

Youth's Concerns and their Expectations for Socio-economic Development in Mozambique

Findings from Focus Group Discussions

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by

Carlos Shenga and Lorraine Howe

Centre for Research on Governance and Development (CPGD)

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¹ www.cpgd.org.mz

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Executive Summary

This study analyzes youth's views on the political and economic environment and their expectations for socio-economic development in Mozambique. The aim is to increase the understanding of young peoples' overarching concerns, particularly among those involved in political parties, so that young peoples' views on how disparities and identified youth problems should be addressed can be incorporated into public policy choices and decision making.

Through a qualitative public opinion study, using a focus group discussion methodology, a total of 485 young people (men and women aged 17-35) participated by responding to a structured series of open-ended questions, grouped by theme. The themes covered general youth concerns and political response; economic inclusion of the youth; youth expectations for and inclusion in socio-economic development; and youth's involvement in politics.

Focus groups were held in rural, peri-urban and urban areas across Northern, Central and Southern Provinces in Mozambique and included youth affiliated to all three major political parties with parliamentary representation, as well as apolitical discussions which were set up without considering partisanship.

The findings reveal that responses were mainly polarized between the views of those who are affiliated to the governing party and those to the opposition, with the exception of youth concerns where all respondents brought up common issues that are affecting them.

Across the political spectrum youth generally agreed on a number of issues such as having better access to higher education and scholarships, better school or tertiary education facilities, access to employment opportunities, land and housing, transport to reduce school distances, loans to implement economic initiatives, professional training for self-employment and entrepreneurship, and access to justice.

Those youth that align themselves to the governing party were more likely to state that the government is responding well to their concerns but that sometimes the youth are not prepared to receive what the government can offer them. Apolitical youth recognize some government effort, but also noted its limitation - for example, in relation to the restrictive housing policy - whereas the opposition aligned youth said that the government is doing very little to address their concerns and what it is doing is only for the benefit of ruling party youth. In terms of opposition leaders responding to youth concerns, opposition aligned youth felt that opposition leaders respond to their concerns by putting pressure on the government's performance, at the same time acknowledging that what they can do is limited as they are not in power. Ruling party youth expressed that opposition leaders didn't respond well to their concerns as they limited themselves to just criticizing the government rather than providing alternative solutions.

The respondents all showed quite active levels of youth engagement with political leaders although they assessed the outcome of their engagement with varying levels of success. Apolitical youth tend to engage and present their concerns through seminars and workshops, writing letters and participating in meetings and secondary associations. Whilst they perceive some success with this they said that in governments meetings they do not always have the opportunity to air their views. The same issue was also raised by the opposition youth. However opposition youth do perceive they have successful engagement with their opposition superiors as they see that the views and

proposals they have presented to them are being discussed in the national and local legislatures. The governing party youth, who engage with the government through the Mozambique Youth Organization (OJM), where they present and discuss youth concerns before they are directed to the government, feel that they have successful youth engagement with the government.

In terms of economic inclusion, almost all youth acknowledged that the government has been doing work to integrate youth into the economy - for example by incentivizing them to become entrepreneurs and providing financial support to youth economic projects through associational group and government development funds - but to varying degrees of success. However the opposition youth expressed that the government's efforts in this area were favored towards those who identify with the ruling party because those who do not identify with the ruling party do not receive funding for their projects. They also expressed that ruling party youth who are allocated loans for their projects did not always reimburse the funds. The apolitical youth also advised that not everything is successful - for example referring to corruption practices among members of the Consultative Council and the fact that the government does not monitor the implementation activities of its development funds so funds are misspent and/or loans not repaid. Ruling party youth, however, tended to emphasize the positive effects of the government development funds, indicating that these are helping youth to integrate into the economy by allowing them to open bore holes or start commercial farming.

Almost all of the respondents indicated that they are actively participating in the economy, to the extent possible based on their affiliations, by applying for available funding opportunities with their project ideas, airing their views in the media and other fora, taking professional training, etc. However, they also revealed that many youth do not engage in activities to participate in the economy, and instead keep themselves away from political activities expecting that parties will do everything for them.

In terms of the impact of economic growth, ruling party youth observed concrete impacts such as the youth becoming more ambitious and ready to capitalize on the resulting opportunities and jobs, whereas the opposition youth observed the unequal distribution of wealth citing that only the ruling party personnel appear to be benefiting from the impact of economic growth. The apolitical youth recognized its effects but revealed that more needs to be done to transform economic growth into development.

Youth expectations for socio-economic development, from all groups, converged around employment opportunities, skills development and good governance. The youth expect the government to provide more industrial infrastructure, including through the development of the extractive natural resources, to generate wealth and jobs; to better value the local labor force and provide them with opportunities to be better trained; to apply more transparency to the management of decentralized funds (particularly those targeted at youth development); to reduce corruption and to foster inclusive governance in distributing wealth. When assessing whether the government and opposition leaders could meet these expectations, the governing party aligned youth believe that the government can meet their expectations and that the opposition will only criticize the government effort without bringing alternative options and will be silent between elections. Conversely, the opposition youth felt that opposition leaders could meet their expectations by presenting alternative policy options when criticizing the government and that it will do so by monitoring and overseeing the bureaucracy.

Youth's involvement in politics was also discussed and it was found that in general youth's involvement in politics in Mozambique is shallow, in part because they are frustrated and disappointed with politics. However most of the youth convened do access

news on politics and public affairs through newspapers, television, radio or social media. Despite this only a few were able to provide information identifying priorities of their parties from the manifesto of the last election (2014).

Finally, a series of recommendations emerged from the group discussions that the youth identified as possible ways to advance youth views and concerns into socio-economic development in Mozambique:

- For governing and opposition parties to incentivize young people to participate in and organize themselves into youth association groups as a means to become more effective recipients of government effort;
- For governing and opposition parties to provide better outreach, access to information and support to youth to gain better access to government development funds and other initiatives aimed at addressing youth concerns and advancing youth development;
- For the government to apply policies that treat youth equally without party discrimination;
- For government development funds and other youth targeted activities to be inspected with rigor and managed transparently;
- For government and opposition parties to develop better mechanisms to listen to and observe all youth concerns before making decisions and acting;
- For the government to implement youth employment strategies that are inclusive of the national workforce;
- For District Development Funds to be expanded, with transparent decision making and monitoring (particularly in relation to the use and repayment of loans) and be truly inclusive to all youth;
- For the government to provide more business opportunities through building commercial infrastructure, providing scholarships, training and entrepreneurship skills so that youth can develop better business acumen;
- For the government to liaise with commercial banks to make it easier for youth to access bank loans;
- For all political leaders and parties to encourage, sensitize and engage youth to be involved in political processes and to influence the development of socio-economic opportunities to address youth concerns;
- For the government to ensure that the role of youth in political participation is included in formal education.

I. Introduction

The aim of this study is to increase the understanding of young peoples' concerns and attitudes relative to the political and economic environment in Mozambique, as well as their expectations for socio-economic development.

The study is intended to improve political parties' understanding of what youth view as their most significant challenges, particularly related to political and economic participation. It seeks to advance youth's recommendations for how public policy choices can address their challenges and social disparities. This will serve as an evidence-base of options that youth will use when interacting with their political parties at the sub-national levels.

Research Methodology

This study employed focus group discussions (see the Focus Group Discussion Guidelines in Appendix A) structured with a series of open-ended questions, grouped by theme, each complemented by follow up, probing and prompt questions. The original English survey instrument was translated to the local official language (Portuguese) and tested prior to its launch in the field.

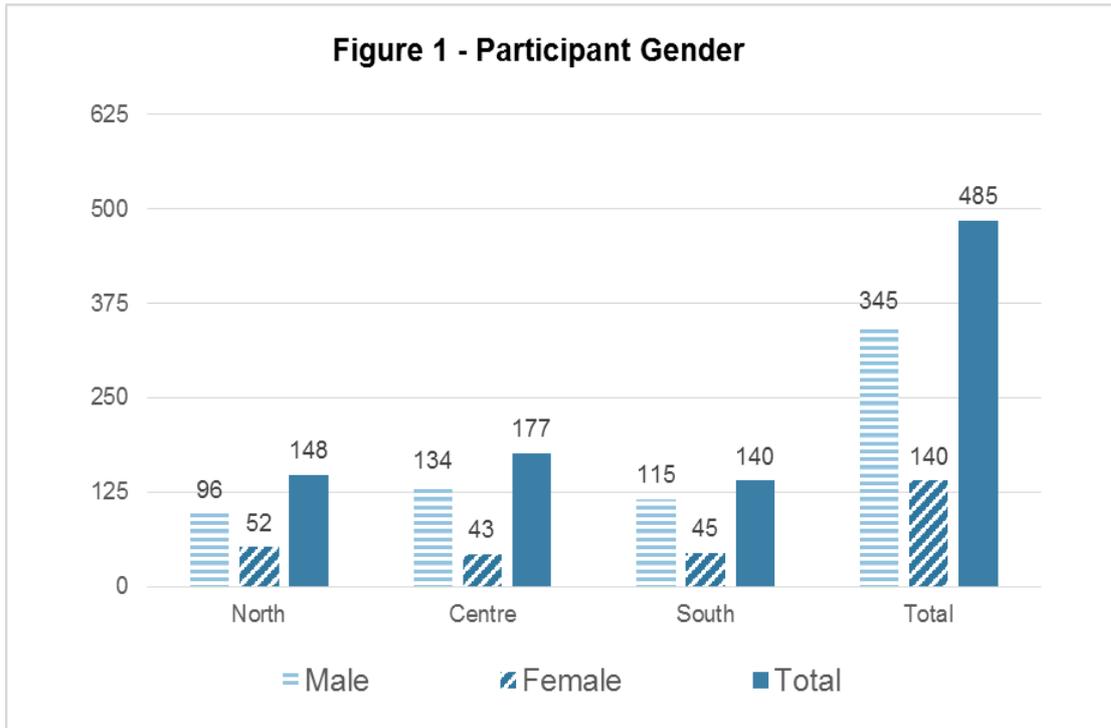
In addition to the focus group guideline, a short structured questionnaire with closed-ended questions was developed to capture key demographic information about the focus group discussion participants such as gender, age, level of schooling, life ambition, party identification etc.

This information provides a quality control check to ensure that all focus group participants meet the criteria outlined by NDI and provides additional contextual information to triangulate with the transcriptions from the focus group discussions.

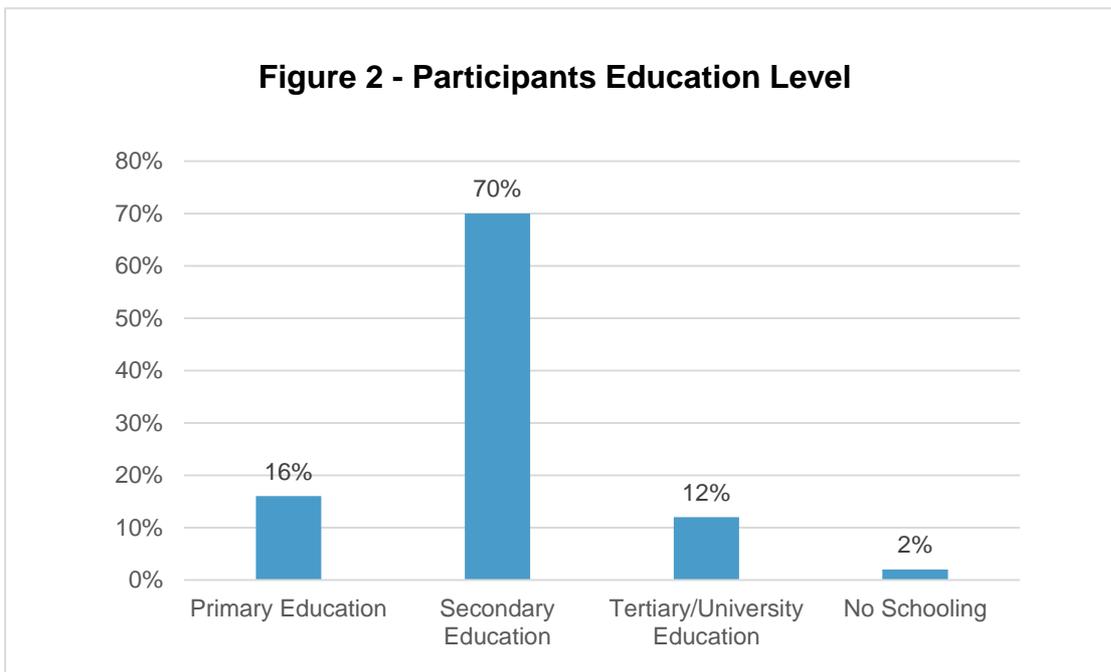
Demographic Profile

Between 1 and 14 December, 2015, 48 focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted with a total of 485 participants. Of the 485 respondents, 28 percent were female and 72 percent were male (see Figure 1). Fifteen FGDs were conducted in the Northern Region of the country, including Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Nampula provinces; 16 in Central Region, including Manica, Zambezi and Sofala provinces; and 17 in Southern Region, including Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo provinces and Maputo city. Most of the FGDs comprised the required number of individuals (between 8 and 14 participants); only a few were composed of 5-7 respondents; and one had 16 participants (see Appendix B). Although not everybody participated in the discussions actively, all provided useful demographic information collected before the discussions through our respondent background form.

The minimum age of the youth in our focus group discussion was 17 years old and the maximum was 35. About 70 percent had some secondary or completed secondary education, 12 percent had started or completed a university degree, 16 percent had primary education and 2 percent had no schooling (see Figure 2). It should be noted however that this sample is not representative of the wider youth population with regard



to their level of education where 26 percent have some secondary or completed secondary education, 1 percent have started or completed a university degree, 62 percent have some or completed primary education and 11 percent with no schooling³.



Three types of respondent groups were formed: ruling party youth, opposition youth and apolitical youth groups. Ruling party youth refer to youth from the Frelimo ruling party youth organization - the Mozambique Youth Organization (OJM). They were gathered together in that setting for the ruling party focus group discussions.

³ Demographic Health Survey, 2011

Opposition youth refer to those youth affiliated with opposition parties. Two parliamentary opposition parties are included in this study: Renamo and Mozambique Democratic Movement (MDM). The Renamo youth were from the Renamo youth league and were gathered for this study in Renamo focus groups discussions. Similarly the MDM youth participating in the MDM focus groups were from the MDM youth league. When this study refers to opposition youth it is referring to the views from both Renamo and MDM youth discussion groups.

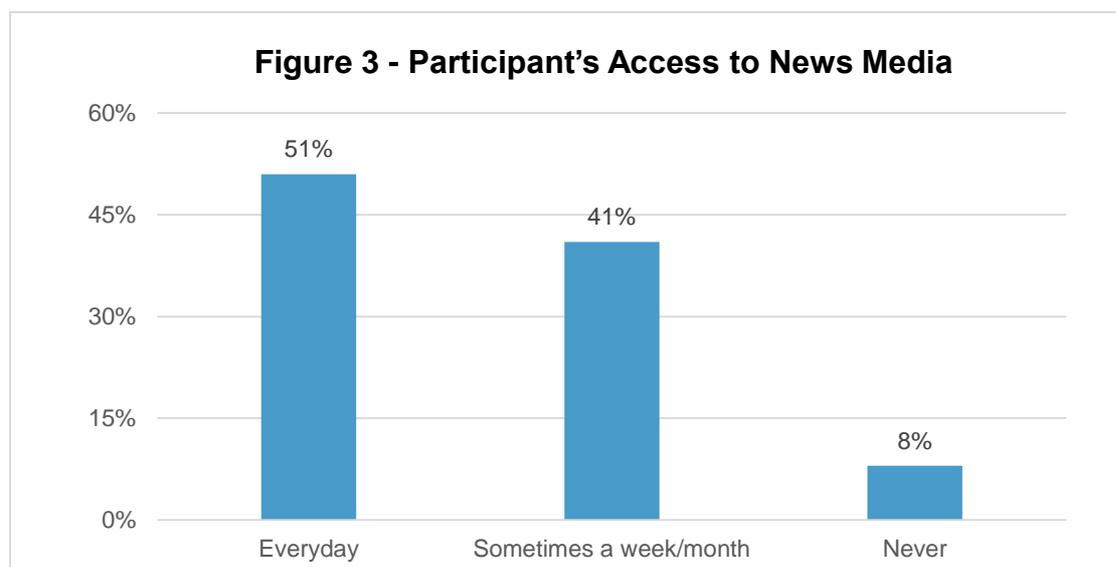
Apolitical youth refer to those youth that participated in focus groups discussions that were convened without political party arrangement. Some of the youth that participated in the apolitical focus groups, as disclosed in the responses from the structured questionnaire, were affiliated with a political party either the ruling party or an opposition party.

Of the 485 participants, 20 percent participated in ruling party focus group discussions, 41 percent in opposition focus group discussions and 39 percent in apolitical group discussions.

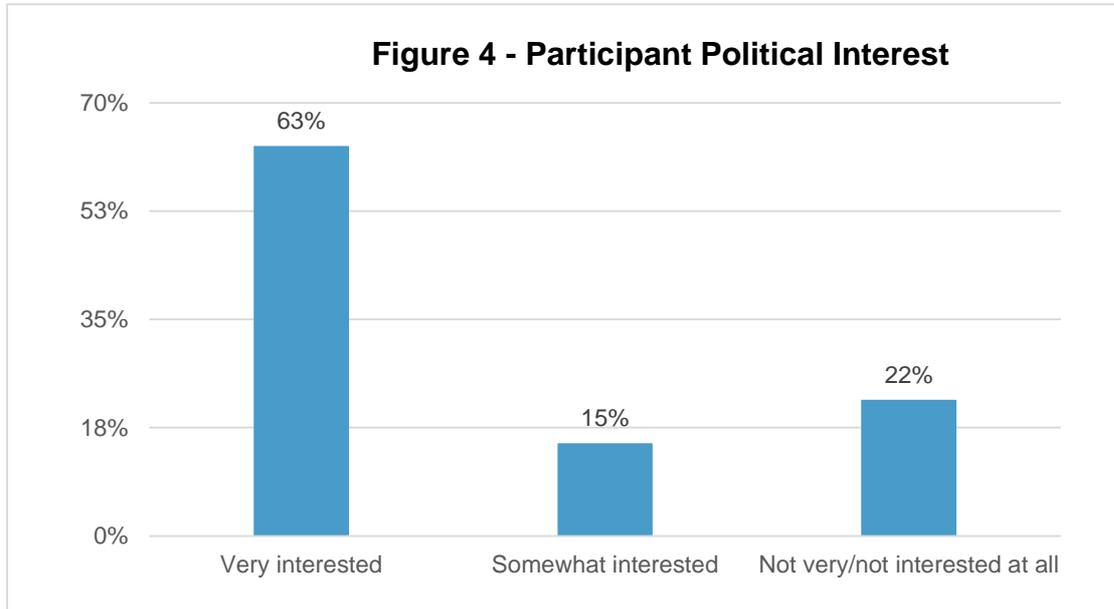
Since not all respondents came to the discussions via a political party represented in parliament we decided to record their party identification. About 90 percent of participants said that they identify with a political party and 10 percent were independent. Of those who identify with political parties, 41 percent noted that they identify with the Frelimo ruling party, 29 percent with MDM and 20 percent with Renamo. We also verified whether they are member of organizations, such as non-government organizations, associations or religious organizations. We found that 45 percent are members of some sort of secondary association.

We also measured participants' political involvement by whether they have participated in elections. About 90 percent said that they voted in the 2014 election and 94 said that would vote if the next election was to take place tomorrow.

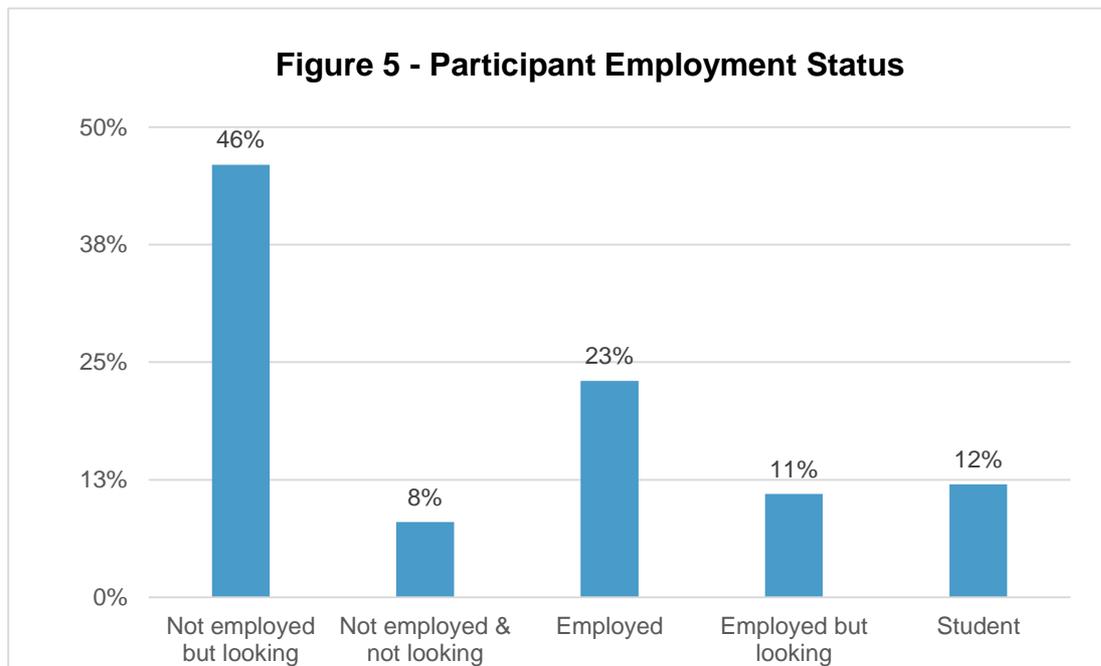
We also asked how often they follow news from media and their level of interest in politics (Figure 3). About 51 percent said that they access news media every day and 41 percent said that access news media at least a few times a week or a few times a month. Approximately 8 percent never access news media or do so less than once a month.



In terms of interest in politics (Figure 4), the majority said that they are very interested, about 15 percent said somewhat interested and 22 percent not interested at all or not very interested.



With respect to employment status (Figure 5), just under half (46 percent) said that they are looking for a job, 23 percent are employed, 11 percent are employed but are looking for another job and 12 percent are studying. About 8 percent said they are unemployed.



The Structure of the Study

This study is structured as follows: First, it probes general youth concerns and political response as identified by the youth themselves and why these constitute their concerns. Second, it outlines the issue of economic inclusion of the youth. Third, it analyzes youth expectations for socio-economic development. Fourth, it charts youth inclusion in socio-economic development. Fifth, it examines whether the youth's issues are associated with their involvement in politics or not. Lastly, it presents conclusions and recommendations.

II. General Concerns and Political Response

The principal findings of this study show that, regardless of their party identification, the respondents have a consensual view on general youth concerns. In terms of political response to youth concerns, the responses varied according to party affiliation. Those youth affiliated to the governing party tended to rate government's response positively while those affiliated with opposition parties tended to rate the opposition's response positively.

Regardless of the political response to youth concerns, most of the respondents said that they do not stay indifferent; that they engage with political leaders to make sure that their concerns are responded to. They do so by participating in debates, seminars and workshops and some organize themselves into associations. From the engagement they make with leaders some obtain successful results whilst others do not. In response to this the participants identified several areas for improvement to enhance the political response to their concerns.

2.1. Youth concerns

We began the discussions by asking youth about their main concerns. Among the most common responses from participants were: access to higher education, scholarships, jobs, land, housing, means of transport, funding or loans, professional training and justice.

Participants mentioned the lack of higher education facilities where they live that force them to study away from home and place financial constraints on them. Young people also talked extensively about the poor quality of education, indicating that teachers do not have adequate skills for young people to excel and learn well in school.

Besides collating this list of youth concerns, we asked participants why these are their concerns. On access to loans, they elaborated that commercial banks do not trust them and that there is no one who can provide them with loans. The banks demand a guarantee for a loan. Thus, young people noted the need for existence of a bank that can support youth concerns regardless of their situation.

With regard to tertiary education, participants stressed that education is a means of success as it helps to navigate easily in other arenas. For instance, to get a job, they need formal education. If they do not have a degree, they end up frustrated. Thus, it is important that access to higher education is available to young people.

With respect to access to jobs, participants pointed out the lack of opportunities to create their own jobs or become entrepreneurs. Even those who have academic or professional training noted difficulties in getting jobs. Only those who have connections (*padrinho*/godfather) can get jobs. Also it is often demanded that a person has to have five years of work experience [from companies] in the context when they have just finished a degree.

Participants viewed the country's openness to foreign investment as something that can marginalize the national work force in favor of a foreign one. They advocated for greater value to be placed on developing a local labor force.

On the one hand, the respondents express their commitment to the country's development; and on the other hand, they view that the government does not understand them as there are few jobs opportunities available to them. More jobs are needed for the youth.

On access to health treatment, only those who have money can benefit from it. Also, participants pointed out the lack of medicines, affordability of medicines and having to queue to access health services. The existence of recreational/sports field would help youth to improve their health conditions as well as move them away from bad behaviors like smoking cannabis and/or drinking alcohol.

With regard to access to housing, the youth view is that the government has to provide them with plots so that they can build their own houses [slowly]. Most young people currently cannot afford to buy houses that the government and others may provide them to buy.

Some young people are also concerned with crime as well as being preoccupied with general safety from political tension in the country and emphasized a need for effective peace. They expressed that the current climate of political tension between the government and main opposition leaves them in difficult a position because later on they may be called upon to engage in armed conflict and may even die, which would leave the country in a much poorer state. In order to have effective peace, some view that the government and opposition have to work together in dialogue. Others noted that without protection they cannot raise cattle, as thieves end up stealing them. Thus, the lack of safety does not contribute for youth to becoming entrepreneurs. In the same way, it does not help young people to attend night school.

At the same time, young people do not ignore the prevalence of HIV/AIDS and poverty. There are many youth getting infected and even dying of HIV/AIDS. What concerned the youth most is the fact that some young men do not disclose their HIV/AIDS status and even do not take anti-retrovirals for treatment.

Young people noted corruption and partisanship in the civil service, promotion of good governance and lack of electricity and health facilities, mainly in rural areas, as major concerns. On corruption, they claimed that with corruption there is no development and that corruption reduces the ability of the state to allocate goods and deliver services accordingly as they end up in the hands of individuals rather than the public.

With respect to the use of partisanship to access jobs in the civil service, participants viewed that this reduces young people's ability to equally compete for jobs in the public service as well as undermines inclusiveness of youth based on party identification. This may lead to anger and distrust of government institutions.

Some are concerned with youth drinking, drug and prostitution. Most engage in this type of behavior because of their poor living situation. This has led some to be involved in crime. Participants encouraged government sensitization programs that assist them to form and/or join associations to engage in development projects or initiatives. The youth viewed little government follow up of their initiatives. This government indifference contributes to eliminate youth initiatives.

2.2. Government Response

After the youth told us about their concerns, we asked them how the government is working to address their concerns. Some young people said that the government has done enough for the youth, but sometimes the youth are not prepared to receive what the government offers to them. They also noted that there are good policies in place, but when they are implemented, they are not inclusive to all. The policies sometimes favor some and discriminate others. For instance, the existing housing policy makes it difficult for youth to afford houses. A young person with a degree cannot even afford a house. Other participants emphasized that when the government puts forward something for the youth, it is just distracting them (*tapar a nossa cara*) and not actually delivering anything. These mixed views suggest that while the government appears to be doing something, challenges still remain.

Some point out that the government is not concerned with the youth and that most youth are left on their own. They add that although the government sometimes engages directly with youth and expresses its commitment to youth concerns, in practice they sometimes don't follow through. The participants critical of the government used the example of the '7 million' fund [officially called District Development Funds] that the government allocates to all districts of the country for community based associations or cooperatives to apply for in order to generate jobs, income and food at the district level. Participants also indicated that this fund [actually a loan] is allocated based on partisanship - whether you identify with the ruling party or opposition. Some added that those who benefit from this loan do not reimburse it; instead of getting it as a loan that has to be returned back to the state, they get it as a reward for identifying with the ruling party or having voted for it:

"The government is not making effort [in addressing youth concerns]. We were invited in Matola City and informed that the government has trained 1,500 youth in several areas. Then, we asked how many of them were from Renamo and they could not tell us." (Renamo Youth, Maputo Province)

"The municipality said that allocated 1,500 plots to the youth; we [Renamo Youth League] asked: who are the youth that benefited from those plots? He was not able to respond." (Renamo Youth, Maputo Province)

"The government is doing something for youth concerns but to the ruling party youth (Mozambique Youth Organization, OJM) only. The example of this is the exclusion at the INTAKA [housing] project. There are many youth living in those houses, but it is the ruling party youth." (Renamo Youth, Maputo Province)

Some pointed out that the government has been making effort in addressing youth concerns by creating youth policies, but it has failed to make those policies effective. In fact, the government, through the National Youth Council (CNJ), signed a memorandum of understanding with a commercial bank (Moza Banco) to fund youth. The problem with this is that there is no transparency of the funding allocation.

Some participants expressed that the government has been addressing youth concerns by allocating funds to youth initiatives, such as the Youth Initiatives Support Fund (FAIJ) and even the District Development Fund (FDD). Though there is a quota established for youth, in some areas, the government may not provide houses for the youth but it does distribute plots for them so that they can start to build their houses [slowly].

Some say that the government has been dealing with youth concerns by promoting debates in several decision-making fora. It has been creating a forum where youth are consulted or air their voices to decision-makers. For instance, the first lady of Xai-Xai municipality in Gaza Province established a forum where youth air their views to the municipality.

Some view the government as not responding well to youth concerns because after finishing school or even a university degree, many cannot find jobs. Some say that the government is concerned with youth concerns and has been making efforts, but because the youth population is the majority in the country and youth concerns are so many, it appears that nothing is being done. They noted that the state does not have enough capacity or resources to deal with all concerns simultaneously. But some others said that the government has enough capacity to respond to youth concerns, but does not do anything because it lacks the political will. It ends up discriminating upon youth on the basis of individual partisan identification.

On a scale from 0 to 10 where zero is worse and 10 better, some scored the government response to youth concerns 1. They explained this by saying that the existing housing projects are elitized [they are not affordable for ordinary youth] and that only sons [and daughters] of *dirigentes* [rulers] can afford them. Thus, houses initially built for the youth end up being taken by rulers.

For example, they noted that the houses from the INTAKA project were not designed for ordinary youth but for the elite. One participant observed:

"If a civil servant cannot afford the houses provided by the government Housing Fund (Fundo de Fomento de Habitacao), how will an ordinary young person afford it?" (Apolitical Youth, Gaza)

In sum, some participants felt as though the government has done nothing to help address the housing challenges faced by the youth. Alternatively one participant said:

"We want plots. We had a meeting with the government housing fund officials. We asked them for plots [so that we can begin to build our own houses]. They came with a proposal of houses; that we had to pay MZN 11,500 for a period of 24 months. None of us responded that we could afford to pay that." (Apolitical Youth, Gaza)

Some expressed that the government could have done a lot more to address youth concerns. They noted that youth were supposed to be trained professionally on 'saber fazer' [to know how to do] so that they could be self-employed. In addition, agriculture is viewed as the basis of development of the country but only very little of the budget was allocated in the agriculture sector. Instead a lot was allocated for the [security and] defence sector.

The government has been responding to our concerns seriously through the '7 million fund' [allocated annually to all districts of the country], but the government should train people to be able to manage the fund appropriately. For instance, young people should

be taken to carpentry firms, tailor shops, etc. to be trained and become skilled professionals.

Some observed that the government has been making some effort to provide scholarships to youth, but there are not enough, some funds are being stolen and some funds are being allocated through an unfair system by those who manage them. The government has also been making an effort to expand higher education across provinces of the country as well as reducing higher education tuition fees.

Some revealed that the government is trying to respond to youth concerns, but also questioned the outcome of those efforts. They said that, though 60 percent of the population is young, only 20 percent of the Agriculture Development Fund (FDA) and fund from Strategic Plan for Reduction of Urban Poverty (PERPU) goes to youth, but they do not get anything from that. One participant said:

"It appears that the government does not trust us" (Renamo Youth, Maputo City)

2.3. Opposition Response

Besides probing the government's response to youth concerns, we also asked how the main political leaders from the opposition are working to address youth concerns. Some of the youth discussed that some opposition leaders think that the country should address youth concerns but some opposition leaders do not care. Those who care have been building football fields so that young people come together developing football skills. For instance, the Mayor of Beira inaugurated days ago a football field for us. The opposition leader [from MDM] has also been offering sport materials to the youth.

"Our president [MDM president] had a big project in providing plots to the youth. Where we rule there are opportunities for the youth, but still much needs to be done to reach all". (MDM Youth, Maputo Province)

Some say that the opposition leaders have been meeting with the youth and passing the youth's concerns onto the legislature. Though the opposition tends to pass youth concerns to the legislature, this option is not always effective as it has a minority in the legislature and the major parliamentary party blocks its proposals.

"The opposition has been putting a lot of pressure on the government so that youth concerns are considered. MDM and Renamo are the only parties with youth in provincial legislatures. The MDM parliamentary leader at the provincial level is young. The Renamo parliamentary leader at the national level is also young. I can say that only Renamo and MDM are committed to the youth. They have been raising youth concerns in the legislature, but because they do not have a majority, their proposals on youth concerns have not been passing." (MDM Youth, Manica Province)

Others said that the opposition listen to youth concerns at local and central levels and include them in their electoral manifestos; that the Renamo leader is dedicated and gives priority to youth concerns:

"He wants to make it so that that a Mozambican cannot sleep without a meal. He, together with other opposition leaders, have been doing so much for the youth. There are certain things he cannot do because he is not ruling the country. The Renamo leader gave recently 7 million [MZN] to its youth."

He is a good saint. Now we are not good because they chased him.”
(Renamo Youth, Cabo Delgado)

On the other hand, some view that opposition leaders do not do anything for the youth:

“I never saw anything done by the opposition for the youth in this country. They do nothing. They tend to hide themselves. There is a wide gap between opposition leadership and youth. Some opposition leaders pass a bad example to their youth by not respecting the symbols of the Republic of Mozambique. For instance, Renamo has two faces: one as political party committed to democracy and other as a rebel armed movement fostered by the international community. This does not give a good example to the youth. They only value the youth in election periods”. (Frelimo Youth, Niassa)

“Opposition leaders limit themselves to criticizing [the government] and do not add solutions. Consequently, this creates frustrations among the youth. Opposition leaders limit themselves by replicating government initiatives rather than providing alternative ideas. They do not have representation at the grassroots level, which makes it difficult for them to capture the concerns of the youth. At ward [level], the opposition does not make itself present with the exception of election periods. (Frelimo Youth, Zambezia)

“At least here I do not feel the presence of the opposition, so I cannot tell so much about it. Where I hear about it, it tends to not value government efforts. The opposition tends to fight the government and forget that the most important thing in politics is to debate ideas and present alternative ones.” (Frelimo Youth, Inhambane)

They add that there are no alternative policies to improve youth conditions from the opposition. Renamo cannot show the youth the way to get out from their concerns. Renamo highlight our weaknesses but cannot propose solutions to solve the problems of the country. The opposition only appears in the election period; between elections, it does not exist. If there was an opposition then the opposition would have made an effort to solve youth problems.

2.4. Youth Engagement with Political Leaders

So far, we have identified youth concerns and how the government and the opposition are responding to them. But it is also interesting to investigate how the youth themselves are engaging with the government and opposition to see how their problems are responded to or resolved. What type of strategies do they use? How do they do so?

Some of the youth participants expressed a willingness to approach government leaders, but articulated that, when they do so, the government does not help:

“We have project proposals, but we do not have access to government leaders. The only forum to speak to them is when there are seminars and workshops. In these fora, we present our perspectives to them.” (Apolitical Youth, Inhambane)

As one young person suggested:

“We present our views and proposals to our [opposition] superiors, but we do not find room when we want to do so with the government.” (Renamo Youth, Maputo Province)

Some indicate that it is difficult to engage with the government to solve their concerns as the government meetings limit the youth to air their views:

“Sometimes the youth concerns are hidden by local leaders. They change youth views in the messages they read to upper level leaders. For instance, when an upper level leader [minister or governor] comes to visit a district and they give space for the youth to air their concerns, they censor our views.” (Renamo Youth, Manica)

Some say that they engage with political leaders by participating in meetings and debates on radio and television.

“We engage with the government by writing letters and participating in meetings so that they can understand our concerns. In these meetings we have the district administrator, the chief of administrative post and the chief of the locality, who listen to our concerns. Some of us also sometimes participate in radio and television debates.” (Apolitical Youth, Inhambane)

Some also engage with government leaders by organizing themselves into groups with declared interests, and develop specific activities or projects:

“We have created an association so that we can come together to organize our ideas and direct them to the government. We fight in that way to have our concerns appropriately responded to. When the government sees that we are developing a certain activity, it comes to find a better form to support us.” (Apolitical Youth, Gaza)

“We engage with political leaders in meetings of associations that we belong to. Sometimes political leaders appear in our workshops [when invited].” (Apolitical Youth, Gaza)

Some say they engage with government by airing their concerns at the Mozambique Youth Organisation (OJM) forum. At this forum, youth concerns are presented and discussed before they are directed to the government. We appear in the meetings where youth normally participate and appeal to them to organize themselves into youth associations. At municipality and district administration government levels, there is a sector that is in charge of youth concerns. This sector also appeals that youth organize themselves into associations and present their concerns to the OJM.

“We found that youth are not well informed [about public affairs] mainly the youth in rural areas. Thus, we appeal to them to form [or join] an association. We provide information to their association representatives and they spread it to them showing ways to respond to their concerns.” (Frelimo Youth, Maputo Province)

“We raise our concerns mainly in the youth party meetings, social media, government meetings with the people and youth camping events. Normally in these events there are government political leaders who are exposed and get our message.” (Frelimo Youth, Manica)

Participants also said that they engage with government leaders by making themselves represented in decision-making bodies at lower levels to influence youth policies:

“We try to make youth [join] the municipal legislatures so that they can directly represent youth interests. Today, we have 50 percent of youth from our party represented in municipal legislatures.” (Frelimo Youth, Inhambane)

2.5. The Outcomes of Engagement

After analyzing youth engagement with political leaders, we probed the outcomes of that engagement. The focus groups discussions revealed two groups of youth: one expressing successful outcomes and another expressing unsuccessful ones. For those who expressed a successful outcome, they referred to projects like the FDD, which is also an initiative established to fund youth projects. They said an indicator of successfulness is the number of youth benefiting from the fund. One participant noted that “more youth are starting to benefit from the fund now”. They added that the fact the government is opening spaces to hear youth concerns is also an indicator of successful engagement between the youth and the leaders of government.

This group of respondents said:

“Our concerns have been taken into consideration”. (Apolitical Youth, Inhambane)

“Our participation in debates has been effective [because] it has helped us to improve our maturity in addressing our concerns. Young people are becoming more active and interested [in public affairs]. However, this is something that we need to do constantly and actively.” (Apolitical Youth, Inhambane)

“Our participation has been successful as we can see our concerns being discussed in national and local legislatures. This tells us that our leaders have directed our concerns to the appropriate bodies.” (MDM Youth, Sofala)

“The government participates directly or indirectly in responding to our concerns.” (Apolitical Youth, Inhambane)

For those who perceived unsuccessful engagement, they said that the government does not respond effectively to their requests. They also noted that the government’s criteria for requests for funding are not clear and that monitoring and evaluation is required. They also noted that when they air their concerns at lower levels, their concerns are not shared or shared fully to upper levels.

“Our engagement [with government] has not been successful because we are a minority in the legislature. What we raise as concerns do not pass. We are discriminated [against] as we are aligned with the opposition”. (Renamo Youth, Maputo Province)

“The engagement has not been successful because government leaders censor our views in the messages read in meetings to top leaders.” (Apolitical Youth, Gaza)

“Not always [been successful] as our projects are not approved”. (Apolitical Youth, Gaza)

“Our concerns are rarely directed to the government. It is rare that the government is face-to-face with us and we get the opportunity to speak with them.” (Renamo Youth, Maputo Province)

“There are no changes. It is always the same. We do participate in meetings, but nothing changes.” (Renamo Youth, Maputo Province)

However, there were also those participants who revealed neither successful nor unsuccessful outcomes to their engagements with government. One such participant noted:

“It is not easy [to say that our engagement with the government has been unsuccessful] as there is a little bit of success. The government listens to us. Some of our concerns are responded to, but others not. Sometimes leaders open themselves to engaging with us just because they want to be elected. Once they are elected, they forget us”. (Apolitical Youth, Inhambane)

2.6. Room for Improvement

Having outlined the current situation regarding youth concerns the respondents were then asked for their suggestions on what could be done to improve the political response to youth concerns. The youth that participated in the discussion groups mentioned a long list of things that they view need to be taken into consideration.

Common suggestions from all groups:

1. In order to be self-employed or to become entrepreneurs, some participants pointed to the need for increased professional training for young people. Some indicated that teachers and lecturers should be better trained, that the government made a mistake by allowing unskilled teachers to teach without support from those with skills while appointing skilled teachers to the position of school principal.
2. Participants also noted that education should be oriented ‘to know how to do’ and ‘to know how to think’. Entrepreneurship should be taught at schools.
3. On access to higher education, some advocated for the reduction of tuition fees and establishment of more universities where they least exist or do not exist.
4. The fora to debate youth concerns should also include other spaces than radio and television, as not everybody has access to these. Some say that there should be openness of the president, governors, ministers, councilors, etc. to speak to and listen to young people, so that they can better understand youth concerns.
5. The plots [of land] that the government allocates in different areas should include basic infrastructures such as roads, electricity and water supply. Some add that the government should allocate plots to the youth rather than provide houses that they cannot afford. There should also be areas reserved for youth to build their houses.

6. The government should follow up the initiatives developed by youth associations.
7. The government has to monitor the projects that it funds to stimulate youth in the initiatives it presents. Youth entrepreneurship projects should be prioritized and the amounts allocated to fund projects should be increased.
8. The government has to develop financial means to fund youth initiatives.
9. The government has to make multinational companies recruit their work force locally rather than recruiting from outside.
10. Interest rates should be reduced; they are very high.

Suggestions emerging from apolitical discussion groups:

11. The government has to apply laws accordingly. State activities should be inspected with rigor.
12. The government has to promote civic education to youth on democratic principles, and rights and duties.
13. The beneficiaries of District Development Funds [loan facility] have to be trained on entrepreneurship and management. The government has to fund initiatives that are already established. Beneficiaries of the loans should reimburse the funds so that it can benefit more young people.
14. The government has to use effective means to disseminate information about job opportunities.
15. The government has to establish mechanisms to hear youth concerns at lower levels so that they can orient vulnerable young people on how to address their concerns. For example, the government should establish community radios to discuss youth concerns. The fora for debates are only in Maputo; there should be some outside of Maputo as well.

Suggestions emerging from apolitical and ruling party discussion groups:

16. The government has to promote youth to organize themselves in associational organizations.

Suggestions emerging from apolitical and opposition discussion groups:

17. The government has to adopt policies that treat youth equally with no party discrimination. Everybody should compete equally for funds that the government allocates [to the people]. More party inclusiveness is needed.
18. There should be more freedom for us to express ourselves otherwise we will close ourselves. Access to information should be fostered more.
19. In order to provide jobs to everybody, the government should better implement the law of public probity. Favoritism in job allocation should be denounced and civil servants should be better paid to reduce corruption.

Suggestions emerging from opposition discussion groups:

20. The government has to guarantee free and fair elections so that alternation of power takes place and other parties can also rule.

Suggestions emerging from Renamo youth focus group discussions:

21. The government has to make an effort to provide peace by engaging in dialogue [with the Renamo leader]. It should also foster equality and democracy. The government should be humble and understand [the situation of other political parties].
22. The decentralization program has to continue being implemented in all sectors.
23. The government has to implement 'autonomous provinces' to be ruled by Renamo.
24. The parliamentary parties should work together to pass bills that favor the concerns of youth.
25. Civil society has been co-opted by political parties; it should play an impartial role.
26. Before making decisions, the government needs to hear youth's views.

III. Economic inclusion

In relation to economic inclusion the principal findings of this study reveal that ruling party youth tend to rate the performance of government in integrating youth in the economy more positively than youth from other groups. However all of the respondents believe that the government still has a lot more to do to fully integrate the youth into the economy.

The respondents said that the youth in general participate in the economy through a range of activities ranging from participating in meetings and airing their views to transforming themselves into economic actors by becoming entrepreneurs and business persons.

3.1. Government performance integrating youth in the economy

In this section, we asked about government performance working with youth in the economy; and how successful that engagement has been. Some say that the government has done a lot working with the youth in the economy by incentivizing them on entrepreneurship and providing financial support to youth economic projects through associational groups.

"The government has been making the youth participate in the economy by providing entrepreneurship incentives and initiatives that fund projects of those youth who do not have means to start their own business or opening their own company. The government has been doing so by working with youth local associations. This has been successful as we can see youth economic growth. In exhibitions you can see that most of the participants are youth exposing their business." (Apolitical Youth, Gaza)

“The government has been putting youth participating in the economy by allocating to the youth the Youth Supporting Fund (FAIJ), District Development Fund (FDD) and Strategic Plan for Reduction of Urban Poverty (PERPU); the government view youth as the driving force of the society. This has been very helpful to the youth improving their living conditions.” (Apolitical Youth, Gaza)

“I have seen some young people improving their living condition. The initiative of the ‘7 million’ [fund] is having a positive effect; some manage to raise chickens and tilapia and even make partnership with local non-government organizations to receive know-how.” (Apolitical Youth, Inhambane)

“The government has been supporting youth by allocating the youth fund (FAIJ). It has been successful. We established a youth association so that we can benefit from that fund.” (Apolitical Youth, Inhambane)

Not everything was viewed as successful among those who observe that the government has been integrating the youth in the economy. One participant added that:

“There is corruption among members of Consultative Councils and community leaders; they allocate the fund according to sympathy.” (MDM Youth, Gaza)

The youth who express that the government has been providing lots of incentives through fora for debates to involve youth and address their concerns also say that not everybody attends these fora. Those who said that the government has been integrating the youth in the economy by training youth in areas that promote self-employment also noted they have see little interest among youth to get that training.

“Those who have taken this training have been successful as we can see them becoming entrepreneurs. But also we see those who benefit from the funding deviating from their projects and do not reimburse it. This has not been helpful.” (Apolitical Youth, Manica)

Nevertheless, some report ‘the darker side of the moon’ saying that:

“The government is doing nothing. It has been discriminating against those who do not belong to the governing party. It has not been funding projects of the youth from the opposition. It only pleases youth from the ruling party. That blocks [opposition] access to participate in the economy”. (Renamo Youth, Cabo Delgado)

Some view things on the basis of a rural-urban division, expressing that the government is doing something for those living in urban areas but not for those in rural areas. Some say that the government has been building some infrastructure, but it has not been involving youth in the debate around this. Some participants suggested that the government should invite the youth to hear their perspectives on government policies.

Some view government efforts to integrate youth in the economy as inappropriate, as they do not use meritocracy to appoint youth to [top and medium] positions. The government also favors those who studied abroad rather than within the country.

Some noted that youth are not allowed the space to participate in local decision making processes and that there is no transparency on government action. They mentioned that the government is not creating favorable space for youth to participate in the

economy. If they do, it is only a little contribution. Most youth are unemployed so the government is not helping them participate in the economy. The government is weak in terms of implementing policies that integrate youth.

3.2. Addressing youth participation in the economy: What should the government do?

We asked what the government can do in order to address youth participation in the economy. The youth that participated suggested the following solutions for the government to take forward:

Solutions from all discussions groups:

1. Be responsive to the small projects that youth submit in the scope of the '7 million' fund to generate income. If these are funded, it would allow youth to get out from unemployment.
2. View agriculture as the base for development in this country but also create transformative and extractive industries.
3. Reduce tuition fees at universities to facilitate access to higher education and importation taxes so that youth can have opportunities to make business.
4. Provide scholarships to youth.
5. Train small business holders on know-how so that their business is sustainable. There should be short term training on how to do business for youth. This would help youth to become self-employed. The government has to promote seminars at grassroots level on business opportunities and how to do business. Business [civic] education is important so that the youth can apply funds appropriately.
6. Commit to training youth on economic activities as well as making following up on their progress.
7. Build commercial infrastructure along the country so that youth can have [organized] business opportunities.
8. [Liaise with commercial banks to] drop guarantees as a condition for youth to get bank loans.

Solutions from apolitical discussion groups:

9. Find out from the youth their views. It has to be much more open to the youth so that youth can air their views [on different subjects]. The government has to create a green line where youth can present their concerns.

Solutions from apolitical and ruling party discussion groups:

10. Incentivize youth to organize themselves in associations or groups as it becomes much easier to engage with youth association representatives rather than a bunch of individuals that are unorganized. The government should also facilitate [and orient] the establishment of youth associations.

11. Interact more with organized youth groups (i.e. those affiliated into youth associations).

Solutions from apolitical and opposition discussion groups:

12. Expand the District Development Funds to all youth without party discrimination. The government has to fund youth initiatives.
13. Adopt [and implement] inclusive strategies so that the civil service is not based on partisanship. A quota system for youth should be applied for participation in big investments.

3.3. Addressing youth participation in the economy: What are youth doing?

So far, we know what youth think the government can do to address their participation in the economy, but we do not know how the youth are engaging with the government to participate in the economy. Some say that they have been trying to be present in meetings in great numbers and also ensuring they respond to any government invitation.

Some say that they participate in the economy by applying for available funding opportunities with their project ideas. But some added that they have not been successful as their projects have not been responded to or approved.

Some noted that they participate by airing their views in the media and other fora about the challenge of being involved in the economy. As one said:

"I went to the national legislature but they did not allow me to speak".⁴
(Renamo Youth, Maputo Province)

Some expressed that they participate in the economy by attending debates or airing their concerns on economic issues. But, after this, they cannot find out how their concerns were integrated in decision making.

Some participate by becoming entrepreneurs but find challenges with the competition from international companies. Also it is difficult to compete when the international work force is given priority over the local one. In general, the youth participation in the economy has been successful if we look at the number of youth improving due to government initiatives they embrace with [development] projects.

However, some reveal that the youth do not engage themselves to participate in the economy. They tend to keep themselves away from political life. For those who care, they direct their concerns to the National Youth Council (CNJ). This has been successful as youth from CNJ have received funding for their projects.

The youth participate in professional training courses and interact with the party although there are those who think that the party will do everything for them.

⁴ On this, one should observe that in representative democracies, the legislature is only a space for the representatives; the represented can only speak out through their representatives.

“The youth participate in meetings convened by the Ministry of Youth and Sport. We do not see direct results of these meetings, but we still participate” (Apolitical Youth, Gaza)

“We participate by paying taxes on economic activities as they develop. They have been making significant impact on entrepreneurship, they develop business and [they] generate income.” (Apolitical Youth, Gaza)

“We have been participating through membership in secondary associations. Through associations we are better served by the government.” (Apolitical Youth, Gaza)

IV. Inclusion on socio-economic development

The principal findings in relation to youth inclusion in socio-economic development show that the majority respondents view decentralized government development funds as helping youth to generate income and create employment opportunities. However the approval and allocation process of the funds is seen as favoring certain groups as well as lacking a transparent monitoring and evaluation mechanism.

4.1. The effect of development funds

In relation to socio-economic development, we asked youth’s views about the impact of existing government efforts and whether the decentralized development funds (PERPU, FDD, FAIJ, etc.) have helped youth participate in the economy. Some pointed out positive effects of the fund integrating the youth into the economy. They say:

“The funds allocated by the central government have been helping to include youth in the economy. They have been allowing the opening of bore holes, commercial farms as well as creating jobs and generating income.” (Frelimo Youth, Maputo Province)

“The decentralized funds have been increasingly helping the youth to be included in the economy. This is because many youth have been able to appear as entrepreneurs due to these funds. Many have been accessing information about the funds. The government has been doing its part, but sometimes youth are not honest [and do] not reimburse [the loans]. This fund can be better managed by better analyzing the feasibility of the projects submitted by the youth and their sustainability.” (Apolitical Youth, Manica)

Some respond that the funds have been helpful, but also add that the impact of the fund is not completely positive. As they observed it:

“Some people have been benefiting from the funds and making a lot of progress. But I know someone who benefited from it and it did not have a positive impact because he did not have any follow up from the government during the implementation phase. There is no control after someone benefits from the funding. There should be an anti-corruption unit to make sure that no funds are wasted so that the same fund can be returned and benefit more youth.”(MDM Youth, Manica)

“The decentralization fund policies are good but they are not inclusive. There should be no [fund] allocation based on partisanship.” (Renamo Youth, Maputo Province)

“The fund is helpful for youth inclusion in socio-economic development but allocating [the] fund itself is not enough as there are people who benefited from the fund but ended up wasting the money”. (MDM Youth, Gaza)

“The fund helps but is not enough yet as there is no quota for youth to access decision-makers. The amount they allocate for each project is little; there is a need to increase it. [At least] good projects should also receive [a] good amount of funding.” (Apolitical Youth, Nampula)

“The government has been allowing greater youth inclusion into the economy. There has been a lack of follow up during the implementation phase of the funds but also the amount of funding for each project is little, which has not been helping youth to fully implement their projects. For better inclusion of youth in the economy, the [funding] amount should be increased. Sometimes they end up giving up. The government has to monitor funded projects as it will guarantee reimbursements.” (Apolitical Youth, Sofala)

However, there are those who observe no positive effects at all of the funds integrating youth in the economy. They view that:

“The funds allocated by the government have not been contributing for youth to be included in the economy as they their allocation is based on party ID.” (Renamo Youth, Sofala)

“These funds have not been helpful due to corruption and bureaucracy on its allocation.” (Renamo Youth, Sofala)

“It has not been helpful because we do not know how the funds are directed and civil society organizations are not invited to discuss it. People living in rural areas do not know about the fund. There should be an establishment of independent institutions to manage to fund so that could solve the problem of party inclusion or exclusion. Youth associations are not called to participate in these funds.” (Renamo Youth, Inhambane)

Perhaps a story of positive impact of the decentralized fund is the one pointing to the State releasing itself from managing the fund and delegating that responsibility to commercial banks, as follows:

“For youth to be included in socio-economic development, for instance, MDM negotiated with a central bank so that the bank manages the fund. This has been making more funding available every year for more people. The government should allow [commercial] banks in districts to manage the fund.” (MDM Youth, Sofala)

In providing insights of the impact of decentralized funds and integrating youth in the economy, some pointed:

“To better integrate youth in the economy, the fund should be allocated to all those making business in market; some say it should benefit all those who compete for it and some say that it should be allocated according to project

feasibility and there should be no consultation with community leaders as they rely on sympathy to suggest its allocation.” (Apolitical Youth, Sofala)

“To better manage this fund, it is required that transparency mechanisms are increased.” (Apolitical Youth, Sofala)

“The [unsuccessful] submitted projects should not be totally disregarded but there should be suggestions for their improvement so that they could be re-submitted in the following cycle. It should not be allocated to those who are not youth.” (Apolitical Youth, Gaza)

“To better integrate youth in the economy, the government has to bet on associations’ projects rather than those to do small business in baracas [informal street shops]. Projects from youth associations benefit more youth. It is important that youth become aware that the money is not for free; they have to reimburse it.” (Apolitical Youth, Inhambane)

V. Expectations for socio-economic development

The principal findings of this study reveal that due to recent economic growth and investment in Mozambique that the youth have great expectations in relation to socio-economic development. Ruling party youth believe that these expectations can be met by the government implementing youth policies whilst opposition youth believe that these expectations will be met by opposition leaders monitoring and evaluation the government and its performance.

Some respondents said that they can see an impact of economic growth making the youth more aware of socio-economic opportunities but others view that economic growth still needs to be translated into development that reaches the youth.

5.1. Expectations for socio-economic development

We probed youth expectations for socio-economic development. Their list of expectations is long. Some say that they expect being well trained professionally in relevant areas of development of the country; becoming great entrepreneurs as they have perceived that being self-employed is better in a context that it is difficult to find jobs on the one hand; and getting a job does not mean they will get a good salary, on the other hand. Some added that the government should provide more industrial infrastructure to provide more jobs, reduce corruption and put youth in the right positions professionally.

Some expect much more inclusive governance; that there is a need for equitable distribution of wealth and that more companies are established so that more jobs are available to the youth.

Some expect South Africa’s experience of industrialization to be applied in the country to drive the Mozambican economy. They also expect that more funds are allocated to the youth for their development projects because the existing amount is not enough; that the Mozambique currency gains momentum; that the prices of existing commodities (oil, gas and coal) goes up so that it can boost the economy; that the natural resources being extracted generate wealth and create jobs for the youth; and that the government values the local labor force rather than relying on a foreign one.

Some added that they expect with socio-economic development youth occupy important positions in making decisions, that more development projects would be created to benefit youth, that more transparency would be applied to managing the decentralised funds, that the gains of economic growth would be redistributed to youth to reduce inequality and new resources are better managed by the government.

5.2. Meeting expectations for socio-economic development through the government

After we discussed their expectations for socio-economic development, we discussed with youth whether their expectations can be met by political leaders from the government. The responses revealed that some do not expect that political leaders from the government can meet their expectations while some do. Those who say 'no' viewed that the government cannot fulfil its electoral pledges and that Renamo is the party that is capable to do so when it gets into power.

"The government does not open space for others. The government does not make constructive contribution. It prioritizes the use of violence to solve problems. It does not have willingness to change. Change can only be made from the youth themselves [rather than government]." (Renamo Youth, Maputo Province)

Those who say 'yes,' the government can meet their socio-economic expectations view that it is possible that the government will pass bills and implement them in a way that can help the youth, providing scholarships to the youth on oil and gas and contracting more local labour force rather than foreign one.

"The expectations of youth for socio-economic development can be meet by the government due to its effort negotiating with investors, designing employment policies, allocating funds to the youth; and facilitating on doing business." (Frelimo Youth, Gaza)

Some add, however, that the outcomes from youth expectations for socio-economic development results from the pressure the opposition make to it.

"The opposition put pressure on the government to improve policies that allow improving living standards". (MDM Youth, Cabo Delgado)

Some viewed that the youth themselves are the main actors, that their socio-economic expectations can only be met from their own effort and that they are key actors making things happening.

"We cannot wait for the government, we have to help it. The youth has to do something by betting on education." However we also recognize that the government is the foundation even though the youth view that we are the main actors of our own social condition." (Apolitical Youth, Zambezia)

5.3. Meeting expectations for socio-economic development through the opposition

After we asked whether youth expectations for socio-economic development can be met through the government, we asked the same with respect to the opposition. Some

respondents said that if you want to, you can believe that the opposition does something for the youth expectations for socio-economic development, but it is better to do so on the basis of some experience:

“There is no evidence that the opposition have meet youth expectations [for socio-economic development]. The opposition makes little contribution. Now that we do not have an election, for instance, it is quiet. It only acts during election [campaigns]. [Between elections] the opposition only criticises the actions of the government.” (Frelimo Youth, Maputo City)

Some observed that youth expectations for socio-economic development can be met by the opposition efforts through the “presentation of alternative policies [and] creation of a climate of peace to foster trust with investors”.

“Opposition leaders present alternative ideas for policies in the legislatures and pressure the government for youth concerns. They play an important role in the government actions.” (MDM Youth, Sofala)

“Our leaders interact with us and take our concerns to a higher government level by negotiating and making pressure”. (MDM Youth, Sofala)

“The opposition leaders contribute for the socio-economic development expectations of the youth by monitoring and overseeing the bureaucracy [during the period between elections]”. (Renamo Youth, Maputo Province)

5.4. Impact of economic growth on the youth

In this section, we investigate whether the existing economic growth has improved the prospects for youth going forward. Some responded ‘yes,’ the economic growth affected the youth prospects moving forward. This was because it makes them aware of the opportunities that exist and enables them to be better prepared to take them. Economic growth brings challenges that encourages youth to attain high levels of formal education to look for better jobs.

“It has been making the youth becoming much more ambitious; he or she tends to be trained and acquire skills and the government adopt housing, employment, funding and entrepreneurship policies that benefit them.” (Apolitical Youth, Sofala)

“The economic growth has been affecting the socio-economic condition of the youth by providing them with jobs, funding or initiatives that foster entrepreneurship.” (Apolitical Youth, Maputo Province)

“There are now more expectations of jobs for the youth as a result of economic growth”. (Frelimo Youth, Niassa)

In order to boost the economic growth, youth wanted more to be done to continue to provide more funds to the youth, create jobs, provide professional training on doing business and facilitate the environment to do business. Some added that the government has to start transforming some raw materials like timbers locally so that they can create jobs locally [rather than exporting them raw].

Some indicated, nevertheless, that there has been no positive impact on youth from economic growth as the economic growth has not yet be translated into development.

They felt as though the few gains of economic growth have been only benefiting ruling party affiliates and not the general youth.

“Economic growth only contributes to make cost of living high. As there is a lack of transparency on the gains the country has been having, the impact of economic growth is low [for most]. To increase transparency, it requires improving the legislations on accessing information on State business.” (Apolitical Youth, Sofala)

“Considering the barriers that most find to get their project funded, I can say that the economic growth is not benefiting all” (Apolitical Youth, Maniza)

Some said that the economic growth has only positive impact on international investors but take all the money out of the country. Some refer to a negative impact as the economic growth has not reduced poverty yet.

“The level of poverty is still the same”. (Renamo Youth, Maputo Province)

In order to improve this, some appointed for alternation of power. Some argued that mega-project contracts responsible for economic growth should be redrafted so that some of them, like the aluminum smelter project Mozal, pay taxes. Some say that the country should produce more, mainly food and export, and that the government should provide more technical and financial assistance to the youth to produce. Some said that the government should commit to small holder farmers who produce food.

VI. Political Involvement

The respondents on this study are very interested in politics, with an overwhelming majority identifying with a political party as well as frequently accessing news media (see the demographic profile in the introduction section) and having knowledge about basic political facts. However they view that the youth in general are not very involved in politics.

The respondents view that political leaders encourage young people to be involved in politics but some leaders only do so when there is an election approaching.

6.1. Political involvement

Sometimes the youth cannot be well integrated in the economy because they position themselves away from politics and public affairs. Thus, we tried to assess youth involvement in politics. From the youth we spoke with that identified with a political party or are members of secondary associations, we heard from them that in general youth political involvement is shallow in Mozambique. Some expressed that youth are not interested in politics. The reason they give is because they are frustrated and disappointed with politics as there are more pledges made than those that are fulfilled. Some specified that:

“The song of the youth is: ‘I do not believe in politics’. They lost trust. In order to bring back trust leaders have to show commitment through their work by fulfilling their promises.” (Renamo Youth, Maputo City)

The low level of youth political involvement is associated with their lack of interest in politics. They think that politics is for politicians. Young people end up posting negative comments on social media, calling politicians names, saying that public policies are not helpful and saying that they do not help support youth. The problem is that:

“They do not have patience and want results immediately. They easily abandon projects before they have finished them by starting new ones.”
(Frelimo Youth, Inhambane)

In order to foster their involvement in politics, they believe it is necessary to bring back their confidence and consider their expectations. They have to deconstruct the idea that all politicians are equal, corrupt, etc. by receiving appropriate training and joining or creating an association.

Some indicated that the youth participate less in politics because of their low levels of formal education which limits them to have a broad view of their concerns. Some parties do not encourage individuals to be involved in politics.

Training and civil education on citizenship rights are some factors that help youth to be interested in politics and then involved in politics.

“To increase youth political involvement there is a need to explain to them the importance of being active in public affairs. A sensitization campaign may help to make them becoming interested in politics. [Also they] need to believe that their concerns can be responded to by politics.” (Frelimo Youth, Niassa)

6.2. Political involvement through mobilization of political leaders

Here we analyze the role of political leaders encouraging youth to be involved in politics. Some expressed that:

“Political leaders encourage youth involvement in politics as they want their support to win elections. But after elections they dealign themselves with the youth.” (Apolitical Youth, Zambesia)

As a strategy to boost youth participation in politics, some said the government has to stop discriminating people from joining other parties than the ruling party. As they explain:

“When we appear associated with the opposition, government officials do not assist us. As we do not want to identify with the governing party we end up not participating in politics either for opposition or governing party.”
(Apolitical Youth, Inhambane)

Someone from the opposition said that their leaders do encourage youth:

“Our leader encourages us to be committed to politics to liberate the country. I never saw someone [more] serious like our leader”. (Renamo Youth, Maputo Province)

Some specified that:

“Leaders encourage youth to participate in politics by establishing grass root level committees allowing greater participation. Frelimo encourages the

youth to participate in meetings at the cell level and through existing youth meetings. Frelimo leaders incentivise young people to participate in politics through its youth organisation (OJM) where everybody air their views.” (Frelimo Youth, Sofala)

While some do view that leaders have been encouraging through debates, they also stressed that that effort is weak.

“We believe that leaders do encourage the youth into politics but that encouragement is weak as there is no close ties between the two.” (Apolitical Youth, Manica)

6.3. Accessing news on politics and public affairs

We asked the respondents through what means they most often access information about political leaders and political parties.

Most of the respondents indicated that they access news on politics and public affairs through newspapers, television, radio or social media. As one respondent said: “we cultivate the culture of being informed” that is why we access news media. As seen from the demographic profile in the introductory section of this study, 51 percent of the respondents access news media everyday and 41 percent at least once a week or once a month.

6.4. Knowledge about basic political facts

We also investigated the respondents’ views about some basic political facts such as whether they thought women and men had equal access to positions in political office, and the types of campaign messages they themselves would develop to attract youth to be engaged in politics and/or society.

Most respondents expressed the belief that women have an equal chance to men to arrive in a top position of power; some supported having a quota system to promote women but some did not. Most were able to tell some sort of statement for their election campaign in order to attract more votes. However, only a few managed to provide information identifying priorities of political parties’ manifestos from the most recent election in 2014.

“Presently women have the same chance as men to attain a political position. The known examples of this are Helena Taipo [former labor minister and current Sofala governor], Margarida Talapa [major parliamentary party leader] and Ivone Soares [main opposition parliamentary leader]” (Apolitical, Sofala)

On having a gender quota system, those who supported this to advance women into political positions said:

“A quota is necessary to advance women in politics as women had been marginalized in society and relegated to domestic roles for a long period. A long time ago most of the people did not know that men and women are equal, now that we know this and they have been left behind we have to change things” (MDM Youth, Sofala).

Those who did not support this said:

“Woman should get there on their own merit rather than expecting someone to push them” (Apolitical Youth, Zambezia)

When the respondents were asked to consider being election campaign managers, assigned the task to develop messages to attract more voters, most talked about basic infrastructures like health and school facilities, roads and bridges, transportation, water and electricity services and provision of job opportunities:

“Education for all, jobs and houses for the youth, peace and well-being to all Mozambicans, and more high education institutions” (MDM Youth, Manica).

“Mozambique for all” (Frelimo Youth, Cabo Delgado)

“Good governance” (Apolitical Youth, Nampula)

In terms of the respondents being able to recall political parties' manifesto promises from the recent 2014 election campaign most respondents gave general responses similar to the messages they would propose if they were tasked to be election campaign managers; however very few managed to remember well any actual election party pledges. The respondents mainly talked on general pledges associated with water and electricity provision, public transportation, roads and bridges and health and education – all associated with poverty reduction – but only a few respondents used the term poverty reduction which was a key manifesto pledge of all parties during the last election campaign.

Conclusions and recommendations

This study employed focus group discussions to analyze youth views on political and economic environment and their expectations for socio-economic development in Mozambique.

485 young people (men and women aged 17-35) from rural, peri-urban and urban areas across Northern, Central and Southern Provinces in Mozambique participated by responding to a structured series of open-ended questions, grouped by theme.

Discussions were held with youth affiliated in political parties with parliamentary representation, as well as apolitical discussions which were set up without considering partisanship. The findings reveal that responses were mainly polarized between the views of those who are affiliated to the governing party and those to the opposition.

From the opposition side the youth views expressed were very critical and against government efforts while those affiliated to or more aligned with the governing party were very supportive of government effort whilst also bringing some minor critique.

The only finding that appears not to be polarized between the governing party and opposition is on youth concerns where all respondents brought up common concerns that are affecting the youth in Mozambique.

1. Youth concerns

Almost all of youth questioned shared the same concerns and these concerns were not divided according to party affiliations. Their concerns are many and start from difficulties accessing higher education, improving school or university facilities to increasing scholarship opportunities, jobs, plots to build houses, transport to reduce school distance, loans to implement their economic initiatives, professional training to be self-employed and become an entrepreneur, and justice.

2. Government concerns

We found that youth aligned to the governing party are likely to view the government as responding well to their concerns while the opposition youth are less likely to do so. The former observe that the government have done enough for the youth but also view that sometimes the youth is not prepared to receive what the government can offer to them. They suggest mainly that the youth should organize themselves into associations to become a better recipient of government effort. The latter view that the government has done nothing to address their concern or if it is doing something that the effort is only for the ruling party youth, namely the Mozambique Youth Organization (OJM). One example given was the INTAKA housing project that they say benefits OJM rather than young Mozambicans in general. In this case these views could be perceived as a little exaggerated as access to the INTAKA housing project is a function of a deal that someone makes with a commercial bank rather than directly through the ruling party. Commercial banks, driven by profit reasoning rather than party favoritism, are concerned with whether an individual can afford to get a bank loan and their ability to repay the loan; they do not accept party connections to provide loans. Whichever way may be the reality these perceptions lead the opposition youth to point out for the need of non-partisanship in the delivery of government funds, service or goods to the youth.

The apolitical youth recognized government effort in addressing youth concerns however they also voiced that the government effort is limited. For instance, on housing, they view that the existing housing policy does not allow youth to afford houses and some advanced as a solution the need for the government to provide plots for the youth so that they can begin building their own houses rather than expecting them to buy “unaffordable houses”.

3. Opposition response

Besides investigating how the government is responding to the youth concerns, we also probed how the opposition is doing so. The responses showed that the opposition youth are likely to say that the opposition leaders tend to do more effort to respond to youth concerns while the governing party youth are less likely to recognize the opposition leaders’ work. As the former observe: the performance of government is due to the opposition pressure to the government in the legislatures. They add, however, that the opposition cannot do a lot as it is not in power. On the other hand, the latter view that the opposition effort is meaningless by expressing that some opposition leaders unfortunately pass a bad example to their youth by not respecting the symbols of the Republic. They limit themselves by just criticizing the government and not providing alternative solutions to their criticisms.

4. Youth engagement with political leaders

We examined how the youth itself is engaging with both the government and opposition leaders to make their concerns known and responded to. We found that the apolitical

youth tend to engage with government leaders and opposition through seminars and workshops, writing letters and participating in meetings where they present their perspectives to their concerns. They also engage themselves trying to solve their concerns by organizing or joining in secondary associations. On the partisan youth, the opposition youth tend to say they present their views and proposals to their opposition superiors but find little space to do the same with the government. For them it is difficult to engage with the government to solve their concerns as they responded that they are limited in government meetings to air their own views. This view was also shared among some of the apolitical youth. The governing party youth, however, said that they engage with government by airing their concerns at the Mozambique Youth Organization. At this forum, the youth concerns are first presented and discussed before they are directed to the government.

5. The outcome of the engagement

Not all youth engagement with governing and opposition leaders has been successful. We found that the apolitical youth tend to view success on their engagement with the government. The opposition youth also tend to see successful outcomes from their engagement with their leaders. They tend to say that their engagement have been successful as they can see their concerns being discussed in the national and local legislatures. But they tend not to view the same with respect to the government, as one would expect. For the government they say that it does not respond effectively to their requests. They said that their engagement with the government has not been successful because they are minority in the legislatures. Conversely the governing party youth feel that the youth have successful engagement with the government.

6. Improvements for addressing youth concerns

When the respondents were asked for their suggestions and solutions on how the political response to youth concerns can be more effective we found very little party variation on this issue. All youth seemed to share the same solutions for improvement. However it's important to share some specific opposition views on how their concerns should be addressed. The opposition youth tended to express that the government should adopt policies that treat youth equally with no party discrimination; apply laws accordingly to all; inspect State activities with rigor; implement 'autonomous provinces' to be ruled by Renamo (this was only Renamo youth view); provide more freedom of expression; guarantee free and fair elections; and that alternation of power can take place. All others views mentioned earlier were much more shared with opposition, governing party and apolitical youth.

7. Government performance integrating youth in the economy

We found that the governing party youth tend to rate government performance working with youth in the economy positively while the opposition youth tend to rate it negatively. For instance, the former view that the government have done a lot working with the youth in the economy by incentivizing them on entrepreneurship and providing financial support to youth economic projects through association and groups. The latter observe that the government is doing poorly as it has been discriminating those who do not identify with the ruling party by not funding their projects. The apolitical youth appeared sometimes to be aligned with the ruling party youth views in the same time they do also share sometimes views of the opposition youth. They do recognize that the government is doing a major effort integrating the youth in the economy but say that not everything is successful by indicating for instance corruption practices among members of the Consultative Council and the lack of transparency in decision making and monitoring of the district development funds.

8. Addressing youth participation in the economy: What should the government do?

In order to better integrate youth in the economy all respondents made similar suggestions on what the government could do. Some felt that the government should do more to incentivize youth to organize themselves into associational groups as they perceive it is easier for the government to engage with youth association representatives and interact much more with them. Others, particularly those from opposition youth, suggested that the government needs to be better develop their abilities to listen and observe before making decisions and acting; and that adopted strategies should be inclusive and not based on partisanship, particularly the district development fund which they emphasized should be expanded and available to all youth without party discrimination. Another common theme was to provide more business opportunities whether that be through building commercial infrastructure, providing scholarships or providing 'know-how' training and entrepreneurship skills so that youth can develop better business skills. Linked to this it was also suggested that government could do more to liaise with commercial banks to make it easier for youth to access bank loans for example by removing the condition guarantee.

9. Addressing youth participation in the economy: What is the youth doing?

We found that the youth are active to participate in the economy by applying to available funding opportunities with their project ideas; airing their views in the media and other fora; attending debates or airing their concerns on economic issues; becoming entrepreneurs; taking professional training; participating in meetings convened by the Ministry of Youth and Sport; paying taxes of economic activities they develop; and being active members in secondary associations.

However, some revealed that they do not engage themselves to participate in the economy. They keep themselves away from political activities expecting that parties will do and provide everything for them.

10. The effect of development funds

By analyzing the youth's responses on the effect of the existing government effort, we found party variation. The ruling party youth tended to emphasize positive effects of the government development funds indicating that these funds have been helping to integrate the youth in the economy allowing them to open bore holes, commercial farms as well as create jobs and generate income. In spite of these positive effects, the opposition youth indicated that all of these funds are allocated only to ruling party youth who are not asked to reimburse it. Some apolitical youth revealed that 'yes' the funds have been helpful but added that the impact of the fund is not completely positive as there are those who receive the loan funding but not do repay it as the government does not monitor their activities during the implementation phase.

11. The impact of economic growth

By examining the effect of the existing economic growth, the results were not that different to those expressed on the effect of development funds: The opposition youth tended to ignore the effects of the economic growth arguing that it has not been translated into equal distribution of wealth or that only the ruling party personnel have been benefiting from these efforts. The apolitical youth recognized its effects but revealed that more still needs to be transformed into development. The ruling party youth observed more concrete impacts; that the economic growth has been making the youth

become much more ambitious preparing themselves to capitalize on the resulting opportunities; helping provide jobs, funding or initiatives that foster entrepreneurship; and raising expectations of jobs for the youth.

12. Expectations for socio-economic development

All youth groups expressed similar expectations for socio-economic development. These include: being well trained professionally; becoming entrepreneurs, that the government provides more industrial infrastructures to offer jobs; it reduces corruption; it fosters inclusive governance in distributing wealth; it allocates more funds for the youth; and it manages the economy keeping the currency stable. They also expect that the natural resources being extracted generate wealth and create jobs to the youth; that the government value more the local based labor force; that development projects are created to benefit the youth; and that more transparency is applied in managing the decentralized funds.

13. Meeting expectations for socio-economic development through the government and opposition

The findings revealed that the ruling party youth was likely to view that the youth expectations for socio-economic development can be met through the government other than the opposition by, for instance, negotiating with investors, passing and implementing policies, allocating funds to the youth and facilitating doing business while they perceive the opposition will only criticize the government effort without bring alternative options and will be silent between elections; only showing its presence during election period. The opposition was likely to view this the other way around; that it does present alternative policy options when criticizing the government and that it does so by monitoring and overseeing the bureaucracy.

14. Political involvement

We found that in general youth political involvement is shallow in Mozambique in part because they are frustrated and disappointed with politics. In order to foster their involvement in politics it emerged that it is necessary to bring back their confidence, sensitizing them about the political process, deconstructing the idea that all politicians are privileged, corrupt, etc., but above all that politicians match their expectations. In addition, the youth expressed that formal education also play a role in youth's political involvement as well as the effort of political leaders to encouragement them to do so.

We found that most of the youth we convened in our focus group discussions have been accessing news on politics and public affairs through newspapers, television, radio or social media. We also found this group to be relatively sophisticated on basic political facts: most revealed that they believe that women have an equal chance to men to arrive in a top position of power, and most were able to tell some sort of statements for their election campaign in order to mobilize more votes. But only a few managed to provide information identifying priorities of political parties' manifestos from the most recent election.

Recommendations

The following recommendations emerged during the group discussions which the youth identified as potential ways to advance their views and address their concerns:

- For governing and opposition parties to incentivize all youth to participate in and organize themselves into youth association groups as a means to become more effective recipients of government effort;
- For governing and opposition parties to provide better outreach, access to information and support to youth to be able to better respond to government development funds and other initiatives aimed at addressing youth concerns and advancing youth development;
- For the government to apply policies that treat youth equally without party discrimination;
- For government development funds and other youth targeted activities to be inspected with rigor and managed transparently;
- For government [and opposition parties] to develop better abilities and mechanisms to listen to and observe all youth concerns before making decisions and acting;
- For the government to implement youth employment strategies that are inclusive to the national workforce;
- For the District Development Funds to be expanded, with transparent decision making and monitoring (particularly in relation to the use and repayment of funds) and be truly inclusive to all youth;
- For the government to provide more business opportunities through building commercial infrastructure, providing scholarships and providing 'know-how' training and entrepreneurship skills so that youth can develop better business skills;
- For the government to liaise with commercial banks to make it easier for youth to access bank loans;
- For all political leaders, parties to encourage, sensitize and engage youth to be involved in political processes and to influence the development of socio-economic opportunities to address youth concerns; and
- For the government to ensure that the role of youth in political participation is included in formal education.

Appendix A: Moderator Guidelines

Youth's Attitudes toward Political Environment, Economic Inclusion, and their Expectations for Socio-economic Development in Mozambique

Good day. My name is _____ and my colleagues are _____, _____, and _____. We are from the Centre for Research on Governance and Development (CPGD), an independent research institution. We do not represent the government or any political party. We are studying the views of youth toward the political environment, economic participation and expectations for socio-economic development in Mozambique. We would like to discuss these issues with you as a group.

Your answers will be confidential. They will be put together with 160-280 other people we are talking to, to get an overall picture. It will be impossible to pick you out from what you say, so please feel free to tell us what you think. This interview will take about 60 to 90 minutes. There is no penalty for refusing to participate. Do you wish to proceed?

GUIDE TO THE FACILITATOR OF THE INTERVIEW: FOR EVERY RESPONSE GIVEN BY THE RESPONDENTS PROBE IF POSSIBLE HOW AND WHY? ASK FOR EXAMPLES.

I. Attitudes toward political environment

Everybody has concerns about their future. Children might be concerned with their rights to be protected, and adults might be concerned with having a good pension when they retire. The youth might be concerned with something so that they can enjoy a great future.

1. Let's begin our conversation talking about the youth's main concerns regarding the political environment in Mozambique? In general, what are the main concerns you as youth have to the political environment in this country? How do these become youth concerns? Why?
2. How are the main political leaders (from the government and opposition) dealing with the political environment to address your concerns? Why?
3. Has the way that political leaders (government and opposition) have dealt with the political environment been successful for the youth? If yes, why? If not, why?
4. How are the youth engaging with political leaders (government and opposition) on the political environment so that their concerns are protected? Why?
5. Has the way that the youth have dealt with the political environment been successful for the youth? If yes, why? If not, why?
6. What should the youth do to improve the political environment so that their concerns are addressed? How should the youth do that? Why?

Current country political situation

7. With respect to the current political situation in the country, what should political leaders (government and opposition) do so that youth concerns are not put at risk? Why?
8. Has the way that political leaders (government and opposition) have dealt with the current political situation been successful for the youth? If yes, why? If not, why?
9. What has the youth done so that their concerns are addressed? Why?
10. Has the way that the youth have dealt with the current political situation been successful for the youth? If yes, why? If not, why?
11. What should the youth do to improve the political environment so that their concerns are addressed? How the youth should do that? Why?

II. Attitudes toward youth's economic inclusion

12. Let's move to the youth's main concerns regarding economic participation in Mozambique? What are the main concerns you as youth have in terms of participating in the economy in this country? Why?
13. How is the government dealing with youth participation in the economy? Why?
14. Has the way government has dealt with youth participation in the economy been successful for the youth? If yes, why? If not, why?
15. How are the youth dealing with the government so that youth concerns are included in the economy? Why?
16. Has the way the youth has dealt with their participation in the economy been successful? If yes, why? If not, why?
17. What should the youth do to improve their participation in the economy? Why?

Country specific economic inclusion

18. The government has recently decentralized funds for people's economic development at both rural and urban areas. Has this helped to include youth in the economy? If yes, how? If not, how not? Why?
19. How should this decentralized fund be oriented in order to include youth concerns?

III. Youth expectations for socio-economic development

20. What are your expectations for socio-economic development in this country? Why?

21. Do you think these expectations will be met by political leaders (government or opposition)? If so why? If not why?
22. At the national level we have seen significant improvement in the economy (including economic growth resulting from big projects on gas, aluminum and coal) but at the individual personal level we have not seen the same level of improvement. What should the government do in order that national level economic gains are also reflected at to individual personal level? How?

IV Additional Comments

23. Do you have any additional comments you would like to make related to the issues that we have discussed?

Respondent Background Questionnaire

1. This interview took place in	Urban area	Peri-urban area	Rural area
	1	2	3
2. Date of interview			
3. Time the interview started			
4. Province of interview			
5. Place of interview			
6. Full name			
7. Gender of respondent	Female		Male
	1		2
8. Date of birth	Day	Month	Year
9. Place of birth	District		Province
10. Level of education completed			
11. What it is your ethnic group (Macua, Sena, Changana)?			

12. What is your life ambition?					
13. How often do you follow news from radio, television, newspaper or internet?	Never	Less than once a month	A few times a month	A few times a week	every-day
	1	2	3	4	5
14. How interested in politics are you?	Not interested at all	Not very interested	Somewhat interested	Very interested	
	1	2	3	4	
15. Did you vote in the 2014 election?					
16. If the next election is taking place tomorrow would you vote?					
17. Are you employed, looking for a job, employed but looking for job, studying or unemployed?	Employed	Looking for a job	Employed but looking for a job	Studying	Unemployed
	1	2	3	4	5
18. Are you a member of any voluntary association or community group?					
19. [IF YES], which association or community group?					
20. [IF YES], what role do you play in this association or community group?					
21. Do you feel close to any particular political party?					
22. [IF YES], which political party?					
23. Time the interview ended					

Interviewer name:

Appendix B: Focus Group Locations and Participant Demographics

Date	Residential Location	Province	Political party	Male	Female	Group size
12-Dec-15	Urban	Zambezia	Apolitical	5	5	10
12-Dec-15	Urban	Zambezia	MDM	7	3	10
11-Dec-15	Rural	Zambezia	MDM	14	0	14
11-Dec-15	Urban	Zambezia	Apolitical	5	3	8
10-Dec-15	Rural	Zambezia	Apolitical	9	1	10
10-Dec-15	Peri urban	Zambezia	Frelimo	14	0	14
9-Dec-15	Rural	Zambezia	Apolitical	10	0	10
9-Dec-15	Rural	Zambezia	Apolitical	9	0	9
4-Dec-15	Urban	Sofala	Frelimo	9	2	11
4-Dec-15	Urban	Sofala	MDM	10	5	15
4-Dec-15	Urban	Sofala	Apolitical	7	2	9
3-Dec-15	Peri urban	Sofala	Apolitical	8	6	14
3-Dec-15	Rural	Niassa	Apolitical	7	4	11
3-Dec-15	Urban	Niassa	Frelimo	3	3	6
2-Dec-15	Urban	Niassa	Apolitical	11	3	14
2-Dec-15	Rural	Niassa	Frelimo	7	8	15
10-Dec-15	Urban	Nampula	MDM	4	3	7
9-Dec-15	Peri urban	Nampula	Renamo	9	5	14
9-Dec-15	Peri urban	Nampula	MDM	9	1	10
9-Dec-15	Peri urban	Nampula	Frelimo	6	6	12
14-Dec-15	Peri urban	Maputo-Provincia	Renamo	11	5	16
2-Dec-15	Urban	Maputo-Provincia	MDM	6	4	10
2-Dec-15	Peri urban	Maputo-Cidade	Frelimo	8	0	8
1-Dec-15	Urban	Maputo-Cidade	MDM	11	4	15
1-Dec-15	Urban	Maputo-Cidade	Renamo	5	0	5
7-Dec-15	Urban	Manica	Apolitical	7	2	9
7-Dec-15	Urban	Manica	Renamo	4	6	10
6-Dec-15	Urban	Manica	MDM	7	7	14

Date	Residential Location	Province	Political party	Male	Female	Group size
5-Dec-15	Peri urban	Manica	Apolitical	9	1	10
7-Dec-15	Rural	Inhambane	Apolitical	5	3	8
6-Dec-15	Rural	Inhambane	Frelimo	9	3	12
4-Dec-15	Urban	Inhambane	MDM	5	2	7
4-Dec-15	Peri urban	Inhambane	Apolitical	5	3	8
12-Dec-15	Urban	Gaza	Apolitical	9	2	11
11-Dec-15	Urban	Gaza	Apolitical	5	2	7
10-Dec-15	Urban	Gaza	MDM	8	0	8
10-Dec-15	Peri urban	Gaza	Apolitical	8	2	10
9-Dec-15	Urban	Gaza	Frelimo	3	6	9
8-Dec-15	Urban	Gaza	MDM	9	3	12
8-Dec-15	Urban	Gaza	Apolitical	4	3	7
8-Dec-15	Peri urban	Gaza	Apolitical	4	3	7
8-Dec-15	Urban	Cabo Delgado	Frelimo	8	0	8
7-Dec-15	Urban	Cabo Delgado	MDM	1	5	6
7-Dec-15	Peri urban	Cabo Delgado	MDM	4	2	6
7-Dec-15	Urban	Cabo Delgado	MDM	5	4	9
7-Dec-15	Urban	Cabo Delgado	Renamo	4	3	7
5-Dec-15	Urban	Cabo Delgado	Renamo	6	2	8
5-Dec-15	Urban	Cabo Delgado	Apolitical	12	3	15
TOTALS				345	140	485