfil roles within broad-mandate NGOs. Moreover, a demonstrated understanding and response to their unique need profile within interactions, strongly signals active consideration of delivery for the group, and thus active participation in the roles NGOs take on for AMTs.

Efforts to ensure provision

Individual's active efforts to identify AMTs and subsequently facilitate the capacities of NGOs to meet material, social and protective needs for them represents the conscious and active assumption of roles for AMTs.

Proactively identifying AMTs during fieldwork was raised almost universally by interviewees and observed in fieldnotes as standard practice. An interesting nuance, however, was revealed in that identification was made with the primary goal of making referrals. Despite variance in organisational emphasis and procedure, interviewees consistently described efforts to ensure AMTs specifically were aware of their entitlements. They broadly agreed on the existence of a culture of information sharing - estimating that a modest majority of volunteers tend to refer proactively, whilst others only upon identifying vulnerability or request. However, referrals were seemingly not made with a view to facilitate reception of NGO's broader protective, material and social provisions through ensuring awareness of service, rather observed to predominantly highlight and direct towards age-contingent specialist services, with referrals to broad-mandate services such as food distributions only made on request. This was supported by interview comments characterising referrals as 'providing them with *their* alternative options', made 'because they have extra options'. One interviewee from a broad-mandate organisation expanded on this in the following way: 'In these contexts everyone is extremely vulnerable and the solutions we have for them just feel so limited... it feels important to highlight when there is more out there to help, especially if specifically for them... whenever we can'.

Fieldnotes observed the coordination between specialist and broad-mandate services, working in conjunction through immediate referrals and information sharing (i.e. alerting an AMT-specialist service of noted vulnerabilities). Interviewees with lived experience of migration as an adolescent and working with NGOs echoed this. Furthermore, hyperawareness surrounding AMTs and potential vulnerabilities or exploitation precluding such referrals and inter-NGO communication was highlighted in fieldnotes. This was reiterated by interviewees.

Provision-based adaptation of services

Consistently made adaptations and discretionary changes to service provision highlight areas in which active efforts are made to ensure broad-mandate provisions are appropriate for and responsive to the needs or even preferences of AMTs - differentiated from efforts with other populations and therefore actively addressing them.

Insofar as embedding childhood-affirming experiences within services meeting material needs, which may demonstrate an active address of AMTs, one interview discussion highlighted the informal practice of saving donations of 'treats' to be given to children during food distributions. However this was qualified as something offered to 'younger children', with the interviewee commenting 'teenagers we broadly had to treat the same as adults though'. Furthermore, whilst playing games of football was commonly referenced as an activity engaged most commonly in between young adults and adolescents, and broad-mandate NGO workers, it was noted that this activity did not derive from an attempt to meet adolescent's play-based needs specifically. It was rather characterised as borne of a shared interest or 'community spirit' and respectively 'initiated by both sides'.

Interviewees across broad-mandate NGOs reported with relative consistency that services they deliver to AMTs were only distinguishable from those with adults by their inclusion of referrals to the age-contingent services available. A small number reported no difference, reasoning they only refer AMTs when asked or if presenting as 'especially vulnerable or in need of support'. Interviewees with lived experience reported they were broadly treated as adults.

Adaptations to service delivery

Whilst the actual service provided may remain consistent, active attempts to fulfil material, social and protective roles can be observed in the development of informal but consistent approaches to delivery, sensitive to AMT needs, adopted during AMT interaction.

Those with experience working in NGOs or programmes providing specific support to adolescents, consistently discussed making nuanced efforts to both grant autonomy whilst recognising developmental needs as a crucial consideration when providing services to adolescents - therefore highlighting the deliberate balance of this as a key marker of intentional engagement. Amongst interviewees from broad-mandate organisations, consideration of respect and empowering autonomy was frequently raised, however, layering considerations of child-status and developmental needs into this during interactions with AMTs was only mentioned in a minority of those. This practice seemed to derive from more general principles of respecting migrant autonomy.

Fieldnotes and interviews found AMTs to not be afforded the adaptations to delivery afforded to 'children', instead interacted with as adults. Interactions with younger children during maraudes were reported as far more play based and energetic, though awarded equal attention - even when contextualising these interactions within age-appropriate interests. Conversely, the register taken during interactions with AMTs was noted to hold no distinction from that taken with adults. Interviewees with lived experience reported they were broadly treated as adults.

Conclusions

Primary protective agent

Whilst the making of referrals to alternative services often appear to serve a primarily informational function in an effort to support the meeting of need, there is, as discussed, a strong awareness of their secondary function in exploitation prevention. Deliberate and differentiated efforts to ensure the communication of such information to AMTs therefore indicate - to an extent - active efforts to fulfil protective roles. More convincing, however, is the observed emphasis on the identification of vulnerability and direct referral of such individuals to organisations equipped to support them. Whilst a partial delegation, this indicates an incredibly active and coordinated collective fulfilment of this role.

Anchors of informational authority

Whilst not always comprehensive in the information provided, deliberate efforts to identify and communicate information with AMTs demonstrate an active fulfilment of this role.

Primary material aid provider

Despite facilitation of capacities to fulfil material roles through intentional dissemination of information, there does not seem to exist specific efforts to adapt delivery or services for AMTs. Though undoubtedly recognised as a population due to aforementioned training, their exclusion from adaptations made for minors or children is not substituted with the development of alternative adaptations, and they are further concealed as recipients within general adult migrant populations. Moreover, the absence of distinct and considered approaches to AMT interactions, demonstrates a limited awareness amongst broad-mandate NGOs of their unique need profile. This implies a non-thorough consideration of the population, and thus a likely non-active targeting. Therefore, there are very limited non-structural efforts to actively or successfully accommodate AMTs suggesting their intentional participation in this role taken on for AMTs.

Facilitators of social right realisation

The analysis of the above paragraph on actively fulfilling a primary material aid provider role are similarly applicable here.

Mechanism for child-status realisation

The perceived and realised separation of adolescents from children is revealed when analysing through a rational scope. This invariably undermines NGOs' structural efforts to act as a mechanism for realisation.

Overall, an assessment of rational adaptations to service delivery reveal NGOs to actively fulfil their informational role and highly actively fulfil their protective role for AMTs. However, the fulfilment of material and social roles seem to be highly incidental, with the positioning of NGOs as a mechanism for child-status realisation actively harmed on an individual level.

Conclusion

While indisputably assuming a number of key roles for AMTs by virtue of AMTs' asylum seeker identity and the absence of significant alternative humanitarian intervention, the extent to which they actively fulfil these roles, deliberately building and engaging in their relationship with AMTs is far more nuanced.

Facilitators of social right realisation

Within Calais, where there exists a number of interventions dedicated to AMTs, this role is actively assumed. External to Calais and across organisations not dedicated to AMTs, however, levels of deliberate engagement with AMTs are incredibly low, with some interventions appearing counterproductive to the realisation of social rights through undermining of AMT's child status due to their exclusion from accommodations for 'children' and lack of alternative that may otherwise have signalled NGOs' active engagement with them.

Primary protective agent

NGOs' general non-dedication of programmatic efforts to fulfil this role does not confer a lack of engagement with it, due to realised capacities to embed protective actions as secondary functions in alternatively focussed provisions. Moreover, the structural contextualisation of services and adaptations made during delivery reveal active participation in the fulfilment of this role - notably beyond that to adults - across NGOs both through individual efforts and collective collaboration.

Primary material aid provider

Arguably a product of lacking justification due to the alignment between the food and NFI needs of AMT and adult populations, rather than indicating nonengagement there do not appear to exist any dedicated programmes in such areas. However, there also existed few differentiated programmes ensuring access through dedicating time to AMTs, and there appeared to be few specific structural accommodations or delivery based adaptations made, which would otherwise signal deliberate attempts to provide for AMTs. Whilst there is undoubtedly awareness of AMT reception of their services, as evidenced by their inclusion in broader safeguarding protocols and efforts to facilitate the collective fulfilment of a protective role during service provision, and such recognition has crucial impact, it does not equate to active efforts to participate in a *material provision* role for AMTs.

Efforts to address AMTs within shelter provision, though severely limited by resources, follow wider trends of prioritising those in need of longer term support rather than specifically disregarding engagement with AMTs, and therefore appear active. However, efforts are frequently bounded to the consideration of UAMs, rather than the population as a whole, therefore failing to wholly constitute efforts to engage AMTs.

Deliberate efforts to assume this role for AMTs within healthcare appear similarly evident. The acute differentiation of health needs within AMTs as opposed to adult migrants, however, all but necessitates discrete intervention. Therefore the extent to which this can be taken to indicate active efforts to fulfil this role for AMTs is limited.

NGOs, on balance, therefore fulfil their role as AMTs' primary material aid provider adolescents incidentally, largely a product of circumstance, rather than of efforts to build and the existence of an active and constructive relationship.

Anchors of informational authority

NGOs largely fulfil this role in an AMT-specific manner as a secondary responsibility within their broader organisational mandates. However, there exist significant and active efforts to target AMTs and actively fulfil this role for them.

Mechanism for child-status realisation

Whilst dedicated interventions and organisations effectively sustain and catalyse the capacities of this role, broad-mandate services oftentimes undermine the extent to which NGOs could be considered to hold such a role.

Overall, there exist successful and highly *active* explicit efforts to meet the needs of AMTs amongst NGOs, especially within areas where need is more notably distinct to other populations. However, these are oftentimes significantly limited in extent of provision and diversity of need-type met, frequently additionally bounded to AMT sub-categories. Therefore NGOs actively participate in the roles they take on for AMTs to a varied extent, framing their relationship as an incomplete, live, dynamic and contradictory phenomena.

The third section of this research series will examine the barriers to active participation, and, where participation may be active, the challenges facing the development of constructive relationships.

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