

# 2014 National Elections



## Mozambique political process bulletin



Special study 3 2 November 2014

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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.

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### ***Bulletin special study 3***

## **About the tension between projecting correct results and correcting results**

2 November 2014

The tabulation of election results is notoriously slow in Mozambique. It is too slow to meet the expectations of candidates, parties and the wider interested public. It is objectively slow compared to countries with similar geographical features and numbers of voters. Therefore CIP experimented a new quick and reliable projection of election results.

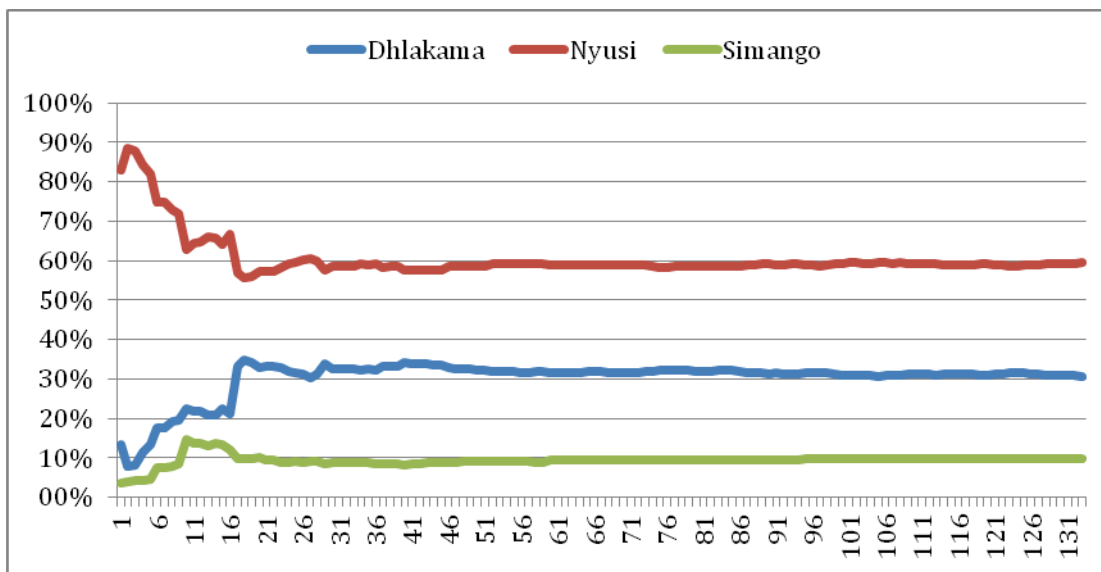
The lack of quick official results creates the need for alternative mechanisms. The media respond to this need by announcing the results from polling stations, but this was hitherto, never a reliable source for a quick and reliable projection of election results. The Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) carried out by the Electoral Observatory has increasingly been used as an alternative to produce quick and reliable results. That was not the initial intention of the PVT. When it was introduced in 2004 (after a first test in 2003) it really was meant to verify if there would be manipulation of the tabulation process after the votes were counted at the polling station. But it seems to have evolved in a “quick count”.

The premise has always been that the voting pattern in Mozambique is so complex and geographically diverse that only a large and representative sample can accurately predict election results. A CIP team challenged this established assumption and carried out an experiment that produced empirical evidence that a faster, cheaper and equally reliable projection of election results is possible.

The working hypothesis was that a large enough number of polling station results, as published by media, would at a certain moment also provide a reliable projection. It was anticipated that this would require a high number of polling stations (up to 25% or even 30%), but with the advantage that it could be done by one centralized team. The moment when the projection would become reliable can be visualized in a simple line graph. When results start coming in the lines representing each candidate will oscillate strongly, but as more results are added the lines will gradually become straight and stabilize, independent of the number of results added.

CIP gathered a team of 9 UEM students, coordinated by Dr Domingos M. do Rosario, and with technical assistance from Professor Luis de Brito and Marc De Tollenaere. The students were asked to note down all results of the presidential elections as transmitted by Radio Moçambique, TVM, STV and TV Miramar during the first 24 hours after the closing of the polling stations. The team would note the province, the location of the polling station and the number of votes for the 3 candidates for the presidency. Journalists would not always mention the exact location (only a district name for example) and would often give the results for a polling location and not for one single polling station.

Results for single and multiple polling stations were recorded and entered into a database. By 10am on Thursday morning around 130 results were recorded and a first graph was produced. The line graph reflects the percentage of the vote each candidate won based on the total votes for the 3 candidates, in a progressive (accumulative) way. Surprisingly, the graph showed stability much sooner and faster than was originally assumed.



A clear stabilisation of the voting preferences can be noted as from the 19<sup>th</sup> data entry. The data were not entered in a pre-established order, but just as they came in. The first 18 data entries (equal to 18 polling locations) come from 77 polling stations spread over 17 districts in 8 provinces. This reasonable spread over a very limited number of results already indicates a trend.

After 30 entries results are included from 170 polling stations spread over all 11 provinces. Even though the spread is geographically disproportional the line graph remains remarkably stable. When classified as rural or urban<sup>1</sup> the entries were evenly spread. Another 100 entries from different provinces were made and the line does no longer change. The graph indicates 59,5% for Filipe Nyussi, 30,7% for Afonso Dhlakama and 9,8% for Davis Simango. When a correction, based on the relative weight of each province, is introduced than Filipe Nyussi gets 56,6%, Dhlakama 34,2% and Simango 9,2%. These numbers are very close to the findings of the PVT from the Electoral Observatory, and the “official provincial results”<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It is in some cases not easy to define what is rural and what is urban. The criterion used here is that urban is any of the 23 cities of the country.

<sup>2</sup> The law does not foresee a tabulation of all result sheets at that level. The province should only add up the district result sheets. It is not clear on what basis CNE and STAE undertake such count and make publish it as official results.

	Provincia	Distrito/Cidade	Loça de Votacao	Rur/Urb	AD	FN	DS	Votos	Mesas
1	Cabo Delgado	NAMUNO	EPC Cumone	R	119	736	31	886	2
2	Maputo Provincia	MATUTUÍNE	EPC DE SALAMANGA	R	80	1559	67	1706	4
3	Inhambane	VILANKULO	EPC DE AEROPORTO	R	22	82	14	118	1
4	Tete	Cidade de Tete	Escola DO AEROPORTO	U	112	96	12	220	1
5	Cabo Delgado	PEMBA	Escola eduardo mondlane	U	92	171	27	290	1
6	Maputo Provincia	C.MATOLA	ESC SEC DE MALAHMPSENE	U	429	1007	215	1651	4
7	Niassa	MARRUPA	EPC MARRUPA SEDE	R	59	241	30	330	1
8	Zambezia	CIDADE DE QUELIMANE	EPC 3 DE FEVEREIRO	U	159	149	46	354	1
9	Niassa	CID. LICHINGA	EPC AMILCAR CABRAL	U	102	268	57	427	1
10	Niassa	CUAMBA	EP1 MAGANGA	R	953	1639	901	3493	9
11	Cabo Delgado	NAMUNO	EPC Cumone	R	119	736	31	886	2
12	Inhambane	INHARRIME	EP1 DE MACUPULANE	R	68	178	12	258	1
13	Maputo Cidade	Ka Mubukwane	E.P Bagamoyo e Ka Mubukwane	U	813	3008	497	4318	11
14	Gaza	XAI-XAI	instituto de formacao de professores	U	67	200	149	416	1
15	Tete	Cidade de Tete	EPC NHAMABIRA	U	907	1583	303	2793	7
16	Inhambane	FUNHALOURO	macuco/ tsenane/ manhica/ mafula	R	158	1780	56	1994	5
17	Tete	Angónia	Povoado de xibito	R	5005	2415	291	7711	20
18	Zambezia	NICOADALA	ESCOLA SEC. NICOADALA SEDE	R	1167	862	176	2205	5
19	Maputo Provincia	C.MATOLA	EPC TCHUMENE	U	445	1103	187	1735	4
20	Maputo Cidade	Cidade de Maputo	E. S. KISS MAVOTA	U	378	1915	319	2612	7
21	Tete	MUTARARA	EPC DE DONA ANA	R	832	983	43	1858	5
22	Cabo Delgado	QUISSANGA	EPC QUISSANGA	R	12	120	6	138	1
23	Nampula	ANGOCHE	EPC NGURA	R	994	2288	49	3331	9
24	Maputo Cidade	Ka Mavota	Escola Primária 10 de Novembro	U	340	1868	254	2462	6
25	Maputo Cidade	Cidade de Maputo	E. S. Z. MANGANHELAS	U	179	680	142	1001	3
26	Manica	SUSSUNDENGA	EP1 1 DE JUNHO	R	711	1921	127	2759	7
27	Maputo Provincia	C.MATOLA	EPC BAGAMOIO	U	1741	4451	799	6991	17
28	Sofala	MARROMEU	EPC JULIUS NYERERE	R	1031	718	79	1828	5
29	Sofala	NHAMATANDA	E.P.C Heróis Mocambicanos e 3 de Fevereiro	R	3800	2918	350	7068	18
30	Maputo Cidade	Ka Mubukwane	Escola Primária do Jardim	U	575	2770	515	3860	10

## What can be concluded?

1. The methodology described here is NOT a fraud detection mechanism, although it can be used as a reference point for official results. There certainly is a need for a relatively cheap and reliable result projection mechanism, because the official tabulation process lasts longer than a healthy election process can bear (nearly two weeks after the elections not all districts have managed to produce result sheets!!!). Yet, because of the speed these result projections also tend to “legitimize” fraud and wrongdoing at the polling station (there are strong indications of fraud in at least 5% of the polling stations). The correct results become the results as reported by parallel mechanisms and have the unintended effect of covering up for fraud. The aim

becomes “a correct result” (parallel and official counts coincide) rather than “correcting the results” (producing evidence of fraud where necessary). A quick reliable projection of results contributes to the transparency of the process, in particular in a case where official tabulation is notoriously slow. But it should be delivered with a warning that it may contain fraudulent results.

2. Although the political geography of Mozambique is still very patched, showing strong regional and local differences, the voting patterns in Mozambique seem sufficiently consolidated to be able to make reliable results projections on the basis of a relatively small sample. This is conform experiences in other countries. Further tests can be done based on current and past elections that can consolidate and improve the methodology.
3. This methodology does not claim to substitute the PVT as the latter also involves widespread observation that allows a qualitative judgment of the electoral process. There has been a tendency though to use the PVT as an instrument to make a reliable projection of the results (in fact the PVT should not predict, but rather provide a reliable method to verify the accuracy of the official results – it is an ex-post rather than an ex-ante instrument), and the claim is that there are alternative ways to do that. As this is no longer the case, it could be argued that the PVT focus shifts to fraud detection at the polling station and during the tabulation. Although some PVT observers send in impossible results from the polling station they observed there has not been a mechanism that backs up suspicious data with witness accounts as primary evidence. This points to a lack of professionalism among a good part of the national observers, that despite recurrent observations has not been duly addressed yet.
4. The CIP experiment confirms the reliability of the approach, with the added advantage that this methodology is faster and costs only 1% of the PVT. It is therefore accessible to more stakeholders (parties, observers, media,...) and less dependent from external financing.

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**A detailed report on the 2009 elections is available, in two parts, on**  
<http://bit.ly/MozElec2009-1a> and <http://bit.ly/MozElec2009-2>

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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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