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2018 LOCAL ELECTIONS

MOZAMBIQUE POLITICAL PROCESS BULLETIN

Editor: Joseph Hanlon | **Publisher:** Edson Cortez | **News Editor:** Borges Nhimire | **Reporter:** Narciso Cossa

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Rua Fernão Melo e Castro, nº 124, Maputo. eleicoes@cipmoz.org <http://cipmoz.org:9000/elections2018/>

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Without municipal assembly seat numbers, parties cannot submit candidates lists

Changing the registration calendar and the constitution is causing a cascade of changes to the electoral calendar, leave some essential dates unclear.

Official registration numbers have not yet been announced, and the number of seats the municipal assemblies is determined by the number of registered voters. Thus political parties still do not know how many how many people need to be on their candidates lists. Under the present calendar, lists must be submitted between 21 June and 27 July.

Submitting lists is not straightforward, because every candidate must submit six documents: notarised copies of their identify card and voters card, proof of residence, criminal record certificate (which is often hard to obtain quickly), and declarations by the candidates that they agree to stand and are not ineligible.

We predict there will be 1391 assembly seats in the 53 municipalities (see page 6). Each list must also have 3 alternates, which means that the big parties will need to submit 1550 candidates and thus 9300 documents.

It is expected that the special session of parliament 21-22 June (see page 2) will change this calendar, but time is still tight.

This also has one political implication. It is reported that Renamo and MDM are negotiating electoral coalitions in some municipalities. These will be complicated, because the head of the winning list becomes the mayor. Under the law, the formal agreement to have a coalition is submitted at the same time as the candidates list.

Comment: Money and history

Civil society in Mozambique is largely dependent on donors for funding its work on elections. The five years election cycle means that most ambassadors and donor staff and agents have not witnessed a Mozambique election, but come with new ideas and experiences of other countries. They sometimes do not realise that although local civil society lacks money, it has a wealth of experience built up through five rounds of multi-party elections. This experience is particularly strong in local election observation and using local media to monitor elections.

This newsletter, the Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, has been published for 26 years and in covering all the elections has evolved to reflect Mozambican realities. Traditional media is

free and outspoken, but also lacks national coverage. And in a country that loves rumour, social media is increasingly used to spread

exaggerated or erroneous information, and sometimes even intentionally fake news.

To report on elections in the entire country while challenging rumours, we are based on local correspondents, typically from community radio and websites, who know their city or district. We try to challenge the rumour culture in two ways. Correspondents are trained that all information must be personally verified - for example, ask the police if they really arrested a candidate as claimed - or at least give the source of the claim. And we have a small Maputo editorial team that talks to the correspondents to ensure that they have confirmed the facts, and forces them to check again if they have not.

Most importantly, we recognise that the electoral process continues over a long period. The first donor funds are only now being released, but the electoral cycle started a year ago, and this is our 29th election newsletter since August last year. Before external funding was available, we covered the Nampula by-election and the registration, with 60 correspondents across the country - reporting both serious problems and good organisation. Money came primarily from the ordinary budget of our publisher, CIP (Centro de Integridade Pública), and from MASC (Mecanismo de Apoio à Sociedade Civil), who understood the need to start before donors were ready.

Based on Mozambican conditions and experience, we have developed a system using local journalists and vigilant editors which combines both better coverage and higher accuracy with rapid reporting. If funding is available, we intend to have 150 correspondents for local elections on 10 October and 300 correspondents for national elections in October 2019.

And after the election is over, we will work with colleagues at the London School of Economics to look very closely at the detailed results for evidence of fraud. For us, the electoral process started last August, and it will continue for several months after the actual voting.

jh & bn

Law changes only 21-22 June

Essential changes to municipalities laws will only be approved by parliament in a special session on 21-22 June, causing some calendar delays.

Constitutional changes were approved by parliament on 23 May. The Council of Ministers approved the proposals for the required changes in the law on 29 May, but they have not yet been published.

Three laws must be changed. The local elections law (7/2013 as amended 10/2014) must be changed to remove all reference to a separate ballot paper for mayor, for second rounds, and for

2018 Local Elections is part of the Votar Moçambique programme



by-elections. This will be replaced by a simpler system where the mayor is the head of the party list standing for municipal assembly which receives the most votes. But the constitutional amendments did not resolve one issue, which was left to the council of ministers and parliament: If a mayor dies, resigns, or is removed, who takes the post? Will it be the second person on the list, or someone else?

It may also be required to change the calendar in the election law because of ongoing delays.

Two laws relate to the powers of the municipality (2/1997) and the power of central government over the municipality - "tutela administrativa" in Portuguese (7/97). The constitutional changes spell out more clearly which powers are decentralised and thus may require law changes, but the amendment also says that "the relationship between central government and decentralised bodies is fixed by law."

The constitutional amendments create a new "representation of the central state" at municipal level, and this must be defined. And the constitutional amendments require changes to the law governing the city of Maputo, which is both a municipality and a province.

Calendar changes

By law, registration was supposed to take place before October 2017. But this conflicted with the 4th national population census (1-15 August 2017) so was postponed to 1 March to 20 April 2018. This in turn was delayed to 19 March to 17 May in order not to conflict with the Nampula by-election second round. But this has had a cascade effect on the rest of the calendar.

The number of members of the municipal assembly is determined by the number of registered voters, and these should be announced 180 days before the election, which should have been by 12 April. But registration was only just underway then.

So far no changes have been made to dates of announcement of numbers of seats and submission of candidates lists. But on 31 May the CNE did announce these changes:

- + Registration of proponents and election agents (mandatários), postponed from 1-15 June to 15-30 June.

- + Consideration of party symbols etc. delayed from 17-19 June to 26-28 June.

+ Verification of candidates documents shortened from 21 June - 27 July to 1-27 July.

But the deadline for submitting candidates lists and documents remains 27 July.

The special parliament session may make further changes. Nevertheless, parties and citizens lists have only two more weeks to complete many of the essential formalities.

Comment:

Explaining changing numbers: pointless secrecy made CNE look bad

Logical explanations have emerged for the frequent changes of the numbers of people expected to be registered, and if STAE and CNE had been open about the changes, they would have been praised rather than criticised. Yet again, lack of transparency has made them look bad - unnecessarily.

The first change came at the start of registration, when the Council of Ministers announced that there were 8.5 million voting age adults in the districts with municipalities. But what was never mentioned was that CNE had initially assumed that there would be 10 new municipalities, and those 63 districts would have 8.5 mn. In approving the registration, the Council of Ministers also decided not to increase the number of municipalities. And it was projected that there would only be 8.1 mn potential voters in those 53 districts. Why did no one explain?

The second change apparently came about because the initial estimates were based on the

2007 national population census, and not the 2017 census which was not ready on time. During the two months of the electoral registration, some 2017 data became available and predictions of voting age adults in some municipalities and districts changed. Why did no one explain?

In most democracies, the election commission is the most transparent agency, because it is so important to demonstrate that there are no errors or misconduct. Yet, in Mozambique, the CNE is one of the least transparent agencies. Which inevitably means people think the CNE has something to hide. jh

Predicting registration proved very difficult

Predicting how many people would register proved to be an impossible task, because municipalities are growing at very different rates, as can be seen by comparing registration in the 53 municipalities this year to that in 2013. In Maputo city, the same number registered in 2018 as in 2013, while in Mandlakazi 96% more registered this year.

This was doubly surprising, because the election secretariat (STAE) and the National Statistics Institute had said that Mandlakazi had shrunk and was only half the size it had been five years ago, when in fact it had doubled in size.

Indeed, STAE said that 10 of the 53 municipalities were smaller now than five years ago, but in fact all have more voting age adults than five years ago. This explains why six municipalities

(Nhamayabue, Massinga, Marrupa, Catandica, Ulongue, and Mandlakazi) registered 150% or more of the number predicted -- STAE said that in all of them the population had fallen, and in fact it increased. Similarly, two municipalities (Gurué and Alto Molócuè) registered under 50% of predicted - but STAE said they had tripled in size in five years, which they had not.

Not all STAE predictions were wrong. In 15

Detailed coverage of 2018 municipal and 2019 national elections is again being provided by the *Mozambique Political Process Bulletin*, which has covered all of Mozambique's multi-party elections. We will have a large team of local journalists throughout the country, ensuring that our reports are accurate and verified.

The elections newsletter is also in Portuguese; para subscreever <http://eepurl.com/cYjhdb>
Previous issues of this year's newsletter are available on <http://cipmoz.org:9000/elections2018/>
Newsletters from 2013 local elections and 2014 national elections are on <http://bit.ly/2H066Kg>
There are two archives of historic elections data, at IESE on <http://www.iese.ac.mz/eleicoes-resultados/> and at London School of Economics on <http://bit.ly/MozEIData>

cities, STAE estimated that the voting age population had increased by more than 50% in just five years, and in 11 of those there were high rates of registration.

The table below gives details for 2013 registration and final predictions (after changes)

and actual registration this year, listed south to north. For the three columns of percentages, very low and negative percentages are shown in blue and very high percentages in red.

Number registered for 2013 municipal elections compared to 2018 prediction and actual registration

Province	Municipality	Registered in 2013	Predicted 2018	Increase predicted %	Registered in 2018	Actual increase %	Registered as % of predicted
Maputo Cid.	Maputo Cidade	614,518	796,965	30%	616,082	0%	77%
	Maputo Prov	Boane	40,566	61,947	53%	54,076	33%
Manhiça		31,510	45,508	44%	38,364	22%	84%
Namaacha		8,968	10,821	21%	9,231	3%	85%
Matola		348,972	604,871	73%	503,834	44%	83%
Gaza	Xai-Xai	61,739	71,567	16%	91,481	48%	128%
	Macia	18,588	18,640	0%	25,156	35%	135%
	P de Bilene	5,883	5,861	0%	8,240	40%	141%
	Chibuto	26,336	40,588	54%	40,849	55%	101%
	Chókwè	28,273	34,609	22%	44,506	57%	129%
Inhambane	Mandlakazi	10,737	5,790	-46%	21,056	96%	364%
	C. Inhambane	36,941	48,210	31%	42,715	16%	89%
	Massinga	18,576	15,051	-19%	22,788	23%	151%
	Maxixe	52,732	75,329	43%	62,090	18%	82%
	Quissico	9,147	9,618	5%	11,167	22%	116%
	Vilankulo	25,270	34,692	37%	29,349	16%	85%
Sofala	Beira	205,802	263,475	28%	280,441	36%	106%
	Dondo	31,805	41,651	31%	43,186	36%	104%
	Gorongosa	14,249	14,404	1%	17,852	25%	124%
	Nhamatanda	17,121	19,942	16%	23,687	38%	119%
	Marromeu	21,083	35,242	67%	28,198	34%	80%
Manica	Chimoio	123,758	170,945	38%	162,777	32%	95%
	Catandica	16,370	13,031	-20%	26,658	63%	205%
	Gondola	23,123	21,309	-8%	27,466	19%	130%
	Sussundenga	12,338	15,924	29%	14,725	19%	92%
	Manica	24,672	22,828	-7%	30,876	25%	135%
Tete	C. Tete	106,713	125,821	18%	133,524	25%	106%
	Ulongue	19,224	9,451	-51%	21,509	12%	228%
	Moatize	30,026	28,938	-4%	36,812	23%	127%
	Nhamayabue	7,463	6,135	-18%	9,229	24%	150%

Province	Municipality	Registered in 2013	Predicted 2018	Increase predicted %	Registered in 2018	Actual increase %	Registered as % of predicted
Zambézia	Quelimane	106,586	141,979	33%	123,796	16%	87%
	Alto Molócuè	20,564	70,634	243%	31,045	51%	44%
	Gúruè	36,880	109,874	198%	49,221	33%	45%
	Milange	17,983	28,660	59%	25,379	41%	89%
	Mag. da Costa	12,252	14,489	18%	18,694	53%	129%
Nampula	Mocuba	53,394	117,816	121%	68,788	29%	58%
	C Nampula	225,152	353,545	57%	338,965	51%	96%
	Angoche	42,788	60,567	42%	47,222	10%	78%
	I Moçambique	25,331	31,108	23%	32,039	26%	103%
	Monapo	36,642	43,240	18%	45,123	23%	104%
C. Delgado	Malema	15,105	33,170	120%	27,380	81%	83%
	Nacala-Porto	90,699	130,662	44%	144,607	59%	111%
	Ribáuè	18,746	32,580	74%	32,462	73%	100%
	Pemba	83,612	122,563	47%	99,591	19%	81%
	Moçim. Praia	23,313	34,339	47%	33,788	45%	98%
Niassa	Montepuez	45,910	55,093	20%	58,221	27%	106%
	Chiure	24,900	30,932	24%	31,194	25%	101%
	Mueda	20,278	19,749	-3%	29,474	45%	149%
	Lichinga	72,374	123,409	71%	99,753	38%	81%
	Cuamba	33,815	67,575	100%	58,155	72%	86%
TOTAL	Metangula	7,311	14,713	101%	10,353	42%	70%
	Mandimba	9,661	16,225	68%	13,855	43%	85%
	Marrupa	9,587	6,733	-30%	13,445	40%	200%
TOTAL		3,025,386	4,328,818	43%	3,910,474	29%	90%

red = unusually high

blue = unusually low

Assembly seats estimate

The number of seats in the municipal assembly is determined by the number of registered voters. Under the current law, which could be changed by parliament later this month, the assembly has:

- 13 members if the number of voters is less than or equal to 20,000. ($\leq 20,000$)
- 17 members if voters are more than 20,000 and less than or equal to 30,000. ($20,000 < \text{voters} \leq 30,000$)
- 21 members if $30,000 < \text{voters} \leq 40,000$
- 31 members if $40,000 < \text{voters} \leq 60,000$
- 39 members if $60,000 < \text{voters} < 120,000$

Over 100,000 voters, the assembly has 39 members plus one additional member for each additional 20,000 voters.

The table on the next page estimates the number of assembly seats based the preliminary announced figures and the current law.

**Municipal assembly seats
based on current law**

Province	Municipality	Registered voters 2018	Seats
Maputo Cid.	Maputo Cidade	616,082	64
	Maputo Prov		
	Boane	54,076	31
	Manhiça	38,364	21
	Namaacha	9,231	13
	Matola	503,834	59
Gaza	Xai-Xai	91,481	39
	Macia	25,156	17
	P de Bilene	8,240	13
	Chibuto	40,849	31
	Chókwè	44,506	31
	Mandlakazi	21,056	17
Inhambane	C. Inhambane	42,715	31
	Massinga	22,788	17
	Maxixe	62,090	39
	Quissico	11,167	13
	Vilankulo	29,349	17
Sofala	Beira	280,441	48
	Dondo	43,186	31
	Gorongosa	17,852	13
	Nhamatanda	23,687	17
	Marromeu	28,198	17
Manica	Chimoio	162,777	42
	Catandica	26,658	17

	Gondola	27,466	17
	Sussundenga	14,725	13
	Manica	30,876	21
Tete	C. Tete	133,524	40
	Ulongue	21,509	17
	Moatize	36,812	21
	Nhamayabue	9,229	13
Zambézia	Quelimane	123,796	40
	Alto Molócuè	31,045	21
	Gúruè	49,221	31
	Milange	25,379	17
	Mag. da Costa	18,694	13
	Mocuba	68,788	39
Nampula	C Nampula	338,965	50
	Angoche	47,222	31
	I Moçambique	32,039	21
	Monapo	45,123	31
	Malema	27,380	17
	Nacala-Porto	144,607	41
	Ribáuè	32,462	21
C. Delgado	Pemba	99,591	39
	Moçim. Praia	33,788	21
	Montepuez	58,221	31
	Chiure	31,194	21
	Mueda	29,474	17
Niassa	Lichinga	99,753	39
	Cuamba	58,155	31
	Metangula	10,353	13
	Mandimba	13,855	13
	Marrupa	13,445	13