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Youth Political Engagement and their Social Condition in Mozambique

Carlos Shenga and Lorraine Howe

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About the authors

Carlos Shenga holds doctorate and masters degree in political studies from the University of Cape Town, South Africa. He is the founder of the Centre for Research on Governance and Development (CPGD).

Lorraine Howe holds a masters degree in development management from the Open University, United Kingdom. She is research manager at the Centre for Research on Governance and Development (CPGD).

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For more information contact:
info@cpgd.org.mz

Abstract

A recent study in Mozambique on youth political engagement shows that youth affiliated in political party organizations as well as in civic associations are more likely to participate in political processes; and, as a result, receive a positive payoff from that. Whilst the attitudes of these youth are known, the attitudes of ordinary youth (those not affiliated with youth party organisations and civic associations) are not known. This working paper investigates the extent to which ordinary young adults engage in political processes compared to older adults. It also examines their social condition and the impact political engagement has on social condition, controlling for age, gender and levels of formal education. It tests and analyses this employing a comprehensive systematic comparative series of public opinion survey data conducted in Mozambique in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015 by Afrobarometer.

Key words: youth, politics, political engagement, social condition, Mozambique.

Youth Political Engagement and their Social Condition in Mozambique

1. Introduction

Mozambique is an emerging democracy with a large and growing youth population - current estimates are that over 65% of the population is under the age of 25¹. When it is considered that young people who participate politically in their community from an early age are more likely to become engaged citizens and voters, Mozambican youth are a sizeable and critically important group of citizens that will inform and influence the future of the country's democracy and development.

In 2016, a focus group discussion² involving representatives of Mozambican political parties' youth organizations and civic associations dealt with two questions: firstly the participation of political parties' youth organizations³ and civic associations⁴ in political processes; and secondly, the impact of that participation. The discussion revealed that the youth affiliated in youth party organizations as well as in civic associations were more likely to participate in political processes; and, as a result receive a positive payoff from that. Youth engaged in party youth organizations attend party youth meetings, election campaigns, persuade others to support their candidate and party and contact political leaders more often than others; and their reward from that political engagement can be wide ranging. For example being better able to express or have their concerns addressed, having increased knowledge of how to access public services or employment opportunities or getting a legislative seat in parliament or a position in the executive, respectively, at national, provincial or municipal level.

Those youths engaged in civic associations, such as non-governmental organizations, gain knowledge and visibility from participating in protest or demonstration marches they organize; attending community meetings; and joining together with others to raise an issue. As result of their participation in political processes they see the number of citizens supporting their cause increasing as they shape public opinion to some extent.

Although it was not asked explicitly during the focus group discussion, we believe that these youth are more likely to be interested in public affairs and discuss politics with their co-workers, friends, neighbours, spouse and even family, as they are more likely to participate in political processes. At least, this assumption is based on the outcome of a National Democratic Institute study, conducted by the Centre for

1 UNICEF statistics, December 2013, https://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/mozambique_statistics.html

² The focus group discussion was coordinated by the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) at the Higher Institute of International Relations (ISRI) in Maputo, in front of hundreds of young students and lecturers from ISRI and the general public during the launch of research findings of the Millennial Dialogue Round Table on Youth Participation in Politics in Mozambique, on 16th September 2016. The focus group discussion was moderated by Carlos Shenga and Egna Sidumo.

³ The political parties youth organizations were composed of representatives from Frelimo Mozambican Youth Organization (OJM), Renamo Youth League and MDM Youth League.

⁴ The civic youth organizations were represented by the Civil Society Platform of Chimoio City; Mozambique Youth Parliament; National Youth Council; and Diocesan Youth Committee of Pemba City.

Research on Governance and Development, that analysed the views of youth from party organizations on the political and economic environment and their expectations for socio-economic development in Mozambique (Shenga and Howe 2016).⁵

But what about ordinary youth, that is those who are not engaged in political parties' youth organizations or civic associations? To what extent do ordinary youth engage in political processes, what is their social condition and what is the impact of engagement in politics on social condition?

Based on the rationale outlined below we would expect to find that:

- a) Ordinary youth are less likely to be engaged in politics than adults;
- b) Ordinary youth are less likely to have better social conditions than adults; and
- c) Individuals who tend to engage in politics are likely to have better social condition than others.

That ordinary youth are less likely to be engaged in politics comes from numerous literature sources. Studies show that young adults appear to be less likely to vote than older adults (Milan 2005; Blais 2011, Robertson 2009); their electoral participation has been declining over time (Blais 2011); and their affiliation to political parties has been dropping (Hooghe, Stolle and Stouthuysen 2004). Some scholars point out that, due to lifecycle and generational effects, young people do not prefer traditional forms of political participation, such as: voting and membership in political parties, and instead prefer new and other forms like badge-wearing and demonstrating (Quintelier 2007:174), but some found that their "exit from traditional forms of participation is not generally coupled with active participation in informal forms of involvement"(Robertson 2009).

That ordinary youth are less likely to have better social conditions is based on the fact that they are still in early stages of their lives and career. Most tend to still struggle to get a degree, to find better job or even complete secondary school. "They do not have a house, stable residence [and] children"(Quintelier 2007).

Finally, that engaging in politics leads to better social conditions is based on the studies on political participation where socio-economic status appears to have a significant positive effect on political participation (Campbell et al. 1960, Norris 2006, Parry et al. 1992, Rosenstone and Hansen 2003, Quintelier and Hooghe 2013). If the former affects positively the latter then the latter also affects positively the former.

Studies on Youth Political Engagement in Mozambique

The literature on youth political engagement in Mozambique is limited. Besides Afrobarometer data,⁶ which is the most comprehensive and comparative series of surveys from 2002 to 2015 that one can use to assess political attitudes and behaviours of young adults in Mozambique, there is an online study commissioned in 2016 by the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) in partnership with Global Progressive Forum (GPF), Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) and the Higher Institute of International Relations (ISRI) to better understand the political attitudes of

⁵ Youth organizations from political parties showed high interest in public affairs as well as discussing politics with others. For more information: <https://www.ndi.org/youth-expectations-development-mozambique%20>

⁶ See: www.afrobarometer.org

youth aged between 15 and 35 years old.⁷ However these surveys remain greatly unanalysed. If reports are produced they tend to be based only on descriptive information rather than advanced statistical analysis.

The other major study, based on 48 focus group discussions conducted for the National Democratic Institute (NDI) by the Centre for Research on Governance and Development (CPGD) is on youth concerns and their expectations for socio-economic development in Mozambique (Shenga and Howe 2016).

Although there have been some case studies on youth political engagement in Mozambique including an article by Biza (2007), monographies by Portatadino (2016) and Macuacua (2012) and reports by International Youth Foundation (2014), Adorna, Ruiz and Ahmed (ND) and Parlamento Juvenil de Mocambique (2014), this working paper is the first comparative effort at theorizing about youth political engagement and their social condition in Mozambique based on a comprehensive systematic comparative series of public opinion data.

Research Design, Data, Method and Techniques

This study assesses individuals' political engagement and social condition employing a cross-sectional research design, which means "people of many ages, behaviors, and opinions are represented within the study population" (Lewis-Beck, Bryaman and Liao, 2004:299-230).

It is based on 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015 public opinion sample survey data from Afrobarometer.⁸ The Afrobarometer surveyed a nationally representative, random, stratified probability sample of 1,400 Mozambicans in 2002; 1,198 in 2005; 1,200 in 2008; and 2,400, respectively, in 2012 and 2015. The survey samples were drawn by taking the smallest geographic units, Census Enumeration Areas (EAs), and stratifying all EAs across the country into separate lists according to province and urban or rural status. 150 to 300 EAs⁹ were then randomly selected from these lists with the probability proportionate to its size in the overall population. This ensures that every eligible adult had an equal and known chance of being selected. Eight households were then randomly selected within each EA, and a respondent 18 years of age or older was randomly selected from each household. A gender quota ensured that every other interview must be with a female. The surveys were based on face-to-face interviews using a structured questionnaire.

Although this study research design is cross-sectional, it is also comparative. It compares different cross-sectional surveys on political engagement and social condition throughout the analysis from 2002 to 2015 systematically.

The method employed in this study is quantitative, meaning that all data is in numerical form. When a quantitative survey questionnaire is relatively well designed and administered it can relatively "ensure objective and accurate results" (Blaikie 2003).

⁷ See: <http://www.fes-southafrica.org/fes/tag/foundation-for-european-progressive-studies/>

⁸ www.afrobarometer.org

⁹ For the 2012 and 2015 surveys 300 AEs were randomly selected.

Hypotheses' testing is conducted through bivariate and multivariate statistical techniques. For the bivariate test we use the contingency table (or cross tabulation) technique and for the multivariate test we employ multi linear regression technique. Contingency tables are employed on indicators of political engagement and social condition over time from 2002 to 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015. We assess youth attitudes towards political engagement and social condition comparing them with their adult counterparts. We consider youth as those respondents aged between 18 and 35 years old (also referred to in this paper as young adults) and adults all those equal or above to 36 years old (also referred to in this paper as older adults). Multi linear regression is used to test the impact of political engagement on social condition as measured by employment status.

Political Engagement

In relatively free societies people adopt different forms to engage in political processes. Voting is the most commonly known form of citizens' engagement in politics but there are other forms of engagement such as campaigning and voter registration. Before voting, citizens may attend electoral campaigns or rallies, work for a candidate or party or persuade others to vote for their party or candidate. In terms of voter registration, in some societies, like Mozambique, you have to register in advance in order to vote. In others, you just need to prove that you are an eligible national of that country to do so.¹⁰

After voting people do not stop from engaging in political processes. They can contact leaders at national and sub-national levels to influence decision-making; they can participate in community meetings, joining together with others to raise an issue or attend a demonstration or protest march. They can affiliate in civic organizations or political parties. But they can also engage in political processes by becoming interested in public affairs as well as discussing politics with friends, family, colleagues or co-workers (Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi 2005).

Political engagement occurs mainly in three moments: before, during and after voting. Before voting it occurs in voter registration and campaigning. During voting it is verified when one casts a vote for a party or candidate - that is, election day. After voting it is when citizens influence decision making by contacting and or communing. Other forms of political engagement, such as: interest in public affairs and discussion of politics can occur during any of the three moments mentioned here.

Political engagement is therefore a multidimensional concept that includes voter registration, campaigning, voting, contacting, communing, membership in civic organizations or political party, interest in public affairs and political discussion. This study employs for measuring political engagement the following: voting, party identification, membership in community groups, communing, contacting, and cognitive engagement in public affairs and politics.

The Structure of the Study

This paper first assesses political engagement comparing young adults with older adults over time. Second, it assesses individual social condition also comparing young adults with older adults over time. Third, it tests and examines the effect of

¹⁰ This was the case in the South African founding democratic election in 1994.

political engagement on social engagement considering age, gender and formal education in the equation. Fourth, it summarizes the findings and discusses them, suggests a strategy for youth to improve their social condition and proposes areas for further research.

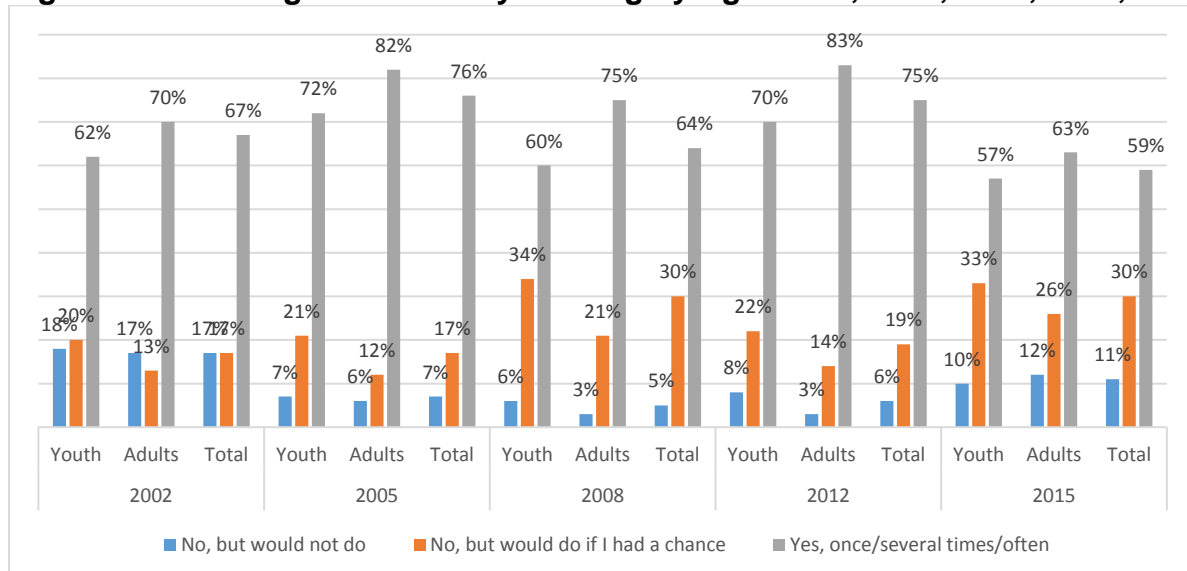
2. Youth Political Engagement Compared

This section analyses political engagement (indicated by communing, contacting, cognitive engagement, voting, party identification and membership in community group) comparing young adults with older adults over time.

Communing

Communing is measured by attending a community meeting, attending a demonstration march or joining together with others to raise an issue (Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi 2005). Overall, the data shows that Mozambicans are likely to attend community meetings. The levels of attending a community meeting is relatively high among Mozambicans varying from 67 percent in 2002, 76 percent in 2005, 64 percent in 2008, 75 percent in 2012 and 59 percent in 2015. For those who say that have not attended a community meeting during the past year, they were asked ‘would you do this if you had the chance’. The results show that in all years, youth (or young adults) are more likely to say so than adults (or older adults). For those who say they have attended a community meeting, the results show, however, that in all years, youth are less likely than adults to attend a community meeting (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Attending a Community Meeting by Age: 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2015

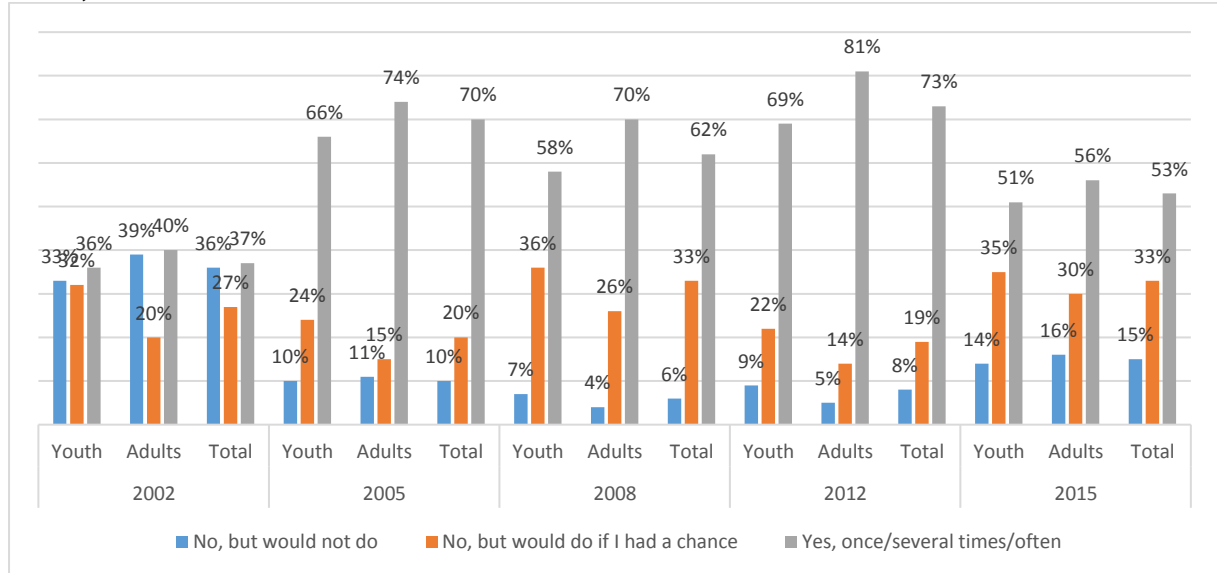


Survey Question: Please tell me whether you, personally, have attended a community meeting during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance?

Mozambicans are also likely to join together with others to raise an issue. Although only about 37 percent of Mozambicans reported that they have joined together with others to raise an issue in 2002, that level is 70 percent in 2005, 62 percent in 2008, 73 percent in 2012 and 53 percent in 2015. Of these, in all years assessed in this

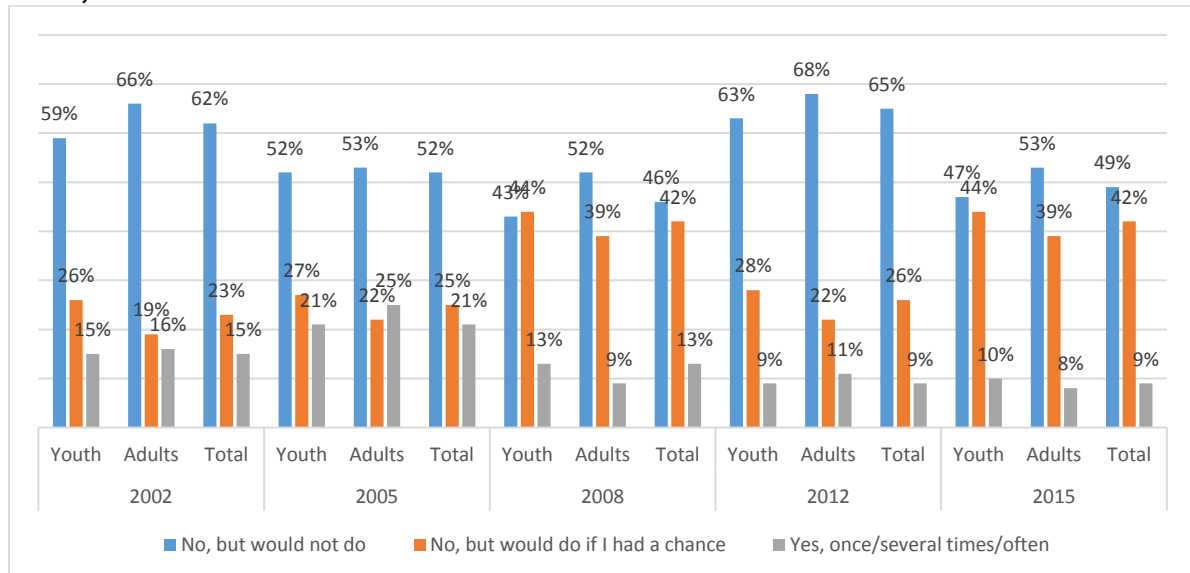
study with exception to 2002, youth are less likely than adults to join together with others to raise an issue. However of those who have not engaged into this type of communing youth are more likely than adults to express that they would do this if they had the chance (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Joining Together with Others to Raise an Issue by Age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015



Survey Question: Please tell me whether you, personally, have joined together with others to raise an issue during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance?

Figure 3: Attending a Demonstration or Protest March by Age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015



Survey Question: Please tell me whether you, personally, have attended a demonstration or protest march during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance?

While Mozambicans are likely to attend a community meeting and to join together with others to raise an issue, they are less likely to attend a demonstration or protest march. The levels of Mozambicans who say they have attended this type of communing during the past years varies from 15 percent in 2002, 23 percent in

2005, 12 percent in 2008 and 9 percent, respectively, in 2012 and 2015. When asked whether they would do this if had the chance, youth were more likely than adults to say they would do this. For those few who say they have attended a demonstration or protest march, the results show no age difference. There is no statistical significance between youth and adults in attending demonstration or protest marches (Figure 3).

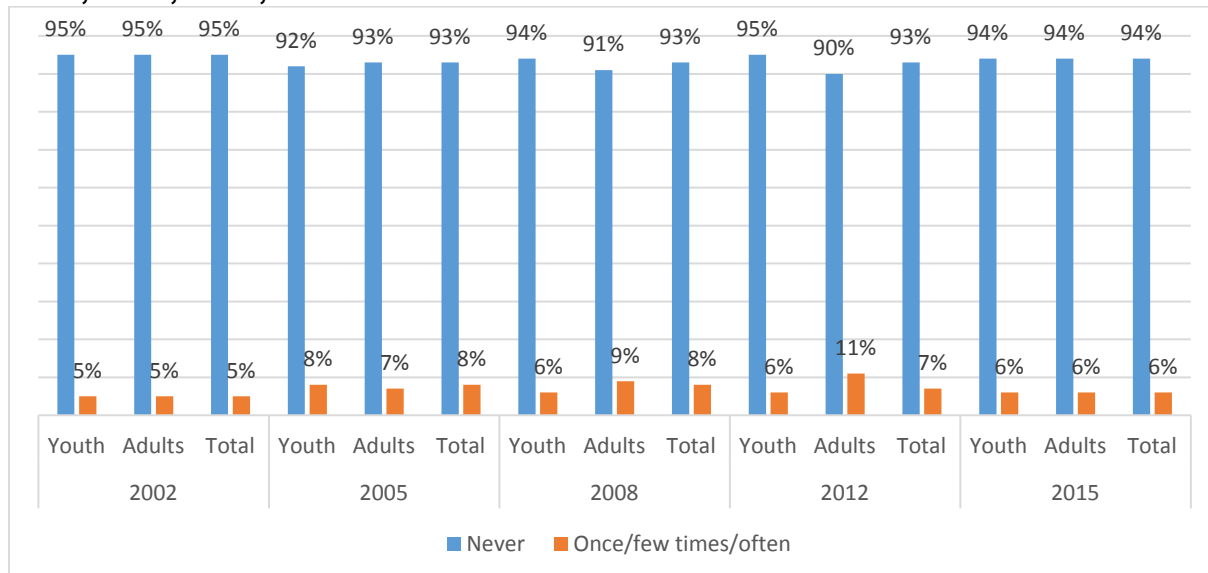
Contacting

This study measures contacting by whether a person has contacted a local councillor, Member of Parliament or official of a government ministry (Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi 2005).

The data shows that very few Mozambicans contact their political leaders. The highest figures show that only about 8 percent in 2005 and 2008 say they have contacted a member of the Assembly of the Republic about some important problem or to give them their views (Figure 4), 16 percent in 2005 did the same with respect to an official of a government ministry (Figure 5) and 20 percent in 2008 in relation to a municipal councillor or member of district council (Figure 6).

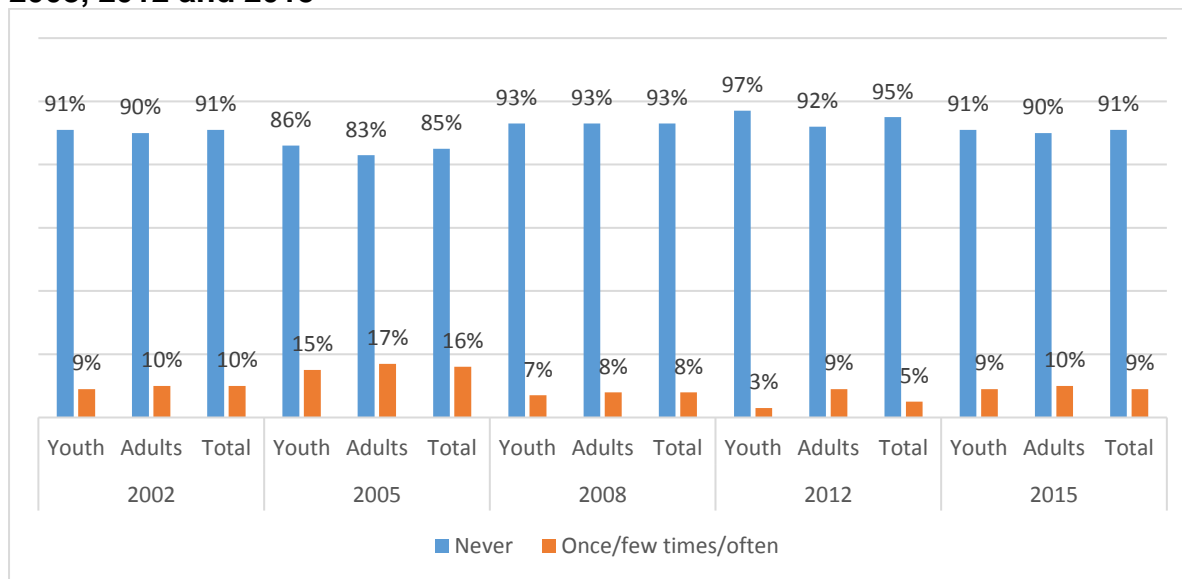
When age group is compared, we observe that youth are less likely to contact political leaders than adults. In all years assessed in this study, with exception to 2005 and 2015 – where there is no age statistical difference on contacting - youth are less likely than adults to contact a municipal councillor or member of district council about an important problem or to give them their views (Figure 6). They also appear to be less likely than adults to contact a member of the Assembly of the Republic (Figure 4) and an official of a government ministry (Figure 5).

Figure 4: Contacting a Member of the Assembly of the Republic by Age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015



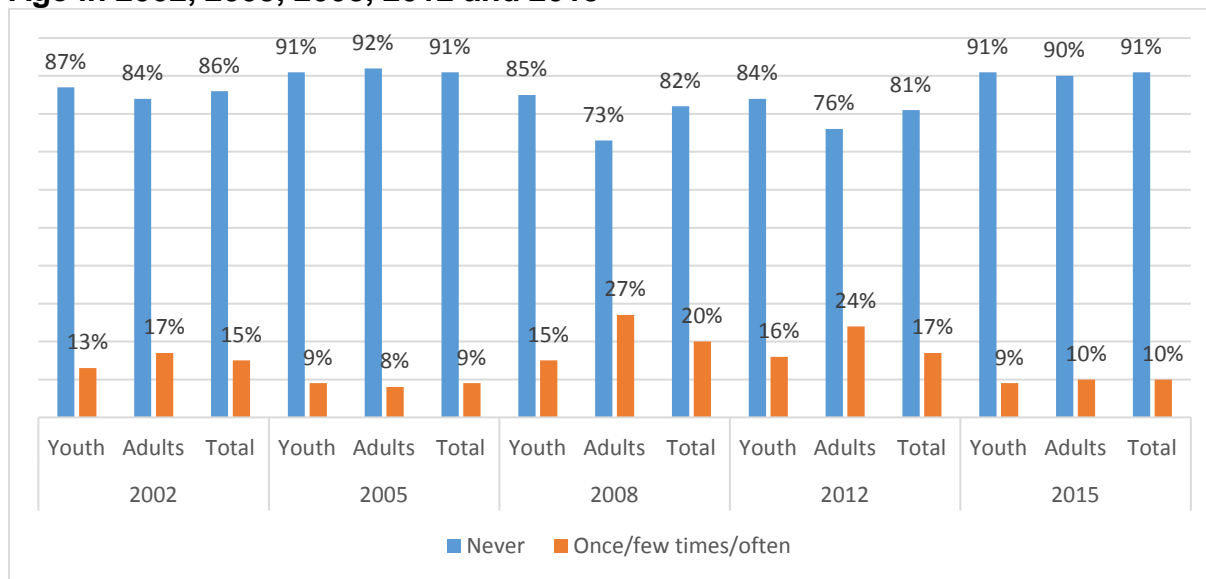
Survey question: *During the past year, how often have you contacted a member of the Assembly of the Republic about some important problem or to give them your views?*

Figure 5: Contacting an Official of a Government Ministry by Age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015



Survey question: *During the past year, how often have you contacted an official of a government ministry about some important problem or to give them your views?*

Figure 6: Contacting Municipal Councillor or Member of District Council by Age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015



Survey Question: *During the past year, how often have you contacted a municipal councillor or member of district council about some important problem or to give them your views?*

Voting

The data shows that voter turnout appears to be highly over-reported when Mozambicans are asked by interviewers whether you voted in the last election, you were not registered to vote or you decided not to vote. For instance, the official voter turnout of the 2004 election was 36 percent¹¹ but the 2005 public opinion survey reveals 80 percent said they had voted; and for the 2014 election the official voter

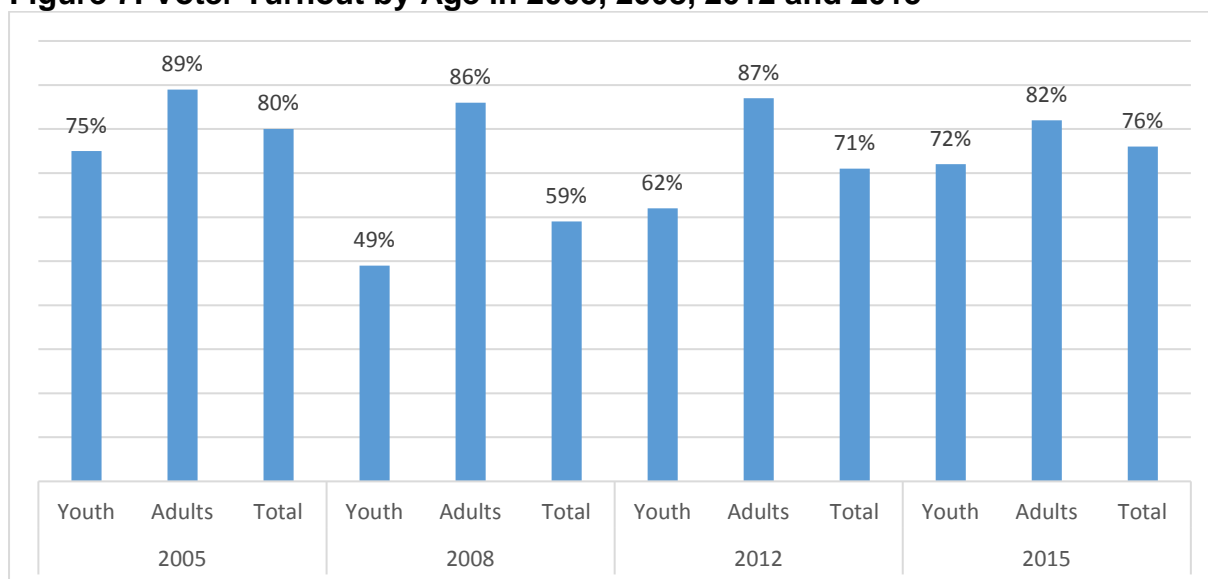
¹¹ See Secretariado Tecnico de Administracao Eleitoral (STAE): <http://www.stae.org.mz>

turnout was recorded as 48 percent¹² but the 2015 public opinion survey shows 76 percent (Figure 7).

The reason of this over-reporting is something that political scientists still need to uncover with respect to Mozambique, although some studies advance that fear and intimidation from colonial and one-party rule authoritarianism may play a role in influencing how people respond (Mattes and Shenga 2013).

When compared to their adult counterparts, youth are less likely to vote in all years assessed in this study. For instance in 2005 only 75 percent of youth expressed that they have voted in the 2004 election compared with 89 percent of adults (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Voter Turnout by Age in 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015



Survey Question: *With regard to the most recent national election which is true for you: You were not registered to vote; you voted in the election; you decided not to vote; you could not find the polling station; you were prevented from voting; you did not have time to vote; you did not vote because your name was not in the register; you did not vote for other reason; or you were too young to vote?*

Note: Only percentage of those who said they have voted in the last election is presented in this figure.

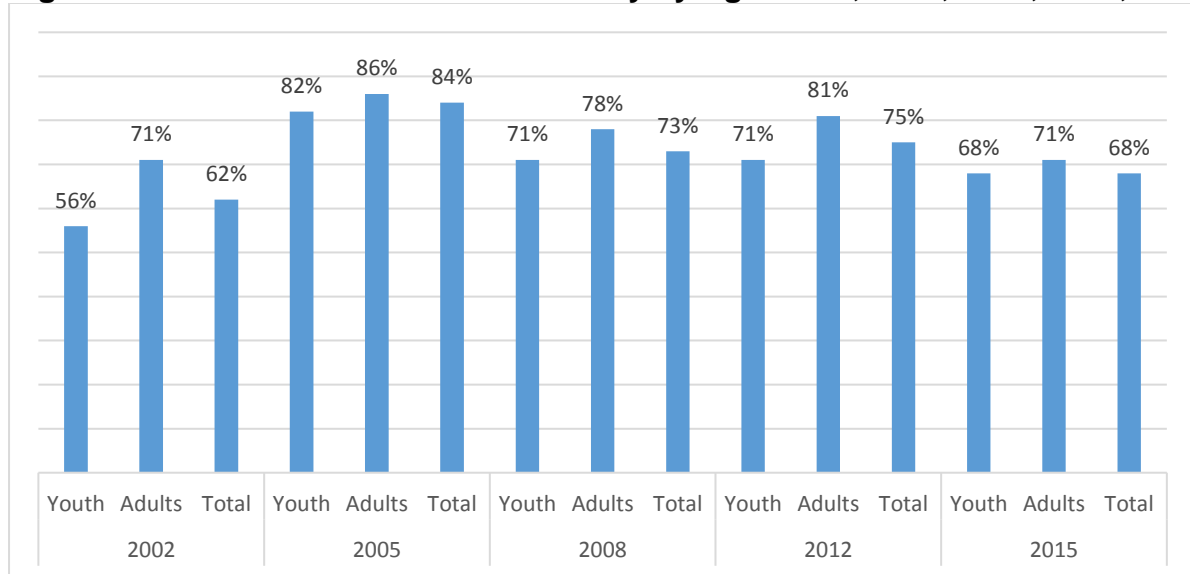
Party Identification

Identification with political parties in Mozambique is high. When asked whether you feel close to a particular political party, 62 percent responded yes in 2002, 84 percent in 2005, 73 percent in 2008, 75 percent in 2012 and 71 percent in 2016 (Figure 8).

It is possible that these high levels of Mozambicans attachment to parties is associated with existence in the country of a stable party system that is highly institutionalized particularly if we are dealing with the ruling one. However, when youth and adults are compared, in all years surveyed the former appear to be less likely to identify with a political party than the latter.

¹² See Secretariado Técnico de Administração Eleitoral (STAE): <http://www.stae.org.mz>

Figure 8: Identification with Political Party by Age: 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2015



Survey Question: *Do you feel close to any particular political party?*

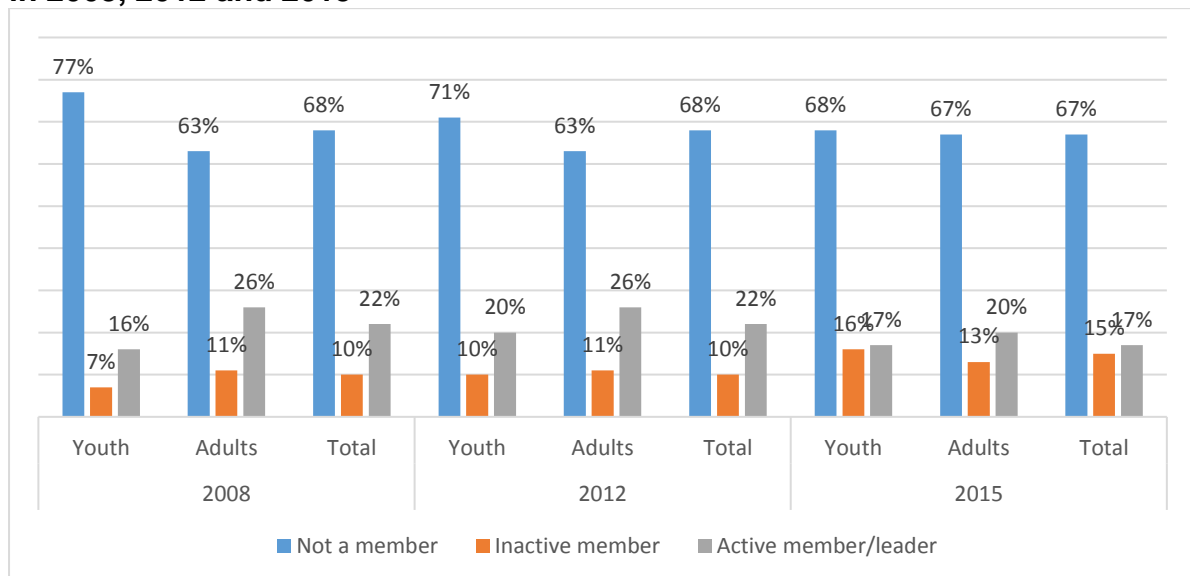
Note: Only percentage of those who said feel close to any political party is shown here.

Group Membership

Group membership is one aspect among others that measures an individual’s political (civic) engagement. This paper focuses on membership in voluntary associations or community groups.

The public opinion results from 2008, 2012 and 2015 show that group membership in voluntary associations or community groups is low. Only one-third of Mozambicans are likely to be a member of a voluntary association or community group (Figure 9).

Figure 9: Membership in Voluntary Associations or Community Groups by Age in 2008, 2012 and 2015



Survey Question: *Could you tell whether you are an official leader, an active member, an active member or not a member of voluntary association or community group?*

Cognitive Engagement

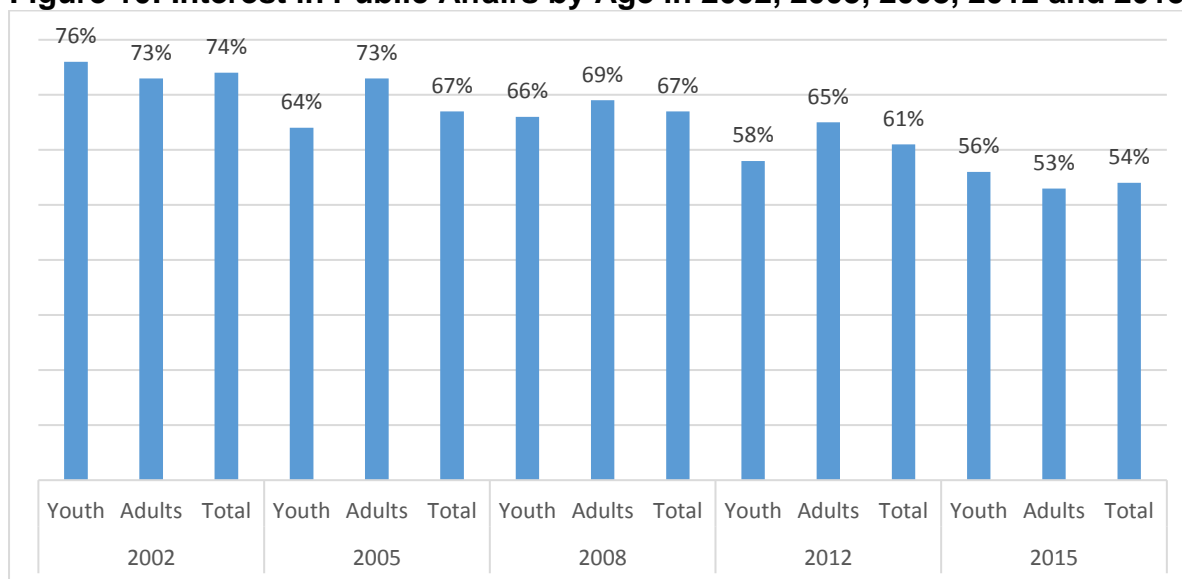
Cognitive engagement is measured by interest in public affairs and discussion of politics with others (Bratton, Mattes and Gyiamh-Boadi 2005).

In developed societies citizens acquire high levels of political awareness mainly due to access to formal education and news media. But this does not mean that those with ‘low levels of information’ (from formal education and news media) cannot acquire political awareness and then engage in political process effectively. In developing societies like Mozambique citizens can alternatively develop awareness of public affairs and politics by becoming interested in public affairs and discussing politics with friends, co-workers, neighbours and spouse or family (Shenga 2007).

Mozambicans presented high levels of interest in public affairs in the past 14 years. In 2002 about 74 percent responded that were somewhat interested or very interested in public affairs. But this percentage has been declining over time. It declined to 67 percent in 2005 and 2008, 61 percent in 2012 and 54 percent in 2015 (Figure 10). This declining interest in public affairs is drastic and an issue that Mozambicans scholars have to further investigate to identify the likely causes.

When this data is split by age group, in 2002, 2008 and 2015 there is no age statistical difference on interest in public affairs, however there is in 2005 and 2012. In 2005 and 2012 youth are less likely to be interested in public affairs than adults (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Interest in Public Affairs by Age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015



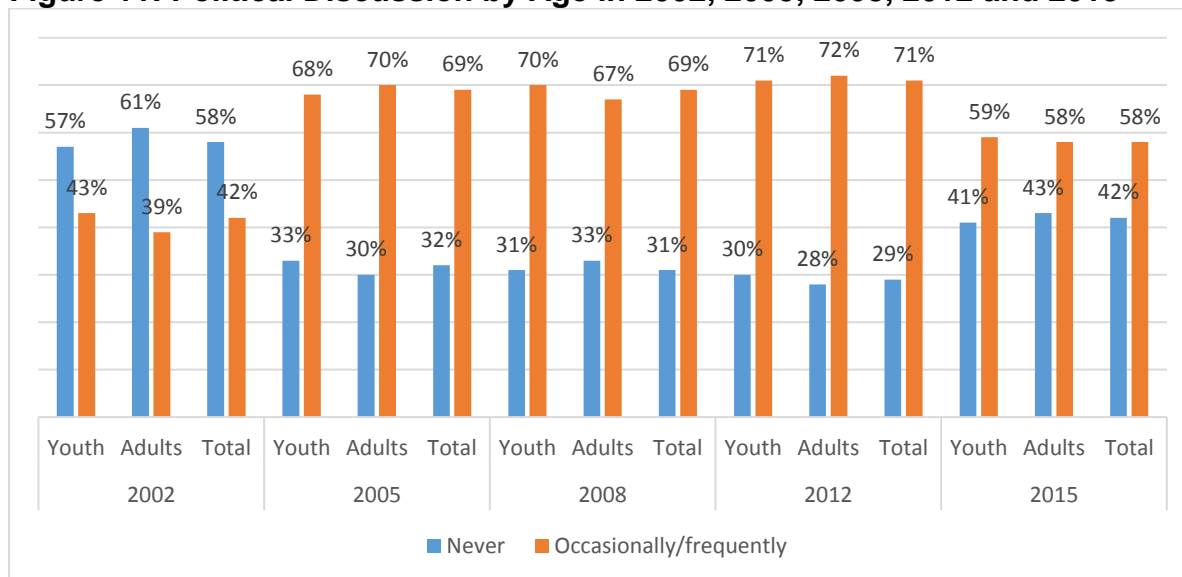
Survey Question: *How interested would you say you are in public affairs?*

Note: The figure only presents the percentage of those who responded ‘somewhat interested’ and ‘very interested’. For more details about omitted data see the Annex.

The levels of Mozambicans’ discussion of politics with friends, co-workers, spouse or family shows almost a different trend than that of interest in public affairs. In 2002 about 42 percent say they have discussed politics with others occasionally or frequently. That level increased to 69 percent in 2005 and 2008, 71 percent in 2012, but declined to 58 percent in 2015 (Figure 11). When age is compared, we find no

statistical significance between youth and adults with respect to political discussion (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Political Discussion by Age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

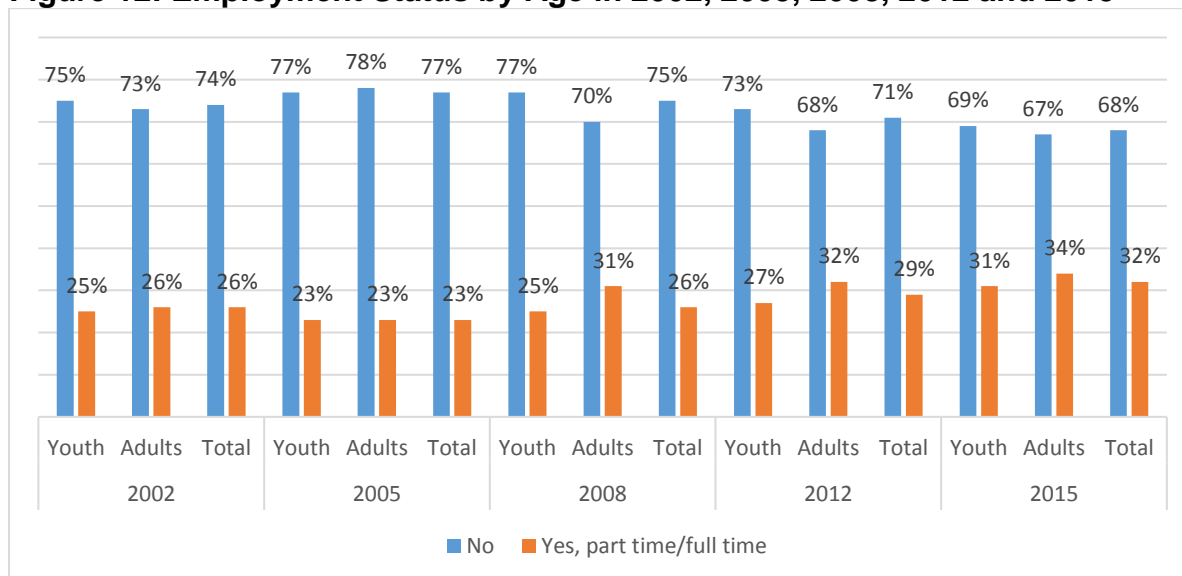


Survey Question: *When you get together with your friends, or family, would you say you discuss political matters?*

3. Youth Social Condition Compared

An individual’s social condition can be measured by his or her employment status. The data shows that the social condition of Mozambicans measured by employment status is very low, although it has improved from 2002 to 2015. The proportion of respondents who expressed they are either employed part time or full time is only about three out of ten: 26 percent in 2002, 23 percent in 2005, 26 percent in 2008, 29 percent in 2012 and 32 percent in 2015 (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Employment Status by Age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015



Survey Question: *Do you have a job that pays a cash income? If yes, is it full-time or part-time? If no, are you presently looking for a job?*

With respect to age, while there is no difference between youth and adults on their social condition in 2002, 2005 and 2015, there is in 2008 and 2012. Youth are less likely than adults to be employed either part or full time in 2008 and 2012 (Figure 12).

4. The Impact of Political Engagement on Social Condition

The aggregated bivariate analysis results from the previous two sections support our hypothesis that an individual's political engagement leads to his or her better social condition in life. In fact, we found that those individuals who are more likely to be engaged in political processes (i.e. older adults) are also more likely to have better social condition in life compared to those who are less likely (young adults). Older adults get positive pay off in life as they tend to be more engaged in the political sphere while young adults get negative pay off as they tend to be disengaged from political life.

To make sure of this relationship from the initial test of our hypothesis we re-test this using multivariate analysis. The last step of our analysis considers individuals' political engagement on their social condition, controlling for age in a multi regression model. We also control for gender, to account for any existence of gender inequality, and formal education levels, since formal education "increases re-employment rates of the unemployed" (Riddell and Song 2011).

But before we test and analyse this we describe the pattern of the controlling variables. The results show that the majority of adults in the surveys are young. In fact, the percentage of young adults is about 60 percent in the 2002, 2005 and 2015 surveys and 73 percent and 65 percent, respectively, in 2008 and 2012. With respect to gender, as the Afrobarometer has a gender quota protocol that ensures that every other interview must be with a female, one would expect gender equality in all surveys. The 2002, 2005, 2008 and 2012 surveys ensured that equality but 2015 did not. There were significantly more females in the 2015 survey. The number of females increased significantly by 5 percentage points as the number of males declined at the same level. In relation to formal education levels, this improved significantly over time. The levels of Mozambicans with secondary education increased significantly in 2008 and it declined in 2015 as the levels of those with tertiary education increased in the same year (Table 1).

Keeping everything constant, the results confirm greatly that an individuals' political engagement affects their social condition. An individuals' engagement in political life leads them to have a better social condition. Table 2 shows, with exception of political discussion in 2002 and community group membership in 2012, that all significant political engagement indicators have a positive effect on social condition.¹³ Individuals who tend to engage themselves cognitively by becoming

¹³ The dependent variable is employment status coded 0=No job/don't know; 1=employed part-time; and 2=employed full-time. Interest in public affairs is coded 0=not interested at all/don't know; 1=not very interested; 2=somewhat interested; and 3=very interested. Political discussion is coded 0=never/don't know; 1=occasionally; and 2=frequently. Contacting variables are coded 0=never/don't know; 1=only once; 2=a few times; and 3=often. Communing variables are coded 0=no, but I would not do this/don't know; 1=no I would do this if I had a chance;

interested in politics and discussing politics with friends, co-workers, neighbours or family are more likely to be employed than those who do not. This was the case in 2012 and 2015.

Table 1: The Patterns of Controlling Variables: Gender, Age and Formal Education in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

		2002	2005	2008	2012	2015
Age	Older adults	41%	41%	27%	35%	40
	Young adults	59%	59%	73%	65%	60%
Gender	Male	50%	50%	50%	50%	45%
	Female	50%	50%	50%	50%	55%
Formal education	No formal education	34%	28%	9%	11%	19%
	Primary	45%	48%	46%	40%	43%
	Secondary	17%	21%	40%	41%	29%
	Tertiary	3%	3%	5%	8%	10%

Contacting political leaders also matters. At least those who tend to contact officials of government ministries and Member of Parliament (MP) are more likely to be employed than others. With respect to communing, while attending a community meeting makes no difference with respect to social condition, joining others to raise an issue and attending a demonstration or protest march does make a difference. Those individuals who tend to attend a demonstration or protest march and join together with others to raise an issue are more likely to be employed than those who do not.

Of all the political engagement indicators, voting, followed by attending a demonstration or protest march and then contacting officials of government ministries and Members of Parliament, have the greatest effect. Individuals who tend to vote in elections are more likely to be employed than those who do not.

Identification with a political party as well as becoming a member of a voluntary or community group improves the ability to improve one's social condition. Those who tend to identify with a political party and affiliate with a community or voluntary organization are more likely to be employed than others. This was the case in 2015.

With relation to age, controlling for all other variables considered in this study, the results shows that age plays a significant role in all years assessed in this study, except 2005.¹⁴ As expected, young adults are less likely to be employed than older adults. The gender effect on employment supports the feminist approach of gender inequality. Women are less likely to be employed than men. And formal education

2=yes, once or twice; 3=yes, several times; and 4=yes, often. Voting is coded 1=voted; and 0=all other responses. Party ID is coded 1=close to a political party; and 0=not close to any party/don't know. Group membership is coded 0=not a member/don't know; 1=inactive member; 2=active member; and 3=official leader. Age is coded 1=36 and older (older adults); and 2=18 to 35 years old (young adults). Gender is coded 2=female and 1=male. Formal education is coded 3=tertiary; 2=secondary, 1=primary; and 0=no formal education.

¹⁴ The 2005 age coefficient is not significant but it has the right sign or direction.

matters in relation to acquiring a job and appears consistently to be significant and to have the greatest impact in the entire model.

Table 2: The Effect of Political Engagement on Social Condition, OLS Multiple Regression Model, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

	2002	2005	2008	2012	2015
Cognitive engagement					
<i>Interest in public affairs</i>	.030	.052	-.006	.018	.071***
<i>Discuss politics</i>	-.079*	-.054	.033	.068**	.076***
Contacting					
<i>Contacting local councilor</i>	-.046	.028	.045	.021	.026
<i>Contacting MP</i>	-.036	.051	.034	.101***	.014
<i>Contacting an official of govt. ministry</i>	.000	.133***	.063*	-.039	.066*
Communing					
<i>Attended a community meeting</i>	.044	-.050	-.054	.022	-.004
<i>Joined others to raise an issue</i>	-.003	.077*	.094*	-.033	.014
<i>Attended a demonstration or protest march</i>	.136***	-.015	-.031	.055**	.010
<i>Voting</i>	X	.030	.148***	.078***	-.022
<i>Identification with political party</i>	-.034	-.015	-.016	.018	.051*
<i>Membership in community group</i>	X	X	-.005	-.048*	.071***
Controlling variables					
<i>Age (young adults)</i>	-.119***	-.032	-.085***	-.100***	-.054**
<i>Gender (female)</i>	-.026	-.069*	-.093***	-.069***	-.034
<i>Formal education</i>	.309***	.170***	.331***	.332***	.245***
Adjusted R Square	.112	.084	.172	.167	.108
N	1,400	1,198	1,200	2,400	2,400

Entries are beta standardized coefficients.

***means significant at the level of .001; ** means significant at the level of .01; and * means significant at the level of .05. The dependent variable is employment status.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

This paper assessed youth political engagement and their social condition compared to their adult counterparts using a comprehensive systematic comparative series of public opinion survey data. In all measures of political engagement employed in this study, we found, as expected, that Mozambique young adults appeared to be less likely than older adults to be engaged in politics over time. More specifically, youth are less likely than adults to: be interested in public affairs; discuss politics with friends, co-workers, spouse or neighbours; contact political leaders; vote; identify with a particular political party; become a member of a voluntary association or community group; and commune in all years assessed in this study. Although they are less likely to commune, young adults appear to be more likely to show willingness to commune if they had a chance. They are more likely to say that would

attend a community meeting, attend a demonstration or protest march, and join together with others to raise an issue than older adults.

For scholars who claim that young people do not prefer traditional forms of political engagement and instead prefer new and other forms like badge-wearing and demonstrating (Quintelier 2007), this study data does not confirm that at least for young adults as there is no difference between young and older adults in attending demonstration or protest marches from 2002 to 2015. This is therefore an area of interest for future research, for an original study to be commissioned to assess the attitudes of young and older Mozambican adults with respect to many other new forms of political engagement for example the use of social media, writing or signing a petition, discussing politics or accessing news media through the internet etc.

Secondly, as expected, this study found that youth are less likely than adults to have better social conditions. More specifically, young adults are less likely to be employed either part-time or full-time than older adults in four out of the five years assessed in this study while no difference is seen in 2005.

Thirdly, taking simultaneously into consideration all other variables from this study, we confirmed, that political engagement has a positive pay-off. Individuals who tend to engage in political life by: becoming interested in public affairs, discussing political matters, contacting political leaders, communing, voting, identifying with a political party and or affiliating in community group or voluntary associations are more likely to have a job than those who do not.

Fourthly, we also confirmed the impacts of controlling variables: age, gender and formal education. Young adults, women and those with low levels of formal education are less likely to be employed than older adults, men and individuals with high levels of formal education. Of all factors considered in this study, formal education is the most important. It does not only impact on social condition in all years assessed in this study but it does so with the greatest magnitude.

In sum, the negative pay-off of ordinary young adults on employment is associated with their low levels of political engagement compared to older adults; it is not associated with their levels of formal education, as they appear to have higher levels of formal education than older adults (see Annex 1).

If youth want to improve their social condition they have to start to be engaged in political processes by becoming interested in politics, discuss political matters with others, contact leaders to solve their problem or give them their views, commune, identify with a political party, become a member of a civic organization and vote in elections. Their comparative higher levels of formal education and showing willingness to engage in some forms of political engagement especially communing means that they can receive positive pay offs and achieve better social conditions in life if they actively engage in political processes.

Areas for further research

Studies have been showing young adults negatively, that they are less likely to engage in political processes. However they have not been covering all aspects of youth engagement in political processes. For instance, this study measured political

engagement by contacting political leaders, communing, voting, party identification, membership in community groups and cognitive engagement in public affairs and politics.

However, there are many other forms of political engagement that could be assessed. These include, for example, attending electoral campaigns or rallies, working for a candidate or political party, persuading others to vote for a particular party or candidate, and membership in groups different than voluntary associations or community groups. Other new forms of political engagement that could be considered include accessing the internet, using social media, writing or signing a petition etc. Some of these aspects are included in the existing public opinion surveys in Mozambique but some need to be captured by original data. Further research into these forms of political engagement, including assessing the potential barriers and enablers for young adults in using them would be valuable research to inform future strategies for promoting democracy and active citizenship in Mozambique.

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Annex 1

Summary of Variables Used in this Study by Age Groups and Years

Note: The percentages in tables below may not add up exactly hundred percent as they were rounded to whole figures.

Interest in public affairs by age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

		2002			2005			2008			2012			2015		
		Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total
Interest in public affairs	Not at all interested	4%	7%	5%	20%	16%	18%	25%	22%	24%	27%	21%	25%	26%	28%	27%
	Not very interested	21%	20%	21%	16%	12%	14%	10%	10%	10%	14.4%	15%	15%	18%	19%	18%
	Somewhat interested	41%	34%	38%	29%	29%	29%	28%	20%	26%	29%	27%	29%	33%	30%	31%
	Very interested	35%	39%	36%	35%	44%	38%	38%	49%	41%	29%	38%	32%	23%	23%	23%

Discussion of politics by age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

		2002			2005			2008			2012			2015		
		Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total
Discussion of politics	Never	57%	61%	58%	33%	30%	32%	31%	33%	31%	30%	28%	29%	41%	43%	42%
	Occasionally	30%	29%	30%	47%	39%	44%	41%	31%	38%	51%	43%	48%	45%	44%	44%
	Frequently	13%	10%	12%	21%	31%	25%	29%	36%	31%	20%	29%	23%	14%	14%	14%

Contacting in local councilor by age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

		2002			2005			2008			2012			2015		
		Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total
Contacting local councilor	Never	87%	84%	86%	91%	92%	91%	85%	73%	82%	84%	76%	81%	91%	90%	91%
	Only once	5%	7%	6%	3%	2%	3%	4%	7%	5%	8%	11%	9%	6%	5%	6%
	A few times	5%	5%	5%	3%	3%	3%	6%	10%	7%	6%	9%	7%	2%	2%	2%
	Often	3%	5%	4%	3%	3%	3%	5%	10%	8%	2%	4%	3%	1%	3%	2%

Contacting in MP by age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

		2002			2005			2008			2012			2015		
		Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total
Contacting MP	Never	95%	95%	95%	92%	93%	93%	94%	91%	93%	95%	90%	93%	94%	94%	94%
	Only once	2%	2%	2%	3%	3%	3%	2%	5%	3%	3%	4%	3%	3%	3%	3%
	A few times	1%	2%	2%	3%	2%	3%	3%	2%	3%	2%	5%	3%	2%	2%	2%
	Often	2%	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%

Contacting official government ministry by age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

		2002			2005			2008			2012			2015		
		Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total
Contacting official government ministry	Never	91%	90%	91%	86%	83%	85%	93%	93%	93%	97%	92%	95%	91%	90%	91%
	Only once	3%	3%	3%	6%	6%	6%	3%	3%	3%	2%	6%	3%	5%	6%	5%
	A few times	4%	4%	4%	6%	6%	6%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	2%	3%	3%	3%
	Often	2%	3%	3%	3%	5%	4%	2%	3%	3%	0%	1%	0%	1%	2%	1%

Attended community meeting by age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

		2002			2005			2008			2012			2015		
		Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total
Attended a community meeting	No, but would not do this	18%	17%	17%	7%	6%	7%	6%	3%	5%	8%	3%	6%	10%	12%	11%
	No, but I would do this if I had a chance	20%	13%	17%	21%	12%	17%	34%	21%	30%	22%	14%	19%	33%	26%	30%
	Yes, once or twice	22%	20%	22%	21%	14%	18%	17%	11%	15%	17%	13%	15%	17%	14%	16%
	Yes, several times	29%	28%	29%	18%	25%	21%	21%	29%	23%	26%	30%	28%	29%	31%	29%
	Yes, often	11%	22%	16%	33%	43%	37%	22%	35%	26%	27%	40%	32%	11%	18%	14%

Joined others to raise an issue by age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

		2002			2005			2008			2012			2015		
		Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total
Joined others to raise an issue	No, but would not do this	33%	39%	36%	10%	11%	10%	7%	4%	6%	9%	5%	8%	14%	16%	15%
	No, but I would do this if I had a chance	32%	20%	27%	24%	15%	20%	36%	26%	33%	22%	14%	19%	35%	30%	33%
	Yes, once or twice	13%	15%	14%	19%	18%	19%	18%	12%	16%	17%	19%	18%	20%	13%	17%
	Yes, several times	13%	14%	13%	21%	25%	23%	21%	30%	24%	26%	29%	27%	21%	28%	24%
	Yes, often	10%	11%	10%	26%	31%	28%	19%	28%	22%	26%	33%	28%	10%	15%	12%

Attended a demonstration by age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

		2002			2005			2008			2012			2015		
		Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total
Attended a demonstration	No, but would not do this	59%	66%	62%	52%	53%	52%	43%	52%	46%	63%	68%	65%	47%	53%	49%
	No, but I would do this if I had a chance	26%	19%	23%	27%	22%	25%	44%	39%	42%	28%	22%	26%	44%	39%	42%
	Yes, once or twice	6%	6%	6%	7%	9%	8%	6%	6%	6%	5%	5%	5%	4%	3%	4%
	Yes, several times	5%	6%	5%	7%	8%	7%	3%	1%	3%	2.9%	4%	3%	3%	3%	3%
	Yes, often	4%	4%	4%	7%	8%	8%	4%	2%	4%	1%	2%	1%	3%	2%	2%

Identification with a political party by age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

	2002			2005			2008			2012			2015		
	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total
Party identification	56%	71%	62%	82%	86%	84%	71%	78%	73%	71%	81%	75%	68%	71%	68%

The percentage of those that do not identify with political parties is omitted. The details of that information can be seen from the Afrobarometer survey data: www.afrobarometer.org

Membership in civic organization by age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

		2002			2005			2008			2012			2015		
		Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total
Membership in community or voluntary association	Not a member	-	-	-	-	-	-	77%	63%	68%	71%	63%	68%	68%	67%	67%
	Inactive member	-	-	-	-	-	-	7%	11%	10%	10%	11%	10%	16%	13%	15%
	Active member	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%	22%	19%	18%	22%	19%	14%	18%	15%
	Leader	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%	4%	3%	2%	4%	3%	3%	2%	3%

This question was not asked in the 2002 and 2005 surveys in Mozambique.

Voting by age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

	2002			2005			2008			2012			2015		
	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total
Voted last election	-	-	-	75%	89%	80%	49%	86%	59%	62%	87%	71%	72%	82%	76%

The percentage of those that did not vote for some reason is omitted. The details of that information can be seen from the Afrobarometer survey data: www.afrobarometer.org

Employment status by age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

		2002			2005			2008			2012			2015		
		Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total
Employment	No	75%	73%	74%	77%	78%	77%	77%	70%	75%	73%	68%	71%	69%	67%	68%
	Yes, part time	8%	9%	9%	11%	10%	10%	10%	7%	8%	10%	8%	9%	13%	15%	13%
	Yes, full time	17%	17%	17%	12%	13%	13%	15%	24%	18%	17%	24%	20%	18%	19%	19%

Formal education by age in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2015

		2002			2005			2008			2012			2015		
		Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total	Youth	Adults	Total
Formal education	No formal education	27%	45%	34%	19%	41%	28%	6%	17%	9%	8%	17%	11%	15%	24%	19%
	Primary	48%	42%	45%	50%	46%	48%	43%	56%	46%	34%	52%	40%	38%	50%	43%
	Secondary	21%	10%	17%	28%	11%	21%	46%	23%	40%	50%	24%	41%	37%	17%	29%
	Tertiary	4%	2%	3%	3%	2%	3%	5%	4%	5%	8%	7%	8%	10%	9%	10%

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