

Mozambique political process bulletin



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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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CIP, Centro de Integridade Pública
Rua B (1335) Nr. 79, Bairro da Coop (CP 3266) Maputo
www.cip.org.mz cip@cip.org.mz
Tel: +258 21 41 66 16, 82 300 33 29 Fax: +258 21 41 66 25

AWEPA, the European Parliamentarians with Africa
Rua Licenciado Coutinho 77 (CP 2648) Maputo
Tel: +258 21 418 603, 21 418 608, 21 418 626
Fax: +258 21 418 604 e-mail: awepa@awepa.org.mz

Frelimo wins another tainted election

Frelimo's Presidential candidate Filipe Nyusi won the 15 October 2014 election with 57% of the vote. Frelimo won 144 of the 250 seats in parliament (Assembleia da República, AR).

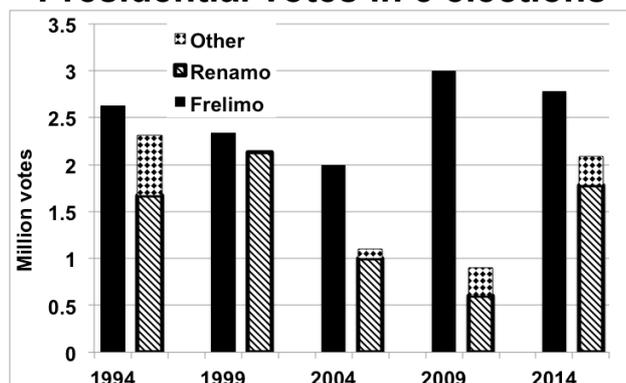
Afonso Dhlakama came second with 37% and Renamo has 89 seats. The Mozambique Democratic Movement (MDM, Movimento Democrático de Moçambique) won 17 seats and its presidential candidate Daviz Simango won 6% of the vote.

Results were announced by the National Elections Commission on 30 October. There were 26 other parties and coalitions standing for parliament in some provinces; they received 3% of the vote and won no parliamentary seats.

The election was again overshadowed by misconduct and unfairness, and there were problems in at least 12% of polling stations.

A total of 5.3 million people voted, compared to

Presidential votes in 5 elections



Déjà vu again

After the 2009 election we had an article headlined "Déjà vu - An unnecessarily tainted election". We said the Frelimo victory had been "overshadowed by unfairness and misconduct. Long term readers of this *Bulletin* will recognise that little has changed in response to harsh criticism of 1999 and 2004 elections; like a film being seen again, the same problems recur." And they recurred again this year.

Inside this *Bulletin* we again report on the misconduct, unfairness, secrecy, sloppiness and confusion. Election officials and political parties blame each other, but all share the responsibility. Two examples show the problems. Five years ago the opposition parties knew they would each need more than 20,000 party agents and STAE knew it would have to register them at the last minute. Yet neither side was prepared. And STAE has never created a system for district counts and parties have no system to monitor those counts. What were the parties and election officials doing for the past five years? Why was everything left until the last minute, yet again?

This was the fifth national multiparty election. Is misconduct and sloppiness a permanent part of the Mozambican electoral process? Will our headline in 2019 be "Déjà vu again once more"?

4.4 mn five years ago. Turnout was 49%, slightly up on the 45% in 2009 and 43% in 2004 elections. But this is lower than the first two elections - in 1994 5.4 mn people voted, with an 88% turnout, and in 1999 it was 5.3 mn and 74%.

Results were very similar to the 2004 election, when the Frelimo candidate Armando Guebuza gained 64% and Dhlakama 32%, and Frelimo had 160 parliamentary seats and Renamo 90.

Details of 2014 Presidential vote

	Votes at polling station	Votes requalified (accepted) by CNE	Valid votes after requalification	% valid votes	% total votes
Daviz Simango	306,884	3,041	309,925	6.36%	5.81%
Filipe Nyusi	2,761,025	17,472	2,778,497	57.03%	52.09%
Afonso Dhlakama	1,762,260	21,122	1,783,382	36.61%	33.44%
Total Valid	4,830,169	41,635	4,871,804	100.00%	91.34%
Blank votes	290,186				5.44%
Votes considered invalid at polling station	213,310				(4.00%)
Votes requalified (accepted) by CNE		41,635	-----		(0.78%)
Votes still invalid after requalification			171,675		3.22%
Total votes cast	5,333,665				100.00%

Nulos requalified (accepted) by CNE: 19.52%

Turnout: 48.64%

Presidential vote in five elections

Candidates	1994		1999		2004		2009		2014	
	mn	% of valid								
Chissano	2.6	53%	2.3	52%						
Guebuza					2.0	64%	3.0	75%		
Nyusi									2.8	57%
Dhlakama	1.7	34%	2.1	48%	1.0	32%	0.6	16%	1.8	37%
Domingos					0.1	3%				
Simango							0.3	9%	0.3	6%
Others	0.6	13%			0.1	2%				
		% of total								
Nulos	0.2	2.8%	0.1	2.9%	0.1	2.9%	0.2	4.0%	0.2	3.2%
Brancos	0.3	5.8%	0.3	6.5%	0.1	2.9%	0.3	6.0%	0.3	5.4%
Total	5.4		*5.3		3.3		4.4			5.3
Turnout		88%		*74%		**43%		45%		49%

* Estimated, to correct for 7% of polling stations excluded from the count.

** Estimated, to correct for register book errors and polling stations excluded from count.

There were 10 small party presidential candidates in 1994 and in 2004 there were 2 minor party candidates in addition to Raul Domingos

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But this year Frelimo did worse and Renamo better than the 2009 elections, when Guebuza won 75%, Dhlakama 16% and Simango 9%, and in parliament Frelimo 191 seats, Renamo 51, and MDM 8.

In 10 provinces there was a third ballot paper, for provincial assembly. This did not take place in Maputo city (which already has a municipal assembly), Africa or Europe. Of a total of 811 seats, Frelimo won 485, Renamo 295, and MDM 31.

The results must now be validated by the Constitutional Council, which has no legal deadline but which is expected to rule before Christmas.

In the election for President, 5.4% of ballots were left blank and 4.0% were considered invalid, both

Parliamentary seats in 5 elections

Partidos	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014
Frelimo	129	133	160	191	144
Renamo	112	117	90	51	89
MDM				8	17
UD	9				

slightly less than in 2009. Of the presidential votes considered invalid at the polling stations, 19% were accepted as valid by the CNE, compared to only 12% in 2009. Of those considered valid, more than half were for Dhlakama.

Full results tables are on pages 2 and 13-16.

CNE split on seriousness of problems

The election campaign was broadly peaceful and good tempered and polling ran smoothly in most places. Nevertheless, there were enough problems to raise serious questions about the conduct of the elections - discussed in more details starting on page 6.

The opposition was unable to provide hard evidence of widespread misconduct. But there was a broad disquiet from observers and independent media - the best that could be said was that problems were no more serious than in 2009 and 2004, but critics said it was worse.

As part of a package ending Renamo military action earlier this year, Renamo gained more representation on election commissions and STAE

(Secretariado Técnico da Administração Eleitoral; Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration; see page 3)

The result was a sharply divided CNE. The final results, announced 30 October, the last day allowed by the law, were only approved by a 10-7 vote. And subsequent rejections of opposition protests were only approved 9-8.

Provinces: 5 Frelimo, 3 opposition, 3 equal

The vote shows Frelimo dominance in the four southern provinces and Cabo Delgado in the north, and significant opposition majorities in Nampula, Zambézia and Sofala. Tete, Manica and Niassa are closely divided.

Collective Action

This Bulletin is based on reports from 150 journalists in nearly every district, working together to give detailed coverage of the election. We are also working with the Community Radios Forum (FORCOM) and the Human Rights League. During the campaign and electoral period, we published 77 newsletters and three special studies. They are available on <http://bit.ly/NatElec>

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Nyusi won more than half the Presidential votes in seven of 13 constituencies - **Cabo Delgado, Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo provinces, Maputo city**, and the two seats for the diaspora, Africa and Europe. Frelimo also won large majorities there for national parliament (AR) and provincial assemblies.

Dhlakama won more than half the presidential vote in **Zambézia and Sofala** and Renamo won a majority in the provincial assemblies. For national parliament (AR), both elected opposition majorities: Zambézia - 22 Renamo, 5 MDM, 18 Frelimo and Sofala - 10 Renamo, 3 MDM, and 8 Frelimo.

In **Nampula** Dhlakama came close to a majority with 49.8% of the presidential vote. For AR the result was Renamo 22, MDM 3 and Frelimo 22. Frelimo has a 1 seat majority in the provincial assembly.

The three other provinces of **Niassa, Tete and Manica** are closely divided. All three sent equal numbers of Frelimo and opposition to the AR: Niassa - 6 Renamo, 1 MDM and 7 Frelimo; Tete -

10 Renamo 1 MDM and 11 Frelimo, and Manica - 8 Renamo and 8 Frelimo.

In the presidential race, Dhlakama came first in Tete and Manica but with less than half the vote and Nyusi came first in Niassa but with less than half the

vote. Finally, Manica has a divided provincial assembly with 39 Renamo, 1 MDM and 40 Frelimo, while Frelimo has a majority in Niassa and Renamo has a majority in Tete.

Law changes gave bigger role to parties - *which they failed to use*

Significant changes were made to the electoral laws early this year after negotiations between Renamo and government. Renamo boycotted municipal elections last year, and began military actions, attacking road traffic and police and military posts in Sofala province. In negotiations government suddenly agreed to give Renamo anything it asked with respect to elections and Renamo agreed to end its boycott of elections. Parliament (Assembleia da República, AR) approved the law changes in February, and the final revised laws were promulgated by the President on 4 April. (For more details, see *Elections Bulletin* 53, 9 April 2014.)

Renamo has not, however, disarmed or demobilised its soldiers, making it the only armed party in the elections.

The main change is to give the two main political parties, Frelimo and Renamo, a much larger presence in the electoral administration than in previous elections. The third party in parliament, MDM, also gained a presence, but less than that for

Frelimo and Renamo. (Local elections last year were carried out under the previous laws.)

The previous 13-member National Elections Commission (**CNE**) had 5 Frelimo, 2 Renamo (boycotted, so remained vacant), 1 MDM, 3 civil society, and 2 legal figures, a magistrate and a public prosecutor. The new CNE has 17 members, 5 Frelimo and 1 MDM (unchanged), 4 Renamo (up from 2), and 7 civil society (up from 3). The two legal figures are dropped. One Frelimo and one Renamo, but not MDM, were promoted to new posts as vice-presidents.

At provincial and district levels, elections commissions had 11 members: 3 Frelimo, 2 Renamo, 1 MDM and 5 civil society. The revised law adds 4 civil society members, bringing the total to 9 and the commission membership to 15. Again there are Renamo and Frelimo vice-presidents.

As part of the package, there was an informal agreement on two points: Moslem cleric Sheik Abdul Carimo remained president (chair) of the CNE, and Renamo had the right to name two of the four new civil society members of each election commission.

The election administration secretariat (**STAE**, Secretariado Técnico de Administração Eleitoral) at national level has a permanent staff including a director-general and three department directors - organisation, training, and administration & finance. The revised law says that during electoral periods there are 26 additional political appointments: two deputy-director generals (1 Frelimo, 1 Renamo, no MDM), six deputy department directors (3 Frelimo, 2 Renamo, 1 MDM) and 18 other politically appointed staff (9 Frelimo, 8 Renamo, 1 MDM).

At province, district and city level during electoral periods there are the same extra 8 high figures - 2 deputy directors and 6 deputy department heads - and 6 further politically appointed staff (3 Frelimo, 2 Renamo, 1 MDM).

Autonomous polling stations

The Mozambique electoral system is based on autonomous polling stations. Most voters register at a school. Registration books can have up to 800 voters, and when a book is full, a new one is opened. Each register book (*caderno*) is assigned to a polling station, which must be in the same place where the voter registered. So a school becomes a polling centre, with a different polling station in each classroom and a sign showing voters the registration book number of that classroom.

Each polling station has a staff of 7, known as MMVs. When voting stops at 18.00, the count is carried out immediately in that polling station. A results sheet (*editais*) is immediately posted on the door of the classroom. Party delegates, media and observers can be present during the voting and counting, and can receive copies of the *editais*. This makes it possible to do parallel counts, which are done by parties and the media. Radio Moçambique, for example, reads out results from *editais* all over the country on the day after polling day, and a parallel sample count was done for the Electoral Observatory.

Editais are sent to the district for tabulation. District results are then sent to the province for tabulation, and provincial results to the CNE in Maputo. All invalid and challenged ballot papers are sent to Maputo for reconsideration. More than 700.000 ballot papers were reconsidered in Maputo this year.

Staff at each **polling station** (*membros da mesa da assembleia de voto*, MMVs) was increased from 5 to 7 members, a president, vice president, secretary, and four scrutineers. Four were recruited as in the past by open application (*concurso público*) and, for the first time, one each named by the three parties in parliament.

Polling stations continued to also have party delegates (poll watchers, scrutineers) who observe and can file protests. Thus the three main parties have the right to two people in each polling station, an MMV and a delegate.

At Renamo's request, parliament also approved a complete change to the complaints procedure. Previously complaints were made through election commissions, and few were accepted. Renamo proposed that district courts should handle all complaints, and to speed up the process, all complaints had to be made within 48 hours and the court had to act within 48 hours. The Supreme Court gave special training to district magistrates to handle electoral cases.

Opposition not proactive

Unfortunately, the opposition parties proved unable to make use of the new systems. Only 24 complaints were made by political parties to district courts about the elections. Only one, by Frelimo, was accepted. All others were rejected for lack of evidence or for

being more than 48 hours after the event, according to Supreme Court judge Pedro Nuatitima.

Carter Centre observers noted a lack of both party-nominated polling station staff (MMVs) and party delegates in polling stations. Of the 434 polling stations observed during the voting, 20% were missing some staff (MMVs), typically those nominated by opposition parties. And in 18% of polling stations, only Frelimo had a delegate. Observers also noted that some polling stations had more than one Frelimo delegate present, in violation of the CNE rules which said a party could only have one delegate.

The problem was two-fold. Opposition parties were unable to find enough people, but also the Carter Centre estimates that at least 1000 party delegates were not accredited. MDM and Renamo did not use their people inside STAE and elections commissions to resolve the accreditation problem.

Similarly, opposition parties had MMVs in more than 80% polling stations, but were unable to prevent misconduct or collect evidence where misconduct took place, even where it was noted by observers or media. Having members of STAE and district election commissions did not prevent problems with counts. Indeed, opposition party MMVs and election commission members sometimes signed manifestly incorrect results sheets (*editais*).

Parallel count proved accurate

A parallel sample count (PVT, parallel vote tabulation) carried out by EISA (Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa) for the Electoral Observatory again proved to be quite accurate. The parallel count was supposed to be done on a statistically valid sample of 2107 polling stations. The actual sample was 1798 polling stations, 10.6% of the total national polling stations. The two biggest problem provinces were Tete, where 27% of polling stations could not be sampled - in part due to political pressure on observers - and Nampula - where 20% of observers were never given credentials by the electoral authorities.

In most cases, observers from the Electoral Observatory remained in the selected polling station for the entire day, including the count; in a few cases they only went at the end and copy down the posted result.

The final estimate of the PVT was quite close:

	PVT	Actual
Dhlakama:	35%	37%
Nyusi	57%	57%
Simango	8%	6%

The PVT provides an essential check on the electoral process. Because the PVT is based on official copies of the results sheets (*editais*) collected by independent national observers at the polling station, the PVT is a check on any manipulation done at district, provincial and national level. The closeness of the PVT to the final result suggests that

there has been relatively little manipulation at intermediate levels, despite the confusion.

The PVT does not serve as a formal check on what happens at the polling station, and it might be expected that polling station staff would be more careful when an observer was present. Perhaps surprisingly, the PVT shows evidence of ballot box stuffing, invalidation of opposition votes, and other problems, which we discuss below.

Orderly campaign ...

This 31 August - 12 October election campaign was more peaceful and with fewer election law violations than in the past, with parties showing more maturity, according our 150 journalists reporting from across the country. In general, they report political tolerance; for example, when political caravans met

there was usually courtesy and not confrontation. There was violence in four provinces: Gaza, Tete, Nampula and Sofala, discussed below.

There were the normal incidents of parties tearing down each other's posters, and of posters being put in improper places such as road signs and public buildings, but this, too, was not serious. There were some arrests, largely of opposition members.

There were fewer reports than in the past of Frelimo illegally using government cars. But in the most serious incident, in Sofala, a Dondo District Planning Services car carrying Frelimo supporters back from a rally was hit by a train on 1 October, killing one person and seriously injuring others.

... but unfair Frelimo advantage

Frelimo was accused of using its advantages as the governing party much more openly this year than in 2009. It seemed to have more money and was giving away not just t-shirts, but bicycles, and had the cash to hire and buy cars - which was one reason for less use of state cars.

Even before the campaign started, President Armando Guebuza used his Open Presidency tours in the provinces to introduce Filipe Nyusi as his successor.

The European Union observer mission was highly critical of the electoral campaign: "During the campaign, Frelimo profited from access to the national governmental administrative structure, mobilizing civil servants to its campaign marches and rallies and eventually using official vehicles, as witnessed by and reported to EU observers, giving the ruling party an unfair advantage over its adversaries and leaving the electoral process far from a level playing field." Also, police were biased in favour of Frelimo.

The electoral law requires state-controlled media to be balanced, and the EU praised Radio Moçambique. But it was highly critical of TVM and *Notícias*. TVM gave 64% of its coverage to Nyusi and always opened and closed its election coverage with him; Simango gained 19% of TVM time and Dhlakama 17%. *Notícias* gave 60% of space and the most prominent positions to Nyusi, 23% to Dhlakama, and 17% to Simango, the EU reported.

Misconduct, sloppiness and other problems

Most polling station staff were hard-working and conscientious, committed to making the election work well. Most election campaigning passed peacefully and in good humour. But "most" is not good enough. We estimate that more than 12% of polling stations had problems on voting day. And there were problems with registration, the campaign, counting, and information.

Renamo and MDM claim to have files of evidence of misconduct, but they have been unwilling to show their proof to us or to other media. Instead, we have drawn on reports from our own 150 journalists, from national and international observers, from other media, and anecdotal reports from parties. In addition, we have used the PVT (parallel vote tabulation) to estimate a minimum of 12.4% of polling stations, more than 2100, with problems:

- In more than 750 polling stations (4.5% of the total) there were an excessive number of invalid votes, which implies votes were made invalid improperly
- In at least 680 polling stations (4% of the total) there was ballot box stuffing.
- In 250 polling stations (1.4% of the total) there was an extra, unreported register book which was not on the official list.
- In 450 polling stations (2.5% of the total) turnout was improbably low, suggesting very late opening or other administrative problems.

The CNE itself excluded editais from 330 polling stations.

We first consider four problem provinces. Then we look in detail at the different kinds of problems - ballot box stuffing, improperly invalidating opposition ballots, late opening, registration books, counting,

and information. In a few places we also note improvements on past elections.

Four problem provinces

Most problems during the campaign and voting centred on four provinces: Gaza, Tete, Nampula and Sofala - generally in places that have shown similar problems in past elections. Without any announcement, in September this year the CNE finally published detailed results of the 2009 elections, which makes it possible to do some comparisons. And they show that some of the confrontations occurred in places where there was fraud in 2009.

Gaza

Traditionally considered the Frelimo heartland, Gaza has only once elected an opposition member to parliament (1 in 1994) and in past elections there has been huge social and political pressure to keep the opposition out. This resulted in some of the most intense and organised violence of the campaign, when MDM presidential candidate Daviz Simango's campaign caravan was attacked by organised groups on 22 and 23 September in Chibuto, Xai-Xai, Chokwé and Macia. In Chibuto, 300 Frelimo supporters armed with sticks, machetes, stones and

bottles arrived in trucks and cars and attacked MDM supporters waiting for Simango, according to our local journalists. Police were present but did not intervene. CNE president Abdul Carimo publicly called the violence in Gaza "disgraceful" and spoke to Frelimo leaders. That stopped the organised attacks.

Renamo accuses Frelimo of pressuring and intimidating people to not rent rooms to Renamo polling station staff (MMVs) and party delegates who had come from outside. They claim one house they rented was burned and party members were threatened. Finally many MMVs and party delegates withdrew. Similar pressure and intimidation was reported in 2009.

One result was that without opposition members watching the polls, there was widespread ballot box stuffing, indicated by impossible turnouts. Official results for the provincial assembly election (the only district results released so far) show a 97% turnout in Massingena district, with 99% of them voting for Frelimo. In the entire district, only 251 people failed to vote.

Other high turnouts were 92% in Massingir district, 89% in Chicualacuala, 82% in Chigubu, and 80% in Mabalane. By contrast in Mandlacazi district, which is staunchly Frelimo (93%) but was more closely monitored, the turnout was only 55%,

Tete

Tete has been a battleground, having gone from majority Renamo in 1994 and 1998 to overwhelmingly Frelimo in the next two elections, and marginal this year.

On polling day crowds of Renamo supporters attacked 44 polling stations in Tsanganano district and 26 in Macanga. Alleging the ballot boxes were already stuffed, they burned ballot papers and destroyed equipment. Voting was cancelled. (In 2009 in Chiandame, Tsanganano, there are suggestions of both ballot box stuffing in favour of Frelimo and improper invalidation of votes for Renamo.)

Tete has a long history of ballot box stuffing, and of excluding party agents and observers from polling stations. Usually what is done is simply changing the results sheet to have an impossibly high turnout, with the extra votes going to Frelimo. Turnout in Tete is 54% and that is probably exaggerated. But three districts, which always have ballot box stuffing, showed it again this year. For provincial assembly, Changara had a 78% turnout and of those, 87% voted for Frelimo, followed by Magoe 76% turnout (94% for Frelimo), and Cahora Bassa 70% (82% Frelimo).

Nampula

In one of the most serious incidents, Nampula election officials failed to issue credentials to 400 observers from the Electoral Observatory, despite the list having been submitted a week in advance.

Some credentials were finally issued on the afternoon of polling day, 15 October, and the PVT was disrupted in Nampula. There were also accusations of police bias against the opposition.

There were a series of violent incidents. MDM supporters carrying a mock coffin of Frelimo presidential candidate Nyusi and singing anti-Frelimo songs marched into Hero's Square (Praça dos Heróis) in Nampula on 25 September during the official ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the start of the independence war, triggering a brawl between Frelimo and MDM supporters. The riot police fired tear gas, which ended the ceremony. Six people were injured and nine arrested.

Then on the morning of 12 October skirmishes between Frelimo and Renamo supporters in Nampula left 11 people arrested and 15 injured. Renamo men threw stones at cars and attacked people with Frelimo t-shirts. Police that afternoon launched tear gas into a crowd of Renamo supporters before presidential candidate Afonso Dhlakama's final rally at 25 de Setembro stadium in Nampula. Police refused to bring two of those arrested to court the following week and a judge eventually ordered their release saying they had been improperly arrested.

In Angoche on Sunday 12 October a confrontation between Frelimo and Renamo in Inguri bairro caused serious injuries and attacks on Frelimo and Renamo houses. There were further incidents in Inguri on polling day when Renamo attacked polling stations during the count, forcing staff to flee, carrying the ballot boxes, to count in the election offices. (In 2009, one polling station in Inguri showed nearly 100 votes for Renamo fraudulently invalidated.)

And a 15-year-old boy was shot and killed by the police on voting day, 15 October, at Jembesse primary school on the mainland side in Ilha de Moçambique, Nampula. Disturbances started early in the day when Renamo members alleged that there was ballot box stuffing, and demonstrators blocked the road. Eventually police intervened. (In the 2009 election results there are indications of ballot box stuffing at Jembesse primary school.)

Sofala

MDM and Renamo both refused to recognise or sign the district results in Dondo, Sofala, claiming the results which gave victory to Frelimo were fraudulent and resulted from ballot box stuffing by polling station staff. Renamo district representative Paulo Júnior Chipenembe claims that in Mafambisse, a teacher who is a Renamo sympathiser was shot by police when he tried to stop ballot box stuffing. (The 2009 results show indications of both ballot box stuffing and falsely invalidating Renamo votes in Mafambisse.) In Dondo a reporter for the newspaper *Zambeze* was attacked and had his camera confiscated after he took pictures said to show

polling station staff marking ballot papers for Frelimo.

In Beira there was a problem of late opening of polling stations and missing register books (*cadernos*). STAE was still signing contracts with polling station staff and assigning them to polling stations on the morning of voting day, which meant some did not open on time. Also there was a problem with register books going to the wrong polling stations in at least six schools. Two election officials were arrested in Beira for trying to tamper with the results.

Ballot box stuffing

Ballot box stuffing - adding extra votes for one party - is a common problem in elections across the world. In Mozambique it takes two forms. One is to put extra physical ballot papers in the box. The second is to simply change the results sheet (*edital*) to add additional votes. In both cases it is usually to benefit Frelimo.

Extra ballot papers

Complaints about extra physical ballots over several elections led to a series of changes in the law which now requires that all ballot papers have the number of the polling station, which must be read out during the count to confirm that the ballot paper came from that polling station. That, in turn, led to a new form of fraud which was seen by journalists, observers and party agents in enough places to suggest that it may have been nationally organised, at least in an informal way.

One member of the polling station staff (MMV) has the books of ballot papers which are handed out to each voter. With turnout around 50% they can be sure that not all ballots will be used, so when no one is looking, ballot papers are taken from further down in the book. These are then passed to identified Frelimo supporters when they are voting, and they deposit several ballots in the box. Often the ballot papers are pre-marked for Frelimo before being passed on to supporters. Handfuls of pre-marked ballot papers were seen inside polling stations in a wide range of places including Matola, Quelimane, Beira, Dondo and Chidenguele (Gaza). In Angonia (Tete), the president of a polling station was arrested when he was found with ballot papers already marked for Frelimo.

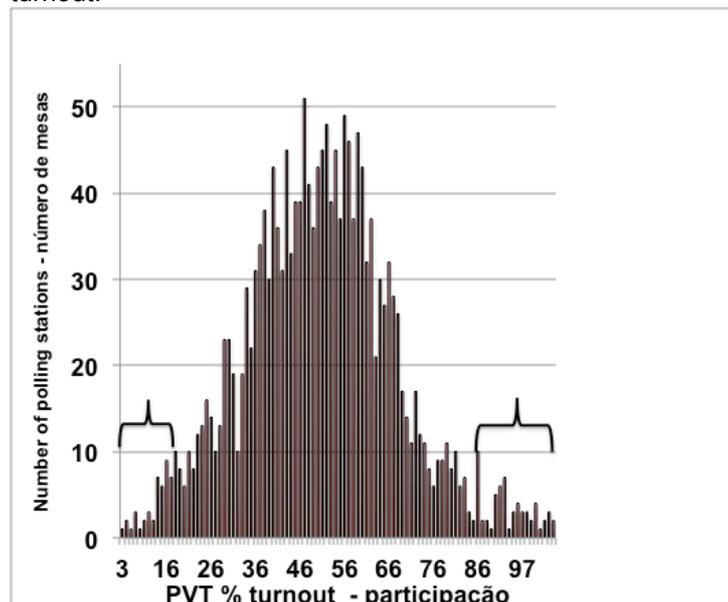
Although it is impossible to estimate how widespread this was, we do below note that in some polling stations there were "extra" votes for president, which could be an indicator of ballots stuffed only for president and not parliament.

Changing the *edital*

The other system which has been noted in all the Mozambican elections is simply to change the *edital*

to sharply increase the turnout, and give the extra votes to the Frelimo presidential candidate. We note above that this clearly occurred in Gaza and Tete. For 2009 elections, we can use recently published data to look for anomalous results. For this year, we can use the PVT reports of polling stations. We assume that polling stations with PVT observers are more likely to be honest, and thus that at a minimum the results can be extrapolated to all polling stations.

The chart shows the turnout at 1770 of the sample polling stations (excluding 27 polling stations with a turnout of over 105%, which are discussed below). We have divided the turnout into 1% bands, and each bar shows the number of polling stations with that turnout. Thus the tallest bar shows that 51 polling stations had a turnout of 47%. The brackets show exceptionally small or exceptionally high turnout.



We consider turnouts above 85% to be suspicious, and the bracket on the right shows 63 polling stations with a turnout above 85% and below 105%. This is quite a large group, 3.6% of all sample polling stations. The national turnout was 49%, and in these 63 polling stations we estimate there was an average of 142 voters each who could be considered "extra" or more than 49%. If we then extrapolate these numbers to the entire 17,012 national polling stations, 3.6% of polling stations is 612 polling stations with a much too high turnout and thus ballot box stuffing. If each had 142 "extra" voters as in the PVT sample, this would mean 87,000 "extra" votes.

The CNE could order recounts in polling stations with very high turnouts, to see if there were ballot papers to correspond to all votes. If not, it would mean that the *edital* was changed, and at least the polling station president could be prosecuted for an electoral crime. But this has never been done.

More president than AR

The PVT can also be used to pick up another indicator of ballot box stuffing - if there are many more votes for president than for parliament (AR). The ballot boxes for president and AR are side by side, and observers and journalists almost never see a voter put a ballot in one box and not in the other. Thus a difference between the two suggests extra votes have been added for president, either by changing the *edital* or with extra ballot papers just for president.

This was not as common as high turnouts, but the PVT reported that in 1.2% of polling stations the results show that between 10% and 90% of voters deposited ballots for president and not for parliament.

Some polling stations fall into two groups. For example, one polling station in Nhaacamba primary school in Changara, Tete, had a 100% turnout, but 21% of those voters did not bother to put a vote in the parliamentary ballot box. Changara has been notorious for ballot box stuffing in past elections.

If we exclude those polling stations already noted for excessively high turnout, the PVT showed that an additional 0.4% of polling stations had questionable numbers of ballots placed in the presidential ballot box but not in the parliamentary box. If applied to all polling stations, this suggests that 20,000 people voted for president and not parliament which we believe to be due ballot box stuffing.

Combining the two groups, we believe the PVT shows that at least 4.0% of polling stations had ballot box stuffing, and that nationally there must be at least 107,000 extra votes for president.

Invalidating ballot papers

All invalid ballot papers (*nulos*) are sent to Maputo to be reconsidered by the CNE. This is necessary because the law says the vote is valid if the intention of the voter is clear, but many polling stations take too hard a line and reject votes where the X or fingerprint goes over into an adjoining box. The requalification of *nulos* is open to media and observers. Most *nulos* really are invalid, with two Xs or fingerprints, but some are correctly considered valid.

Extra fingerprint

The requalification process also makes two kinds of fraud apparent. The first became more common in 2009, and involves putting an extra ink fingerprint on a set of opposition votes to make them invalid. During the count ballot papers are piled on the floor and it appears that in the dark when no one is watching, someone puts an extra fingerprint on a set of opposition ballot papers. Ballots tend to be kept in stacks, so this becomes obvious in the requalification because there is an extra fingerprint in precisely the same place in a series of ballot papers.

An indication that this became more common in 2009 was that the percentage of *nulos* in the presidential election, after requalification, was 2.7% in 2004 but jumped to 4.0% in 2009. This year the law was changed to force the removal of all ink from the polling station during the count. This seems to have worked because the presidential *nulos* after requalification fell to 3.2% this year. But some ink was snuck into some polling stations for the count, and we did still see falsely invalidated ballot papers during the requalification.

Falsely invalidating ballot papers is illegal, but the CNE declined to take any action to prosecute. The people revalidating *nulos* were not instructed to separate out obvious groups of improperly invalidated ballot papers. This could have allowed prosecution, because all ballot papers now have the number of the polling station, and the fingerprints are sometimes clear enough to indicate which individual left the print.

Wrong pile

The share of *nulos* before requalification did not change; it was 4.5% in 2009 and 4.4% this year. But a much higher percentage of *nulos* were accepted as valid this year. This partly reflects better training for those doing the requalification of more than 700,000 ballot papers. But it also appears to reflect a new kind of fraud as an alternative to the extra ink marks. During the requalification we saw groups of ballots which were obviously valid votes for the opposition, and could not possibly be considered *nulo*. This suggests that during the count, polling station staff simply moved ballot papers from the opposition vote pile to the *nulo* pile. This has no impact of the final result as they are accepted as valid in Maputo, but it looks better for Frelimo locally because the vote for the opposition is reduced.

Again we can use the PVT, this time to estimate excessive invalid votes. We note that the PVT showed only 3.6% *nulos*, while the actual figure was 4.4%, which does suggest there was less fraud where observers were present. Nevertheless, fraud was shown in the PVT. Marromeu, Sofala, has a history of invalidating ballot papers (Frelimo probably won the 2013 local elections this way). The 25 de Junho primary school in Marromeu had one polling station with 56% invalid votes in the presidential election. The presidential ballot paper is simple, with just three candidates and large squares for the voter to make their mark. We do not believe that more than half of voters did not know how to vote or decided to spoil their ballot papers.

As in past elections, we consider a rate of *nulos* of over 10% to be suspect. In the PVT sample, 4.5% of polling stations had more than 10% invalid votes.

Late opening

Only 4 polling stations in Mozambique did not open. All were in Lago, Niassa, with 679 voters, because helicopters delivering voting materials ran out of fuel, according to the CNE. But our journalists reported that a significant number of polling stations did not open on time, often because they had the wrong register book or none at all. Some problems were resolved quickly, for example where register books had been sent to wrong schools in the same city and could be quickly exchanged.

There were particular problems in Nampula, Nacala, Angoche and Beira. Some polling stations did not open until the afternoon, although CNE spokesperson Paulo Cuinica says that all opened eventually.

But this appears to be illegal. According to the electoral law, in the event of any irregularity that stops voting, the polling station staff has only four hours to resolve the problem. If it is impossible to reopen within four hours, the president must close the polling station.

Polling stations are supposed to open at 7 am and that means if they cannot open, for example because they do not have a register book, then the problem must be solved by 11 am. Opening in the afternoon violates the electoral law. And this is sensible, because once people have given up and gone home, it is difficult to tell them in the late afternoon that the polling station is open.

On the chart on page 8, the bracket on the left highlights 45 polling stations with an extremely low turnout of less than 18%. This is 2.5% of polling stations in the PVT sample. These are likely to be polling stations which opened very late, where there was confusion over register books, or where the polling station was moved and the voters were not told. This suggests that STAE had problems with 2.5%, or approximately 450, polling stations. The problem was most notable in Zambézia, Nampula, Niassa, and Sofala.

Registration books

Observers and journalists reported that some polling stations had extra register books (*cadernos*) not on the official list of polling stations. These extra books are sometimes called a “transfer list” (*lista de transferidos*) or simply an “extra voters list” (*lista dos agregados*).

Where there are two small register books and the total does not exceed 800 voters, the two books can be combined in a single polling station. This was done in some places, and the official list gives the numbers of both register books. But in some polling stations, the extra book was not on the list.

Tete city suspended counting for a day because there were 234 *editais* and only 178 polling stations. The official STAE explanation was where polling stations had more than one register book, MMVs incorrectly did a separate *edital* for each book instead of one for the whole polling station. Even so,

that means 58 extra books, while the official list gives only 37.

The issue is further confused because the CNE “found” an extra 177,083 voters in August. These are included in the official provincial and national totals, but it is not clear how these extra voters were allocated to polling stations.

The PVT showed 27 polling stations with a turnout above 105%, with turnout going up to 10 times the number of voters who should have been on the register according to the official list. We think most of these 27 polling stations are examples of unreported extra register books. These polling stations are 1.4% of the sample, which suggests that up to 250 polling stations had extra, unreported, register books. These tend to be polling stations with larger numbers of people voting, and they accounted for 2.5% of the votes in the PVT sample.

Lack of information

Sheik Abdul Carimo took over as president of the CNE in May 2013 with a promise “to impart greater dynamism, opening the doors of the CNE”. Initially this was the case, for example with improved systems for receiving candidates’ nomination papers and more contacts with the media. But this year the system collapsed, and this CNE provided less information than in 2009.

For example, the CNE website was redesigned and re-launched, and now provides virtually no information. Results were not posted, the revised laws from early this year were not put on the website, and only a few CNE decisions were posted.

As in 2009 there was a press centre and this year 85 foreign journalists were accredited, mainly from South Africa. As in 2009 the press centre began to announce twice daily partial results based on the provincial counts up to that time. But after one day, the CNE ordered it to stop. The CNE also ordered the press centre not to provide the results of provincial counts, which had been published by the press centre in 2009. The CNE argued that media should obtain the results directly from provincial elections commissions, which was not useful for Maputo-based and foreign press.

And other information has been slow to obtain. Provincial assembly results which should have been made available within two weeks of the voting were only provided after a month. And the CNE has been unwilling or unable to provide any information on party funding.

District counts open but chaotic

District and city election commissions (CDEs) add up the results from *editais* from individual polling stations. In the past these counts have been closed to media and observers. But after the Constitutional Council last year ordered the municipal election in

Gurué to be rerun because of fraud at district and provincial level, the CNE came under pressure from media and observers to open district and provincial counts. It finally agreed, but observers found widespread confusion. It became clear that in nine elections, the CNE and STAE have never issued any instructions as to how the district count should be done.

With no guidance from STAE at national level, each CDE set up its own systems. Some used computers, some used pencil and paper, and some wrote on classroom blackboards. Some started as soon as they received their first *editais* while others waited until they received them all. Some started with data submitted by telephone and SMS and some waited for *editais*. Some did everything neatly while others had papers spread around the room and different people seemed to be following different systems. Some used special rooms, others were in smaller crowded rooms, and one was done in the district STAE director's office. Some allowed party representatives to check the final table and some did not. In some places it was impossible to check the data being input.

The best organised was Tete city CDE which set up a special room. Each result sheet was shown to observers, party agents, and journalists, then the results were read out. Data was input to a computer, and was displayed on a large screen so everyone could see the input was correct.

Some CDEs, in violation of the law, refused to post the *editais* or give copies to observers and media. Despite the CNE ruling, a few CDEs and, initially, the provinces of Cabo Delgado and Zambézia, refused to allow in observers.

Comment

Opposition shares the blame

The articles above are critical of STAE and CNE for not resolving problems that have been known for more than a decade. But the opposition parties share the blame. The law says that they must provide their lists of delegates 20 days before the election, and they failed to do so. The CNE ordered STAE to accept names after the deadline, but the opposition parties were still submitting lists two days before polling day. Opposition parties have known for five years that that they would need tens of thousands of people and MDM knew from local

elections last year that it had been unable to recruit enough people, even in Maputo. The opposition failed to use the time available to find people.

Similarly they have known since February that they would each need 17,000 polling station members (MMVs) as well as hundreds of STAE staff members and election commission members, and that they would have to give them at least minimal training and support if they were to defend the interests of their parties. Delegates and MMVs needed to know how to make protests and that they needed to contact district courts within 48 hours. Having all these extra people inside the system seems to have been of little use to the opposition parties.

By definition, elections are competitive and across the world political parties know they must watch for the tricks of the other parties. Through its system of party delegates, observers, and now party members in STAE and MMVs, the Mozambican law puts major stress on the parties watching the process closely to prevent fraud - and changes this year increased that role. Opposition parties failed to watch, and they cannot shift the blame onto STAE and CNE.

Theft from houses is a problem in many cities, and it is controlled in three ways: it is illegal, there are police, and we lock our houses. If I do not lock my door and the thief walks in, it is partly my fault. It is a crime and I hope the police catch the crook. But it is partly my responsibility because I made the theft easier. The opposition parties are right to complain that electoral fraud is a crime, that the police and CNE should have been more vigilant, and the perpetrators should be punished. But Renamo and MDM closed their eyes. They left the door not just unlocked, but wide open.

Of course the opposition does not have the same resources as Frelimo. So the first step is revise the electoral law in ways that they can actually use. There is no point in putting more and more people into the electoral machine if it is impossible to find and train people who feel a commitment and responsibility to be vigilant to defend their party. And they will need to start now organising people for municipal elections in four years and national elections in five years.

Election officials and opposition parties share the blame for the misconduct and sloppiness. Both need to do better. *jh*

Only 3 presidential candidates

Only the candidates of the three main parties were able to stand for president. None of the 8 independent and small party candidates could provide the required 10,000 nomination signatures. One candidate, Miguel Rafael Simbine Mabote of the Workers Party (PT), came very close, with 9,796 signatures. Raúl Manuel Domingos came next with 8,150 valid signatures.

The Constitutional Council (CC) in its 5 August decision was harshly critical of several candidates who submitted signatures which were manifestly false, either because they were written in numerical order and obviously simply copied out of registration lists, or where many signatures were clearly in the same handwriting. Nomination signatures must be signed in the presence of a notary and the CC points out that notaries approved signatures which were "flagrantly falsified." It noted that this practice had been criticised by the CC when signatures were rejected before the 2009 presidential election.

89% registration

The number of people registered to vote was 10,874,328, which was 89% of the 12,203,727 Mozambicans who were estimated to be over 18 years old on polling day, 15 October. This is similar to the registration of 90% in 2009.

Last year, 3,059,579 voters registered for municipal elections and did not need to register again. Registration was scheduled for 30 January to 14 April, then postponed to 15 February to 29 April to accommodate Renamo, and then extended to 14 May in some areas, notably the 13 registration posts that did not open in Sofala due to Renamo military action. Initially, registration was dogged by equipment problems, especially batteries and generators.

Final registration figures were announced in May and parliamentary seats assigned and announced so that parties could submit their lists of candidates. Elections to parliament is by a party list system and there are 13 constituencies - the 11 provinces plus two seats for the diaspora in Europe and Africa.

Then suddenly in August, after candidates lists had already been submitted, the CNE announced that it had found 177,083 extra voters. There was never a clear explanation of the source of these extra voters. CNE spokesman Paulo Cuinica argued that official numbers issued in May and the parliamentary seats assigned were really just estimates and that only in August had they calculated the real figures.

The CNE found 4% more voters in Zambézia and more than 3% extra in Gaza and Tete. This was enough to shift two parliamentary seats from Nampula to Zambézia and 1 seat from Inhambane to Gaza.

CNE gives a seat to Gaza instead of Nampula

Since 1994, the electoral law has been mathematically incorrect in the way it assigns parliament (AR) seats to provinces, and it usually gives more or fewer than the required 248 seats in parliament. (2 extra for the diaspora gives 250 seats.) With the new registration figures, the law only allocated 246 seats for the 248 seat parliament.

The law says that the number of registered voters should simply be divided by 248, then the number of voters in each province should be divided by that number to give the number of provincial seats. Dividing in this way always give a decimal, and you cannot have fractions of seats, so the norm is that if the decimal is 0.5 or larger, you "round up" to the nearest whole number (integer) and if less than 0.5 you "round down" to the lower whole number. But this process rarely works. For that reason, to assign votes to parties to determine the number of parliament seats after the election, the electoral law has always used the d'Hondt system, which was invented in the 19th century precisely to resolve this problem.

But for reasons which have never been explained, in only one place - assigning seats to provinces before the election - parliament has kept in the law the mathematically incorrect system. Because parliament has never understood that this is wrong, the law gives no guidance as to how the error should be corrected. In each election the CNE has been forced to give extra seats or take away seats by some system. The obvious choice is to use d'Hondt, because that is used elsewhere in the law. The CNE never said publicly that it is correcting for an error in the law or says how it does so, but it appears to have adopted a rule known as "largest remainders".

The 10,874,328 registered voters and 248 seats gives 43,848 voters per seat. If the provincial registrations are then divided by 43,848, only 246 seats are assigned. How to allocate the other two? The d'Hondt method would give them to Nampula and Zambézia. Instead CNE gives them to Gaza and Zambézia. CNE apparently uses "largest remainders" - Gaza with 0.48 and Zambézia with 0.44 have the largest remainders which are less than 0.5 and thus have not been allocated a seat, so they get the seats.

Details of three elections

There were three elections on 15 October 2014:

- Presidential elections in Mozambique and in the diaspora.
- Elections for the national parliament (Assembleia da República, AR). The constituencies are the 10 provinces, Maputo city, Africa and Europe.
- Provincial assemblies in the 10 provinces but not Maputo City, Africa, or Europe. Constituencies are the districts.

Final count as announced by National Elections Commission - 30 Oct 2014 - Apuramento Geral - Comissão Nacional de Eleições - 30 de Outubro de 2014

Presidential

Province	Registered voters	Total Votes	Votos Válidos - Valid Votes							Em Branco		Nulos		Afluência
			Total	Dhlakama	Nyusi	Simango	Dhlak.	Nyusi	Siman.	Blank Votes	Invalid	Turnout		
Niassa	615,258	280,466	250,150	111,126	121,503	17,521	44.42%	48.57%	7.00%	17,275	6.91%	13,041	5.21%	45.59%
Cabo Delgado	964,071	475,086	416,690	75,660	324,952	16,078	18.16%	77.98%	3.86%	41,623	9.99%	16,773	4.03%	49.28%
Nampula	2,079,129	834,906	736,574	367,133	326,311	43,130	49.84%	44.30%	5.86%	64,908	8.81%	33,424	4.54%	40.16%
Zambézia	1,948,859	756,401	656,826	346,478	256,447	53,901	52.75%	39.04%	8.21%	61,727	9.40%	37,848	5.76%	38.81%
Tete	971,644	532,277	468,811	232,513	215,966	20,332	49.60%	46.07%	4.34%	31,881	6.80%	31,585	6.74%	54.78%
Manica	712,938	381,432	350,771	169,906	167,817	13,048	48.44%	47.84%	3.72%	15,556	4.43%	15,105	4.31%	53.50%
Sofala	926,746	459,749	412,075	230,375	145,604	36,096	55.91%	35.33%	8.76%	20,711	5.03%	26,963	6.54%	49.61%
Inhambane	598,276	329,129	303,438	56,614	231,427	15,397	18.66%	76.27%	5.07%	14,051	4.63%	11,640	3.84%	55.01%
Gaza	591,194	388,606	367,753	11,644	344,974	11,135	3.17%	93.81%	3.03%	12,048	3.28%	8,805	2.39%	65.73%
Maputo Prov	757,594	422,195	405,574	71,407	298,624	35,543	17.61%	73.63%	8.76%	6,746	1.66%	9,875	2.43%	55.73%
Maputo Ciity	708,812	428,532	418,101	86,262	288,019	43,820	20.63%	68.89%	10.48%	3,466	0.83%	6,965	1.67%	60.46%
África	88,622	43,702	42,239	3,016	38,488	735	7.14%	91.12%	1.74%	481	1.14%	982	2.32%	49.31%
Europe	1,835	1,184	1,167	126	893	148	10.80%	76.52%	12.68%	9	0.77%	8	0.69%	64.52%
Total	10,964,978	5,333,665	4,830,169	1,762,260	2,761,025	306,884	36.48%	57.16%	6.35%	290,482	6.01%	213,014	4.41%	48.64%
												Definitivamente Nulo		
Nulos Validados - Considered Valid			41,635	21,122	17,472	3,041	50.73%	41.96%	7.30%			171,675	3.22%	
Total	10,964,978	5,333,665	4,871,804	1,783,382	2,778,497	309,925	36.61%	57.03%	6.36%	290,482	5.96%	171,675	3.22%	48.64%

Assembleia da República

Província	Registered voters	Total Votes	Votos Válidos (incluindo nulos validados) - Valid Votes (including nulos considered valid)									Em Branco		Definitivamente	
			Total	MDM	Renamo	Frelimo	Outros	MDM	Renamo	Frelimo	Outros	Blank Votes	Nulos		
Niassa	615,258	278,067	234,883	18,633	93,955	115,877	6,418	7.93%	40.00%	49.33%	2.73%	26,186	11.15%	16,998	7.24%
Cabo Delgado	964,071	471,695	388,467	15,505	61,148	297,496	14,318	3.99%	15.74%	76.58%	3.69%	59,070	15.21%	24,158	6.22%
Nampula	2,079,129	834,700	690,442	47,830	305,626	308,123	28,863	6.93%	44.27%	44.63%	4.18%	97,631	14.14%	46,627	6.75%
Zambézia	1,948,859	751,300	614,283	64,990	286,935	239,611	22,747	10.58%	46.71%	39.01%	3.70%	91,086	14.83%	45,931	7.48%
Tete	971,644	533,087	452,825	26,167	205,318	210,765	10,575	5.78%	45.34%	46.54%	2.34%	47,498	10.49%	32,764	7.24%
Manica	712,938	381,494	336,422	15,988	152,007	158,870	9,557	4.75%	45.18%	47.22%	2.84%	32,311	9.60%	12,761	3.79%
Sofala	926,746	457,285	385,667	53,746	182,689	139,621	9,611	13.94%	47.37%	36.20%	2.49%	31,657	8.21%	39,961	10.36%
Inhambane	598,276	329,122	291,452	15,119	44,630	210,132	21,571	5.19%	15.31%	72.10%	7.40%	25,145	8.63%	15,768	5.41%
Gaza	591,194	387,778	356,892	12,139	9,048	327,691	8,014	3.40%	2.54%	91.82%	2.25%	22,285	6.24%	8,601	2.41%
Maputo Prov	757,594	421,716	396,361	48,656	67,974	270,966	8,765	12.28%	17.15%	68.36%	2.21%	16,827	4.25%	14,569	3.68%
Maputo City	708,812	427,938	413,718	64,838	83,116	259,774	5,990	15.67%	20.09%	62.79%	1.45%	8,389	2.03%	5,831	1.41%
África	88,622	41,851	40,182	783	2,614	36,414	371	1.95%	6.51%	90.62%	0.92%	823	2.05%	846	2.11%
Europe	1,835	903	888	144	77	655	12	16.22%	8.67%	73.76%	1.35%	11	1.24%	4	0.45%
Total	10,964,978	5,316,936	4,602,482	384,538	1,495,137	2,575,995	146,812	8.36%	32.49%	55.97%	3.19%	458,919	9.97%	264,819	5.75%

Province	Assentos - Seats			
	MDM	Ren.	Frel.	Total
Niassa	1	6	7	14
Cabo Delgado		3	19	22
Nampula	3	22	22	47
Zambézia	5	22	18	45
Tete	1	10	11	22
Manica		8	8	16
Sofala	3	10	8	21
Inhambane		2	12	14
Gaza			14	14
Maputo Prov	2	3	12	17
Maputo City	2	3	11	16
África			1	1
Europe			1	1
Total	17	89	144	250

Members of Provincial Assemblies

Province	Distrit	Political Parties			
		MDM	RENAMO	FRELIMO	Total
Maputo - Provincia	Matola	8	10	29	47
	Boane	1	1	6	8
	Magude			3	3
	Manhiça			9	9
	Marracuene		1	5	6
	Matutuine			2	2
	Moamba			3	3
	Namaacha			2	2
	Total Maputo - Provincia	9	12	59	80
Gaza	C. Xai-Xai	1		8	9
	Xai-Xai			11	11
	Bilene			9	9
	Chibuto			10	10
	Chicualacuala			2	2
	Chigubo			1	1
	Chókwè			11	11
	Gijá			4	4
	Mabalane			2	2
	Mandlakazi			8	8
	Massangena			1	1
	Massingir			2	2
Total Gaza	1		69	70	
Inhambane	Cidade de Inhambane			5	5
	Funhalouro			2	2
	Govuro		1	1	2
	Homoíne		1	4	5
	Inharime		1	4	5
	Inhassoro			3	3
	Jangamo			4	4
	Mabote			3	3
	Massinga		3	8	11
	Maxixe		1	6	7
	Morrumbene		2	4	6
	Panda			2	2
	Vilankulo		1	7	8
	Zavala		1	6	7
Total Inhambane		11	59	70	

Sofala	Cidade da Beira	7	9	7	23
	Búzi		5	2	7
	Caia		4	2	6
	Chemba		2	1	3
	Cheringoma		1	1	2
	Chibabava		3	1	4
	Dondo		4	4	8
	Gorongosa		4	2	6
	Machanga		1	1	2
	Maringué		2	2	4
	Marromeu		5	2	7
	Muanza			1	1
	Nhamatanda		6	3	9
Total Sofala	7	46	29	82	
Manica	Chimoio	1	8	8	17
	Barué		5	4	9
	Gondola		7	6	13
	Manica		4	8	12
	Guro		2	2	4
	Machaze		3	2	5
	Macossa		1	1	2
	Mossurize		5	4	9
	Sussundenga		3	4	7
	Tambara		1	1	2
Total Manica	1	39	40	80	
Tete	Tete	1	4	6	11
	Angónia	2	11	2	15
	Cahora Bassa			4	4
	Changara			6	6
	Chifunde		3	1	4
	Chiúta		1	2	3
	Macanga		4	2	6
	Mágoè			3	3
	Marávia		2	1	3
	Moatize		7	3	10
	Mutarara		5	2	7
	Tsangano		6	1	7
Zumbo		1	2	3	
Total Tete	3	44	35	82	

Provincia	Distrito	Partidos Politicos				
		MDM	RENAMO	FRELIMO	Total	
Zambézia	C de Quelimane	2	3	2	7	
	Alto Molócuè		3	3	6	
	Chinde		1	2	3	
	Gilé		3	1	4	
	Gurué	1	3	4	8	
	Ile		4	3	7	
	Inhassunge		1	1	2	
	Lugela		1	2	3	
	Maganja da Costa		4	2	6	
	Milange	1	8	2	11	
	Mocuba		4	4	8	
	Mopeia		2	1	3	
	Morrumbala		5	3	8	
	Namacurra		2	2	4	
	Namarrói		2	1	3	
	Nicoadala		3	2	5	
	Pebane		2	2	4	
	Total Zambézia	4	51	37	92	
	Nampula	Nampula-Cidade	1	7	5	13
		Angoche		4	3	7
Eráti-Namapa			2	4	6	
Ilha de Moçambiq.				1	1	
Lalaua				2	2	
Larde			1		1	
Liúpo				1	1	
Malema			1	3	4	
Meconta			2	2	4	
Mecubúri			1	2	3	
Memba			2	3	5	
Mongincual			1	1	2	
Mogovolas			4	2	6	
Moma			3	2	5	
Monapo			4	3	7	
Mossuril			2	1	3	
Muecate			1	1	2	
Murupula			2	1	3	
Nacala-Porto			3	2	5	
Nacala-A-Velha			1	1	2	
Nacarôa		1	2	3		
Nampula-Rapale		2	2	4		
Ribáué		1	3	4		
Total Nampula	1	45	47	93		

Cabo Delgado	Pemba		2	6	8
	Ancuabe		1	4	5
	Balama		2	4	6
	Chiure	1	3	7	11
	Ibo			1	1
	Macomia			4	4
	Mecufi			2	2
	Meluco			1	1
	Metuge			3	3
	Mocimboa da Praia		1	4	5
	Montepuez		2	8	10
	Mueda			6	6
	Muidumbe			4	4
	Namuno		2	6	8
	Nangade			4	4
	Palma			2	2
Quissanga			2	2	
Total C. Delgado	1	13	68	82	
Niassa	Cidade de Lichinga	1	5	6	12
	Cuamba	1	4	8	13
	Lago		3	2	5
	Chibunila		4	2	6
	Majune			2	2
	Mandinba		5	3	8
	Marrupa		1	3	4
	Maua		1	2	3
	Mavago			2	2
	Mecanhelas	2	6	3	11
	Mecula			1	1
	Metarica			2	2
	Muembe			2	2
	Ngaúma		3	1	4
Nipepe			2	2	
Sanga		2	1	3	
Total Niassa	4	34	42	80	
TOTAL NATIONAL	31	295	485	811	