

# 2014 National Elections



## Mozambique political process bulletin



Number NE-75 2 November 2014

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Published by CIP, Centro de Integridade Pública e AWEPA, European Parliamentarians for Africa

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**COLLECTIVE ACTION:** This newsletter is based on reports from 150 journalists in nearly every district, working together to give the most up to date coverage of the election. We are also working with the Community Radios Forum (FORCOM) and the Human Rights League.

## CNE reduces Zambézia vote by 26,000

Without explanation, the National Elections Commission has removed 26,000 votes from Zambézia. The total of valid votes for the three presidential candidates as announced by the National Elections Commission, before requalification of invalid votes (nullos), was 26,313 fewer than announced by the Zambézia provincial elections commission (CPE). And for the three main political parties of parliament, 25,662 fewer.

In none of the other provinces did the CNE version of the provincial count correspond precisely to what the provincial election commission had said, but all were very close. In contrast to 2009, no attempt was made to compensate for ballot box stuffing in Gaza and Tete. In Tete the CNE made a minor change, decreasing Nyusi's vote by almost 3000 and increasing the Renamo vote by more than 2000.

Zambézia	CPE	CNE	difference		CPE-%	CNE-%
<b>President</b>						
Valid votes before requalification	683,139	656,826	-26,313	-3.85%		
Afonso Dhlakama (Ren)	357,300	346,478	-10,822		52.30%	52.75%
Filipe Nyusi (Frelimo)	268,856	256,447	-12,409		39.36%	39.04%
Daviz Simango (MDM)	56,983	53,901	-3,082		8.34%	8.21%
<b>Parliamentary</b>						
Renamo	283,036	272,150	-10,886		47.88%	48.13%
Frelimo	243,036	230,904	-12,132		41.12%	40.83%
MDM	65,033	62,429	-2,604		11.00%	11.04%
TOTAL of 3 main parties	591,105	565,483	-25,622	-4.33%		

<b>Tete</b>	<b>CPE</b>	<b>CNE</b>	<b>difference</b>		<b>CPE-%</b>	<b>CNE-%</b>
<b>President</b>						
Valid votes before requalification	531,593	532,277	684	0.13%		
Afonso Dhlakama (Ren)	231,972	232,513	541		43.64%	43.68%
Filipe Nyusi (Frelimo)	218,850	215,966	-2,884		41.17%	32.88%
Daviz Simango (MDM)	20,493	20,322	-171			3.09%
Total	471,315	468,801	-2,514	-0.53%		
<b>Parliamentary</b>						
Valid votes before requalification	543,304	533,087	10,217	-1.88%		
Renamo	197,922	200,097	2,175		45.69%	46.17%
Frelimo	208,933	207,773	-1,160		48.23%	47.94%
MDM	26,343	25,565	-778		6.08%	5.90%
TOTAL of 3 main parties	433,198	433,435	237	0.05%		

Making comparisons with provincial results was more difficult this year than in 2009. STAE set up a press room and for two days after voting gave provisional results. But as part of its policy of increased transparency, the CNE suddenly stopped this, and also ordered that the press room should not give out the provincial results as it had done in past elections, saying that media had to obtain them directly from provincial elections commissions. In effect, most media depended on AIM and *Notícias*, which sometimes gave different figures. The CNE leaked provincial results to some media and observers, also published here, but these, too, contained errors.

## A divided country

The election results show Mozambique to be a divided country. Frelimo's candidate Filipe Nyusi gained more than two-thirds of the votes in the four southern provinces and in Cabo Delgado in the far north. Opposition candidates together gained more than 60% in Zambézia and Sofala.

The other four provinces are closely divided. In Nampula the opposition has a small advantage and Dhlakama gained 49.8% of the presidential votes. In Niassa, Tete and Manica, Frelimo has the same number of parliamentary seats as the opposition

	<b>President</b>		<b>Parliament seats</b>	
	Nyusi	Opposition	Frelimo	Opposition
<b>&gt; 60% Frelimo</b>				
Cabo Delgado	78%	22%	19	3
Inhambane	76%	24%	12	2
Gaza	94%	6%	14	0
Maputo city	69%	31%	11	5
Maputo prov	74%	26%	12	5
<b>Divided</b>				
Niassa	49%	51%	7	7
Nampula	44%	56%	22	25
Tete	46%	54%	11	11
Manica	48%	52%	8	8
<b>&gt;60% opposition</b>				
Zambézia	39%	61%	16	25
Sofala	35%	65%	8	13

## PVT and final results

The parallel sample count (PVT) is a statistically selected set of 10.7% of polling stations came very close in its projection of the final result. It projected Nyusi to have 57.24% compared to an actual 57.03%, and Frelimo 55.20% compared to an actual 55.97%. For president it slightly overestimated the performance of Daviz Simango and slightly underestimated the performance of Afonso Dhlakama. But all estimates were within 1.3% of the final result..

President	Actual	pvt	Parliament	Actual	pvt
Nyusi	57.03%	57.24%	Frelimo	55.97%	55.20%
Dhlakama	36.61%	35.22%	Renamo	32.49%	32.48%
Simango	6.36%	7.54%	MDM	8.36%	9.58%
			other	3.28%	2.75%

## Delegates and Observers

For the 17,012 polling stations, the election commissions registered 103,359 party delegates, 9411 national observers, 526 foreign observers, 1795 national journalists, and 85 foreign journalists.

The table shows the numbers of party delegates registered. Parties are allowed to have a delegate (poll watcher) and an alternate for each polling station. Frelimo was permitted to register 3000 more than that, in Cabo Delgado, Tete, and Maputo province and city. This could have allowed Frelimo people improper access to some polling stations.

Neither MDM nor Renamo had enough delegates to cover all the polling stations in Gaza and Inhambane, and Renamo also did not have enough in Maputo city.

Province	Polling Stations	Party delegates			
		Frelimo	Renamo	MDM	Other
Niassa	1,102	2,154	2,099	2,000	599
Cabo Delgado	1,557	4,351	2,774	2,297	1,321
Nampula	3,071	6,142	6,142	6,124	12,284
Zambézia	2,925	5,839	4,646	4,402	105
Tete	1,663	3,584	2,708	1,861	
Manica	1,104	2,208	2,208	1,468	
Soflaa	1,267	2,534	2,354	2,414	
Inhambane	1,061	2,121	920	913	
Gaza	1,024	1,606	352	114	
Maputo Prov	1,244	4,169	1,820	2,182	388
Maputo city	994	2,324	738	1,099	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>17,012</b>	<b>37,032</b>	<b>26,761</b>	<b>24,874</b>	<b>14,714</b>

### Comment 1

## All parties share in the sloppiness

This was the fifth national multiparty election and yet again was plagued by sloppiness and misconduct. After watching this election in details, with correspondents across the country, we

believe STAE should be ashamed. There could have been no surprises and there is no reason not to have a smoothly running election machine. What was STAE doing in the four years between 2009 and 2013, when it should have been preparing for municipal and national elections? After four elections, we think that STAE can no longer simply blame "our insufficiencies".

But the parties share the blame. This is also the fifth national election for Renamo. Afonso Dhlakama claims he won then all, but after 20 years he still does not have an electoral team that can monitor polling stations and STAE, and provide evidence for his claims. In the agreement with the government earlier this year, Renamo was given whatever changes to the electoral law it wanted. It created the system of having a Renamo-nominated MMV in every polling station and it created the system whereby electoral offences are dealt with by district courts. And to encourage them to act quickly, protests must be submitted to district courts within 48 hours. But Renamo was not organised enough to use a system it created. Now Renamo claims that polling stations refused to accept protests, which is now a crime - but where were the Renamo MMVs and delegates, and why did none of them immediately make a complaint to the district court?

Similarly, MDM has known since 2009 that it would have to have more than 15,000 people in polling stations, yet it was still recruiting days before the election, even in Maputo city where it should have been reasonably well organised.

For this election, MDM and Renamo had people in all STAEs and all election commissions. What were those people doing to prevent the sloppiness and misconduct? When Nampula provincial STAE was failing to issue observer credentials, what were the MDM and Renamo nominees doing to correct the problem? The whole reason MDM and Renamo demanded people in the electoral machine was to watch for misconduct and poor performance, yet they did not do their job.

The blame for the sloppiness in this election must be shared between STAE and the opposition parties. It is not acceptable for the opposition parties to say "We were given everything we asked for, but we were not able to make use of it, so it is all the fault of STAE."

STAE and the opposition parties have equal share in the mess.

It is easy to blame Frelimo, as the dominant party, and as we note below, Frelimo does have its own share in the mess. But in democratic electoral systems, it is for the opposition to win elections. Alternation of parties in government does not happen automatically; the voters must choose it. The governing party always has an advantage, but eventually it always loses. However, the opposition must be well enough organised to convince a large majority of voters and then to have enough people watching and participating to prevent fraud, misconduct and sloppiness.

If the opposition is prepared to accept its share of responsibility, the next step would be for election officials, political parties and civil society to sit down and discuss how an electoral administration could be created which could be made to work in Mozambican conditions. This is not just about changes in the law, but also about administrative practice and motivating election officials and party activists to spend the next four years preparing for a better run election. *jh & tr*

## Comment 2

# Intentional disorganisation?

Hopefully most civil servants vote in elections. And many people in the state administration are loyal to Frelimo for good reasons - for example they feel they received an education because of independence, and they have seen an expansion of health and education which they credit to Frelimo. Some go a bit too far to support the party, by giving preference to party members for jobs or for money as part of the "7 million".

But some feel under some pressure - they receive telephone calls saying that land should be given to person X or a contract to person Y. School teachers who stood for MDM have been transferred, and promotions have been denied to people without a party card. It may not be official policy, but some people feel that their advancement in the civil service and in the party will be enhanced if they do things to hurt the opposition and help Frelimo. As a consequence, there is fear in some places of being seen as an opposition party delegate in a polling station or an opposition campaigner. During Armando Guebuza's second term as president, complaints about this increased.

During the electoral process, a certain degree of disorganisation was noted. There were not enough people assigned to issue observer and party delegate credentials in Nampula, Maputo city, and elsewhere. For the first time, the district counts were open, and we now know why STAE was anxious to keep them secret - there are no systems and no national instructions as to how the count should be done. Each district did it differently, and there was often such confusion that it was impossible for observers and journalists to actually follow what was happening.

As we know from Gurué in the local elections last year, it is not difficult to use the confusion of the district count to put false results sheets (editais) into the system.

Lack of staff is a perfect excuse to delay the issuing of credentials for people who might catch misconduct.

Could some of the disorganisation be intentional? Could it be that some people working for STAE see that if the systems are confused, unclear, and under-staffed, then it is easier to commit fraud and makes changes to the results?

Are we seeing simple disorganisation and laziness, or are we seeing intentional disorganisation? *jh*

### **Comment 3**

## **Making Renamo look more dangerous**

Two very unusual Frelimo dis-information campaigns last week were both aimed at making Renamo look dangerous and at creating fear. On Thursday when the election results were to be announced, Frelimo used social media and other means to urge ministries to close early and people to go home early because, it was claimed, Renamo planned violence to counter the announcement. Ministries and offices closed. There was no violence, but the dis-information campaign did create fear.

On the day before, Radio Moçambique and TVM reported that the US ambassador Douglas Griffiths had met Tuesday with the two opposition leaders, Afonso Dhlakama and Daviz Simango, to urge them to not to accept the outcome of the elections. The US embassy called the report "absurd". It confirmed Griffiths and visiting US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Shannon Smith had met all three candidates, and said they had used the now standard diplomatic formulation that all parties should use the existing legal mechanisms to raise their concerns.

The report was absurd for two reasons. First, no current ambassador would tell a Mozambican party to reject an election. But more importantly, the mood in the embassies has changed in the past decade, reflecting the priority given to business as well as more conservative governments at home. Despite antagonisms with the government over the Ematum bond issue and corruption, the current Frelimo government is seen by embassies as one they "do business" with. They do not want an opposition government with which all contracts would have to be re-negotiated, and they do not want a weak unity or technocratic government that cannot take decisions. Even the US wants the status quo.

So why is part of Frelimo trying to whip up fear around Renamo? One possibility is that a hard-line

group within Frelimo wants to prevent concessions to Dhlakama, and is intervening at the start of negotiations between Dhlakama and newly election President Filipe Nyusi. *jh*

## **Bulletin special studies:**

### **Quick result estimates**

### **Problems in 10% of polling stations**

After the elections we carried out three special studies. The third one, attached, is based on the way, on the day after voting, TV and radio read out the results from editais which are posted outside each polling station. This is not a random sample, because it is based on places that are easier for radio and TV to gain access. Yet the study shows that by 10 am they had provided a rapid and good projection of the results.

All three studies have been circulated and are available on: [bit.ly/NatElec](http://bit.ly/NatElec)

Studies 1 and 2 used data from the parallel sample count of 10.7% of polling stations and looked closely at high and low turnout, extra register books, and excessive invalid votes. They estimated that:

- There were at least 105,000 extra presidential votes stuffed in ballot boxes (or added to editais); most were probably for Nyusi. We estimated this occurred in at least 680 polling stations, 4% of the total.
- In 150 polling stations (0.8% of the total) turnout was improbably low, suggesting very late opening or other administrative problems.
- In 250 polling stations (1.4% of the total) there was an extra, unreported register book which was not on the official list.
- In more than 750 polling stations (4.5% of the total) there were an excessive number of invalid votes, and we estimate that more than 30,000 votes were made invalid improperly by polling station staff.

Although some polling stations are in more than one group, this suggests there were problems and/or illegal actions in 10% of polling stations, which we consider to be very high.

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The Portuguese edition of the Bulletin is more detailed, and can be read on <http://www.cip.org.mz/election2013/> Portuguese Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/CIP.Eleicoes>  
Some English bulletins cover two Portuguese bulletins and have a double number.

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**Published by CIP and AWEPA**

**web:** [bit.ly/NatElec](http://bit.ly/NatElec)

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**Academic citations:** Cite as "2014 National Elections, Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, Maputo"

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