

## Mozambique political process bulletin

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**Complete presidential  
and AR results  
– page 2**

## CNE excludes 104,000 votes in response to ballot box stuffing

### Renamo gains 2 AR seats

More than 104,000 votes were excluded by the National Elections Commission (CNE), apparently from polling stations with a turnout of near 100%, and in response to reports of ballot box stuffing. In Tete, 85,693 votes were excluded, 16% of the total votes. Of these, 74,555 were for Armando Guebuza. The change in Tete is a dramatic recognition of ballot box stuffing. Turnout is reduced from 66% as announced by the Tete Provincial Election Commission to 55% by the CNE; one-sixth of all Tete votes were thrown out.

Unexpectedly, 18 394 votes were excluded in Niassa, 9% of the total vote, of which 8344 were for Guebuza. Curiously, 6196 ballot listed by the province as blank votes are no longer included.

### Renamo gains in AR

The exclusion of stuffed ballot boxes in Niassa gave Renamo one additional seat in the Assembleia da República (AR, parliament). In Niassa, the Frelimo vote in the AR was reduced by 11,130, 7% of Frelimo's total vote; there was little change to Renamo or MDM. The cut in the Frelimo vote was enough to switch one AR seat from Frelimo to Renamo.

Small changes made to the Sofala results increased the vote for Renamo by 1726 and reduced the Frelimo vote by 914. That was not enough to change the distribution of seats. But the requalification of the nullos gave 596 extra votes for Frelimo and 526 for Renamo, which was just enough to give Renamo an extra seat in Sofala.

**Presidencial**

Provincia	Total de Eleitores		Total de Votos		Votos válidos - Valid votes							Em branco		Nulos		Afluência	
					Simango	Guebuza	Dhlakama	Simango	Guebuza	Dhlakama	Blank votes	Invalid	Turnout				
Niassa	544 770	208 970	188 993	9 469	5 069	155 495	24 029	5 069	82.3%	12.7%	10 789	9 188	4.4%	38.4%			
Cabo Delgado	888 179	402 445	349 101	20 048	5 774	282 115	46 938	5 774	80.8%	13.4%	38 446	14 898	3.7%	45.3%			
Nampula	1 801 249	694 098	594 331	34 726	5 874	396 963	162 642	5 874	66.8%	27.4%	66 137	33 630	4.8%	38.5%			
Zambézia	1 770 910	603 399	502 810	34 642	6 974	273 056	195 112	6 974	54.3%	38.8%	64 569	36 020	6.0%	34.1%			
Tete	796 257	439 369	402 196	21 119	5 374	345 865	35 212	5 374	86.0%	8.8%	14 386	22 787	5.2%	55.2%			
Manica	648 969	293 135	260 449	19 288	7 474	183 388	57 773	7 474	70.4%	22.2%	13 979	18 707	6.4%	45.2%			
Sofala	772 630	364 721	323 478	83 939	25.9%	166 825	72 714	25.9%	51.6%	22.5%	18 015	23 228	6.4%	47.2%			
Inhambane	641 387	300 934	270 186	21 030	7.8%	233 751	15 405	7.8%	86.5%	5.7%	16 870	13 878	4.6%	46.9%			
Gaza	639 658	398 257	377 977	12 353	3.474	362 150	3 474	3.3%	95.8%	0.9%	10 084	10 196	2.6%	62.3%			
Maputo Prov	616 208	295 256	280 196	27 078	9.7%	241 308	11 810	9.7%	86.1%	4.2%	6 666	8 394	2.8%	47.9%			
Maputo Cidade	695 372	369 404	357 085	53 225	14.9%	288 283	15 577	14.9%	80.7%	4.4%	4 442	7 827	2.1%	53.1%			
Africa	55 206	35 321	34 617	591	1.7%	33 177	849	1.7%	95.8%	2.5%	262	442	1.3%	64.0%			
Europa	1 154	784	759	137	18.1%	598	24	18.1%	78.8%	3.2%	10	15	1.9%	67.9%			
<b>Total</b>	<b>9 871 949</b>	<b>4 406 093</b>	<b>3 942 178</b>	<b>337 645</b>	<b>8.6%</b>	<b>2 962 974</b>	<b>641 559</b>	<b>8.6%</b>	<b>75.2%</b>	<b>16.3%</b>	<b>264 655</b>	<b>199 210</b>	<b>4.5%</b>	<b>44.6%</b>			
Nulos validados - considered valid			23 707	2 934	12.4%	11 653	9 120	12.4%	49.2%	38.5%		<b>Definitivamente nulo</b>					
<b>Total</b>	<b>9 871 949</b>	<b>4 406 093</b>	<b>3 965 885</b>	<b>340 579</b>	<b>8.6%</b>	<b>2 974 627</b>	<b>650 679</b>	<b>8.6%</b>	<b>75.0%</b>	<b>16.4%</b>	<b>264 655</b>	<b>175 553</b>	<b>4.0%</b>	<b>44.6%</b>			

**Assembleia da República**

Provincia	Total de Eleitores		Total de Votos		Votos válidos (incluindo nulos validados) - Valid votes (including nulos considered valid)							Em branco		Definitivamente nulo		Assentos - Seats			
					Total	Frelimo	Renamo	MDM	Outros	Frelimo	Renamo	MDM	Outros	Em branco	Definitivamente nulo	Fre	Ren	MDM	
Niassa	544 770	209 521	187 451	152 351	187 451	152 351	24 567	6 371	4 162	81.3%	13.1%	3.4%	2.2%	13 972	8 098	3.9%	12	2	
Cabo Delgado	888 179	396 997	337 738	273 057	337 738	273 057	50 310	14 371	14 371	80.8%	14.9%	0.0%	4.3%	50 754	8 505	2.1%	19	3	
Nampula	1 801 249	688 026	580 326	381 066	580 326	381 066	164 969	34 291	34 291	65.7%	28.4%	0.0%	5.9%	83 881	23 819	3.5%	32	13	
Zambezia	1 770 910	598 303	498 301	267 305	498 301	267 305	203 507	27 489	27 489	53.6%	40.8%	0.0%	5.5%	76 333	23 669	4.0%	26	19	
Tete	796 257	435 822	399 700	348 711	399 700	348 711	41 253	9 736	9 736	87.2%	10.3%	0.0%	2.4%	17 946	18 176	4.2%	18	2	
Manica	648 969	293 012	256 717	182 248	256 717	182 248	64 103	10 366	10 366	71.0%	25.0%	0.0%	4.0%	20 137	16 090	5.5%	12	4	
Sofala	772 630	363 309	323 205	164 100	323 205	164 100	74 734	8 639	8 639	50.8%	23.1%	23.4%	2.7%	20 137	19 967	5.5%	10	5	
Inhambane	641 387	300 217	265 777	222 585	265 777	222 585	18 282	12 921	12 921	83.7%	6.9%	4.5%	4.9%	26 756	7 684	2.6%	15	1	
Gaza	639 658	400 959	379 306	367 511	379 306	367 511	5 354	6 441	6 441	96.9%	1.4%	0.0%	1.7%	15 443	6 210	1.5%	16		
Maputo Prov	616 208	295 739	274 802	242 891	274 802	242 891	21 319	10 592	10 592	88.4%	7.8%	3.9%	3.9%	15 373	5 564	1.9%	15	1	
Maputo Cidade	695 372	369 348	355 292	271 980	355 292	271 980	19 130	5 438	5 438	76.6%	5.4%	16.5%	1.5%	8 283	5 773	1.6%	14	1	
Africa	55 206	35 223	34 500	32 900	34 500	32 900	1 191	409	409	95.4%	3.5%	0.0%	1.2%	398	325	0.9%	1	3	
Europe	1 154	774	743	630	743	630	63	50	50	84.8%	8.5%	0.0%	6.7%	18	13	1.7%	1	1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>9 871 949</b>	<b>4 387 250</b>	<b>3 893 858</b>	<b>2 907 335</b>	<b>3 893 858</b>	<b>2 907 335</b>	<b>688 782</b>	<b>152 836</b>	<b>144 905</b>	<b>74.7%</b>	<b>17.7%</b>	<b>3.9%</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	<b>349 499</b>	<b>143 893</b>	<b>3.3%</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>8</b>

## Three counts

In this election, the initial count was done at each polling station, which drew up a results sheet (edital). Then STAE (Secretariado Técnico da Administração Eleitoral, Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration) and the various election commissions conducted three different tabulations to add up those editais (see Election Bulletin 20 for more details). The “provisional count” provided rapid results for the press, but preference was given to haste and they were never expected to be totally accurate.

There were two official tabulations which ran in parallel.

**Tabulation 1:** In the first one, a copy of the polling station edital was sent to the district election commission which added them up and sent the results to the province which added them up. These are the provincial results listed in various places. They were then sent to the National Elections Commission (CNE), and officially are supposed to be the basis of final national results.

**Tabulation 2:** Meanwhile, each polling station also sent an edital to the province to be input into the computerised “secondary count”. The cd-roms with all the data were then sent to Maputo. In addition, editais which the district and province could not deal with (usually because the addition was incorrect or they contained impossible figures) were also sent to Maputo, where STAE tried to correct them and add them to the data base.

In Maputo, the CNE also considered all invalid ballot papers (nulos) and those which were accepted as valid were added in. The CNE looked at a mountain of 515,980 invalid ballot papers (199,260 presidential, 164,398 for AR, and 152,232 for provincial assemblies).

The “general count” (Apuramento Geral) or national count released by the CNE is not based on the provincial count, but on the computerised data from the secondary count, plus those nulos accepted as valid.

**Tables:** Because full detailed results have not yet been published, and because the CNE has made no comments, we are forced to draw conclusions from comparison of results announced by provincial elections commissions and the National Elections Commission. The table on page 4 gives the differences between national and provincial counts for the presidential election, and the table on page 5 shows the changes made in the two provinces where Renamo gained an AR seat.

For those who wish to do their own analysis, we have posted more complete tables in pdf and excel on our websites: [www.eleicoes2009.cip.org.mz](http://www.eleicoes2009.cip.org.mz) and [www.elections2009.cip.org.mz](http://www.elections2009.cip.org.mz).

## Again in secret

The entire process was done by the CNE in secret, and without any statement saying that votes had been excluded, nor any explanation of why. The changes in results can only be seen by a close comparison of the final count (apuramento geral) by the CNE and the counts done by the provincial elections commissions.

Not enough data has been released to show in which districts changes were made, or which polling stations were excluded.

It appears that two things happened as part of the computerised secondary count. First, the software may reject improbably high turnouts. And this seems to have led to the big exclusions in Niassa and Tete – although it is not clear why similarly large turnouts were not rejected in Gaza. But it is known that the CNE at a meeting did agree to reject some very high turnouts. Second, STAE in Maputo appears to have been able to use some editais which were sent on to Maputo when the provinces could not input them into the data base. This led to increases of votes in most provinces, totalling 37,099 votes in the presidential contest. Some of the variations, for example in nulos, blank ballots, and even the number or registered voters, and not easily explained. And no explanation has been given.

## Difference between National and Provincial presidential counts -- Diferença entre apuramento presidencial Nacional e Provincial

This table gives the difference between the final count for the Presidential election by the National Elections Commission (CNE), not including nullos later accepted as valid by the CNE, and the counts done by the provincial elections commissions (CPEs). In theory the two should be equal, so any differences reflect changes made by the CNE. The table is constructed by subtracting the CPE results sheets from the CNE results sheet. Therefore, negative numbers show that the CNE result has fewer ballots than the CPE results, while positive numbers show that CNE has counted more votes than the CPE. Thus the -85,693 for Tete shows the exclusion of 85,693 votes by the CNE.

Esta tabela dá a diferença entre o apuramento final para a eleição Presidencial pela Comissão Nacional de Eleições, CNE, não incluindo os nullos validados, e as contagens feitas pelas comissões eleitorais provinciais, CPEs. Em teoria, as duas deviam ser iguais, por isso quaisquer diferenças reflectem mudanças feitas pela CNE. A tabela resulta da subtração dos editais da CPE dos editais da CNE. Portanto, os números negativos mostram que o resultado da CNE tem menos boletins que os resultados da CPE, enquanto os números positivos mostram que a CNE contou mais votos que a CPE. Assim os -85,693 para Tete mostram a exclusão de 85,693 votos pela CNE.

	Total de		Votos válidos - Valid votes					Em branco		Nulos		Afluência	
	Eleitores	Total de Votos	Total	Simango	Guebuza	Dhlakama	Simango	Guebuza	Dhlakama	Blank votes	Invalid	Turnout	Turnout
Niassa	- 9 270	- 18 394	- 9 916	- 476	- 8 344	- 1 096	0.0%	-0.1%	0.1%	- 6 196	- 2 282	-0.6%	-2.7%
Cabo Delgado	- 18	258	- 7 090	- 49	- 3 358	- 3 683	0.1%	0.7%	-0.8%	4 651	2 697	0.7%	0.0%
Nampula		12 846	21 023	3 232	10 588	7 203	0.3%	-0.6%	0.3%	1 363	- 9 540	-1.5%	0.7%
Zambézia		10 899	4 243	923	2 164	1 156	0.1%	0.0%	-0.1%	4 078	2 578	0.3%	0.6%
Tete	- 2 981	- 85 693	- 84 387	1 786	- 74 555	- 11 618	1.3%	-0.4%	-0.9%	- 1 176	- 130	0.8%	-10.5%
Manica	- 20 722	3 154	588	- 338	1 082	- 156	-0.1%	0.3%	-0.1%	1 192	1 374	0.4%	1.9%
Sofala		2 427	- 909	- 188	- 457	- 264	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1 122	2 214	0.6%	0.3%
Inhambane		767	761	221	661	- 121	0.1%	0.0%	-0.1%	- 29	35	0.0%	0.1%
Gaza		5 420	5 104	1 063	4 019	22	0.2%	-0.2%	0.0%	167	149	0.0%	0.8%
Maputo Prov		- 13	- 13			- 13	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	- 1 728	1 728	0.6%	0.0%
Maputo Cidade	- 15 339	1 395	1 260	- 795	2 336	- 281	-0.3%	0.4%	-0.1%	20	65	0.0%	1.3%
Total	- 48 330	- 66 934	- 69 336	5 379	- 65 864	- 8 851	0.3%	-0.3%	0.1%	3 464	- 1 112	0.0%	-0.5%

## Difference between CNE & CPE counts for parliament -- Diferença entre os apuramentos da CNE e da CPE para a AR

In two provinces, the distribution of parliament (AR) seats as announced by the National Elections Commission (CNE) was different than that announced by the provincial elections commission. For those two provinces, this table gives first the provincial elections commission (CPE) count, next the National Elections Commission (CNE) count before adding in the nullos that were accepted, then the difference between them, and then the CNE result with nullos accepted as valid by the CNE, which is the official final result used to calculate AR seats.

Em duas províncias, a distribuição dos assentos da AR tal como foram anunciados pela Comissão Nacional de Eleições, CNE, foi diferente daquela que foi anunciada pelas comissões provinciais de eleições. Para estas duas províncias, esta tabela dá primeiro o apuramento da comissão provincial de eleições, CPE, a seguir o apuramento da Comissão Nacional de Eleições, CNE, antes de somar os nullos validados, depois a diferença entre elas, e depois o o resultado da CNE com os nullos validados pela CNE. Este é o resultado final oficial usado para calcular os assentos na AR..

### Assembleia da República

	Total de		Votos válidos - Valid votes						Em branco		Nulos		Assentos - Seats					
	Eleitores	Votos	Total	Frelimo	Renamo	MDM	Outros	Frelimo	Renamo	MDM	Outros	Em branco	Nulos	Fre	Ren MDM			
<b>Niassa</b>																		
CPE	554 040	225 360	201 417	163 036	24 559	6 805	7 017	80.9%	12.2%	3.4%	3.5%	14 838	6.6%	9 105	4.0%	13	1	
CNE	544 770	209 521	186 694	151 906	24 467	6 296	4 025	81.4%	13.1%	3.4%	2.2%	13 972	6.7%	8 855	4.2%	12	2	
diferença	- 9 270	- 15 839	- 14 723	- 11 130	- 92	- 509	- 2 992	75.6%	0.6%	3.5%	20.3%	- 866	5.5%	- 250	1.6%	- 1	1	
CNE com os nullos validados	544 770	209 521	187 451	152 351	24 567	6 371	4 162	81.3%	13.1%	3.4%	2.2%	13 972	6.7%	8 098	3.9%	12	2	
<b>Sofala</b>																		
CPE	772 630	359 830	320 202	164 415	72 482	75 306	7 999	51.3%	22.6%	23.5%	2.5%	19 695	5.5%	19 933	5.5%	11	4	5
CNE	772 630	363 309	321 874	163 501	74 208	75 635	8 530	50.8%	23.1%	23.5%	2.7%	20 137	5.5%	21 298	5.9%	11	4	5
diferença		3 479	1 672	- 914	1 726	329	531	-54.7%	103.2%	19.7%	31.8%	442	12.7%	1 365	39.2%			
CNE com os nullos validados	772 630	363 309	323 205	164 100	74 734	75 732	8 639	50.8%	23.1%	23.4%	2.7%	20 137	5.5%	19 967	5.5%	10	5	5

## Comment: why be silent?

In its declaration of results, the CNE admitted to a serious problem with falsely invalidated ballot papers, but also admitted that it could not do anything about them. But it said nothing about the other big problem, ballot box stuffing. Yet there, it did take action, and its response was obviously praise-worthy – it threw out the results in some places where ballot box stuffing was obvious. Why not take the credit for doing the right thing?

Mozambique remains unique among democracies in allowing the elections commission to change the results in secret and without explanation. The law does not require secrecy, but it does permit it. A good starting point for any electoral reform would be more transparency and an end to secret changes of results.

## Blank votes doubled compared to 2004

There were many more blank ballot papers than in the past. In the 2004 presidential election, 2.9% of the votes put into the ballot boxes were blank, with no mark at all. The level was 5.2% for the parliamentary election. These numbers tend to be lower in the cities and higher in rural areas, and in part reflect illiterate people who do not understand the process and so just put the papers in the boxes.

But this year, blank votes were 6% in the presidential election and 8% in the parliamentary election. Again, blanks were highest in the north – in Cabo Delgado, Nampula and Zambézia blank votes were over 9% in the presidential election and over 12% in the parliamentary election.

These numbers are high enough to indicate some sort of protest. Frelimo put a great effort into increasing turnout and many people, for example civil servants, may have felt under pressure to have ink on their index finger to prove they voted. Some of those may have used blank votes to show they did not really want to vote.

## Many fewer nulos considered valid

During the requalification of invalid votes (nulos) by the CNE, many fewer were accepted as valid this year than in the past. Ballots are valid if the intent of the voter is clear, but polling station staff are often too strict in excluding fingerprints or Xs that go outside the box.

In 2004, 3.9% of presidential ballots were considered invalid (nulo) at the polling station, and roughly one-third of those were accepted as valid by the CNE, leaving 2.7% still invalid. Until now, this has been the normal ratio.

But this year, 4.5% of presidential ballot were considered nulo at the polling station, but fewer than 1 in 8 was considered valid by the CNE, leaving 4% still invalid – substantially more than in 2004.

Comparing the nulos in the parliamentary context, we actually see fewer nulos than in 2004 and than in the presidential race this year. But the number which remained invalid after requalification was the same, 3.3%

The table compares presidential and parliamentary nulos and their validation in 2004 and 2009.

	Presidencias		AR	
	2004	2009	2004	2009
Nulos	3.9%	4.5%	4.8%	3.7%
Nulos validados	1.3%	0.5%	1.5%	0.5%
Definitivamente nulo	2.7%	4.0%	3.3%	3.3%

The low validation rate suggests that this year, many more of the ballot papers considered invalid at polling stations really were. There is no reason to think the voters are worse trained and more likely to spoil ballot papers, which suggest that the problem of

polling station staff falsely invalidating votes for the opposition, usually with an extra inkmark, has become very serious indeed. It also appears to have been more common for the presidential vote, and could have affected 1% of the total vote.

A further indication of this is that in Tete and Gaza only 1 in 19 presidential nulos were accepted as valid, and in Manica only 1 in 21.

## Corrections

- In the version of Deliberação n.º 75-2009 of 10 November, the declaration of results, published in *Notícias* Saturday, the National Elections Commission has corrected some but not all of the errors in the version released with the announcement of results on 11 November. The total number of presidential votes and the percentages have been corrected, but the number of invalid votes (nulos) reconsidered remains incorrect. There is not note that this version has been changed.
- In Election Bulletin 37, the final sentence of the article on EPC Esturro should read: Further pictures here show the polling station staff doing something surreptitious with the ballot papers, and show the tally on the classroom blackboard, which shows only 23 nulos and a large majority for Daviz Simango, compared to a majority for Armando Guebuza that appeared in the edital and 124 nulos and that finally appeared in the pile on the classroom floor.

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## Mozambique Political Process Bulletin

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