

# 2014 National Elections



## Mozambique political process bulletin



Number NE-72 24 October 2014

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Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)  
Deputy editor: Adriano Nuvunga News editor: Teles Ribeiro Reporter: Idalêncio Sitoê

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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.

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## More evidence of ballot box stuffing

Reports of impossibly high turnouts are providing more evidence of ballot box stuffing. Turnouts of more than 80% of registered voters are highly unlikely in Mozambique, especially in rural areas where people have to walk long distances. It is much more likely that there has been ballot box stuffing, either putting unused ballot papers into the ballot box, or simply changing the results sheet (edital) at the end of the day. This occurs more easily in polling station where opposition parties have not been able to place delegates or polling station staff to watch the process.

Most extreme is Gaza, where five districts report very high turnouts: **Chicualacuala** 89%, **Chigubo** 82%, **Mabalane** 80%, **Massangena** 96% and **Massingir** 92%. These results are especially suspect when compared to equally loyal Frelimo areas of Gaza, such as Mandlakazi where the turnout was a more average 56%.

These five are small rural districts, but they have probably added 20,000 false votes for Frelimo candidate Filipe Nyussi.

The Electoral Observatory (EO) also points to suspiciously high turnouts in **Guija**, Gaza, where we do not have a district result yet.

Another suspect district is **Ka Nanyaka in Maputo city**, which reported a turnout of 79% compared to a city-wide turnout of 60%. Again the EO finds suspiciously high turnouts in the sample polling stations in that district.

**Mabote** district, Inhambane, with 81% turnout, was also reported by EO observers to have an impossibly high turnout.

EO data also point to ballot box stuffing in these districts:

Cabo Delgado: **Muidumbe**

Inhambane: **Inhassoro**, and **Panda**

Nampula: **Ilha de Moçambique** and **Nacala-a-Velha**

Niassa: **Mecula**

Tete: **Cahora Bassa**, **Changara**, and **Zumbo**

Most of these districts are strongly pro-Frelimo. The Tete districts are majority Frelimo with a significant Renamo vote. The Nampula districts are divided and hard fought. Ilha de Moçambique and Changara have a long history of ballot box stuffing in favour of Frelimo.

Historically, nearly all ballot box stuffing has been in favour of Frelimo and its presidential candidate.

## More than 5% of ballot boxes stuffed

We estimate that there was significant ballot box stuffing in more than 5% of polling stations, which probably increased the vote for Frelimo candidate Filipe Nyusi by more than 100,000.

Using the Electoral Observatory sample count, we also estimate that there were problems such as very late opening or changed location for about 130 polling stations. Observers and party delegates reported cases of polling stations having an additional register book which was not on the official list of polling stations and register books. We suggest this happened in up to 250 polling stations. The full report and analysis is published as Special Study 1.

The Electoral Observatory sample count collected data from observers in 1770 polling stations which were selected by statistical methods to be an accurate sample of the more than 17,000 polling stations. That information can be used to estimate the scale of problems.

We suggest that any turnout above 80% is irregular and probably indicates ballot box stuffing. And the sample count found that 5% of all polling stations had a higher turnout. If that percentage applies to all polling stations, that suggests that there was significant ballot box stuffing by polling station staff (MMVs, membros das mesas de voto) in more than 850 polling stations, which could have added more than 100,000 votes for Filipe Nyusi, the Frelimo presidential candidate. If that 100,000 is removed from his total, his share of the vote in the provincial count published yesterday would fall nearly 1%, from 56.8% down to 55.9%

Turnouts of over 80% were particularly noted in Tete, Gaza, Inhambane, and Cabo Delgado.

This estimate is based only on large-scale ballot box stuffing. We have also reported smaller scale ballot box stuffing, of a few extra ballot papers. That cannot be identified by these statistical methods.

## Minor correction

In our table of results yesterday, a misheard telephone report deprived Afonso Dhlakama of some votes. He actually received 357,000 in Zambézia. This makes the provincial national totals:

Afonso Dhlakama	1,777,093	36.77%
Filipe Nyusi	2,744,066	56.78%
Daviz Simango	311,358	6.44%

The full table, with corrections, is posted on <http://www.cip.org.mz/election2013/>  
We will update this table as we receive more complete versions of provincial totals.

We now have results for 107 of 150 districts, which are posted on <http://www.cip.org.mz/election2013/>

Provincial and district totals are before the inclusion of thousands of requalified votes. The CNE estimates that there are 700,000 invalid votes (nullos), and all of them are being reconsidered by the National Elections Commission. In more than 10% of cases, the CNE concludes that polling station staff have been too harsh, and the intent of the voter was clear even if the mark was not

precisely in the right square. These votes are then added in, and could increase the total by tens of thousands.

## PVT proved accurate

The parallel sample count (PVT, parallel votes tabulation) produced by EISA for the Electoral Observatory again proved to be quite accurate. Their final estimate, based on a sample of just over 10% of polling stations, was

Dhlakama: 35.22%

Nyusi 57.24%

Simango 7.54%

## COMMENT: PVT serves as a confirmation

The PVT provides an essential check on the electoral process. There have been widespread reports of the chaos and confusion around the district and provincial counts, including reports and arrests of officials trying to change the results.

Because the PVT is based on official copies of the results sheets (editais) collected by independent national observers at the polling station, the PVT provides an important check on any manipulation done at district, provincial and national level. Because the PVT prediction remains close to the provincial results, this suggests that there has been relatively little manipulation at intermediate levels, despite the confusion, and thus the results so far are approximately correct.

The PVT does not serve as a formal check on what happens at the polling station, but as we note in the articles above, we can make estimates of polling station misconduct. And we will continue to do so over the next few days. *jh*

## Two arrests in Beira for electoral fraud

Two election officials have been arrested in Beira for trying to tamper with the results, according to the Beira daily newspaper *Diário de Moçambique*. The MDM-nominated member of the Sofala Provincial Elections Commission (Comissão Provincial de Eleições, CPE), Lucas Zabica, was arrested Wednesday for trying to change the district editais for Chibabava to give more votes to MDM and Renamo and fewer to Frelimo.

The head of operations for Beira city STAE (Secretariado Técnico de Administração Eleitoral), Sónia Zimba or Dzimba, was arrested Tuesday after having been caught Monday changing polling station editais. *Canal de Moçambique* Wednesday reported that she sent staff out to lunch and then tried to replace editais from Manga Laforte neighbourhood with ones that gave more votes to Frelimo.

## ISS: 'Resumption of hostilities was a political masterstroke'

"As unlikely as it may seem, Renamo's return to the bush had proved to be a most effective campaign strategy," writes South Africa's Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in its analysis of the election

"Far from being Renamo's death knell, its resumption of hostilities was a political masterstroke. It was able to depict itself as the party that was able to take real action to defend its principles, which it argued were for the good of Mozambique as a whole. Dhlakama's rhetoric on the campaign trail echoed this, and emphasised values such as tolerance and unity, which contrasted sharply with Frelimo's either-with-us-or-against-us approach."

"Oddly enough, by pulling out of the democratic process, Renamo was able to demonstrate its commitment to it; at least as far as its constituency is concerned," ISS says.

<http://www.polity.org.za/article/renamos-renaissance-and-civil-war-as-election-strategy-2014-10-22>

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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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## **Mozambique Political Process Bulletin**

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**Published by CIP and AWEPA**

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CIP, Centro de Integridade Pública, Rua Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (ex-Pereira do Lago), 354, r/c  
(CP 3266) Maputo [www.cip.org.mz](http://www.cip.org.mz) [cip@cip.org.mz](mailto:cip@cip.org.mz) Tel: +258 21 492 335, 823 016 391, 843 890 584

AWEPA, the European Parliamentarians with Africa, Rua Licenciado Coutinho 77 (CP 2648) Maputo  
[awepa@awepa.org.mz](mailto:awepa@awepa.org.mz) Tel: +258 21 418 603, 21 418 608, 21 418 626

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

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