The Youth Dimension of the Social Protests in Maputo – Mozambique (2008 and 2010)

Politics of Representation and Youth's Interpretation of the Protests

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

IESE	*Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos*/ Institute of Economic and Social Studies
CIP	Centro de Integridade Publica
FRELIMO	*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (*Mozambique's Liberation Front)
RENAMO	*Resistência Nacional de Moçambique (*Mozambique's National Resistance)
MDM	*Movimento Democárico de Moçambique (*Mozambique's Democratic Movement)
FDD	*Fundo de Desenvolvimento do Distrito (*District Development Fund)
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
OJM	*Orgnização da Juventude Moçambicana* (Mozambican Youth Organization)
MSM	Short Message Service
SOICO	*Sociedade Independente de Comunicação* (Independent Communication Society)
RM	Rádio Moçambique (Mozambique Radio)
CNJ	*Conselho Nacional da Juventude* (Youth National Council)
STV	Soico TV
TVM	Televisão de Moçambique

Abstract

This research explores the Maputo protests of 2008 and 2010 in the perspective of the youth involvement. Given the fact that these events were most significant social protests observed in the last two decades in Mozambique and the youth participated massively in them, this research seeks to unravel the youth dimension of those protest. Even though the events got a wide media coverage, the media generally excluded the voices of the youth. Thus, the author analyses two newspapers of major circulation in Mozambique, i.e. the *Jornal Noticias* and *Jornal OPais,* using the media analysis tools such as *focalisation, categorization* and *framing* on a total of 120 articles related to those protests. Moreover, using an ethnographic orientation, he combines site visits with qualitative interviews and focus group discussions with participants and some organizers of the protests.

The research concludes that through the media representation, the media profiled the participants as a socio-economically homogeneous group of people, mostly youth, poor and vulnerable, which misses the diversity of the young participants and their various motivations to participate. This youth diversity was neglected on both media outlets and as a whole they were represented as criminals through membership categorisation, therefore, they were discredited. On the contrary, the media focalisation was mainly on privileged politicians, opinion makers as well as the journalists' points of view, and the events were negatively framed resulting in the future dissociation of the youth participants from those events. Nevertheless, the interviews revealed that the participants of those protests were mainly youth but, composed of diverse subgroups of youth willing to express their different compelling grievances through the violent protests as their only mechanism to be heard and obtain a response.

Relevance to Development Studies

This research is important both in the context of Mozambique and abroad because it draws the attention of the academics and the policymakers to consider generational dilemmas while analysing riots and the policy implications of such analysis. For the academic community, two aspects can be of utmost importance. The first aspect is the necessary attention that should be given to the demographic data while analysing any forms of dissent manifestation such as social movements, rallies, riots or other forms of demonstrations. This attention should not be given only to the gender dimension of the participants but also in consideration of age groups for a generationally-oriented analysis of the different motivations. The second contribution to academia is the contribution concerning political implications of the notions of youth. For instance, the understanding of youth as 'transition' (World Bank 2006), as 'life stage' or 'identity seekers' (Miles 2015:102) or as 'life phase' (Lesko 1996) presuppose 'consumerism' (Miles 2015) and immaturity, therefore inability to speak for themselves and for reasoning, which in consequence implies repression and exclusion from the consultation process (see for example: Lanza 2012:44). Conversely, other perceptions such as "youth as intersectional group" (Supported by Comaroff and Comaroff 2005, Rabinbach 1978, Herrera 2012, Melucci 1996, Tyler 2013) or "youth as social process" (Supported by Hammack 2010) could have led the government to take a different approach in regard to consultation of the youth.

On the other hand, this research will also contribute to the re-assessment of the policies taken to resolve a problem that may have been partially addressed resulting in the escalation of the conflict to other levels (e.g. political level). As presented above, the protests were conducted by young people, aged between 15 and 35, whose reasons for the protest were seldom consulted. Consequently, the policies adopted to address the protests may have been generationally blind resulting in a series of successive protest events, mainly carried out by the younger generation. To resolve the problem, they ought to be heard, and their complaints understood so that they may feel considered. It is important then to remember that the younger generation (below 35) are the majority in Mozambique and most of the other developing countries, particularly in Africa. Therefore, despite the perception of youth in the society, whether as '*entangled generation in the complex process of construction and reconstruction, the making and remaking of a society*' (Honwana 2012:3, see also: Hammack 2010) or as 'alien-nation' (Comaroff and Comaroff 2005:21, See also: Lesko 1996), they have specific and conscious needs that are worthy address. Failing to address those needs may result in continuous generational struggles.

Keywords

Social reproduction, memory, media representation, protests

1   Introduction

With the emergency of the financial crises around 2007-2008, many countries around the world experienced an increase in the forms of protests. From non-violent to violent protests pointing to numerous causes across countries, protests were observed in developed and developing countries. Authors refer to many countries such as Greece, Portugal, Spain, Italy and others in Europe where Occupy movements protested against technocratic governments, economic austerity, and required decent jobs and real democracy. In United States Occupy movements protested against the raising inequality whereas in Latin America people protested in Brazil against corruption, students in Chile against neoliberal measures affecting education, and both in Ecuador and Guatemala locals protested against illegal mining by transnational corporations. In the Middle East and Africa protests against the growing income inequality, unemployment and lack of opportunities for socio-political integration, rising of the food prices and living costs. In Asia, India and Bangladesh observed protests due to price rise, and Syria due to the autocratic government (Ortiz et al. 2013, Biekart and Fowler 2013, Hossain et al. 2014).

Most of those protests were organised and executed by the youth. For example, Glasius and Pleyers argue that the post-2010 protests be revolts of a 'global generation' (Edmunds and Turner 2005). Alluding to youth and the fact that they are mobilized already as part of a 'precarious generation' of today, they explain that this generation grew up in a situation of income insecurity with low or total absence of safety nets sponsored by the state, fewer work opportunities and restricted provision of public services exacerbated by the global financial crisis (Glasius and Pleyers 2013:552). Their technology consumption, interconnectedness and borderless interchange of information, ideas and technics of dissent manifestation, justifies the label of 'global generation' (2013:553). It is a generation that challenges the limitation of space and the traditional authorities as never before through their increased mobilisation power found in the new technologies.

The broad context of Africa is not an exception to the protests nor the use of technology for mobilisation to protests. Some countries experienced protests that led to the overthrow of governments whereas others experienced only peaceful demonstrations or violent protests. As noted by Abdelrahman (2013), in Egypt the protests by the citizens *'tended to break out when groups of angry citizens reached a point where they could no longer accept the daily injustices and humiliation inflicted by the state and market institutions'* (Abdelrahman 2013:579). Other countries such as Malawi, Burkina Faso, Gabon, Mozambique, Swaziland, Sudan, Ethiopia and Nigeria (See Biekart and Fowler 2013:528) experienced protests that did not lead to the collapsing of the heads of the states.

Furthermore, the causes of the protests in the African context seems to remount from deep-rooted socio-economic, cultural and political factors affecting the youth. The dramas of the youth appear to be deeper than unemployment and income crises alone. Abbink explores the youth dilemmas starting by a paradox that children in Africa are highly valued by the adults while their interest and ability to care for them declines as they grow (Abbink et al. 2005:2). Further, he explains that this younger generation from the post-

independence is 'socially blocked' (Abbink et al. 2005:7). '*Forty years of post-colonial history has not shown a takeover of power by the young or a substantial improvement in the life of youth in Africa in general. To be young in Africa came to mean being disadvantaged, vulnerable and marginal in the political and economic sense*' (*ibid*). Moreover, much attention is necessary to this while acknowledging that some countries, like the Arab countries, have been facing protest since ten years before the crises (in Glasius and Pleyers 2013:552). Hence, these accounts suggest that the '*globalization of disaffection', has reached a tipping point*' (Biekart and Fowler 2013:528) in the general context of Africa and in Mozambique where this research focus.

This research will focus on the media representation of youth and the youth dimension of the 2008 and 2010 protests, considering the politics of representation, how the youth recall those events afterwards. Moreover, it explores the subgroups of youth participants and their meanings of the protests registered in 2008 and 2010 in Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique. These events attracted much of the local officials' attention, national debates, and local and international media coverage under the wave of protests across the globe. However, the youth leadership in those protests was neglected through the politics of media representation. The protests became known as 'general protest', 'food or fuel riots' and 'riots', and the causes were reduced to price spikes (de Brito et al. 2014).

1.1 Brief Political and Economic Historic Context of Mozambique

After the independence in 1975 from Portugal, Mozambique was led by FRELIMO (Mozambique's Liberation Front) movement as a socialist Marxist-Leninist government, followed by a period of civil war. In 1977, the country fell in a civil war between the government forces controlled by FRELIMO and RENAMO (Mozambique's National Resistance) movement that lasted for 16years. During this war period, many people across the country flee to the capital city of Maputo fixing residences.

Moreover, in 1990 with the introduction of the new constitution the country adopted a capitalist regime. The new constitution marked the transition from socialist to the capitalist regime and the change from single ruling party to multi-party democracy. As a result, on October 4th, 1992 the peace agreement was signed in Rome between President Joaquim Chissano and Afonso Dlakhama, leader of RENAMO. Moreover, the new constitution also opened room for the emergence of independent media channels and supposedly of the freedom of speech.

However, the freedom of speech had been undermined both about media blockage by the political power as well as the lack of other open spaces of free expression. Note that freedom of speech is a fundamental right as it comprehends amongst others the notion of 'pursuit of truth' and 'democratic self-governance' (McIntosh 2005:92). However, in Mozambique the press seems to lack freedom particularly after the murder of a renowned investigative journalist 'Carlos Cardoso' in November 22nd, 2000. From that moment, the media freedom seems to have ceased considerably, thus becoming partial and elitist in their representation of the facts (Chichava and Pohlmann 2010:131,132). Con-

sequently, the important media role of strengthening the democracy and fostering the citizenship participation by voicing youths' and poor citizens' concerns did not seem to be realised.

Frelimo and Chissano won the two consecutive elections in 1994 and 1999 which was contested, later Chissano was replaced by Armando Guebuza. In 2004, Guebuza and Frelimo won the elections. However, the supporters tended to decrease during Guebuza's mandate, around which the two violent protests occurred.

The protests occurred when Mozambique was being reputed at international level as a success story politically and economically. Politically, the international reputation was constructed by the fact that the country never returned to conflict despite some political contestations of electoral results well handled by Chissano. However, in Guebuza's mandate the relations between the state and the opposition leader started becoming tense. Moreover, between 2005 and 2012 a general perception could be that the opposition was getting weaker, the government tougher, the president more autocratic and a growing people's dissatisfaction demonstrated through the 2008 protests near the end of Guebuza's first mandate. Apparently there were no alternative political voices to contest the socio-political and economic course of actions but few local independent advocacy and research organizations such as CIP (Public Integrity Centre) and IESE (Institute of Social and Economic Studies). Additionally, the media focused mainly on the political and economic elites, relying on few alternative voices such as the organizations above and transnational corporations.

Later, before the general elections of 2009 a new political party emerged restoring the hope of Mozambique's democracy to many nationals. The emergency of MDM (Mozambique's Democratic Movement) brought hope to many about the national democracy (Chichava 2010:5). Nonetheless, regardless of the MDM leader being relatively young and massively supported by the youth, he and his party lost the elections, managing only to get a few seats in the national parliament with Frelimo and Renamo. Later, in September 2010 with the announcement of bread and transport price rise following some primary products' price increase, another protest erupted in Maputo and Matola more intensely than the prior expanding for few other provinces.

Moreover, economically the country has been flourishing when seen through the Macroeconomic indicators. Since the year 2000 the transnational organizations' intervention focused mostly in the Millennium Development Goals. Additionally, the country has been attracting a large influx of investments, since the year 2000, particularly via mega projects in the extractive industry. As a result, the GDP kept growing at around 7% per year in average, during that decade (Castel-Branco 2010:6,7).

However, despite the massive propaganda of the economic success through the media by the political elites, the economy failed to create new employments to absorb the new graduates and the massive young population. The economic growth was not equated with the poverty reduction that had been very low, even decreasing in some urban areas (Castel-Branco 2010:7). Besides, the country produces low consumption goods than it consumes, having to import the rest (Castel-Branco 2010:13). Consequently, during the pick period of the financial crisis, i.e. around 2008, the country experienced national currency

depreciation against the USD, and the South African Rand reflected on the increase of the living costs. Moreover, in 2010 there was a world shortage of cereals which led to its price increase in the domestic market. These events marked the protests in the economic perspective.

1.2 The Events

In light of this context, on January 5th, 2008 and September 1st and 2nd, 2010 the capital city of Mozambique, Maputo and the neighbouring city of Matola experienced violent protests attributed to food and transport price rise. In both events, the major actors were young people[1] – mostly male. They blocked the roads and the streets with barricades and burning tires. They also burned some of the re-elected president's posters that had remained in the public billboards after the elections in 2009 and vandalized shops associated with or owned by people in high-rank government positions and more (de Brito et al. 2014).

Later, in the year 2012 due to public and semi-public transport fare hikes, there was a threat of riots again that was avoided partially by the massive presence of shock police in the strategic places where the riots have started or were relatively intense in the previous events. However, both cities were paralyzed again for one day: offices were closed, and people who had gone to work returned home on foot because the public and semi-public transports stopped circulating. In all the cases, the events were associated with the increase of living costs, concretely, with food and transport price rise.

In 2013, I participated in a research project designated "food rights and food riots: the social and political accountability for hunger" that confirmed the living costs as one of the major grievances. Most of the adult interviewees were repetitive in mentioning either the price rise in contrast with the static salaries or simply mentioning the insufficiency of their salaries to supply for their family's basic needs.

In fact, the workers in Maputo expect to be satisfied and live a life with dignity based on their wages. Implying that, with their salaries, the workers should be able to provide for their basic needs. Besides, each society has certain degree of unemployment, 'insecurity' and 'uncertainty' (Whyte in Berckmoes 2014:43) which tends to be more accentuated amongst the young people. These conditions tend to rise feelings of '*desire, frustration or anger*' (Comaroff and Comaroff 2005:20). These feelings are not always bad. While they are combined with the trust on the fairness of the state and free competitive market, they can be the source of energy for continuous strive in competition for work. Alternatively, they can lead the young people to spend their productive energy in what they call "*se arranjar*", "*se virar*" or '*disenrascar a vida*' as noted by Honwana (2014:403), which stands for the precarious and improvised ways of getting means to survive. This form of surviving mechanisms simultaneously

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[1] According to the Youth National Policy of Mozambique, the youth age range is between 15 and 35 years old (Ministerio da Juventude e Desporto 2012), regardless of the definition by the world bank that considers 12 to 24 years old (World Bank 2006:2)

oriented to the present and in continuous assessment of threats and opportunities for the future, whereby the agents try to overcome the structure in a context of instability is designated 'social navigation' (Vigh 2006, Vigh 2009, see also Berckmoes 2014:46).

Also, the youth engagement in social navigation signals their expectations that the condition will change, and they will soon be absorbed into the formal labour market or improve their labour conditions thus gaining economic independence. This aim for independence falls under the framework of 'social reproduction' (Elson 2012:64-68) which is identified to be 'generational' and entailing 'social continuity' (Huijsmans et al. 2014:168) as every generation has the need to (i) earn a fair income that can provide a life with dignity, (ii) start a family, and (iii) exercise active citizenship (World Bank 2006, Ansell 2004:79-82, Johnson-Hanks 2002, Honwana 2012:23). These three aspects signal the adulthood that the young Mozambicans aim and expect to reach. Although, the expected requirements to reach the adulthood varies across societies and between young male and female (Ansell 2004:80). In Mozambique, working and earning salaries is more crucial to male from whom the initiative of marriage is also expected as part of their 'transition' to adulthood (World Bank 2006). Despite their anxiety about this transition, youth is confronted with extended 'waithood', the period of life in which they wait to enter into adulthood (Honwana 2012, Honwana 2014, Versfeld 2013). It is in this context that youth looks back to the period after independence when the state automatically employed the few young people who had high school education due to lack of intellectual capacity. Youth today 'aspire' to the same kind of experience after completing their education (Honwana 2012:39).

However, during the period in which the violent protests occurred, the vast majority of youth, female and male, were unemployed despite their educational level. The unemployed youth were hopeless struggling in the informal market (Honwana 2014), seeing their dreams of getting a decent job and getting married frustrated. Other working youth were frustrated because of low social mobility regardless their hard working. Additionally, most of them were experiencing uncertainty about the future, lack of trust in the government's good will as well as the lack of political opportunity and freedom of speech (Chaimite 2014:86).

Apart from those limitations, their challenges had not been addressed through national debates nor adequately reported by the media, and they were not consulted regarding their massive involvement in the protests. Despite political speeches during the electoral campaign repeatedly mention youth unemployment and housing policy, these aspects disappeared afterwards from the conventional media and daily political speeches. However, they were well acknowledged by the general public and perhaps was part of their daily conversations. As the media plays an important role, approaching the political power to the people and vice-versa, that was not being the case, and these people's message had no way up to the leaders. Moreover, regardless of violently protesting, they were seldom consulted by the media nor by the government structures. Instead, the media represented the youth protesters as a homogeneous social group rarely distinguishing age groups and gender. This representation may have enabled the de-politicization of those events and the general acceptability of the label "riots" and "food or fuel riots".

1.3 Problem specification

Hence, the problem of this research consists in the fact that the youth were seldom consulted about their motivation for conducting the riots even though they were the main actors in the demonstration. When the protests occurred in 2008 and 2010, although the participants were mainly youth, the causes were explored amongst the adult experts and media commentators (Bussoti 2010) instead of consulting the youth. The fact that youth were seldom heard leaves unanswered questions such as *How the media did represent youth and how does this representation affect their memory about those events? Who were the youth involved in those events? Did different groups of youth get involved with different interest? What is the youth dimension of those protests given the fact that they were the major actors in those events?*

Regardless of who may have organized those protests, the causes are worthy to know to inform the policies. Hence, answering those questions would perhaps indicate the underneath reasons behind the impetus to protest.

1.4 Implications of the problem

The immediate implication of not consulting youth is the fact that the policies adopted by the state in response to the protests may have been generalists focusing on maintaining the status quo by addressing only the immediate needs, not young people's aspirations. For examples, after the protests of 2010 the government decided to: a) freeze the price rises of the main goods; b) announce the introduction of subsidised basic 'food basket' (not implemented); c) introduce the District Development Fund (FDD) in the urban districts; d) to reduce the custom duties on the importation of third quality rice and of sugar; and later in 2011, e) the adoption of policies to control the exchange rate in order to attenuate the cost of fuel (de Brito et al. 2014:26-34). Apparently, these policies addressed the immediate and general problems of consumption, albeit the needs of young workers and unemployed to improve their life conditions remained unaddressed.

As a result, even though those policies were taken to address the causes identified by the experts after the 2010 protests, in 2012 after the announcement of transport price rise, the government had to install riot police in the strategic places to prevent the repetition of those events (de Brito et al. 2014). Even so, some isolated protesting events were reported in some of the surrounding neighbourhoods of Maputo city. Later, many other events such as organized protests followed in the subsequent years mobilised by the youth working class and civil society organizations. These events contribute to raising questions whether or not the underlying causes of those protests were addressed by the adopted policies. To solve the problem, the root causes have to be identified amongst the youth protagonists first, whether they may be economic, political or social.

1.5 Research objectives

This research focus on the protests of 2008 and 2010 as the most significant events in the recent history of social conflict in Mozambique with the following objective:

(1) To explain the youth dimension of the protests.

1.6 Research Questions

How did the media representation of the protests and the youth in protests of 2008 and 2010 capture (or not) their intended meanings?

Sub-questions

(i)   How did the media represent youth and the events, and how did this representation affect how they remember those events?

(ii)   Who were the young people who got involved?

(iii)   Did the different sub-groups who got involved have different reasons?

(iv)   What meanings did they attribute to those protests?

1.7 Analytical framework

This research adopted a relatively fluid analytical framework by the type of data to be analysed, which comprises newspapers articles analysed on bases of media representation theories and its impact on audience's memory, and observational and interview data analysed in light of social reproduction framework.

The analysis of media representation is informed by the theory of 'discourse analysis' by Teun van Dijke (2000), which '*systematically describe the various structures and strategies of text or talk, and relate these to the social or political context*' (Philo 2007:176). It is also informed by the idea of '*ideological dimension of the news in the press*' to which Bell's contribution highlights the '*news misrepresentation of the events*' (Van Dijk 2009:195), or simply media misrepresentation of events considering the media's power to control specific groups' attitudes (van Dijk 2009:195). With this in mind, a content analysis of press material was carried using technics such as 'focalisation', 'categorisation' and 'framing' which I briefly describe bellow.

First, according to Meijer (1993), 'focalisation' refers to the views through which the object is described. Because it represents the perception of the "subject" (narrator), it is always partial. However, focalization can be distributed between the subject and "object" (who is 'talked of'), thus, representing power distribution because it gives the reader a choice to take a side (Meijer 1993:376). This tool is relevant because allows the researcher to perceive the degree of news objectivity. The narrator in this research is described as "media" or the specific newspaper, given the fact that the analysis is longitudinal corresponding to a set of articles of different dates. Conversely, the object is "the youth participants".

Second, 'membership categorisation' is defined by Leudar et al. (2004) as a discourse tendency of discriminating between "us" and "them" in violent events. The aim of that distinction is to justify past violence and prepare the audience for future acts of violence (2004:243). In the context of this research, the protesters are categorized as "them" under different labels reproduced by the media.

Third, 'framing' is defined by Entman (1993) as the process of selecting specific features of '*a perceived reality to make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described*'(Entman 1993:52).

Therefore, the politics of representation resides in the fact that discourses tend to represent ideologies, facts and entities in a way of exercising certain influence in a target group. Overall, those tools of media analysis allow the researcher to face the reality that "media represents facts", but "do not reproduce them". '*We must not confuse the material world, where things and people exist, and the symbolic practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate*' (Hall 1997:25). The representation of violent events tends to serve certain interests, mainly those of who holds the power, aiming to produce an intended effect. Consequently is necessary to go beyond the media representation to understand the violent protests in Mozambique considering the impact of media representation on people's memories (Piers 2001).

With that in mind, and in light of the epistemological knowledge of the context of the protests it was necessary to interview different subgroups of youth participants and probe their accounts about their individual motivations to participate in such risky events. Thus, their individual motivation and the benefit of the doubt in the fact that there could be plausible justifications for the violent protests bridged the constructed barrier created by the media representation of the lived experiences.

The observational and interview data analysis focuses on explaining the socio-economic and socio-politic relations of the youth in light of the social reproduction. As presented by Elson, the concept indicates the process by which '*all the main relations in the society are constantly recreated and perpetuated*' (Mackintosh 1981 in Elson 2012:63). As a framework, it explains the relationships between different sectors of the society, namely domestic, public and private actors. The relationships involve market and non-market based relations that result in reproduction of capital and labour (see fig.1). Regardless of Elson not mentioning youth, neither the concept address generation visibly, it is an important analytical tool to understand socio-economic and socio-politic relations between sectors. Moreover, people are the essential part of these relations, entailing intergenerational 'continuity' (Huijsmans et al. 2014:168), thus, being compelling to analyse the youth dimension from this perspective.

My assumption is that the break of the intergenerational continuity of the social reproduction relations may result in youth unrest and protests. For example, long delays for integrating youth in the labour market, or simply extended 'waithood' (Honwana 2012:31); lack of job opportunities as accounted for the riots in London 2011 (Tyler 2013). Moreover, information failure, corruption schemes for admission into formal jobs and the aforementioned employment problems that may fit in 'labour market failure' (Heintz 2008) while felt by the youth may become the motive for contestation. In one hand,

lack of employment and low income may lead young people to feel delayed about their aspirations, resulting in frustrations (Melucci 1996), on the other hand they may expect from the government a corrective action to ensure the generational continuity of the social reproduction system.

Marketed goods and services

Commercial values

Domestic sector — Public services / Regulatory values — Public sector — Public services / Regulatory values — Private sector

Labour services: physical, technical, social capacities

Provisioning values

Depletion of human capacities and Provisioning values
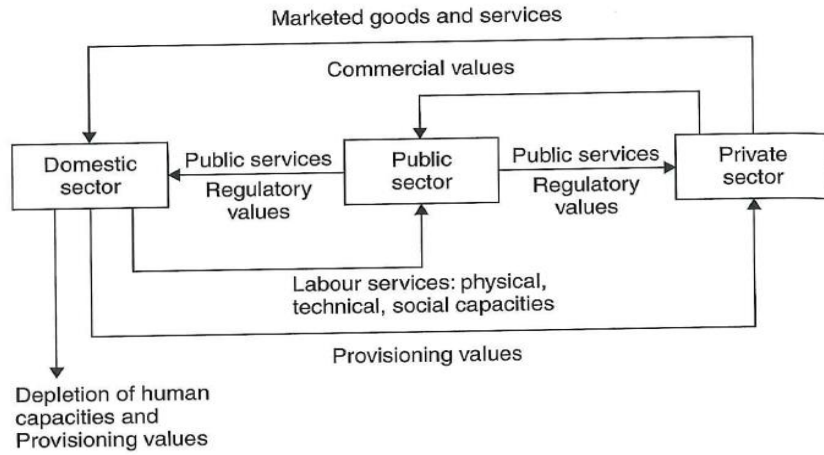
Figure 1: Visualization of Social Reproduction. Source: (Elson 2012:66)

Therefore, this research paper will argue that first, those events were represented by the media in such a way to delegitimize the protests and discredit youth participants, depoliticizing the events. Second, that contrary to the media representation the youth participants were a diverse group, having more reasons to protest other than price increase and that the protests carried a political meaning to them. To explain that the paper is organised in five chapters. This introduction is setting the context and the basis for the analysis as the first chapter. The second chapter describes the research methodology. The third chapter focuses on the media analysis, and the preliminary interview responses. The fourth chapter analyses the observational data in combination with the interview data in pursuit of the youth motivations for protesting and their meanings. Finally a short conclusion.

2   Research Methodology

This research intends to explain the youth dimension of the Maputo protests of February 5th, 2008 and September 1st and 2nd, 2010. For this purpose, it ought to understand the different motivations of youth (both men and women) participants in those protests, exploring their' memories and feelings about their participation, as well as their meanings of the events. These involve feelings such as desire, frustrations and hunger about the past before 2008 or 2010, as well as anxiety for their future aspirations at that time. Though, after the 2010 event, people feared to admit their involvement and sometimes even to talk about them. To date talking about one's involvement in those events has remained sensitive, especially with unknown strangers. To overcome this obstacle, I invested much time and effort in building rapport with research participants. I did this by hanging out with them engaging in their conversations in different setups such as home, streets, and informal work environment.

Therefore, I adopted qualitative methodology with an ethnographic orientation as it would be the most consentaneous with my research objectives having in mind the actual fears in which people live. The fairly informal and unstructured approach to recruiting research participants and building up a rapport is also rooted in the epistemic approach underpinning this research. Much has been written and said about the events, yet very little by those young people that took the street. Subsequently, relatively little is known on what their involvement in the events meant to them and what meanings this has acquired in their lives since. Adopting an ethnographic approach allowed me to access and capture meanings of youth daily life, their processes of decision making and explanations on the reasons for such decisions. It also helped me to understand their meanings of some key terms that often they use about those events. These ethnographic observations generated important grounded and gender and generational specific insights that allowed further exploration in a more targeted fashion through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions.

In choosing ethnographic orientation, I applied multisite visits to two neighbourhoods of Maputo City where the riots were most intense. By doing multisite visits, I ensured a diverse range of participants as well as a broad basis of analysis of this research to enrich the research quality. I choose to work in Benfica and Ferroviário neighbourhoods, two of the places where the events were very intense. My choice was informed by the intensity of those events in these places, the language through which the population naturally communicate with, and the safety of the places. First, within the city of Maputo, those two neighbourhoods were the places where those events got much intense. Perhaps because those places are of a high concentration of people from different neighbourhoods attracted by the big informal markets existing there (Benfica market at "Bairro George Dimitrove" mostly known as "Bairro do Benfica" and Chiquelene market at Ferroviário neighbourhood), and because they are very important terminals of inter-urban transports. Second, perhaps because those are places where people meet coming from different neighbourhoods and setups, they tend to flow naturally in Portuguese conversation as well as Changana (the local language that I do not speak). Therefore, it would be easier to mingle with them, find some sense of belonging and be relatively

more accepted than in a midst where the language would pose a barrier. Given that, I opted for Ferroviário, where I had been in the early research, and Benfica neighbourhood, selected after few enquiries on that basis.

The in site observations as part of my ethnographic approach focused on young people's lifestyle, some interactions with them to understand their daily activities and practices, meanings and feelings. These interactions gave me the sensitivity to their logics of meaning making and introduced me to their life context, shedding light to their aspirations and perceptions of their environment. Since I have been in three of the neighbourhoods in 2013 while conducting another research, I went with an advantage of having met some informants and knowing the terrain. Though, due to people's mobility, regardless of my visit to some places where I had been before in Ferroviário neighbourhood, I only found one young man who became one of my key informants. Through him, I mingled amongst his friends, walked with him and met different people with whom I interacted, observed and some I had the opportunity to interview. I also started new relations that opened doors for very relevant interactions and interviews through self-introduction. The reference to my previous presence helped to introduce myself in the places where I had visited before, whereas in other places I had to rely on my simplicity and ability to identify myself with the participant.

2.1 Positionality

My position was both as young Mozambican residing in Maputo, as a researcher and as a master student in the Netherlands, which I used interchangeably or combined to gain access and trust. Nevertheless, sometimes I had to avoid my identity as "master student", studying abroad to avoid accentuating the power relations between my informants and me. Though, in other cases this worked well in allowing me better access to my informants. In some cases, I only disclosed this part of my identity by the end of the interview to ensure the participants that the interview data would be confidential because they would ask how the data would be handled.

However, regardless of my effort to become part of them, I noticed several times that my interlocutors acknowledged a distance between me and them. While I felt as young as they are and tried to use their jargons in daily communication, many times I was addressed as "sir", "doctor", or other "respectful terms" that youth do not use amongst their friends. In general, even the educational gap was easily perceived through my speaking. Nonetheless, this also worked in my favour as they felt confident in sharing, happy on discussing and explaining their cases.

2.2 Methods of data collection

This research combined different methods of data collection and analysis. Since the focus of the study is on past events (i.e. protests of 2008 and 2010), data such as newspapers and documental material were gathered and analysed in combination with interviews and observational data. This procedure aimed to elucidate the differences in perceptions of the youth participants and the media discourse. Because, as mentioned by Wilkinson, '*rioters often understand*

their actions in ways very different from the interpretations we have access to in the press and government reports' (Wilkinson 2009:331). The official documents were obtained mainly from the government websites, whereas the newspapers were obtained from multiple sources such as the IESE's electronic database and the physical archives of the selected newspapers.

2.3 Newspaper collection and analysis

The events received a privileged coverage from the media, which suggested me to conduct newspaper analysis with particular attention to framing, categorisation and focalization. As the media play an important role in politics and conflict (Piers 2001), my intention with the newspaper analysis was to identify how they represented the events and where the focus was directed. For that, I selected two of the most read daily newspapers (*Jornal Notícias* and *Jornal OPaís*), one being state controlled and another private. From each of the newspaper I searched manually through their archives for the articles about youth to identify how they were depicted outside the context of protests (see more details in subsection 3.1.2). The manual search on those two newspapers was because both media sources were not yet digitalized on that time, being released only in printed forms. Additionally, I collected all the possible articles related to the protests, from the factual based on the opinion based articles on those newspapers searching for the dates of the events forward and backward. The possibility of not having collected all the articles is admitted because: first, it was a manual search of the physical archives of *Jornal OPaís*; second, the *Jornal Notícias* I accessed from the database of IESE carefully constructed in light of the food rights and food riots research project in which I was part of the team. Since the data gathering for that project was also manual, the same kind of lapse may have happened. However, for the publications about the representation of youth outside the protests I did a new search in *Jornal Notícias* archives.

I further organised the data in a table of events characterization inspired on 'political events catalogue' from the food riots project, registering the newspaper's name, article title, date and some details such as labels used to name the events, the participants, and social profiling of the participants. The table was further used to illustrate the sociodemographic media profiling of the participants, their dominant categorization, and how the events were framed. This analysis was represented in such a way to also identify possible differences and similarities on sources' categorisation and framing tendencies as they represent the official discourse and independent media. My intention was to identify different possible tendencies of discourses over the same events through a simple visual representation.

2.4 Primary data collection and analysis

The primary data resulted from site observation in the selected neighbourhoods, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion (FGD) with youth (i.e. both male and female) who participated directly or indirectly in the protests. The reason for targeting especially participants is the fact that they could recall the shared ideas and knowledge that fuelled their actions and fostered their courage to confront the police during the protests. Eventually, I al-

so interviewed youth who did not participate in the protests as long as they had been living in Maputo, particularly in those neighbourhoods where the events occurred with high intensity. It was important because they supported the events, shared a collective memory as it were public events and they interacted with the participants directly, exposing them to some of the feelings and motivations of the protesters. Note that all the young interviewees shared most of the grievances despite the fact that not all agreed with the way the grievances were expressed.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with participants mainly identified during the site observation and the informal chatting held with either resident, sellers or those who stick to those public places. Other key participants were identified through friends who acted as gatekeepers even mobilising some participants for the interviews. Nonetheless, I privileged the purposive sampling method aiming for the representation of different subgroups of participants whom I assumed to represent different interests. The next few lines describe the sub-groups of participants in this research briefly according to their status at the time of the encounter. However, there was no much change since the protests (Appendix I). The universe of the interviewees include young educated formally employed (men with honour degree and employed by the state); young people formally employed in the private sector (men and women with at least secondary school education); informally employed and self-employed young (basic, secondary and college educated); young unemployed with mixed levels of education (both men and women); students (at secondary and university levels identified in the neighbourhoods); young low educated informal sellers at the informal markets; the leader of a recognised youth association at the level of the neighbourhood, named OJM (*Orgnização da Juventude Moçambicana*), strongly linked to Frelimo; and two elders strongly connected to Frelimo, one of them being a formal secretary of one of the neighbourhoods. These elder interviewees were very insightful, bringing the accounts in historic perspective. I also conducted a semi-structured interview with a senior representative of the youth in the government at the national level, who at the moment of the events represented the youth at the provincial level in Maputo.

Additionally, I conducted three unstructured focus group discussions (FGD) with participants of the protests. Two of the FGD were previously communicated and organised at houses of one of the group participants in each neighbourhood. The other FGD was spontaneously mobilised in one informal nail polisher shop in Benfica market. The reason for conducting the FGD was to explore the collective memories of the participants, negotiations and motivations, as they could build into one another as well as to explore their collective meanings of the events. Furthermore, the FGD also helped to understand youth's logics of thinking and their ways of constructing meanings of what matters to them.

2.5 Risks and Ethical Challenges:

The events in Maputo were followed by threats from the government leaders to the organizers, promising to identify the sources of the SMS's used to mobilize participation. These threats caused fear amongst the youth and civilians, in general, who adopted self and collective protection mechanisms by

solidarity avoiding identifications. This situation may have made it difficult for researchers to identify and interview the participants at that time. However, given the time lag since the occurred protests some people felt more confident to identify themselves as participants and share their views about their participation. Others accepted to be interviewed not disclosing their identity, whereas, others refused to give the interviews nor to talk about the protests. Nevertheless, the identities of all participants were protected to preserve their safety.

Moreover, participants were asked for oral consent to be interviewed, instead of a request for signing a written consent because of two reasons: (i) written consent is not a common practice in Mozambique; (ii) the prior acknowledgment of the sensitive nature of this research. Therefore, only oral consent was requested from the participants and a minimum identification details possible such as first name (optional), age (because the target group was youth above 20year old, since 2010 they were 15 and considered youth), neighbourhood of residence, activity during the time of protests and of interview. Moreover, the FGDs were not announced to non-participants, only agreed with selected participants on the basis of time and location.

3 Media, Memory and Politics

This chapter explores the relationship between the politics of media representation and people's memory concerning the protests. The subquestion addressed in this section is 'How did the media represent youth and the events, and how this representation affect their memory concerning those events?' The question will be addressed in three subsections: first, analyses the media representations; second, explores the youth's memory about media representation, and the third focus on a brief analysis of the prior subsections concerning the main research question.

3.1 Media representation of the events

This subsection focus on media representation of the events, the youth outside and within the context of the protests. The analysis deal with the first part of the question investigating how the two newspapers *Jornal Noticias* and *Jornal OPais* represented events.

3.1.1 Background of the media sources and audience

The two newspapers analysed in this research are part of the two major communication groups in Mozambique's context. The first group is called '*Sociedade de Noticias*' and is registered as anonymous society owning three newspapers of national circulation including the daily *Jornal Noticias* (AfriMap 2009, Chichava and Pohlmann 2010). The second is called '*Grupo SOICO*', created in the year 2000 (See, Chichava and Pohlmann 2010:130, SOICO. 2015a). According to their web page, it is the main communication group in Mozambique and owns a TV channel (STV), a radio station named SFM and a daily newspaper *Jornal O Pais* with an on-line version and currently a digital version as well. While *Sociedade de Noticias* is privately owned, it is mainly participated by the state-owned institutions such that it is under the state control. However, *Grupo Soico* is privately owned.

The table below presents a comparative summary of the two media sources, *Jornal Notícias* and *Jornal OPais*. In general, these are the two major press sources in Mozambique regardless of the private *Jornal OPais* being founded in 2000 (SOICO. 2015b) after the constitution of 1990 that gave room for the free press (Chichava and Pohlmann 2010). Contrary to that, *Jornal Noticias* exists since the national independence, thus having constructed its reputation throughout the time. Moreover, both newspapers are of national circulation. Nonetheless, the website of SOICO group affirms that they are the major media group in Mozambique and leader in the audience, which is supported by two researches, one by the Global Survey Corporation published in 2010 (Macuacua. 2015), and another by Intercampus in 2013(OPais. 2015). Both research's referred to the television STV as leading in the audience, not mentioning newspaper.

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Comparative summary of the two media sources		
Press	*Jornal Noticias*	*Jornal OPais*
Control	State control	Independent
Shareholders	*Mozambique Central Bank *Petromoc (Mozambique Petroleum) *Emose (Mozambique's Ensurance Company) *Small private	Private from SOICO
Number of copies	15000	30000
Existing since	Before 1975	2000
Media group	*Sociedade de Noticias*	SOICO
Leadership	Mozambique Central Bank	Founder: Daniel David
Printing facilities	Own	Own, S-Graphics
Representation	Official discourse	Independent
Coverage	National	National

Table 1: Comparative summary of the media sources. (Source: Author)

Audience

The editorial line of the media channels controlled by the same entity tends to be identical. The media channels controlled by the state tend to follow similar editorial line despite independence between each channel. For example, the official discourse is broadcasted through the National Television (TVM) and the Mozambique Radio (RM) hand in hand with *Jornal Noticias* as the national daily press. Nonetheless, TVM and RM are public owned with separate management each, while the *state controls the Jornal Noticias* through the National Bank, but they produce similar content. Likewise, SOICO group does the same between STV and *Jornal OPais*. Therefore, reaching different audiences through different channels with the same content. Moreover, knowing the percentage of the population capable of decoding printed material is difficult, even more difficult is to know who those readers are (McHale 2004:27). Having this in mind and those similarities on the media's editorial line, I choose to analyse the newspaper, as a proxy to television that is most accessible media for the youth.

3.1.2 Youth Representation outside the Protest Events

The youth seems to be underrepresented and where they are represented seems that they are depicted in the other people's perspective. Starting with the example of *Jornal Noticias*, where the archives are organized by keywords identifying clippings cluster of newspaper articles by months of each year, I requested to access the articles under the keyword of "*Juventude*" (Youth) and "*Jovens*" (young people) in the period of January 1st 2008 to December 31st, 2010. These two words were found with the same tag of *juventude* that contained around 56 articles of 56 different editions in this entire period. Given

the fact that *Jornal Noticias* is a daily newspaper and that 56 editions out of roughly 784 editions released, i.e. 7.14% out of the total in that period had at least one article addressing youth issues. Therefore, it may suggest that youth was underrepresented in that period. Also, these articles were largely focalized in the journalists' accounts or other entities instead of youth's voice.

Moreover, a content assessment of those 56 articles in light of the revised Youth's National Policy dated from February 17th, 2012 unveils the fact that the major interests of the youth received lesser attention from *Jornal Noticias*, but specific political activities were privileged. The Youth National Policy asserts the 'priorities of the youth' revealing their core interests in section 8.0 and the 'social and patriotic duties of the youth', under the subsection 6.2 (Ministerio da Juventude e Desporto 2012:9,10,12). The third aspect used to classify these articles as 'political' is the political role of the Youth's National Council '*Conselho Nacional da Juventude (CNJ)*' and of the Youth Parliament '*Parlamento Juvenil*' (*ibid*). These groups, are in the structure of the government and deeply rooted in Frelimo party. Thus, articles containing these institutions were considered of political interest. As a result, out of the 56 articles, only 8 represented youth's socio-economic interests, against four articles referring to youth's patriotic duties such as military enrolment. The remaining 44 articles were of political interest representing those entities activities.

Alternatively, the private *Jornal O Pais* appeared to have represented mainly the successful youth more often and through pictures. For this newspaper, the archives correspond to full newspaper editions rather than thematic clippings. I was given limited access to those archives i.e. two visits around the closing time. In light of this and the volume of pages to search manually for the keywords *juventude* and *jovens*, I only manage to scrutinize thoroughly three months period, from January 1st, 2008 to March 31st. The rest was quickly scanned through to focus further on the protests representation. Hence, very few articles about youth were released in those three months. Nonetheless, many colourful youth pictures were exhibited in weekly editions, but without their voices being represented. The pictures related to news of companies such as cell phone Company, publicity and other social activities such as weddings, TV shows, and others. (see fig.2). These pictures depicted successful youth in a music career, aspiring musicians, and other representations denoting accomplishment of their dreams. However, these realities are seldom applicable in Maputo, if not only for the few middle and upper-class youth. Thus, suggesting a rather partial representation of youth.

Figure 2: Depiction of youth in Jornal O Pais, a photo of the newspapers sections 'weekly highlights' (on the left) and 'newly wedded' (on the right). (Source: Author)

In summary, these sources were characterised by the underrepresentation of youth (concerning *Jornal Noticias* alone), partiality in their representation and mainly the silencing of the youth. The partial representation of youth is because it was mainly limited to particular segments of the society composed of the upper class: political elites in *Jornal Noticias,* and socio-economic or cultural elites in *Jornal OPais.* Regardless of their privilege media representation, they were passively represented because their voices and lived experiences were suppressed. On the contrary, the disadvantaged youth were seldom represented. Consequently, there seems to be 'absent presence' (Starken in, Simpson 2001:3) of youth in both media outlets. More specifically, the youth are there partially represented and generally muted.

3.1.3 Youth Representation about the Protests

The youth participated massively in the violent protests registered on February 5th, 2008 and in September 1st and 2nd, 2010, and they may have organized it themselves, but they were neglected. Regardless of their massive participation and perhaps their organization, they were not emphasized in any of the articles. In fact, the youth were not recognised as the organisers of those protests neither by the media editors nor by opinion makers who had their opinions published in short articles titled according to their perceived causes. However, the fact that the youth swamped the streets in violent protests around the city of Maputo was evident in the articles as it can be seen in the socio-demographic profiling of the participants resulting from the press analysis of 120 articles directly related to the protests, deriving from the two newspapers (see fig.3). Nevertheless, the media did not consult the youth about their grievances. Instead, the newspapers, the political analysts and the opinion makers ignored youth's visibly massive presence and initiative in the protests.
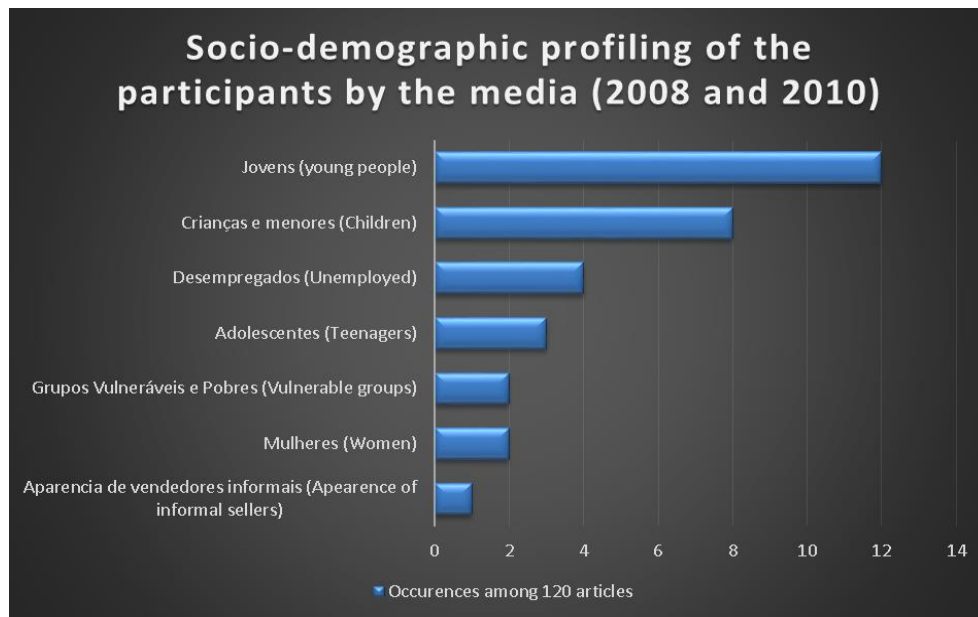
Figure 3 Socio-demographic profiling of the participants in 2008 and 2010. (Source: Author)

Moreover, the above illustration derived from Press analysis reveals that the massive participation in those protests was of the disadvantaged youth, apparently homogeneous group. As the illustration represents firstly the young people, some other social attributes such as 'unemployed', 'vulnerable' and 'poor' were commonly associated with that demographic group to describe the participants. For example, some articles combined the attributes using '*poor youth*' and '*unemployed youth*' illuminating the audience about which social group was protesting. However, their voices were barely represented, and the possible subdivisions within the youth group were unacknowledged. Overall, the resounding flagged causes of the protests was the "increase of bread and fuel prices" and the participants were 'the people', '*who could no longer afford the increased cost of living*'. Thus, silencing the youth's motives to protest by not focusing on them.

Furthermore, the categorization adopted for the youth participants was likely to 'othering' them from the society by labelling them with negative attributes. These young residents of the outskirts of the city profiled as 'poor', 'vulnerable' and 'unemployed' were father labelled with countless negative attributes illustrated in figure 4. The illustration derives from content analysis of the 120 newspapers articles from the two sources, *Jornal Noticias* and *Jornal OPais* directly related to the two protesting events. The analysis focused on the attributes used to label the participants. From that universe, 23 articles are from *Jornal Noticias* related with the event of 2008 and 53 articles related to the protests of 2010. The occurrences of labels in these articles are represented in blue, corresponding to 2008, and in red for 2010. However, *Jornal OPais* was still a weekly newspaper in 2008 and did not represent participants as the articles were analytical, therefore, were not included in the analysis. However, for 2010 when it had become a daily newspaper, 44 articles directly related to the protest were identified, from which the occurrences are represented in purple. The illustration shows the occurrence of the labels. Instead of showing the frequency with which the labels were used, the number of occurrences shows in how many articles each term was used, despite the repetitions in each article.
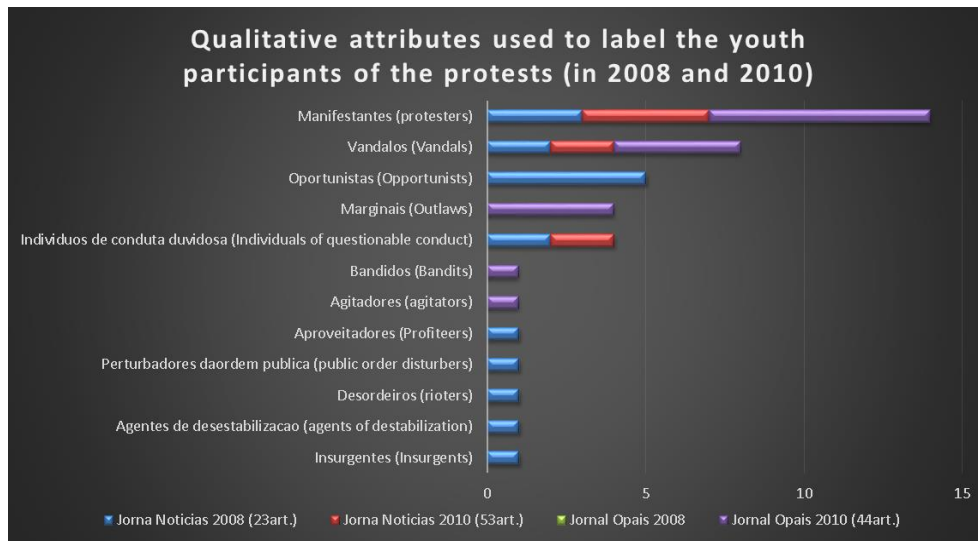
Figure 4 Qualitative attributes used to label the youth participants of the protests in 2008 and 2010 by Jornal Noticias and Jornal OPais (Source: Author)

Note that, the labels attributed to youth participants in the protests seems to detach them from their identified socio-demographic profile, thus, discrediting them from possible claims. The youth were no longer seen as needy people who seek for a way to express their concerns to the government for resolving their problems. Instead, after the neutral label of "protesters" largely used by both sources (see fig.4), the following labels most used to describe them were negative and politically persuasive to the audience such that they would dissociate themselves from the participants. For example, it appears rather contradictory that the 'poor', 'unemployed' and 'vulnerable' young men and women, teenagers, children and some adults became suddenly labelled as "opportunists", "vandals", and "outlaws" when they gathered in the two unparalleled events in that decade. It would rather call the attention for further analysis, but instead, the overall 'categorisation' of the participants tended to 'othering' them (Leudar et al. 2004), i.e. dissociating them from the rest of the society supposedly in need of being protected from those 'vandals' and 'outlaws'. In fact, they were politically discredited by the adopted media categorisation on both newspapers.

3.1.4 Media representation of the events

The framing of the protests was inclined to diverge between the two newspapers, *Jornal Noticias* tending to delegitimise whereas *Jornal OPais are* tending to endorse them. However, one should note that in overall the media framing was negative, and the overall is what counts because framing intends to make 'some particular aspects' of reality more salient in pursuit of an intended 'moral evaluation' (Entman 1993:52). Therefore, the negativity was most salient (see fig.5), regardless of the sources inclining to frame differently. The private press tended to welcome the events as something that was needed to initiate a change, thus inclining to legitimate the protests. Conversely, the *Jornal Noticias* tended to delegitimize the protests. Figure five illustrates these tendencies by representing the occurrences of the words used to characterise those events. The analysis derives from the same universe of articles and similar methodology as the prior illustration.
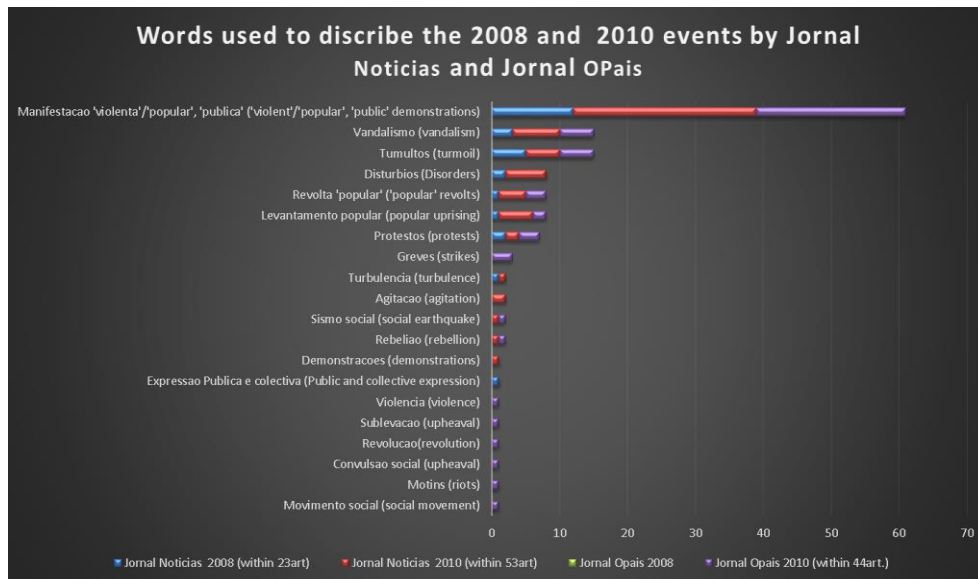
Figure 5: Words used to describe the 2008 and 2010 events by Jornal OPais and Jornal Noticias (Source: Author)

In summary, this analysis shows that the representation of the protests neglected and veiled the youth participants as a homogeneous social group, further criminalizing and discrediting from any possible claim. Thus, depoliticizing the protests. The tendency may reflect a deliberate political intention to control and contain those events by manipulating the accounts to delegitimize and depoliticize the protests. The next subsection assesses probable influence amongst the youth.

3.2 Memory reproduction of the media representation and politics

This section analyses how the youth participants recall the protests, bridging with the analysis of media representation. I will use the first parts of youth's accounts to analyse their discourses about media representation. Therefore, this subsection focuses on how the media representation of the participants affected their memories and actions.

3.2.1 Protests and Participants – the memory reproduction

My interview guide was composed of three parts, namely, a brief participant identification, followed by a second part intending to explore people's memories about the events, and finally the third part focused on probing, exploring feelings and meanings; analysing the reasons for individual involvement and its relation to personal aspirations. The purpose of the second part was to get an overview of their description of the events as it also worked to understand their level of involvement. However, I was many times confronted with the same kind of responses; they tended to distance themselves from the protests and the participants. As I started the conversation with an open question such as '*what do you remember about the protests or strike; what happened?*' the ac-

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counts tended to have the same narration in different places by different people.

For example, in Benfica neighbourhood, I met a group of about four young men in a nail polisher shop made of a local material with a big open empty window and no door. I approached them introducing myself and requesting them for a quick group chat about the protests. After a clear and convincing explanation about preserving their anonymity, explanation on data management, acknowledgment of the threat that the government posed to find the protesters, and ensuring them about their safety, we were ready to start the group discussion. Seated within that shop, I was holding a notebook and a pen but also had to request for their permission for recording the conversation. In brief, I had to convince them twice before the interview start. First to talk with them about the protests, second to record the conversation. This procedure was frequent except for the pre-arranged interviews where I had only to negotiate the recordings.

Further, starting the interview, I asked what they remembered of those events of 2008 and 2010. One of the participants started talking:

> *"The only thing that I remember is the strike of the 'chapa' and wheat flour price increase. There were many destructions, and there are people who sabotaged the 'barracas²' profiting from the strike. That I remember. At the day of the strike, I was in Malhazine, I saw it from Malhazine.*
>
> *The people that were there are those who spend time in the 'barracas'. Those who use to call in 'chapas', who are called Mudjeiros³. They are the ones who benefited from the strikes." (July/13/2015)*

I then insisted on others on what do they remembered. Another participant said: *'I remember that there was a baraca that was sabotaged in that area of posto 19 […]'*. The stories continued all around sabotages in shops, *barracas* and stores, robberies and arrests as well as the destruction of some properties. The demographic characteristics of the participants according to them were mainly youth males and few females. After more details in the same tone, I asked them about who were in front of the sabotages. With no hesitation, one of them said, *"they are Moluwenes⁴ from the neighbourhoods"*. Immediately after, another participant clarified: *"yes they are Moluwenes, but not only! Because there was a mix of people"*. At this point, I noticed that it was touching some participants not only by that resistance in calling all the participants *Moluwenes*, but also the slightly tense environment. I made a break while inquiring the meaning of *Moluwenes*. They were excited responding to that and giving examples of day to day behaviour of *Moluenes*. Next, I asked them again about who in their opinion the main actors of the protests were and what people used to say. An absolute silence was

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² Barracas is how they normally call small shops built with local material, conventional or of metallic container. It is more of a local name for informal shop as it applies for different types of merchandise being sold, from grocery products to nail polisher and alcoholic drinking places.

³ *Mudjeiros* are generally men who call passengers to quickly fill the buses.

⁴ According to their description, *Moluwene* is a person who do not work and do not want to work or do something productive, but to steal for selling in order to have money to spend in futile things.

made for about 30 seconds while then one of the participants asked me back: *"you want to know who the main actors were?"* I responded that *'yes, not only the main but others as well'*. Then I explained that people could have participated with wrong motives such as the *Moluvenes* as they had mentioned, but unlike the *Moluvenes* there could be others with other motives. At this point, there was a turnout, and they started identifying themselves and their parents as participants and explaining their reasons.

3.2.2 The politics of the representation

As the account above shows many important points of analysis, I will attempt to relate them to the preceding media analysis. At least three main points can be used to relate the newspapers analysis with these kind of account: (i) the description of the events in relation to the dominant media framing; (ii) the identification of the participants often reproducing the labels used by the media at their convenience; and (iii) their individual dissociation from the events. These three points were notorious in many other interviews and were relevant to explain the politics imbued in the media representation and its influence on participants.

(i) Description of the events and its relation to the dominant framing of the media.

The account started by mentioning how the protests were mostly known, *'greve do chapa'* (transport strike) and 'greve do pao' (bread strike), which also points indirectly to the announced causes of the protests. Following the naming of the protests, the interviewee accounts focused only on the acts of sabotage, looting and destructions of other individuals' properties. Moreover, their accounts did not mention the burnings of the tires in the streets, the road blockages, the confrontations with the police neither they show any connection between the transport and bread with the protesters. However, what they did not mention was the main description of the protests, and the media also accounted for it. Though, it is perhaps in these facts where the politics of the protests were. Nonetheless, the first thing that the majority of the interviewed youth remember about the protests was inclined to reinforce the media representation by accounting for acts of vandalism and disorder. Other aspects about justifications for protesting appeared to be forgotten or perhaps hidden because of fear from the state as discussed further in the next paragraph. However, their spontaneity when sharing their memories about the protests suggests sincerity in their accounts. Additionally, the question had been 'what they remembered about the events' with no reference to their participation. It may support the idea that fear was not the motive for accounting the acts of vandalism and looting in the first place. Instead, as suggested by (Storey 2003), their memories appear to reproduce posterior accounts mainly disseminated through the media in negative framings of those events.

Moreover, the imaginable fear that the youth could have about the protests is related to the threat made by the government of finding and punishing the organizers. The threat was made by government officers promising to investigate the promoters of the protests. Given the fact that during the protests the police used real bullets besides the rubber bullets and tear gas to disperse the protesters (CIP 2010:3-4); the fact that the mobile networks were temporarily suspended, particularly the SMS services in 2010 (de Brito et al.

2014), some youth participants seems to believe that the government may attempt to hunt them. Perhaps that explains the resistance for some to participate in the study, or to identify themselves or either to record the interviews. However, those who accepted to be interviewed as a result of the rapport trusted the purpose of the research, and some saw it an opportunity to be heard. Additionally, their excitement while telling the stories, their body language, and their steady meditative look as if navigating through their memories of the events while responding, indicated to me that they had detached themselves from the fears of those threats. Thus, suggesting that they had been speaking truthfully from their memories, however, reproducing part of it that remained vivid perhaps due to the media reinforcement.

(ii)   Identification of the participants via labels

The interviewees accounted for participants in at least three moments. The first moment was very spontaneous, and one respondent mentioned that the participants were "those" who spend time in the *barracas* [at the drinking place] in Malhazine, and "those" who use to call passengers to enter in the *chapas,* called "*Mudjeiros*". He added that "those" were the ones who "profited" from the strikes. I had not used the term profit, nor I had asked who benefited from the protests, and the interview was not about winners and losers. However, in his memory it was about who profited and who did not. In the second moment after clarifying that the participants were mainly youth, I asked again about the main participants receiving a spontaneous answer that they were "*Moluvenes*". Fairly, it is the closest term to "Vandals" and "Outlaws" commonly used amongst them. Apparently they were reproducing the media categorization of the participants. However, in the third moment, after a deep consideration and my explanation of the "possible other protesting reasons" is when they started to see themselves and their parents as participants. I did not directly ask if they participated or not in those events.

(iii)   Individual dissociation from the events and the participants

The gross terms used to categorize the participants, and the negative framing of the events seems to have also impacted the youth's actions. Some of the interviewees initially demonstrated feelings of repulse against the participants in those protests, while separating themselves from them. Remarkably, they marked distance between "us" and "them" (Leudar et al. 2004) by calling the participants "those", following by characterizations perhaps enhanced by their imagination of what they are not. However, the group was composed of informal worker, low income private worker, a private company driver and one unemployed. All of them young and residents in the neighbourhoods. These attributes, however, foregone to them did not deserve much of their attention perhaps because it would rather bring them closer to "those" participants. The events as well were often narrated in such a partial way that they did not describe any form of protest as such, but a merely unjustified riot, or acts of criminals. Nevertheless, with a profound consideration of the events, its causes and the real participants, the interviewees reacted as if they had made a rediscovering trip to their past, exploring valuable meanings and achievements with the protests such that they reclaimed their places in the protests.

3.3 Brief analysis

This section draws some preliminary conclusions of the previous analysis about the main research question.

First, the newspaper analysis demonstrated that the youth were partially represented and muted, whereas, about the protests they were neglected, disguised and criminalised suggesting that they are victims of social exclusion. Even the privileged youth that benefited from media representation were mainly silenced giving the perception of 'absent presence' (Simpson 2001). The silencing alone or 'lack of voice' is 'political marginalisation' and fall into the category of 'social exclusion' (Kabeer 2006:69) that the youth are victims, even about the privileged youth. Moreover, about the majority of youth relegated to the fringe of society who protested, the media categorisation and framing not only muted them but also criminalised them. Thus, regardless of leading the protests, they were not acknowledged as such, or consulted, neither their concerns were represented.

Second, the analysis also shows that the protests were delegitimized by the negative framing and the "othering" of the youth participants through the categorisation in both newspapers. The categorization of the participants and the dominant media framing of the protest withdrew the meanings and the politics out of the protests, replacing it by acts of violence and crime. Consequently, given the power of the media over the audience's memory (Storey 2003:103), and the produced political effects the majority of the interviewed youth participants tended to reproduce the non-political media discourse as well as distancing themselves from the protests and the protesters regardless of their participation.

4 Going beyond peoples' representation

This chapter unwraps the youth dimension of the protests by first explaining that there were different immediate and deeper youth triggers that compelled different subgroups of youth to get involved in the protests. It also brings forth the idea that there may have been an overall politics distilled from the protests. So, the second subsection explores the politics of the protests under the headline of meanings of the protests. Finally, the third subsection makes an overall analysis.

4.1 Sub-groups of youth participants and their motives

The protests in both occasions became widely known as 'people's protests' (*protestos populares*), or 'riots' (*greves Gerais*), however, they were largely participated by the youth as demonstrated in the previous chapter. The protests were known as such because different demographic groups participated in the protests triggered by the price increase. Reasonably, the youth's accounts of the motives for people's participation revealed that the price increase impacted different people differently. For example, the adult males saw their breadwinning role become an impossible achievement; the women working as domestics in the central parts of the town saw the transport cost increase as unbearable given the low wages; most of the working youth felt that they got stuck in their life; teenage students felt the pressure of their parents, whereas most children got caught up by the mob when returning from school since the schools had to close early.

Moreover, the youth as the demographic group who participated massively in the protests, is internally very diverse and complex group comprising students, young parents, unemployed, formal and informal workers as well as highly and less educated groups. For instance, the complexity amongst these youth resides in the fact that some of these characteristics intersect in the same person. The low paid private workers may also be a student or parent, others may be both student and parents either married or single mothers. Additionally, the educated young men are either single or married, intersecting with being or not a parent and worker or not. Also, the unemployed, the informal worker, the student and teenager sometimes are the same person. Though, knowing the irrefutable fact that the price increase was the trigger of both protests, it becomes relevant to understand how it affected different identified groups of participants.

I will, therefore, focus this subsection on the accounts of the youth participants to unravel the subgroups amongst them and their specified motives. The list of the youth protesters includes and coincides with the following interviewed groups, whose status from the time of protests to date did not change much.

4.1.1 The Young Parents

The young **parents** formally or informally employed had been struggling to feed their children and wifes at the same time expecting an improvement in their incomes to get land, build and move to own houses. For example, a young man participant of a pre-organised FGD in Benfica who assumed to be one of the organizers and first starting the protests narrated their grievances pointing to job conditions and payment versus his parental obligations as his motive. During the 2008 protests, he was a young father and employed informally as a mechanic. After mentioning that his wage was largely spent on *chapa* said the following about that event:

> *"…many things happened in that day because to each one it was normal to eat just bread with nothing else: without curry or anything else for the dinner. It was just bread and water then sleep. So, people felt offended with the rise of bread because the monthly income never rises. Each day only fuel, this and that prices rise. It left us angry, mainly we the young people who often seat here because we do not work, and perhaps we earn something. When you arrive at home with a paper bag of bread, they say at least he managed to bring something. However, when that all "@#$%" happened,… I say for my own as I am a father and was a father at a young age, so I did not have that thing of having extra amount to buy rice, this and that. I use to rely on bread and tea and with that my little one perhaps use to feel better."* (25/July/2015)

Like him, some other young parents shared the same feeling. Though, others are those who share the same yard with their parents either in the same houses or a small appendant room in the backyard. With the price increase in some of the basic goods, some saw their limits reached while others saw their low saving capacity becoming even more limited or extinct. Those who had the dreams of getting land to build their house saw it being pushed further away particularly because all other prices tend to follow including land and building materials price.

4.1.2 The women

According to some **women** interviewed, mainly the single mothers who strive on a daily basis to feed and to provide for the schooling of their children are the ones who participated. Additionally, some others admitted their participation saying that they went to the streets in support of their husbands, or in support of the cause because, they said, the government should know that people are not happy with the price rise. They also mentioned that most of the women who are house helpers in the city come from these neighbourhoods, and the transport price rise touched them directly. Their intention was for the government to know what the people need. "*They should not just decide to raise the price like that, but they have to be considerate to the people*" (a woman said in informal FGD in Benfica). Other claims such as bad care in maternity hospitals, health care services and lack of security as well as living costs were also mentioned as women grievances.

4.1.3 The low-paid young workers

Some of the **low paid youth workers**, understand that it is not a matter of having or not having a job because everyone does something to live, but the

price increase was the unbearable situation. For example, in the FGD in Ferroviario the interviewees, in this category working for the private sector, said:

> *"It has nothing to see with being employed or unemployed because there is no one who does not do any job. The people may not even have an employment as such, like working in the state or a company, but they never stop, they always do something for 'ganha pão' (sustenance). Because even for those who work, the salary is little. Therefore, with the challenges that we have and the products that we consume being more expensive, life does not flow ('a vida nao anda'), life does not flow… it is more or less like that!*
>
> *What do you mean the life does not flow (a vida não anda)?* – I asked
>
> *For example, if I am the head of a family, with five or four people depending on me, or even better, on my salary. Moreover, if I have to pay for the children's school, pay for the 'chapa' and even having to buy the food, 'epha'* [wondering]*, the salary does not justify. From the instance that the prices go up, the salary does not justify, the salary does not justify".*

I then asked the lady if she shared the same feeling that people participated in the 'strike' because life could not flow. The lady agreed with no delay and explained:

> *"It is this way… if I have let's say 3000 Mts, I have done my calculations already. If I have three children that have to get transport* [to school]*, being 5Mts at that time, it makes 300Mts let's say for 30 days. I already know that it is 900Mts that I have to allocate from my salary to give to each one of my children to go to school. I already know that the bread that I regularly leave in fact costs 5Mts. Therefore, when it increases to 10Mts, the accounts does not match anymore…, because the amount that I have to leave now is about a thousand and something. If they were to raise the prices when the salary also rises then, it would have been something."*
>
> *[…].*
>
> [Then, the man added]. *The youth has the dream to build their homes, but with this challenges that we have the things gets unbearable. My wage is 3000Mts, but to remove something out of this amount to buy a land* [for house construction] *is very difficult.* (FGD Ferroviario, 18/July/2015)

In general, the young workers in the private sector expressed their concerns as the low wages, the delays in payments as well as mistreatments that they are victims in their jobs. Expressing their distresses they mentioned the trap in which they find themselves. On one hand, they started working to realize their visions of getting land to build their houses and leave the parents. Hence, arranging their paths to constituting their families. On the other hand, they found themselves working for very low wages, late payments, total control as well as the authority of the employers over the employees. For example, they mentioned that attempts to claim their rightful wages on time or its increase always resulted in failures followed by threats of taking the employees job. Many times these threats come with the expressions such as "*you can tell where you want, I do not care*", which intimidates the employees from the possibility of escalating their labour conflicts. However, their major grievances were the price increase contrasted with the static and low wages with which they are unable to materialise their plans.

4.1.4 The Young Students

The **students**, according to their accounts, participated mainly to express the grievances on behalf of their parents. Unlike the thought that they are separated from the real difficulties that their parents go through (e.g. 'peer-oriented' Lesko 1996:140), the young students are aware as they depend on their parent's wage to go to school. Also, they knew that their parents could not go to the streets because they could risk losing their jobs. They said that when the parents complain at home in a daily basis, and the young man is confronted with his impotence of getting any money because of lack of part-time jobs that could fit them, they feel unworthy and frustrated, thus being part of the 'social process' (Hammack 2010:175). For others, to whom their parents give some amount relatively higher than the cost of transport, they got angry because now they would not be able to have an extra for their snacks or to use for their fashion objects.

Furthermore, their concerns also extended to the various corruption experiences that they face, combined with the lack of hope to progress in life through their studies. For example, some of the young ladies revealed that many of their peers are giving up from school to find job solutions that do not depend on schooling. For them, they invest much time in studying but at the end there is no job opportunity, neither can they continue studying at university because they have no money or people to help them. It was mentioned more than once pointing to the strict barriers existing to impede new trainees for the accessing jobs, such as *"five years of working experience"* with some other courses; and the corruption to access job or universities as perceived and mentioned by some interviewees.

4.1.5 The Unemployed Youth

The group of **unemployed** youth was the majority in the protests, including the students and non-students and their frustrations cover a vast range of complaints. Amongst them, they talk about the prices, the lack of employment, the corruption about access to jobs, as they say, *"to have a godfather in the kitchen! If you do not have a godfather in the kitchen, there is no way for you to get a job. The only option you may have is to pay someone, which is referred to as 'better mesa'* (literally means to hit the table)*"* (Interview with an unemployed young woman 30/July/2015). Some would say things like *"we are unemployed and hungry, therefore, we better break out here and loot so that we can have what to eat even if for one day"* (FGD Ferroviário 18/July/2015). Others, however, intended to pass the message that they need job opportunities. As they said, they are aware of their skill levels difference as well as educational level differences. However, what they want is that each one according to their level of education or skills has a formal work opportunity to do and earn some money. The only thing they want is a job opportunity so that they can make their lives and have honour.

4.1.6 The Mudjeiros

The ***Mudjeiros*** is a term that was often used to refer to the people who stay at the bus stop to call passengers for quickly filling the semi-public transport. They are not employed, but because the semi-public transportation is a very informal activity whereby the driver picks his own *'cobrador'* (money

collector). Many times they pick one or another *mudjeiro* to work throughout the day as *cobrador*. However, with no formal contract. Often they are also called *Moluenes*, particularly because of their unruly behaviour. One of their main characteristics is having nothing to lose, such that they can be aggressive – other youth participants said. Despite the fact that personally I did not manage to talk to any of them while enquiring my interviewees about who started the violence or breakings, all blamed either *mudjeiros* or *Moluenes*. Since I did not manage to talk directly to any of the youth in this category, I may not clearly express their reasons to participate. However, my interviewees were unanimous to say that they participated with the only intention of looting as this is their lifestyle.

4.1.7 The Moluwenes

The **Moluwenes** stands for unemployed young people, who survive mainly by stealing and or by '*boladas*' (which means selling intermediation with profit by price differentiation including the stilling of small objects such as cell phones to sell). Apart from being unruly, the *Moluwenes* are also dangerous. Most of the times they stick around the main bus stops in the rush hours to still and snatch out wallets, purses and cell phones from passengers. They are very prone to violence and like *Mudjeiros* they have nothing to lose. They also got the blame for initiating lootings and breakings almost always considered in the very same box as *Mudjeiros*. However, during the analytical part of the interviews with my respondents, they also admitted that *Moluwenes* and *Mudjeiros* were such a small group of people amongst the multitude. Note that this observation did not deny to them the instigation or the breakings and looting but supported the fact that regardless of taking the initiative, the multitude also cooperated in the pillaging.

4.1.8 The Teenagers

The **teenagers** somehow were found in a comparable way to the children. However, most of the teenagers were self-motivated for the same reasons as the young students and unemployed. It is also worthy to mention that some of my informants emphasized the fact that there are many adult children around those neighbourhoods, such that one cannot underestimate them as children. "*You can look at a boy of around 10years old doing something like selling or begging and you think that he is doing it for himself, whereas not. He is doing that to provide for his younger siblings*" (said my key informants in one of the informal conversations at Ferroviario). Therefore, they also feel the pressing needs that come with the rise in the cost of living, and they find no representation neither protector.

4.1.9 The Educated Youth

The **young educated** also participated either passively by being there to watch and excite the participants, or actively partaken. Some of them went to observe, and then they got furious with the attitude of the police such that they decided also to join the confrontation against the police. In their accounts, the police came with violence shooting without asking what that people wanted, nor they tried to calm them. Therefore, combining the solidarity for the majority of the population with their frustrations, they mingled in the multitudes as they had no tag distinguishing them from the less educated people.

Conversely, others did not join despite their solidarity with the protesters and of "*considering the government as enemies*" (FGD Benfica July 25th, 2015). Because, in their opinion the government could do a bit more for improving people's living condition, but they do not. They did not join because of fear since "*the government is an oppressing government that tend to control the state workers*" (FGD Benfica July 25th, 2015, and state worker interview August 22nd, 2015). However, they do support the idea of public protests "*because it is the only way that the government respond to*" (*ibid*).

To summarise briefly, with the diverse range of participants there were also divergences on how the protest should be conducted, i.e. during the protests, but their aspirations were similar uniting them. As accounted by many, the youth's aspirations tend to be similarly identified as having a job that is fulfilling to the extent of they being able to have a place for living in tranquillity, getting married, having children and provide for their family in harmony. These aspirations speak for itself and is captured by the 'social reproduction' (Elson 2012) framework denoting the youth's strive for the 'generational continuity'(Huijsmans et al. 2014:168).

4.2 Meanings of the protests to the Young participants

To explore the meanings that the youth makes of the protests is perhaps worthy of starting by sharing their perceptions and feelings about solving problems. Here I will present three illustrations that support each other about the meanings they make of the violent protests. The first is an excerpt from an interview with an educated young man working to the state; the second in an episode lived during the field work in Ferroviário; and, the third is obtained from the narration of an aged man very linked to the party in power interviewed in Benfica neighbourhood.

4.2.1 Violent Protest as a Way of Crying

Starting with my first illustration, my interlocutor was talking about the many situations that had been happening before those events saying that people were already fed up with the number of atrocities. He mentioned that the bread price was just an excuse that people used to go to the streets as this also pushed many to their limits. Mentioning the protests in Egypt he differentiated from Mozambicans asserting that in Egypt the middle class organized, whereas in Mozambique the most affected are the ones who took the streets. Expressing his feelings regarding the violent protests in Mozambique, he said:

> '*What I felt was that it was fair for people to do that protest, whether with violence or diplomatically, but the idea is that people should participate; something had to be done. If it were possible I would have "participated openly"*[in original '*daria a minha cara*'] *but, first is that the regime does not allow because I am working for the State, and there is much confusion between being in the State and the political regime. In this case, somehow it may disturb my life and that of my dependants. […]. However, I even defend that if it is not to harm the people, but to resolve a problem, then…* [He rose his hands, waved his head opening wide his eyes with an expression of: …*be it!* However, he never finished the sentence. Moreover, he continued:] *it is that kind of politics which the philoso-*

phers say that any behaviour of a child is always in response to a need. Moreover, when a baby does not cry, often ends up not breastfeeding! Therefore, when a baby cries means that he is demanding for something that he/she cannot say. Thus, I think that... why is it that two days after the protest, our State reversed a bit?! It partially means that, when we use the means that we have to solve a problem, sometimes the way we resolve results in success.' (Interview, August 22nd, 2015).

As mentioned above, both workers and the unemployed youth felt the great necessity of doing something to improve their lives. The big obstacle that they faced was the lack of representation in the decision-making spheres on one hand and the lack of freedom of speech for the self-representation on the other hand. For the educated and employed youth like that man, this is translated regarding the lack of civic rights including lack of political freedom that together can be identified as lack of 'political opportunity'(McAdam 1996).

By lack of 'political opportunity', their perception is that neither the dialogue nor the other formal ways of expressing their complaints can result in their favour. A legal protest would imply a formal letter of notice to the police to acquire a consent and some police officer to monitor. In light of this knowledge that they share, some question their constitutional right to protest asking the legitimacy of this procedure. Others fear this procedure citing the example of the medical doctors' protest that resulted in nothing but their frustration through many threats and coercion. In this case, the educated youth were precise in mentioning the case of Jorge Arroz, the young President of Medical Association of Mozambique, saying that he was humiliated by the government, intimidated by police arrest, and later his part-time job taken. Thus, they conclude that the government tends to persecute and bring hardship on those who try to be protagonists. Nevertheless, they feel compelled to either support the protests or to participate undercover, to signal the existence of concerns just like a baby cries to express a need.

4.2.2 Violent Protests as a Response to Socio-Economic Suffocation

The second illustration supports the idea of a crying baby. However, it illustrates perhaps the day to day experiences of the low class and their feelings. The illustration captures the view of the marginalised low-class youth, as they find in informal *chapa* driving one of the best working alternatives for the less educated ones. Besides, the informal businesses, mainly dominated by street vending, or informal market vending of small products, is perhaps all that some of the poor people do to ensure the little possible inflow of money in their daily living. The illustration bellow may capture a glimpse of their daily drawbacks experience in the battle for improving their lives.

On July 17th, I was at the informal mini garage of my key informant in Ferroviario, and I had parked the car in front of that place a little ahead of the entrance that is the service area. A common "*chapa*" (of 18 seats) was there to be fixed the tire. When it was done, the driver came and entered the car, but before living he was continuously talking to the partner of my key informant. They were talking in changana, and I could not understand, as well as I was seated about 4meters from them. I noticed him pointing with his face to my car as they were talking. I understood that he was asking about that car and in the meantime he was being explained about what I was doing there. Then I

found myself there with them, and he was interested in talking to me and shedding some light to my research. I asked him about what he remembered of those events, and he was kind of disgusted with the government from the way he looked and was starting to explain himself. However, at that moment a car from the municipality police full of diverse small packaged food products and others behind and a municipal police officer there passed by us. He suddenly said to me:

> '*Do you see that! It is exactly that what made people go to the streets. Just look, those products are from people who are already poor and are looking for their daily bread. However, what they do is to come and take people's products because they do not have a ticket ("senha"). Often they do that, and even if the person goes there to claim for it, he will not find all the products because they take it for themselves. That is the same thing they do with chapas. Just think what can one do if, for every trip that you do, you have to pay them an amount, what do you earn at the end of the day! We only work for these guys, how come! Who can live with that? That is what you should write about. They do it every time. You should see it for yourself there at the market*'. (Chat with a Chapa driver on July 17th, 2015)

This man enlightened me by showing that despite their grievances as chapa drivers, they are also aware and are solidary with other oppressed groups. So, I realized that many times when they talk about living costs, they are referring to an infinity of economic atrocities, challenges, injustices and struggles that they cannot explain in simple terms, but they live it on a daily basis.

As for the illustration about the low educated, unemployed and informal workers men and women, the violent protest is primarily their reaction to the economic exclusion and oppression faced in very different ways. They are excluded already from the 'social reproduction' system that could produce the sensation of dignity, alternatively, they go for informal activities as 'social navigation' strategy being confronted with such forms of oppression. Thus, their reaction in violent protest is an expression of dissent as the authority plays an important role in their oppression. Moreover, their feelings extend from the direct oppression of the authority to the informal sellers and workers combining with the perception that the authority reinforces their social exclusion and oppression by favouring the private employers in cases of dispute with the low paid employee making them feel socio-economically 'suffocated'. Thus, they feel always in disadvantage such that formal channels of conflict solving are seldom trusted, mentioned or used. Consequently, their alternative tend to be expressing their outraged feelings in the form of violent protest involving a confrontation with the police as part of the oppressing regime.

4.2.3 Violent Protest as a Drama for a Louder Call

The third illustration reveals that these excluded groups find in the violent protests a way to signal their very existence. They attract the media attention, to express their distresses and get a response to their pressing needs from the higher authority. It is mainly because they find little or no representation in the spaces of decision-making. The neighbourhood secretaries represent the bottom level of the government's functional structure. However, these leaders may give the impression of ignoring the hopeless and the protestors as not be-

longing to their areas of influence. Thus, not voicing their complaints. Note that the unemployed youth and the poor tend to be the most oppressed and marginalized groups. As a result of not being represented, they try to find other ways of voicing their concerns making their crying louder.

For example, in Benfica one elder interviewed on July 10th, 2015 recounted a conflict between the young men and the neighbourhood's Secretary regarding the football playground that was to be used for another purpose. When the youth noticed that, they confronted the secretary in an angry manner to keep the playground. *"They threatened to call the television for covering their conflict story to gain the cause. They were very harsh, and the secretary became so furious",* he said. *"But if we see closely who those young people are, you will see that they are not from this neighbourhood! They are these youth that sell there at the market; they come from other neighbourhoods only to bring conflicts here."* (10th of July 2015).

This short episode informs how the youth no longer trust their immediate State's representative to protect their interests. Hence, exposing their cause for the public through the media, particularly the TV, as the way to attract attention and solidarity to their cause and making social pressure for the system to respond is often their alternative. In fact, the playground was kept, and they did not have to call the TV. Moreover, it is known within the context that for having access to the TV cameras the excluded groups have to make a considerable scandal attract the interest of the media. Otherwise, their complaints are rarely heard at the top levels of decision-making resulting in prejudice towards their problems. Consequently, to become more than just statistical numbers represented by gender, age groups and households, they find in scandals and violent protests the viable way to flag their very existence as people and appeal to their human rights.

Overall, the participants tend to believe that the only effective way for them to pass their message of dissatisfaction to the State and be responded to is by protesting violently. On one hand, the participants are not necessarily in favour of the looting and damaging properties, neither of suffering injuries or losing their lives, on the other hand, they share the opinion that only through violent protests they are responded. Besides, for them a protest is a form of expressing their feelings, and it has to be the way they feel it. Simultaneously, it is their only instrument of persuasion to the State.

4.3 A brief analysis

This chapter explored the sub-groups of youth participants and their respective motivations to protest followed by a navigation through the youth meanings for protesting violently. This section analyses the chapter briefly to make conclusions.

First, the various groups of participants revealed their frustrations about the price increase. However, their actual reason for frustration was also revealed as the 'lack of employment', the 'lack of fair wages', for those employed. Moreover, other reasons are the limited mobility across possible jobs, low social mobility in respect to career progression, and corruption related both to jobs access or career progression. These factors denote 'labour market failure' (Heintz 2008) and illustrates the generational discontinuity of the 'social reproduction' cycle (Elson 2012) as the youth are the most affected. Consequently,

because those youth are in 'time pressure', i.e. they orient their attitudes towards achieving certain goals in a specific time of their lives (see, Melucci 1996:7), they experience anxiety, despair and sometimes frustration. These frustrations are represented with the sensation of being stuck in life, as mentioned by an interviewee: '*the life does not flow…!*' In addition to that, as mentioned by the educated working youth who 'lacks political freedom' and 'political opportunity' highlighting the 'lack of freedom of speech' felt by all, justifies the violent protests by these socially excluded group.

Second, their perceived critical status of socio-economic and socio-political conditions requires the intervention of high-rank leader. Though, the perceived patrilineal state appear to be distracted such that the babies, have to cry loud for attracting the parents' attention for milking them. In other words, they protest violently to make themselves heard by the states, signalling the existence of concerns to be addressed, such as needs for the job, social justice, political freedom, etc. Conversely, the state is seen as a predator states who is responsible for keeping the youth politically 'excluded', oppressed and economically marginalised (see, Herrera 2012: 337) when those running the state are perceived as their enemies. Therefore, because the state is perceived as an oppressing youth and impeding the political freedom, the youth acted as 'wired generation'(Herrera 2012: 338) connecting amongst themselves through the existing meanings, SMS, migg33, TV, and others. In this case, the youth searches for solidarity steering the 'civic energy' (Biekart and Fowler 2012) to act together. Finally, they confront their common enemy signalling their existence and demanding for the restoration of the normal order. Accordingly, the normal order for them, as mentioned is '*each one according to their skill and level of education has dignity and should be able to work and provide for themselves*' (as mentioned by one unemployed protester), and the state has the obligation to ensure that.

5 Conclusion

This researched intended to investigate the youth dimension of the social protests in Mozambique by first, exploring the media representation of the protests; the youth in protests, and how they remember those events. Second, by unravelling the youth dimension of the social protests, investigating the different subgroups of youth participants and their specific grievances, as well as exploring the meanings that they attributed to the protests. The media representation analysis considered two different newspapers, *Jornal OPais* and *Jornal Noticias* in the two years of the most significant protests, 2008 and 2010 considering the representation of youth in protests and outside the protests. Furthermore, the analysis continued to the observational data from the field in combination with the interview data analysis in light of the social reproduction framework, concluding the following:

The media representation of the protests as well as the youth in protests in 2008 and 2010 failed to capture the intended meanings of the protests by the youth. First, the protests seem to have been organised and steered by the different subgroups of youth compelled by different grievances amongst them including the price rise. However, the media neglected the visibly massive youth participation, profiled them as a homogeneous socio-economic group, and camouflaged them as criminals through 'participant categorization' dissociating them from their identified socio-economic profile consequently discrediting them from possible claims. Moreover, through the negative framing of the protests, and the monopolised focalization among the media and the elites, the protests were delegitimized from the underlined intentions and depoliticized.

Second, contrary to the media representation of the participants as a homogeneous group of unemployed and vulnerable people, mainly youth, the youth participants was constituted by diverse subgroups of interest with distinct motivations. The group was composed by unemployed youth: students, informal workers, retailers, *Mudjeiros, Moluvenes*, etc., who wanted to claim for job opportunities, social justice and social inclusion, as well as those who were interested in looting. Employed youth: low paid private workers, who were interested in claiming for fair wages and labour conditions; fairly paid and highly educated state workers who wanted to claim for social mobility, civic rights and political freedom. However, the fact that they were silenced and criminalized left all these youth dimensions of the protests concealed.

Third, the youth participants as a socially excluded groups who find no other alternative of representation amongst the decision-making bodies found in the violent protests the only way to signal their existence, complaints and hunger. On one hand, the violent protest meant for them a cry for the state intervention as a baby cries for breastfeeding or attention to any other concern. On the other hand, it meant a pure confrontation as a revolt for the perceived state oppression for the poor and excluded. The third shared meaning reflecting a pure scandal to call the attention of the top leaders relates to the first and represent their disaffection for the immediate representatives.

Therefore, the violent protest of Maputo and Matola 2008 and 2010 while analysed through the eyes of the youth organizers and protesters allows the conclusion that: they were legitimate transcending the announced causes of

price rise; they had a political meaning as the only way to communicate to the states; and that the intended claims included but surpasses the 'social reproduction' idea.

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Appendices 1: List of the Interviewees

N	Interviewee description	Date	Type of interview	Number of interactions	Place
1	Print Shop (28yo)M	09/July	Joint conversation	1	Ferroviário
2	PrintShop (27yo)M	09/July	Joint conversation	1	Ferroviário
3	Mechanic (22yo)M	09/July	Joint conversation	1	Ferroviário
4	Multitasking, Shareholder of an informal garage (25yo)M	09/July 10/July 13/July 15/July …	Joint, one-on-one, FGD	More than 7times	Ferroviario
5	Elders from Neighbourhood (Frelimo)M	10/July 14/July	One-on-one	2	Benfica
6	Elders from Neighbourhood (Frelimo)NS	10/July	One-on-one, joint	2	Benfica
7	Youth Leader OJM (32yo)M	10/July 11/July 14/July 16/July	One-on-one, other encounters	4+	Benfica
8	Informal street vendor (33yo)M	10/July 15/July	joint	2	Benfica (flyover)
9	Street vendor, had been in SA (31yo)M	10/July 15/July	joint	2	Benfica (flyover)
10	Informal street vendor (28yo)F	15/July	joint	1	Benfica (flyover)
11	Shareholder of an informal garage (34yo)M	13/July	Joint, one-on-one	More than 5	Ferroviário
12	Zimpeto resident (Company Driver)M	13/July	Informal FGD	1	Benfica
13	São (Low income worker at private company)M	13/July	Informal FGD	1	Benfica
14	Inoque (Informal worker)M	13/July	Informal FGD	1	Benfica
15	Zola (Unemployed)M	13/July	Informal FGD	1	Benfica
16	Micol (DVD seller 29yo)M	13/July	One-on-one	2	Benfica

		16/July			
1 7	G(Private worker 28yo)M	18/July	FGD	1	Ferroviário
1 8	Ti (Private work-er)F	18/July	FGD, informal chat	2	Ferroviário
1 9	Mu (27yo wood seller)M	20/July	One-on-one	1	Benfica
2 0	Na (university student 23yo)M	25/July	FGD	1	Benfica
2 1	Ari (Worker student 33yo)M	25/July	FGD	1	Benfica
2 2	Cuna (mechanic worker, 29)M	25/July	FGD	1	Benfica
2 3	Cend (state worker, with Honor degree, 33yo)M	12/July 25/July	FGD, informal chat	2	Benfica
2 4	Gina (unem-ployed mother 34yo)F	30/July	Joint interview	1	Benfica
2 5	Tima (unemployed 32y0)F	30/July	One-on-one	1	Benfica
2 6	Ru (University student 20yo)F	30/July	One-on-one	1	Benfica
2 7	Quit (Salon Owner 21yo)F	31/July	One-on-one	1	Ferroviário
2 8	Ai (Student Mar-ried 18yo)F,	31/July	Joint	1	Ferroviário
2 9	Cia (Student sin-gle Mother, SN 20yo),F	31/July	Joint	1	Ferroviário
3 0	Mi (Student 20yo)F	31/July	Joint	1	Ferroviário
3 1	Sr. Ot (State em-ployee, honor degree, 35yo)	22/August	One-on-one	1	Benfica
3 2	Government official (Youth Representa-tive– Ministry of Youth)	24/July	One-on-one	1	Government Office

Appendices 2: Detailed Methodology Plan

Detailed Methodological plan

As my research focus on past events and intend to pursue the general feelings of the young people that led them to engage in protests, such as desire, frustrations and hungers in relation to the past before 2008 or 2010, as well as anxiety for the future aspirations, it will adopt ethnographic approach. The adoption of ethnographic approach intends to build rapport with the potential informants in order to gain their trust for freely talking about their participation in those events. In this context, I will hang out with them engaging in their conversations and different setups. I found this as the best approach to have them opening up because of the sensitive nature of those protests. Since threats of founding the organizers of the protests were issued immediately after the event of 2010, people feared to assume their involvement and sometimes even to talk about them. That is why I consider ethnographic approach a viable scientific approach to allow me to have proximity with the researched and involvement with them in order to learn about the events from their perspective.

Additionally, ethnographic approach may allow me to capture meanings of youth daily life, their processes of decision making and explanations on the reasons for such decisions during the time of establishing the rapport, which will allow a well informed in-depth interview. Moreover, through this approach, the participant observation may shed a light on what these young citizens go through in their life style: challenges, difficulties, victories and other circumstances that influence their everyday life choices. All this aspects will allow further understanding of the possible relations with the protests, in a way that the present situations may give room to ask about the past and establish relations. Through these observations and through informal unstructured interviews, I hope to capture more of their jargons and idiomatic expressions that inform their ideologies and logics of decision making. These aspects may play an important role on explaining their motivation to engage in protest, whether it were social aspects such as violations of moral codes and ethics, or other aspects that may be embedded in their language codes, and playing very important role in their decision making process. Their perceptions of the society, the economy and the policies in place as well as it's relations with the youth, opportunities and opportunity blockages will be deepened while conducting the semi-structured interviews.

Activity	June	July					August			
	Week1	Week2	Week3	Week4	Week5	Week6	Week7	Week8	Week9	
Bureaucratic matters	🟥									
News paper search/analysis										

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Partic-ipant Ob-servation		■	■							
S-st. interviews with youth		■	■							
FGD			■	■						
S-st. Int. Policy Makers				■	■					
Tran-scriptions		■	■	■	■	■				
Data Analysis		■	■	■	■	■	■	■		
Writ-ing the findings		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

1ˢᵗ week:

- Bureaucratic matters: taking the credential to be stamped by the municipality;
- Do the first visits (recognition visit) to the neighbourhoods;
- Sign the news for accessing the on-line database (OPaís)
- Start searching the news directly related to the riots/protests and youth in general to see how they are depicted and with what are they associated. For this search I will use the following key words in portugues as the official language in the country:
  - *Greve* (strike)
  - *Manifestações* (Demonstrations)
  - *Protestos* (Protests)
  - *Conflitos sociais* (Social conflicts)
  - *Tumultos* (
  - *Agitação social* (Social agitation)
  - *Confrontos* (Confronts)
  - *Barricadas* (Barricades)
  - *Jovens* (Young/youth)
  - *Juventude* (Youth)
  - *Adolescents* (teenagers)
- Together with the selection of material I will organize the main attributes used to characterize the events and the participants in comprehensive tables to allow visibility of labels attributed both to the events and to the youth;

- Analysis will continue in the second week (one full day); Priority will be given to the in-depth analysis of the selected texts, using the media text analysis of: Categorization, framing and focalization. With this methodology the intentions are:
  - to visualise the **categories** created by the media and government officials;
  - The **framing** will allow me to visualise how the protesters were portrayed by the media;
  - **Focalization** will illustrate through which perspective the events were narrated by the written media (whose voice was heard and given attention to? Possibly giving an explanation of "why")
- Other texts will both supply supporting details, additional information (relevant photos for the FGD), as well as some basic analysis of how youth has been represented in the media, or with what youth has been associated in the moments before the protests, and how the protest were labeled.

Week 2

- Start by visiting the neighbourhoods and introducing myself "with the credential" to the gate keepers (local chiefs/government representatives at the level of neighbourhoods) Both in Benfica and Ferroviarário.
  - Going to one in the morning and another in the afternoon.

Participant Observation:

- Relevant Material:
  - Notebook;
  - Pen and pencil;
  - Voice recorder (optional for the first days, but will need after the first 3 days to record possible agreed interviews);
  - Camera (optional)
- Multisite visits:
  - I may decide to alternate my visits in a daily basis or between morning and afternoon;
  - In each of the two neighbourhoods I will spend time in residential sites and in public or crowded places (such as bus stops, informal markets and other specific places of youth concentration during the day light). Since the events started in these public places, it may be relevant to understand the dynamics of interactions between the youth in these places. Moreover, those are the places where they share knowledge and where they may feel more confident on themselves since in public setup they

may feel unidentifiable thus expressing their freedoms with less fear of repression. I will also observe youth in the residential sites because this way I may have a balance between the public and private life);

- o I will try to make friends either from the public places or from the residential sites, to whom I will focus my observation. To these and to the potential interviewees I will clearly introduce my research objectives and ask for their **oral consent** for participation. With these informants I will try to spend more time and through them get involved in their circles of influence;

Semi-Structured Interviews with youth:

- Selection Criteria:
  - o I will identify potential interviewees through those circles and when allowed I will schedule interview with each;
  - o Some of the interviewees may also be invited to participate in the FGD. But being interviewed does not mean automatic qualification to participate in the FGD. This can be mixed between interviewed and not interviewed people alongside key informants;
  - o By key informants I mean first the ones to whom I will be directly linked and introduced in their circles, mainly youth with middle education or even low education operating in the informal market. Second, are those whose contacts and links will be established through my friends. I expect that the second group will be composed mainly by educated young people, and it is possible that they are now well employed in the formal sector. Besides those, I am making effort to identify and link with a third group of young people who are linked to the youth parliament. This parliament is not linked to the political party in power and I do not have information whether they are linked to any party, or if it is an independent youth organisation. But I am aware that they have some notable impact and voice. From this organisation, I am interested in youth who live in the outskirt of the city. My assumption is that these may have a better understanding or share a clear political view of the events.
  - o Despite the different possibilities of finding the interviewees, the selection criteria to be adopted will be purposive sampling in order to ensure representatives of different perspectives.
- Material needed:
  - o Notebook
  - o Pen and pencil (for notes)
  - o Voice recorder
- Main Questions:

- o Biographical data (age, sex, residence_____ since____, Name [optional])
- o Description of the event
  - Organizational wise
  - Actions of the protesters (what, where, when),
  - People involved (groups and distinct characteristics of the groups)
  - Aspects of unity (slogans, topics of discussions, motives mentioned)
  - Aspects of disunity (disagreements, non consensual issues, group conflicts…?)
- o Analytical considerations
  - Personal involvement (how)
  - Reasons/ explanations (why, what claims, what grievances, what specific for the youth, personal motivations, shared collective thoughts [a priori, during or after]);
  - Feelings involved (what feelings, in relation to what: exploring aspirations, anxieties, desires, frustrations, hungers);
  - Exploring meanings (in relation to reasons vs feelings; implications of the reasons; orientation of such implications [towards future; retaliations]);
  - Exploring the results (any follow up; reactions to the policies; evaluation of conditions post protests)
  - What feelings involved?
  - What is next?

Focus Group Discussion

- Material
  - o For the First FGD (FGD1)
    - Newspaper clippings of the news reporting the events
    - Prints of newspaper photos of the events
    - Voice recorder
    - Notebook
    - Pen and pencil
  - o For the second FGD (FGD2)
    - Flip chart,
    - Markers (four colours)
    - Buttons of two different colours to differentiate gender in the matrix
    - And the items listed for the FGD1
- Selection of Participants

- As I proposed in my methodological section, I will conduct at least two FGD, whereby one is spontaneous and therefore more homogeneous; another is relatively more organized in a specific setup. The spontaneous FGD may take a place in one of the public places such informal market and I may not have control over the selection of the participants. However, I will decide with whom to start, naturally youth above 20 years hold because during the 2010 events they may have been 15 years hold and above, therefore considered to be youth at that time. The second FGD, I expect to organize with selected youth participants in order to have representation of the various groups of the event's participants. The selection criteria will continue to be purposive sampling as a way to ensure that the majority of the sub-groups identified as participants in those events are represented. I aim for a group of five to ten people as the literature suggests being ideal (…).

- Method: Participatory Relaxed Appraisal (PRA)
  - **FGD1, Photo view and discussion**
    - This method will be used mainly for the spontaneous FGD which I will call FGD1. It will consist in presenting the newspaper clipping or photo printing to the selected audience and from that ask for their comments. The alternation between the newspaper clipping or photo printing will depend on different factors such as literacy level of the participants, their availability of time for reading and discussing and possibility of concentration to read and understand. Therefore, despite the preference for newspaper clipping given the fact that it includes narrations of the events which for instance would revive quickly their memories of the event steering their emotions, it is more likely that I may use the photos.
    - I will start by requesting them to recall from their memories what they will see in the photos, and narrate what they remember. Once that explained, I will hand over the photos and observe their bodily expressions, listen to their talks and observe their emotions, which will all be noted down as observational data. This includes their reactions, expressions, and factual narrations (such as individual or group stories that they may tell out of emotions caused by the photos). Furthermore I may ask for the clarifications of the uncommon verbal expressions as well as some known to me to find out about their intended meanings.

- Following the meanings and few clarifications, I will ask them to tell me the full story of what happened as they remember. During this process I will have to pay close attention to their narration taking notes of the sequence of the events as well as the key/highlighted factors. As we continue with their narration, I will interfere as minimum as possible to clarify what happened, where and by whom (the actors).
- Their narration of the facts will be a clear indication that they participated in the events they narrate. Thurs it will not be necessary to ask them the direct threatening and unethical question whether they participated or not given the sensitivity of the events. I am also considering the fact that rather than identifying the participants as such which could pose a threat to them and cause them to avoid further contact with me, I will focus on having clear narrations which for instance may be an indication of understanding of the events. Following that exercise of discussion with the intention to reconstruct the events, I will question about the causes of those events.
- **Reflexions**
- Overall, I will inquire about the possible causes of those protests in their views. In spite of this being an indirect question to their individual perception, it is an entrance that may possibly raise very general causes as they remember, perhaps from the news. So, following the general causes that they may provide, I will ask about the motivations for youth participation. As this may require individual introspection and the ground will be prepared to share personal concerns, I expect that they will talk using themselves as reference. This also implies that they may express their words with emotions that may demand more attention and sensitivity from me as researcher. Moreover, this last question that can be discussed with other probing questions is the most important question as it feeds directly to my research question number one. Therefore, this question will deserve a careful reflexion with the participants.
- FGD2, Matrix Constraints vs Responsibilities
  - This method will start and follow the same procedures as the FGD1 however, with few important differences. The differences will consist in the fact that first, this FGD2 will happen in an organised place with a closed

group of people who may agree to spend specific number of hours (estimate 2hous). Second, given the specific setup which will be relatively quiet, we may use one or two newspaper clipping instead of photos. Third, I may request one of the participants to take notes on the flip chart as they discuss. On this method three moments will be crucial for the observation purpose. The first is the moment of reading the newspapers; the second is the moment of constructing the matrix of constraints/grievances and responsibilities, where I expect them not only to share why they (youth) protested, but also who do they hold as responsible for each of the complains; the third moment will be a discussion of possible solutions that they would propose to solve the identified problems. This third moment is crucial to analyse the policies adopted in relation to the youth aspiration and whether the policies were considered satisfactory to the youth or not in response to the second research question.

- As the three important moments of this method are relatively clear, I may explain the second moment which consists in one instrument of data collection named Matrix of Problems and Responsibilities. The instrument is one variation of 'participatory diagramming' (kesby, 2000) and consists in two axis (one vertical, another horizontal) from which a table will be drown. The axis are named either Problems to the vertical, whereby a list of grievances or problems identified as causes of the protests will be listed, and responsibilities to the horizontal axis, where they will identify the entities who are responsible to solve the problems identified. After the construction of the matrix, they will be called to rate the problems/grievances according to the importance each of them gives that specific grievance, corresponding their rating with the respective entity they found to be responsible to solve that specific problem. Following the ranking to order in terms of priority given by youth themselves, it follows with some reflexions whether the diagram and the rank express their view as a group. Finally, I will request for their ideological solutions and how could they be implemented.

Semi-structured interview with policy makers:

- Material
  - Voice recorder
  - Notebook
  - Pen and/or pencil
- Selection of participants
  - Given the fact that accessibility of politicians and people on power is an issue, and that the available time for research is limited, I will purposively target those who may have been involved in drawing policies to respond to the events whom I may have easy access through my work colleagues and friends as gate keepers. In this context I am targeting some university lecturers who also happen to be government advisors.
  - However, I may submit ISS credential to the Ministry of Youth and Sports requesting an interview with a policy officer who may have been there since at least the year 2010. Interviewing someone in authority from the Ministry of Youth and Sports is very important because this is the official body of the Government that is supposed to represent the voice of youth. In this case I may not have the power to choose who to interview. In addition to the credential, I will ask among my contacts for any possible indications of known people from that ministry. Nevertheless, the most important on interviewing people from this Ministry is to get clarity in relation to consultation of youth, (whether there was or not, and how, how are they reflected on the policies adopted).
- Interview guide
  - Biographical data:
    - Personal identification (name; function/department; responsibility; involvement in the ministry since?)
  - General Overview – interrelations and Government shared views:
    - Functional identification (what; responsibility during 2010; explanation of linkages with other existing departments within the ministry and beyond with the other ministries; link/relation with policies);
    - Personal view/experience of the 2008 and 2010 protests (explanations, identified causes, processes of identification/how were the causes identifies);
    - Awareness of youth massive participation (how does it reflect on the identified causes of the protests? Personal feelings and interpretations in relation to identified causes vs participants; would there be different motivations for the youth participation rather than the ones identified?)

- o Analytical questions:
    - Youth involvement/consultation (were there attempts to inquire the youth about there motivations to participate in the protests? How were the process conducted? Where? How were the youth selected to participate in the consultation meeting? Who was consulted, who not? Why? How many meetings do the consultation required? [was it short noticed; informed in advance in relation to the topics, agendas etc.. What were the topics is so?] Are there some minutes from the meetings that can be accessed? Possible access, request permission). Despite the fact that some of the questions risen here are very peculiar for the people at the Ministry of Youth and Sport, the overall questions in this paragraph/ bullet point are crucial for accessing the generational blindness of the policies adopted after the event of 2010.
    - Reflections of youth concerns in the policies (how were the youth concerns reflected on the policies drown in response to the protests? What specific policies reflect what concerns? Are the youth satisfied with the policy responses adopted? How is it known? What other mechanisms are available for the youth to express their concerns?
    - Impact of the policies on youth (did the policies accommodated the youth interests? How does the specific policies resolve the concerns of the youth? How does the situation of the youth changed with the implementation of those policies?