

INCLUSÃO

JUSTIÇA, JUVENTUDE E DIVERSIDADE



Contributions from over 1500 youth from Maputo, Sofala and Nampula for the Inclusive National Dialogue

Maputo, 16 th December de 2025

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Title: Contributions from over 1500 youth from Maputo, Sofala and Nampula for the Inclusive National Dialogue

Authors: Anésio Manhiça, Jonathan Nhancale, Isabel Mbofana & Eugênio Gazite

Youth collectors involved in data collection and systematization: #GeraçãoSolução, Influencers da Coesão Social, Rede Elas Nos Medias, BeFriendly, Empreender Com Orgulho & Economias do Índico

Assistants: Ermelinda Cossa, Chald Cuambe, Ámina Mavuie, Richete Xiranda, Anderson Maduna, Nélia Siteo & Fernando Massinga Jr.

Statician: Gabriel Tembe

Photographs: Alberto Matola

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Contact: comunicacao@inclusaomoz.org | a.manhica@inclusaomoz.org | Jonathan.nhancale@gmail.com



The youth contributions to the DNI were publicly presented and formally submitted to COTE on 18 December 2025, as illustrated in the images.

Prior to this, on 16 December 2025, the same contributions were presented in detail at a press conference held in the city of Maputo, reinforcing the youth's commitment to a transparent, inclusive, and participatory process.

1. Introduction

In the context of implementing the Inclusive National Dialogue (DNI) and considering the constraints related to the effective and representative participation of youth diversity in this process, the Association for the Promotion of Social Inclusion of Youth and Diversity in Mozambique, abbreviated as (INCLUSÃO), a civil society organization created and led by youth, developed a set of strategic interventions aimed at reinforcing information and capacity building for youth regarding the DNI, its objectives, and respective civic participation mechanisms. Simultaneously, systematic data collection actions were conducted to identify the main demands, perceptions, and expectations for social change expressed by youth regarding the expected outcomes of the dialogue process.

This document aims to analyze youth perception regarding the Inclusive National Dialogue, as well as to systematize and interpret the main demands and expectations for social, political, and economic transformations that young people consider priorities and capable of being addressed within the scope of this national process.

The presented analysis is based on empirical data collected through qualitative and quantitative methodologies, resulting from in-person interactions conducted in the provinces of Maputo, Sofala, and Nampula. Data collection occurred within the framework of community consultation processes led by the Technical Commission of the Inclusive National Dialogue (COTE), complemented by the conduct of workshops, structured surveys, participatory workshops, and conferences, between the months of October and December 2025.

This document begins by contextualizing the Inclusive National Dialogue (DNI), describing the framework in which the process takes place, youth perceptions regarding the DNI, and the methodologies used for the collection, systematization, and analysis of youth contributions. Subsequently, the main contributions of a constitutional nature are presented in a detailed and analytical manner, followed by the presentation of contributions related to the governance process. Finally, the document concludes with an analytical note on the mechanisms to consider to ensure the effective inclusion of youth diversity, in order to guarantee that the Inclusive National Dialogue consolidates itself as a genuinely participatory, representative, and inclusive process.

2. Methodology

The DNI takes place in a context marked by high levels of distrust among youth and citizens in general regarding the Government's capacity and willingness to respond effectively to the problems affecting the population. This distrust is particularly pronounced regarding the effectiveness of the DNI process itself, especially its ability to address the concerns of communities

that were at the forefront of recent demonstrations and protests, as shown in one of the interventions:

"I don't have much belief in the credibility of the (DNI) process. We have seen dialogues that later did not result in major changes. Even the militarized party reached agreements that were later not fulfilled. Now, me, a young person who only trusts in protesting, I have no weapons. Will I really be heard? I am not participating in this process with faith that something will change, but I am participating, indeed, to have a basis for, in the future, making a complaint. (...) To have information about the dialogue (launch), I had to beg people from FRELIMO. So, I will participate (in the consultations). I don't want to complain based on emotion, I want to complain with a basis. I want to prove this" (Intervention by an Activist and Leader of an LGBTQIA+ Organization, 14.10.25).¹

Despite this widespread skepticism, youth show willingness to participate in the process. This disposition, however, is not based on the conviction that their voices will be immediately considered in decision-making mechanisms. On the contrary, young people demonstrate reservations regarding the degree of real inclusion of their opinions. Nevertheless, they see participation in the DNI as a strategic opportunity to closely monitor the process, understand its functioning, and build an information base that, in the future, will allow them to make claims with greater propriety, legitimacy, and knowledge.

In this sense, the motivation for participating in the DNI is less associated with the expectation of direct and immediate influence and more oriented towards strengthening critical capacity and civic intervention in the medium and long term. This is a conscious and pragmatic positioning, which underscores the centrality of information and knowledge as instruments of active citizenship and social pressure.

Additionally, young people highlight as a motivating factor the potential of decentralizing the DNI, emphasizing that the current process represents a break from previous models, characterized by essentially bilateral and centralized approaches. Some participants call for a constructive stance, discouraging premature criticism and promoting a more optimistic reading of the current moment. This reading recognizes the fact that dialogue activities are taking place in spaces and with interlocutors historically little considered in political dialogue processes.

The decentralization of the dialogue is thus perceived as an unprecedented opportunity to broaden participation and make the process more inclusive and representative. Instead of adopting a victimized posture, young people argue that citizens should appropriate this new space to influence

¹INCLUSÃO Newsletter No.1: : <https://www.inclusaomoz.org/publicacoes/participar-para-exigir>

agendas, strengthen inclusion from community bases, and contribute to consolidating the legitimacy of the process, anchored in closer and more effective community participation.

Although the Inclusive National Dialogue (DNI) has been addressed by various media outlets and framed as a topic of national debate, the available information about the process has proven to be still limited, not very accessible, and insufficiently attractive to mobilize the participation of citizens not affiliated with political parties and without a history of activism or involvement in civic citizenship actions. This reality is confirmed by data collected from respondents in mid-November, of which the majority, 54.08%, declared having no knowledge or clear information about the progress of the DNI, as illustrated in the chart below.

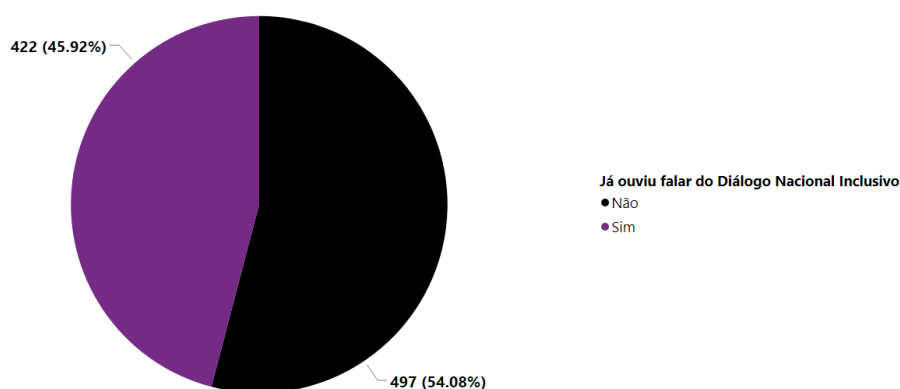


Figure 1: Youth with and without informing about DNI

Given the limitations identified in access to information about the Inclusive National Dialogue (DNI), and driven by the interest in promoting a more conscious and informed involvement of youth, both as monitors of the process and as active participants in formulating contributions, it was decided to adopt a combined methodological approach. This approach aimed, on one hand, to reinforce the dissemination of information about the DNI and, on the other, to ensure the systematic collection of youth demands, perceptions, and contributions.

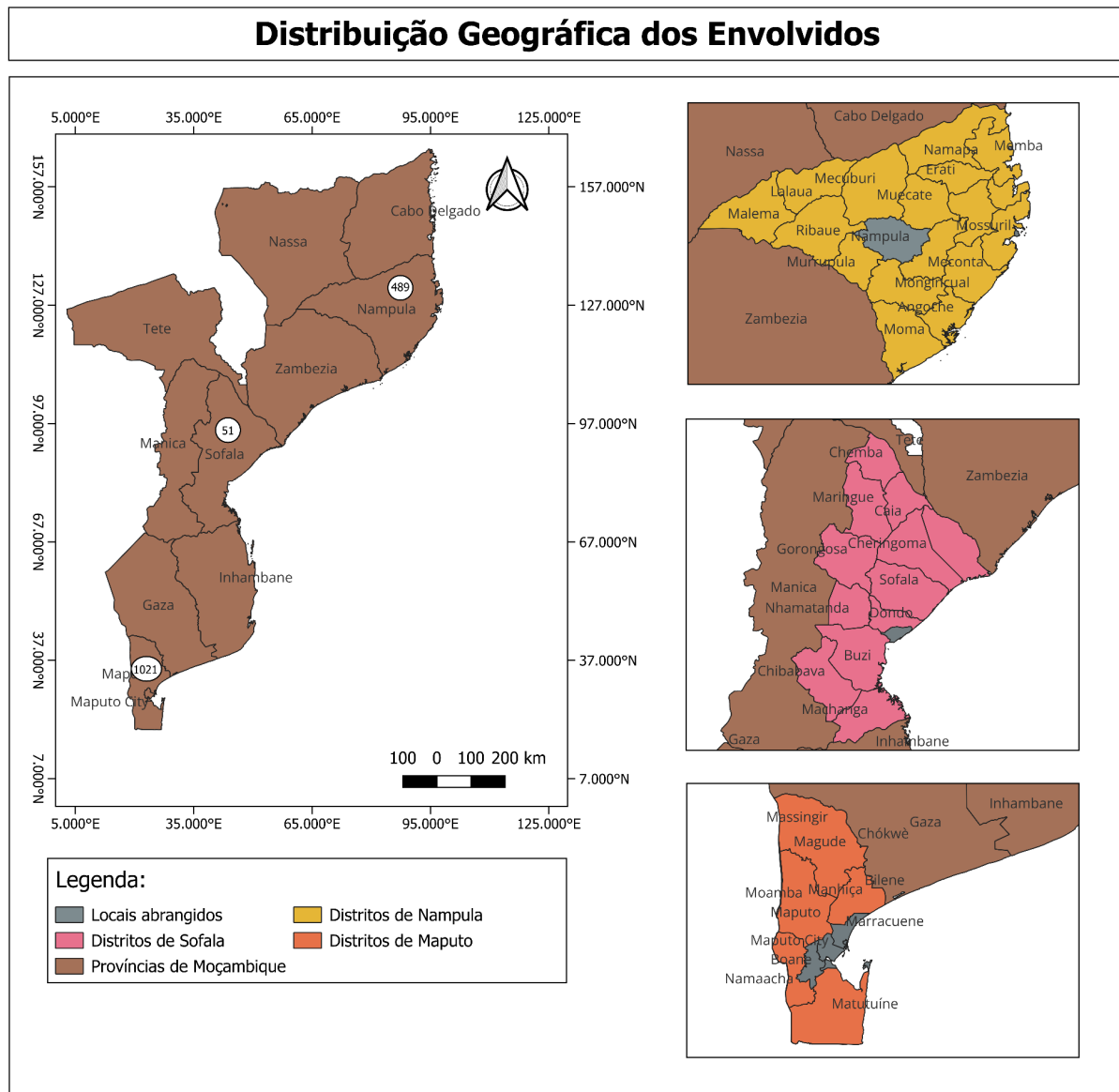


Figure 2: Map of data collection locations

Within this framework, two (2) conferences, seven (7+) participatory workshops, and one (1) survey were conducted in the provinces of Maputo (Province and City), Nampula, and Sofala as illustrated in the map above, involving a total of 1561 participants as shown in the figure below.



Figura 3: Total participants

2.1. Conferences

Within the scope of this process, two (2) conferences were held as methodologies for collecting youth contributions. The first focused on constitutional matters, with emphasis on political, electoral, and legal aspects. The second focused on governance issues, with particular attention to youth participation in economic and governance processes. These conferences took place in November and December, respectively.



Image 1: Conference under the theme "The Power of Youth in Times of Crisis - Agencies of Social Mobilization and Transformation"

These events were held in the Municipality of Nampula City and involved a total of 368 participants, of whom 57% were men. Of the total participants, 91.85% were under 35 years old, 5.43% identified as LGBTI+ people, and 3.53% were people with disabilities, as illustrated in the figure below.

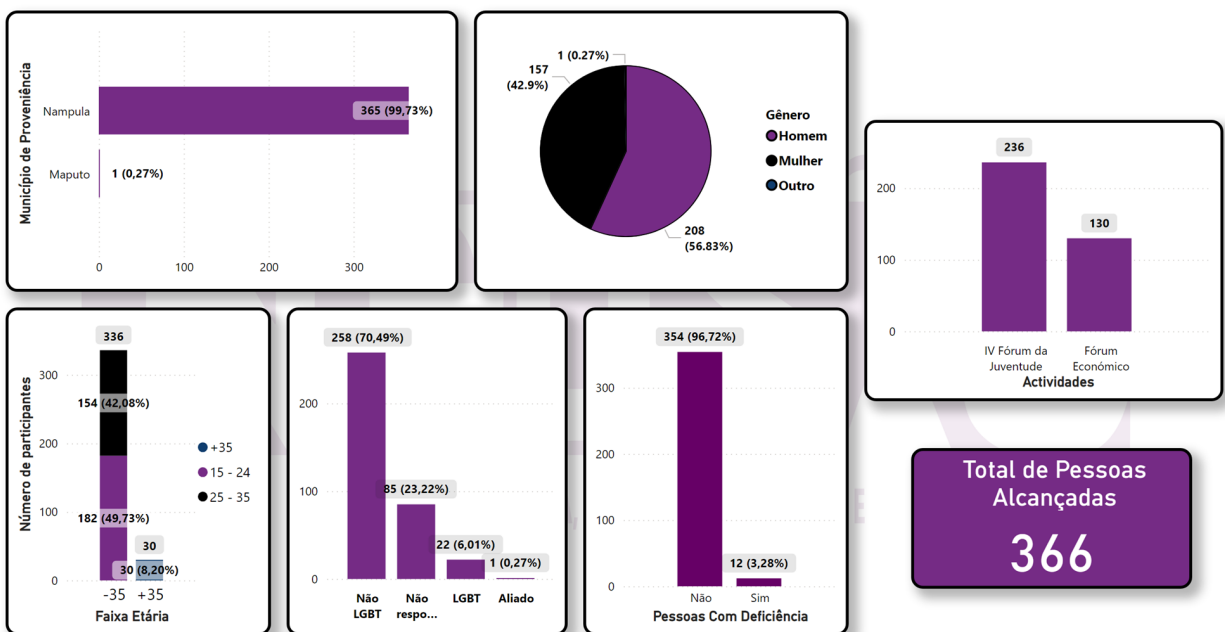


Figure 4: Conference participants

2.2. Workshops

The workshops were held in Beira City, Maputo City, Nampula City, and Ilha de Moçambique. The sessions began with an information component about the Inclusive National Dialogue (DNI) and the respective participation mechanisms, culminating in the collection of different youth demands and contributions for the DNI.

These workshops took place both in informal community spaces and in closed rooms, to ensure greater inclusion and suitability to different local contexts.



Image 2: DNI workshops in Mutauanha, Nampula

The workshops involved a total of 151 participants, of whom 33.11% were from Nampula, 25.17% from Beira City, 23.18% from Maputo City, and 11.92% from Ilha de Moçambique.



Figure 5: Workshop participants

Within the scope of the workshops, 23.18% of participants identified as LGBTI+ people, 9.93% declared themselves allies of the LGBTI+ cause, and 3.31% were people with disabilities. In terms of age, 91% of participants were under 35 years old.

2.3. Surveys

The survey was conducted with a greater tendency in Maputo, Matola, and Nampula, in these spaces involving 41.86%, 36.11%, and 5.36% respectively.

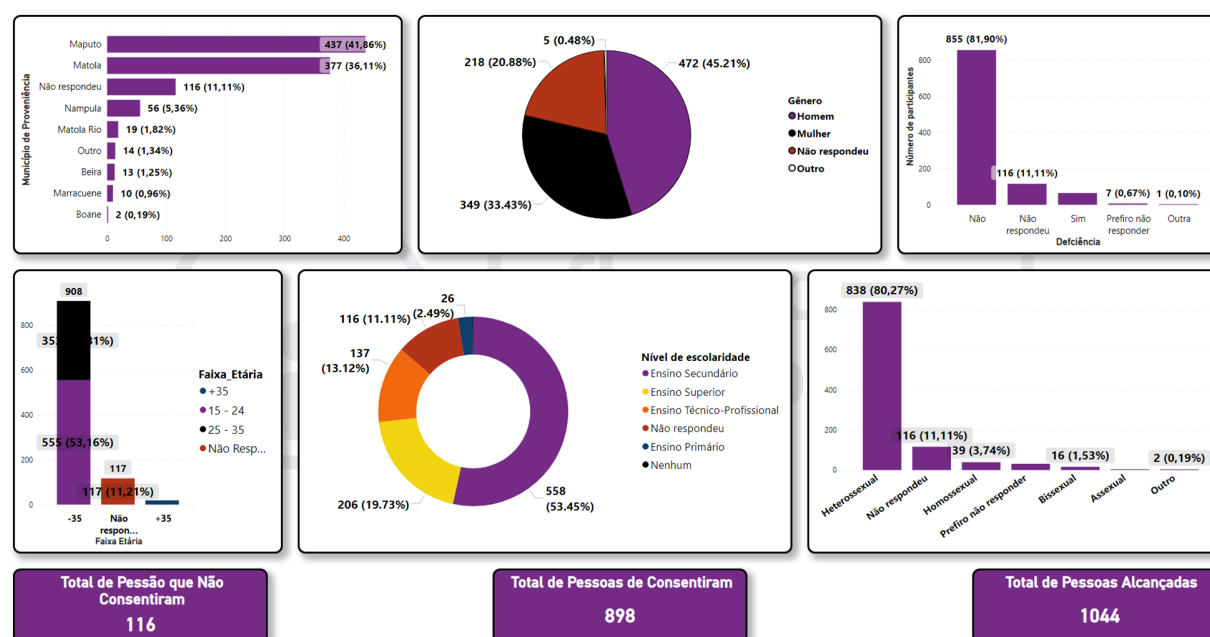


Figure 6: Survey participants

Youth demonstrate and express concrete and visible changes, materialized in constitutional and governance processes. Among survey participants, 78% expressed a desire for constitutional changes and, on the other hand, 83.42% showed interest in greater changes in governance processes, as illustrated in the figures below.

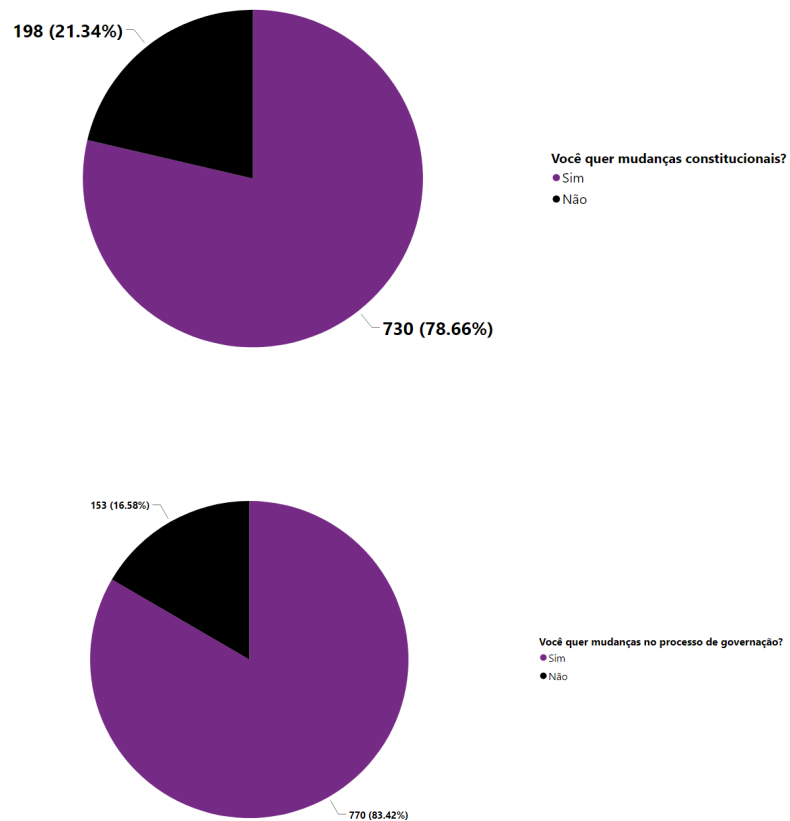


Figure 7: Participants who aspire to constitutional and governance changes

The three main priorities for youth focus on issues related to employment and economic opportunities, followed by the improvement of public services and access to formal and vocational education.

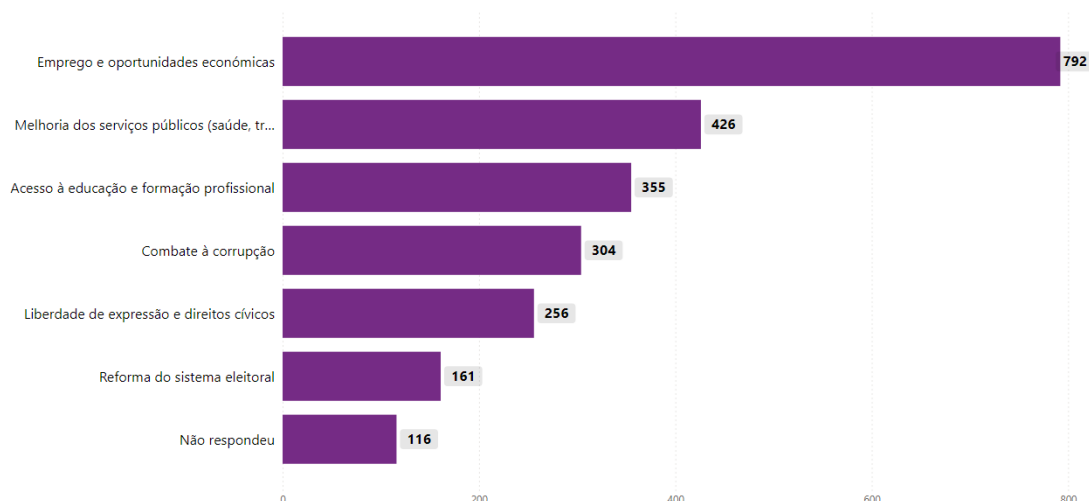


Figure 8: Main current demands of Mozambican youth in 2025

3. Constitutional and governmental recommendations

3.1. Adoption of the age-zebra list model, guaranteeing the mandatory alternation between candidates under 35 years old and over 35 years old on candidate lists for municipal, provincial bodies, and the Assembly of the Republic. This measure aims to ensure the effective and balanced participation of youth in political decision-making spaces, promoting generational inclusion and the principle of democratic representativeness. The institutionalization of the age-zebra list will allow young people to no longer be just voters or political mobilizers, becoming active actors in the formulation of public policies, with a voice and decision-making power over matters that directly affect their lives, such as education, employment, housing, health, and innovation.

3.2. Reduction of the appointment powers of the President of the Republic, in order to guarantee the effective separation of powers, preventing the Head of State from directly appointing the Rectors of public Universities, the Presidents of Courts, and the Attorney General of the Republic. The process will pass through more participatory mechanisms with greater influence from the collectives themselves. Positions will be chosen in a more technical manner and less subject to political interests.

3.3. Granting of amnesty for citizens detained in the post-electoral context in situations of protest and support for the families of victims of post-electoral demonstrations, provided that the imputed acts are associated with the exercise of the right to protest and do not involve serious crimes. This measure recognizes that, during the post-electoral period, many young people were arrested under strange, disproportionate, or unclear circumstances, resulting from overly

securitized approaches. The amnesty represents a concrete opportunity for social pacification, national reconciliation, and reinforcement of the Rule of Law, avoiding the criminalization of youth civic participation and allowing the social, educational, and professional reintegration of affected youth.

3.4. Implementation of technical-professional policies and programs for the real integration of youth into the labor market, that is, policies and programs oriented towards the real needs of the labor market, through the implementation of short, medium, and long-term training programs, articulated with internships, on-the-job learning, and partnerships between the State, the private sector, and civil society, with priority given to areas of greater social and economic inequality. This reform must ensure the institutionalization of the effective integration of youth into the labor market, promoting technical, digital, entrepreneurial, and transversal skills, facilitating the school-to-work transition, reducing youth unemployment, and combating poverty, as a central factor of social exclusion and insecurity.

This reform must ensure, clearly and consistently, that students who complete secondary education acquire technical, professional, and behavioral skills aligned with the demands of the national labor market. In parallel, it is essential to guarantee that institutions offering short-term courses, as a strategy for promoting self-employment, have adequate material, human, and financial resources, to ensure the effectiveness of these courses and the real strengthening of self-employment.

The effective implementation of this reform could contribute to reducing situations where youth accumulate certificates without, however, managing to develop sustainable self-employment initiatives or obtain integration into the formal labor market. Additionally, this process could help mitigate social phenomena associated with youth unemployment, such as the involvement of youth in sex work and increased insecurity in peripheral neighborhoods, as evidenced in the two excerpts presented below.

“We, graduates, have no jobs. All vacancies already have owners. Why do they advertise vacancies if they are already filled? We are asking for help; our certificates are already getting damaged by the rain” (Intervention by a young woman resident of Mutauanha, 20.11.25)²

“At 30 years old, I am not doing anything. It’s not because someone likes to steal; it’s due to lack of employment. It’s not that women don’t want to start a family, but as there is no employment, many end up prostituting themselves” (Intervention by a young man resident of Mutauanha 20.11.25)³

3.5. Creation and Application of clear and effective laws to combat discrimination in the labor and education sectors, protecting LGBTQIA+ students and workers against any form of exclusion, stigmatization, or prejudice based on sexual orientation and gender identity. These

² INCLUSÃO Newsletter No.3: <https://www.inclusaomoz.org/publicacoes/boletim-informativo-3>

³ INCLUSÃO Newsletter No.3 : <https://www.inclusaomoz.org/publicacoes/boletim-informativo-3>

laws must provide accessible mechanisms for reporting, accountability, and punishment of discriminatory acts practiced by educational institutions, teachers, employers, or colleagues, guaranteeing equal access to education, vocational training, and decent employment, in line with the principles of social justice, inclusion, and human rights. For LGBTQIA+ youth, this measure is of high relevance, as it directly responds to one of the central points of the reforms to be made within the scope of the DNI, which is the issue of economic inclusion of youth in its diversity. This we can also see from the excerpts below.

(...) LGBTQ youth have been going through a lot of discrimination, especially in employment issues. We have seen many cases where, just for being LGBTQ, the company owner no longer wants to hire you. These are points that are not being addressed in the (DNI). (...) Sometimes, the person is good in the interview, but, for being LGBTQ, the employer simply does not want them in the company. Colleagues who were at the DNI (in the consultations), did you talk about these issues? No. These are matters we should take very seriously. The government is more concerned with political issues, while issues related to humanity are not being considered.” (Excerpt from a speech by a Human Rights Activist, allied to the LGBTQIA+ cause in Beira)⁴

“In the education system, we must have anti-discriminatory policies. If there were laws that penalized teachers and prevented them from practicing stigma and discrimination, many problems would be avoided, and more students would reach higher education. This stigma often comes from the teachers themselves (...) I have already suffered this type of discrimination and continue to feel it at university. Being part of the LGBTQ community is a psychological challenge; among colleagues, I also feel attitudes and words that make me feel discriminated against. It's difficult to deal with, but I have been trying” (Excerpt from a speech by a gay Activist, in Beira)⁵ (INCLUSÃO Newsletter No.2).

3.6. Adapt recruitment mechanisms and working conditions for youth with physical, visual, and auditory disabilities and establish quotas for youth at the beginning of their careers in multinationals and large private and public companies, ensuring that selection processes, work environments, and human resource management policies are properly prepared not only for people with physical disabilities but also for people with visual and auditory disabilities, as well as people with albinism, through the adaptation of application procedures, physical, technological, and communicational accessibility, provision of assistive means and technologies, guarantee of safe and discrimination-free working conditions, and promotion of an institutional culture that values equal opportunities and effective inclusion in the labor market. Through the establishment of quotas for youth at the beginning of their careers in large companies and multinationals, guaranteeing first professional experience opportunities for Mozambican youth. This measure will allow youth to acquire practical skills, work experience, and exposure to structured corporate

⁴ INCLUSÃO Newsletter No.2: <https://www.inclusaomoz.org/publicacoes/dialogo-nacional-inclusivo-na-beira>

⁵ INCLUSÃO Newsletter No.2: <https://www.inclusaomoz.org/publicacoes/dialogo-nacional-inclusivo-na-beira>

environments, facilitating the transition from education to the labor market and promoting youth employability. For the Government, the policy contributes to strengthening youth human capital, stimulating the economy, and reducing youth unemployment, while promoting a culture of corporate social responsibility and integration of youth into the country's sustainable development.

3.7. Reopening of production and processing factories, through the privatization of nationalized and bankrupt factories, accompanied by structured strategies for involving youth at all hierarchical levels, from operational positions to supervision and management roles. This measure will allow youth to access formal employment, practical training, and professional growth opportunities, contributing to the development of technical and leadership skills.

“It is not enough to reactivate the Texmoque, Olam, and other factories. These factories employed anyone, regardless of academic level; everyone had the possibility of employment. Many factories stopped even before the demonstrations” (Intervention by a young man resident of Mutauanha, 20.11.25)⁶

For the Government, the reopening of factories represents a strategic instrument for industrial revitalization, reduction of youth unemployment, and economic stimulation, strengthening the local economy and promoting the active integration of youth into the country's sustainable development and wealth generation.

3.8. Exemption from Value Added Tax (VAT) for basic necessities and maintenance/ increase for luxury goods, as a fiscal policy measure can also stimulate more rational consumption patterns aligned with national development priorities, while strengthening state revenue without excessively penalizing the most vulnerable groups. Thus, the VAT exemption for basic necessities, combined with reinforced taxation of luxury goods, would become a strategic measure to promote social inclusion, reduce inequalities, and make the tax system more efficient and fair.

3.9. Construction of affordable housing for the youth, with monthly payment conditions proportional to the minimum wage and long-term financing, so as not to compromise the financial sustainability of youth. This measure will allow youth to access dignified and safe housing, contributing to social and economic stability, and to reducing housing vulnerability among youth, especially in urban areas with greater population pressure.

3.10. Inclusion of Mozambican youth in leadership positions in multinationals, ensuring that access to senior positions does not depend exclusively on long years of experience, but also on competencies, innovation, and leadership potential demonstrated in the last five years. This measure will allow promoting generational renewal in companies, increasing the active participation of youth in strategic decision-making, and valuing new ideas, creativity, and youth entrepreneurship. For the Government, the implementation of this policy will contribute to

⁶ Newsletter No.3: <https://www.inclusaomoz.org/publicacoes/boletim-informativo-3>

strengthening youth human capital, stimulating the productivity and competitiveness of the business sector, and creating real opportunities for employment and career progression for youth, reinforcing the integration of youth into the country's sustainable economic development.

3.11. Opening and facilitation of credit line programs for young entrepreneurs, especially those starting self-employment activities, guaranteeing long-term payment conditions and interest rates of 10%. This measure will allow youth to have facilitated access to financing to invest in their businesses, stimulating entrepreneurship, innovation, and job creation. For the Government, the creation and strengthening of these programs will contribute to strengthening the youth economic sector, increasing business formalization, and stimulating the local economy, while promoting financial inclusion and economic autonomy of youth, consolidating an environment of sustainable development and trust in public institutions.

3.12. Reformulation of electoral governance and decentralization models, to guarantee that, first, we have an electoral law that does not suffer constant changes to accommodate partisan interests. Second, to ensure that STAE is indeed subordinate to CNE, through the stipulation of a mandate equal to that of CNE for STAE. Furthermore, regarding the decentralization model, it is necessary to effect fiscal decentralization at the local level and change the competencies of the Secretary of State so that they are only responsible for matters that cannot be decentralized, respecting the elected figure of the Governor.

4. Final considerations

This document constitutes a substantive and legitimate contribution of Mozambican youth to the Inclusive National Dialogue (DNI), reflecting the perceptions, aspirations, and concrete proposals of over 1500 young people from the provinces of Maputo, Sofala, and Nampula. The evidence presented demonstrates, unequivocally, that youth are not limited to abstract claims, but present a critical and informed reading of the country's structural challenges, as well as viable proposals for constitutional, institutional, and governance reforms.

The systematized contributions reveal a strong demand for profound changes in governance models, such as in the distribution and exercise of political power, effective inclusion of youth in decision-making spaces, and in the creation of sustainable economic opportunities.

The document also shows that, despite the existing skepticism regarding the effectiveness of the process, youth are willing to participate in the DNI, provided that it translates into real mechanisms for listening, incorporating contributions, and accountability. In this sense, the credibility and legitimacy of the DNI will depend, to a large extent, on the capacity of state institutions and political actors to demonstrate openness, transparency, and political will to transform the collected contributions into concrete and measurable reforms.

This document places at the disposal of COTE an instrument for reflection, dialogue, and decision-making, reaffirming the commitment of youth to a more just, democratic, inclusive Mozambique, oriented towards sustainable development.