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Participation among youth, women, and migrants: findings from Portugal

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(Book Chapter)

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In the past few decades, there is an increasing interest in understanding and promoting youth civic and political participation, due to a series of studies that define young people as in risk of becoming apathetic and apolitical (Benedicto & Morán, 2002; Forbrig, 2005; Frazer, 1999; Galston, 2001; Perliger, Canetti-Nisim, & Pedahzur, 2006; Putnam, 2000, 2007). Thus, there is a call for the need to revitalize young people participation (McFarland & Thomas, 2008), as a condition to the legitimacy and quality of democratic systems (Sullivan & Transue, 1999; Putnam, 1993). Taking into account that civic and political participation during youth is a predictor of involvement in adulthood (Azevedo & Menezes, 2008; Osterle, Johnson, & Mortimer, 2004) and youth is a formative phase for civic attitudes and behaviours (Flanagan, 2004; Jennings & Stoker, 2004; Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997), the amount of efforts to understand young people participation is not surprising.

In this context, several studies claim that the participatory “crisis” that has been denounced for many decades is clearly exaggerated, as recent research has shown an increase on non-conventional types of participation, more creative and less institutional (Ekman & Amnå, 2012; Forbrig, 2005; Haste & Hogan, 2006; Norris, 2002; Stolle, Hooghe, & Micheletti, 2005; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins & Delli Carpini, 2006). These studies advocate that conclusions about young people participation were made based on research that use conventional measures of participation such as the voter turnout or party membership (Beaton & Deveau, 2005; Brady, 1998; Dudley & Gitelson, 2002; Harris, Wyn & Younes, 2010; Van Deth & Elff, 2004), which tends to exclude several types of participation in which young people are currently engaged (see. Bang, 2005; Cammaerts, 2007; Clark & Themudo, 2006; Harris, et al., 2010; Juris & Pleyers, 2009; Riley, More & Griffin, 2010; Vromen & Collin, 2010; Youniss, Bales, Cristmas-Best, Diversi, McLaughlin & Silbereisen, 2003; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins & Delli Carpini, 2006). In this vein, O’Toole, Lister, Marsh, Jones and McDonagh (2003) argue that most of the research on civic and political participation tends to overlook generational effects, assuming frequently that if young people do not engage in activities that researchers consider representative of political participation then, they are politically apathetic. This trend has created several obstacles to the process of understanding political behaviour (Haste & Hostan, 2006). Farthing (2010) claims that the discourse about youth participation needs to move beyond, accepting that both “engagement and disengagement are simultaneously occurring as young

people navigate an entirely new world” (p. 182). Therefore, research on youth participation needs to consider young people as a specific group with their own particular circumstances, concerns and characteristics.

But young people are not the only group that are studied often as homogenous, frequently underestimated their specificities, singularities and internal diversity. Research on immigrant groups also tends to be inadequate in that respect. In fact, the discussion about civic and political participation must be related to the debate on cultural diversity - which is growing in Europe, especially due to the increased the number of immigrants, and therefore, the debate on political integration of immigrants can no longer exclude political integration (Martiniello, 2005), as the role of civic and political participation on immigrants’ integration seems to be crucial (Munro, 2008).

Similar to the perspectives on youth participation, the research on immigrants’ civic and political participation has been dominated by two perspectives. Firstly, for many decades people of immigrant background were considered apolitical and apathetic in relation to politics (Martiniello, 2005). Such beliefs were supported by several studies reporting immigrants as having lower levels of civic and political participation when compared with non-immigrants (Vogel & Triandafyllidou, 2005; Putnam, 2000; Couton & Gaudet, 2008). In opposition to this perspective, Simon (2011) says that migrants are increasingly making political claims and are mobilizing for collective action in support of their claims; however, not all ethnic/migrant groups are the same (Tillie, 1998). For instance, Stoll and Wong (2007) found that Whites, Blacks, Latinos and Asians are characterized by differential rates of participation. Fennema & Tillie (1999) also found differences among immigrant groups, suggesting the need to consider the diversity in ethnic minority’s political participation. Regarding youth immigrants’ participation, Marcelo, Lopez and Kirby (2007) found that African-American youth are the most politically engaged, and Asian-American youth are among the most engaged in civic activities such as volunteering. In addition, Latinos seems to be more involved in protesting (Davila & Mora, 2007). This amount of studies tends to argue that participation of immigrants cannot be considered as the same thing and we need to look at differences between the migrant groups.

Although we have recently found a growing recognition of the importance of civic and political participation of immigrants as a promoter of social integration, socialization and strengthening of community ties (Alburquerque, 2008; Eggert & Giugni, 2010; Kelly, 2009; Munro, 2008; Sonn, 2002; Vogel & Triandafyllidou, 2005), several gaps

still persist on the literature regarding the civic and political participation of immigrants (Martiniello, 2005). First of all, few studies have examined the issue of immigrant's participation (Simon & Grabow, 2010; Waters, 2008) and even less considers the specific case of young immigrants (Stepick, Stepick & Labissiere, 2008; Waters, 2008). Secondly, most of the research focused on European migrants highlights factors such as the labour market and the demographic effects of migration and we rarely find gender sufficiently explored (Martiniello, 2005). These gaps on the literature about young people participation have promoted theories of participation generalised for all groups, tested and developed almost exclusively from majority populations (Myrber, 2011). Similarly, in Portugal studies about immigrant population are merely demographics (Garcia, J.L. 2000; Carita, & Rosendo, 1993; Peixoto, 1993c; Teixeira, & Albuquerque, 2005), not one of them focuses on youth, very few consider the gender dimension (Miranda, 2009) and there are no studies comparing nationals and non-nationals in terms of civic and political participation (Teixeira & Alburquerque, 2005). For all these reasons a study on young people participation seems to be urgent and, in this regard, PIDOP has contributed to fill this gap. The purpose of this chapter is to report the findings from Portugal regarding participation among youth, women, and migrants. Using data from the Work Package 6 we present part of the results findings from the focus groups and also from the survey. Regarding the focus groups, perceptions about disadvantages on civic and political participation are discussed. Then using data from the survey, patterns of civic and political participation among young people are reported, considering age, gender, books at home and immigrant background.

Youth participation in Portugal

In spite of the recent recognition of diversity on participatory experiences, the major tendency of research, mostly on western democracies, is to point out the low levels of interest and participation of young people on political and civic matters. Such results have been stressed by several scholars and also by the European Commission, which warns that young people do not invest in the traditional structures of political action (Galston, 2001; Putnam, 2000; Curtice, 2005; Norris, 2002; Comissão das Comunidades Europeias, 2001). Portugal is not an exception in this respect, on the contrary. Due to its recent democratic system – implemented after a Revolution in 1974 – research has emphasized the low political development and the fragile political culture (Cruz, 1985). This justifies concerns with the democratic knowledge and political attitudes of younger

generations, and also with the reasons behind the withdrawal of political mechanisms, and if such tendency really means their “de-politicization” (Augusto, 2008). In addition, the lack of commitment in civic and political realms often creates a vicious cycle, in which the disbelief of society regarding young people (Pais, 1990), commonly called the “lost generation”, finds correspondence on the young people themselves, who often internalize such guilt (Silva, 2012a).

Research on this area clearly shows the low levels of democratic satisfaction and political involvement of young people (Magalhães & Sanz Moral, 2008). In this respect, it also highlights youth skepticism about the efficacy of the conventional political participation – with the exception of vote – (Augusto, 2008; Magalhães & Sanz Moral, 2008), even if the levels of social participation, for example in voluntary associations, are relatively high (Magalhães & Sanz Moral, 2008), as well as the involvement in the school context, particularly on students’ councils, and environmental organisations (Menezes, 2003).

In fact, it is clear the deinstitutionalization of youth political practices and their preference for more horizontal logics, far from political parties and closer to membership association, namely sport, cultural or recreational types (Augusto, 2008; Menezes, 2003; Menezes, Afonso, Gíão & Amado, 2005). Paradoxically, it is also important to consider the decrease on the perceived efficacy of non-conventional participation on the older groups of young people (Magalhães & Moral, 2008), which suggest that some mediating factors, such as the social structures, play important roles on this relationship between young people and participation (Augusto, 2008; Varela, 2009). The structural conditions, the political socialization and the increasing institutionalization of the relationship models with the political system are also important elements that must be taken into consideration when studying the opportunities to participate (Teixeira & Albuquerque, 2005). Moreover, the recent events of the current and the last year are quite interesting in what concerns the participation of Portuguese young people who have been often occupying the forefront of several protests and demonstrations (e.g.: the “Indignados” protests; the “Que se lixe a troika” movements).

Gender and participation

Similar to youth, women have been identified as having low levels of participation in civic and political domains compared to men. For instance Paxton, Kunhovich and

Hughes (2007) conducted a comparative study in several countries, concluding that women continue unrepresented on the political systems. Similarly, Atkeson and Rapoport (2003), argue that despite the increased of political resources, women continue having lower levels of political knowledge. Other studies report that women contact less with politics candidates (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady 1995; Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993); discuss political issues less frequently (Huckfeldt & Sprague 1995); and know less about politics (Gidengil, Goodyear-Grant, Nevitte, Blais, & Nadeau, 2003). All these studies seem to indicate a persistent gender gap on participation, especially regarding the formal and public domains.

From another point of view, some authors pointed out that the gender gap on participation is a matter of contexts of participation instead of its levels (Coffé & Bolzendahl, 2010; Paxton, Kunhovich & Hughes, 2007), suggesting the need to look towards diversity under women participation. In Portugal, as far as we know, the studies about women participation are quite rare; however one study reports that the inequalities in terms of gender are only significant in non-conventional participation, while in electoral and extra-electoral forms there are no significant differences between men and women (Espírito-Santo & Baum, 2004).

Concerning women with immigrant background, the research gap is even wider, as there is very little attention to the role of gender on migration (Miranda, 2009). In this sense, the recognition of a growing increase of migrant women (Yamanaka & Piper, 2006; Kofman, Phizaklea, Raghuram & Sales, 2000) and the insufficient exploration of the gender dimension of immigrants' civic and political participation (Martiniello, 2005) justifies the inclusion of gender on our analysis.

The Migration Background and the Civic and Political Participation in Portugal

Historically a country of emigration, after the collapse of the dictatorial regime and the independence of the Portuguese colonies in Africa (1974), Portugal has exponentially increased the number of immigrants, especially those coming from former African colonies. By the 1990s, Portugal also became attractive for Brazilian immigrants, and more recently, the migration fluxes coming from Eastern Europe quickly increased (SEF, 2008). By the end of 2011 (SEF, 2012) the foreign population resident in Portugal totalized 436,822 people. About half (47.9 %) are native from Portuguese-speaking countries, such as Brazil (25.5%), Cape Verde (10.1%), Angola (4.9%) and Guinea-Bissau (4.2%). The other relevant nationalities are Ukraine (11%) and Romania (9%).

The integration of immigrants from former colonies has been favoured in some countries (Vogel & Leiprecht, 2008), including in Portugal. For example, several bilateral agreements between Portugal and Brazil have contributed to stabilisation and strengthening of the migration systems between Portugal and Brazil (Padilla, 2009).

The promotion of civic and political participation of immigrants is a recent topic on the Portuguese context; however, it seems that Portuguese policies have been already creating favourable contexts and opportunities for participation (Ramalho & Trovão, 2010). Yet, it is not clear how immigrants in Portugal are using the opportunities to be involved. It seems that in the civil society sphere, the main actors encouraging immigrants' civic participation are immigrants' associations (Teixeira & Albuquerque, 2005), but there is not enough research on how immigrants engage in these associations (Fernandes-Jesus, Ribeiro, Ferreira, Cicognani & Menezes, 2011). In addition, as far as we know, before PIDOP there was no research on civic and political participation of Brazilian and Angolans in Portugal, two representative communities of immigrants that are relevant to understand the way these communities are living in Portugal. The strong migration systems between Portugal and Brazil (Padilla, 2009), and the large presence of Brazilians in Portugal clearly justify the choice to include the Brazilian group in our analysis. In addition, the option to study youth of Angolan origin was determined by the relatively recent history of decolonization (Grillo & Mazzucato, 2008), and the fact that many young Angolans are, in fact, second and third generation immigrants who have Portuguese citizenship.

Thus, let us consider the qualitative and quantitative data collected with young people with immigrant (Brazilian origin and Angolan origin) and non-migrant background living in Portugal exploring the interplay between immigrant status, gender, books at home and age and differences in civic and political participation, political interest and attentiveness.

Data and Methodology

Participants

Data was collected under the PIDOP Project and the results reported are from two phases developed under the Work Package 6 (focus groups – phase one; survey – phase two). On phase one, we conducted focus groups discussions with young people from Portuguese origin, Angolan origin (mostly second and third generation migrants), and Brazilian origin (from a more recent wave of immigration, the majority of whom were

not born in Portugal), all aged from 16 to 26 years old. Altogether, 14 focus groups involving 94 young participants (44 male, 50 female) were carried out: 5 groups of Angolan immigrants, 5 groups of Brazilian immigrants, and 4 groups of Portuguese nationals.

On phase two, 1010 young people participated in the study. Participants were from the three backgrounds (Portuguese origin=388; Angolan origin=255; Brazilian origin=367) from both gender (Portuguese origin: Female=222; Male=166; Angolan origin: Female=134, Male=121; Brazilian origin: Female=209, Male=158) and between two age ranges: young people aged 15 years old to 18 years old (young adolescents = 375) young people aged 19 years old to 29 years old (young adults=635). Both age groups were also represented in all the sample groups (Portuguese origin: adolescents=158, young adults=230; Angolan origin: adolescents=125, young adults=130; Brazilian origin: adolescent=92, young adults=275). Regarding the citizenship status, 29.4% of young people of Angolan origin have Portuguese nationality, 14% double citizenship (Portuguese and Angolan) and 55.3% have Angolan citizenship. In turn, 85.6% of young Brazilians are citizens of Brazil and 13.6% have double citizenship (Portuguese and Brazilian)

Procedures and instruments

On both moments, data was collected mainly in the two main Metropolitan Areas, Lisbon and Porto, in a variety of contexts: religious associations, immigrant associations, youth organizations, regular and vocational schools and higher education institutions. For the questionnaire we also collected data on the National Centres of Immigrant Support (C.N.A.I.), where immigrants usually go to deal with bureaucratic issues, recruiting individual immigrants while they were in the waiting room.

In the first phase of this study, in order to facilitate the discussion and to focus the participants' attention and discussion on certain topics, we used a script in all focus groups (Tonkiss, 2006). This script was divided into different blocks: relevance of civic and political participation for young people; sources of information and knowledge; personal and group experiences; and proposals for inclusion. All the focus groups were taped, transcribed and analysed with the software NVivo9. Based on the qualitative study, we have elaborated a survey to explore forms of participation and political attitudes among young people. During the procedures of collecting data, we have started by presenting the aims to participants, and obtaining their consent. We also had an

online version of the questionnaire that was disseminated through online social networks.

Groups' background, age, books at home and gender were added as factors that might influence the levels of civic and political participation (as participants report during the focus groups discussion). Gender (1 = male; 2= female) and the group membership (1= Portuguese origin, 2= Angolan origin, and 3= Brazilian origin) were nominal variables, so they were added as such. In addition, we have transformed 'age' variable into a nominal variable (1= adolescents 15 to 18 years old; 2= young adults 19 to 29 years old). The inclusion of age (adolescence and young adults) as a factor that might differentiate patterns of participation was also based on some studies that show that participation is lower during young adulthood compared with adolescence and later adulthood (Jennings & Stoker, 2004; Planty, Bozick, & Regnier, 2006; Snell, 2010). Indeed, adolescence is an important phase of life regarding the development of cultural orientations (Vollebergh, Iedema & Raaijmakers, 2001), such as those related with political issues. Furthermore, our goal was to compare patterns of participation across young people who were old enough to legally engage in all types of participation and young people who were less than 18 year-old.

Finally, we also include books at home as a factor. The number of books at home has been suggested as a strong indicator of parental resources and cultural capital, and has been used in international studies (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz, 2001).

Multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) were run for current civic and political participation and also for political interest and attentiveness. We should add that indicators were computed using the weighted means of the values for scale items.

Current civic and political participation ($X^2(60)=225.267$; $p=.000$; $X^2/df=3.754$; CFI=.943; GFI=.932; RMSEA=.074; $P(RMSEA\leq .05)=.000$): four forms of participation emerge in our analysis: online (Portuguese: $\alpha=.76$; Angolan, $\alpha=.91$, Brazilian: $\alpha=.84$) social (Portuguese $\alpha=.76$; Angolans $\alpha=.78$; Brazilian $\alpha=.60$) activism (Portuguese $\alpha=.77$; Angolans $\alpha=.85$; Brazilian $\alpha=.67$), and the single-item "vote in elections". Online participation includes four items: discuss social or political issues on the internet; visit a website of a political or civic organization; participate in online based petition, protest or boycotting; connect to a group on Facebook (or similar online social networks) dealing with social or political issues. Social participation is composed by three items: volunteer work; boycott or buy certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons; and donate money to a social or political cause/organization.

The activism scale comprises five items and covers a range of activities such as: attend a public meeting or demonstration dealing with political or social issues; distribute leaflets with a political content; take part in concerts or a fundraising event with a social or political cause; write political messages or graffiti on walls; and participate in political actions that might be considered illegal.

Political interest and attentiveness ($X^2(4)=17.931$; $p=.001$; $X^2/df=4.483$; $CFI=.991$; $GFI=.986$; $RMSEA=.083$; $P\ RMSEA\leq .05=.066$): Political interest comprises the following two items (Portuguese $\alpha=.86$; Angolans $\alpha=.85$; Brazilian $\alpha=.85$): I discuss social and political issues with friends and acquaintances; I bring political and social issues into discussions with others. In turn, political attentiveness is constituted of three items (Portuguese $\alpha=.78$; Angolans $\alpha=.87$; Brazilian $\alpha=.83$): I follow what is going on in politics by reading articles in newspapers or magazines; I watch television programs or listen to radio broadcasts that deal with political issues; I pay attention to information on the internet that is about politics.

Findings from the Focus Group discussions

We will focus here is on the perceptions about the main disadvantages regarding civic and political participation reported by the participants. During the focus groups discussions gender, age, immigrant's background and family resources have emerged as factors of discrimination and disadvantage that could influence civic and political participation. Below, we present some of the discourses of young people expressing these perceptions of disadvantage.

Age

The feeling that societies do not take young people seriously into account and that age is one factor of discrimination is shared by all groups of adolescents and young people. Discrimination is visible in several contexts and dimensions such as the criminality, the employment and also the participation. One of the adolescents of Portuguese origin said that *“with the increase of criminality in Portugal, people associate it to youth... I am walking in the street and people look at me in a strange way...and only because I am young”* (male, 18 years old). Additionally, some of the youth do not feel citizens of full rights, and claim that youth *“are not fully represented; I think that people and the state (...) look at us as mere adolescents that are protesting just as an excuse to missing classes”* (male, 18 years old) because *“we have a low status, we don't have much*

influence, we don't have a direct impact on the state, that is the reality" (female, 18 years old). An adolescent of Angolan origin adds that *"concerning youth, people listen and realize they are right, however they pretend not to hear, and it is necessary to repeat several times for to people hear you"* (male, 19 years old). One young adult of Brazilian origin agreed that age creates disadvantages and obstacles to participation *"the question is to speak for whom; because if you need more information you have access to it, youth don't have access to how to do things. There has to be a way to get such information, because young people themselves will hardly be able to reach it"* (male, 23 years old). On one hand, Brazilian adolescents seem to agree that there are few opportunities for young people participate, but on the other hand there is also a lack of interest in political issues: *"not all of them, but I think that many youth are not interested"* (female, 16 years old).

Simultaneously, young people of Portuguese origin criticize youth especially because sometimes *"young people don't have enough knowledge about politics"* (female, 18 years old), which in part is due to the low contact with politics: *"we don't have enough direct contact with politics"* (female, 18 years old). For some of the participants this fact leads to political actions developed by young people being *"poorly organised and cohesive"* (female, 18 years old). An adolescent of Portuguese origin emphasizes the fact that there are few opportunities in school to discuss these kinds of topics: *"the debate that we are having here might be the first in the school (...). On the other hand, I think that few people join this (...) and the reason is laziness...but simultaneously there are not so many opportunities..."* (male, 18 years old). Young adults of Angolan origin adults seem to agree saying that *"we have both: youth that invest in participation, but we also have youth that easily accept things and don't want more, do not fight"* (female, 25 years old).

Immigrant's background

Racism, prejudice and discrimination are topics that arise very frequently on the focus groups discussions, especially with the young people from immigrant background. Although immigrants of Angolan origin emphasize a double disadvantage due to the immigrants' status and the black skin it seems consensual that immigrant status by itself is a motive for discrimination. For instance, a young adult of Angolan origin said *"Ukrainian people suffer much more than the Africans especially because the language"* (male, 23 years old). However the main bias recognized by all youngsters of Angolan

origin youth is the association between the Angolan people and theft: *“if someone is black/African is a robber”* (female, 25 years old), and in the case of Brazilians young people acknowledge the tendency to consider the Brazilian women as prostitutes - *“the society has these prejudices and bias”* (female, 25 years old),

In turn, adolescents of Brazilian origin believe that all the immigrants from China, Africa and Japan suffer racism which is not only because the *“black colour”*: *“the ones who suffer more are the ones that you look and you can see that they are immigrants; for example, the Japanese have that eyes’ shape”* (female, 17 years old). In terms of participation, young people of Brazilian origin believe that young immigrants have the same opportunities for participation as the others groups in society. One of the participants say that *“prejudice exists in any place, but I don’t believe that if you wanted get involved politically you cannot because of that (being immigrant), I believe you have the same rights and opportunities”* (male, 24 years old). Some of young people of Angolan origin also believe there are opportunities to participate in political and civic organizations, but others reported some obstacles, namely regarding the participation in sport groups. A youngster of Angolan origin said *“the opportunities are not the same, there are always differences”* (female, 17 years old). Regarding the right to vote, adolescents of Angolan origin advocate that everybody should have the right to vote *“because, I know that foreign people could not vote in Portugal, (...) while you are in an irregular situation”* (male, 19 years old).

Family resources

For young people of Portuguese origin not all youth are equal. For some, young people are only taken into consideration if they are from a high status *“if I am the son of the prime minister and if you are the son of a poor person, who is heard? The son of the prime minister, for sure! He has the power, even if he doesn’t have any ideas”* (male, 20 years old). Young adults of Brazilian origin reported that even between the immigrant groups *“there is segregation”* due to education: *“Africans are the ones who might suffer from more discrimination in any place of the world (...) culturally Africans are less educated, and have less access to education and culture”* (male, 26 years old). Some of them related these factors with the *“colour of the skin”* (male, 21 years old), and others with the fact *“they are coming from a poor country”* (female, 25 years old). Adolescents of Angolan origin said that *“even Portuguese young people suffer a lot; especially those who haven’t studied”* (male, 21 years old). But even so, *“they prefer to*

give a job to a white person without studies than to a black person educated” (female, 18 years old).

Gender

Gender differences are recognized in all groups. In general, women are seen as having less power and influence in several fields, such as: employment, salary, and leadership positions; and domestic tasks. The adolescents of Portuguese origin recognize the history evolution in terms of women rights, however all of them agree that women suffers more discrimination than men: *“Our rights are segregated comparing with men’s rights, in politics there is a higher number of deputies in the Parliament”*(female, 18 years old). The young adults of Portuguese origin tend to naturalize the discrimination against women: *“it’s like racism, such things could be attenuated, but there will always be some, because it is a cultural issue”* (male, 24 years old); they emphasize that even if women have the same political opportunities as men and if *“they can run for a political position like a men”*, they are *“not taken seriously”* (male, 20 years old). Young adults of Brazilian origin also reported discrimination against women, especially because they are associated with sexual work: *“I think that in practical terms there is more prejudice against women”* (male, 24 years old)

Findings from the Survey

In order to explore group’s differences on civic and political participation and political interest and attentiveness we run several analyses of variance, using books at home, immigrant background, age and gender as differentiating factors – that is, the factors that young people mentioned in the focus-groups as motives for discrimination and disadvantage.

Civic and political participation

Multivariate tests reveal a significant effect of number of books at home (*Pillai'sTrace*=.069; $F(8,1850)=8.207$; $p\leq 0.0001$), age (*Pillai'sTrace*=.073; $F(4,924)=18.100$; $p\leq 0.0001$), group background (*Pillai'sTrace*=.067; $F(8,1850)=8.051$; $p\leq 0.0001$) and gender (*Pillai's Trace*=.012; $F(4,924)=2.775$; $p=.026$). There are also significant interaction between books at home*age (*Pillai's Trace*=.022; $F(8,1850)=2.532$; $p=.010$) and gender*group background (*Pillai's Trace*=.018; $F(8,1850)=2.105$; $p=.032$). Tests of between-subjects effects show this effect is

significant for all the forms of participation in analysis for the following factors: age, books, group and books at home*age (see table 1). Concerning the effect of gender, there is a significant effect only for social participation. The interaction between gender and group is significant for vote and activism.

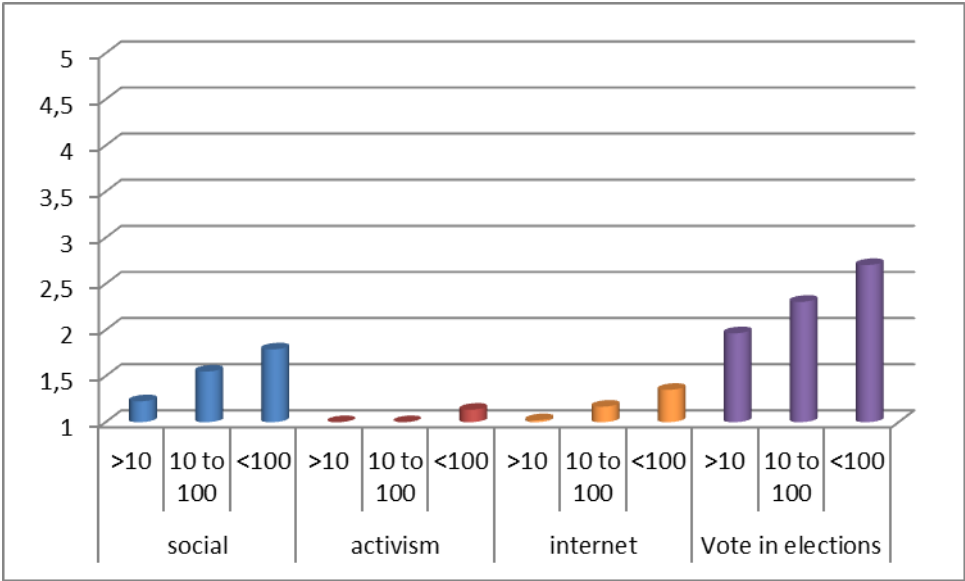
Table 1
Test of between subjects effects

Source	Dependent Variable	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	social	1	903,328	1999,282	,000
	activism	1	402,967	1812,771	,000
	internet	1	543,090	1473,891	,000
	Vote in elections	1	2108,732	921,965	,000
Gender	social	1	3,795	8,398	,004*
	activism	1	,632	2,844	,092
	internet	1	,545	1,480	,224
	Vote in elections	1	1,396	,610	,435
Group	social	2	11,468	25,381	,000*
	activism	2	2,708	12,181	,000*
	internet	2	4,853	13,171	,000*
	Vote in elections	2	8,526	3,728	,024*
Age	social	1	22,150	49,022	,000*
	activism	1	2,927	13,166	,000*
	internet	1	6,235	16,920	,000*
	Vote in elections	1	96,421	42,157	,000*
Books at home	social	2	12,865	28,474	,000*
	activism	2	1,143	5,140	,006*
	internet	2	3,512	9,531	,000*
	Vote in elections	2	18,306	8,004	,000*
gender * group	social	2	,195	,431	,650
	activism	2	,740	3,328	,036*
	internet	2	,593	1,610	,200
	Vote in elections	2	10,507	4,594	,010*
age * books	social	2	2,770	6,130	,002*
	activism	2	,883	3,970	,019*
	internet	2	1,610	4,369	,013*
	Vote in elections	2	7,121	3,114	,045*
	Vote in elections	963			

*p ≤ .050

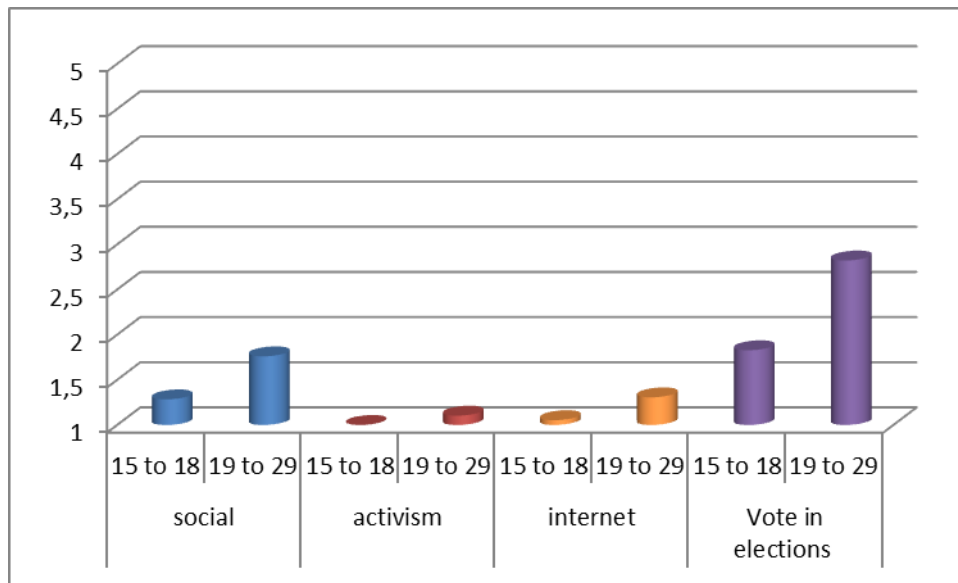
The effect of books at home seems to be linear; levels of participation in all its forms increase when the number of books at home increases. However, pairwise comparisons

reveal that differences in terms of means are not significant between all the groups for the following variables: activism and vote in elections. Regarding activism, differences are not significant between the groups with less books at home ($p=.121$). In turn, concerning vote in elections, there is not significant change on means when we compare the group how have between 10 to 100 books, with the group that have more than 100 books ($p=.063$).



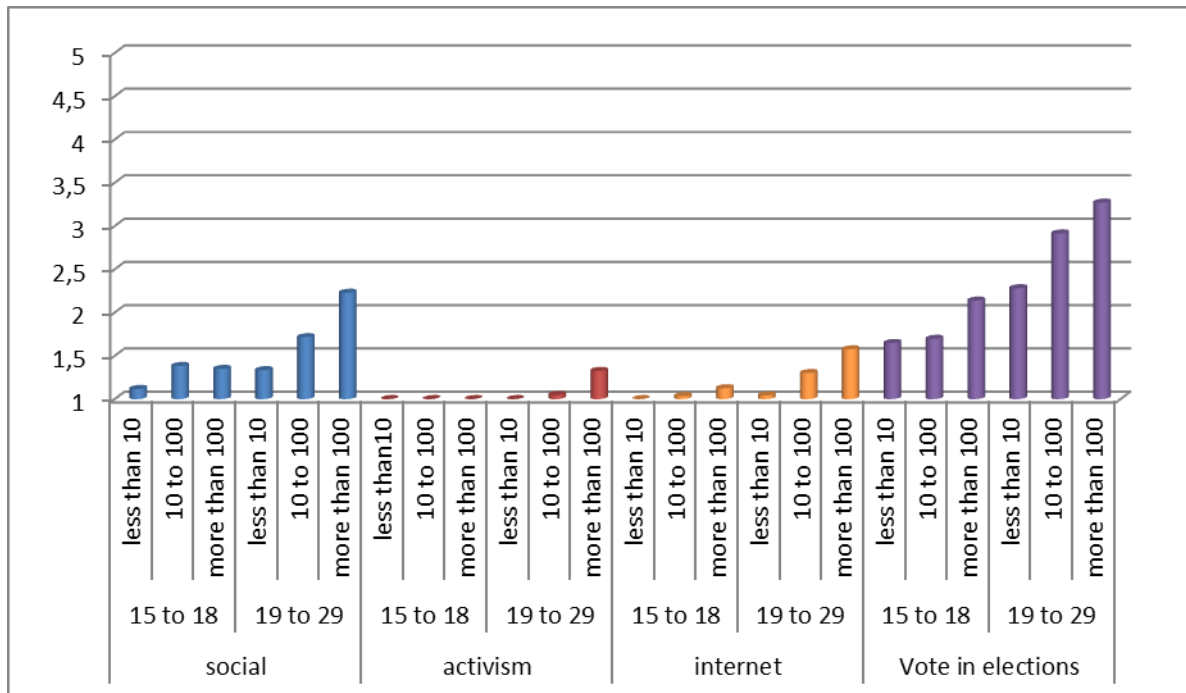
Graphic 1- effect of books at home on participation

Concerning the impact of age, the analysis of variance reveals that young adults participate more than young adolescents in all forms of participation.



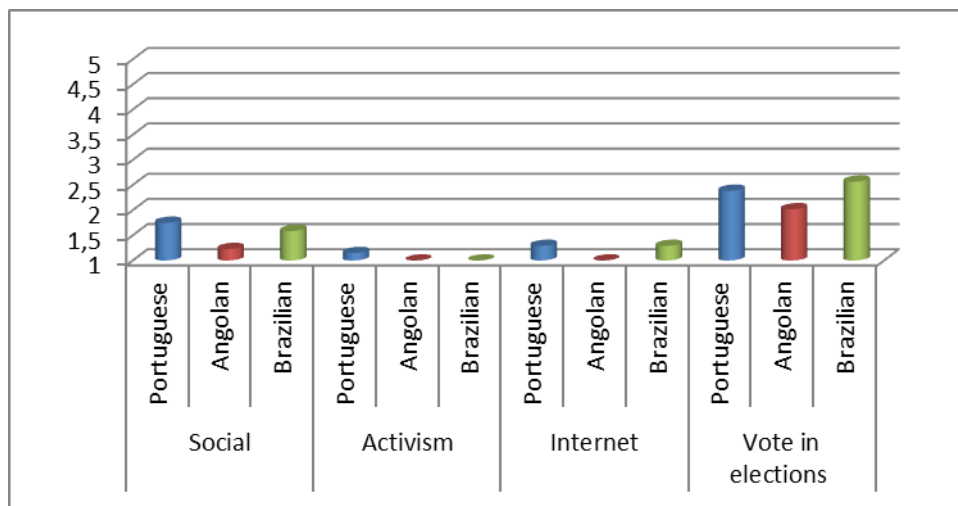
Graphic 2- effect of age on participation

Likewise, on the interaction between books at home and age, results reveal that the older groups with more books at home report higher levels of participation.



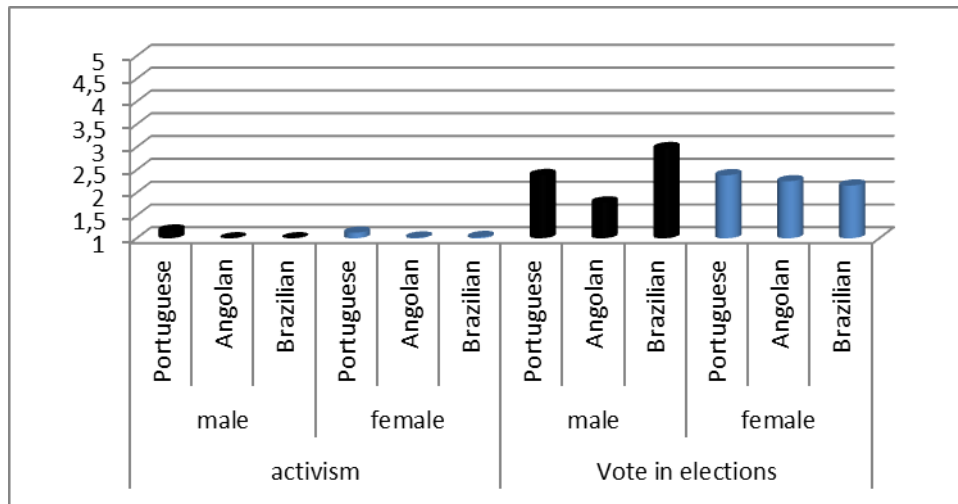
Graphic 3 – effect of age*books at home on participation

Group differences concerning immigrant background show that young people of Portuguese origin reveal significantly higher levels of social participation and activism. On vote in elections ($p=.316$) and participation through the internet ($p=.999$) there is no significant differences between the young people Brazilian origin comparing to young people of Portuguese origin. In all the forms of participation young people of Angolan origin show significantly lower levels of participation.



Graphic 4 – effect of immigrants background on participation

Concerning the impact of gender, the effect is significant only on social participation, with women having higher levels of involvement - male ($M=1.423$; $SE=.055$) female (1.62 ; $DP=.040$). In turn, the significant interaction between gender and immigrant background shows that women of immigrants' origin exhibited higher activism, compared to men. On the contrary, males of Portuguese origin show higher levels of activism than females. Regarding the levels of voting, females of Angolan origin vote more frequently than males and women of Brazilian origin vote less frequently than men.



Graphic 5 – effect of gender*immigrants background on participation

Political interest and attentiveness

The multivariate tests show a significant effect of number of books at home: (Pillai's Trace=.040; $F(4,1928)=9.933$; $p \leq .0001$) age (Pillai's Trace=.031; $F(2,963)=15.306$; $p \leq .0001$) and group background (Pillai's Trace=.147; $F(4,1928)=38.256$; $p \leq .0001$). The effect of gender is not significant (Pillai's Trace=.003; $F(2,963)=1.389$; $p = .250$) as the interaction between the factors.

Table 2

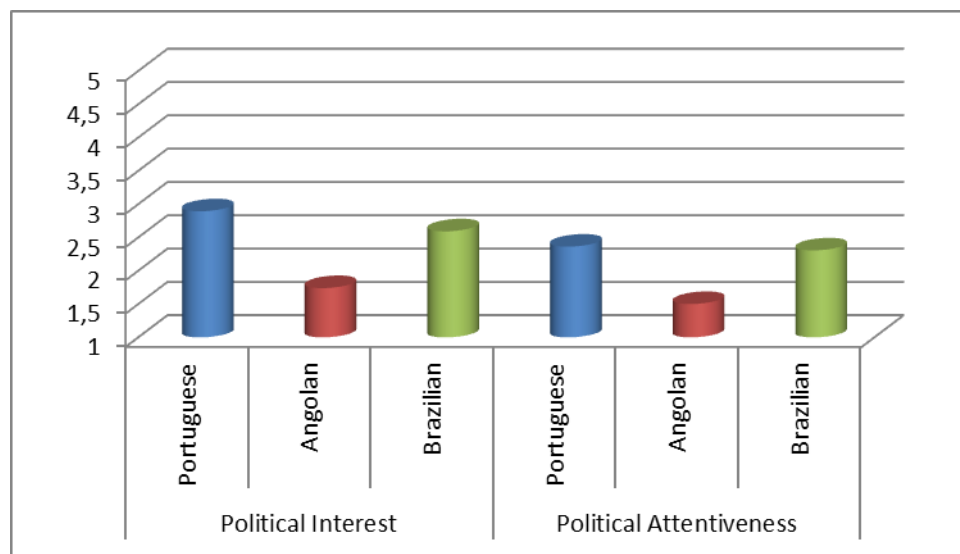
Test of between subjects effects

Source	Dependent Variable	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Political Interest	1	2370,537	2711,288	,000
	Attentiveness	1	1728,712	2944,575	,000
Group	Political Interest	2	60,398	69,080	,000*
	Attentiveness	2	34,940	59,515	,000*
age	Political Interest	1	25,892	29,614	,000*
	Attentiveness	1	9,947	16,943	,000*
Books at home	Political Interest	2	11,984	13,707	,000*
	Attentiveness	2	8,254	14,059	,000*

* $p \leq .050$

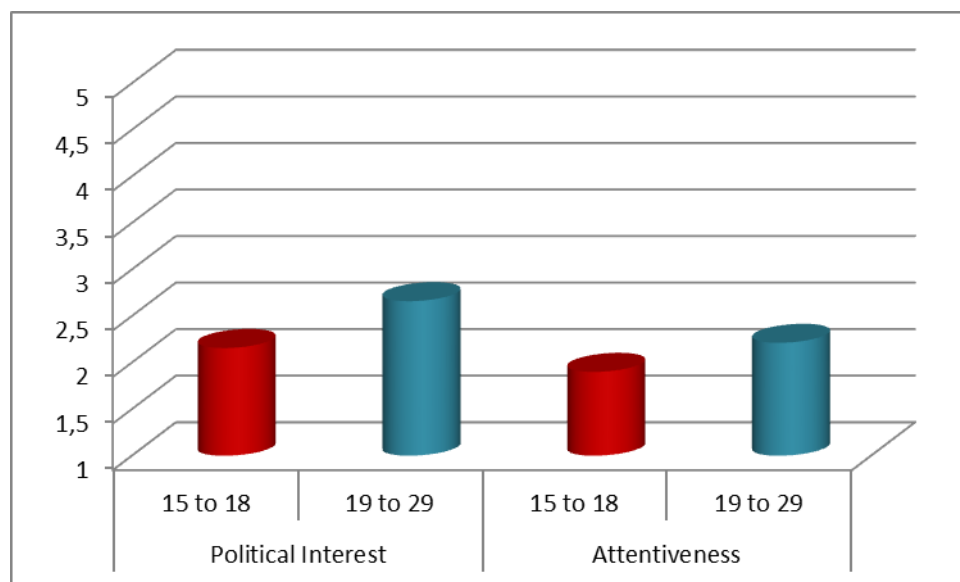
Young people of Portuguese origin reveal significantly higher levels of political interest compared to both immigrants groups. For political attentiveness, pairwise comparisons

show a significant difference between the group of Portuguese origin and the group of Brazilian origin.



Graphic 6 – effect of immigrants background on political interest & attentiveness

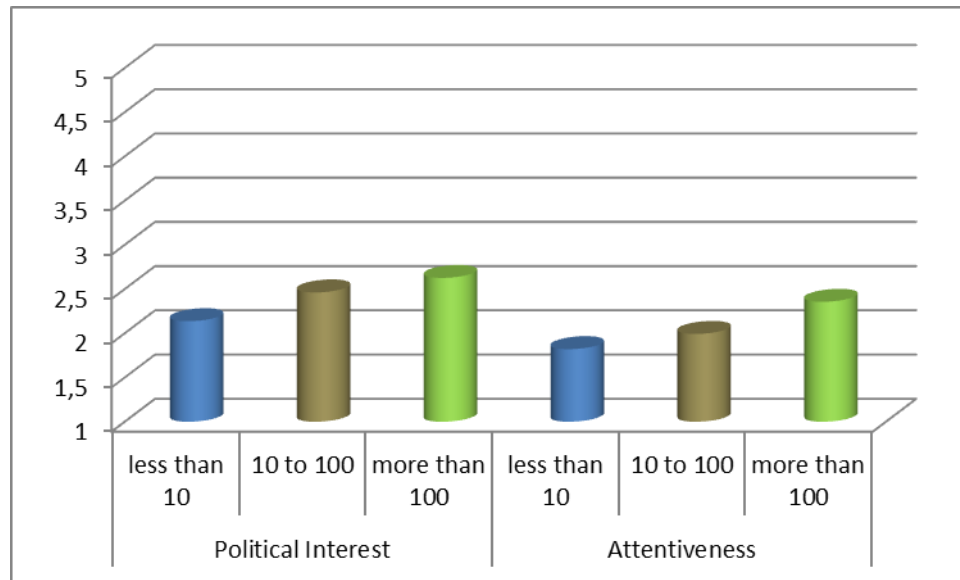
Concerning the age of participants, we found that young adults have higher levels of political interest and also political attentiveness compared to young adolescents.



Graphic 7 – Effect of age on political interest & attentiveness

In what concern of the relation between the number of books at home and the levels of political interest and attentiveness, again when the number of books at home increases, so do the levels of interest and attentiveness. Concerning political interest, pairwise

comparisons reveals that differences between the participants with 10 to 100 books at home with those with more than 100 books is no significant ($p=.204$).



Graphic 8 – Effect of books at home on political interest & attentiveness

Discussion of the results

Based on findings from both the qualitative and the quantitative study of PIDOP project, we tried to understand patterns of civic and political participation among young people of Portuguese, Angolan and Brazilian origin living in Portugal. First we analyzed the discourses of young people in order to identify some perceptions of disadvantages and discrimination on civic and political participation. Secondly, we test the variance of levels of participation and political interest across these factors.

According to the results presented in this chapter, discrimination based on age is mention by all the three groups (young people of Portuguese, Angolan and Brazilian origin). All of them stress that young people are usually perceived as having no credibility on the public sphere, which leads to the feeling of having no opportunities to participate. This is in line with the notion of citizenship based on an adulthood standard (Castro, 2001) viewing youth as an age-group that is still under construction and, therefore “citizens in the making” (Marshall, 1950, p. 25). In fact, young people stress the need to promote access to more information and to stimulate the contact of youth with the political sphere, diluting the institutionalized forms of relationship with politics (Augusto, 2008). However, youth discourses show ambivalence on this issue, once the

three groups also say that young people are instable, always changing their minds, and showing lack of interest for civic and political matters. Therefore, it is important to understand this ambivalence that might reflect (or cause) the internalization of a concept of youth conveyed by society related with the lack of ‘political competence’ (Silva, 2012a) and the difficulty in articulating rights and responsibilities (Lister, Smith, Middleton & Cox, 2003).

Moreover, as youth have been defined as an important stage for the development of political attitudes and behaviours (Braungart & Braungart, 1986) age related patterns of political behaviour have been studied. In this regard, our quantitative findings suggest that young adults participate more than adolescents in all forms of participation; they also exhibit the highest levels of political interest and attentiveness. Contrary to some studies, that show that participation is lower during young adulthood compared with adolescence and later adulthood (Jennings & Stoker, 2004; Planty, Bozick, & Regnier, 2006; Snell, 2010), our data reveals young people are delaying the experiences of civic and political participation. However, considering that young people daily struggle with uncertainty in all contexts and aspects of their lives – Arnett has been arguing that we should consider this period of life as “emerging adulthood” (2004) – this might lead to a postponement of the first experiences of civic and political participation. Moreover, young adulthood is the time when people are old enough to legally engage in all types of participation, and as some studies have hypothesized that those who participate on formal and conventional setting are much more likely to invest in other forms of civic and political activism (Bakker & Vreese, 2011; Smith, Schlozman, Verba & Brady, 2009; Van den Bos & Nell, 2006). Thus, we suggest that different forms of participation might be related, emerging and rising simultaneously.

At the same time, the effect of age seems to be influenced by other factors, such as the resources that each individual and her/his family have. In other words, the three groups of this study consider that economic and educational resources have a significant impact on their self-conception as political actors – however, this is clearly stronger in the discourse of young people of Portuguese origin. Thus, opportunities to participate are perceived as influenced by socio-economic status, as already suggested by other studies (Emler & Fraser, 1999; Gibson, Lusoli, & Ward, 2005). This correlation between the cultural capital resources of youngsters’ family and their political and civic participation is clearly demonstrated by the quantitative study: the more books at home, the more they participate (on all its forms) and the more interested and attentive to civic and

political issues. However, despite the groups of Angolan and Brazilian origin acknowledging this influence, both groups agree that any drawback caused by low levels of social, cultural and economic resources is definitely supplanted by the disadvantages related to the discrimination they suffer for being of immigrant origin. An adolescent of Angolan origin illustrates this point giving the example of the situations of applying for a job, in which the black person will always be disadvantaged, when compared with white people, regardless of their level of education. As some of the young people argue, discrimination might also lead to obstacles in terms of civic and political participation.

Results from the survey are consistent with previous work that demonstrated ethnic heterogeneity in developmental patterns of civic engagement across young adulthood (Finlay, Flanagan & Wray-Lake, 2011). In fact, our findings show different levels of civic and political participation – and also political interest and attentiveness - among non-migrants and migrants in Portugal. These disparities do not represent a clearly disadvantage of migrants, but instead reveals that patterns of involvement change across groups. Youth of Portuguese origin exhibits the highest levels of activism, social participation and political interest. However young people of Brazilian origin are the ones who vote more – which may be primarily due to the fact that vote in Brazil is compulsory – and also participate more on the internet. This might be calling the attention to the important role that alternative political spheres have to groups that feel strongly discriminated in traditional public spaces, as young people of Angolan and Brazilian origin emphasize concerning their immigrant background. Nevertheless, young people of Angolan origin appear clearly less engaged in all forms of participation, and also less interest in political and civic issues, which might be related with discrimination and racism. In fact, some research found that participation might be influenced by the levels of discrimination and racism (Cesari, 2006). In Portugal the immigration fluxes from the former colonies strengthened the colonial hierarchies, with Brazil occupying an intermediate place between Africans and Portuguese (Machado, 2006). In addition, some studies suggest that acceptance of African immigrants is lower than that of white and poor immigrants, such as those who recently came from Eastern Europe (Lages & Policarpo, 2003). Still, these theories are not enough to fully explain these results, and more research is necessary to achieve a full understanding of the factors which explain civic and political participation of migrant youth in Portugal.

Furthermore, we found the same patterns on political interest and political attentiveness as in levels of civic and political participation, suggesting the link between these dimensions and levels of civic and political participation, as reported in research (Chaffee, Ward & Tipton, 1970; Hahn, 1998; Torney-Purta, et al., 2001; Zukin, et. al. 2006). But, despite the lower levels of participation, it should be stressed the substantial higher levels of political interest and attentiveness, suggesting that young people care about civic and politic issues, even if they do not participate (yet).

Interestingly, and although some studies stress the double disadvantage of women of immigrants background (Kofman, et al., 2000), our outcomes show a decrease – and even a reverse – of gender gaps. In fact, women of all groups show higher levels of social participation and similar levels of political interest and attentiveness. In addition, women of immigrant's background report higher levels of activism than men of immigrant origin, and women of Angolan origin tend to vote more frequently than men. Marien, Hooghe and Quintelier (2010) suggested that non-institutionalized forms of participation reduce or even reverse gender inequalities – which we believe, might happening in this context.

In conclusion, our findings reveal that perceptions of discrimination and disadvantage identified by youth during the focus groups discussions were also linked to levels of civic and political participation across migrants and non-migrants. Considering that participation is a “the civic glue that bonds those who would otherwise be divided along racial and ethnic lines” (Putnam, 2000, p. 362), further investigation should continue to strive for a deeper understating of the multiple factors than seem to interact to explain the patterns of civic and political participation among young people from diverse backgrounds in our society.

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