



# BUILDING A MORE RESPONSIVE DEMOCRACY: CITIZENS OF MOZAMBIQUE EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS

Findings from Focus Group Discussions across Mozambique

Conducted June 26 – July 30, 2011

By Traci D. Cook and Guilherme Mbilana

March 27, 2012

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs



**Building a More Responsive Democracy:  
Citizens of Mozambique Express Their Views**

Findings from Focus Group Discussions across Mozambique

Conducted June 26 – July 30, 2011

By Traci D. Cook and Guilherme Mbilana

March 27, 2012



---

NATIONAL  
DEMOCRATIC  
INSTITUTE

---

455 Massachusetts Ave, NW, 8th Floor  
Washington, DC 20001-2621  
Telephone: 202.728.5500  
Fax: 888.875.2887  
Website: [www.ndi.org](http://www.ndi.org)

This report and the focus group research conducted in Mozambique were made possible by the generous support of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the NED.

Questions about the content of the document should be directed to Kathy Gest, NDI Director of Public Affairs, (202) 728-5535, [kgest@ndi.org](mailto:kgest@ndi.org).

Copyright © National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) 2012. All rights reserved.

Portions of this work may be reproduced and/or translated for noncommercial purposes provided NDI is acknowledged as the source of the material and is sent copies of any translation.

Authors: Traci D. Cook and Guilherme Mbilana

Front cover photo: Getty Images/ Heinrich van den Berg, 2010

Back cover photo: Associated Press/ STR, 2004

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>National Democratic Institute .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Center for Democracy and Development Studies.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Preface .....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Executive Summary.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Principal Findings .....</b>	<b>11</b>
I. State of the Nation.....	11
II. Elections .....	15
III. Electoral Administration and Observation.....	24
IV. Electoral Reform.....	28
V. Constitutional Revision.....	34
VI. Political Parties .....	37
<b>Conclusions and Recommendations.....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Appendix A: Focus Group Locations and Demographics.....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>Appendix B: Methodology Notes.....</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>Appendix C: Moderator Guideline .....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Appendix D: About the Authors.....</b>	<b>58</b>



Source: The World Factbook, 2011



## **NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization that responds to the aspirations of people around the world to live in democratic societies that recognize and promote basic human rights.

Since its founding in 1983, NDI and its local partners have worked to support and strengthen democratic institutions and practices by strengthening political parties, civic organizations and parliaments, safeguarding elections, and promoting citizen participation, openness and accountability in government.

With staff members and volunteer political practitioners from more than 100 nations, NDI brings together individuals and groups to share ideas, knowledge, experiences and expertise. Partners receive broad exposure to best practices in international democratic development that can be adapted to the needs of their own countries. NDI's multinational approach reinforces the message that while there is no single democratic model, certain core principles are shared by all democracies.

The Institute's work upholds the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It also promotes the development of institutionalized channels of communications among citizens, political institutions and elected officials, and strengthens their ability to improve the quality of life for all citizens. For more information about NDI, please visit [www.ndi.org](http://www.ndi.org).

## **CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

The Center for Democracy and Development Studies (Centro de Estudos de Democracia e Desenvolvimento, CEDE) is a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization established in 1999 to build sustainable peace and promote political stability in Mozambique. CEDE works to strengthen democratic processes and promote national development by providing impartial mechanisms and neutral forums for dialogue as well as research at the district, provincial and national levels. CEDE collaborates with a diverse group of civil society organizations and networks of civil society leaders in different areas, ranging from civic education to women and youth issues.

### **PREFACE**

As political forces in Mozambique began considering significant changes to the country's electoral laws and constitution, CEDE and NDI designed a program to bring citizen views into the debate. It was our goal to help parliamentary and political party decisionmakers test their assumptions and incorporate the will of the people into important ongoing policy-making processes. One aspect of the program involved conducting an objective public opinion study that would provide a better understanding of citizen views on reform options, and Mozambicans' overall assessment of governance, elections and democracy in the country. The following study, based on 43 focus group discussions conducted from June 26 to July 30, 2011, with 615 participants across all 10 provinces and Maputo City, reveals both their strong opinions on reforms as well as their strong desire to contribute to the debate. Perhaps even more important, though, is the desire expressed for more information about, and more participation in, their own governance.

A qualitative method for this study, focus group research was chosen so that CEDE and NDI could not only understand the opinions of citizen participants, but also the reasons and motivations behind those opinions. Focus groups are semi-structured group discussions directed by a moderator and following a pre-set guideline. Although focus groups are a superior research method for understanding the meanings behind commonly-held attitudes, the total number of participants in a focus group study is always relatively small and, therefore, not statistically representative of the larger population. The report reflects the opinions of the citizens of Mozambique who participated in this study, and unless otherwise noted, the conclusions presented here represent views commonly and repeatedly cited during the group discussions. Appendix A: Focus Group Locations and Participant Demographics should be consulted by all readers to understand the subset of individuals interviewed for this study.

The perceptions of participants in any public opinion study do not necessarily reflect reality. There is power, however, in people's perceptions as citizens make decisions based on what they believe – true or not. Without knowledge of these perceptions, policy-makers and other stakeholders will not be able to address them. The goal of this research is to report the perceptions and opinions of participants, regardless of their factual accuracy, to political and civil society leaders so they may better understand and respond to the concerns of the general populace. In addition, the participants captured in this study are primarily Mozambicans who are committed to the voting process. The study was less successful in capturing the portion of the eligible population that does not vote. The reason for this is unknown, though it is possible that people that do not vote are also less willing to participate in research activities, such as focus group discussions.

This project was funded by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). The decision to incorporate public opinion research into this NED-funded program is intended to help policy-makers better understand citizen views as they make important decisions that will shape the future of the country. NDI and CEDE would like to acknowledge the hard work of CEDE staff members that assisted with the fieldwork for this study, as well as other officials that provided input into the topics to be explored.



This study is the first measure of public opinion on electoral and constitutional reform options in Mozambique. Participants provide thoughtful and thought-provoking responses on possible reforms and on broader issues that have an impact on the quality of governance in the country. It is CEDE's and NDI's hope that their views will be respected and considered seriously by political leaders, civil society, the international community and other key actors as they work to shape Mozambique's future.

### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The conclusions below are drawn from 43 focus group discussions conducted from June 26 to July 30, 2011, across all 10 provinces in Mozambique, including Maputo City. A total of 615 Mozambican citizens participated in the study. Each of the findings below is explored in more detail in the Principal Findings section of this report, where there are also quotations from participants that further illustrate their feelings and opinions on the key issues highlighted here.

#### I. STATE OF THE NATION

- 1. Slow development, a poor economy, the rising cost of living, increasing crime and ubiquitous corruption are the top concerns of participants.** Development is not meeting citizens' expectations, with education and health viewed as the key areas in need of urgent improvement. Unemployment, particularly among youth, is the third priority participants would like the government to address without delay. Other areas participants cite as worrying for the state of the nation include: high prices for food that reduce a family's ability to meet other costs; crime that many believe is the result of lax law enforcement; and corruption in everyday life, such as in the school, health and justice systems. About one-quarter of the participants have a more positive view of where the country is headed, highlighting improvements in the quality of life and some positive economic developments, such as new markets and government loans.
- 2. Participants feel they are not well represented in government by their elected officials, and some say economic factors prevent them from exercising their rights fully.** Broken campaign promises and little post-election contact are among the chief complaints of participants about their elected officials. They find it hard to believe their elected representatives are working for their interests when those representatives do not come back to their areas to consult constituents about their needs or when promises made during campaigns never materialize. Participants in the Northern and Southern provinces believe that, in addition to being poorly represented, they are hampered in the exercise of their rights and freedoms because of economic factors that keep them from bettering their situation. Some participants in all provinces also raise concern about limits on freedom of expression. They suggest that the best way to make Mozambicans feel more represented and more confident in their rights and freedoms is for government officials to meet, discuss and consult with ordinary citizens on issues of importance to their lives. "More than anything, they need to listen to the public," is the advice offered by one participant to the government.

#### II. ELECTIONS

- 1. Most participants view elections as important and believe they function relatively well in Mozambique; this view extends to the 2009 national elections, for which most give their stamp of approval. However, some participants raise concerns about deficiencies in the electoral process that lower the number of voter participation or keep the vote from being fully free and fair.** Participants clearly appreciate the power that elections place in the hands of citizens to choose and, if necessary, replace their leaders. Most also express satisfaction

with how elections are conducted in Mozambique, generally viewing them as well-organized and mostly allowing citizens to vote for the persons of their choice. This endorsement includes the 2009 national elections, which many regard as being peaceful and largely free of significant problems. Despite this generally positive view of elections in the country, several concerns are raised repeatedly by some participants who believe that elections are not fully free and fair. Irregularities they cite include coercion of voters, punishment of opposition supporters and fraud in the counting of votes. These participants describe elections as “free but not just.”<sup>1</sup> There is also a belief among some participants that not enough is done to ensure that all have the chance to vote. The primary complaint of these participants is that a one-day election is not long enough to allow all interested Mozambicans to vote.

2. **While most participants in this study declare their continued personal commitment to voting,<sup>2</sup> they attribute the decline in voter turnout in Mozambique to a combination of morale and logistical issues.** Almost all participants say they intend to vote in the 2013 national elections because they value their right to choose their leaders and relish the opportunity to elect leaders who can serve citizens well. Nevertheless, they hold strong opinions about the reasons for the drop in the number of voters participating in Mozambican elections. The first culprit they point to is morale among some voters. Participant say some voters are tired of unfulfilled campaign promises and are disillusioned with the lack of progress in the country, particularly in development and the economy. They also note a loss of faith in the fairness of the election process by some voters, and the feeling of others that their vote does not matter because the winners never change, even when the process is fair. A myriad of logistical constraints to voting is what participants next blame for the decline in voter turnout. The one-day voting period, the scheduling of elections during harvest time, long voting queues, the lack of polling locations in rural areas, and the need to travel too far to reach polling locations in some areas are among the issues they believe have a negative impact on voter turnout. To combat this problem, participants suggest civic education, demonstrations of government impact on citizens’ lives, administrative actions to make voting more accessible to all, and the establishment of an honest dialogue between citizens and government. On this latter point, participants say voter turnout would benefit if politicians were more sincere in their interactions with citizens and refrained from making unachievable promises.
3. **Most participants see great value in maintaining a multi-party system in Mozambique, though they say the playing field in elections is not level for all political parties.** A multi-party system in Mozambique offers multiple benefits, according to participants. They support a multi-party system because it offers them a choice during elections and because they believe competition would benefit the country. Participants say Mozambique needs good opposition political parties to ensure a quality discussion of national issues and to lead to the emergence of more and better ideas for achieving progress in the country. One participant sums this line of thinking up when he says, “If there weren’t other parties to argue with, [the ruling party] FRELIMO couldn’t accomplish much on its own.”<sup>3</sup> When it comes to contesting elections,

---

<sup>1</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in Gorongosa District, Sofala Province.

<sup>2</sup> This study primarily captured Mozambicans who voted in the 2009 elections. The reason for this is unknown, though it is possible that people who do not vote also are less willing to participate in research activities, such as the discussion groups organized during this study.

<sup>3</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province.

most participants contend the ruling party has many distinct advantages, including greater financial means and access to the state assets. However, they say the advantage the ruling party enjoys is in part due to the weakness of other political parties, which they believe do not have the capacity to lead, are not well-organized enough to win elections or do not present themselves as a clear alternative.

### III. ELECTORAL ADMINISTRATION AND OBSERVATION

- 1. Although the voter registration process is described as simple, there are a significant number of complaints, especially in rural areas, about logistical shortcomings, such as machine malfunctions and long waits.** The requirements to register – being of age and having an identification card<sup>4</sup> – are appropriate and not burdensome, most participants say. Some, though, highlight a more difficult process in rural areas. This group of participants describes a registration process that is often beset by staffing shortages, long waits and distant registration locations. In addition, many participants in the Central and Northern provinces identify the breakdown of registration machines as a serious problem.
- 2. The organization of the 2009 elections receives high marks from most participants, and Mozambique’s two main election bodies – Secretariado Técnico da Administração Eleitoral (STAE) and Comissão Nacional de Eleições (CNE)<sup>5</sup> – are generally well-regarded by most participants, though a significant minority of participants expresses concern about CNE’s impartiality.** Many participants judge the logistical aspects of the 2009 elections to have been carried out well with polling materials delivered on-time and in sufficient numbers, appropriate instructions given to voters, queues in most locations<sup>6</sup> kept to a reasonable length and few problems. STAE is generally viewed as a competent organization that carries out its tasks skillfully, with the exception for some participants being its handling of the hiring of election workers. These participants claim that ruling party supporters are more likely to be hired, that bribes are sometimes necessary to win employment or that only friends and families of those in charge are hired. Feelings about CNE are mostly positive as well with many participants rating its work as good. However, in well-over one-third of the discussion groups, participants differ with that view, saying the CNE is influenced by the ruling party.
- 3. Participants see a multitude of benefit to having observers monitor elections in Mozambique.** They value observers, both domestic and international for increasing transparency, helping discourage fraud, documenting irregularities and for offering an opinion on the credibility of the results. International observers are also important because “it’s an outside eye and they are always helping us to observe better,”<sup>7</sup> as one participant notes.

---

<sup>4</sup> Citizens may also register to vote if they do not possess an identification card by bringing two persons who are already registered to testify on their behalf.

<sup>5</sup> Some participants in this study failed to understand the distinction between STAE and CNE, and some refrained from sharing their opinion on the two organizations because they did not they have enough information on one or both.

<sup>6</sup> Long queues in the 2009 are cited as a problem by some participants in rural locations.

<sup>7</sup> Quotation is from a younger woman in the City of Nampula, Nampula Province.

Domestic observers are symbolically important because it demonstrates that Mozambicans are working to guarantee transparency in their own country.

#### IV. ELECTORAL REFORM

- 1. There is very little awareness among participants about the current discussions related to electoral reform.** The majority of participants in only five of the 43 groups say they have heard of the possibility the country's electoral laws being revised. However, there is general consensus among participants with some knowledge of electoral reform that it is important to improve the law and to make sure the law is acceptable to all Mozambicans.
- 2. Most participants express a clear desire to have members of the CNE chosen in a neutral and independent process and to have the majority of the CNE composed of civil society. There are mixed views on allowing non-parliamentary political parties representation in that body.** Most participants endorse a CNE selection process that will result in the appointment of members who are independent. They want a process through which those most qualified are identified or one where the power to select CNE members resides with civil society. Similarly, most participants prefer to maintain the current composition of the CNE, with civil society representing the majority of members,<sup>8</sup> and some participants even suggest that the composition of the CNE should be more heavily weighted toward, or composed entirely of, civil society. Participants' answers are not as clear-cut on the representation of non-parliamentary parties in the CNE. About half support representation of all political parties in the CNE because they believe every party competing in the elections has the right to have their interests protected. The other half of participants believes non-parliamentary political parties do not have the support required among citizens to merit their representation in the CNE. They also say that a large number of political parties in the CNE would be cumbersome for its effective operation.
- 3. Almost all participants think electoral complaints should be decided by district electoral courts rather than having complaints forwarded to the CNE.** Participant support for district electoral courts is based on their belief that resolving disputes locally would be quicker, easier and result in better decisions, in part because of local knowledge of the situation that led to the complaint.
- 4. There are mixed views on the merit of the deposit required to run for President in Mozambique,<sup>9</sup> but there is near unanimous agreement among participants that the requirements for candidates to provide a certificate of residence and a statement of criminal records should be maintained.** Participants supportive of eliminating the presidential deposit requirement argue that running for President is a right of all citizens and that the deposit would exclude poorer candidates or parties that may have beneficial and important ideas for the country. Those who believe that the deposit requirement should be eliminated include most participants in the Central provinces. About half of the participants in the

---

<sup>8</sup> Participants in some groups did not feel they were knowledgeable enough to answer this question.

<sup>9</sup> Since the fieldwork for the research was conducted, the political forces in Mozambique have agreed to eliminate the presidential deposit requirement.

Southern provinces and most in the Northern provinces take the opposite view. They think the deposit requirement to run for President demonstrates a candidate is serious and responsible, and the ability to pay the deposit conveys certain abilities and stature. There is no ambiguity among participants about the requirements for candidates to submit residency certificates and criminal record statements. They say these provide voters with vital information about candidates and protect them from unknowingly electing criminals or people who were not born in Mozambique.

5. **Most participants believe campaign financing for political parties should be distributed equally rather than the current system of proportional funding based on seats in parliament.** Proportional funding strengthens the already strong and weakens competition, participants contend. They also see no reason for unequal funding for different parties since each is undertaking the same task. About a third of participants, though, are happy with the current campaign financing system. This group says that proportional financing is the only logical system because different parties have different numbers of supporters. In addition, government campaign financing of political parties to compete in municipal elections is supported by most participants who feel knowledgeable enough to answer the question because they believe it would result in fairer competition.
6. **Discrepancies between the number of ballots in a box and the number of voters marked as having voted must be addressed invalidating the results and repeating the election in that polling location, participants say.** They view any difference between the number of voters casting ballots and the number of ballots that end up in a ballot box at a polling location as a sign of fraud. As a result, they say there is no other choice but to throw out all the votes and to re-run the election in that location. Some also urge that polling officials in disputed locations be taken to court or punished.

## V. CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

1. **There is very little awareness among participants of the formation of the constitutional review committee in December 2010. Nevertheless, participants are able to clearly express their preference for presidential term limits and for their direct participation in electing the president and approving significant constitutional changes.** Participants have very little knowledge about possible constitutional reforms and, as such, can offer few suggestions for changes they would support. However, when asked to consider possible reform options, participants are able to grasp the issues and articulate strong preferences. Most participants, for example, support maintaining the current system in Mozambique of a two-term limit on the presidency, with each mandate not to exceed five years. They argue that any more than ten years unfairly limits the opportunities of others to lead the country and that allowing more time in power tilts the system away from democracy and toward dictatorship. There is also overwhelming support to maintain the current system of direct presidential elections. Most participants feel strongly that it is the right of the people to directly elect their president and say only the citizens can decide who should lead them. In addition, almost all participants feel it is their right vote on significant constitutional changes such as these because, after all, it is their

constitution. As one participant notes, “We would like to vote because it needs to be the people who say what they want [in the constitution].”<sup>10</sup>

2. **There are mixed views among participants on whether the presidency in Mozambique has too much power or the right amount of power.** Overall, about half of the participants believe the presidency has too much power, while the other half contends it has the right amount of power.

## VI. POLITICAL PARTIES

1. **Participants have mixed views on political parties.** Some participants view political parties as a way to consolidate democracy and to promote healthy and peaceful competition. Other participants complain that political parties are interested only in their agendas and not in working for the people. This belief is reflected in comments by participants such as, “They [political parties] need the public, but only for elections.”<sup>11</sup> The participants reserve special disdain for those political parties that they say just appear around elections, saying these parties are not serious and are only in politics for the money.
2. **Although almost no participants can articulate any key principles of the three major political parties,<sup>12</sup> they make strong associations with the various parties that, in turn, influence which party they ultimately support.** Participants are mostly complimentary of the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO), applauding its past as the country’s liberator and saying it demonstrates a number of positive attributes. Many participants find comfort in the fact that FRELIMO is the most experienced party and view the party as the most organized, clear and comprehensible in its actions. Participants that associate negative attributes with the ruling party say either the party is dishonest and not transparent or the party has failed at fulfilling its promises, especially in terms of improving the quality of life for citizens. Most participants retain negative associations of the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) related to the civil war, though there are some who say RENAMO deserves credit for helping bring peace, freedom and democracy to the country. In looking at the attributes of RENAMO today, most participants describe the party as disorganized, lacking any clearly-defined principles and opposing the ruling party on all issues, regardless of merit. Some participants, however, focus on RENAMO’s positive qualities and call the party a strong opposition that plays an important role in monitoring and correcting the ruling party. Some participants were not aware of the Democratic Movement of Mozambique (MDM), but the party is viewed positively overall among those with knowledge. These participants praise MDM for offering new ideas that have the ability to transform the country. Negative associations of MDM among a few participants are based on their assessment of the party as immature. There is very little knowledge or understanding of political parties outside of FRELIMO, RENAMO and MDM, although some

---

<sup>10</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in Aúbe District, Nampula Province.

<sup>11</sup> Quotation is from a younger woman in Matutuine District, Maputo Province.

<sup>12</sup> Participants were asked to articulate what they thought were the main principles of FRELIMO, RENAMO and MDM, and very few could. There was not enough time to ask about the main principles of other political parties in Mozambique, although general impressions of other political parties were offered by participants.

participants name the Party for Peace, Democracy and Development (PDD) and the Independent Party of Mozambique (PIMO) as smaller parties voters may deem worth supporting.



## PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

CEDE and NDI undertook this study from June 26 to July 30. The principal findings outlined below are based on 43 focus group discussions. The discussions were conducted in both rural and urban locations across all 10 provinces and Maputo City, and a total of 615 Mozambicans participated in the study. Group discussions were conducted with men, women, various ethnicities, various age groups and with people of varying education levels. Consult the location and participant demographic chart in Appendix A for further information on group composition.

### I. STATE OF THE NATION

#### 1. Most participants say Mozambique is not headed in the right direction because of low development, a poor economy, the rising cost of living, increasing crime and ubiquitous corruption.

Development is not up to the needed standard, according to most participants. They say there are fewer schools than necessary, particularly at the secondary level; some areas are without schools, and in other areas the schools are of poor quality. Hospitals provide poor, and sometimes humiliating, service at a high costs. Many areas have bad roads and lack sufficient means of transport. Some areas suffer from significant water issues. An anemic economy, participants say, is producing no jobs and unemployment is a serious problem. Crime is becoming more concerning and police in some areas are unable or unwilling to address the issue seriously. High prices, especially for food, have an impact on almost every aspect of life and reduce families' ability to meet other costs, such as education fees and hospital charges. Participants also blame corruption in institutions that affect daily life, such as in employment, the education system, the health system and the justice system, for negatively influencing life in the country. Participants in the Northern and Southern provinces are more likely to judge the country as not on the right track. About one-quarter of the participants have a more positive view of where the country is headed. These participants say they see improvements in development, including in roads, education and health and note positive economic developments, such as new markets, government loans and freedom to operate businesses.

*Mozambique is not in a good spot. There are youth that have the capacity to work, but they are told there are no jobs. In order to work, you must pay a payoff to a state worker...The cost of living is very high, so other things become difficult. (Older Men, City of Chimoio, Manica Province)*

*Schools do not have desks, health clinics do not have medicines...There is a lack of justice, the powerful are always right, the police and city councils rob from the people, and the roads are full of potholes. (Older Men, Maputo City)*

*We are now suffering from high crime...People are killed, and just a little while ago a woman was murdered. The killer was arrested but was released right away. (Older Women, Chibuto District, Gaza Province)*

*The situation is not good. There are many criminals, and the police don't do anything. When they are arrested, they are freed immediately and commit more crimes.* (Younger Women, Lago District, Niassa Province)

*There is no development in the localities. There is a lack of water for the populations and a lack of transportation to the rural zones. The poor are getting poorer. Only the children of the rich can get a secondary education.* (Younger Women, Matutuíne District, Maputo Province)

*Today we have houses with light, we have schools in each community, we are developing the island, we have schools in very rural zones, the way of life is different...We are better off than before.* (Older Women, Ka-Nhaca District, Maputo City)

### **2. Education, health and jobs are the three areas where participants would most like to see significant change.**

The top development priorities of participants are education, health and employment (especially for youth). Following those three, they place a high priority on tackling problems with roads and transportation, reducing high prices and the cost of living, and providing greater access to clean water. A significant number of participants also believe it is important to place greater emphasis on improving agriculture.

*I would make employment for the young people [a priority] because at the moment they are suffering and lack the resources to organize their homes or to study and develop the country. I would build more hospitals and make the hospital staff treat patients well.* (Younger Women, Marracuene District, Maputo Province)

*[As priorities, the government should] give jobs to all citizens, construct classrooms, [deliver] potable water, [provide] agricultural financing – because the riches come from the earth – reduce the cost of living, [and] make the police do good work.* (Older Men, Rapale Achilo District, Nampula Province)

*[As priorities, the government should] set up projects for job creation, improve education and ensure fair salaries. The minimum wage must also be raised.* (Older Men, City of Chimoio, Manica Province)

*I would raise the minimum wage [as a priority]. I would improve the treatment of patients in hospitals and provide the population with more medicine. I would build more health centers and build more paved roads in the districts.* (Younger Women, Matutuíne District, Maputo Province)

*I would invest in agriculture [as a priority] and assign 20% of the state budget to farm machinery. Finally, I would invest in education, restoring the old system and placing at least one institution of higher learning in each province.* (Younger Men, City of Inhambane, Inhambane Province)

### **3. Broken campaign promises, little contact with elected officials, poor service delivery and corruption make most participants feel they are not represented in government. Public dialogue between citizens and government officials is the best way to change that perception, they say.**

A common refrain among participants is that officials they elect do not fulfill campaign promises. Since they made their electoral choices based in part upon these promises, participants say that when they are broken they have a hard time believing the official is truly representing them. This is reinforced, they say, by the fact that they rarely see or talk with officials following elections. As one participant notes, “As soon as I vote, they forget me.”<sup>13</sup> Poor service delivery also makes some participants feel they are receiving little benefit from having representatives in government. This feeling is reflected in the comment of one participant who contends, “We choose them to develop our country, but we don’t see any changes.”<sup>14</sup> Corruption is another factor that influences some participants’ view that they are not represented in government. Participants say they feel a person’s main interest in serving in government is to get bribes and benefits, not serve the people. Participants have two main suggestions for how the government can make them feel more represented. The first is to fulfill campaign promises in a way that will tangibly benefit citizens. The second, and the one participants mention most often, is for officials to meet, discuss and consult with citizens about key issues affecting their communities. This thought is communicated by one participant who has this advice for government officials concerned about whether citizens feel represented, “More than anything, they need to listen to the public.”<sup>15</sup>

*As soon as they [elected officials] are in power, they forget about all their promises. We do not feel represented. (Older Men, City of Beira, Sofala Province)*

*No [I do not feel well represented]. There are no meetings like this...I am in the same line of thought, with the same idea. I think that we are alone. We are almost alone. We have nobody. (Younger Men, Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province)*

*I do not feel well represented here. The politicians never speak to the people. There is separation between government and the citizen...The politicians need to create conditions for public dialogue...They need to meet with the public, to consult with us. (Younger Women, Matutuíne District, Maputo Province)*

*When we elect someone the work we need does not get done. In the hospital, people die in the waiting room while the nurses do nothing. (Younger Women, Inhassunge District, Zambezia Province)*

*The people who work in the government like to be bought...They [elected officials] should listen to our concerns without discriminating and without being paid bribes. (Older Women, Chibuto District, Gaza)*

*Politicians need to live the reality of the people, [by] going to their communities and resolving the people’s problems...[They need to] work for the people’s benefit, not just to fill their purses...The government needs to fulfill what they promise so we will feel well represented. (Younger Men, City of Quelimane, Zambezia Province)*

---

<sup>13</sup> Quotation is from an older man in the City of Chimoio, Manica Province.

<sup>14</sup> Quotation is from a younger woman in Inhassunge District, Zambezia Province.

<sup>15</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in Milange District, Zambezia Province.

*They [elected officials] need to come to hear our problems and also to inform us how the projects are going, because it was the people who elected them, not the government. (Younger Men, Aube District, Nampula Province)*

- 4. Most participants in the Southern and Northern provinces say they do not feel capable of fully exercising their rights and freedoms as citizens because of poor economic conditions and a system that treats those with power or money differently. Some participants in all provinces talk about partial limits on freedom of expression.**

The impediments to rights and freedom that are most felt in the Northern and Southern provinces are primarily economic. Participants there say they cannot consider themselves free when life is so expensive, when there are no jobs to allow them to better their situation, and when the government is not doing enough to help alleviate their suffering or help raise them out of poverty. This feeling is reflected in the comment of one participant who notes, “With poverty, there is no freedom.”<sup>16</sup> Participants in these provinces say the gap between rich and poor and those with power and those without it makes them feel they are not able to exercise their rights and freedoms fully in Mozambique. The rich and elite, they say, often are treated differently than ordinary citizens in areas such as the services they receive at public institutions like hospitals and the greater access they have to important resources like bank loans and land. In all provinces, there are some participants who highlight the issue of freedom of expression. They say that while on the surface that freedom exists, in reality it is limited by the potentially negative consequences of speaking freely, intimidation by local leaders and self-censorship. Participants from the Central provinces are much more likely to say they feel free to fully exercise their rights and freedoms because, among other things, they are able to vote as they wish, start businesses without interference and move freely around the country.

*I do not feel free because life is very expensive...We live very poorly because the government does not care about the people. (Younger Women, Marracuene District, Maputo Province)*

*We are not free because there are no jobs and there is a lot of poverty. (Younger Men, Lichinga District, Niassa Province)*

*There is no liberty; there is no justice. To have a problem resolved you need to pay money. When the criminals have money, they don't stay in jail. (Younger Men, Aube District, Nampula Province)*

*In hospitals, there is inequality of people's rights. Because the poor don't have money, they are not well attended to. Only the rich are well attended in the hospitals. (Older Men, Namaacha District, Maputo Province)*

*The liberty that we want does not yet exist...the bank loans are allocated to certain groups of the elite. (Older Men, Urban District I Ka Mfumo, Maputo City)*

---

<sup>16</sup> Quotation is from a younger woman in Lago District, Niassa Province.

*The truth can be said, but in our country when the truth wants to come out, the person saying it is intimidated.* (Older Men, City of Chimoio, Manica Province)

*When a leader comes to visit, the population is prohibited from speaking their thoughts, except for those people that are indicated by the community leaders.* (Younger Men, Angoche Sede District, Nampula Province)

*In reality I am not as free as the government says I am...In truth there is no liberty in this country. Many times people are killed for speaking about certain things.* (Younger Men and Women, City of Inhambane, Inhambane Province)

*I feel free; nobody questions what I do...I feel free; when I want to vote for someone, there are no impediments.* (Younger Women, Tsangano Sede District, Tete Province)

*I feel that I am free, and I have freedom because a person can go where they want and do what they want with their life.* (Younger Men, City of Quelimane, Zambezia Province)

## II. ELECTIONS

### 1. **Almost all participants view elections as good and important, though a few participants express slight reservations because they believe elections in Mozambique are not highly transparent and tend to produce the same result.**

Participants see elections as mostly beneficial. Elections, they say, give them the opportunity to exercise a civic right, the power to choose leaders they think will best serve them, the ability to bring about change, and a way to promote and consolidate democracy, something which almost all participants support. One participant describes elections as “a way of welcoming each citizen’s way of thinking.”<sup>17</sup> While there is strong support for elections as an appropriate mechanism for choosing leaders, a few participants express concern about how they are conducted in Mozambique. These participants question whether elections in the country are free of influence and whether elections serve their true purpose if the end result never changes.

*Elections are good, and we must carry out our political [civic] duties...They are a good thing because we choose our leaders.* (Younger Men, City of Tete, Tete Province)

*We have elections in Mozambique, so we can choose who will guide us. There should always be elections in Mozambique.* (Younger Men, Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province)

*Elections are good because they are the only way to consolidate democracy.* (Younger Men, Chókwe District, Gaza Province)

*Elections are good, but one party and one candidate always win.* (Older Women, Cuamba District, Niassa)

---

<sup>17</sup> Quotation is from a younger woman in Pemba District, Cabo Delgado Province.

*Elections are good. Voting is a civic right because the people have the opportunity to choose the right person to govern the country. However, there is a barrier of 5% minimum for parties to get into parliament, there is intervention of politicians in the CNE, and there is no honesty, no transparency and no justice in the counting of votes.* (Older Men, Urban District I Ka Mfumo, Maputo City)

*They [elections] are not good because there is a lot of cheating.* (Older Women, Milange District, Zambezia)

### **2. Participants say that, overall, elections function well in Mozambique, although some point to problems that could influence the ultimate results.**

Most participants have a positive opinion of how elections are organized and conducted in Mozambique. They note that elections are well-organized and well-run, generally adhere to the legal requirements, are largely free of problems that could impede voting and mostly allow for citizens to vote for the candidate of their choice. However, while satisfaction with the general conduct of the election is fairly high, some participants point to issues that they feel make elections in Mozambique less than fully free and fair. These participants cite instances where opposition supporters are singled out for punishment, where voters are coerced to vote for a particular party or candidate and where results – in their view – have been altered. These irregularities lead to participants comments such as “[elections] are free but not just,”<sup>18</sup> and “the election is fair but when the results come, there is a lot of cheating.”<sup>19</sup>

*They [elections] are well-run because we vote without problems...You can vote well, and there is no turmoil. We have all voted.* (Older Women, City of Xai-Xai, Gaza Province)

*Elections in Mozambique have observed legal procedures because they are exercising democracy. Campaigns are done freely and the organization of the communities is good.* (Older Men, Urban District IV Ka Mubukwana, Maputo City)

*The elections are free and fair because each person is free to vote, and the outcome is a just winner.* (Older Women, Cuamba District, Niassa Province)

*We vote with our free and unconstrained will.* (Younger Men, City of Tete, Tete Province)

*The elections run as they should and finish without any problems...Yes, they [elections] are [free and fair]. The rules designed [to keep the election free and fair] are followed.* (Younger Men, Maganja da Costa, Zambezia Province)

*They [elections] are not free because when it is campaign time the community leaders make people vote for the ruling party, threatening to persecute them if they do not vote for the chosen party or candidate.* (Younger Women, Matatuine District, Maputo Province)

*Here in the district there is no liberty. A youth that wears the shirt of the opposing party can be punished by the ruling party.* (Younger Men, Lalaúá District, Nampula Province)

---

<sup>18</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in Gorongosa District, Sofala Province.

<sup>19</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in the City of Quelimane, Zambezia Province.

*There is a lot of cheating [in the elections].* (Younger Men, Milange District, Zambezia Province)

*They [elections] are not [free and fair]. In many places, the ballot box never got there. In other places, they changed the ballot box.* (Younger Women, Tsangano Sede District, Tete Province)

**3. Most participants give the 2009 national elections their stamp of approval, though some participants in the Central provinces were somewhat less complimentary.**

The 2009 national elections are judged to have been well-conducted by participants. There were few problems reported, according to participants, and citizens were able to vote for the candidates of their choice. Participants also appreciate the peaceful nature of the vote because there was no significant fighting, and those who wanted to cast a vote were able to participate without encountering major obstacles. However, a significant number of participants identified key deficiencies in the process. Participants who speak about problems with the 2009 elections are more likely to be from the Central provinces, though not exclusively. The top complaint of these participants is that a one-day election is not long enough to allow all interested Mozambicans to vote. Some other participants speak of some candidates or parties that were prevented from contesting, though this was only mentioned in select urban groups, or of vote counts that were changed in some cases. One participant who expresses concern about problems in the election offers this assessment of the 2009 elections, “They were only good as a pretense. They made us believe that the elections went well, but actually everything was the same, full of fraud.”<sup>20</sup>

*They [the 2009 elections] were good. Compared to previous elections, the 2009 polls were much better.* (Younger Men, Chókwè District, Gaza Province)

*They were good. Each person decided the candidate according to his tastes...There was no confusion during the elections. Everything was organized.* (Younger Women, Angónia District, Tete Province)

*They were good because the majority of the population voted, more than in any previous election. There was no vote buying, and the winner had a smashing victory.* (Older Men, Urban District IV Ka Mubukwana, Maputo City)

*The 2009 elections were good in our district. There were promises of no conflicts and indeed there were no conflicts, so we could vote. There were observers controlling the elections, and the process ran well in Lalaúia.* (Younger Men, Lalaúia District, Nampula Province)

*The elections are well-run, but they only take place for one day. Elections should last longer.* (Younger Men and Women, City of Quissico, Inhambane Province)

*No, [the 2009 elections were not good] because only one day for voting is very short, and many voters did not vote.* (Younger Men, City of Quelimane, Zambezia Province)

---

<sup>20</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in the City of Inhambane, Inhambane Province.

*They [the 2009 elections] were not well-prepared because some political parties were excluded from the electoral race. The number of voters was also smaller due to this exclusion. There were many contested issues.* (Older Men, Urban District I Ka Mfumo, Maputo City)

*No, they were not good. I've heard that they miscounted the votes and threw the ballots in the water.* (Younger Men, Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province)

*There was robbing of votes...There was a lot of changing of votes.* (Younger Women, Alto Molocue District, Zambezia Province)

**4. The vast majority of participants describe voting as easy in Mozambique. The one-day timeframe for the vote and long voting lines in some polling stations are participants' biggest criticisms of the voting process.**

Voting is easy in Mozambique, most participants say. They commend the voting staff for orienting them once they arrived at the polling location and note that photos on the ballots are very helpful in ensuring voters understand the choices they are making. The biggest impediments to voting, according to participants, are the timeframe for voting – they believe more than one day is necessary to allow all who desire to participate – and the length of time voters are required to stand in long lines in some locations before casting their ballot. On the latter issue, some participants say either they or others they know gave up and never voted after waiting several hours in line. Another complaint some participants voice is that local leaders and their families are allowed to break the queue.

*It [voting] is easy because things are organized, and everybody knows where to go and vote.* (Younger Men, City of Tete, Tete Province)

*It is easy [to vote] because as soon as you arrive to the voting booths someone is there that explains to you how to cast your vote.* (Younger Men, Massinga District, Inhambane Province)

*It was easy [to vote]. When a person arrived, they were oriented and there were photos [on the ballot]...It was easy because we had the information before we voted.* (Older Women, Cuamba District, Niassa Province)

*[Voting is] easy, but people arrive early and wait a long time in the lines [to vote].* (Younger Women, Cahora Bassa District, Tete Province)

*It was not easy because of the fact that the voting took place in one day, so there were very long lines. It needs to last more than one day.* (Younger Men and Women, City of Inhambane, Inhambane Province)

*For me, it was not easy because I left my house at 6:00 AM and at 9:00 AM I had still not voted. I ended up not voting.* (Younger Men, Maganja da Costa District, Zambezia Province)

*It depends on the community. Long lines sometimes make voting difficult.* (Younger Men, City of Beira, Sofala Province)



*Voting was easy but it lasted only one day, and then they let the leaders vote first. The people arrived to wait in the voting lines while the leaders were still sleeping with their wives. But when they woke up and came to vote, they [the leaders] got to go first.* (Younger Women, Ribaúe District, Nampula Province)

- 5. Almost all participants in the study who were of voting age indicate they voted in the 2009 elections.<sup>21</sup> Most of those in the study who did not vote failed to do so for personal or logistical reasons.**

The vast majority of participants in this study who were of voting age in 2009 say they cast a ballot in the elections. Participants who did not vote offer a variety of explanations. Personal issues, such as sickness, prevented some from voting. Others say their reasons for not casting a ballot in 2009 were primarily logistical, meaning they were not in the area where they registered on voting day because they were traveling or had moved to another district. Only a couple of participants say their lack of participation in the 2009 vote was driven by a belief that their vote could not change anything or by frustration over past broken election promises.

- 6. The commitment to voting has not faded for the vast majority of participants, who declare they will definitely cast their ballots in the 2013 national elections.**

Almost all participants say they intend to vote in the 2013 national elections because they value their right to choose their leaders and relish the opportunity to elect leaders that can serve the citizens well. The comment of one participant represents the feelings of most, “If I am alive, I will vote.”<sup>22</sup> Among the small number of participants who exhibit some reservations about voting again, most indicate they do not see the benefits of going to the trouble of voting. In one group participants express this view by noting, “To vote or not, makes no difference. So why vote?”<sup>23</sup>

*I will vote because it is my right as a citizen.* (Older Men, City of Chimoio, Manica Province)

*I will vote in order to choose a new president who can fix our problems...I will vote to choose a president that will develop our country.* (Older Women, Lichinga District, Niassa Province)

*I'm not sure if I will go vote because I don't see change or advantages.* (Younger Women, City of Nampula, Nampula Province)

---

<sup>21</sup> It is clear from this finding and the finding below (number 6 in the Elections section) that this study primarily captured Mozambicans who are committed to the voting process and thus did not capture the portion of the population who have chosen not to participate in the process. The reason for this is unknown, though it is possible that people who do not vote also are less willing to participate in research activities, such as the discussion groups organized during this study. Nevertheless, the participants in this study are able to articulate the key causes for decreasing voter turnout in Mozambique as noted in finding number 7 in the Elections section.

<sup>22</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in Gorongosa District, Sofala Province.

<sup>23</sup> Quotation is from a younger woman in Ribaúe District, Nampula Province.

- 7. A combination of morale and logistical issues is responsible for the decline in voter turnout since 2004, according to participants. To combat this problem, participants suggest civic education, demonstrations of government impact on citizens' lives, administrative actions to make voting more accessible to all, and the establishment of an honest dialogue between citizens and government.**

Although the participants in this study declare their commitment to continued voting, they were asked to identify the causes of the recent decline in voter turnout in Mozambique. The decreasing voter turnout, they believe, is the result first of morale issues among some voters. Participants say the lapsed voters have tired of unfulfilled campaign promises and are disillusioned with the lack of the progress in the country, particularly in development and the economy. Some of these voters are also turned off by election results that they believe do not reflect the actual vote or by results that, regardless of the fairness of the process, always produce the same winner. A myriad of logistical constraints is the second key area participants cite for decline in voter turnout. They talk of many voters being out of the country, particularly in South Africa, or out of the province in which they registered on the voting day. They also say the number of voters who participate in elections is decreasing because of the one-day voting period, the scheduling of elections during harvest time, long voting queues in some locations, the lack of polling locations in rural areas and the need to travel too far to reach polling locations in some areas. Reflective of the issues that have a negative impact on voter turnout is one participant comment that highlights both morale and logistical issues, "Why will they [voters] suffer in the lines when they already know who won the election?"<sup>24</sup> Finally, some participants suggest that the voters' roll contains the names of many people who are deceased and thus may be falsely inflating the percentage of decline in voter turnout.

Participants offer several suggestions for reversing the decline in voter turnout. Intense civic education is needed, they say, to re-focus the people on the importance of the vote. Morale issues should be addressed through the government making serious efforts to improve the quality of life for Mozambicans, particularly through increasing job opportunities and lowering prices of staple goods, and through increasing the transparency of the election process to demonstrate elections are truly free and fair. Logistical barriers to voting should be lowered, according to participants, with special focus placed on extending the timeframe for the vote to 2-3 days and increasing the number of polling locations. Participants also believe it would benefit voter turnout if politicians were more sincere in their interactions with citizens and refrained from making unachievable promises. The comment of one participant highlights the importance of honest dialogue in increasing voter turnout, "[politicians need to] only talk about what is possible and not lie to the people."<sup>25</sup>

*[The] voter decrease is due to the lack of transparency. You can vote one way, but the election will swing to the other candidate...Unfulfilled promises. People are tired of politicians' lies. Politicians promise things they know they will never do. (Older Men, Namaacha District, Maputo Province)*

---

<sup>24</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in Lalaú District, Nampula Province.

<sup>25</sup> Quotation is from an older woman in Milange District, Zambezia Province.

*When we go to vote we are considered, but after the elections they put those considerations in the trash, and we are nothing. They promise many things during the campaign, but nothing happens. To vote is a waste of time when you could be harvesting food for yourself, instead of the elections that only fill the leaders' bellies.* (Younger Woman, Ribaúe District, Nampula Province)

*If they don't resolve the problems that the young people have, then the number of people who vote will go down. Young people do not have jobs and are not satisfied. We too are not satisfied because we invest in our children, and they cannot get jobs.* (Older Women, City of Xai-Xai, Gaza Province)

*People are tired of waiting in lines to vote, and the winner is always the same.* (Younger Men and Women, City of Inhambane, Inhambane Province)

*It [voter turnout decline] is because of the timeframe to vote. It is a very short timeframe. It takes a long time to vote. You have to stay until nightfall...Many others live in South Africa and don't have time enough to return.* (Younger Women, City of Quissico, Inhambane Province)

*Because of the lines where I was, a lot of people went home because they were tired...There aren't a lot of voting booths, and there is not enough time to vote...I think the polling locations are farther away every year.* (Older Women, Milange District, Zambezia Province)

*It [polling location] is a long way away. In 1994, the elections were local, where people lived. Now they are not. Everyone has to travel long distances to vote, and many people don't do it.* (Older Men, Rapale Anchilo District, Nampula Province)

*The number of voters is decreasing because some die, others go to the harvest and others are not interested.* (Younger Men, Ancuabe District, Cabo Delgado Province)

*[To increase voter turnout civic] education should focus not only on how to vote, but why one should vote, why it is important, what are the rules for voting and why you should be counted in the census. This should be permanent and not just during election times.* (Younger Men, Chókwè District, Gaza Province)

*[To increase voter turnout] make the populations aware of the importance of voting, especially in rural zones. Don't make false promises...Make services better and make the elections more transparent.* (Younger Men and Women, City of Inhambane, Inhambane Province)

*People win the courage to vote if there are jobs in their district.* (Younger Men, Ancuabe District, Cabo Delgado Province)

*In order to convince people to vote, the government must change people's lives.* (Younger Women, Matatuine District, Maputo Province)

*[To increase voter turnout] guarantee that elections are fair.* (Young Men, City of Beira, Sofala Province)

*[To increase voter turnout] increase the number of voting booths...increase the number of voting days so everyone can vote.* (Younger Men, City of Quelimane, Zambezia Province)

*Politicians need to promise reasonable things. They need to be sincere.* (Older Men, Namaacha District, Maputo Province)

### **8. The playing field in elections is not level for all political parties, according to most participants.**

The ruling party, participants contend, has many distinct advantages when it comes to contesting elections. Specifically, they say the party has greater financial means than other political parties and can use the assets of the state to its benefit. However, the advantage the ruling party enjoys is not entirely their making, participants note. The weakness of other political parties contributes to the unfair playing field. Participants say that many other parties do not have the capacity to lead, are not well-organized enough to win elections or do not present themselves as a clear alternative. However, a significant minority of participants say that all political parties have an equal chance of winning elections because everyone is free to participate.

*No, political parties do not have the same chance [to win elections] in relation to the ruling party. The ruling party uses means, funds and employees of the state to conduct their electoral campaign. There is no equal opportunity between the parties, there is always one that is more powerful than the others, and these differences start in parliament. There are also political parties that only exist during elections.* (Older Men, Urban District I Ka Mfumo, Maputo City)

*No [political parties do not have an equal chance to win elections] because FRELIMO has a lot of power and money.* (Younger Women, Alto Molocue District, Zambezia Province)

*They [political parties] only have a chance if they have money. The others need more money to win. But, even so, the ruling party pays people and promises them jobs.* (Older Men, Rapale Anchilo District, Nampula Province)

*No [political parties do not have an equal chance to win elections] because the other parties do not have the internal organizational capacity, the finances, mobilization or leadership.* (Older Men, Lichinga District, Niassa Province)

*If they want to be voted for, the [other] parties need to say more; they need to say what they are going to do that is different from what is being done.* (Older Women, Chibuto District, Gaza Province)

*Frequently, other parties don't present convincing programs.* (Older Men, Namaacha District, Maputo Province)

*Yes, they [all political parties] have equal chances to win elections...All they [voters] have to do is choose; it is individual.* (Younger Men, Maganja da Costa District, Zambezia Province)

### **9. Most participants see great value in maintaining a multi-party system in Mozambique.**

A multi-party system in Mozambique offers many benefits, according to participants. First, they view the multi-party system as a sign of democracy, which they support and want to strengthen. A second reason is that participants believe elections provide the best avenue for citizens to choose the best leaders and, if necessary, to initiate change, so having the choices offered by

multiple political parties is important. The most common view, however, is that the multi-party system is important because of the benefits that competition brings. Participants say Mozambique needs a good opposition in government to ensure that there is quality discussion of national issues. Constructive criticism, they say, produces more and better ideas for achieving progress in the country. One participant sums this line of thinking up when he says, “If there weren’t other parties to argue with, FRELIMO couldn’t accomplish much alone.”<sup>26</sup> Some participants, though, believe one party or a small number of parties (3-4) would be better for the country. They say that having a lot of political parties is complicated and creates too much confusion or is a waste of time since only one party wins.

*It is important to have competition with more than one party because that way you avoid a dictatorship; you open more space to competition. This is the way to exercise democracy, through practice.* (Older Men, Urban District IV Ka Mubukwana, Maputo City)

*It is important [to have multiple political parties] because then you can choose the best.* (Younger Men, City of Tete, Tete Province)

*It is important to have many parties running for the elections because if you vote for one party and nothing changes, the next time you can change your vote to [favor] another party.* (Younger Men, Gorongosa District, Sofala Province)

*It is good to have more than one party because when there are two teams playing soccer each team tries to be better than the other and the country benefits from that competition.* (Older Women, Cuamba District, Niassa Province)

*It is important to have many parties competing because they can help each other choose good ideas for the development of the country.* (Younger Women, Marracuene District, Maputo Province)

*It is important to have many parties because that way we will have representatives from many parties in the Assembly of the Republic, and the discussions on national issues will improve.* (Younger Men, Angoche Sede District, Nampula Province)

*It isn’t important to have more parties. They never win the elections, and they just waste their time.* (Younger Women, Angónia District, Tete Province)

*[Having] many parties is complicated... [Having] many parties doesn’t work. It would be better to just have two parties. Having many parties just gives headaches.* (Younger Women, Alto Molocue District, Zambezia Province)

---

<sup>26</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province.

### III. ELECTORAL ADMINISTRATION AND OBSERVATION

1. **Most participants describe the voter registration process as simple. However, there are a significant number of complaints about machine malfunctions, material shortages and inadequate staffing and long queues, especially outside of urban areas.**

The description by one participant of the voter registration process, “it doesn’t ask much of a person to register,”<sup>27</sup> is how most participants view the registration process. They say the requirements to register – being of age and having an identification card<sup>28</sup> – are appropriate and not burdensome. They also compliment the use of mobile firefighter brigades to help in registration, say there is high awareness among the population about registration, and applaud the longer timeframe for registration. Some participants say the registration process is more difficult outside of urban areas, though. This group of participants describes a registration process that is often beset by staffing shortages, long wait times and distant registration locations. A few also note that the process is more complicated in rural areas because many do not have the required identification documents and say they are required at times to bring small gifts, such as eggs or a chicken, to registrars. In addition, many participants in the Central and Northern provinces identify the breakdown of registration machines as a serious problem. Overall, that issue was the top complaint of participants about the registration process.

*It [registering to vote] is easy because all you have to do is bring your ID card and be old enough. If you don’t have your ID, then just bring two registered persons who will testify for you. (Younger Men, Massinga District, Inhambane Province)*

*Registering is easy and there aren’t any lines. All you have to do is register and return home. (Older Men, City of Beira, Sofala Province)*

*For me, it [registering to vote] was easy because everyone is found in his house, sitting...Additionally, I know that [mobile brigades] go door-to-door asking, “Papa, what’s your name...” (Younger Men, Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province)*

*It is easy to register because every person knows where they need to go and what to do...The radio and television run ads days before. It’s not just one day like the voting day; a person can choose what day they intend to register. (Older Women, Ka-Nhaca District, Maputo City)*

*It [registering to vote] is easy in the city; difficult in the country. (Older Men, City of Chimoio, Manica Province)*

*It [registering to vote] is difficult because many people don’t have the necessary documents. (Older Women, Cuamba District, Niassa Province)*

---

<sup>27</sup> Quotation is from a younger participant in the City of Inhambane, Inhambane Province.

<sup>28</sup> Citizens may also register to vote if they do not possess an identification card by bringing two persons who are already registered to testify on their behalf.

*It [Registering to vote] is difficult because you could spend the whole day in line and not get registered. You could return the next day and still not get registered...It [registering to vote] is difficult because there weren't many registrars...It [registering to vote] is difficult because the point where people had to register was very far away.* (Younger Women, Inhassunge District, Zambezia Province)

*The registering was not easy because many times you had to bring a chicken for the registrars...There were problems with the batteries of the machines, and so many people did not get to register.* (Younger Women, Ribaúe District, Nampula Province)

*It [registering to vote] is difficult because the machines are always breaking.* (Older Women, Milange District, Zambezia Province)

## **2. The organization of the 2009 elections receives high marks from most participants.**

Overall, participants view the 2009 national elections as well-organized and well-conducted. The assessment of many is that materials were sufficient, voters were given appropriate instructions, there were not many long lines in most locations, and problems and confusion were kept to a minimum. Some participants note that the organization of the 2009 elections was a marked improvement from past years. A few participants voice the same concerns about voting in the 2009 elections as they express when talking about the voting process in general, again citing problems of long lines, distant voting locations, materials arriving late and local leaders and some people jumping the queue.

*In my zone, they [the 2009 elections] were well-organized...We received all the materials and fulfilled the objective...There were no problems with machines breaking down.* (Older Man, City of Chimoio, Manica Province)

*The elections went well; better than in other years. There were voting booths and the observers were attentive.* (Older Women, City of Xai-Xai, Gaza Province)

*They [the 2009 elections] were well-organized. I saw that it was good. They [polling officers] instructed everybody; there was no confusion.* (Younger Women, Tsangano Sede District, Tete Province)

*Nothing was well-organized. The voting booths were far away from my house.* (Younger Men, Milange District, Zambezia Province)

*The materials arrived late.* (Younger Men, Anhoche Sede District, Nampula Province)

*The voting lines were well-organized, but some of the leaders disorganized everything when their families came late and went to the front of the line to vote.* (Younger Men, Lalaua District, Nampula Province)

**3. Mozambique's two main election bodies – Secretariado Técnico da Administração Eleitoral (STAE) and Comissão Nacional de Eleições (CNE)<sup>29</sup> – are generally well-regarded by most participants, although a significant minority of participants express concern about the impartiality of the CNE.**

STAE receives accolades from participants for its skill in organizing people and materials for the elections and has a reputation for working hard and according to the rules. Some participants also note improvements in STAE's work in each successive election. The main area where some participants feel STAE is lacking is in the employment of election workers. The main criticisms are that friends and families of those in charge are often hired, that in some cases a bribe is necessary to get a job with STAE, or that the election workers chosen are more likely to favor the ruling party. The CNE receives its share of compliments as well, with most participants rating its work as good and neutral. However, in well-over one-third of the discussion groups, participants differ with that view, saying the CNE is influenced by the ruling party.

*When it comes to elections, the process [led by STAE] runs smoothly, both with respect to election material and election personnel. (Younger Women, Tsangano Sede District, Tete Province)*

*The work of STAE was done with a lot of effort. They had many delegations to help in the work. They worked well. (Younger Men, Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province)*

*I know STAE. They work well. I stayed there [at the polling location] a long time, and I never saw anything strange. (Older Women, Chibuto District, Gaza Province)*

*They [STAE] do an excellent job and they are getting better every time. (Younger Men, City of Inhambane, Inhambane Province)*

*In order to work for STAE, you have to be the wife of the leader [or] a cousin or the professor who lets their students leave [early] to register...They choose among their friends and family. (Younger Women, Ribaúe District, Nampula Province)*

*STAE works by bribing you if you want to get a job with them. (Older Women, Cuamba District, Niassa Province)*

*STAE always has problems when the elections come around. Many people in STAE are from the ruling party, and when they are in the polling station as officials, they campaign for their party. (Older Men, City of Beira, Sofala Province)*

*They [the CNE] work and they do not favor one party. They [the CNE] work as it was instructed to work. (Younger Men, Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province)*

*There are no problems [with the CNE]. They work well and are neutral. (Older Women, City of Xai-Xai, Gaza Province)*

---

<sup>29</sup> Some participants in this study fail to understand the distinction between STAE and CNE, and some refrained from sharing their opinion on the two organizations because they did not they have enough information on one or both.



*They [the CNE] are in the pocket of the ruling party...In my opinion, the people should elect members of the CNE, not the President of the Republic. If this happened, then the organization would work better.* (Older Men, City of Chimoi, Manica Province)

*They [the CNE] are prejudiced against other [non-ruling] political parties...The CNE confuses the final results, and this does not inspire confidence in voters.* (Older Men, Maganja da Costa District, Zambezia Province)

#### **4. Participants see a multitude of benefit in having observers monitor elections in Mozambique.**

International observers, participants say, legitimize the election process in the eyes of many (both internally and externally), increase transparency, help discourage fraud, document irregularities and offer an opinion on the credibility of the results. International observers are important because “it’s an outside eye and they are always helping us to observe better,”<sup>30</sup> one participant notes. Participants believe domestic observers also play a key role for many of the same reasons. They also view domestic observers as symbolically important. Participants say it has great value for citizens to see Mozambicans guaranteeing transparency in their own country. This feeling is expressed by one participant who says, “We cannot leave all the work to international observers. We have to be here, in our own house, to see what is going to happen. The responsibility is more ours [than that of international observers]. If not, then this house is not our own.”<sup>31</sup>

*The advantage of having international observers is that no one suspects that they belong to any of the running parties. It legitimizes the voting process...[Having international observers] helps to observe the process of voting and vote counting, which lends credibility to the voting process.* (Younger Women, Marracuene District, Maputo Province)

*[International observers] guarantee transparency...[International observers] testify to the reality of whether a party won or not...[International observers] see if there are irregularities or not.* (Older Men, City of Chimoio, Manica Province)

*It is important to have international observers so they can see who robs our votes.* (Older Men, City of Beira, Sofala Province)

*It is good to have [national observers] so [people] can see Mozambicans guaranteeing transparency in their own country...We cannot only have foreigners. We need to have national observers who live in the country.* (Older Women, Lichinga District, Niassa Province)

*It is important to have national observers that are represented by civil society...[It is important to have national observers] because they supervise the process with more coverage [of the country].* (Older Men, Urban District I Ka Mfumo, Maputo City)

---

<sup>30</sup> Quotation is from a younger woman in the City of Nampula, Nampula Province.

<sup>31</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province.

#### IV. ELECTORAL REFORM

##### 1. There is very little awareness among participants about the current discussions related to electoral reform.

The majority of participants in only five of the 43 groups say they have heard of the possibility the country's electoral laws may be revised. Since most participants have no information about possible reforms, they do not have strong opinions about what type of changes would be merited. However, the general consensus among more knowledgeable participants is that it is important to improve the law and to make sure the law is acceptable to all.

*It is important to revise it [the electoral law] in order to improve the things that are not working well.*  
(Younger Women, Ribaúe District, Nampula Province)

*It [revising the electoral law] is important to improve the process.* (Younger Women, Tsangano Sede District, Tete Province)

*This law has lasted a long time, so there must be changes to that law so that it is closer to our reality.*  
(Younger Men, Angoche Sede District, Nampula Province)

*It [revising the law] is an opportunity for other political parties to stop complaining about why they are defeated.* (Older Men, Urban District IV Ka Mubukwana, Maputo City)

*[It is important to revise the law] in order to have a law that pleases everyone.* (Younger Men, Lichinga District, Niassa Province)

##### 2. Most participants say the composition of the CNE should remain as it currently stands with civil society composing the majority.

When given three options for composition of the CNE – maintain the current allocation, increase the number of members so that political parties are the majority or decrease the CNE to seven (7) members with civil society allocated four (4) seats – participants overwhelmingly opt for no change.<sup>32</sup> The reason for their choice is they believe it is important to have civil society representatives make up the majority of the CNE. In fact, some participants advocate the composition of the CNE be more heavily weighted toward or composed entirely of civil society.

*I am for the maintenance of the current scenario, so that the civil society continues to be the majority [on the CNE].* (Younger Women, Marracuene District, Maputo Province)

*If they reduce the number of members, there will be serious problems. Who would they remove, members from political parties or members of the civil society? How many and who would they take out from the civil society? There must be civil society members to observe [the CNE]. I am in favor of keeping 13 members.*  
(Younger Men, Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province)

---

<sup>32</sup> Participants in some groups did not feel they were knowledgeable enough to answer this question.

*They should increase the number of members in the CNE and have it be constituted solely by civil society. This is because the political party members only worry about their parties. Political parties would only bring war and conflict to the CNE.* (Younger Women, City of Nampula, Nampula Province)

**3. There are mixed views on whether non-parliamentary political parties should be represented in the CNE.**

About half of participants support representation of all political parties in the CNE because they believe every party competing in the elections has the right to have their interests protected just like the parliamentary parties. This group also says additional parties in the CNE will increase transparency and improve monitoring of the electoral process. The other half of participants believes representation of non-parliamentary political parties in the CNE is not warranted. They contend these political parties do not have support among citizens and that adding them to the CNE would be burdensome and confusing.

*Yes, they [non-parliamentary parties] should be represented [in the CNE] because they are running in the elections as well...They should be represented so that there is no cheating.* (Older Women, Milange District, Zambezia Province)

*We think they [non-parliamentary parties] should be represented in the CNE. Just because some people abstain from voting [for them], that does not mean they don't have representation. If there are changes [in the CNE], everyone would feel represented.* (Older Men, Urban District IV Ka Mubukwana, Maputo City)

*Yes, they [non-parliamentary parties] should be represented [in the CNE] in order to monitor and help brainstorm.* (Younger Men and Women, City of Quissico, Inhambane Province)

*They [non-parliamentary parties] should be represented in order to strengthen the actions of the CNE.* (Younger Men, City of Beira, Sofala Province)

*No. If the [non-parliamentary] parties are not there [in the CNE], it is because they don't meet the prerequisites...They haven't convinced the people.* (Older Men, City of Chimoio, Manica Province)

*They [non-parliamentary parties] should not be [in the CNE]. If they [political parties] are not in parliament, it means that the people don't want them in government.* (Younger Men and Women, City of Inhambane, Inhambane Province)

*There are too many parties and if all of them join [the CNE], there will be confusion.* (Younger Women, Lago District, Niassa Province)

*They [non-parliamentary parties] should not participate [in the CNE] because they would get in the way.* (Older Women, Chibuto District, Gaza Province)

4. **The best way to choose members of the CNE, according to participants, is either to establish a neutral process that determines members based on qualifications and/or to allow civil society to have the greatest influence over selections.**<sup>33</sup>

Most participants endorse a CNE selection process that will result in appointment of members who are independent. Some believe the way to accomplish that is through public examinations and a process that will identify the most qualified. Others would give the power of naming all CNE members to civil society. There are also some participants who believe there is need for public participation in the CNE selection process and so want to institute a process that would allow citizens to vote for CNE members.

*[CNE members should be chosen] through a public examination and an independent panel of judges that can choose the candidates with the most experience.* (Older Women, City of Xai-Xai, Gaza Province)

*Through civil society...They [CNE members] should be appointed by non-partisan organizations.* (Older Men, City of Chimoio, Manica Province)

*CNE members, irrespective of their number, should all come from civil society, through public examinations. I think that is the only way they would eliminate fraud and make the process more credible.* (Older Men, Namaacha District, Maputo Province)

*The best way to appoint members [of the CNE] would be through voting.* (Older Men, Urban District I Ka Mfumo, Maputo City)

5. **Almost all participants think electoral complaints should be decided by district electoral courts rather than having complaints forwarded to the CNE.**

When asked where electoral complaints should be decided – in the districts through the creation of electoral courts or in Maputo at the CNE – participants voice near unanimous support for adopting the district electoral court system. Participant support for district electoral courts is based on their belief that resolving disputes locally would be quicker, easier and result in better decisions, in part because of local knowledge and in part because the complaints would be guaranteed to be resolved.

*The best is to create local electoral courts to settle the disputes more quickly.* (Younger Men, Massinga District, Inhambane Province)

*They should establish electoral courts in the districts because it will make the dispute resolution process easier and because it is easier to discuss things locally.* (Younger Men, City of Quelimane, Zambezia Province)

*Yes, it is good to have electoral courts in the districts because they would live close to the local problems and see what happens inside the local electoral process.* (Younger Men, Angoche Sede District, Nampula Province)

---

<sup>33</sup> Participants in some groups in the Central and Northern provinces did not feel knowledgeable enough to answer this question, thus these conclusions are based on less than a full data set.

*Establish electoral courts in the district because Maputo never sends answers. Many cases are not even reported because people know they will not have a solution.* (Younger Women, Alto Molocue District, Zambezia Province)

**6. A large majority of participants in the Central provinces feel the deposit requirement to run for President of Mozambique should be eliminated. Participants in the Southern and Northern provinces have mixed views.<sup>34</sup>**

Participants supportive of eliminating the presidential deposit requirement argue that running for President is a right of all citizens. They also note the deposit requirement excludes poorer candidates or parties that may have beneficial and important ideas for the country. A typical participant comment that demonstrates these points is, “It [the deposit] is not a good requirement because there are some intellectuals who do not have the money, but they have good ideas. The deposit would stop them from running.”<sup>35</sup> Some participants also raise a concern that having to pay money to run for President is a form of, or invites, corruption. Those who believe that the deposit requirement should be eliminated include most participants in the Central provinces. About half of the participants in the Southern provinces and most in the Northern provinces, however, take the opposite view. They think the deposit requirement to run for President serves a useful purpose. The deposit, these participants contend, demonstrates a candidate is serious and responsible, and the ability to pay the deposit conveys certain abilities and stature. No deposit would also encourage any candidate or party to run, even if they could offer nothing beneficial to the country, they say.

*This [the presidential deposit requirement] is not a good requirement because it creates barriers that make people feel they are not free...If you don't have thousands [of Meticals], you cannot run.* (Younger Men, Gorongosa District, Sofala Province)

*There are some good people to guide this country, but when you require that value [the presidential deposit] it becomes very hard to run [for office].* (Older Men, Maganja da Costa District, Zambezia Province)

*Paying to run in the elections is no more than a form of corruption...If they [the candidates] have to pay, they have begun to make a business out of the presidency.* (Younger Women, Inhassunge District, Zambezia Province)

*It [the presidential deposit] is a good requirement because it gives more respect to the candidates...It is good because people will not just run out of interest in getting money...It is a good requirement because the president must be someone who has his own business, who knows what money is and how to get it.* (Older Women, Ka-Nhaca District, Maputo City)

*It [the presidential deposit requirement] is good because one cannot think of becoming president if he does not have a good plan and good money. It would be even better if the requirement went up to 300,000 MZN or ever 500,000 MZN.* (Younger Men, Aube District, Nampula Province)

---

<sup>34</sup> Since the fieldwork for the research was conducted, the political forces in Mozambique have agreed to eliminate the presidential deposit requirement.

<sup>35</sup> Quotation is from an older man in Urban District I (Ka Mfumo), Maputo City.

*It would be good if they kept the required deposit [to run for president] because there are many parties without capital, without projects, that only show up in the electoral season to take advantage of public funds. (Older Men, Urban District I Ka Mfumo, Maputo City)*

### **7. Most participants believe campaign financing for political parties should be distributed equally rather than through the current system of proportional funding based on seats in parliament.**

The campaign financing system for political parties should be changed, according to most participants. Proportional funding strengthens the already strong and weakens the competition, they contend. One participant notes, “This way [proportional financing] the strongest becomes each time stronger.”<sup>36</sup> They also see no reason for unequal funding for different parties since each is undertaking the same task. About a third of participants, though, are happy with the current campaign financing system. This group says that proportional financing is the only logical system because different parties have different numbers of supporters. As one participant put it, “There cannot be equal distribution of money when you know that party X has more people than other parties that don’t have people. It would not make any sense.”<sup>37</sup>

*We think the [proportional funding] system is wrong because the value should be distributed equally. The current distribution weakens the chances of true competition among parties. (Older Men, Urban District IV Ka Mubukwana, Maputo City)*

*The distribution of funds [to political parties] should be the equal, so that there is no fighting among the children, as they have the same rights. (Younger Women, Alto Molocue District, Zambezia Province)*

*If everyone runs for the same objective, why not provide them with the same amount of money? (Older Men, Rapale Anchilo District, Nampula Province)*

*The [proportional funding] system is good. There should be differences because a party with more members cannot be expected to have the same financing as that with fewer members. (Older Men, City of Chimoio, Manica Province)*

*The current [proportional funding] system is good. Each [political party] should receive according to the number of members they manage. (Older Women, Cuamba District, Niassa Province)*

Fewer participants comment on the question of whether there should be campaign financing for political parties to compete in municipal elections,<sup>38</sup> but among those who do, there is strong support for the idea. These participants believe that government funding of political parties to conduct municipal campaigns would lead to fairer competition and help consolidate democracy in the country.

---

<sup>36</sup> Quotation is from a younger participant in the City of Inhambane, Inhambane Province.

<sup>37</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in the City of Quelimane, Zambezia Province.

<sup>38</sup> This question was not applicable to participants living in villages.

- 8. For situations where there is a discrepancy between the number of ballots in a box and the number of voters marked as having voted, most participants believe the only solution is to invalidate the results and repeat the election in that polling location.**

A difference between the number of voters casting ballots and the number of ballots that ends up in a ballot box at a polling location is a sign of fraud, most participants believe. As a result, they say there is no other choice but to throw out all the votes and to re-run the election in that location. Some also urge that polling officials in locations where discrepancies are found be taken to court or punished. A few participants note that this type of problem requires that more observers and more political party representatives be deployed to monitor the process.

*They should invalidate the votes in that polling station and organize new elections [in the case of a discrepancy between votes cast and ballots in the box].* (Younger Men and Women, City of Inhambane, Inhambane Province)

*They should invalidate the votes and repeat the voting [in the case of a discrepancy between votes cast and ballots in the box].* (Older Women, Guro District, Manica Province)

*[In the case of a discrepancy between votes cast and ballots in the box] they should take disciplinary measures against the polling officers and repeat the elections.* (Younger Women, Lago District, Niassa Province)

*The polling officers know who stuffed the ballot boxes, so they should be investigated by an independent court.* (Older Men, Rapale Achilo District, Nampula Province)

*There should be more observers to prevent that [more ballots in the box than votes cast]. They should have responsible party officials monitoring the process.* (Younger Men, Maganja da Costa, Zambezia Province)

- 9. There is near unanimous agreement among participants that the requirements for candidates to provide a certificate of residence and a statement proving they have no criminal record should be maintained.**

Participants say the requirements for candidates to submit residency certificates and criminal record statements provide voters with vital information about candidates and protect them from unknowingly electing criminals or people who were not born in Mozambique. A few participants indicate they would like to know even more about the background of candidates, such as one who suggests the public should have access to candidate medical records as well.

*They should keep the current system [of residency certificates and criminal record statements], to know the status of the candidate, whether he is a criminal and whether he resides where he says.* (Younger Women, Marracuene District, Maputo Province)

*The law [requirement of residency certificates and criminal record statements] should be kept because it is a good law and because there can be people disguising as honest.* (Younger Women, Angónia District, Tete Province)

*It is a good law [the requirement of residency certificates and criminal record statements] because it is important to know what a candidate has done in his life. Has he done anything not normal? If so, the answer will be clear in the criminal records, because they are like a mirror on the candidate. It is very good.* (Younger Men, Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province)

*The requirements [of residency certificates and criminal record statements] are important. We don't want leaders who are liars or assassins. They should even include medical records, so we don't end up electing someone who is sick and who would die two years into their mandate.* (Younger Men, Massinga District, Inhambane Province)

### V. CONSTITUTIONAL REVIEW

#### 1. There is very little awareness among participants of the formation of the constitutional review committee in December 2010, and there is no common theme among participants about what constitutional changes they believe are necessary.

Only a few participants in Maputo City and Maputo Province say they know about the constitutional review committee. Participants' low level of knowledge about the constitution in general also means that when asked for their desired changes in the constitution, few could offer concrete examples. Among participants who suggest constitutional improvements, there is no common theme. Their proposals range from thoughts about how to structure governmental powers and benefits – greater separation between the government and the ruling political party, less powers for the president, reduction in subsidies for governors and deputies – to appeals to change the constitution to improve their quality of life.

*I don't know what's in the constitution, so it's hard to say what should be changed.* (Younger Women, Cahora Bassa District, Tete Province)

*They need to eliminate the fact that the president is also the leader of the defenses force and security forces. Also, the President of the Republic should not nominate the president of the constitutional council.* (Younger Men and Women, City of Inhambane, Inhambane Province)

*The constitution needs the following changes: separation of powers [between government and political parties] and enforcement of laws.* (Older Men, Urban District I Ka Mfumo, Maputo City)

*They need to reduce the subsidies for governors and deputies.* (Older Men, Namaacha District, Maputo Province)

*They should revise the constitution so the president can be younger than 35 years old.* (Younger Men, Angoche Sede District, Nampula Province)

*Revise the constitution to control the cost of living.* (Older Women, Marrromeu District, Sofala Province)

*[Changes to the constitution should be to] improve health, security, jobs for young people and resolve the problems that affect our communities.* (Older Women, City of Xai-Xai, Gaza Province)



**2. The current system of the President of Mozambique serving a five-year mandate for no more than two terms should be maintained, according to most participants.**

Five years is deemed to be an appropriate amount of time for a presidential mandate by many participants. A few participants would like the mandate to be shorter because as one participant said, “It can be hard to endure a bad president for five years.”<sup>39</sup> A few with the opposite view would like to extend the mandate to six, seven or eight years with the hope that a president could accomplish more in that time. Limiting a president to two terms is also widely supported. Participants with this view say that allowing three presidential terms limits the chance for others to govern and that fifteen years is not democratic.

*We should continue with two mandates because there are many Mozambicans that also need to have an opportunity to lead this country.* (Younger Men, Lalaúia District, Nampula Province)

*The mandate needs to be five years. If they want to run again, then they can stay for another five years [if they win].* (Younger Men, Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province)

*If a person [a president] stays for a long time, they create [better] conditions for their family, then fathers, then nephews, then uncles, then cousins and second cousins. They forget the population.* (Older Women, City of Xai-Xai, Gaza Province)

*If it [the time for a president to rule] was for 15 years, it would turn into a reign.* (Younger Women, Cahora Bassa District, Tete Province)

**3. Participants overwhelmingly prefer to directly elect the President of Mozambique rather than having the leader of the country chosen through a parliamentary system.**

Most participants feel strongly that it is the right of the people to directly elect their president. They say only the citizens can decide who should lead them, and direct election is the only way to ensure that the president will be accepted by the people. A comment by one participant illustrates the feelings of some, “If they choose the president there in Maputo, we don’t want him. We want to choose ourselves.”<sup>40</sup>

*It should be the population that votes for the president because only the people can choose who deserves to lead our destinies in this country...The president should be elected by Mozambicans and not by a party.* (Younger Women, Matutuíne District, Maputo Province)

*The people need to elect him [Mozambique’s president] so he can be the president of everyone.* (Older Men, City of Chimoio, Manica Province)

*The population needs to choose [Mozambique’s president] because the president will work with the people.* (Younger Women, Tsangano Sede District, Tete Province)

---

<sup>39</sup> Quotation is from a younger woman in the city of Nampula, Nampula Province.

<sup>40</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province.

*Direct election [is the best way to choose Mozambique's president] because everyone wants to see the face of the president... [Direct election is the best way to choose Mozambique's president] because that way we can know the president. (Older Women, Milange District, Zambezia)*

*It should be the people who choose the President, not a party – because the parties don't represent all Mozambicans. (Younger Women, Marracuene District, Maputo Province)*

#### **4. A large majority of participants believe any significant changes in the Mozambican constitution must be voted on by the country's citizens.**

Almost all participants feel they have a right to vote on constitutional changes. They want to have a say in the content of the constitution and want to have the ability to make their own decisions about what is appropriate. The comment of one participant reflects this feeling, “I would like to vote in order to express what I want and don't want and what will come from this new constitution.”<sup>41</sup> This is particularly true for potential constitutional changes on which they hold strong opinions, such as altering the way in which the president is elected or increasing the number of terms a president can serve.

*It would be better to involve the people in the definition of the country's future [by holding a referendum on significant constitutional changes]. The people will have the responsibility over the constitution of their country. (Older Women, Namaacha District, Maputo Province)*

*I would like to vote on this change because in the referendum I can vote for what I think will be good for me...I would like to vote [on constitutional changes] to contribute...I would like to vote on this [constitutional changes] because I do not agree with the idea that parliament will choose the president of Mozambique. (Younger Women, Marracuene District, Maputo Province)*

*Yes, I would like to participate [in voting for constitutional changes] to improve health, security, education and jobs. (Older Women, City of Xai-Xai, Gaza Province)*

*They need to consult the people by referendum [on significant constitutional changes]...We would like to vote because it needs to be the people who say what they want. (Younger Men, Aúbe District, Nampula Province)*

*Referendum [is best to approve constitutional changes] because the people should be consulted...because it [the constitution] is part of our lives. (Younger Men, City of Tete, Tete Province)*

#### **5. There are mixed views among participants on whether the presidency in Mozambique has too much power or the right amount of power.**

Overall, about half of the participants believe the presidency has too much power, while the other half contends it has the right amount of power. Most participants from the Southern provinces and some from the Central provinces say the presidency has too much power. Slightly more participants from the Northern provinces and some from the Central provinces believe the current powers of the presidency are appropriate.

---

<sup>41</sup> Quotation is from a younger woman in Matutuine District, Maputo Province.

*The presidency has excessive powers.* (Older Men, City of Beira, Sofala Province)

*I think [the president] has excessive powers because everything is in his hands.* (Younger Women, Matutuine District, Maputo Province)

*I think our president has excessive powers because he orders everything.* (Younger Women, Marracuene District, Maputo Province)

*[The presidency] has balanced powers. Definitely, the right amount of powers.* (Older Women, City of Xai-Xai, Gaza Province)

*[The presidency] has the right amount of powers.* (Older Women, Milange District, Zambezia Province)

*He [the president] has sufficient powers.* (Younger Women, Ribaué District, Nampula Province)

## VI. POLITICAL PARTIES

- 1. Participants have mixed views on political parties: some say they play a beneficial and democratic role, while others contend their work is inadequate and they do not serve the people well. There is also significant frustration among participants aimed at political parties that become active only around elections.**

Some participants appreciate political parties in Mozambique because they promote competition in a peaceful way and help consolidate democracy by offering ideas and working for the good of the people. Others take a more negative view of political parties. This group of participants complains that political parties are only interested in their own agendas and do not deliver real benefits to the people, despite many promises. This belief is reflected in comments by participants such as, “They [political parties] need the public, but only for elections,”<sup>42</sup> and “They do not represent us, they represent their interests.”<sup>43</sup> The participants reserve special disdain for those political parties that they say appear only around elections. Many view these parties as not serious, only in politics for the money and detrimental to the process.

*Political parties are a good thing.* (Older Men, City of Beira, Sofala Province)

*For me, I think that political parties must exist. Anyone can choose the political party they want...Because political parties exist, we don't have war today.* (Younger Men, Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province)

*I think political parties should exist to promote democracy and competition...They should exist to guarantee the peace and stability in the country.* (Younger Women, Marracuene District, Maputo Province)

---

<sup>42</sup> Quotation is from a younger woman in Matutuine District, Maputo Province.

<sup>43</sup> Quotation is from an older man in the City of Chimoio, Manica Province.

*It is good to have political parties. They fulfill an important role in development.* (Younger Men, Lichinga District, Niassa Province)

*They [political parties] are all crazy...They just play with the people...They are thieves...They promise and then don't fulfill their promises.* (Younger Women, Alto Molocue District, Zambezia Province)

*Political parties are not united. They only waste the money of their members. They are not interested in helping the people.* (Younger Men, Aube District, Nampula Province)

*They [political parties] are organizations whose objective is to consume and exhaust the resources of the country.* (Younger Men and Women, City of Inhambane, Inhambane Province)

*Many [political] parties only want money and just appear for elections.* (Younger Men, City of Tete, Tete Province)

*Only three parties are working for the people. The others don't know what they want...Some parties only appear during elections, and when the elections are over, they disappear...The number of parties should decrease. They don't help the country.* (Older Men, Maganja da Costa District, Zambezia Province)

**2. Although most participants cannot articulate any key principles of the three major political parties,<sup>44</sup> they make strong associations with the various parties that, in turn, influence which party they ultimately support.**

Participants are mostly complimentary of FRELIMO, applauding its past as the country's liberator and saying it demonstrates a number of positive attributes. It is clear that FRELIMO's role in the founding of an independent Mozambique still carries much weight. Words like "heroic," "defender," "liberator," "of the people," and "father" are often the first descriptions participants provide when asked about the party. Many participants find comfort in the fact that FRELIMO is the most experienced party – with some praising its "maturity" and others calling it "competent" – and view the party as the most organized, clear and comprehensible in its actions. The key reasons FRELIMO wins support during elections, according to these participants, is that it is a stable, secure option that has proven it can accomplish at least some measure of development. Some participants, though, associate negative attributes with the ruling party. These fall into two primary categories. The first is participants who describe the party as corrupt, dishonest and lacking transparency. The second is those who, when asked what is the first thing that comes to mind when thinking of FRELIMO, offer thoughts such as "hunger," "high prices" and "lack of infrastructure." These participants express strong disappointment over what they say are "false promises" by the ruling party.

Just as the past is important in defining participant perceptions of FRELIMO, it is also a key ingredient in the assessment of RENAMO for most. However, in this case, the influence of the

---

<sup>44</sup> Participants were asked to articulate what they thought were the main principles of FRELIMO, RENAMO and MDM, and very few could. There was not enough time to ask about the main principles of other political parties in Mozambique, although general impressions of other political parties were offered by participants.

past results in mainly negative associations. The first reaction of many participants to the name RENAMO is words such as, “war,” “destruction” and “death.” One participant describes his reaction this way, “The problem here is the name. This name, for me it is the same name that destroyed the country...When I hear RENAMO, I get nervous.”<sup>45</sup> That view is not unanimous, though. There are some participants who say RENAMO deserves credit for its past actions because it helped bring peace, freedom and democracy to the country. In looking at the attributes of RENAMO today, most participants describe the party as disorganized and lacking any clearly-defined principles. They also criticize the party for seeming to oppose and contradict the ruling party on every issue, even if there is no good justification to do so. Some participants are more inclined to see RENAMO’s positive qualities and call the party a strong opposition that plays an important role in monitoring and correcting the ruling party. The reasons participants cite for why Mozambicans would vote for RENAMO fall along two main lines. Some participants say that the main reason RENAMO would win support during elections is that voters would be looking for an alternative government in the hope that they could see improvements in the country. One participant notes that a RENAMO vote would be cast “out of hope that something is going to get better.”<sup>46</sup> Others believe voters would choose RENAMO because the party would fight for improving the quality of life for citizens, in part through fighting corruption.

Most participants who are aware of MDM view it positively. Words they closely associate with the party include “promise,” “hope,” “future,” “democratic” and “alternative.” However, a significant number of participants are not familiar with the party or say they know very little of it. This leads a few participants to focus on its recent emergence as the party’s key quality. One participant calls the party a “child,” for example, while another says it is “unprepared.” Knowledgeable participants indicate voters would support MDM because the party offers new ideas that can transform the country. One participant describing why MDM would win votes in an election says, “Because they have credibility and will change the country for the better.”<sup>47</sup> MDM’s desire to develop the country and improve citizens’ living situation is mentioned most often by these participants.

There is only partial awareness of PDD among participants. Those who are familiar with the party associate it most closely with Raul Domingos or as a descendant of RENAMO and criticize it as being “invisible,” only appearing around the time of elections. Some also say the party is weak and without structure. Only a few participants thought of the party as an alternative. The Constructive Opposition Party is even less well-known among the participants. Within the relatively small number of participants with knowledge of the party, there are mixed views. Some describe the party as having the capacity to govern the people, while others say they are “old chickens that can’t stop laying rotten eggs.”<sup>48</sup>

Of the smaller parties, participants name PDD, PIMO and the United Front of Mozambique (FUMO) more than others. In addition to those, political parties recognized by more than two participants are: Liberal Democratic Party of Mozambique (PALMO), Social Liberal and

---

<sup>45</sup> Quotation is from a younger man in Palma District, Cabo Delgado Province.

<sup>46</sup> Quotation is from a younger woman in the City of Nampula, Nampula Province.

<sup>47</sup> Quotation is from an older man in Maganja da Costa District, Zambezia Province.

<sup>48</sup> Quotation is from an older man in Urban District I (Ka Mfumo), Maputo City.

## BUILDING A MORE RESPONSIVE DEMOCRACY

---

Democratic Party (SOL) and Democratic Union (UD). PDD and PIMO are the two smaller parties participants most often mentioned as ones that voters may deem worthy of supporting.

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The focus of this study was to gauge citizen opinion on the electoral and constitutional reforms under consideration in Mozambique. The participants in this study capably provide insight into their views on key issues, ranging from how to handle electoral complaints to their preference for the method to select the country's leader. However, they also offer comments on and provide suggestions for actions that can create a better, more vibrant democracy in the country, lead to more free and fair elections and result in a more equal and inclusive government. What also surfaces from this study is participants' fervent desire to play an active role in their own governance. They believe they have valuable contributions to make – and their answers in this study prove they do – and feel it is their right to participate in decision-making, especially in areas affecting their lives. Failing to take full advantage of this desire on the part of citizens is already having a negative impact on the views of government and plays a part in suppressing voter turnout. Recommendations for actions that can respond to these citizen concerns and can help realize their desires and aspirations for the country are outlined below.

### **Increase Citizen-Government Interaction and Information Flow**

Participants in this study are clearly disappointed in their quality of life and what they perceive as a lack of government seriousness in addressing it, particularly in the areas of education, health and employment. This feeling is exacerbated by what participants describe as false promises made to them about development during elections and by little post-election contact with elected representatives. At the same time, they reveal a yearning to be involved in their own governance and to be consulted on government priorities, programs and actions. Their feelings suggest that the simple act of listening to ordinary citizens will increase satisfaction levels with government and patience in the pace of development. An opportunity will have been missed if the government does not quickly undertake a more intensive effort to communicate and consult with its citizens on issues affecting their lives.

### **Recommendations:**

- Demonstrate the government has a plan for development or improvements in key quality of life areas, such as education, health, employment, law enforcement and reducing corruption at the local level.
- Publicize development accomplishments widely and demonstrate concrete benefits to ordinary citizens.
- Develop and support a comprehensive constituent contact and service program for all levels of government that in its first iteration focuses on citizen feedback and suggestions for improvements in their quality of life.
- Engage in an honest dialogue with citizens that provides them with information on obstacles to development, realistic timelines for measurable improvement and actual funding available to address key needs, so that expectations can be better managed.

### **Build Confidence in the Electoral Process**

One of the positive findings of this study is the faith participants continue to have in elections in Mozambique. They believe elections in the country are not only important, but also that they are generally well-run. This is a solid foundation upon which STAE, CNE and the government can build to address significant and lingering questions some express about the fairness of the electoral process and about the freedom to support opposition parties before those doubts spread to a larger portion of the population. Building confidence in the electoral process can also reduce political tensions in the country, thereby reducing the possibility of electoral violence or other conflict in the future.

#### **Recommendations:**

- Develop a system to address perceptions of, and concerns about, biased hiring of STAE election workers.
- Take tangible, public steps to reinforce the impartiality of the CNE through the development of a demonstrably transparent, neutral and independent process to select CNE members; ensure significant or exclusive civil society involvement in the selection of CNE members.
- Embark on a government communication effort that reaffirms the right of all citizens to support any political party; express strong disapproval of any acts by government officials to punish supporters of opposition political parties and especially denounce any form of punishment through the withholding of government services or benefits; establish a mechanism for addressing grievances related to such acts.
- Educate government officials and political party members (of all parties) at the local level on the right of voters to make their choice free of coercion; publicly punish and make an example of those who violate this right.
- Consider the adoption of a system to investigate and/or resolve electoral complaints at the local level.
- Enact and enforce more stringent rules on the use of state assets for political purposes.
- Increase transparency in vote counting to address the concern among some that results can be changed after voting has been completed; adopt appropriate rules to address citizen concerns about possible fraud in polling locations where there is a discrepancy in the number of voters and ballots cast.
- Review all electoral laws, rules and procedures to ensure they promote an open process that provides voters with the widest array of strong political party and candidate choices.
- Widen monitoring efforts of the election process by international and domestic observers as well as political party representatives to increase the legitimacy of the process.
- Incorporate citizen opinion expressed in this study and through other mechanisms in the electoral reform process and in broader efforts to ensure elections in Mozambique fulfill citizens' expectations and desires.

### **Commit to Improving Voter Morale**

Participants identify morale as a key reason for the decline in voter turnout in Mozambique. Disillusionment among voters is a problem with which many democratic countries have to grapple,



and there are no quick fixes. However, in this study participants suggest that more confidence in the fairness of the electoral process, education on why voting matters and attentive elected officials could increase Mozambicans enthusiasm for voting.

**Recommendations:**

- Engage the eligible voting population in a discussion about the importance of voting and the value of civic participation through a widespread civic education campaign.
- Raise confidence in the ability of the electoral process to provide real choices to voters and to produce an election where voters can believe there is a reasonable chance for any party or candidate to win. (See also recommendations about building confidence in the electoral process above and recommendations relating to political parties below.)
- (All recommendations listed above in the point on increasing citizen-government interaction and demonstrating government can have a positive impact on citizens' quality of life are also relevant to raising voter morale.)

**Examine and Address Logistical Barriers to Voting**

Voter morale is a multi-faceted problem that will require much thought and effort to resolve. Addressing the logistical issues highlighted by participants as also hampering voter turnout can be accomplished more quickly and with relative ease. Electoral and political bodies should closely examine the logistical barriers identified in this study and devise solutions that treat all voters equally and that reduce the time and travel burdens on Mozambican voters, many of whom simply cannot afford to devote large portions of their day to voting.

**Recommendations:**

- Review the one-day voting period; if not financially feasible to extend it, adopt measures that can provide more flexibility in voting, such as early voting or absentee voting, if these can be implemented transparently.
- Increase the number of polling locations, especially in rural areas, to reduce wait and travel times for voters.
- Consider alternate timing for elections to avoid key planting and harvesting periods.
- Develop administrative procedures that can reduce long queues and wait times at polling locations, such as splitting the voter lists.
- Ensure adequate staffing during both voting and registration so that wait times are reduced.
- Replace registration machines that repeatedly malfunction and have a manual back-up process that allows voters to register even in the event of a machine breakdown, especially in rural areas where servicing and replacing machines quickly may not be possible.
- Investigate the registration process in rural areas to determine if local registration officials are requiring small gifts to register, as claimed by some participants in this study; create and publicize a mechanism to report any such abuses.
- End the practice of allowing local leaders to jump the voting queue.
- Explore possibilities for allowing out-of-province and out-of-country (particularly in South Africa) voting for registered voters who cannot be in their polling locations on Election Day.

### **Undertake Civic Education and Consultation on Significant Reforms**

Although they knew little of possible constitutional and electoral reforms, participants say that want to understand more about these issues and to contribute to the debate on them. This study demonstrates that ordinary citizens may not be well-versed in the intricacies of such reforms, but they have well-reasoned and strongly-held views on broad issues, such as presidential term limits and how the leader of the country is chosen. They also believe it is their right in a democracy to participate in a dialogue about, and ultimately approve, any governance changes that could re-shape the electoral landscape or alter the power dynamics.

#### **Recommendations:**

- Educate the population on key electoral and constitutional reforms being considered and, ultimately, on the outcome of debates on those issues.
- Honor citizens' desire to participate in their own governance through broad consultation with the public on significant constitutional and electoral changes being considered now or in the future.
- Make a commitment to, and devise a plan for, consulting the public in a serious and broadly inclusive manner on significant governance reforms in the future.

### **Increase the Role and Abilities of Political Parties in Mozambique**

Participants clearly view political parties as having an important role to play in Mozambique. They see peaceful competition among parties as critical to the country's democracy, as vital to its ability to devise solutions to improve the country and as the only way citizens can be presented with real choices during elections. They note, however, that the ability of political parties to have these positive effects is limited by the lack of a level playing field. In addition, participants have mixed views on the political parties currently operating in Mozambique, primarily because of the parties' failure to convince the public they are operating in the people's interest and the failure to present a vision for the country that can be understood and articulated by the population. Thus, for political parties to play the role that citizens desire, these issues will need to be addressed.

#### **Recommendations:**

- Initiate a discussion on how to strengthen the role of political parties in the political and electoral process.
- Identify opportunities and adopt new rules and procedures to lessen the incumbent advantage in elections.
- Undertake political party strengthening programs within all political parties that focus on methods to understand public opinion and to communicate with potential voters..
- Consider options for revising the campaign financing system so that it levels the playing field for political parties that are legitimately contesting the elections but does not reward political parties that only want to benefit financially from government assistance.

- Explore whether it is feasible to extend campaign financing to political parties competing in municipal elections to help bolster fair competition in elections at the local level.
- (The recommendation, in the point about building confidence in the electoral process above, for enacting and enforcing more stringent rules on the use of state assets for political purposes also applies here.)

**APPENDIX A: FOCUS GROUP LOCATIONS AND DEMOGRAPHICS**

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	PROVINCE	LOCATION / DISTRICT	ETHNIC GROUP <sup>1</sup>	LANGUAGE	AGE GROUP <sup>2</sup>	EDUCATION
06/26/11	16	Male	Maputo City	Maputo, Urban District I (Ka Mfumo)	Ronga	Portuguese	Older	Middle school to university level
07/09/11	14	Male	Maputo City	Maputo, Urban District IV (Ka Mubukwana)	Ronga	Portuguese	Older	Some middle school
07/16/11	13	Female	Maputo City	Ka-Nhaca	Ronga	Xironga	Older	Some middle school
07/12/11	16	Female	Maputo	Marracuene	Ronga	Xironga	Younger <sup>3</sup>	Middle school
07/09/11	15	Female	Maputo	Matutuíne	Ronga	Xironga	Younger <sup>4</sup>	Middle school
07/06/11	15	Male	Maputo	Namaacha	Ronga	Xironga	Older	Some middle school
07/08/11	14	Female	Gaza	Xai-Xai	Changana	Xichangana	Older	3 <sup>rd</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
07/15/11	15	Female	Gaza	Chibuto	Changana	Xichangana	Older	3 <sup>rd</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
07/03/11	16	Male	Gaza	Chókwè	Changana	Xichangana	Younger	Middle school
07/04/11	14	Male and Female	Inhambane	Inhambane	Bitonga	Bitonga	Younger <sup>5</sup>	University and pre-university
07/01/11	15	Male and Female	Inhambane	Quissico	Chope	Chichopi	Younger	Some middle school

<sup>1</sup> Names of ethnic groups and/or tribes are listed as recorded by moderators, but alternate spellings may exist.

<sup>2</sup> Younger refers to participants age 15 to 34 (unless otherwise noted); older refers to participants more than 35 years old.

<sup>3</sup> Participants in this group were age 15 and 16.

<sup>4</sup> Participants in this group were age 15 and 16.

<sup>5</sup> Participants in this group were age 15 to 25.

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	PROVINCE	LOCATION / DISTRICT	ETHNIC GROUP <sup>1</sup>	LANGUAGE	AGE GROUP <sup>2</sup>	EDUCATION
07/03/11	15	Male	Inhambane	Massinga	Tswa	Xitswa	Younger <sup>6</sup>	Some middle school
07/12/11	15	Male	Manica	Chimoio	Chimanika	Manyica	Older	4 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
07/08/11	15	Female	Manica	Guro	Mabarue	Chibarue	Older	None
07/04/11	15	Male	Sofala	Beira, Urban district	Ndau	Portuguese	Younger	High school and pre-university
07/05/11	15	Female	Sofala	Beira, Community of Munhava	Ndau	Ndau	Older	5 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
06/26/11	16	Male	Sofala	Gorongosa	Sena	Sena	Younger	4 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
06/26/11	15	Female	Sofala	Marromeu	Sena	Sena	Older	None
07/13/11	14	Male	Zambezia	Quelimane	Chuabo	Echuwabo	Younger	3 <sup>rd</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
06/27/11	15	Male	Zambezia	Maganja da Costa, Community of Puzuzu	Macua	Emakhuwa	Younger	4 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
06/29/11	15	Male	Zambezia	Maganja da Costa, Community of Ambrosio Ile	Macua	Emakhuwa	Older	None to 3 <sup>rd</sup> grade
07/11/11	15	Female	Zambezia	Inhassunge	Chuabo	Echuwabo	Younger	None to 3 <sup>rd</sup> grade
07/07/11	15	Male	Zambezia	Mongwe	Loume	Lomwe	Younger	None to 3 <sup>rd</sup> grade
07/05/11	15	Female	Zambezia	Milange, Community of Milange-Sede	Nyaja	Chinyanja	Older	4 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
07/02/11	15	Female	Zambezia	Alto-Molucue	Macua	Lomwe	Younger	None to 3 <sup>rd</sup> grade

<sup>6</sup> Participants in this group were age 18 to 25.

BUILDING A MORE RESPONSIVE DEMOCRACY

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	PROVINCE	LOCATION / DISTRICT	ETHNIC GROUP <sup>1</sup>	LANGUAGE	AGE GROUP <sup>2</sup>	EDUCATION
07/07/11	14	Female	Tete	Tete, Community of Francisco Manhanga	Niunge	Cinyungwe	Younger	4 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
06/28/11	12	Female	Tete	Angónia, Community of Domue	Nianja	Chinyanja	Younger	4 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
07/02/11	12	Male	Tete	Tsangano-Sede	Nianja	Chinyanja	Younger	4 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
07/04/11	10	Male	Tete	Cahora Bassa, Community of Chitima	Niunge	Cinyungwe	Younger	4 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
06/27/11	12	Female	Cabo Delgado	Pemba	Macua	Emakhuwa	Younger <sup>7</sup>	Primary to secondary
06/29/11	10	Male	Cabo Delgado	Palma	Maconde	Shimakonde	Younger	Primary to secondary
07/30/11	11	Male	Cabo Delgado	Ancuabe	Macua	Emakhuwa	Younger	3 <sup>rd</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
06/28/11	11	Female	Cabo Delgado	Mocimboa da Praia	Mwani	Mwani	Younger <sup>8</sup>	Primary
07/07/11	15	Female	Nampula	Nampula	Macua	Portuguese	Younger	Secondary and university level
07/01/11	15	Male	Nampula	Lalaua	Macua	Emakhuwa	Younger	7 <sup>th</sup> to 12 <sup>th</sup> grade
07/02/11	15	Female	Nampula	Ribaué	Macua	Emakhuwa	Younger	3 <sup>rd</sup> to 12 <sup>th</sup> grade
07/09/11	15	Male	Nampula	Rapale Anchilo	Macua	Emakhuwa	Older	3 <sup>rd</sup> to 12 <sup>th</sup> grade
07/02/11	15	Male	Nampula	Angoche-Sede	Koti	Ekoti	Younger	4 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade

<sup>7</sup> Participants in this group were age 20 to 35.

<sup>8</sup> Participants in this group were age 22 to 35.

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	PROVINCE	LOCATION / DISTRICT	ETHNIC GROUP <sup>1</sup>	LANGUAGE	AGE GROUP <sup>2</sup>	EDUCATION
07/05/11	15	Male	Nampula	Nacala-a-Velha	Macua	Emakhuwa	Younger	4 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
07/02/11	15	Male	Nampula	Angoche- Aúbe	Koti	Ekoti	Younger	3 <sup>rd</sup> grade
07/04/11	15	Male	Nissa	Lichinga	Ajaua	Ajaua	Younger	3 <sup>rd</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup> grade
07/07/11	15	Female	Niassa	Cuamba	Macua	Emakhuwa	Older	3 <sup>rd</sup> grade
07/09/11	15	Female	Niassa	Lago	Ajaua	Chinyanja	Younger	None to 3 <sup>rd</sup> grade

## APPENDIX B: METHODOLOGY NOTES

**Focus Group Research:** Focus group discussions are open-ended group interviews directed by a moderator and following a pre-set guideline. The purpose of focus group research is to understand the attitudes, opinions and experiences of participants who are recruited for the exercise. Focus groups are particularly useful in gaining a deeper appreciation for the motivations, feelings and values behind participants' reactions. In addition, the group format enables respondents to participate in an exchange of ideas – thus revealing a more in-depth understanding of why opinions are held – that may not emerge in individual in-depth interviews or quantitative surveys. Focus group discussions are comprised of a small number of participants, typically 8-12 per group. However, depending on the situation, groups may be slightly smaller or larger than the ideal.

The methodology in this study was to conduct a relatively large number of focus groups to ensure the views of different ethnicities, genders, age groups, education levels and geographic areas were captured. However, total number of participants is always relatively small and cannot be considered statistically representative of the larger population. It is important to always be aware that focus groups are a qualitative, and not a quantitative, research tool.

Focus group discussions for this study were conducted with men and women, usually separately, but in a few cases together, and in both rural and urban locations. Discussions were also conducted among different age groups (younger and older) and different education levels.

Every effort was made to ensure participants chosen to participate in the study were ordinary Mozambicans and not activists or local authorities. Precautions were also taken to prevent undue influence, including barring traditional or local authorities from sitting in on the discussions with ordinary citizens, even as observers. Examination of the data across all the focus group discussions did not reveal any undue influence in any individual group as it was similar across areas and regions.

The participants captured in this study are primarily Mozambicans who are committed to the voting process. The study was less successful in capturing the portion of the eligible population that does not vote. The reason for this is unknown, though it is possible that people who do not vote also are less willing to participate in research activities, such as focus group discussions.

The groups were primarily conducted in locations that are accessible by vehicle with a reasonable amount of effort. Attempts were made to penetrate deep into rural areas, but due to poor road networks, groups conducted in very remote locations are limited.



## APPENDIX C: MODERATOR GUIDELINE

### I. INTRODUCTION

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_, and I work for *Centro de Estudos de Democracia e Desenvolvimento* (CEDE), a non-governmental organization (NGO) that is trying to learn more about what citizens in Mozambique think about the important issues. I am neutral and am **NOT** working for the government or any political party. I will be the facilitator for today's discussion.

- My job today is to learn from you.
- There are no right or wrong answers to the question I will ask.
- I would like everyone to participate equally – everyone's opinion is important.
- It's okay to disagree with someone. Everyone will get a chance to express their opinion.
- Please speak freely and without fear. This discussion is confidential.
- I have this recorder to help me when I write the report. Your name will not be used in the report.
- The person here is taking notes to help with the report, but again no names will be used.
- Please speak loudly and one at a time so the recorder can pick up your voice.

Are there any questions before we begin?

[TAKE ANY QUESTIONS NOT RELATED TO THE CONTENT OF THE GROUP DISCUSSIONS, BUT DEFER ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE CONTENT UNTIL AFTER THE GROUP.]

Thank you. Now let us begin.

## II. GENERAL

1. How is the situation in general in Mozambique today – do you think that things are going well? Are they going in the right direction OR the wrong direction?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] What is the reason for your answer?
2. If you could decide, what would be the first three things you would work on changing?  
[ASK EACH PARTICIPANT TO LIST THEIR PRIORITIES FOR THE COUNTRY IN ORDER OF FIRST, SECOND, THIRD.]
3. To what extent are you able to exercise all their rights and freedoms?
4. Do you feel you are represented in the government?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] What is the reason for your answer?
  - a. What should be done to make you feel well represented?
5. What could elected officials do to make citizens feel well represented in the government?

## III. ELECTIONS

1. Now let's talk about elections. How do you feel about elections in this country– are they a good thing OR not a good thing?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] What is the reason for your answer?
2. Are elections in Mozambique functioning as they are supposed to - yes OR no?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] Why or why not?
  - a. [IF NOT ANSWERED ALREADY:] Do you think the elections have been free and fair?  
[FOLLOW-UP:] What is the reason for your answer?
3. Give your opinion on the 2009 national elections – were they good elections OR not?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] Why or why not?
4. Has it been easy to vote – yes OR no?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] What is the reason for your answer?
5. Did you vote in the 2009 national elections?  
[ASK EACH PARTICIPANT]
  - a. [IF NO:] What kept you from voting?

6. Do you plan to vote in the national elections of 2013?
  - a. [IF NO:] What is the reason for your answer?
7. Since 2004, the number of people turning out to vote has dropped significantly. In your opinion, why is this happening?
8. In the future, what could be done to make people more interested in voting?
9. In your opinion, are there people who are particularly susceptible to manipulation during elections?  
[IF YES:] How does this manipulation happen?
  - a. What could be done to avoid manipulation?
10. Do all political parties have a fair chance to win the elections?  
[FOLLOW-UP:] What is the reason for your answer?
11. Comment on the importance of having more than one political party competing in elections.  
[FOLLOW-UP:] Please explain your answer.

#### **IV. ELECTION ADMINISTRATION & OBSERVATION**

1. Is it easy OR difficult to register to vote?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] What is the reason for your answer?
2. How were the 2009 elections organized in your area?
3. What is your opinion on the Secretariado Técnico da Administração Eleitoral (STAE)?  
[IF PARTICIPANTS DO NOT KNOW WHAT 'STAE' IS, EXPLAIN THAT STAE IS THE GROUP THAT ORGANIZES VOTER REGISTRATION, VOTING, AND COUNTING.]
4. How would you rate the job of the Secretariado Técnico da Administração Eleitoral (STAE) in the 2009 elections – excellent, good, fair or poor?  
[FOLLOW-UP] What is the reason for your answer?
5. What is your opinion on the Comissão Nacional de Eleições (CNE)?  
[IF PARTICIPANTS DO NOT KNOW WHAT THE 'CNE' IS, EXPLAIN THAT CNE IS THE NATIONAL BODY THAT REGULATES THE ELECTIONS, APPROVES CANDIDATES AND RULES ON ELECTION COMPLAINTS.]
  - a. [IF NOT ANSWERED ALREADY:] Do you think that the CNE is a neutral body?

6. How would you rate the job of the Comissão Nacional de Eleições (CNE) in the 2009 elections – excellent, good, fair or poor?  
[FOLLOW-UP] What is the reason for your answer?
7. What is the importance of having international observers monitor the elections?
  - a. What is the importance of having domestic observers monitor the elections?

## V. ELECTORAL REFORM

1. Are you aware that there is a discussion in parliament about changing the electoral laws?
2. Do you think changing the electoral laws is important – yes OR no?  
[FOLLOW-UP:] What is the reason for your answer?
3. Currently, the CNE has 13 members: 5 representing political parties and 8 members representing civil society organizations. Which of the following options do you think is the best for the composition of the CNE?
  - a. Keep the CNE as it is, with 8 members from civil society and 5 members appointed by political parties in parliament; OR
  - b. Increase the number of members in the CNE so that members representing political parties are the majority; OR
  - c. Decrease the number of members in the CNE and have one more civil society representative than the total of political party representatives (for example, 3 political party members and 4 civil society members);

[COUNT] [GET A CONSENSUS FROM THE GROUP ON WHICH OF THE THREE OPTIONS THEY PREFER.] [IF PARTICIPANTS DO NOT UNDERSTAND, ASK: “DO YOU THINK THERE SHOULD BE MORE MEMBERS FROM POLITICAL PARTIES OR MORE MEMBERS FROM THE CIVIL SOCIETY”]

4. Do you think that parties that do not have representation in parliament should be represented on the CNE?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] Please explain your answer.
5. What is the best way to appoint members to the CNE?
6. Which do you think is better: establishing an electoral court in your district to rule on election complaints OR having the polling station officers determine whether to forward complaints to the CNE in Maputo for a decision?  
[FOLLOW-UP:] What is the reason for your answer?
7. The electoral law currently requires anyone who wants to run for President to pay a deposit of 100,000 Meticais. Do you consider this is a good requirement OR not?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] What is the reason for your answer?

8. Currently, the government funds electoral campaigns in the national and provincial elections. The criterion for the amount each political party receives is based on how many seats that party has in parliament – the more seats a party has, the more funding they get for their campaigns. What do you think of that system?
- a. Should the government provide funding to political parties, groups of citizens, and individual candidates in the municipal elections?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] Why or why not?
9. In last elections, some polling stations reported contradictory results, showing more votes in the ballot box than there were voters marked off as having voted that day. In the future, if that happens, what do you think could be done?
10. Which of the following options do you think is the best way to resolve that discrepancy in voting?
- a. The results are considered valid if the total number of votes in the ballot box is bigger than the number of voters marked off as having voted, as long as it does not exceed the number of registered voters at that polling station; OR
  - b. All votes are declared invalid if the number of votes in the ballot box exceeds the number of voters marked off as having voted that day;
- [COUNT] [GET A CONSENSUS FROM THE GROUP ON WHICH OF THE TWO OPTIONS THEY PREFER.]
11. Do you think the election law requirement that candidates must provide proof of residence and criminal records should remain in the electoral law OR be removed?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] Why or why not?

## VI. CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

1. Are you aware that parliament created an *ad-hoc* committee in December 2010 to begin the revision of the constitution?  
[IF PARTICIPANTS DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE TERM ‘CONSTITUTION,’ EXPLAIN THAT IT IS THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND.]
2. In your opinion, what changes does the constitution need?
3. How long do you think the term of the President should be?
4. Currently, the constitution says the President can hold two consecutive five-year terms. How would you feel if the law was changed to allow a person to serve a three consecutive terms (that is, a total of 15 years in a row)?

5. Which system do you prefer: having the people of Mozambique directly elect the President OR having the largest party in parliament appoint the President?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] Why did you make that choice?
6. If it is decided that there need to be change in the constitution, would you like to vote on those changes through a referendum OR would you rather have parliament vote on the change?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] Why did you make that choice?
  - a. If it is decided that the President of Mozambique should be elected by parliament and not by the people – is this something you would like to vote on OR would you rather have parliament to vote on it?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] Why did you make that choice?
  - b. If it is decided that the President of Mozambique should be allowed to serve three consecutive terms (15 years) – is this something you would like to vote on OR would you rather have parliament to vote on it?  
[COUNT] [FOLLOW-UP:] Why did you make that choice?
7. Do you think the President has:
  - a. too much power; OR
  - b. the correct amount of power; OR
  - c. not enough power?  
[COUNT]

## VII. POLITICAL PARTIES

1. In general, what do you think of the political parties?
2. Do you feel that the existing political parties represent your views well?  
[FOLLOW-UP:] Why or why not?
3. When I say the name of a political party, please tell me the first thing that comes to your mind:
  - a. Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) – what comes to mind?  
[FOLLOW-UP:] Why do you think that?
  - b. Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO) – what comes to mind?  
[FOLLOW-UP:] Why do you think that?
  - c. Mozambique Democratic Movement (MDM) – what comes to mind?  
[FOLLOW-UP:] Why do you think that?
  - d. Party for Peace, Democracy and Development (PDD) – what comes to mind?  
[FOLLOW-UP:] Why do you think that?
  - e. Constructive Opposition Party – what comes to mind?  
[FOLLOW-UP:] Why do you think that?

4. What other political parties come to your mind?
5. What are the main principles of each of party in parliament:
  - a. FRELIMO – What are its main principles / what does it stand for?
  - b. RENAMO – What are its main principles / what does it stand for?
  - c. MDM – What are its main principles / what does it stand for?
6. Now thinking about other people:
  - a. Why would someone support FRELIMO over the other parties?
  - b. Why would someone support RENAMO over the other parties?
  - c. Why would someone support MDM over the other parties?
7. What are other parties that someone would support?

## APPENDIX D: ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Traci D. Cook** is a Senior Advisor for Focus Group Research for the Southern and East Africa Team of the National Democratic Institute (NDI). An experienced opinion researcher, Ms. Cook has designed and authored public opinion studies in Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Uganda, Zimbabwe and Grenada. She previously served as the senior director for strategic and corporate communications at the Women’s National Basketball Association and as vice president of marketing communications at SS+K in New York. Ms. Cook also led a parliamentary and civil society strengthening program as country director for NDI in Malawi in 1995—1996. Complementing her work in the field of international development and in the private sector is her experience as the Political Director for the Mississippi Democratic Party, legislative work on Capitol Hill and research work for various U.S. House and Senate races.

**Guilherme Mbilana** is Program Officer for the Center for Democracy and Development (CEDE) and Technical Coordinator for the Electoral Observatory. Mbilana has many years of experience researching and publishing on themes related to governance, elections, justice and citizenship. With degrees in Law, Public Administration and History, he has been a member of many research teams, including the Center for African Studies at University Eduardo Mondlane, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the Mozambican Center for Legal and Judicial Education. Recently, Mbilana served as a consultant to the Committee on Public Administration, Local Power and Social Communication of the Mozambican Assembly of the Republic through a program sponsored by the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) and the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD).





# NDI

NATIONAL  
DEMOCRATIC  
INSTITUTE

National Democratic Institute  
for International Affairs  
455 Massachusetts Ave, NW, 8th Floor  
Washington, DC 20001-2621  
Telephone: 202-728-5500  
Fax: 888-875-2887  
Website: [www.ndi.org](http://www.ndi.org)