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Final Report

MOZAMBIQUE: VOTA MOÇAMBIQUE

USAID Cooperative Agreement
No. 656-0227-G-SS-3001

November 1993 to November 1995



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) was established in 1983. By working with political parties, legislatures, civic organizations and other institutions, NDI seeks to promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions in new and emerging democracies. The Institute is headquartered in Washington, D.C. and maintains field offices in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and the former Soviet Union.

NDI has supported the development of democratic institutions in more than 60 countries. Programs focus on six major areas:

Political Party Training: NDI conducts multipartisan training seminars in political development with a broad spectrum of democratic parties. NDI draws international experts to forums where party members learn first-hand the techniques of organization, communication and constituent contact.

Election Processes: NDI provides technical assistance for political parties, nonpartisan associations and election authorities to conduct voter and civic education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. The Institute has also organized more than 25 major international observer delegations.

Strengthening Legislatures: NDI organizes seminars focusing on legislative procedures, staffing, research information, constituent services, committee structures and the function and role of party caucuses. NDI programs also seek to promote access to the legislative process by citizen groups and the public at large.

Local Government: NDI provides technical assistance on a range of topics related to the processes of local governance, including division of responsibility between mayors and municipal councils, and between local and national authorities. NDI programs also promote enhanced communication between local officials and their constituents.

Civic Organization: NDI supports and advises nonpartisan groups and political parties engaged in civic and voter education programs. NDI programs work with civic organizations to enhance their organizational capabilities.

Civil-Military Relations: NDI brings together military and political leaders to promote dialogue and establish mechanisms for improving civil-military relations.



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CONTENTS

I.	EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
II.	BACKGROUND	2
III.	PROGRAM OBJECTIVES	2
IV.	PROGRAM DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION.....	3
	A. Collaboration with Electoral Institutions	3
	B. Focus Group Research	4
V.	PROGRAM ACTIVITIES	6
	A. Radio Campaign	6
	<i>Capacity Survey</i>	6
	<i>Civic Education Radio Programs</i>	7
	<i>Journalist Training Seminars</i>	9
	B. CNE Electoral Seminar	9
	C. Trainer-the Trainers Voter Education	10
	<i>Trainer Network</i>	10
	<i>STAE Civic Education Training</i>	11
	D. Voter Education Materials Development and Distribution	12
	<i>Voter Registration Poster</i>	13
	<i>"The Steps to Voting" Visual Materials</i>	13
	<i>Election Kit</i>	13
	<i>Voting Tabloid</i>	15
	E. Training Databases	15
	F. Other NDI Activities	16
	<i>Study Delegations to South African and Malawian Elections</i>	16
	<i>IRI Party Pollwatcher Training</i>	17
	<i>Political Party Training Sessions</i>	17
VI.	ADMINISTRATION.....	17
	A. Personnel	17
	B. Financial Management	17

VI.	PROGRAM EVALUATION AND RESULTS	18
	A. Independent Evaluation	18
	B. Trainer Summit for Evaluating the Program	18
	C. Results and Lessons Learned	19

APPENDICES

1. Memorandum of Understanding
2. Focus Group Reports: June 1993, April 1994, September 1994
3. Radio Capacity Survey
4. *Há Lugar Para Todos* Election Theme Song and Sample Radio Drama Scripts; Schedule of "Women on the Road to the Elections" Program; *Sabadar* Game Show Scripts; Public Service Announcements
5. Radio Mozambique Journalist Training: Report and Agenda; Voice of Renamo Journalist Training: Report and Agenda
6. CNE Electoral Seminar Agenda
7. Train-the-Trainers Workshop Agenda; Synthesis of Trainers' Final Reports
8. "The Steps to Voting" Video Narrative; Election Kit: List of Contents, Diagram of Voting Station, Sample Ballots, Quantities of Kits Distributed; *Vamos Votar*; Materials Request Form;
9. Training Session Forms and Database Totals
10. Thank You Letter from MOCIZA
11. Scheiner and Bornstein Final Reports
12. Trainer Summit: Questionnaire, Report, Certificate, Thank You Letter from Ken Wollack; Independent Evaluation Report; Results of 1994 Mozambican Elections

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On October 27 and 28, 1994, more than 88 percent of Mozambique's 6 million registered voters took part in the country's first general multiparty elections. The elections marked a pivotal point in the transition from brutal civil war toward political stability and peace, and voter turnout was remarkable in light of logistical impediments and a temporary boycott by the main opposition party, the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo). With technical and financial assistance from the international community, Mozambicans developed an election commission, wrote election laws, educated voters, operated polling stations and counted votes during the election period.

In coordination with the Mozambican National Election Commission (CNE), the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) worked with Mozambique's civil society to conduct an extensive civic education project that instilled in the electorate an increased understanding of and desire to participate in Mozambique's first democratic elections. Throughout the project, Vota Moçambique (Vote Mozambique), almost 1.8 million potential voters were reached directly by a national network of Mozambican voter education trainers and millions through radio broadcasts and voter education materials.

NDI utilized a train-the-trainers approach for voter education, initially selecting a core group of trainers located in all the provinces and the city of Maputo, to receive instruction on the procedures of democratic elections and voting. They in turn instructed others throughout the provinces and districts in the country. By October 1994, this training network included 200 people at the local, district and provincial levels. By election day, NDI trainers had conducted more than 9,400 sessions for almost 1.8 million Mozambican participants.

Using findings from public opinion research conducted in 1993 and 1994, Vota Moçambique produced a range of voter education materials and radio programs. Civic education trainers sponsored by NDI, the CNE, the United Nations, and nongovernmental and church organizations used materials including a video illustrating the mechanics of voting and a voter education newspaper, *Vamos Votar* (Let's Vote), designed specifically for the Mozambican context. Working with local writers and artists, NDI produced civic education radio programs to reach remote areas of the country. An election theme song was recorded for media broadcast and sung at popular gatherings. NDI also co-sponsored a series of training workshops for journalists from the state-run and newly-created opposition radio stations with the United States Information Services (USIS). The workshops, which offered technical assistance on writing news stories and conducting interviews, emphasized nonpartisan election coverage.

Vota Moçambique was lauded by the CNE as a project that respected their authority and sought to work within their constraints. This effort to work within and build upon the civil society in Mozambique made Vota Moçambique one of the most important voter education initiatives in the country. Civic education will continue to be a massive undertaking in Mozambique, and Vota Moçambique has created the foundation for the development of an enlightened, participatory civil society.

II. BACKGROUND

On June 25, 1975, the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) won independence for Mozambique from Portugal. Shortly thereafter, the country plunged into a civil war between the ruling Frelimo and Renamo. Initially established by the colonial government in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) to fight insurgents in that country, Renamo soon took on a life of its own with support from South Africa. The war in Mozambique continued for sixteen years until a peace accord was negotiated in October 1992. During this period, Mozambique was a one-party state with Frelimo constitutionally empowered to direct the operations of the government at all levels. On November 2, 1990, a new constitution was adopted that formally ended Frelimo's one-party rule and committed the state to political pluralism and a free-market economy.

Responding to the rapid changes occurring in Mozambique, NDI sponsored a three-person survey mission to the country in June 1991 to develop an initial assessment of the status of the country's political, institutional and civil structures in the wake of the war. The team identified civic education and assistance to electoral processes as areas in which the Institute could make the most valuable contribution, once the armed conflict ceased and a formal peace accord was signed.

In January 1992, NDI hosted a delegation of political party representatives and election officials at an eight-day regional conference which addressed the procedures and legal framework for democratic elections in southern Africa. In October 1992, NDI conducted a voter education survey and consultation mission, which included one-day workshops in Maputo and Beira on the role of democratic institutions in voter education. The following year, NDI provided technical consultations with the government and opposition on the electoral law and conducted public opinion research with focus groups for use in designing a nationwide voter education program for elections scheduled for October 1994.

In January 1994, NDI established a continuous presence in Mozambique, and developed a working relationship with the CNE, the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and the Mozambican Technical Office for Election Administration (STAE). Despite the fundamental changes taking place within Mozambican political and civil society, neither citizens, lawmakers nor government officials fully comprehended their new roles in this radically different political system. The transition to democracy underway in the country would give citizens the power to choose their representatives, yet citizens were not fully involved in the democratic governing process and needed to develop a better understanding of the basic tenets of democracy -- what it enables citizens to do and what their responsibilities must be. With these challenges in mind, NDI looked to provide citizens, elected representatives and government officials with useful information and practical techniques to further the democratic transition in Mozambique through a civic education program.

III. OBJECTIVES

NDI proposed a multi-faceted project to instill in the electorate an understanding of and a desire to participate in Mozambique's first democratic elections. NDI's comprehensive approach sought to provide practical information to citizens and political leaders for use throughout the campaign period, during the election, and in the country's post-election transition environment.

NDI's objectives for the Vota Moçambique program included the following:

- inform an estimated 7-8 million potential voters about the voter registration and balloting process;

- educate the political parties and social organizations about their roles in the election, the CNE, and the formation of the electoral laws;
- design written and audio visual materials in relevant languages that will explain the process, the players, the rights of the voters and appropriate activities in a democratic election;
- empower, through training and the provision of material resources, nongovernmental organizations and political parties as agents for conducting community-based civic education related to the electoral process;
- create radio and television programs to communicate voter education messages, focusing on balanced news coverage, informative public affairs broadcasts and entertaining and culturally appropriate programs that stimulate interest in the elections and address voter's concerns;
- provide information on voter attitudes throughout the electoral period by conducting periodic public opinion surveys;
- maximize voter turnout and minimize spoiled ballots; and
- contribute to an understanding of the value of pluralism in a democracy.

IV. PROGRAM DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

NDI implemented the program based on its experience and relationships established within Mozambique. The initial design of the program was influenced by Project Vote in South Africa, a program NDI created in Cape Town in 1992 in cooperation with the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape. This nonpartisan voter education project was a train-the-trainers effort which targeted primarily rural areas. Its materials -- a tabloid newspaper, mock voting simulation, training modular, motivational posters and a video -- served as the prototype for Vota Moçambique. The program was continually shaped by NDI's formal collaboration with the CNE, STAE and United Nations (UN) and by focus group research.

A. Collaboration with Electoral Institutions

NDI signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the CNE in June 1994 to facilitate coordination of voter education initiatives in Mozambique. The responsibilities of the individual entities were clarified and divided. The CNE was responsible for the orientation, coordination, definition and philosophy of the civic education campaign. The STAE, as the department charged with the practical implementation of CNE policy, was given the tasks of educating, informing and sensitizing the electorate. NDI was accountable for the conception, design, co-production (with the STAE) and distribution of civic education materials, and training of regional civic education trainers.

In August 1994, ONUMOZ, NDI and the CNE/STAE drafted a document for a collaboration between the three parties for the final months before the elections. NDI's contribution to ONUMOZ was to include UN volunteers in training sessions and provide them with civic education materials. ONUMOZ offered logistical support in the form of housing, storage, protection and much needed air and ground transportation for trainers

and materials.

Throughout the program NDI sought to underscore the authority of the CNE as principle director of the election; as such, NDI relinquished its institutional identity and functioned as a consultant to the CNE. The collaboration between the electoral institutions took the form of weekly meetings between NDI's Program Director and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and STAE staff in the Civic Education Department. (Appendix I: Memorandum of Understanding).

B. Focus Group Research

NDI conducted three focus group studies with a total of 326 Mozambicans over a one and a half year period to gauge their knowledge, attitudes and opinions about democracy, the elections and the peace process. NDI widely circulated reports documenting the research and making recommendations among political and civic leaders so they could consider the views of Mozambican citizens when debating public policy issues. The reports often served as the sole sources of information available to organizations collaborating on the political transition underway in Mozambique.

The semi-structured discussion groups comprised Mozambicans representing the range of ages, genders, languages and socioeconomics to be found in the different regions throughout the country. While most groups contained both men and women, NDI also surveyed all-female groups to give women a chance to express themselves freely. NDI contracted the services of polling firms Louis Harris & Associates and Brazil affiliate CLAIM to conduct the surveys. Vota Moçambique staff and the polling firms consulted with representatives of political parties, NGOs, Parliament and donor organizations to design the question outline for the discussions, and to select the sites for each group. Mozambican moderators trained by the firms guided the discussion, and carefully noted the responses for subsequent analysis.

The survey research, in conjunction with consultations with Mozambican NGOs, church activists, journalists and artists, produced recommendations for the pattern, message and style of print, audio-visual materials and simulation kits for a comprehensive voter education program. The research emphasized the importance of simplicity in the design of materials, repetition of themes and images, and the use of local languages whenever possible.

- Imagining Democracy (June 1993): The first set of focus groups were conducted prior to the commencement of program activities and were funded by the National Endowment for Democracy. However, they informed the overall design and implementation of the Vota Moçambique project. The survey asked questions about the peace process, democracy and elections as well as questions that would guide the design of civic education materials. The research revealed that while Mozambicans were enthusiastic about democratic governance and the freedoms it affords, there remained skepticism of the new initiative and a degree of mistrust of the country's leadership. Participants expressed confusion about the implementation of a democratic political system, ranging from how the citizenry can participate in the political process to the mechanics of voting. Mozambicans looked forward to a fresh start for their country, but recognized the obstacles presented by illiteracy, multiple languages, the lack of a nationwide mass communications network, and the lack of trust and understanding.
- Imagining Democracy: One Year Later (April 1994): The second focus group survey was aimed at updating the information collected in 1993 and measuring any shift in public perceptions as the election scheduled for October drew nearer. In the ten months since the first survey took place, significant

changes in public attitudes were manifested in the research. Mozambicans expressed an increased optimism and certainty about the possibility of peaceful elections. Participants were more familiar with democracy, as both a concept and a political process, but its application in Mozambique was not yet generally understood. The voter registration process, the issues addressed by political parties and the supervision of the national election all persisted as sources of confusion and debate.

- Vota Moçambique (September 1994): NDI conducted the last set of focus group discussions after the civic education campaign had been in full operation for three months. The goals of these last surveys were to measure changes in the knowledge of the electorate as a result of increased civic education activity, including the impact of Vota Moçambique. NDI planned to respond with further education and materials to any residual doubts about the electoral process, and to collect information to guide future programming in Mozambique. The research revealed great enthusiasm about the elections and their link to the consolidation of peace. People expressed their willingness to participate in elections although there was concern about what would be the response of the party that lost. Participants understood the mechanics of voting but exhibited less comprehension of the institutions and practices of a democratic system.



Scene from NDI's "The Steps to Voting" voter education materials. Focus group research underscored the importance of using clear, familiar images of everyday Mozambicans in voter education materials.

At the conclusion of each of the focus group sessions, NDI sponsored briefings in Maputo to present the findings. In collaboration with the Ministry of Justice, NDI invited government officials, representatives of the United Nations, NGOs, local and international press, political parties, religious organizations, representatives of donor agencies and artisans from the regions. NDI was the only organization conducting this kind of qualitative research, and often times the findings of NDI's surveys provided the only source of information on public knowledge and attitudes toward the transition to a democratic system of governance.

From July to September 1995, NDI prepared to conduct additional focus groups in preparation for the 1996 municipal elections. After consulting a number of national and international organizations, NDI field staff developed a questionnaire to assess the degree of Mozambicans' awareness of democratic concepts and their practical applications, knowledge of local government and elections, sources of information and perceptions of changes since the October 1994 elections. NDI distributed an RFP, and the focus groups research is expected to take place early in 1996. (Appendix 2: Focus Group Reports: June 1993, April 1994, September 1994).

IV. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The primary purpose of NDI's program activities was to increase Mozambicans' understanding of their rights and responsibilities in the new democratic system of governance, specifically in the nation's first multiparty elections. In order to accomplish this objective, NDI designed a multifaceted program, that capitalized on local resources and reflected the daily reality of Mozambique. Program activities took the forms of: a radio campaign that included civic education and training for journalists; strengthening the CNE and the STAE to assume their role in the electoral process; the development of a train-the-trainers network to conduct NDI's voter education program; materials development and distribution to complement voter education efforts that included posters, mock election kits and newspapers; the creation of a database to track training sessions nationwide; and additional activities to respond to requests for assistance as NDI implemented its program.

A. Radio Campaign

At the beginning of the program, NDI conducted a capability study of Radio Mozambique to determine whether the national broadcasting network was an effective means for communicating civic education messages. NDI hired Sean Kelly to gather information on the overall technical capacity of the radio and the station's equipment needs. Kelly is a former long-time USIA staff member who had worked with the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation on voter education efforts in connection with NDI's program for the 1992 elections.

Kelly recommended that, while the network faced many problems, it remained the only form of communication that reached the masses in local languages, especially in the rural areas. Therefore, radio was deemed crucial to any civic education effort. This view was supported by NDI's June 1993 focus group report that indicated radio, along with community visits, was the most important means for educating voters. Accordingly, NDI designed a number of creative broadcasting programs to appeal to a cross-section of the Mozambican population.

Capacity Survey

From February 1 to 10, 1994, Kelly traveled to Mozambique to assess the capabilities of Radio Mozambique headquarters in Maputo and provincial stations in Quelimane and Beira. The station broadcasts daily in English, Portuguese and eleven Mozambican languages through an operating base in Maputo and through

nine provincial radio stations. While in Beira, Kelly visited the regional station, photography studio and equipment facilities and toured Mozambique Television' Beira facilities with its director, Felizardo Massimbe. While in the country, Kelly also consulted with officials from ONUMOZ, the U.S. Embassy, USAID, U.S. Information Service (USIS) and other international groups conducting work with radio.

Kelly found that, under optimum conditions the station reaches between sixty and seventy percent of Mozambique's population of 15,527,000. Although radios and batteries were scarce, Kelly recognized that Radio Mozambique was the only medium capable of supporting a mass media campaign. Kelly's resulting report made a number of recommendations regarding radio equipment, needed expert advice and the initial design of civic education radio programs. The recommendations were shared with the station and other interested officials in Mozambique. (Appendix 3: Radio Capacity Survey).

Civic Education Radio Programs

In preparation for the elections, NDI conducted election-related public service announcements, current affairs discussion programs, voter education radio talk shows and a radio drama aimed at creating awareness of the importance of elections and motivating the public to exercise their democratic vote. Programs were geared for both the general rural population and specific target groups, such as urban women and youth. NDI worked with local writers and musicians on creating the programs and accompanying theme songs. In all the programs produced, music and themes were repeated so audiences would know the upcoming program was election related. An effort was made to make the programing entertaining, informative and relevant to the daily lives of Mozambicans. (Appendix 4: *Há Lugar Para Todos* Election Theme Song and Sample Radio Drama Scripts; Schedule of "Women on the Road to the Elections" Program; *Sabadar* Game Show Scripts; and Public Service Announcements).

- **Election Theme Song:** NDI commissioned local musicians to write and record an election theme song. The song, *Há Lugar Para Todos* (There is a Place for Everyone), was broadcast daily on Radio Mozambique and FEBA, a Seychelles based short-wave radio station that reaches the northern provinces. This song was also the theme music for NDI's 14-part radio drama of the same title, and remained very popular even after the elections took place.
- **Há Lugar Para Todos Radio Drama:** In July, 1994, three months prior to the elections, NDI developed and ran a radio drama portraying a typical rural family struggling with issues related to democracy and the elections. The first twelve chapters of the drama were broadcast in Portuguese on Radio Mozambique and FEBA, and in eight local languages on Radio Mozambique three to four times a week. In addition, NDI produced 15-second spots every week using the drama characters to reinforce the issues brought up in that week's episode.

After the general elections and shortly before the second plenary session of Mozambique's newly elected parliament, NDI produced two additional chapters of the radio drama on the role and responsibility of the new Parliament. The episodes, broadcast in Portuguese and eight local languages, ran from March 13 to April 7 in preparation for the reconvening National Assembly. The format was similar to previous episodes with the same actors and settings already familiar to radio audiences.

- **Women's Program:** Starting in September, Radio Mozambique aired an NDI produced program that catered specifically to women in urban areas called, "Women on the Road to Elections." NDI co-sponsored this special radio broadcast with an existing Mozambican weekly series called "Women's

Quarter." NDI's 15-minute program dealt with issues such as the role of women in voter education, the secrecy of the vote, and empowerment of women to effect change. The programs included interviews with women from various sectors of Mozambican society about the elections, including representatives from the women's wings of the political parties, members of Mozambican women's groups, role models and members of the local communities. NDI's election theme song was used to open the program.

- **Election Game Show:** On September 10, NDI introduced *Sabadar*, a weekly live radio game show in which members of the studio audience won prizes by answering questions about multiparty elections and democracy. Each episode featured interviews with representatives from each political party who were questioned about their respective party platforms. The first show introduced the populace to those parties and candidates who participated in the elections. Subsequent shows interviewed civic groups, the media, high profile individuals in the community, as well as everyday voters on their role in the process and thoughts on the election. *Sabadar* ran for eight weeks through the election with the final show on Saturday following the election.
- **Public Service Announcements (PSA):** In the weeks leading up to the elections, NDI produced four 30 second radio spots in Portuguese and Changana. The content of the PSAs were informed by the last series of focus groups conducted in September. The themes included: every vote counts; voting is a day to be happy; respect the ideas of others; vote for whomever you want; go to vote early; don't forget your ID; and voting is easy - mark the ballot with either a cross or your finger.



Participants in Sabadar, NDI's live weekly election game show.

Journalist Training Seminars

In order to enhance local journalists' understanding of the role of a media in a democracy, NDI undertook several training initiatives that incorporated both government and Renamo members. The purpose of these training sessions was to provide practical skills in nonpartisan reporting of the campaign to ensure fair coverage of all parties and viewpoints throughout the elections. The journalists who participated in the workshops expressed a great deal of enthusiasm and appreciation for them, particularly since very few had ever had any prior training. One participant stated, "Now, even my listeners will note a difference in my newscasts," while another journalist said, "This will greatly improve the way I work. Now I feel I can conduct an interview without hesitation." (Appendix 5: Radio Mozambique Journalist Training: Report and Agenda; Voice of Renamo Journalist Training: Report and Agenda).

- Radio Mozambique Training: In August NDI co-sponsored a series of radio workshops with USIS to train 25 Mozambican national language journalists from the national language service of Radio Mozambique. The three-day workshops were held in Quelimane, Nampula and Beira and were conducted by the Portuguese Senior Editor for Voice of America (VOA), Luis Costa Ribas. The workshops were designed to enhance the quality of broadcast media coverage of the upcoming election and addressed specific needs identified by Kelly's initial radio capacity survey. NDI co-sponsored the workshop with USIS under an agreement whereby NDI arranged for Ribas' international air fare, covered his expenses and purchased interview equipment for each of the journalists to use. USIS arranged the logistics and recruited participants for the workshops.

Those trained, who included recent hires as well as seasoned journalists, were from the most heavily populated regions of Mozambique: Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Sofala and Zambezia provinces. Ribas led the participants in brief courses in broadcast news writing, research and interviewing techniques combined with instruction in the use of the professional tape recorders. NDI purchased 40 Sony professional tape recorders, rechargeable batteries and recharging units to be distributed to stations that participated in the workshops to assist in their election-related broadcast duties. Of these, 20 recorders were given to Radio Mozambique station directors at the conclusion of the first set of radio seminars. One recorder was given to the women producers of the "Women on the Road to Elections" program.

- Voice of Renamo Training: NDI organized a second round of two workshop sessions for Voice of Renamo (VOR) journalists in Maputo. At the request of Renamo, NDI brought Luis Costa Ribas back to work with VOR journalists at their station in early October. Ribas led two five-day seminars in response to requests from journalists who did not have the opportunity to attend the first session. The seminar focused on how to cover a multiparty election, expectations from the populace, journalism as an instrument of civic training, and the pillars of journalism: impartiality, objectivity, and truth. Eighteen of the 40 Sony TCM 500 radios were distributed by NDI to VOR as well as ten microphones, and three battery chargers.

B. CNE Electoral Seminar

From May 9 to 11, 1994, NDI conducted a seminar for members of the CNE and the STAE, entitled "Democracy and the National Electoral Commission in Mozambique: Comparative Electoral Questions." The seminar focused on the importance of the role an electoral commission assumes in the electoral process. NDI organized the seminar in efforts to address some of the challenges the commission was facing since its inception. These challenges stemmed from tensions amongst the opposing factions within the CNE and from the fact that

a full consensus was necessary to act upon anything. The commission was composed of a 21 member team, comprising representatives of Frelimo, Renamo, and "unarmed" party candidates, all of whom had limited prior exposure to electoral processes.

NDI brought in experienced members of electoral commissions from countries with similar cultural and historical backgrounds to help the CNE members maximize their efforts to work together. Three international experts made presentations: Dr. Julio Reis, a justice on the Supreme Court of Brazil, which is in charge of elections in Brazil; Antonio Manuel dos Santos Aguiar, the president of the National Electoral Commission of São Tomé and Príncipe; and Oscar Fernandez, a professor of sociology at the University of Costa Rica. Each speaker gave comparative examples from their own experiences as electoral commission members and/or observers of elections in other countries. They cited the various ways electoral commissions are structured and function internally as well as their relationship to other groups involved in the electoral process. Speakers also discussed problems that have occurred in other countries and how they could be avoided. An emphasis was put on the importance of the electoral commission in guaranteeing free and fair elections.

During the question and answer period, participants raised a variety of issues, such as the mechanics of designing ballots, salaries that commission members receive and the authority of electoral commissions in other countries. After learning about the Mozambican electoral process from the CNE, the international team made recommendations to help the commission avoid problems that other countries have encountered in the electoral process. The Mozambican attendees expressed their intention to incorporate these insights into their plans and an appreciation of the trainers' first-hand experiences. They also complimented the international team on their efforts to create a forum for sharing information rather than assuming that the Mozambicans had little to contribute to the workshop. (Appendix 6: CNE Electoral Seminar Agenda)

C. Train-the-Trainers Voter Education

To carry out the program's voter education training activities in the absence of organized civic groups, NDI developed a network of Mozambican trainers to conduct voter education workshops in local languages. Through a train-the-trainers approach, the network reached every region and a majority of districts in Mozambique. The network comprised a core group of 15 Mozambican trainers who NDI instructed on procedures of democratic elections and voting. These trainers in turn recruited, trained and coordinated an additional 200 district trainers who went from village to village preparing Mozambicans citizens for the general elections. The network also helped NDI to distribute civic education materials across the country to other trainers as well as local civic and community-based organizations. The trainers benefitted a great deal from the training they received from NDI. Comments from coordinators in their final reports included, "I would like to work on civic education because this sort of work helped me to develop new ideas," "NDI should suggest to the Ministry of Education that civic education be part of the educational curriculum so that children would be raised learning this subject," and "We are at your entire disposal to collaborate in the future."

Trainer Network

From May 19 to 21 in Maputo, NDI conducted a series of workshops on techniques of conducting voter education training sessions. The workshop participants comprised five NDI core trainers representing the provinces of Cabo Delgado, Manica, Maputo, Sofala and Zambezia. The workshops were conducted by: Patricia Keefer, NDI senior associate for political and civic organization; Monica Zabo, voter education trainer from NDI's Project Vote program in South Africa; and other NDI field staff. The participants were engaged throughout the program and were enthusiastic about the voting simulation exercise, which used election kits

developed by NDI for the program in South Africa. NDI emphasized that initial training efforts would involve voter registration. (Appendix 7: Train-the-Trainers Workshop Agenda; Synthesis of Trainers' Final Reports).

- **Core Trainers:** NDI employed a trainer coordinator in each provincial capital, Maputo and in some of the larger towns. NDI trained this core group throughout the program and relied on them to recruit and train district trainers in the provinces. In many cases, potential candidates were identified among participants at voter simulation workshops conducted on-site by the coordinator. Their recruitment visits to new districts usually lasted at least three days and included on-site training followed by voter education workshops that the new trainer conducted with the help of the coordinator.

Each provincial coordinator was responsible for the following additional tasks: paying trainer salaries and expenses; negotiating contracts; developing a training work plan for their province; instructing trainers in basic principles of democracy in Mozambique and conducting voting simulation exercises; monitoring trainer performance, including verifying reports; liaising with provincial ONUMOZ and STAE officials on a day to day basis; securing transportation for trainers; and accounting for funds. Coordinators also arranged transport of materials to district trainers as needed. In order to keep transportation costs as low as possible, materials were given to trainers as they came to deliver reports and receipts and receive payment.

- **District Trainers:** The district trainers were respected members of their communities who demonstrated an ability to train, were available during work hours and on weekends, and were not associated with a particular political party. Many had been teachers, nurses or charity workers who were intimately familiar with the communities where they worked. They all spoke the local language and Portuguese fluently. They were ultimately responsible for the following activities: assembling potential voters and conducting frequent voter simulation workshops throughout their district, reporting training sessions and expenses to the provincial coordinators, and liaising with the local STAE regularly.
- **Regional Coordinators:** Several months before the elections, NDI hired three regional coordinators to arrange all the training activities, materials distribution, transport and liaisons with Maputo for the entire country. The coordinators helped to overcome logistical hurdles that resulted in the more timely and proportionate distribution of materials. One coordinator was based in Quelimane with responsibility for the northern region provinces of Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Niassa and Zambezia; another was based in Beira with additional responsibility for the central region provinces of Manica, Sofala and Tete; and the third was based in NDI's Maputo office with responsibility for Maputo City and province as well as the other southern region provinces of Inhambane and Gaza. The regional coordinator for the southern region also acted as a countrywide liaison between all the regions and the Maputo headquarters.

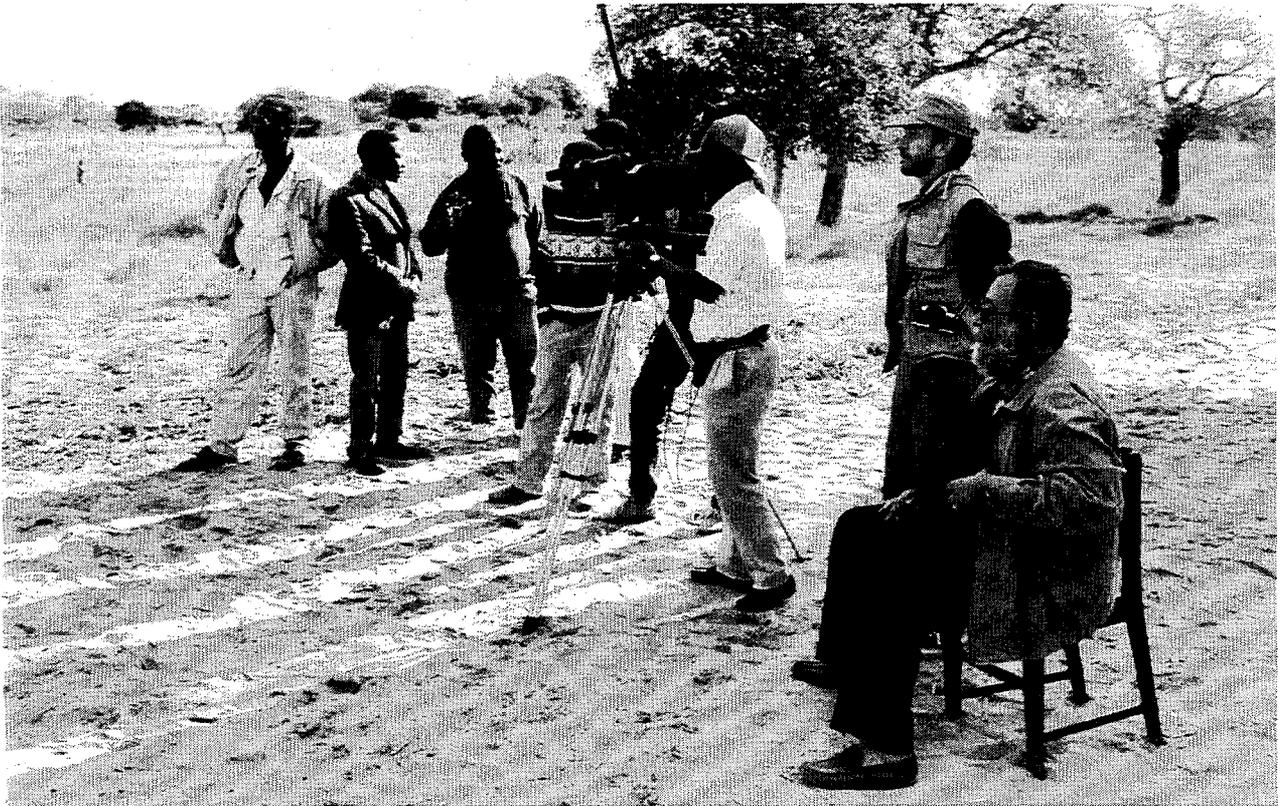
STAE Civic Education Training

During the week of August 28, 1994, NDI provincial and regional coordinators participated in a Maputo training session organized by the STAE for their civic education agents on the mechanics of voting. The NDI trainers made a considerable contribution to the program by providing anecdotal experience from their previous months of training/voter simulations. The NDI trainers conducted a voting simulation using the NDI election kits and presented and distributed other NDI materials to STAE trainers, including focus group reports, radio scripts and "The Steps to Voting" video, poster and manual. NDI field staff took the opportunity to meet with the trainers and arranged for meetings between the provincial and regional coordinators to discuss materials distribution, finances and communication.

D. Voter Education Materials Development and Distribution

Throughout the program, NDI produced numerous training materials and visual aids independently and in collaboration with the STAE, to assist NDI, STAE and local NGO trainers in their civic education efforts. NDI's series of voter education materials, "The Steps to Voting" (Os Passos da Votação), illustrated the voting process through posters, educational manuals, a slide show and video. NDI produced posters announcing the time, date and location of voter education workshops and developed a voting simulation kit for use in voter training. NDI also produced *Vamos Votar*, a newspaper with up-to-date information about the elections.

NDI Maputo set up a distribution system that allowed for quick response to information requests and effective tracking of materials. At the height of the program, NDI used two warehouses and employed nine Mozambicans for production and distribution. Materials were transported by NDI vehicles or shipped by bus. In the months just before the elections, NDI chartered air planes from the humanitarian organization Airserve to deliver materials due to dangerous conditions and logistical difficulties, especially in the central and northern provinces. In the weeks before the election, NDI was able to use ONUMOZ planes, which delivered five metric tons of NDI voter education materials. NDI also contracted with Airserve, a humanitarian organization, to transport coordinators to Maputo for the national civic education conference sponsored by the CNE and helped to transport focus groups moderators to locations that were otherwise inaccessible. Air transport facilitated the recruitment of trainers in remote, isolated districts and improved monitoring capacity. (Appendix 8: "The Steps to Voting" Video Narrative; Election Kit: List of Contents, Diagram of Voting Station, Sample Ballots, Quantities of Kits Distributed; *Vamos Votar*; Materials Request Form).



Filming "The Steps to Voting" video.

Voter Registration Poster

For the voter registration drive from June to September 1994, NDI produced and distributed 30,000 motivational posters using photographs and simple slogans to encourage people to register to vote. NDI hired a Mozambican firm, Inter-Africa, to coordinate and transport 90 secondary school students to paste the registration posters on walls and buildings in Maputo and several provincial capitals. This poster was complemented by a motivational radio spot produced by NDI during the final weeks of registration.

"The Steps to Voting" Visual Materials

"The Steps to Voting" materials depicted a voter presenting a registration card; receiving, marking and folding the ballots; placing the ballot in the box and marking a finger with ink. NDI designed the materials for a predominantly rural, non-literate Mozambican audience whose first language is not Portuguese and who preferred photographs over illustrations, as indicated by NDI focus group research. Photographs for the poster and slide show were taken in a local village using members of the community to act out the voting process, in order to portray images with which ordinary Mozambicans could identify.

NDI distributed 20,000 mass-produced posters and 5,000 voter education manual to NDI trainers, STAE civic education agents, NGOs, civic groups, professional organizations and trade unions for use in voter education sessions prior to the elections. The poster was also reproduced in *O Campo*, a monthly newspaper distributed in rural communities and in *Aro Juvenil*, a monthly magazine for young adults. One NDI trainer said that the poster was "excellent because people could visualize what they would do." Another said that the manuals "were welcome and very much appreciated." NDI provided five copies of the slide show (slides and accompanying narration) and a slide projector to NDI core trainers working in provincial capitals and large towns with access to electricity.

NDI distributed "The Steps to Voting" video in mid-September after initial copies were sent to the provinces with the coordinators. The video was used by all NDI trainers, the ONUMOZ electoral division, the STAE roving media trucks and in election information centers set up by the STAE in each provincial capital. An NDI trainer said of the video, "Whenever we could use it by asking local video owners to show it, it would create much interest."

Election Kit

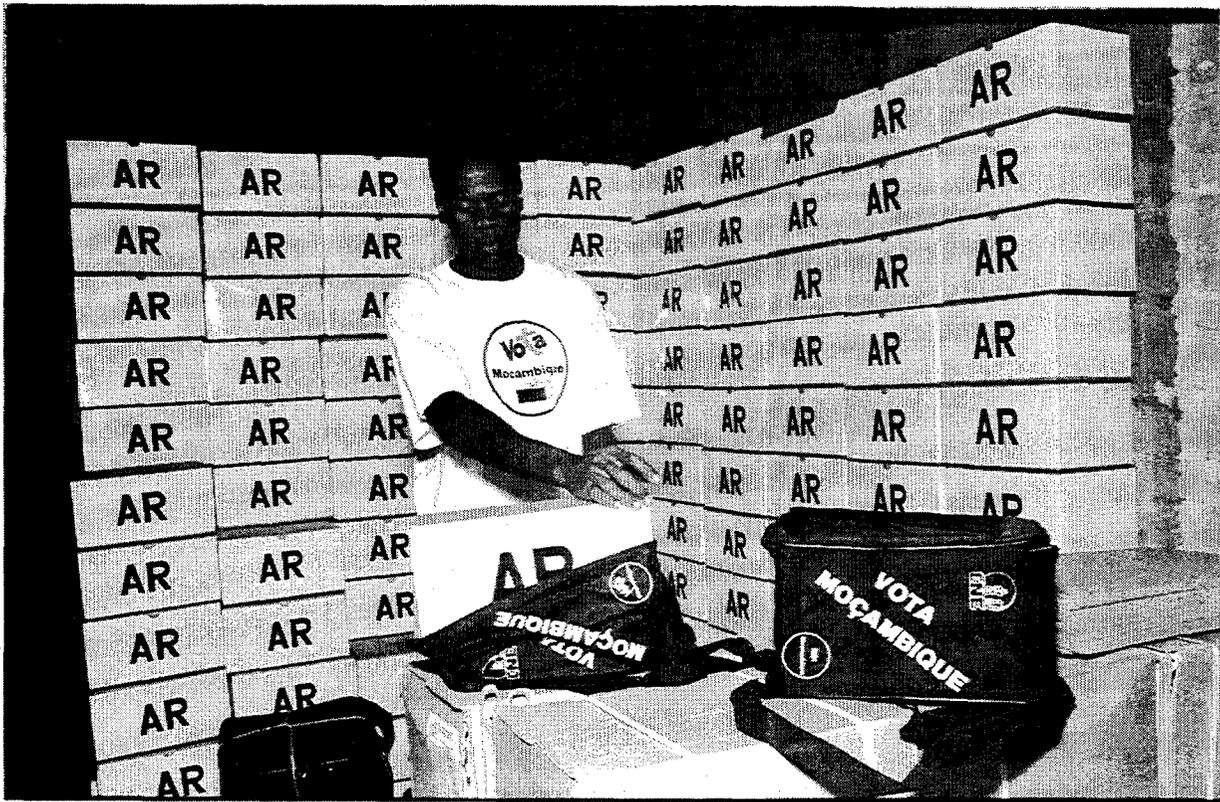
NDI Mozambique used a voting station simulation technique for teaching Mozambicans the mechanics of voting, whereby NDI trainers would travel to rural areas and lead villagers through the mechanics of the voting process. Materials needed for the voting simulation were put into a backpack style election kit designed for Mozambican trainers who most often traveled by foot, bicycle or on crowded trucks. NDI distributed 4,000 kits by August 1994 to all of the NDI trainers, STAE civic education trainers, ONUMOZ officials and various other community groups engaged in civic education activities. Mock versions of the kits were distributed to NDI's trainers in June and July so that they could begin the voter education process. In August, NDI-chartered planes were able to deliver the materials to even remote areas within three days of production.

The kits contained ballot boxes, a copy of "The Steps to Voting" manual, sample voter registration cards, sample ballots, posters, a diagram of the polling stations and some basic supplies such as pens, tape and a plastic ink container for marking voters' fingers. The kits also contained vests used to identify people in the polling stations, including international observers, political party agents and election officials. NDI established a

warehouse and assembly team in Maputo for both housing and assembling the kits' various components, most of which were produced in Mozambique using the local artists and industry.

In training sessions, participating villagers played the parts of voters and election officials, filling out sample ballots in a secret booth and depositing them in the ballot boxes according to procedures established by the election law. To teach voters about how to deal with special circumstances, each training session included role-playing blind voters, inebriated voters and voters who tried to vote twice.

The NDI trainers who used the kits reported that by far the simulations were the most effective way of teaching and preparing Mozambicans for the elections, saying that the kits "created much curiosity and were something very new for the people." They reported that the participants were engaged by the process, and NDI trainers reached hundreds of Mozambicans in remote areas prior to the elections. In one district where transportation was not available, an NDI trainer walked 80 kilometers during the course of two days with the backpack kit, training people in towns and villages along the route. On a number of occasions, international officials, in particular UN volunteers, would describe arriving in a remote village to see an NDI trainer surrounded by scores of villagers and compliment NDI on its dedicated staff.



NDI distributed 4,000 election kits to voter education trainers throughout Mozambique.

Voting Tabloid

NDI published two editions of an eight-page tabloid style newspaper synthesizing the basic components of voter education in an easy to understand format with photos and diagrams. Layout for the first edition of *Vamos Votar* (Let's Vote) was completed in mid-September, after consultation on the content with the UNDP and STAE. Both issues included "The Steps to Voting" photos as a centerfold. The front page featured the presidential candidates while the back page featured a cartoon illustration of a voting station. Most of the newspapers were shipped to NDI trainers to distribute in all areas of the country. A total of 200,000 of the first edition and 300,000 of the second edition were printed and distributed.

The second edition of *Vamos Votar*, also featured a reproduction of the actual presidential and parliamentary ballots. In celebration of "National Civic Education Day", October 21, NDI organized a distribution blitz of the second edition. In Maputo, NDI and a corps of recruited volunteers, including staff from a local youth newspaper and university students, distributed 100,000 newspapers within three hours. NDI trainer coordinators in the provincial capitals distributed another 100,000 copies throughout their respective provinces. They reported that the papers were distributed very quickly because of the great desire for election information. Many copies of the newspaper were sited at polling stations on election day.

E. Training Databases

In Maputo, NDI maintained three databases to track the distribution of civic education materials, monitor training sessions and to gather quantitative information about Mozambicans being trained. The databases helped NDI to disseminate information and materials throughout the country effectively and efficiently and to measure that effort. The databases also helped to establish a system of accountability for trainers at every level.

The distribution database was designed to monitor the amount of materials being shipped to each province and district. Information was obtained through standardized NDI forms that were filled out by local trainers, STAE trainers, NGOs, ONUMOZ and political parties and sent to the central office in Maputo. The training database kept a record of the town, district, and province where workshops were taking place; the names of NDI trainers in the area; what kind of facilities workshops were held in; and the numbers of men and women (18 and over) who attended. The information helped NDI to decide where to concentrate civic education efforts.

The field staff created a third training database in an effort to keep a quantitative record of all dates, numbers and gender of people being reached by the grassroots training simulations. This database allowed NDI's regional coordinators to pinpoint provinces, districts and even localities that were receiving too much or too little attention. With this information, the field staff could respond immediately by reworking training schedules to cover the more needed areas. This element of the program also allowed NDI to have accurate numbers of people actually reached by the training simulations in the field for evaluative purposes. The database recorded 9,421 training sessions, with NDI trainers reaching a total of 1,764,271 Mozambicans across the country. Those participating included 751,949 men, 1,011,033 women, and 1,289 youth.

In addition, due to the number of open-ended questions on the forms that trainers filled out, NDI staff did a qualitative analysis of the comments that district trainers and coordinators made on their report forms and produced a synthesis of all the trainers' reports. This enabled NDI to gauge what types of training were most effective, and to adjust methods and materials accordingly throughout the program. (Appendix 9: Training Session Forms and Database Totals).

F. Other NDI Activities

Throughout the program, NDI was presented with opportunities to assist in projects that helped to promote the overall objectives of the Institute, but were not specifically outlined in the program objectives. For example, a civic organization in Zambezia, MOCIZA, planned a civic education radio program to encourage voter participation in that province. The group appealed to NDI for a small grant to buy the air time needed to transmit their program on Radio Mozambique. NDI agreed, stipulating that the group include NDI's radio spot on registration procedure in their broadcast. (Appendix 10: Thank You Letter from MOCIZA).

In another such example, MPs familiar with NDI's activities and expertise requested information on parliamentary organization and procedures. With the assistance of the NDI governance staff in Washington, NDI was able to provide the ad hoc committee responsible for drafting the Assembly's Rules and Procedures with a number of reference materials. The materials detailed working Rules of Procedure and Standing Orders from Thailand, Namibia, Mali, Hungary, and Mauritius and included a document from Canada describing the structure of that country's parliament. Parliamentarians used the packet to familiarize themselves with the various options. NDI provided additional materials responding to a follow-up request for parliamentary documents from Nicaragua.

Study Delegations to the South African and Malawian Elections

NDI organized two study missions for selected members of the CNE. The objective of the missions was to enable the CNE to compare the electoral process in Mozambique to those of other emerging democracies. Equipped with this first-hand experience, members of the CNE were able to understand and anticipate some of the problems that are likely to arise in the electoral process.

On March 12 to 18, 1994, NDI composed a study group to South Africa of Mozambican officials interested in security issues. The delegation met with individuals and organizations involved in security measures, including ANC President Nelson Mandela. In addition, the delegates met with members of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), the Goldstone Commission, the Deputy Director of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), the newly-formed police union (SAPU) and the various political parties. The Mozambican delegates noted the parallels that exist between the South African situation and the situation in their own country. They pointed out the similar effects of violence in their countries and learned how South African entities were attempting to track the violence and identify its roots in order to provide a stable environment for the elections.

NDI Mozambique organized a second study mission prior to the May 1994 Malawian presidential and parliamentary elections. Four delegates from the CNE were sent to observe the elections in Malawi: Dr. Luisa Chadraca, Mr. Simão Anapolika, Dr. Arlindo Moiane, and Dr. Carlos Cauio. Before election day, the delegates met with Malawian election officials and leaders of the major political parties. NDI Logistics Coordinator Tito Farias accompanied the delegation and assisted with interpretation. On election day, Chadraca and Anapolika observed activities in the Mchinji district west of Lilongwe, and delegates Moiane and Cauio observed in the Lilongwe district. They were accompanied by NDI Malawi field staff. Chadraca, Anapolika and Cauio stated that the experience put the elections process into perspective for them and assisted them in formulating rules and regulations for the process in Mozambique.

IRI Party Pollwatcher Training

From September 20 to 22, the International Republican Institute (IRI) sponsored a seminar to train political party pollwatchers in preparation for election day. NDI assisted IRI by providing voter education materials, including 60 election kits. Two of NDI's core trainers conducted voting simulation exercises and presented "The Steps to Voting" video and slide show. Participants reported after the training that the voting simulation exercise was one of the most instructive parts of the entire seminar.

Political Party Training Sessions

To assist political parties with their civic education efforts and to emphasize the importance of voter education in democratic elections, NDI organized two training sessions for political parties on October 12 and 13. NDI kits were given to all participants and NDI field staff and trainers conducted voting simulations exercises. NDI displayed other voter education materials for review. Of the 14 parties on the ballot, 11 sent representatives. Frelimo and some of the smaller parties contacted NDI after the training sessions to obtain more materials to conduct their own voter education.

VII. ADMINISTRATION

A. Personnel

Vota Moçambique was coordinated initially by a Mozambican, Paula Santa-Rita, and then by anthropologist and film maker Charlotte Cerf. They made decisions as to the design and implementation of the program and establishing and maintaining contacts within the government and NGO community. Amy Marshall provided support to the program as Program Assistant. Tito Farias served as Logistics Coordinator, specifically focussing on the assembly and distribution of voter education materials. NDI hired Mozambican Otilia Aquino as Field Coordinator to facilitate communication and track reports, accounting and materials needs between the network of local trainers in the provinces and the office in Maputo. Regional Coordinators Andrew Scheiner (northern region) and Lisa Bornstein (central region) worked with local and international NGOs, ONUMOZ and provincial and district level electoral commissions to identify citizens' groups for training sessions. Vota Moçambique also benefitted from programmatic and administrative support from staff in the field office in the Maputo, from NDI staff in the southern Africa region and from the Institute's central office in Washington, DC. NDI's staff in Washington was continually engaged in efforts to inform interested parties in the U.S. of political developments and program activities. (Appendix 11: Scheiner and Bornstein Final Reports).

B. Financial Management

NDI established an extensive financial accounting system. In the development stage, Nomsa Ngakane, NDI Johannesburg Office Manager, traveled in early March from South Africa to Mozambique to institute standard management of funds procedure including handling all accounts payable and receivable, reconciliation and accounting of funds to NDI Washington, the purchasing of equipment and the supervision of part time employees. Following her visit, NDI's Director of Finance Christel Denicourt traveled to Mozambique to review the systems that had been established by Ngakane for accounting and financial matters. In addition, Denicourt met individually with Santa-Rita to discuss financial oversight for the program and with the locally-hired employee, Fatima Mahel, who was responsible for the daily accounting and administrative matters. Program Assistant Marshall worked with the regional coordinators to design and implement a detailed financial reporting

system for the nationwide network of trainers. Regional coordinators dispensed cash advances and collected receipts from local trainers and were responsible for monitoring and reconciling these advances with the Maputo offices.

VII. PROGRAM EVALUATION AND RESULTS

Vota Moçambique was continually monitored and evaluated throughout the duration of the program, both informally and formally, and the design and implementation of the program altered to suit the changing political situation of the elections. The focus group research that NDI conducted on three occasions during the program served as a useful tool to assess the impact of NDI's work. More formal evaluation took the form of an independent contractor hired by NDI to assess Vota Moçambique and an evaluative summit for representatives of NDI's core group of trainers. The results of these evaluations follow below, as does a comparison of the original objectives of the program to the actual results produced and lessons to be applied to future voter education efforts in Mozambique. (Appendix 12: Trainer Summit: Questionnaire, Report, Certificate, Thank You Letter from Ken Wollack; Independent Evaluation Report; Results of 1994 Mozambican Elections).

A. Independent Evaluation

NDI hired Judy Thompson, an election administrator from Canada and chief of training in the Electoral Division of ONUMOZ, to assess Vota Moçambique. Thompson conducted the evaluation from late November to early December 1994. She evaluated the major components of the Vota Moçambique project: focus groups; creation, design and production of voter education materials; trainer and voter education workshops; distribution of voter education materials; the radio campaign; and seminars and study tours for political leaders.

Following are some of the key findings indicated in Thompson's report:

- "The strength of the Vota Moçambique program was that it was a national, community-based and mass media-based educational initiative which reached broad sections of the populace in all ten provinces;"
- "The decision of NDI to recognize the authority of the CNE as the responsible body for all aspects of the election was important to the acceptance and success of the program;"
- "Photographs and simple text were used to communicate to an audience with low literacy levels;"
- "The use of several local languages was important to reach all groups;" and,
- "The program was successful in developing skills in a group of people who are active in their communities."

B. Trainer Summit for Evaluating Program

A three-day summit of NDI trainers was held from March 29 to 31, 1995, to evaluate the pre-electoral civic education program. Seven core trainers, representing Maputo, Gaza, Inhambane, Sofala, Manica, Nampula and Niassa provinces, responded to a questionnaire to evaluate the past program and make recommendations for future activities. NDI also provided the trainers with a briefing book containing the Mozambican Constitution, a draft of the Constitution translated into simple Portuguese, the law on Municipal elections, articles on human rights, a guide to the African Letter on Human Rights, scripts from the two most recent radio plays and information on forming an NGO in Mozambique. Presentations included Dr. Manual Frank, a lawyer and member of the CNE, speaking on the Constitution and the New Assembly; Alice Mabote, lawyer and President of the Mozambican League of Human Rights, discussing human rights in Mozambique; Fernando Macamo,

National Office of State Administration, speaking on municipal elections; Guy Mullin, LINK, on NGOs in Mozambique; and Fernanda Farinha, Project Director for the African American Institute (AAI), discussing AAI's program in Mozambique.

Evaluations and recommendations offered by NDI trainers included:

- praise for the Vota Moçambique materials and their easy-to-use format;
- compliments for the radio plays and their usefulness for role playing;
- praise for the identification badges;
- praise for the utility of the video and its widespread enthusiastic reception;
- the need for a more efficient system for holding meetings, collecting salaries and turning over receipts;
- the need for improved standards for recruitment of trainers;
- the need for Mozambican assistants to develop computer report writing skills; and
- the need for improved communication via short wave radio.

NDI issued certificates of merit to all the trainers with signatures from the head of the election commission and the president of NDI for their participation in Mozambique's first multiparty elections.

C. Results and Lessons Learned

NDI accomplished many of the original objectives outlined in the program proposal. The Institute demonstrated a capacity to respond to the changing needs of the electorate, and that a program of this nature and magnitude was possible despite the short time frame of six months.

While not specified in NDI's proposal, the establishment of the trainer network was successful on several fronts. The program resulted in the over 9000 training sessions in the districts and provinces around the country, which contributed to the high voter turnout and low percentage of spoiled ballots in Mozambique. It also created a sense of civic culture within all the communities where trainers were present and laid the groundwork for a more extensive civic education program in the future. In addition, NDI's trainers developed a number of professional skills, including: public speaking, dealing with official bodies, basic accounting techniques, writing reports, maintaining a budget, and working within the constraints of a large international operation.

In its Memorandum of Understanding with the CNE and other institutions coordinating Mozambique's historic elections, NDI staff members fostered a complex yet complementary working relationship with their local counterparts. One benefit of the agreement was the recognition and legitimacy that association with the CNE brought to NDI's work. NDI was praised publicly by Dr. Brazao Mazula, the president of the CNE, for being the only international NGO that was sensitive and responsive to the realities of the transition in Mozambique. While at times collaborating with the CNE took more time than if NDI operated independently, both institutions benefited from the exchange of insights and experiences that the relationship afforded.

The following compares the program's specified objectives with the actual results that were achieved.

- *To inform an estimated 7-8 million potential voters about the voter registration and balloting process.* Through a corps of more than 200 grassroots voter education trainers in every district, NDI directly reached almost 1,800,000 citizens through more than 9,400 training sessions. Many Mozambicans participants took the initiative to train their families and communities. It is difficult to quantify the results of NDI's extensive civic education radio campaign. However, based on the high rate

of voter turnout, 88 percent, NDI estimates that many of the Mozambicans unable to participate in voter education training sessions were informed by radio programming, which has an optimum figure of 60 to 70 percent of citizens having access. The program targeted and reached the rural areas, but NDI realized late in July that Maputo should have been given more materials and attention from the beginning and added a coordinator for the capital.

- *To educate the political parties and social organizations about their roles in the election, the CNE, and the formation of the electoral laws.* By collaborating with local political and civic organizations, NDI created an infrastructure capable of supporting Mozambique's nascent civic culture. The local civic education and election-monitoring efforts developed during the 1994 elections will continue to serve as a foundation for future democratic institutions and processes to flourish in Mozambique. While NDI worked closely with various NGOs and community organizations throughout the program, more work could have been done with the political parties. Delays in passing the electoral law, leading to NDI condensing its program into a six-month period, necessitated a focus on training of trainers and subsequently the populace, rather than on political parties.
- *To design written and audio visual materials in relevant languages that will explain the process, the players, the rights of the voters and appropriate activities in a democratic election.* The culturally-specific and interactive materials that NDI developed and distributed throughout Mozambique were the centerpiece of Vote Moçambique and received a great deal of praise by those who had a chance to work with or benefit from them. High rates of voter turn out and low vote spoilage attest to the relevance and appropriateness of these materials, and their effective use by NDI trainers. By cooperating with Mozambican artists and production companies, NDI developed local capacity to participate in this nationwide effort, and enabled these individuals and organizations to raise their profile on a national level.
- *To empower, through training and the provision of material resources, NGOs and political parties as agents for conducting community-based civic education related to the electoral process.* In addition to directly training civic organizations, political parties and labor unions at the local level, NDI materials were made available to each organization in an effort to support their educational campaigns. NDI invited all of the political parties to two seminars on the development of their voter education campaigns and to participate in NDI's weekly radio game show, *Sabadar*. NDI had hoped that all of the parties would participate in these efforts, but unfortunately, Renamo did not take advantage of these opportunities as much as other parties.
- *To create radio and television programs to communicate voter education messages, focusing on balanced news coverage, informative public affairs broadcasts and entertaining and culturally appropriate programs that stimulate interest in the elections and address voter's concerns.* The radio and video programs NDI produced as part of its voter education program proved to be some of the most effective means of communicating with the Mozambican populace, characterized by its diversity of ethnicities, of languages spoken, and of formal education backgrounds. They stimulated a great deal of interest in the elections, and were very popular. Journalist training sessions that incorporated 25 government and Renamo members ensured that all parties would be equipped to convey nonpartisan viewpoints throughout the campaign and election periods, and contribute to the pluralistic nature of Mozambique's evolving democracy. Many of the journalists had never received any formal training before, and praised the sessions for the insights and experience they gained.

- *To provide information on voter attitudes throughout the electoral period by conducting periodic public opinion surveys.* A total of 326 Mozambicans participated in the series of three focus groups conducted throughout the country. NDI documented a significant increase in the level of voter knowledge among the populace after NDI trainers had been in the field for over three months. NDI was also praised by focus group participants for its interactive approach and follow-up with the radio and media campaign. NDI was the only organization conducting this kind of qualitative research, and often times the findings of NDI's surveys provided the only source of information on public knowledge and attitudes toward the transition to a democratic system of governance. By briefing both national and international organizations involved in the political transition of the findings and analysis of focus groups, NDI ensured that the concerns and interests of all sectors of Mozambican society could be taken into account in the deliberation of public policy issues.
- *To maximize voter turnout and minimize spoiled ballots.* The elections were marked by an extraordinarily high rate of 88 percent of eligible voters at the polls, and a low three percent spoiled and unmarked ballots -- admirable by international standards. Although NDI cannot assume full credit for these accomplishments, it is likely that the Institute's efforts to inform voters of the importance and mechanics of voting contributed a great deal to the election's success. NDI trainers had often been in the field conducting voter education workshops for weeks by the time that other training efforts began. Focus group research indicated a marked increase in Mozambicans' understanding of the mechanics of voting in areas where NDI trainers had conducted voter education workshops.
- *To contribute to an understanding of the value of pluralism in a democracy.* Although NDI's training focused primarily on the mechanics of voting, emphasis was also placed on the principles of democracy. Participants could have benefited from more training on the conceptual aspects of democracy, but logistical and time constraints forced NDI to focus primarily on the voting process. An understanding of the mechanics of voting is necessary to prevent spoiled ballots and important for citizens to believe that their vote can effect change. Participating in an election is the first step in participating in a democratic society. Interactive exercises such as the NDI's voting simulation allowed Mozambican citizens to gain an insight into the democratic process, and sparked active civic participation.

APPENDIX 1

Memorandum of Understanding



REPUBLICA DE MOÇAMBIQUE

STAE—Secretariado Técnico de Administração Eleitoral

DEPARTAMENTO DE EDUCAÇÃO CÍVICA

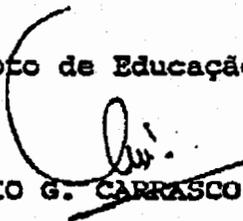
**AO
DIRECTOR GERAL DO STAE
LOCAL**

Maputo, 6 de Junho 1994

Terminada que está a negociação com o NDI sobre a sua participação na Campanha de Educação Cívica, para que seja oficialmente formalizada, enviamos respectiva informação, com os seguintes pontos:

1. Memorando de Entendimento e Proposta de acção conjunta.
2. Produções conjunta CNE/NDI.
3. Produções independentes do NDI.

O Chefe do Depto de Educação Cívica


ANTÓNIO G. CARRASCO

MEMORANDO DE ENTENDIMENTO E PROPOSTA DE ACÇÃO CONJUNTA

1. A Comissão Nacional de Eleições, CNE é responsável pela orientação, coordenação e definição e filosofia da Educação Cívica para as primeiras Eleições Gerais e Multipartidárias em Moçambique.
2. A CNE conta com um Secretariado Técnico de Administração Eleitoral, STAE responsável pela execução prática de todas as suas deliberações.
3. O National Democratic Institute for International Affairs - NDI - foi estabelecido em 1983 com o objectivo de promover, fortalecer, assistir, as instituições democráticas em países de tradição democrática multipartidária recente ou em transição para um sistema democrático multipartidário. O NDI tem a sua sede em Washington DC (EUA) e vários projectos em Africa, Europa do Leste e América Latina.
4. O STAE encontra-se estruturado em várias Direcções.

A Direcção Jurídica, de Formação e Educação Cívica supervisa e coordena o trabalho do Departamento de Educação Cívica, responsável pela educação, informação e sensibilização do eleitorado.
5. Este Departamento considera que a proposta do NDI de participação na Educação Cívica do Processo Eleitoral vem reforçar o projecto da CNE para essa área.
6. A participação do NDI deverá efectivar-se através de um projecto de acção que clarifique e defina os seguintes aspectos:
 - Área de Comunicação Social:
 - 6.1. Tipo de descrição dos materiais a serem concebidos;
 - 6.2. Quantidades;
 - 6.3. Conteúdos/Temas
 - 6.4. Períodos de difusão.
 - Área de Comunicação Inter-pessoal
 - 6.5. Plano de Formação;
 - 6.6. Entidades Beneficiadas;
 - 6.7. Calendário das acções.
7. No que se relaciona com as acções conjuntas, a participação do NDI deverá realizar-se no âmbito do programa geral da CNE, em colaboração com o seu órgão de execução, o STAE.

8. No que se relaciona com as acções conjuntas, o NDI trabalhará em estreita coordenação com o Departamento de Educação Cívica e seu coordenador.
9. As equipas técnicas do STAE/PNUD e do NDI reunir-se-ão uma vez por semana, para as deliberações necessárias à execução prática das acções propostas.
10. Após a aprovação das propostas que se enquadram no mandato da CNE, caberá ao NDI os encargos financeiros respeitantes a concepção dos materiais conjuntos a produzir pela CNE e a distribuir pela CNE, pelo NDI e por outras organizações cívicas e religiosas no âmbito da educação do eleitor.

O presente documento obedece aos termos do Acordo Cooperativo entre a USAID e a CNE (P.10, 4 cláusula e) que especifica as formas de colaboração entre a CNE/STAE e o NDI no que se refere à coprodução de materiais.

Maputo, 9 de Junho de 1994

Pela CNE/STAE

Pelo NDI

PRODUÇÕES CONJUNTAS DA CNE/NDI

A - MATERIAIS GRÁFICOS

1 - MANUAL FOTOGRAFICO

- . Capa e contra capa em cartolina couché com símbolo e título a 2 cores.
- . 30 páginas.
- . Formato A4.
- . 2 Agrafos.
- . Impressão de fotografias a preto e branco.
- . Com legenda.
- . Papel bond 80 grs.
- . 10 mil exemplares.
- . Prazo de entrega: 15 dias.

2 - CARTAZ

- . Reprodução de algumas fotografias do manual fotografico.
- . Formato 50 x 70 cm.
- . 2 cores.
- . Papel 100 grs.
- . Tiragem: 50 mil exemplares.
- . Prazo de entrega: 15 dias.

3. - CARTAZ

- . Formato 50 x 70 cm.
- . Papel 100 grs.
- . 1 cor.
- . Tiragem: 15 mil exemplares.
- . Prazo de entrega: 1 semana.

B - AUDIOVISUAIS

1 - RADIONOVELA (Produção)

- . 12 capítulos de 15 minutos cada em língua portuguesa, e versão para 8 línguas nacionais

Produção a partir de 1 de Julho.

- 2 - CANÇÃO PARA RADIONOVELA
- . Tema "As Eleições".
 - . 3 minutos.
 - . Letra e música.
 - . Produção a partir de 1 de Julho.
- 3 - SPOTS DE INFORMAÇÃO E MOBILIZAÇÃO (RÁDIO)
- . 15 Spots diferentes de 30 segundos cada, em língua portuguesa e versão para 8 línguas nacionais.
- Produção a partir de 1 de Julho.
- 4 - ILUSTRAÇÃO EM VIDEO DA CANÇÃO DA RADIONOVELA
- . Ilustração da canção da radionovela.
 - . Duração 3 minutos.

PRODUÇÕES INDEPENDENTES DO NDI

- Projecto de "slides" com trinta fotografias (que servem depois para o cartaz "vários passos da votação") e manuais total: 8 "slide shows".
- "Kits" com materiais para simulação do voto (pastas e conteúdo) 2.000 para o NDI e ONGs 1.600 para o STAE (cada "kit" inclui o Manual de Educação Cívica da CNE).
- "T-shirts" para os formadores do NDI: 100 - 200
- Várias cassetes com gravação da radionovela para serem utilizadas pelos formadores.
- * "Sabadar" (rádio) um programa de rádio, 2 horas por semana, inclui entrevistas com partidos políticos.
- * um vídeo de 15 a 20 minutos baseado nos "slides" sobre vários passos da votação.
- cartaz para a fase de "get out the vote" (fase mais avançada da campanha de educação cívica) 30.000 para o NDI, ONGs e outros grupos.

* caso o orçamento seja aprovado

APPENDIX 2

Focus Group Reports: June 1993, April 1994, September 1994

IMAGINING DEMOCRACY

*A Report on a Series of Focus Groups
in Mozambique on Democracy
and Voter Education*

Fieldwork: June 1993

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Contents

	Page
Acknowledgements	1
Introduction	2
Executive Summary	4
Themes	4
Level of Information	5
Opinions	5
Voter Education Campaign	7
Detailed Findings	8
Level of Information	8
Democracy	8
Voting Experiences	10
National Elections	11
Opinions	13
Peace	13
Democracy	14
Federal Government	15
Timing/Fairness/Working of Elections	16
Parties	17
Politicking	20
Issues	21
Voter Education Campaign	22
Introduction	22
Message	22
Communication Techniques	23
Methodology	27
List of Focus Groups	29
Moderators, Recruiting Organizations	30
APPENDIX A: Focus Group Outline	31

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Introduction

This document reports the findings of a series of 12 focus groups conducted in Mozambique in the last two weeks of June, 1993. More than 170 citizens aged 16 to 79 participated in the discussions that were conducted in 11 different locations in four provinces spread across northern, central and southern Mozambique. A range of occupations was represented from peasant farmers to truck drivers to teachers and one computer programmer. Members of at least 10 different linguistic groups participated and the discussions were conducted in Portuguese and a number of local languages.

The groups addressed a number of issues related to the development of democracy in Mozambique, including attitudes toward the upcoming national elections, democratic institutions and concepts, and a voter education campaign. This analysis will be of use for the national election commission, the government, political parties, non-governmental organizations, the media, the United Nations and the foreign donor community that is providing technical assistance and funding in Mozambique.

Public opinion research plays a critical role in a democracy. It provides a mechanism for transmitting public attitudes on a range of questions to policymakers in the legislature and executive, in opposition, and in other civic and governmental organizations interested in policy formation. Certainly, elected officials should not slavishly base their decisions on the results of public opinion polling, but independent research can help leadership listen to and respect the public's point of view and level of information.

In any transition to democracy it is critical that leadership elites that have traditionally talked to the public learn how to listen. There are many mechanisms for hearing voices from

the grass roots, such as interest groups (organized for religious, civic or economic purposes), letters to government officials or lobbying by ordinary citizens. These forms of public expression are all important, but governments must be careful to consider the nature of the organization that has collected the information and the way in which it has been collected. For example, a civic organization associated with a ruling party may report widespread public approval for a proposed program. And that finding might be quite accurate, but it needs to be understood for what it really is: an indication only that the party's rank-and-file is supportive.

The importance of public opinion research in this context is that it can provide impartial, independent and systematic studies that report the feelings of the public at large. All over the world, governments, political parties, the media and non-governmental organizations rely upon public opinion research to diagnose public policy problems, test possible solutions and further understand the attitudinal environment in which policy is being made and implemented. The development of a public opinion polling capacity, and its use in politics and governance, is an important step forward for any new democracy.

This project used time-tested techniques of qualitative public opinion research to take the first steps toward building an understanding of public opinion in Mozambique. Public opinion is not static and any research project is only a snapshot of attitudes at any particular time. Public opinion is constantly evolving, reacting to new information and changing circumstances, so the information in this report and the others that will surely follow will require constant re-examination and fresh scrutiny.

Executive Summary

Louis Harris and Associates was commissioned by the National Democratic Institute to conduct a series of 12 focus groups involving 173 people across Mozambique in June, 1993, to study the development of democracy there, including attitudes about the upcoming national elections, democratic institutions and concepts, and a civic voter education campaign.

Themes

The research generated three themes:

- **Mozambicans are angry and bitter over the actions of key leadership groups and institutions since independence, but with the coming of peace they are willing to forgive and let the country make a new start.**
- **Mozambicans are enthusiastic at the prospect of democracy, are embracing new personal freedoms, and are eager to vote, but they have little understanding of what democracy means and how to participate, even how to vote.**
- **Democracy can work in Mozambique, but it faces formidable obstacles, including ignorance, illiteracy, multiple languages, the lack of a nationwide mass communications network, distrust of the government and main political parties, not knowing what the various political parties stand for, and suspicion and doubt of all new initiatives. The country will need a far-reaching voter education campaign to overcome these difficulties.**

Level of Information

By and large, Mozambicans are unfamiliar with what democracy means, although most have heard the word. City dwellers are better informed than those living in rural areas and men are better informed than women. Many Mozambicans have voted, but few have participated in elections with secret ballots and they are generally unfamiliar with that process. Because many Mozambicans have participated in state elections by show of hands to ratify the candidate of the ruling party, there is some confusion about the difference between those kinds of elections and multi-candidate elections. While some people have heard that national elections will be held, an even smaller number know that they are supposed to take place next year.

Clearly, the public has a lot to learn about democracy: terms like "constitution" are virtually unknown to Mozambicans and they have no knowledge of voter registration or how to mark a ballot. The good news is that in each discussion group, the participants were hungry for more information. When discussing a topic they did not know much about, the members of the group would invariably ask for more information from the moderator. The people are eager to learn about democracy and how they can participate.

Opinions

Many people are reaping the benefits of peace. For most this means the right to travel long distances and therefore see friends and family members from whom they have been isolated; it means the right to own property and do with it what they please; it means the right to express themselves freely; and for people in more rural communities, it means

the ability to sleep in their own homes and to live free of intimidation from warring factions. Most believe that the peace will hold, but everyone is worried that it may not.

People are eager to vote, but they don't know how the process will work. Many are concerned that democracy will turn out to be like many other initiatives offered up by their leaders in the past that sound good, but bring no positive changes to people's lives. Others are afraid that even if the public embraces democracy, the leaders will not understand their obligations to respect the people's will. In general, people have quite negative feelings toward Mozambican leaders and institutions, whom they feel have often misled them. For this reason they are suspicious of all new plans and programs.

The public wants the United Nations involved in the administration of any elections to guarantee fairness and that the losing parties will respect the outcome. While people want to vote, there is a fear that those who vote for losing parties will be subject to reprisals. Both FRELIMO and RENAMO are viewed as having done both very good and very bad things to the country, and few people trust either one very much. People in rural areas report being harassed and intimidated by local party organizers, something the public resents a great deal.

Overwhelmingly, people report frustration at the failure of the parties to come forward with platforms and detailed programs so that they can begin to learn about their plans and decide whom to support. Specific issues that people want the government to address are health care, safety (from crime), the economy (especially high prices), education, and human rights (especially the right to move freely, to own private property and to speak freely). Other areas of concern are food supplies, employment, the return of displaced persons to their communities and the demobilization of the military. They have no confidence that more than one party could rule together in a coalition.

Voter Education Campaign

By and large, the public is very interested in a civic voter education campaign that can help them learn how to participate in a genuine democracy. Most people say they want to vote, although a large number are afraid of the possibility of reprisals by the losing party. People want to vote to participate in the future and in making a change from the past. They need more information about how to vote and reassurance that polling stations will be convenient and their vote secret.

The two most important means for communicating information are visits to local communities and the radio. Community visits were the expressed preference of every group. Clearly the public's confidence in voting educators will be much higher if they have an opportunity to meet them, question them and verify their political neutrality. While group participants rated a number of different printed voter education materials highly, they wanted someone to come and explain the materials and to engender a feeling of confidence about voting. Religious organizations and some civic groups were suggested, along with the U.N. and other foreign organizations, as being good vehicles for voter education because they were known to be neutral in the nation's politics.

The radio is an attractive means of voter education because it reaches so many people. Listenership is much lower in rural areas, where only 20-30% of households have sets and rely on batteries for power, which are expensive and difficult to find. Local language broadcasts are the key to reaching the largest population. Men listen to the radio more in rural areas because women are busy farming and raising a family. Print materials should use colors and photographs, which are viewed as easier to understand than drawings.

Detailed Findings

Level of Information

Democracy

Familiarity with the word "democracy" ranges from people who have never heard the word at all to a quite full understanding of what democracy means in terms of freedom of expression and the right to select political representation. The majority of the people that we talked to had heard the word "democracy," but don't really know what it means. Definitions mentioned more than once included the absence of coercion by the authorities, freedom to travel, freedom of speech, and freedom from being arbitrarily imprisoned.

A significant issue in our discussions was the question of language. All of the groups were conducted in one or more local languages and, in some cases, Portuguese as well. The traditional African languages in Mozambique do not have a full vocabulary for democratic institutions and processes. This makes explaining democracy more difficult because Portuguese terms have to be imported and concepts explained and translated into African languages.

On the issue of democracy, as well as many other informational points, city dwellers have more information than people living in the country side. It is clear that information seeps out from the cities, where there are many more communication vehicles such as radio sets, newspapers, greater literacy and familiarity with Portuguese, to the rural areas. The peasants from the country were not only less well informed, they were very conscious of their ignorance and viewed the learning process with greater trepidation. It is perhaps not surprising that these people, who have little if any formal education, feel more intimidated

about the process of learning about democracy. On a number of occasions, group participants stressed that voter education instructors dealing with illiterates would have to take the lessons very slowly and repeat things again and again. Occasionally, it was suggested that the educators should reconstruct and enact the voting process in every detail. These comments and suggestions were as likely to come from participants with no education as those with some schooling.

Another important difference in levels of information among the population was between men and women. In general, men are much better informed. In part this is because they tend to be better educated and are more comfortable with Portuguese, which gives them better access to mass communication. Women in rural areas are also so busy farming and raising families that they have much less time for things that are not integral to attending to their families' immediate needs.

Apart from lacking information about what democracy is, some people also misunderstand what the word means. We were told that among democracy's virtues were personal economic freedom, economic prosperity and the creation of industry. Among the most popular definitions were "financial freedom," "freedom of enterprise," and "right to private property." A man in Meconta said, "democracy means employment." While political freedom guarantees no such thing, it is worth noting the importance of selling the opportunity to vote to strengthen the economy as part of the package of messages associated with voting and elections.

Universally, people feel that the forthcoming possibility of democracy means the country is on the verge of something new and exciting. This attitude is tempered by a significant fear of what negative things might be associated with democracy and that political

disagreements might mean more war. More than anything, there was a feeling of not really knowing what democracy will mean and what its implications are. One woman in Carrupeia said in the middle of a rapid-fire, open exchange with other members of the group, "I don't know what democracy is. But if it makes me feel like this, it's positive."

A metaphor that was developed on several occasions was that of Mozambique as a child learning about democracy as she was growing. "We are taking our first steps. We don't know how to speak yet," said one participant. Often there was the additional idea that the United Nations and foreigners could serve as parents helping the country to learn about democracy and aiding in the transition.

Voting Experiences

Many Mozambicans have voted. A few who are members of more sophisticated churches or civic associations have voted with secret written ballots for group leaders. Some rural peasant women said they had voted in their villages by the traditional method of sticks and leaves. Most often, people reported having voted by show of hands in community matters or post-independence government elections that were organized to endorse the candidate chosen to run by the ruling party. Generally, written ballots are unfamiliar.

A key distinction that developed in the groups was the difference between an election between competing candidates and the old system of publicly ratifying a party selection. One man in Dondo called the secret ballot system, "choice without anyone looking." One of the challenges of the voter education campaign will be to help people understand how these elections will be different from the old ones, which were called "democratic" as well. In one sense, some of the terminology associated with democracy has

been degraded in Mozambique because of history. In certain places, some women reported that they still held to the traditional view that they ought to follow the lead of the men and elders in voting and respect their opinions.

National Elections

Some people have heard that there will be national elections for president sometime in the future. A smaller number know that they will be held next year, although in most groups at least a few people were aware of this. There is less information about what methods are to be used in these elections. Some understand it is to be a secret ballot.

More well understood is the fact that it will be open to everyone 18 and over. Only a relatively small number thought that illiterates or very poor people would not be allowed to vote. There were a series of questions about how the blind and people with other disabilities would be accommodated and what guarantees there would be that their votes would be properly recorded.

The question of documentation for voting brings confusion. Some people think that some form of identification will be needed, for instance, government documents, a birth certificate or a police record. It was believed by some that the absence of such documentation would be a major obstacle for voter participation. Others expressed confidence that producing witnesses from the local community at the polling place would be sufficient. On several occasions, fear was expressed that without proper safeguards, the political parties would bring foreigners across the border to vote illegally on their behalf. No one mentioned the need to register to vote.

The most widely held opinion about the method of voting was that two ballot boxes will be used, one for each of the two major parties. People perceived the advantage of this scheme to be that fraud would be difficult and illiterates would not have to mark ballots but simply place them in the proper box. No one seemed concerned that secrecy might be compromised in the process or that a much larger number of parties would be competing.

In fact, people are aware of the existence of political parties besides FRELIMO and RENAMO, and a few were able to name some of the others. But throughout the groups, there was repeated reference to the "two parties" and no knowledge of what positions the other parties represented. One man in Pemba, who was aware of some other parties, referred to them as "silent and inactive."

One other democratic institution, the constitution, was raised for the participants to discuss. Virtually no one knew what the word meant, with reactions ranging from giggles and blank stares to some who said they had heard it before but couldn't say what it means.

While people know little if anything about topics like a constitution, the population has an overwhelming desire to learn more. One of the most common reactions to questions about democracy, democratic institutions and the national elections was "We don't know about that, please tell us." While there is some suspicion about democracy and what it will mean, more than anything else people want to learn more so they can judge democracy for themselves. Their eagerness to learn more about democracy is even more marked than their lack of information.

Opinions

Peace

By and large, people think the current peace will be permanent, but after years and years of war, many expressed lingering doubts. One man in Carrupeia said, "I'm not sure. They may just have spoken of peace without meaning it in their hearts." This peace has certainly brought significant positive changes for many people, which may explain why they think it is likely to be real and lasting.

Above all else, peace for Mozambicans means freedom of movement over long distances. After years and years of being isolated in their own regions or even communities, people can once again travel the length of the country, although there are continuing difficulties with some roads. "It [peace] enabled me to go and visit my mother and family because I had been confined to my area for more than 10 years" said one man. Others spoke of the right to own property, freedom of expression, freedom from government controls, and freedom from fear. People in Meconta spoke of being able to "sleep indoors" and "farm as we want." Some talked of religious freedom and the ability to sleep peacefully through the night without having to be prepared to flee to the bush if soldiers came through.

Some felt the benefits of peace were not yet fully realized. "It's the sprouting of a tree, although the fruits are still not ripe for the picking," said one Muslim. And some in Cabo Delgado said their farms are still occupied by the former combatants, which prevents them from returning to their old lives. But peace has meant the beginning of the return of the "lost and missing people," which is viewed as a big step forward.

Democracy

As discussed in the previous section, there is a widespread eagerness to vote and participate in democracy. This feeling is tempered by a fear and mistrust of the major parties, the government, and leaders in general. For this reason, people are suspicious of any new initiatives such as free elections. One veteran of the war for independence against the Portuguese said, "I fought the war of liberation, which was tantamount to fighting for democracy. I would like to know the difference between the democracy we had after independence and the democracy we will have now." Others report adopting a wait-and-see attitude toward the development of democracy. "If it's what they say it is, it's a good thing," said a man from Mueze. "But only so long as it is what they say and they follow it strictly." Because of a sense of being misled in the past, people are very slow to believe what they hear in Mozambique.

Some participants raised the important question of whether their leaders will understand what democracy is. They pointed out that even if the public can learn what democracy is, that is only half the challenge. A man in Mahotas said, "We might well be able to vote for them, but in the end they are the ones who should understand us. That means they should understand what democracy imposes on them. Part of that means learning to lose because whoever wins reflects the will of the people." Clearly, the population is not confident that leaders will understand and act upon their will, even if the nation has free and fair elections.

Federal Government

When the issue of national government was raised, participants in the groups outside the Province of Maputo expressed profound mistrust of the capital. They expressed particular anger at Maputo's monopolization of jobs and tight administrative control. "Even for an administrative position, which requires a fourth-class certificate [equivalent to a primary school education], the person comes from Maputo," said one man. Not all residents outside the capital expressed such negative feelings. One peasant woman outside Nampula said, "Maputo is the mother of this country and children need mothers and it's good to have mothers."

On top of their concerns for the distribution of jobs, some in the central and northern areas reported feeling what one called "a sense of inferiority." Others felt very keenly the fact that representatives of their own linguistic group played no significant role in the government and had few government jobs. As one person outside of Pemba noted of the capital, "there are very few Macuas there."

But the biggest complaints were reserved for the difficulty of getting certain papers and documents that were only available from Maputo. Because these things are not available in provincial capitals, people have to spend days on the road in order to get police records or other documents that they need. On the other hand, Maputo residents claim the country should set aside differences between linguistic groups for the sake of the country. One woman said, "The people don't need tribalism, there should be a feeling of harmony." Clearly, it's easier for the members of the groups taking the lion's share of government jobs and leadership posts to feel that way.

Despite all of these negative feelings toward Maputo, no groups raised the issue of local control of government without prompting. The population is a significant way from understanding that in such things, they may have a choice. The extant government structure has been imposed on them, as was the one before that and so on. This is not to say that a federalist program will not find a sympathetic reception. It may, but its proponents will have to educate the public as they are making their case. There is no sense that any of these structural issues are things that citizens have any control over or even input on. One of the significant challenges of a voter education campaign will be working to transform this mind set to an understanding that democracy brings the opportunity to reform government institutions and structures.

Timing/Fairness/Working of Elections

Mozambicans don't trust government to run national elections alone. They express two reasons. First, they don't feel elections run by the government will be free and fair. Second, even if the elections are free and fair, the people feel the results will be contested by other political parties if the government is the sole administrator of the balloting.

Over and over again, the groups said that the only way for the elections to be free, fair and above reproach is for the United Nations to be involved. The United Nations has no history with the people of Mozambique and they are willing to give the international organization the benefit of the doubt. Additionally, the U.N. in particular and the foreign donor community in general are perceived to be helping with the reconciliation of the country, which is positive, and to be above and apart from local partisan politics, which is also positive and distinguishes them from most every significant Mozambican institution.

City dwellers who have had more exposure to the U.N. are less quick to praise it than people in the countryside.

When the groups were told that there would be a single ballot to be marked by each voter, opinion was sharply divided over what method of marking should be used. Some favored "X's", others crosses, others just a slash, some a circle to signify inclusion, and others a thumbprint. The groups did all agree that the marking process should be made as easy as possible for illiterates, but there was no agreement about what method of marking would be easiest for them.

Across the country, people expressed fear that voters supporting losing parties would be subject to reprisals. All felt the involvement of the U.N. in administering the vote would diminish the problem, but not eliminate it. Although people expressed a strong interest in voting and participating in democracy, all felt that it would be a risk. This fear seems not to be strong enough to drive people from the polls, but reassuring potential voters that their votes will be secret and that there will be no reprisals will certainly be essential to boosting voter turnout. Significant steps will be needed to lift the atmosphere of fear and intimidation that has marked life in Mozambique for so long.

Parties

One of the most intriguing findings of this study is the similarity of views of all citizens toward the two largest political parties. Regardless of which party they supported, people repeatedly used the same language to describe both the strengths and weaknesses of FRELIMO and RENAMO. The only difference between FRELIMO and RENAMO

supporters would come at the end of their statements, when after expressing identical reasoning they would conclude "therefore I support FRELIMO [or RENAMO]."

FRELIMO was characterized as the nation's liberators who went wrong once they got into power, but have improved their behavior somewhat in the last several years. This improvement is not significant enough to have generated widespread enthusiasm for FRELIMO but has certainly improved their standing. The overthrow of the Portuguese is still viewed as a great accomplishment by FRELIMO. One woman in Mueze described the party as the "father who taught us many things. FRELIMO opened our eyes, made us see things, made us see many of the evils that existed in our society, therefore it is a good thing." Other FRELIMO supporters see the party as on the road to improvement thanks to the introduction of democracy. "With the existence of other parties, FRELIMO will have to change," one woman said. "In the past, FRELIMO would not concern itself with issues such as water and food because there are areas in which they are really in short supply. So in order to win votes, FRELIMO must now consider these issues."

RENAMO is often described as brutal and violent, but is also viewed as doing the nation a great service by forcing FRELIMO to reform and introduce democracy. One person said, "they made us discover things, but their means were wrong. They fought through violence and killed many people." People in rural areas reported that they had seen kidnappings and violence by RENAMO in their villages. RENAMO's transformation from a guerilla movement, referred to by the government only as armed bandits, to a legitimate participant in the peace process is confusing to some. One man said, "RENAMO burnt many cars and now they are demanding more from the government."

Both of the major parties are blamed and praised for what they have done in the past. Another commonality is that people, regardless of their political affiliation, feel as though they have been lied to by both parties. One of the participants at Mahotas said, "I think people will find it hard to vote for Dhlakama or Chissano because of the scars left by the war."

All the years of fighting, bloodshed and economic disruption have had an enormous impact on the lives of Mozambicans and yet some remain confused about what the war was all about in the first place. "We still don't know why FRELIMO and RENAMO are fighting each other, so how will we know which one to choose," asked one woman. While the reasons for the war may be clear to those involved in the nation's political process, citizens farther removed from the mass communication network are in the dark about many of the simplest facts about a war that has caused them so much hardship.

Even people with some understanding of the conflict between FRELIMO and RENAMO felt that neither party had been forthcoming with a platform that citizens could judge for themselves. People expressed anger at being put in the position of having to make a choice between the parties without knowing what actions they could expect from them if they got into government. The parties may have clearly defined platforms available but it is not in the scope of this research brief to investigate that fact. The more significant finding is that if platforms do exist, many people are unaware of their contents. In general, people are eager for information about politics and the future of the country and feel as though the parties have not been forthcoming with their plans.

Politicking

One disturbing finding of this report is that rural people claim that both of the major parties are trying to intimidate people in the areas they control into not going to meetings run by any of the other parties. People instinctively feel as though they should have an opportunity to hear what all the parties have to say without fear of reprisal. Similarly, rural residents speak of having to carry both a FRELIMO and a RENAMO card in disputed areas to protect themselves from intimidating gangs who demand that it be shown to allow them access into certain areas. Furthermore, people report being forced to buy the cards for between 200 and 1,000 Meticaís, an expense they bitterly resent.

The moderators raised the possibility of a coalition government with the groups. The concept took some explaining because generally the idea of more than one party governing at the same time struck people as counter-intuitive. One elderly man in Pemba said, "You can't have two parties at the same time. Two roosters can't crow at the same time." Even after discussing the idea, most people in the groups did not see how a coalition could lead to anything but trouble. One woman said, "A coalition is like two couples sharing the same house. There will be trouble sooner or later." Others said that they could not speculate because the possibilities of democracy were so alien. One man in Polana Caniço in Maputo said, "It's the first time that there will be several parties, so we don't know whether more than one party in power is possible. We will just have to wait and see."

In an atmosphere where ideological differences were presented as the reasons for years of civil war, the groups were asked whether public debates among candidates would threaten peace. This question found great division among the public on whether these disagreements between candidates are dangerous; almost all would prefer the candidates to try

to explain their ideas and programs to the people rather than arguing amongst themselves. "Public debates between candidates are not a good thing," said a man in Mahotas. "No one likes their dirty laundry aired in public. It is therefore important that everyone keeps it on a high level. They should convince the people and not accuse each other." Some people understood the role of debates in a democracy, one said, "these exchanges will be a good thing. They may lead to changes, so they're ultimately constructive." Others feared that public disagreements and arguments among the candidates might escalate into an exchange of more than just words and ideas and might threaten the peace and stability the country only so recently achieved.

Issues

In addition to questions about politicking and the political process, the group participants were asked about substantive issues that concerned them. The issue that was raised most often and came up in almost every group was *health care*. Second was the issue of *safety*. This was mentioned more in rural areas where there were reports of armed men in the bush. One woman in Meconta said, "during the war, bandits hid as FRELIMO and RENAMO, now there are real bandits."

Third, the public mentioned the *economy*, especially high prices. One man said that peace was a good thing for the country, "but now there is another war, a price war -- a kilo of sugar costs 3,000 meticaïs (roughly 65¢)." Other issues that were raised by significant numbers of people were education, food supplies, troop demobilization, the return of displaced persons to their communities and *human rights*, especially the right to own property, to move about freely and to free expression.

Voter Education Campaign

Introduction

The final topic explored in the groups was a voter education campaign. There was widespread enthusiasm for a project that would teach people how to vote. The interest was highest in the rural areas, where people were more ignorant of democracy and how to vote. The clearest evidence was in the groups' curiosity about many of the topics we discussed and their desire to learn more about them. In the rural areas, people were very self-conscious not only of their inability to read, but on a more basic level with their unfamiliarity with formal learning processes. Because they have never been taught anything in a traditional setting, some expressed fear that a formal voter education program might be intimidating. They suggested that the program emphasize the basics and go slow so that people would feel more comfortable. The visualization of the electoral process, moreover, was often put forward as a very good way of educating the electorate, particularly the most illiterate, least educated and most rural people. In Meconte, some people explained, for instance, that they had successfully grasped the nature of the Rome Peace Treaty with the help of several people re-enacting the proceedings.

Message

The key themes for the voter education campaign ought to be voting as something connected to the future, and democracy as a change from the past. A series of voter education slogans were tested and the most popular was "Voting is constructive," but many participants were clearly confused at being offered a choice. Their confusion underlines a

more general point: Mozambicans are not used to having choices of the kind that democracy offers. Many participants expressed fear of reprisals if they voted for a losing party, so another critical message of the voter education campaign will have to be that votes will be secret and there will be no retaliation.

As was discussed earlier, people were profoundly ignorant of democracy and intimidated by formal learning, so voter education will have to start with the most basic and visual explanations and go slowly. One critical message is that polling stations will be near every community and people will not have to travel long distances to vote. Things like voter registration and basic voting procedures are unknown and will have to be explained.

Communication Techniques

The first hurdle for any voter education program will be dealing with the profusion of languages in the country. Participants in the focus groups expressed a clear preference for presentations in their own languages and their understanding of and comfort with Portuguese was limited. Men are clearly more comfortable using Portuguese, although it was less clear if this was because women didn't understand it or if it was not culturally acceptable for them to use it. Any voter education work conducted in Portuguese will only be reaching the most educated elements of the population, who need it the least. Compounding the language problem are two significant factors: first, the country's indigenous languages do not currently contain a vocabulary for democratic processes and institutions. Those words, including "democracy" itself, have to be imported from Portuguese or created. Second, the indigenous languages are not usually written, so printed materials created in these languages will reach only a limited audience.

The most important finding of this project regarding communications techniques was the need for teams to go out to communities and present voter education information in person and with visual techniques. Mozambicans, particularly in rural communities, placed a premium on personal contact and a visualization of the message and messenger. After reviewing samples of voter education material, time after time, groups said "We like these things, but please don't send them here without someone to explain them to us." People want to be able to see, understand and question the voter education messengers. One explanation is the general level of suspicion and distrust that exists in the populace at large. As a result, people want the chance to evaluate messengers themselves. When someone comes into the community, there is an opportunity to figure out what their motivations may be and what side, if any, they may be on.

In terms of what types of organization would be most credible to carry out a voter education campaign, religious groups were mentioned most often. This was equally true in Catholic, Protestant and Muslim communities. Civic associations were also mentioned by some participants, although others felt that some civic associations have been so thoroughly politicized that they could not be seen as an impartial source of information on democracy and voting. Another possibility suggested by some people were foreigners, who could be trusted not to be caught up with one of the political parties. The emphasis throughout was on impartial, neutral messengers who could be trusted to deliver voter education information on a nonpartisan basis.

The final possibility that was suggested for voter education work is the *regulos* or traditional tribal leaders. Unfortunately, there was a wide divergence of opinion among different groups and, in fact, among different members of some groups of what role these

leaders would play in a multi-party democracy. Some suggested that they would be truly neutral civic community representatives who could play the role of voter educators. "I not only think regulos should have an educational role, but I think that they should act as go-betweens between the government and the people," said one person in Pemba. Others suggested that these local leaders would become politicized in the manner of traditional ward bosses, bartering the votes of their community for favors from the parties. "Regulos shouldn't be involved in initial stages," said someone in Mahotas. "People would be wary of their presence. They might suspect they were sent on behalf of the parties." Clearly younger people felt less comfortable with these leaders than older people and there were some areas where the local traditional leadership structures had suffered a great deal as a result of efforts to dismantle them. Generally, there were widely divergent opinions about what roles they could play. One man in Polana Caniço said, "it may be that regulos have a place in democracy, however, the word by definition means 'little king', so they are people who give orders, rule and impose their wishes."

If visits by voter education trainers to local communities came out as the most effective technique for communicating with the public, the second most effective is clearly the radio. No other method discussed in the groups appeared to be nearly as important as these two. Radio listening is an important part of the lives of many, but far from all Mozambicans listen to the radio.

Radio listenership is much higher in urban areas than rural areas. More men listen to the radio than women. In the rural areas this is particularly true because farming and household tasks leave women with little time for the radio. Radio ownership is much greater in urban areas, where sets are powered by electricity. Radio ownership in rural areas runs

on the order of 20-30% and many are powered by batteries, which are often difficult and expensive to obtain.

The prime listening hours in the rural areas are in the early afternoons as women come home from working the small family farm plots. In the cities it's in the early evening after people return from work. Local language programs are widely listened to, as are some Portuguese language broadcasts that reach a more educated audience. Because television viewership is very limited even in Maputo, radio reaches a larger part of the population, even if they listen outside of their homes.

Other communication techniques such as theater, role plays, as discussed earlier, and print materials should not be discounted but used in conjunction with community visits or the radio. Print materials should be very basic, be in color and make use of photographs. In rural areas, less well educated participants expressed a concern about drawings saying that one needs to have gone to school to understand them. Photographs, on the other hand, appear to be more accessible and less intimidating because they are a direct reflection of reality.

One final means of voter education that was discussed with the participants was the endorsement of the voter education campaign by famous nonpolitical figures such as artists, athletes or musicians. This idea seemed to strike people at best as confusing. Furthermore, there were very few suggestions for people who might play that role. The only truly national figures seem to be very politicized. Mozambique society has not yet developed such people or at least the mass communications network to bring them into every household and make them familiar.

Methodology

The findings of this report are based on 12 Focus Groups that were conducted in Mozambique between June 19 and June 25, 1993. A total of 173 people participated in the groups, which included between 10 and 19 people each. The groups were held in four provinces: Maputo, Sofala, Nampula and Cabo Delgado. Various locations within each of those provinces were used. A full listing of the groups and their locations is attached.

The participants ranged in age from 16 to 79, although eight of the older participants did not know how old they were. All would be at least 18 by the autumn of 1994 and therefore eligible to vote. The groups included members of at least 10 ethnic groups, including Ronga, Changana, Bitonga, Chope, Macua, Makonde, Lomwe, Xitswa, Kimwani and Chuabo. Both Portuguese and various local languages were used during the discussions, which were led by Mozambican moderators trained by the Harris firm with Giulia Landi. A list of the moderators is attached. The majority of the groups contained both men and women, but two were almost all female to give women a chance to express themselves without being intimidated. The moderators followed the discussion outline that is appended. The conversation was generally allowed to flow naturally, but the moderators pulled it back to the outline from time to time to insure that the appropriate topics were being covered by each group.

The participants were recruited by a variety of religious and civic organizations that were carefully selected to reflect the full range of such organizations in Mozambique. A list of the recruiting organizations is attached. Some of the groups were held in FRELIMO-controlled areas and others in RENAMO-controlled areas. The groups were held in

churches, mosques, community centers, and, in one case, under a tree. A full list of venues is attached. The groups were tape recorded.

Focus groups are a qualitative research tool that allows researchers to explore people's underlying attitudes and beliefs. They permit long discussions and the exchange of ideas between participants. They create the opportunity to get beneath "yes" and "no" answers to explain why people think the way that they do. But unlike large-scale quantitative public opinion polling, focus groups are *not* a means for assessing who is ahead in the horse race between the parties and candidates.

List of Focus Groups

<u>Date</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Site</u>	<u>Size of Group</u>
Maputo Province			
June 19	Matola	ADOCA (Housewives Assoc.)	12
June 25	Mahotas (City of Maputo)	National Farmers' Union (União Geral Das Cooperativas)	15
June 25	Mahotas (City of Maputo)	National Farmers' Union (União Geral Das Cooperativas)	14
June 25	Polana Caniço-B (City of Maputo)	Free Methodist Church	15
Sofala Province			
June 20	Dondo	Parochial Community Center	19
Nampula Province			
June 21	Bairro de Carrupeia (City of Nampula)	Islamic Education Center	13
June 22	Meconta	Caritas Community Center	12
June 22	Meconta	RENAMO Controlled Village	15
June 22	Meconta	Santa Maria Mission	14
Cabo Delgado Province			
June 24	Chuiba	Adama Benababa's Shop	16
June 24	Mueze	Catholic Community Center	18
June 24	Pemba	José Garcia private school	10

Moderators and Recruiting Organizations

Moderator: Mr. Naumoro Aruma
Linguistic skills: Portuguese, Arabic, Macua, Makonda and Swahili
Region: Meconte, Pemba
Organization: Muslim Council of Nampula

Moderator: Mr. Pedro Bapiro
Linguistic skills: Portuguese, Ndau and Sena
Region: Beira and Dondo
Organization: CARITAS (Catholic Organization)

Moderator: Mr. Lucas Pamilimo Grulele
Linguistic skills: Portuguese, Shanngaan and Ronga
Region: Maputo, Green Zones
Organization: Institute of Social Communication

Moderator: Mr. Fernando Joaquim
Linguistic skills: Portuguese and Macua
Region: Nampula, Meconte, Pemba
Organization: CARITAS (Catholic Organization)

Moderator: Mrs. Yvette M'Boa
Linguistic skills: Portuguese, Shanngaan and Ronga
Region: Maputo, Matola
Organization: National House Wives

Focus Group Organizers:

Sis. Irma Carmen, The Commission of Peace and Justice, Beira
Rassul Khan Mohammed, Muslim Association of Beira, Beira
Mr. Manuel Sithole, CARITAS, Beira
Rev. Mother Rica Gedeao, Free Methodist Church, Maputo (suburbs)
Ms. Selina Cossa, National Farmers Union, Maputo
Meconte Catholic Mission, Meconte
Archdioceses of Nampula, Nampula
Mr. Mateus da Apie and Mr. Madeira, RENAMO, Nampula
Islamic Council, Nampula
Mr. Catema, headmaster of Jose Garcia private school, Pemba
Fr. Elias, Cabo Delgado's General Vilas, Pemba
Mr. Firoz Hassam, Muslim Community Group, Pemba

APPENDIX A:
FOCUS GROUP OUTLINE

FOCUS GROUP OUTLINE
Project Vote Mozambique
June, 1993

1. Introduction

15 minutes

- A. Introduce self, other observers
- B. Explain what focus group research is
- C. Explain purpose of group
- D. Why tape recording, observers
- E. There are no right/wrong answers
- F. Keep answers short to give everyone a chance to speak
- G. Have participants introduce themselves

- 1. Name?
- 2. Age?
- 3. Sex
- 4. Marital status? Children
- 5. What tribe/linguistic group?
- 6. Occupation?

2. Peace

10 minutes

- A. What did the end of the civil war mean to you and your family? How was your family affected by the war?
- B. What changes will the peace mean for Mozambique?
 - 1. What's the biggest problem facing the country?
 - 2. What opportunities does the peace create?
 - 3. What kind of changes in the way country is governed will come with the peace?

3. Democracy

25 minutes

- A. What words come to mind when you hear the word "democracy"?
- B. Do you think democracy will be a good thing for Mozambique? What do you view as the advantages and disadvantages of having national elections?

- C. Have you ever voted in any circumstances (school, sports team, religious group)?
- D. Does anybody know how you vote in a presidential election?
 - 1. Is who you vote for a secret?
 - 2. What qualifications do you need?
 - a. Do you have to be able to read and write?
 - b. Do you have to be knowledgeable about politics?
 - c. Do you have to have government identity papers?
- E. Do you think there will be voting in Mozambique? When? (After this discussion, set up the premise that there will be national elections next year for all adults to vote in.)
 - 1. Will the country be able to hold free and fair elections next year? Why or why not?
 - 2. Will there be violence associated with an election?
- F. Would you like to vote in these elections? Why or why not? Would anyone you know be afraid or unwilling to vote?

4. Issues

20 minutes

- A. I'm going to read you a list of words. For each one, tell me quickly how you react?
 - 1. Constitution
 - 2. Frelimo (Is it distinct from the government?)
 - 3. Renamo
 - 4. Maputo
 - a. Do you think your linguistic group is well represented in the government?
 - b. Do you think local government should have more political and economic power?
 - 5. Nation
 - 6. United Nations
 - 7. Religion (Catholicism-Islam)
 - 8. Traditional leaders/regulos

- B. Apart from Frelimo and Renamo, have you heard of any other political parties? Which ones?
- C. If the government is in charge of administering the election with the help of the United Nations, do you think the votes will be counted fairly?
- D. In elections, the parties and candidates argue about what the best way forward for the country is. Do you think that these public discussions and disagreements among leaders will be dangerous to the future of the country?

5. Voter Educations Techniques**20 minutes****Intro:**

The organization that came here to conduct these groups is called the National Democratic Institute. We have worked in elections all over the world in many countries. In many of those places we have developed programs that teach people how democracy works and how they can vote and participate. We are planning to do the same thing here in Mozambique before the elections next year. We would like your help in learning how we can best communicate with the people here and tell them about democracy and voting.

A. Message

1. What would you say are the best reasons to vote?
2. What things will prevent people from voting?
 - a. Fear
 - b. Illiteracy
 - c. Ignorance of what to do
 - d. Ignorance of where to go
 - e. Poverty (lack of means, transportation, etc.)
3. What would be the best way to communicate with people in your family and community about voting?
4. Slogan test. Which of the following do you like best and think would be the most effective in persuading people to vote? (Read all slogans. Allow everyone to name one or two and ask for other suggestions.)
 - a. Voting is constructive.
 - b. Voting: a song for everyone to sing.

- c. Everyone has the right to vote.
- d. Vote for a say in the future.
- e. If you don't vote, your party might lose the election by one vote.
- f. Your country is counting on you, don't be scared to vote.
- g. Vote for your children.

B. Language

- 1. What languages(s) do you normally speak?
- 2. What do you associate with Portuguese, native languages?
- 3. What languages should we use in a voter education campaign?

C. One possibility for the voter education is to use well-known public figures to explain how voting works and encourage people to participate. Who do you think would be good in this role. Who would you recommend? (Put up list on flip chart. After all names up, add names from master list. Ask the group for nominees.)

- 1. Cultural figures (e.g. musicians, poets, writers, etc.)
- 2. Religious leaders
- 3. Statesmen, traditional leaders/regulos
- 4. Basketball, soccer stars

D. Best ways to educate the public on voting and democracy?

- 1. Religious groups
- 2. Civic groups
- 3. Advertising
- 4. Traditional leaders (tribal chiefs/regulos)
- 5. Public meetings
- 6. Political groups
- 7. Youth groups

6. Voter Education Materials

20 minutes

A. Print Materials

A number of voter education materials have been developed for use in elections in other countries. Let me show you some and tell me what you like and think would work well here in Mozambique. (For all ask whether the group likes it or not and if this format could be adapted effectively for Mozambique)

- 1. First, a giant sample ballot used in South Africa.

2. A poster showing a voter registration card from Cambodia. Do you like the colors? Which ones?
3. A poster from Angola showing the steps for voting without any words -- for illiterates. Would this help here?
4. A poster from Senegal that says "Vote to Win" in seven languages. Do you like these colors?
5. A poster from South Africa that asks "Why Vote" and shows the answers "Peace", "Employment", "Education", "Health", and "Housing."
6. This is a newspaper developed in South Africa. (Please pass copies around.) Do you think such newspapers are a good idea?
7. This one shows photos of voting in Angola, Namibia and Romania. Is it useful to use photos?
8. What about the colors in this poster from Cambodia?
9. Last, a step-by-step election guide from Angola. Do you think many people here could understand this? Inside it has simple drawings, is that a good idea?
10. Which ones do you like best?
11. Which ones do you think would be the most effective?
12. Should several types be used in combination? Which ones?

B. Radio

1. Do you/can you listen? (Try to ascertain, how many people have a radio?)
 - a. How much?
 - b. Do you have a set? Batteries or electric? Problems with getting batteries or power to operate it?
 - c. What types of programs do you listen to?
 - d. What types would you like to hear about the election?

C. Video

1. Television

a. Do you/can you watch?

1. How much?
2. Do you have a set? Access to one? Problems with getting power to operate it?
3. What types of programs do you watch?
4. What types would you like to see about the election?

2. Films

3. Slides

D. Theater/Music/Cultural Events

E. Sample Polling Station

1. Let me show you how this polling station works as a way of teaching people about voting. (Conduct demonstration). What do you think? Is this a good tool for teaching people how to vote? Who do you think should count the voters?

7. Summary

10 minutes

- A. What chances of success would you see for a voter education campaign?
- B. Would you like to participate?
- C. How could we make that attractive to you?
- D. What more would you need to know about voting to get involved?
- E. Thank you very much?

IMAGINING DEMOCRACY: ONE YEAR LATER

*A Report on the Second Series of Focus
Groups in Mozambique on
Democracy and Voter Education*

Fieldwork: April 1994

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Report on Focus Group Research in Mozambique

Introduction

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) commissioned a series of focus groups across Mozambique in June 1993 to measure public attitudes toward the introduction of democracy into the country, particularly the populace's understanding of and support for democracy and democratic processes. In April 1994, a series of additional focus groups were undertaken to follow-up and measure any movement in public perceptions as the election drew nearer.

Overview and Summary

A total of five groups involving 63 participants were conducted across the southern part of the country in the provinces of Maputo and Gaza. The groups were conducted in local languages as well as Portuguese and included participants from a range of ethnic groups. A list of the groups, the moderators, and the discussion guide are attached.

The original research generated three central themes:

- Anger and bitterness over what's happened in the past, particularly the actions of key leadership groups and institutions, but also a willingness to forgive and make a new start.
- Enthusiasm for democracy and new personal freedoms, but little understanding of how democracy works and how to vote and participate
- A successful democratic transition in Mozambique faces a number of quite significant hurdles: ignorance, illiteracy, multiple languages, a poor mass communications and transportation infrastructure and lingering distrust of government and other political institutions.

In the intervening ten months since the original research, there has been significant changes in public attitudes.

- More knowledge about the upcoming elections and a greater feeling of certainty that they will actually take place.

- Increasing optimism about the peace holding and the possibility of peaceful elections, the situation in Angola notwithstanding.
- Democracy is viewed somewhat more positively and is a more widely familiar word, and yet it remains a vague concept whose worth must still be proven.

On other topics, there had not been as much progress.

- There was no awareness of who will actually be supervising elections, although many people assume that it will be the United Nations.
- There was total ignorance of the voter registration process.
- As before, almost all of the focus groups ended with the participants entreating the moderators and observers to return to their community soon to tell them how democracy works so that they would know how to participate.
- The public has no idea what the various political parties stand for on any important issues.

Level of Information

On the broad topic of democracy, there is growing familiarity with the word and a generally positive feeling about the concept, but still little clarity about how it works or what it will mean for Mozambique. One participant in Machava said, "It's beautiful like a newborn baby; you can't see its faults when it's born – only later can you see them. We don't know what democracy will be." As before, the group participants reported having had very little personal experience voting themselves and they were very unsure how to participate.

Understanding about democracy was often merely intuitive. One woman in Matola said, "We must vote because the candidates cannot choose among themselves." What concerned the members of the group was not so much what democracy *seemed* to be in the abstract, as a concept it had broad appeal insofar as it was understood, but what it would *prove* to be once elections actually took place. One of the legacies of the past 20 years in Mozambique is a profound mistrust of new solutions to political and economic problems.

The workings of the election process itself were shrouded in mystery in the eyes of the general population. With so little experience with voting, so much illiteracy, so much distrust of institutions, and virtually no reliable information, widespread confusion is the rule. Virtually no one in any of the groups is aware of the national election commission, the CNE, that is charged with the conduct and supervision of the polling. . In lieu of any knowledge of the CNE, it was assumed that the United Nations would be conducting the elections. The U.N. continues to have good reputation among the populace. One woman said, "The U.N. never did anything wrong to us around here. I don't know about other areas."

Nor was anyone aware of the need to register to vote, although once the concept was explained, it struck people as an intuitively sensible process. The need to cast two ballots, one for president and one for parliament, is likewise unknown. There was good-natured debate within the groups about minimum age requirements. In the rural cooperative in Matola, the consensus seemed to be that the smart children ought to be able to vote, but not their less clever playmates. It seemed to be fairly well understood that women could vote, but whether they should or could run for office was a topic for fairly animated discussion

Opinions

Compared to the first round of focus groups, there was significantly more confidence that the peace in the country would hold. The participants felt sure that the lack of violence since the peace agreement was enacted in October, 1992, along with the general fatigue with the fighting, were strong signs that the peace would hold. There was also repeated reference to the meeting of Dhlakama and President Chissano as a symbol of the permanence of the peace.

While the public's reasonably rosy opinion of democracy was discussed in an earlier section, the populace has considerably less faith in the federal government's potential ability to

handle local governance. As one participant said in the rural area of Macia, "The leaders might give good instructions, but local representatives might not do as they are told because the leaders are so far away." With virtually no knowledge of parliamentary voting, and a vision of highly centralized federal authority, there are serious concerns among the public regarding the protection of appropriate local autonomy.

The public had very little concrete sense of how the elections would be organized, and in lieu of any definitive information made a series of assumptions about how things would be organized that appear to reflect common sense, but are not necessarily accurate. For example, it was widely assumed that literate election workers would be available to illiterate voters to help them work their way through the ballot. There were some residual fears of the consequences of voting for the losing party, but there was no evidence that such concerns would lead to people failing to vote. In the group in Gaza Province, one elderly man said he planned on escaping into the bush to hide if the party he voted for failed to win, but all the others in the group quickly assured him that he need not run away.

Others evinced a significantly more sophisticated understanding of the subtleties of the democratic process. One man in Maputo was asked if he had any fear of reprisals for voting for the losing party and said, "I'll lie to my boss about who I'm going to vote for and then ask for a raise by telling him I voted for his candidate." It would seem that some reasonable reassurances of the secrecy of the ballot would go a long way toward assuaging what latent fears there are of reprisals for voting for the losing party.

There is only widespread knowledge of the two largest political parties, FRELIMO and RENAMO. And the election is more often than not viewed as a contest between these two forces alone. One of the most often expressed frustrations with the new process of democracy is the difficulty of voting for candidates with whom one is not familiar. None of the people with whom we spoke had an understanding of what the parties' positions on any of the important issues, such

as health care, education, and the economy. One of the most baffling aspects of democracy to Mozambicans to date is how to vote in the absence of any real information of what the candidates plan to do. Clearly, the candidates and parties have a lot to do to address these concerns.

Voter Education Campaign

The focus groups, like the groups of a year ago, were desperate for more information about the election. The single best means of communicating with the population in their areas, they reiterated, was through personal visits from voter education teams. Only through personal visits, could voters establish the credibility of the educators and have the chance to learn at their own pace. With little, if any, education, many Mozambicans are frightened of the education process and asked for the chance to take their learning at their own pace. While radio was widely cited as the second most effective means of reaching out to the population, there was the lingering issue of how to verify the intentions of the broadcaster, not to mention limited numbers of functioning receivers and serious shortages of batteries.

Most of all, people were concerned that they didn't know how to vote and that no one would reach out to help them in advance of the election. The focus group team was beseeched with requests to return and spend some time teaching the community about the elections and how to vote. One young man from Maputo asked, "I'm a university student and I don't know how to vote. How will the peasants know?"

Reviewing a number of pieces of voter education material with the groups revealed some fascinating insights into the minds of Mozambicans. Particularly compelling was the absolute lack of a socio-cultural context for political symbolism. One poster from South Africa showed a young man, amidst a large crowd, holding up two fingers, symbolizing either peace or victory. This poster made a highly negative impression among the groups, because the participants felt it

symbolized the ascendancy of two leaders at once and that such a state of affairs would be highly unstable and unsatisfactory. Asked to review a series of potential slogans for a civic voter education campaign, the groups suggested that the word "projeto" or project not be included because of its connotations of the hundreds of non-indigenous economic development projects that dot the countryside. The most popular slogans encouraging Mozambicans to vote focused on the future and a new Mozambique, or on children, who seem to symbolize the future in a very tangible way, particularly for more rural populations.

List of Focus Groups

<u>Date</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Site</u>	<u>Size of Group</u>
Maputo Province			
April 18	Maputo	United Church of Christ	13
April 19	Matola	Building Cooperative	10
April 19	Machava	Town Square/Near Market	16
April 19	Maputo	Methodist Church	9
Gaza Province			
April 20	Macia	Catholic Community Center	15

Moderators

Yvette M'Boa

Natividad Caramelo

Armindo Edérito

Focus Group Discussion Guide
Project Vote Mozambique
April, 1994

1. Introduction

15 Minutes
(15 Minutes)

- A. Introduce self, other observers
- B. Explain what focus group research is
- C. Explain purpose of group
- D. Why tape recording, observers
- E. There are no right/wrong answers
- F. Keep answers short to give all a chance to speak
- G. Have participants introduce themselves

- 1. Name?
- 2. Occupation?
- 3. Marital status? Children?

RECORD ALSO ON SIGN IN SHEET

- 4. Sex
- 5. Ethnic/Linguistic group
- 6. Age

2. Peace (Conversational Warm-Up)

10 Minutes
(25 Minutes)

- A. What did the end of the civil war mean to you and your family? How was your family affected by the war?
- B. What changes will the peace mean for Mozambique?
 - 1. What's the biggest problem facing Mozambique?
 - 2. What opportunities does the peace create?
 - 3. What kind of changes in your life will come with the peace?

3. Elections/Democracy

35 Minutes
(60 Minutes)

- A. When people talk about democracy in Mozambique, what do you think they mean?
- B. Do you think there will be voting/elections in Mozambique? When?
 - 1. Will the country be able to hold free and fair elections this year? Why or why not?
 - 2. Will there be violence associated with an election?
- C. How have you been learning about the elections and what is planned for the country? What are your sources of information?
 - 1. Radio
 - 2. Television
 - 3. Newspapers
 - 4. Civic, community and religious groups
 - 5. Political parties
 - 6. Neighbors/friends
 - 7. Regulos (traditional leaders)

TELL EVERYONE THAT ELECTIONS WILL BE IN OCTOBER

- C. If there is no peace, can there be an election?
- D. Have you ever voted before in any circumstances (school, sports team, religious group)?
- E. What positions in the government will the voting in October be for?

DISCUSS ALL AFTER ALLOWING FOR SPONTANEOUS MENTION

- 1. President
 - 2. Parliament
 - 3. Political parties
- F. Would you like to vote in these elections? Why or why not? Would anyone you know be afraid or unwilling to vote?
- G. Who will be in charge of directing the election and making sure that it is free and fair?

4. Voting

35 Minutes
(1 Hour, 35 Minutes)

A. Do you know how to vote in a national election?

1. Is who you vote for a secret?
2. What qualifications do you need?
 - a. Do you have to be able to read and write?
 - b. Do you know about political parties?
 - c. Do you have to have government identity papers? (Do you have such identity papers?)
 - d. How old do you have to be?
 - e. Can women vote?

B. Do you know what a ballot is?

1. Do you know how to use one?
2. Do you think anyone will show you before the election?
3. Do you think you will be able to learn how?
4. Who should teach you about elections -- husband, chief, government, church, others?
5. Will it be more difficult for people who cannot read and write?

C. What will happen to the people who support political parties who lose?

D. Do the elected officials in government owe anything to the people who elected them?

1. Do you expect the elected officials to work in the interest of the people who voted for them?
2. Do you expect the elected officials to work in the interest of the people who did not vote for them?
3. Should women be candidates and serve in government?

E. What would encourage the politicians to work in the interest of all Mozambicans?

F. What issues should candidates in the election be talking about?

5. Voter Education Materials/Techniques

55 Minutes
(2 Hours, 30 Minutes)

Intro:

The organization that came here to conduct these groups is called the National Democratic Institute. We have worked in elections all over the world in many countries. In many of those places we have developed programs that teach people how democracy works and how they can vote and participate. We have begun doing these same things in Mozambique. We would like your help in learning how we can best communicate with the people here and tell them about democracy and voting.

A. Message

1. What would you say are the best reasons to vote?
2. What things will prevent people from voting?
 - a. Fear
 - b. Illiteracy
 - c. Not knowing what to do
 - d. Not knowing where to go
 - e. Lack of transportation
3. What would be the best way to inform people in your family and community about voting?
4. Slogan test. Which of the following do you like best and think would be most effective in persuading people to vote? (Read all slogans. Allow everyone to name one or two and ask for other suggestions.)
 - a. A vote is a say in the future.
 - b. Everyone has a right to vote.
 - c. Vote for your children.
 - d. Vote for a new Mozambique
 - e. Vote for peace and freedom

B. Language

1. What language(s) do you normally speak?
2. What do you associate with Portuguese, native languages?
3. What languages should we use in a voter education campaign?

C. Which techniques and groups should be involved in educating the public on voting and democracy?

1. Religious groups
2. Civic groups
3. Advertising
4. Traditional leaders (tribal chiefs/regulos)
5. Public meetings
6. Political groups
7. Youth groups

D. Print Materials

A number of voter education materials have been developed for use here and in other countries. Let me show you some and tell me what you like and think would work well here in Mozambique.

Items to be shown:

South Africa sample ballot

Angolan voting steps poster without words

South African newspaper on voting, *Voting Time*

Cambodian registration poster

Reasons to vote poster from South Africa

Color voting steps poster from South Africa with all steps shown within one polling station

E. Radio

1. Do you/can you listen? (Try to ascertain how many have a radio or access to one?
 - a. How much?
 - b. Do you have a set? Batteries or electric? Do you have problems getting batteries to operate it?
 - c. What types of programs do you listen to?
 - d. What types would you like to hear about the election?
2. I am going to play a radio announcement that we are thinking in Mozambique? Tell me what you think about it.

F. Video

1. Television/Videos

- a. Do you/can you watch?
- b. How much?
- c. Where?
- d. What types of programs?
- e. What types would you like to hear about the election?
- f. Do you watch videos on a VCR?
- g. Would you like to see videos on the election?

2. Films/Slides

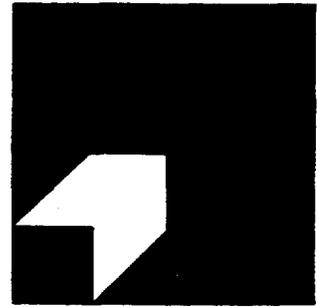


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INTRODUCTION

The NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS [N.D.I.] has followed and participated in every moment of the Mozambicans' fight for democracy. At each step, the N.D.I. has undertaken qualitative studies, evaluating the development of the Mozambicans' sensibility concerning the arrival of democracy in the country. For that matter, it organized in June of 1993 and April of 1994 sections of *focus groups* within the population. In the first groups, it studied institutions, democratic concepts, and the educational campaign directed at the electorate. In the second groups, it studied their perceptions of and expectations regarding democracy, as well as their perceptions of the democratic process. In September of 1994, we were asked to investigate, using the same technique, what the Mozambicans really expect from their first elections, their level of knowledge on democratic principles, and to what extent they are prepared to vote.



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METHODOLOGY

The technique of focus groups serves to know, through meetings with selected groups, the way participants or the whole group make up their mind to assume certain attitudes towards the ideas proposed as themes for the meetings. Applying the technique of group dynamics, through interaction between participants, we tried to let all of them freely express their thoughts concerning the proposed themes.

In conformity with this technique, we organized five sections, each of them presenting the following characteristics:

CITY	STATE	N. PART.	CHARACTERISTICS
Maputo	Maputo	14 [17%]	Workers of graphic industry
Matola Rios	Maputo	25 [30%]	People living in reallocation projects
Xai Xai	Gaza	13 [16%]	Students in the last year at the center for preparing high school teachers
Nicoadala	Zambézia	21 [25%]	Students at the 11 th level
Inhaminga	Sufala	10 [12%]	"Régulos" ¹

Other characteristics of the group:

MEN: 52 [63%] **MARRIED:** 27 [52%] **WOMEN:** 31 [37%] **MARRIED:** 26 [84%]
SINGLE: 25 [48%] **SINGLE:** 5 [16%]

Medium of age: 34

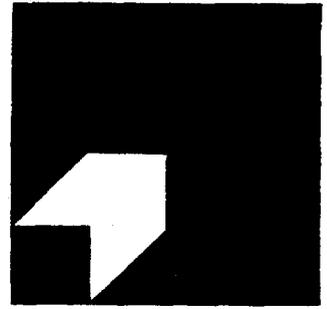
Medium of children: 5

¹ Leaders of religious groups.



Ethnicity of participants

Ronga.....	13 participants	Macua.....	1 participant
Changane	30 participants	Matsa.....	1 participant
Sena.....	19 participants	Machope	1 participant
Chuabos	9 participants	Zulu	2 participants
Bitonga	1 participant	Lomue.....	6 participants



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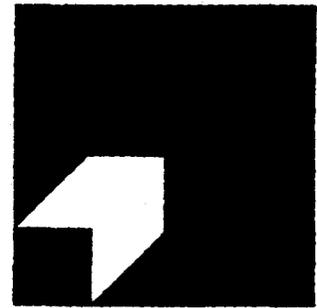
ANALYSIS

The moderators of the groups clearly perceived distinct and even antagonistic positions between participants from Inhaminga and participants from other cities. Thus, throughout the following analysis, we will emphasize the positions of the "régulos" in Inhaminga. We will also present our analysis following the proposed themes as they appeared in our scheme, in order to provide the reader with a better sense of the trajectory through which participants made up their minds.

ELECTIONS: The most transparent, strongest and clearly verbalized feeling is that "elections will consolidate peace and this peace will long." This statement, though made emphatically, does not represent a certitude. It represents a strong internalized hope in the mind and hearts of participants. Such hope can be felt by the force and lightness of their eyes, always present in their statements and in the way they expressed their general thoughts.

The aspirations of participants also include the following unanimous issues:

Free choice of their activities: "To be able to be whatever I want, a business person, an autonomous professional, a technician, an agricultural worker, to have my tillage, whatever I want," also including in these aspirations access to land possession and free market.



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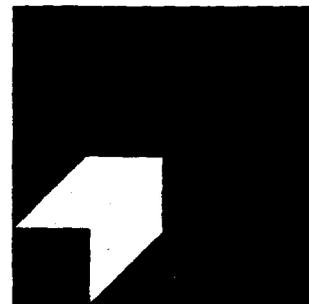
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The right to come and go: "Because of war, my whole family spread, running from the horror that this became. Now, with elections, I will be able to look for them, because under democracy nobody can stop me."

The searching for the lost dignity: "I do not want to live for free, I want to pay, buying or renting a house where I can live with my family," or the strong and courageous protest of a woman in Matola Rios, who received enthusiastic approval by clapping from other participants of her group. Afterwards, they sung in Changane a song for the coming elections: "I think that with these elections, I will not have to sell myself to the first man who offers a piece of bread to my children. I am not a prostitute, this happens to me and to her, to her and to her (pointing to other female participants), but my children will not die from hunger!"

Hunger: Hunger is seen as the result of war, and trough as punishment of God. "We made the war and God punished us with drought, which causes hunger. Elections will bring rain, and water will wash the blood of our brothers spread over our land. Then we will be able to cultivate our tillage and we will no longer starve."

Problems that can occur along with elections will be centered around the positions of winners and losers after elections. Participants hope that the result does not cause a new war. All their fears are included in this hope.

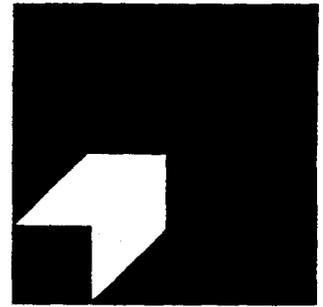


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IN INHAMINGA: "Régulos" demonstrate attitudes of indifference and opposition towards elections. Their positions may be reflecting the varying forms of political, social and religious power that make, made or will make part of the context in which they are inserted. It is important to note that, during their meeting, participants do not speak of their preferences and experiences, or express their wills in the first person. Instead, each participant speaks as a group, trying to show a common and corporative feeling of unification. The following statements clearly demonstrate the level of involvement of this group with elections and with democracy: "If hunger is over, we accept anything," or "we think the old system for choosing the chief is the good one. We used to ask the people: This one will be the new chief ! Do you like him? and then we would say and choose," or "we do not know whether or not elections can end the war, but for sure hunger will bring a new war. "Their statements also demonstrate force and hidden threat, such as: "If someone comes here during elections, we will vote; if nobody comes, we will not miss anything," or more directly and incisively: "If a political party brings five vans full of food, we will vote; if not, nobody will vote.

93



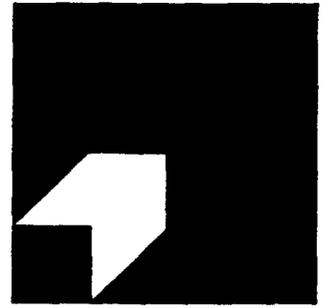
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LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE: With the exception of the group from Matola Rios, all groups demonstrate to reasonably knowing the varying steps the electorate will undertake to vote:

- ◇ They know **where** to vote
- ◇ They know **when** to vote
- ◇ They know the relationship between the registering of the electorate and elections
- ◇ They know how many ballots will be used

For all groups, the question concerning the number of parties running for elections creates polemic amongst participants. Some of them assure there are 11 parties. Others contest, saying that there are 12 or 13. Others assure there are 18. Few of them point out there is parties' combination. Those who mention this practice do not know how many and which parties are combined, as well as the name of their combination.

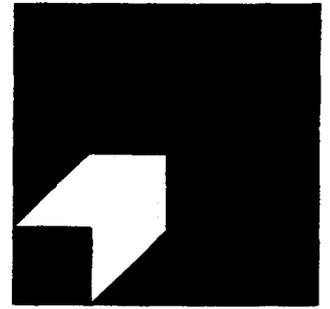


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WHO CAN VOTE: This question also creates conflicting opinions amongst participants. Although they know all rules regulating this issue, the vote of a blind person is very discussed. For them, the concept of secret ballot means that nobody must know your vote. This contradicts the rule that a blind person can vote with the help of a trusting person. By "nobody" they mean even their closest relatives, such as husband, wife, father, mother, brother, etc. Thus, "if even my mother cannot know my vote, how - can - a blind person vote with the help of someone else?" We will turn back to this issue in our analysis of the issue "TRUST AND SECURITY DURING ELECTIONS." It is also important to mention that from this discussion it emerges once again the searching for dignity, as expressed by a woman from Matola Rios: "For me, a deaf person should not be allowed to vote, because not being able to listen to the electoral campaign, he will not be able to choose his candidate. He will depend either on the image presented by the party's president or on another person's opinion, with whom he can communicate. He will also need a "trusting person"."

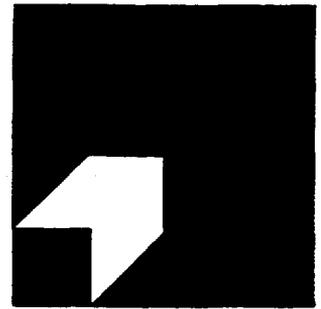
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IN INHAMINGA: All of them quickly point out the steps to vote and demonstrate to know these steps very well. There is no disagreement on the number of political parties. They all assure there are 8, and laugh in sign of agreement when one of them says: "There are 8 parties, but what interests us is that RENAMO wins, because then things will change!" This is the first and only verbal announcement of solidarity with a political party. In the analysis of who can or cannot vote, all participants from Inhaminga know and demonstrate to know the rules, except when a "régulos" proclaims: "Those who beg have nothing to lose and will vote for anyone who offers money to them." This explanation shows us that "régulos" also wish to restore dignity. It demonstrates that they have an ethos that makes sense as well.



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HOW HAVE YOU OBTAINED INFORMATION ON ELECTIONS ?

In every city, RADIO is the most cited source of information, far away followed by NEWSPAPERS, which also appear in large advantage regarding the third and last source information - the CIVIC GROUPS. Another source was once mentioned by a student from Nicoadala: "I learnt (how to vote) from the representative of a political party who visited my house."

In Matola Rios, the level of lack of information is very high. During the focus group meeting, moderators perceived this situation and simulated a ballot. This simulation showed that they have little information on elections.

They do not distinguish between the number of ballots and how many times they can vote:

- ◇ They do not know the meaning of the different ballots' colors
- ◇ They do not know how to check their choice
- ◇ They do not know how to bend the ballot
- ◇ They do not know whether or not someone is allowed to help them

A participant textually declared: "There may be someone there to help me."

What they do know is that:

- ◇ They want to vote
- ◇ They know where to vote
- ◇ It is necessary to be registered in order to vote

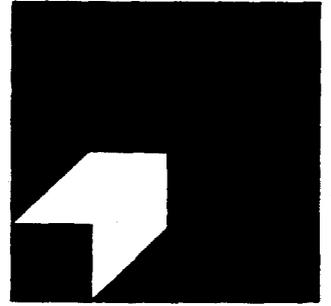


IN INHAMINGA: "Régulos" unanimously reported it was N.D.I. who taught them how to vote. Asked about who N.D.I. was, they answered: "People like you, who come here to teach us." Indeed, all of them showed a high level of information, easily describing the necessary steps to vote.

SECURITY AND PREOCCUPATION: There is a general wish to vote. The only reason for that is: "to have freedom of expression." This shows that they look for what they never had. They believe the ballot will be secret due to two concepts they have internalized:

- ◇ "Nobody will force me to vote for whom I do not favor"
- ◇ "You cannot and should not reveal your vote to anyone else"

We clearly perceive that participants do not relate the concept of "secret ballot" to the impossibility of the state to recognize the vote of any elector. We also perceive that they were not informed about themes such as:



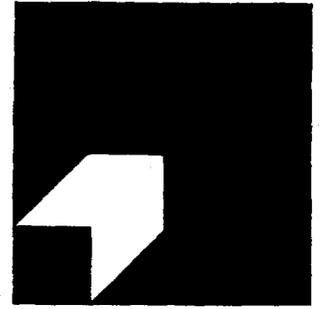
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- ◇ The possibility of fraud during the counting of votes;
- ◇ Criteria for the counting of votes;
- ◇ Rules regulating the invalidation of votes or ballot boxes;

Nobody mentions to fear or to know someone who fears participating in elections. They believe elections will happen calmly and without trouble. One of the oldest teachers from Xai Xai expressed the only verbalized preoccupation with this issue: "To date, I do not fear anything. I do not know anyone who fears either. But it will depend on what the presidents of the parties will say during the campaign. I will pay attention, because I may prefer to stay quite at home, taking care of my family."

IN INHAMINGA: We did not notice any sign of fear or preoccupation among "régulos". To some degree, this is explained by their clear demonstration of indifference towards elections, as well as by their natural prudence.

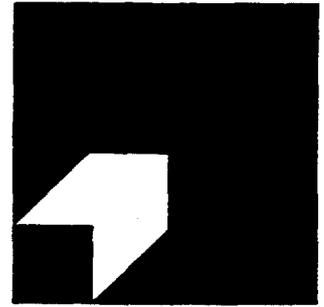


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CONDUCTION OF ELECTIONS: The NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR ELECTIONS - C.N.E. is recognized as responsible for the conduction of elections, with the exception of Inhaminga. According to "régulos", not only C.N.U. but also the United Nations are responsible for the conduction of elections. In some cities, we noticed participants devote a high level of credibility to C.N.E. Participants know the most important members of this commission and demonstrate respect for them.

FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS: Participants present incredible difficulty to define this concept. Even though the ballot is seen as a form of "expression of freedom" they refer to this concept only in the general sense of "being able to say anything once one has education." By "free elections" they mean: "Nobody can force me to vote for someone I do not favor, because the ballot is secret." It is impossible do define the concept of free and fair elections. For instance, nobody refers to elections without intervention of economic or political power. Due to the lack of any democratic practice, participants do not question legitimacy and/ or the taking office of elected candidates.

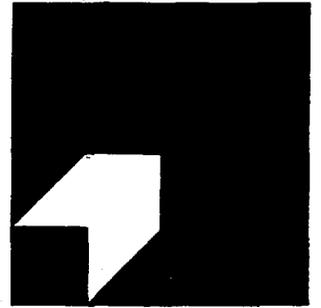


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IN INHAMINGA: When asked about who conducts the electoral process in Mozambique, "régulos" refers more to responsibility than to conduction. This position demonstrates an attempt to put N.U. as co-responsible for the outcome of elections: "Without the "régulos", with card and hunger, elections will lead to war." This is one of the hidden threats observed by the moderators. Given this fact, it is easy to also notice that participants prefer to define "free and fair elections" by expressing ideals such as "free are those who can eat; fairness is to provide food to people." They insist that "the political parties which lose elections will make a new war."

AFTER ELECTIONS: Participants of all groups cannot explain the meaning of multiparty system. Workers from Maputo offer the best definition: "A government that will allow the existence of other parties." This definition and the general difficulty to explain a multiparty system should be understood within the historical context of this population, who fights for the arrival of democracy. Their past is marked by colonialism or by an authoritarian regime, with only one party officially recognized or with a vision of a party as a militarist group. Accordingly, we should not be surprised by their impossibility of distinguishing between the role of the President and the role of the Congress. As they express:



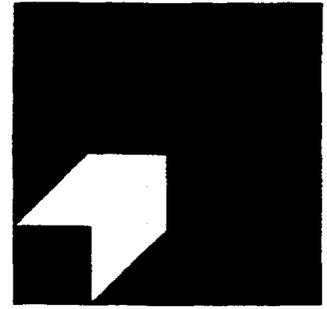
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- ◇ **The President must see what is the best for the people;**
- ◇ **The President is the one who must guide the future of Mozambique;**
- ◇ **The Congress must give advise the President;**

These statements clearly show that the concept of a paternalistic state is strongly attached to the population's beliefs. Such position seems to be comfortable for them, because throughout the past twenty years they have experienced a violent process that emphasizes it.

IN INHAMINGA: In this case, the oppositional position is stronger. Nobody can define the proposed themes, holding radical positions. Because they do not understand the possibility of a multiparty system, their opinions are directed at what they believe it has been the role of the President: "President means corruption. We are here starving, vans pass by full of food, but they do not stop, they go directly to Beira." Or they say that "every President is a dictator who only gives orders. We want someone who makes everything for the people, who gives food for the people!"



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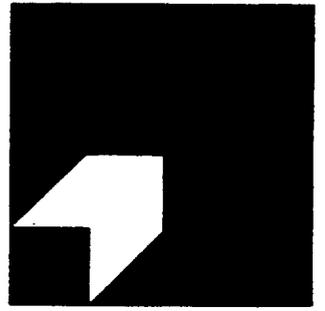
DEMOCRACY: For all groups, the only definition is that "democracy is the freedom to say anything." In Nicoadala, a student added to this definition: "Unless we use bad words." It is also worthy to quote two definitions of teachers from Xai Xai:

- ◇ **Democracy means to be able to choose who will guide us**
- ◇ **It means the contrary to socialism**

It is evident that even at the conceptual level all participants' definitions are contaminated by their aspirations. They imagine or create definitions according to their most basic needs as human beings, expressing once again what they lack. This is the case because to date they have not experienced democracy. Besides, they have lacked better information or received distorted information. They do not know the meaning of "civil rights".

They even make mistakes about the meaning of these words, defining them as "the right of those who are not armed."

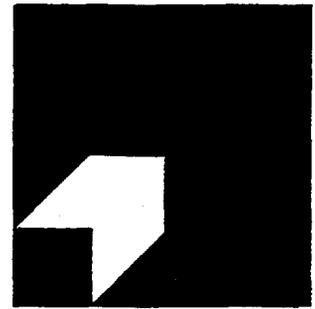
Their recent past leads them to prefer to discuss their duties as imposed by democracy. These duties may or not be fair. Thus, it is contradictory to demand a definition of civil rights from those who have never had these rights, or from those who have received information on this theme attached to a political opposition to other models of society.



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IN INHAMINGA: The only definition of democracy is given in a comparative way: "Democracy means to have elections." But once again the assumption is that "to have elections with hunger is to go back to war," connecting then democracy to a new war. The position of this group is also evident in the following statement: "Democracy wants us to vote for whom we do not even know the face." It would be tragic, if not comic, to demand from this group the demonstration of any knowledge on civil rights.



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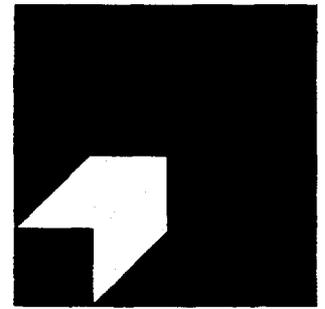
CONCLUSION

Considering the exercise of voting as conditioned by knowledge on democratic principles, by a correct understanding on what democracy means, by the capacity of recognizing civil rights, by a larger definition of the limits and duties of each branch of the democratic state, by an evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of a multiparty system, then the results of our meetings with participants of the *focus groups* show us that Mozambicans are not prepared for the coming elections. We consider that the election of those who are going to politically and administratively represent the people is only one aspect of a democratic regime. Democracy needs to be experienced to be plain. This is the challenge of Mozambicans.

Certainly, there is a great risk, recognized by the whole international community involved with the democratic process in Mozambique. However, the consequences would be even more dramatic if elections were postponed. This statement is not based on any information on possible actions from the part of political parties currently in power or armed. It is based on our analytical conclusion about what elections represent there at this moment. Mozambicans conceive of elections as the possibility of turning ALL their dreams into reality, leading them to the closest level of unreality. The following quotes show the real dimension of the gravity of their internalized expectations regarding elections:

- ✦ **WHO KNOWS IF ELECTIONS WILL NOT BRING RAIN**
- ✦ **ALONG WITH ELECTIONS, WE WILL HAVE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION**
- ✦ **ALONG WITH ELECTIONS, NEPOTISM AND CORRUPTION WILL BE OVER**

105



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- ◇ **ALONG WITH ELECTIONS, WE WILL BE ABLE TO COME AND GO WHENEVER AND WHEREVER WE WANT**
- ◇ **WE WILL BE ABLE TO FOLLOW OUR DESTINY AND TO BE WHATEVER WE WANT, AGRICULTURAL WORKERS, CATTLEMEN, BUSINESSMEN, WHATEVER WE WANT!**

What mostly worries us is how participants express these statements without any doubt. We do not envision the fulfillment of these expectations sooner or longer. It is necessary to consider this reality for future action. We must remember that the disappointment of the population is directly linked to their expectations. Therefore, it is necessary to avoid the emergence of a false, charismatic or mystic leader who may offer visionary alternatives to a disappointed people.

The position of "régulos" can be explained by their searching for the prestige they used to have in the past. However, it is important to notice that during our meeting with them, which took place in a public square, the N.D.I. organized the simulation of an election in order to teach the population how to vote. There were a lot of people listening to and participating in this training. These people were more involved with elections than "régulos". They seemed to efficiently repeat a lesson someone taught them and made them see as the best or the only way to solve their problems.

Finally, we can affirm that most participants demonstrate no fear to vote during elections. Once they receive correct training, they also demonstrate to know how to vote. The N.D.I. is largely responsible for this training, even considering the difficult conditions under which one can work. The strategy of using "guiders" is seen as the best by the population. It corresponds to the basic characteristics of a culture whose preservation and development rest mostly upon oral communication.

APPENDIX 3

Radio Capacity Survey

I. SUMMARY

Radio Mozambique, using ancient equipment and broadcasting under severe budgetary restraints, manages to reach -- by its own estimate -- between sixty and seventy percent of the Mozambican population. It does so in eleven African languages, plus English and Portuguese. No other Mozambican channel of communication can claim a larger audience. The national broadcasting network is currently undergoing major administrative and technical improvements. These should soon result in more appealing programming and a better signal for many of its listeners. While Radio Mozambique is not the perfect medium for reaching every potential Mozambican voter, it is by far the most capable.

II. BACKGROUND

Basic Data for Mozambique

Over 16 million people live in Mozambique, according to the United Nations. But there has been no recent census and major population shifts resulting from nearly sixteen years of civil war have tended to skew whatever demographic data might be available, particularly in urban areas. The UN has also estimated that approximately one million Mozambicans were killed in the war and four and a half million have become refugees and displaced persons. For the purposes of the October 1994 elections, the UN is estimating there are 8.5 million Mozambicans eligible to vote.

Distances are vast in Mozambique and there are few paved roads. The country is elongated in shape and covers a land area of nearly 800 thousand square kilometers. The

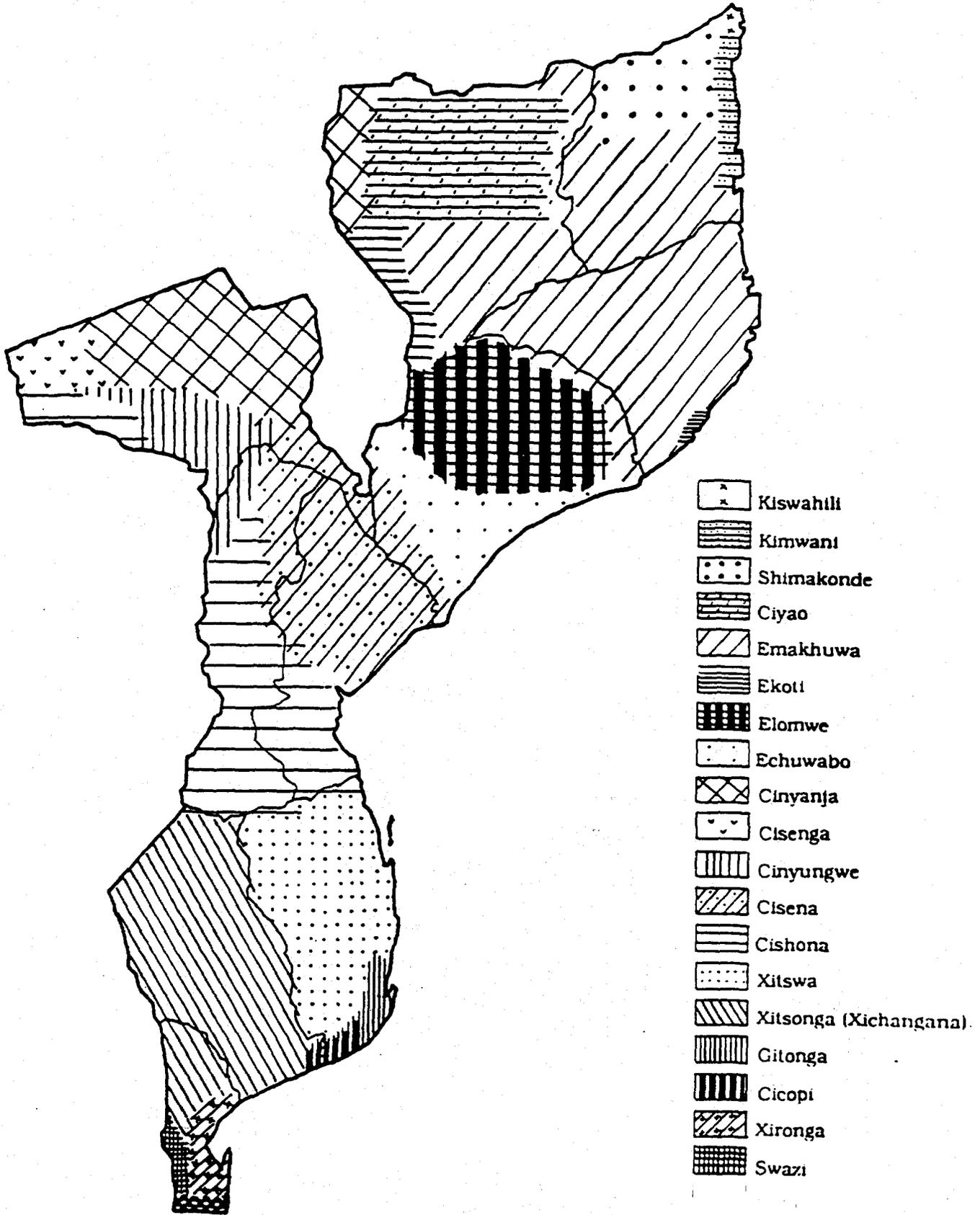
north-south distance is about 2,000 kilometers, varying in width from 600 kilometers in the north to 300 in the south. From an American perspective, Mozambique is twice the size of California with a road network comparable to that of Delaware.

Portuguese is the official language, but the extent of its use in Mozambican rural areas is open to question. A Louis Harris survey commissioned by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) in June 1993 showed only limited comprehension of Portuguese outside Mozambique's urban centers. The current U.S. Embassy Country Data report on Mozambique lists major linguistic groupings as: Makua and Chuabo (5 million speakers), Tsonga-Shangana (2.8 million), Nyanja-Sena (2.1 million), and Shona (1 million). But the report adds: "Mozambique's intellectual community has had a long-standing, vibrant debate about what the country's language groups actually are and which languages should be treated as separate from other, similar tongues. The above represents one interpretation." For another, see the Eduardo Mondlane University's linguistic map of Mozambique on the following page.

III. RADIO MOZAMBIQUE

Radio Mozambique's approach to the national linguistic debate speaks for itself. The station broadcasts daily in ten Mozambican languages, plus English, Portuguese and Swahili. It has been doing so, with varying degrees of success, since 1933, mostly from the same headquarters building at No. 2, Rua da Radio Mozambique in Maputo. There are eight provincial radio stations, as well.

Linguistic Map of Mozambique

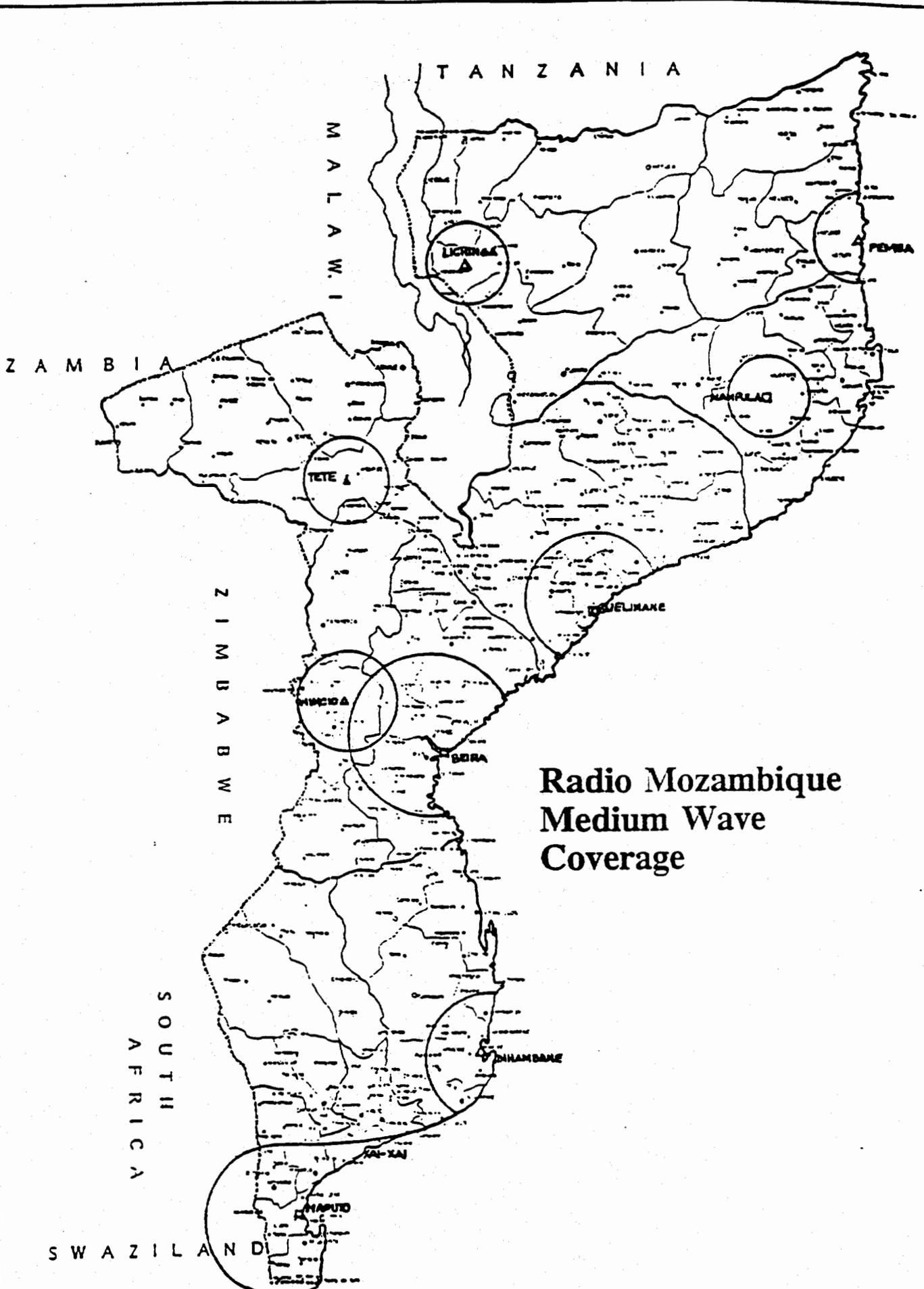


Linked by satellite, the nine stations of Radio Mozambique together form a national network that ranges across the shortwave, medium wave and FM bands to reach, under optimum conditions and by the station's own estimate, between sixty and seventy percent of Mozambique's population. Technical Director Rufino de Matos hopes to increase the quality of the signal through the installation of new equipment, but he does not expect to be able to reach the entire country.

In the meantime, he is using a variety of shortwave transmitters, mostly in Maputo and ranging from ten to 120 kw, in an effort to extend as much of a broadcast signal as possible across the country. His medium wave transmitters are based in each provincial capital (Maputo also serves Xai-Xai, capital of neighboring Gaza province) and range in power from five to 50 kw. The sizeable gaps between each medium wave signal are either covered by shortwave, or fall in that thirty to forty percent of the Mozambican population not reached by Radio Mozambique.

The headquarters building at No. 2, Rua da Radio Mozambique dates back to the early 1950s, as does most of the equipment in it. The venerable RCA studio control consoles and the Ampex tape recorders would be more appropriately displayed in a broadcast museum than a national radio network, but they still function and Radio Mozambique's technical staff has found ingenious ways of upgrading them -- such as using solid state technology to replace the vacuum tubes in the studio consoles.

The situation at the transmitter sites is even worse, particularly at the provincial stations where some of the Marconi equipment is more than fifty years old. Serious upgrading is taking place at Quelimane, capital of the heavily-populated Zambezia province, and in the Maputo-



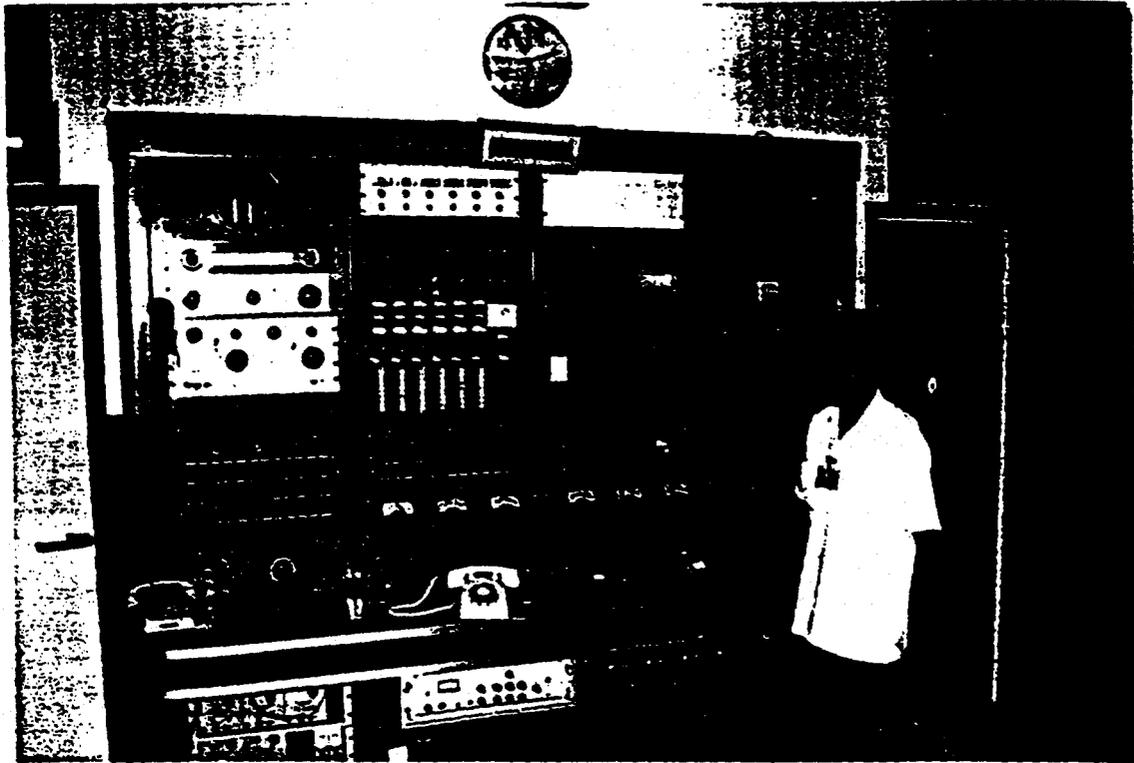
**Radio Mozambique
Medium Wave
Coverage**

Xai-Xai area, also a major population center. These technical improvements are expected to be completed before the October 1994 election. It is clear that the government has placed its broadcast priorities in those areas where it seems likely to reach the greatest number of potential voters.

In addition to the technical upgrading underway, the administrative structure of Radio Mozambique is due for an overhaul, possibly as early as March 1994. The network is presently constituted as a state company responsible to the Ministry of Information and its 800 employees are essentially civil servants.

Radio Mozambique's Director General Manuel Tomé is a political appointee who in recent years has also been chief of the ruling FRELIMO party's propaganda apparatus. Under the new changes, the Director General's position would be made more neutral politically and the position of Program Director would be split into two, creating a more autonomous news division. The objective behind the changes is to make Radio Mozambique less an extension of FRELIMO, or even the government itself. As an *Empresa Publica*, the national broadcasting network would be transformed into a parastatal organization, still under some measure of government control, but effectively removed from direct management by the ruling party. It could thus become far more acceptable to all political parties involved in the 1994 elections.

In sum, Radio Mozambique is a less than perfect instrument for carrying out a nationwide voter education program. It does not claim to reach every potential voter. But even if it did so, many Mozambicans have no access to radio broadcasts. They either lack radios, or the batteries to operate them. For those Mozambicans who can listen



**Master Control at Radio Mozambique:
The Nerve Center of the Network**



**1940s Technology still in Use:
Console with Vacuum Tubes**

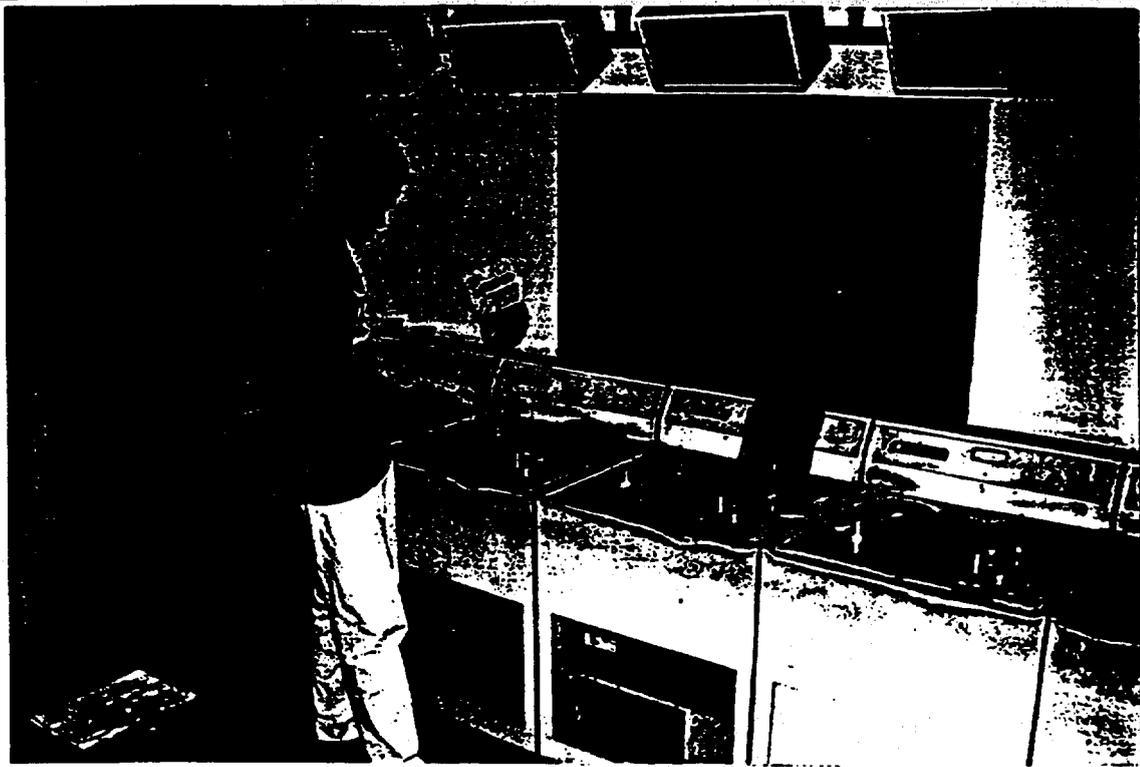
regularly, Radio Mozambique does provide the only real mass medium in the country. Television is presently restricted to Beira and Maputo. There are no nationally-distributed newspapers or magazines. Much of the population is, in any event, illiterate. International broadcasts, including those from neighboring South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, do not use the languages needed to reach across a broad area of Mozambique. This leaves the burden of a nationwide voter education campaign to Radio Mozambique, working in coordination with those efforts undertaken at the community level.

IV. REACHING MOZAMBICAN VOTERS

The June 1993 Louis Harris focus group research project in Mozambique revealed that the two most important means for communicating voter education campaign materials "are visits to local communities and the radio. Community visits were the expressed preference of every group. Clearly the public's confidence in voting educators will be much higher if they have an opportunity to meet them, question them and verify their political neutrality."

But radio, adds the report (Imagining Democracy, Louis Harris and Associates, Inc. 630 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10111, page 7.), "is an attractive means of voter education because it reaches so many people. Local language broadcasts are the key to reaching the largest population."

Clearly both approaches -- local community visits and radio broadcasts -- will be necessary in persuading Mozambicans that it is in their interest to register and vote. But the Louis Harris findings on language are worth



**Ampex Tape Recorders Live on
at Radio Mozambique Studios in Beira**



The Beira News Room in Operation

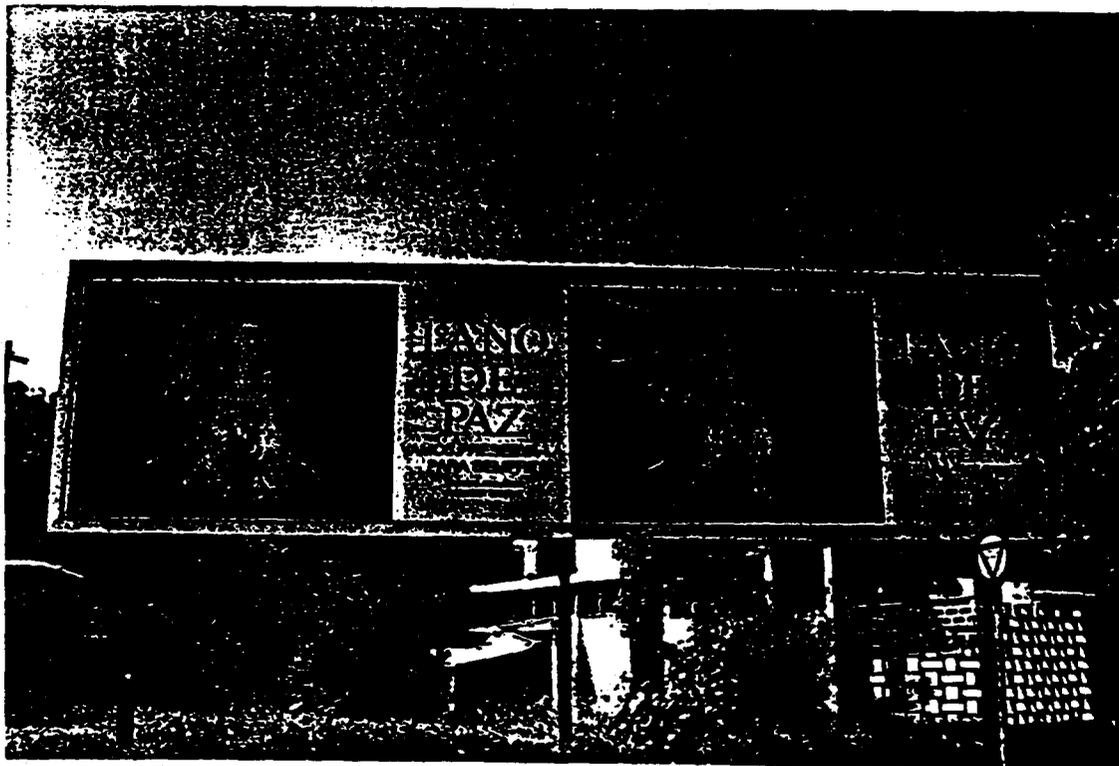
repeating here, since they apply both to community visits and radio. Page 23 of the report observes:

"The first hurdle for any voter education program will be dealing with the profusion of languages in the country. Participants in the focus groups expressed a clear preference for presentations in their own languages and their understanding of and comfort with Portuguese was limited. Any voter education work conducted in Portuguese will be reaching the most educated elements of the population, who need it least."

As presently constituted, Radio Mozambique is probably broadcasting in as many languages as time, talent and equipment will permit. Adding new languages would not be possible within the limits of existing resources. The situation is analogous to that faced in trying to expand Radio Mozambique's audience reach through technical improvements. Upgrading existing facilities is often more cost-effective than adding new ones. Consideration should therefore be given to improving the program quality of Radio Mozambique's current language broadcasts, rather than creating additional ones.

This approach has been followed by the Austrian government in its recent series of journalism workshops in Maputo for 18 representatives from Radio Mozambique's provincial broadcasting stations. All of the participants were working reporters in the various languages broadcast by their respective stations. They were brought to Maputo for professional upgrading by a staff assembled under Austrian government auspices.

According to Dr. Kurt Greussing, who directed the workshops, the participants all displayed a fairly high level



**Our First Year of Peace
We Are Going to Make it
Last Forever**

of professional ability. "The problem," he said, "is that they have so little in the way of equipment and materials at the provincial stations. There is not even enough writing paper to go around, let alone broadcast recording tapes or cassettes. You can't produce interesting radio programs without certain basic materials to work with and they simply don't have them at many of the outlying stations."

The Austrian program includes a portable typewriter for each participant, as well as a motor bike to use for covering stories away from the station. Dr. Greussing intends on-the-scene visits to each participant in the months ahead, as a follow-up to the workshop series. In the meantime, he is trying to locate additional sources for writing paper and recording tape to take to the stations during his visits.

It is ironic that Radio Mozambique, in the process of receiving major broadcast transmitting equipment from Germany and Japan, should find itself dependent at the local level on modest supplies of writing paper and recording tape donated by Austria.

There actually seems to be little coordination among donors as far as Radio Mozambique is concerned. Clearly the national radio network is a likely candidate for a major role in communicating voter education programs to the Mozambican electorate. Yet a visit to the Radio Mozambique headquarters in Maputo, the important Beira provincial station, or the more remote broadcast stations in Tete or Nampula quickly reveals how much is needed and how little is being done.

Some specific suggestions follow.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

NDI should address the problem faced by the outlying provincial stations by organizing a program aimed at empowering Mozambican language broadcasters through the provision of additional training and modest supplies of professional equipment.

The training should be low-key and on the scene. There has been a plethora of journalism workshops in Maputo and other African capitals in recent years. They have occasionally revealed that African professional journalists often resent the notion that their present level of training is inadequate and they need further instruction from outsiders. It is a sensitive issue requiring tact and a considerable amount of diplomacy from the instructor. Dr. Greussing found that many of the participants in the Austrian workshops were convinced they already had all the training they needed. In their view, it was the lack of equipment and materials that kept them from doing their jobs.

This situation could be eased by sending a Portuguese-language broadcast journalist from the United States to work with outlying Radio Mozambique stations, starting perhaps with Beira. Ideally, he or she might come from the Portuguese-to-Africa Service of the Voice of America and be prepared to cover stories for VOA in Portuguese while in Mozambique. Professional contacts with Mozambican broadcasters should be as co-equals, not as teacher-to-student. The American be there to help out, to encourage more inventive programming (i.e. the use of electronic editing techniques to introduce more outside sound to news reports) and to give the Mozambican broadcasters some exposure, ideally by example, to covering the electoral process.

To this end, negotiations have already been launched with PAO David Ballard of USIS Maputo and VOA Washington to bring out such a person, possibly for two visits of approximately three weeks each in April (on the eve of the Mozambican voter registration campaign) and in August (just prior to the campaign period). Travel funding would be by the USIA Academic Specialist Program, VOA would pay the salary and NDI would cover the in-country maintenance costs.

A corollary project should include the provision of professional broadcast cassette recorders and microphones, primarily for the use of the provincial stations. Radio Mozambique is currently using Sony TCM-5000 recorders with the accompanying microphones. They are purchased with rechargeable batteries and spare parts directly from Sony in Japan for approximately U.S.\$500 per unit. Technical Director Rufino de Matos says each of the eight provincial stations could use up to five of the recorders making a total of forty units needed. He says it normally takes eight to twelve weeks for the equipment to arrive from Japan.

On the question of writing paper and recording cassettes and tape, NDI might interest one of the Portuguese-language radio stations in New York or New Bedford to develop a sister-station relationship with Radio Mozambique in Beira or Quelimane. Programs could be exchanged, maybe even supplies could be sent. PAO David Ballard at USIS Maputo would be willing to help get this started and the VOA Portuguese-to-Africa Service might also have an idea or two.

As regards voter education materials themselves, NDI should draw on its experience in the 1992 Namibian

122

elections and organize a radio theater project similar to the Namibian Broadcast Corporation's successful "We Are Going to the Polls" which was ultimately broadcast in eight Namibian languages. Had there been more time before the elections, it might have been developed into a weekly series. Assuming approval by the National Election Commission, a similar Mozambican radio project could be launched, aimed at explaining basic democratic concepts in an entertaining format. Like "We Are Going to the Polls," it could take place in an African village setting, but it would have the advantage of a much longer time span and could therefore address the entire electoral process, i.e. voter registration, the campaign, the candidates, the issues, even the balloting procedure itself.

Given the success of the June 1993 NDI-sponsored Louis Harris focus groups on democracy and voter education in Mozambique, a similar project should be undertaken to poll potential voter attitudes, judgments and beliefs. From this, it should be possible to develop a step-by-step radio campaign leading through registration to the actual balloting in October. This could include panel discussions, quiz programs, debates between candidates, call-in shows, even a series of "Town Meetings of the Air" broadcast live in various provincial capitals and recorded for subsequent use on shortwave. Where possible local languages would be used, in addition to Portuguese. Throughout it all, Radio Mozambique broadcast journalists, empowered by the NDI-sponsored training and the new equipment, would cover these events for local language news reports, thus assuring the widest possible audience.

Finally, NDI has had considerable election experience in Africa and around the world. It should make this available to the National Election Commission and Radio Mozambique on an advisory basis in helping draw up procedures that will

help bring the political parties and the radio station into closer cooperation, both in planning and in the implementation of a nationwide voter education campaign. This is an area where NDI, with its close links to the U.S. Democratic Party, has a broad range of talents to draw upon.

APPENDIX 4

***Há Lugar Para Todos* Election Theme Song and Sample Radio Drama Scripts
Schedule of “Women on the Road to the Elections” Program
Sabadar Game Show Scripts
Public Service Announcements**

HA LUGAR PARA TODOS

Queres escolher
eu tambem
Homem e mulher
filho e mae
na montanha e junto ao mar
todos iguais a votar

REFRÃO

E há lugar para todos
na nossa terra feliz
Nas eleições votam todos
e vai ganhar o pais
No teu voto
o futuro de Mocambique
No teu voto
o futuro de Mocambique

Lê o coração
teu pensar
Tua opinião
vai pesar
No voto o teu pensamento
livre como o vento

REFRÃO

É teu direito
meu tambem
Voto secreto
e teu bem
para que o teu voto fique
so de Mocambique

REFRÃO

The following is the NDI voter registration theme song composed for the radio component of NDI's voter education program, Vota Mozambique, for the first democratic elections in Mozambique on October 27-28. This song was used as a motivational tool to urge Mozambicans to register to vote during the registration period which ended August 15. Over 6 million of the projected voting age population of 8.5 million have registered to vote in the October election. This song is also the opening theme music for an eleven chapter voter education drama broadcast in nine languages on the national radio network. This song is being entered in the French equivalent of the Grammy's in the category of African music recordings. A music video of the song is also being produced by the Mozambican National Elections Commission (CNE) for broadcast on television.

THERE IS A PLACE FOR EVERYONE (HA LUGAR PARA TODOS)

Do you want me to choose?
Me too!
Man and woman,
Son and mother,
On the mountain and by the sea,
All alike to vote.

Chorus:
And there is a place for all
In our happy land.
In the elections everybody votes
And the country will win.
In your vote,
The future of Mozambique.
In your vote,
The future of Mozambique.

Read your heart,
Your thoughts,
Your opinion
Will have an effect in the vote.
Your thoughts as free as the wind.

Chorus

It's your right,
Mine too!
Secret vote,
It's yours
So that your vote will be only for Mozambique.

Chorus

"There is a Place for Everybody"

Radio serial

Chapters 1 - 12

Written by:

Leite Vasconcelos

Produced by:

NDI - Vota Moçambique

National Democratic Institute

Rua Joaquim Lapa No 22 - 4

Tel. 425184 Fax: 427-570

THERE IS A PLACE FOR EVERYBODY - FIRST STORY
TOPIC - EQUALITY IN VOTING

THE TREE AND THE RIVER

1. **RURAL SETTING.** It is morning. Chickens and a kid (goat) are heard in the background.
2. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Has this Chico, who's your nephew, arrived yet?
3. **MARIA** - Chico, who's your grandson, arrived during the night.
4. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I'm trying to make the difference in order not to confuse one Chico with another. When there was only one Chico, we could say only Chico. Now there's one Chico who's your son, and another Chico who's your nephew. Both are my grandsons. Now when you speak of Chico who's my grandson, whom are you really speaking about, eh, Maria? And where's he, that Chico who's your nephew?
5. **MARIA** - He's still sleeping.
6. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Bah! Sleeping with the sun this high up? City folks!
7. **CHICO 2** - I'd love to get to know the city.
8. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You wanna be a nut? Just look at your cousin there. When it's dark and there's no harm in sleeping, he's awake. When the sun's up so that folks can work, he's sleeping. Just like that guy who came here yesterday to explain this election thing. Bah!
9. **CHICO 1** (from the background) - Good morning.
10. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - For me it's been a good morning for a long time already. For you it just started. You slept away a lot of this good morning.
11. **CHICO 1** (confusedly) - Sorry...
12. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Say sorry to the good morning. Do you remember me?
13. **CHICO 1** (Moving to the foreground) - Of course I remember. You're grandpa Mateus.
14. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You remember nothing. When you were last here you were three. How can you remember? City folks, bah!
15. **MARIA** - Father, Chico only wanted to show you respect. I'll warm up the tea for you Chico.
16. **CHICO 2** - Thank you mom. Put four spoons of sugar.

17. **MARIA** - It's not for you Chico, you've already had your tea. It's for Chico. That is...
(LAUGHS) Two Chicos, it really spells confusion.
18. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Everything that comes from town is confusion. Town is pure confusion. Just like that one who was here yesterday to explain this election thing. Bah! You, coming from the city, do you know what this election business is?
19. **CHICO 1** - More or less, grandpa.
20. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You know it! Huumm... Sit down here. Now explain it to me.
21. **CHICO 1** - That is, I don't know everything. I know it only more or less.
22. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It doesn't matter. Explain what you know and leave aside what you don't.
23. **CHICO 1** - Well... Elections is us choosing the people who are going to lead us.
24. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Yeah, it was exactly what the other nut from the city said. Now, who's going to be choosing?
25. **CHICO 1** - Everybody, grandpa. That is, all men and women above eighteen years of age. Everybody has a right to vote. There's a set day and it is then that everybody goes to specially prepared places, gets a piece of paper, marks for whom they want to vote, without anybody being able to know or see for whom anybody voted. After that, all the votes are counted and who receives more votes wins. That's the way in which leaders are chosen by the people.
26. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Hem! Hem! On that day, you'll have a piece of paper for voting?
27. **CHICO 1** - Yes.
28. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And I will also have a piece of paper for voting?
29. **CHICO 1** - Of course.
30. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I'm going to have one piece of paper for voting and you're going to have one piece of paper for voting?
31. **CHICO 1** - Yes.
32. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I'll have only one piece of paper; just like you?

33. **CHICO 1** - Everybody is equal at the elections. Each of us has one vote. That is, each has one vote for choosing the representatives and each has one vote for choosing the president.
34. **MARIA** - Here's your tea, Chico
35. **CHICO 1** - Thank you, aunt.
36. **CHICO 2** - Thank you, mom.
37. **MARIA** - Chico, you've already had your tea. This time the tea is for Chico... It sure is confusing!
38. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - What's confusing is this election thing. (STANDING UP) I'm going to give a better thought to this lunacy coming from the city. (GOING AWAY) I'll give it a better thought, but lunacy it is. Big lunacy from the city.
39. **JINGLE**
40. (Rural setting fading in, the same as in the previous scene, except for a pestle pounding in the foreground)
41. **JOAQUIM** (approaching) - Maria, where's Chico?
42. **MARIA** (pestle stops pounding) - He's still at school.
43. **JOAQUIM** - Not that Chico. Our nephew, where's he?
44. **MARIA** - He's walking around. He wanted to get acquainted with the village.
45. **JOAQUIM** - What are we going to do, woman? If he's already had problems in the city, isn't he going to have problems here too? We have to figure a way of keeping an eye on him.
46. **MARIA** - Sometimes problems come up because we are not trusting. He seems a fine boy. But it seems that your father doesn't like him. He says he's crazy. If all of us start mistrusting him, he'll feel bad and then he's going to arrange some trouble.
47. **JOAQUIM** - The best would be if you talked to other ladies from the village, so that they keep an eye on what he's doing. If not, he's going to get into some trouble and we'll have to pay for it.
48. **MARIA** - If he feels that he's being watched by everybody from here, he's really going to feel bad.

49. **JOAQUIM** - That doesn't matter. What matters is that he stays out of trouble. We've got no money to pay for his follies and I don't want to ask my brother to send the money. That's why we have to be very careful.
50. **MARIA** - All right (starts working with the pestle again).
51. (BLENDS WITH THE JINGLE - FADE OUT)
52. (The same rural setting fading in. It's evening. Crickets in the background. Fire crackling in the background.)
53. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Chico!
54. **CHICO 1 and 2** (at the same time) - Yes, grandpa.
55. **JOAQUIM** - We've got to find a way to end this confusion with names.
56. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I'm talking to Chico from the city. (PAUSE) I've been thinking about this election thing. Bah! You were saying that you and me are both going to have one vote each. Do you think that's right?
57. **JOAQUIM** - Forget politics. Politics won't fill our stomachs.
58. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Let him talk. I want to hear this Chico from the city.
59. **CHICO 1** - I think it's right. We're all equal, we all have the right to vote.
60. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Do you see this tree? When my father's father was born, this tree was here. The ancestors of all these birds made nests on this tree. It knows all the birds from here. All the snakes from here have already climbed up and down this tree. It knows all the snakes from here and the ancestors of the snakes from here. It knows all the winds that have passed through here, all the men who were born here, all the men who have come and all the men who have left. (PAUSE) Now look at this grass. It came to life last week. Doesn't know anything and hasn't seen anything. I'm like this tree. You're like the grass. How can it be right that you have one vote and that I also have only one vote? This thing you're calling democracy is a lack of respect. (VERY LONG PAUSE) I'm going to teach you things you don't know. Tomorrow you'll wake up early and you'll come with me to the river. I'll teach you how to fish.
61. **JINGLE** - FADE IN AND OUT
62. (Rural setting fading in. The scene is set by a river.)
63. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You already know how to put the worm?

64. **CHICO 1** - I think so, grandpa.

65. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Now you have to throw the line with the hook. Hold it like this and when your hand is in front of you let go off the hook. Try it. (VERY LONG PAUSE) You have to know how to choose a spot on the river and throw the line with precision. (VERY LONG PAUSE)

66. **CHICO 1** - May I speak, grandpa?

67. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You may, but not too loudly, otherwise the fish will swim away.

68. **CHICO 1** - It's not that. Can I talk about the elections?

69. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - No. I've already said it's a lack of respect. (PAUSE) I don't want to hear about this election thing. If somebody shows up to tell me that I should go to vote, I'll get really mad. If he shows up, I'll hit him with this cane here. (VERY LONG PAUSE) Are you going to vote?

70. **CHICO 1** - That's what I wanted to talk about. Before, I never thought about elections. I only began thinking about them when you started talking with me about the issue, grandpa.

71. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Ha! I'm beginning to put some sense into your head.

72. **CHICO 1** - Yes, but not in the way you think, grandpa.

73. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - No? Humph! It'd be better if we stopped this conversation. Pull the line to see whether it's stuck in the bottom.

74. **CHICO 1** - It's not. What came to my mind is that if a person like you, grandpa, is preoccupied with the elections, it's very wrong if I don't think about them.

75. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Why? It seems that what you are about to say would show a lack of respect.

76. **CHICO 1** - No. You are thinking that the reason why I want to say what I'm about to say is because you, grandpa, are a man from the country, who doesn't know anything. It's not that. What I want to say is that if you, grandpa, as a person who has lived a long life and knows a lot, feels the need to still think about these things, then I, as someone who's lived only a little and knows little, need to think about these things even more.

77. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Humph...

78. **CHICO 1** - It's like this river. The river's been around for a long time, but the water is always flowing, it's never the same. If the water stopped flowing, the river would die. It's like your tree. If the leaves haven't been changing, the tree would be already dead.

79. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You are saying that, since I'm old and I'm soon going to die, my vote doesn't matter.

80. **CHICO 1** - No. I'm saying that the votes of the old and the votes of the young are both needed. The old bring the experience, which the young lack. But the young are the ones who are going to be living in the future, that will result from decisions made today. That's why we have the same rights in voting.

81. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Bah! It's all empty talk. (PAUSE) Let's stop this conversation, otherwise you'll never learn to fish. (VERY LONG PAUSE) This talk about the old, old... I'll still be alive for a long time. My father lived to be more than ninety. I'll still be alive for a long time, you hear me?

82. **CHICO 1** - Yes, grandpa. I'm sure you will. And I wish you'd live a long, long time so that you can teach me many things and teach my children as well.

83. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Bah! You don't even have a wife, not to speak of children! When I was your age...

84. **JINGLE** - FADE IN AND OUT

85. (Rural setting, the same as at the beginning. Pestle pounding can be heard for a while and then stops.)

86. **MARIA** - Father! (A LONG PAUSE) Father!

87. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Yeah... yeah... what is it?

88. **MARIA** - Do you feel well?

89. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Of course I feel well. What's this? Is everybody thinking that I'm just about to kick the bucket?

90. **MARIA** - No. It's just that you seemed strange, staring up above.

91. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I was looking at the tree. (A LONG PAUSE) The leaves are turning yellow. In a while they'll be falling down. (A LONG PAUSE) But other leaves ought to come, isn't it so Maria?

92. **MARIA** - Sure, father.

93. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And as long as new leaves come, our tree will always be alive. And it'll always remember the leaves that have come and gone, isn't it so Maria?

94. **MARIA** - Sure, father.

95. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So it means that no leaf dies completely. All of them remain in the tree's memories. (VERY LONG PAUSE) You know one thing, Maria?

96. **MARIA** - Tell me, father.

97. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - This Chico, who's your cousin is not as crazy as I'd thought. He's got a quite good head on his shoulders. It must be because he's my grandson!

98. **JINGLE**

99. Today's story talked about the equality of voters. The elections are conducted on the basis of universal suffrage - that is, all Mozambican voters are consulted, without any special distinction being made. All citizens are equal in voting. All votes have the same value, be it the vote of men, women, youth eighteen and above, elders, illiterates, highly educated people, rich or poor. Every citizen has the right of casting one vote in the elections for the representatives in the Assembly and one vote in the elections for the President of the Republic. Nobody has the right to have more than one vote in any elections.

100. **JINGLE**

101. This means that nobody can vote more than once. Besides being equal, the vote is also individual. That means that each citizen/voter has to cast his vote himself, personally. He cannot ask anybody else to go and vote instead of him, even if he is sick or is not able, for whatever reason, to go to vote. An employer cannot vote on behalf of his employees. A boss cannot vote on behalf of his subordinates. A father cannot vote on behalf of his children. A husband cannot vote on behalf of his wife. Every Mozambican woman and every Mozambican man votes in person and makes a choice directly. Your vote cannot be substituted. Because of that, don't forget: in your vote, the future of Mozambique.

102. **ENDING JINGLE**

THERE IS A PLACE FOR EVERYBODY - SECOND STORY
TOPIC: ELECTORAL CENSUS

GRANDPA MATEUS GETS REGISTERED

1. (Rural setting. Crickets. Fire.)
2. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Joaquim, who are those people who arrived yesterday? I've heard that they'll be working at the medical center, but none of them looks like a nurse.
3. **JOAQUIM** - Father doesn't know? They've come to conduct the census.
4. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Census! Just like in the old days.
5. **JOAQUIM** - Looks like that.
6. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Bah! Census! (A long pause) Where's Chico.
7. **CHICO 2** (from the background) - I'm here, grandpa.
8. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - No, not you, it's the big Chico I want.
9. **CHICO 2** - It looks like he's with Felismina. That is, it looks like he's always with Felismina. Even at school we're talking whether Chico prefers to camp out at Felismina's or to hang out with her elsewhere.
10. **MARIA** - Chico!
11. **CHICO 2** - But it's true, mom. When Felismina is at home, Chico camps out at her place. When she's not home, Chico looks for her in order to hang out with her. It's very funny.
12. **MARIA** - What you're saying isn't nice, Chico. Your cousin's life is his own business, not yours.
13. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I need to talk with Chico. Maybe he knows what this census is all about.
14. **JOAQUIM** - Census is census, father. It's always about the same thing. It's to determine who pays the taxes. Have you already forgotten it, father?
15. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I forgot nothing. But why are they conducting the census now?

16. **JOAQUIM** - The war's stopped, folks are returning home, starting to work the farm and we'll have to be paying taxes.

17. **MARIA** - It looks like this census is different. During other ones, they used to come to people's houses, registered everybody, children as well. This seems to be different. Now, the people are going there, and only grownups are going.

18. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I have to talk to Chico. He knows these city things.

19. **JOAQUIM** - Maria, did you know about this Chico-and-Felismina thing? Which Felismina is it?

20. **MARIA** - I don't know anything.

21. **JOAQUIM** - Isn't one of our neighbor Mario's daughters called Felismina?

22. **MARIA** - He has a daughter named Felismina.

23. **JOAQUIM** - I said that Chico would get us into trouble.

24. **MARIA** - We'd better not take kids' talk seriously.

25. **CHICO 2** - It's not just talk, mom.

26. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Bah! They're conducting a census and you're talking about Felisminas. Forget Felisminas. What I want is to talk to Chico. I don't get this census thing.

31. (!!!) **JINGLE** - FADE IN AND OUT

32. (Rural setting. Morning. Maria is washing dishes in distant background)

32. (!!!) **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Did this Chico, who's your nephew, already wake up?

33. **MARIA** - He left early.

34. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Now he's leaving early. Then this Felismina story must be true. (A long pause) I dropped by at the medical center. It's really there that they're conducting the census. I have to get together with Chico. I want to know what is this census.

35. **MARIA** (Stops washing. Moves into the foreground) - You're worried about this, father. But it's normal, isn't it? That is, counting people who are going to do something is normal. When our relatives are coming here to be with us, I also first want to know how many of them are coming, so that I can prepare everything.

36. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - In the old days, they used to conduct the census in order to control us. To see who went to work, and who went into the army. But now, why are they conducting this census? (A long pause) Do you know where I could find Chico, the one who's your nephew?
37. **MARIA** - No, I don't know.
38. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You can't fool me, Maria. Where do they usually go?
39. **MARIA** - I've seen them, once, by the river.
40. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - By the river?
41. **MARIA** - At the spot where you usually go fishing, father.
42. **JINGLE** - FADE IN AND OUT
43. (Outdoor setting. Riverside)
44. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (from afar) - Chico! Chico!
45. **CHICO 1** (foreground) - It's my grandfather, Felismina, you'd better go so he doesn't see us together.
46. **CHICO 2** - Why? We're not doing anything wrong.
47. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (from afar) - Chico!
48. **CHICO 1** - I know we're not. But it's better that he doesn't see us together. My uncle is a very complicated man.
49. **CHICO 2** - All right, I'm going.
50. **CHICO 1** - Go, go fast, 'cause he could be showing up anytime (steps going away, rustling through the grass)
51. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (closer) - Chico!
52. **CHICO 1** (Yelling) - I'm here, grandpa!
53. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (after a pause, moving from distant into immediate background) - Ah! It was difficult to find you. What are you doing here?
54. **CHICO 1** - I came to fish.

55. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Alone?
56. **CHICO 1** - Yes, grandpa, alone.
57. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Now you're fishing with two rods?
58. **CHICO 1** - Well... I've been thinking that while one line is the water I could put the bait on the hook of the other. In that way I don't waste time.
59. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Where you don't waste your time is with Felismina. Nevertheless, what's the other rod for?
60. **CHICO 1** - You know about Felismina, grandpa?
61. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Why do you think I've been shouting from afar?
62. **CHICO 1** - We weren't doing anything wrong. I was only teaching Felismina how to fish .
63. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You were doing what?
64. **CHICO 1** - Teaching Felismina how to fish.
65. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You city folks are really crazy. Who told you that you can teach other people what I taught you? I'm your grandfather, I taught you because you're my grandson, I'm passing what I know to another man in the family. And you're going around passing these things to other people, without even asking me whether you can do it or not? I'll have to have a serious conversation with you. But now I want you to explain to me what's a census and why are they conducting it in our village. What's this census for?
66. **CHICO 1** - You think I know everything about the elections, grandpa.
67. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You come from the city and these things also come from the city. That's why you must know it.
68. **CHICO 1** - I know something, but because I went to a meeting yesterday afternoon.
69. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - What meeting?
70. **CHICO 1** - The brigade that's going to conduct the census held a meeting to explain it.
71. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Then, you weren't with Felismina?
72. **CHICO 1** - Well... she also went to the meeting.

73. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Humph... And what did they explain?
74. **CHICO 1** - You already know that we are going to vote at the elections, don't you, grandpa?
75. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I've already got that. We're all going to vote and we're all going to have one vote each. You have one vote and I also have one vote. And then? What's the census for?
76. **CHICO 1** - It's for registering all people who have a right to vote.
77. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So don't we all have a right to vote?
78. **CHICO 1** - Yes, all the adults do. Children cannot vote. Only persons 18 and above can vote. And you know, grandpa, that there are foreigners in Mozambique as well. The foreigners cannot vote. And there are also the demented.
79. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Demented?
80. **CHICO 1** - The demented are people who have problems in the head, who suffer from mental illnesses.
81. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Oh! The nuts! You're saying that people from the city don't vote. They're all nuts!
82. **CHICO 1** - (Laughs) You really are something, grandpa. People who are imprisoned, in jail, also can't vote.
83. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - All right. I've got it. All people 18 and above, who are Mozambicans, who don't have problems in the head and are not jailed are voting. Am I right?
84. **CHICO 1** - You are, grandpa. Now, all these people have to be registered in every city, borough, village, community. That's for finding out who's Mozambican, who's 18 and older and who has a right to vote.
85. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Hum... I see.
86. **CHICO 1** - So, here in our village, like in all villages, the people who can vote go to the census, get registered as voters and receive a card with a photo, which is the voter ID card. Later, on the election days, they go to vote in the same place where they got registered and in order to do that, they show their card to prove that they have a right to vote.
87. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Which serves to avoid the confusion.

88. **CHICO 1** - Exactly. Grandpa, have you ever thought about what would happen if on the election day you had to discuss who has the right to vote and who doesn't? In this way it's easy. Only people who have the voter ID card can vote.

89. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - There's only one thing... How much is it?

90. **CHICO 1** - How much is what?

91. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - This card with the photo and all. How much does it cost?

92. **CHICO 1** - Nothing, grandpa. It costs nothing. You only have to go there to the census center, show your ID card or some other document, tell them your name, age, the place where you live. After that, they take your photo, make your voter ID card and give it to you. You pay nothing.

93. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I see. Humph... I see.

94. **JINGLE** - FADE IN AND OUT

95. (Same setting as in 1.)

96. **MARIA** (in low voice) - Chico, what did you say to your grandfather?

97. **CHICO 1** - Me? Nothing.

98. **MARIA** - He's very sad. Look at him. He's sitting there, saying nothing. Something happened and it had to do with you. Did he see you with Felismina?

99. **CHICO 1** - Well... not really, but...

100. **MARIA** - What were you doing?

101. **CHICO 1** - Aunty, my word of honor that nothing happened.

102. **MARIA** - I don't believe you. Something happened and if you're the culprit, I'll get very angry with you. Look, your uncle Joaquim is coming. You better go there to your grandfather's side.

103. **JOAQUIM** (moving from distant background into the foreground) - Good evening. I dropped by the medical center. It looks like all folks are going to the census.

104. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (sadly) - Did you get registered yet?

105. **JOAQUIM** - I've got to go tomorrow. I'd like to find out why everybody is satisfied with the census.

106. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You don't know, because you didn't go to the meeting.
107. **JOAQUIM** - You didn't go either, father.
108. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I asked a person from this family who went to the meeting.
109. **JOAQUIM** - Who?
110. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Your nephew Chico. He wasn't fooling around with no Felismina. He went to the meeting to find out what's a census. I asked him, and now I know it too. Unfortunately, knowing it doesn't help me at all. But you, who can be registered for voting still haven't gone there.
111. **JOAQUIM** - What's up with you, father? You look angry.
112. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I'm not angry at all. I'm sad. After all, I won't be able to vote.
113. **CHICO 1** - You won't be able to vote, grandpa? Who told you that you won't be able to vote?
114. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You did.
115. **CHICO 1** - Me?
116. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Yes, you. Didn't you say that you have to bring the ID card or some other document of identification in order to be registered? I've got no ID card, nor any other document. I won't be able to vote.
117. **CHICO 1** - (Laughs) So that's why you're so miserable. (Laughs)
118. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - There's nothing to laugh about, you fool.
119. **CHICO 1** - But you can vote, grandpa.
120. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - No I can't vote nothing. I don't have a single document.
121. **CHICO 1** - It doesn't matter. Everybody in the village knows you, grandpa. You just have to ask two people to go with you and say that they know you, and that's it, you can go register and receive your voter ID card.
122. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Really?
123. **CHICO 1** - Really. There's no problem whatsoever. If you want, grandpa, I'll go with you tomorrow.

124. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It's not necessary. You can go fishing with... with the two fishing rods. I'll go register and I'll take Maria and Joaquim to tell them that I'm their father, Mr. Mateus, citizen and voter.

125. **CHICO 1** - If you don't mind, grandpa, I'd also like to go. I also want to get registered.

126. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - All right. You'll still have time for... for the other fishing rod.

127. **JOAQUIM** - What other fishing rod?

128. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - (Laughs) This is a fishing secret that I taught to my grandson from the city. (Laughs) Maria, I'm hungry, bring the food and let's all eat while I explain to you and Joaquim what this census is all about.

129. **MARIA** (in the background) - It's coming!

130. **JINGLE**

131. **NARRATOR** - Today's story was talking about the electoral census. The electoral census is the registering of all Mozambicans old enough to vote, men, women, young or old, into the census registers.

132. **JINGLE**

133. **NARRATOR** - In order to get registered, individuals 18 and older, have to go in person to the census center that is closest to their area of residence. At the center, you should present an identification document proving that you are Mozambican, showing your name, age and bearing your photograph. Who does not have any identification should bring along two people who have already registered at the same center and who will serve as witnesses. During the registering process, every citizen receives his voter ID card. It is that card that shows that he has a right to vote - nobody can vote without the voter' ID card.

133. (!!!) **JINGLE**

134. **NARRATOR** - The electoral census is obligatory for all Mozambican men and women, who are 18 or older. But, what's even more important is that the electoral census protects your interest and your right to vote. You want your opinion to be counted and to make sure that others do not end up deciding instead of you. In order to do that you need to vote and, in order to vote, you have to register. Don't forget: in your vote, the future of Mozambique.

CLOSURE OF THE PROGRAM

THERE IS A PLACE FOR EVERYBODY - THIRD STORY
TOPIC: DIALOGUE FOR THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS

THE LOCATION OF THE SCHOOL

1. (Outdoor rural setting. It is afternoon. Chicken and kids (goats) in the background)
2. **CHICO 2** (Coming from distant background into the foreground) - Mom! Mom! I've got big news! It's about school!
3. **MARIA** - Is your schedule going to be changed?
4. **CHICO 2** - No, mom. The school's moving.
5. **MARIA** - Schools can't walk, Chico. You're always making things up.
6. **CHICO 2** - It's true, mom. It was the teacher, Mr. Paulo, who said it. The school is going to be closed and they're going to make a new one in another place. It looks like it'll be right next to the old diner, the one folks used to call Silva's Diner.
7. **MARIA** - It can't be. You must have heard it wrong. That place is very far from here. It takes one hour to get there.
8. **CHICO 2** - But it's true. I heard it very well. It was the teacher, Mr. Paulo, who said it.
9. **MARIA** - I've got to talk to him. Surely you didn't listen properly to what he was saying.
10. **JINGLE** - FADE IN AND OUT
11. (Setting - the same as the previous one, except that it is night now. Crickets. Fire.)
12. **JOAQUIM** - Are they going to change the location of the school?
13. **MARIA** - I couldn't believe it. But I talked to teacher Paulo and it is true. They're going to close this school and make another one near Silva's Diner.
14. **JOAQUIM** - But it's going to be too far. And why are they closing this school?
15. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Because they are stupid.
16. **MARIA** - Teacher Paulo said that there's an organization that'll give the construction material to build a new school because this one is too old.

17. **JOAQUIM** - That's true. This school is so old that one day it'll just collapse on the kids' heads.

18. **MARIA** - Now, those who'll be giving the money say the best place for the new school is there, near Silva's Diner.

19. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - They're really stupid. This organization must be from the city. They're city nuts. Near Silva's Diner. Bah! The diner's been closed for years. Nobody ain't living there no more. Why put a school there. Only if it's a school for monkeys!

20. **MARIA** - Teacher Paulo says that it's because of the village on the other side of the river, that doesn't have a school. They're going to rebuild the bridge that fell down and the new school will be for both villages. The spot near Silva's Diner is in the middle. Teacher Paulo says that there's only enough material to build one school and that also there aren't enough teachers for more than one school in the area. Therefore, it's going to be one school for the two villages. And it seems that they're going to open the diner.

21. **JOAQUIM** - But the folks from here are going to be worse off. We have a school and we'll stop having one. We can't allow that. This school belongs here. The others better build their own school.

22. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Right, the others better build their own school. We have to organize the local population here, so that we go there and tell them that our school isn't going anywhere. I'm going to talk with the elders. Joaquim, you talk to your friends. And Chico... where's Chico?

23. **CHICO 2** - I'm here, grandpa.

24. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Not you, the big Chico, my grandson from the city.

25. **CHICO 2** - That Chico is probably hanging out with Felismina.

26. **JOAQUIM** - This Felismina story...

27. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Let's leave the Felisminas of this world out of this. Chico will talk to the youngsters. We have to organize our population to defend our school.

28. **MARIA** - And me, poppa Mateus?

29. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You don't do anything.

30. **MARIA** - But I could...

31. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - This problem is for the men to resolve.

32. JINGLE - FADE IN AND OUT

33. (Indoors setting. Sounds from the field, day.)

34. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Sit down here, Chico. (A long pause) Did you already talk with your friends?

35. **CHICO 1** - I did talk, grandpa. We've already decided that we'll go talk to teacher Paulo, who's also the principal, and we'll tell him that we aren't going to let our school be closed down.

36. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And what are you going to do to stop it?

37. **CHICO 1** - We didn't really give it a good thought yet. I think that nothing will have to be done. With all these people saying that the school can't be closed, they won't have the courage to close it.

38. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Humph... We'll see.

39. JINGLE - FADE IN AND OUT

40. (Outdoor setting. The same as in 1.)

42.(!!!) **JOAQUIM** (whining) - Ouch... ouch... ouch... my head...

43. **MARIA** - Lie down here in the shade, Joaquim. (Very long pause). How did you hurt yourself?

44. **JOAQUIM** - I didn't hurt myself. I was hurt. Ouch... ouch...

45. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - (Coming from distant background to the foreground) - What happened, Joaquim? What's with you?

46. **JOAQUIM** - My head, ouch... ouch... The rascal hit me with a stick.

47. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - With a stick? Who hit you with a stick?

48. **JOAQUIM** - It was a guy from the other village. They call him Jonasse. Ouch... And he hit me hard... Is it bleeding?

49. **MARIA** - There's no blood. But why did this Jonasse hit you?

50. **JOAQUIM** - We were arguing, because of the school. School - schmool, we started shouting, others came too, Jonasse raised a stick and hit me. Right here... ouch... in my head. Are you sure there's no blood coming out?

51. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And this Jonasse?
52. **JOAQUIM** - Ran away.
53. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - That's not the way. That's very bad.
54. **JOAQUIM** - What's bad is my head. Ouch... ouch...
55. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - No. What's bad is all our heads.
56. **JINGLE** - FADE IN AND OUT
57. (Outdoor setting. Near the river)
58. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Chico, what did we do wrong?
59. **CHICO 1** - I don't know, grandpa.
60. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - But we did it wrong. Now the folks from our village are angry with the folks from the other village. We could have done it differently. (Very long pause) In the old days, in the times of my grandfather, whenever there was a problem here, all the men got together with the chief, talked and talked, until they resolved it. At times they stayed talking two, three days in a row. They finished only when they already knew how they were going to solve the problem. (A long pause) I've been thinking. Chico, who does this school belong to?
61. **CHICO 1** - To the government.
62. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - No way. This school is ours, it belongs to all the people living here. Did you know that there are children from the other village who are crossing the river, there in front of us, where the water is shallow, in order to come to this school? It takes them two hours to get here. I felt a great shame after I learned about these children. Two hours for them to come here, plus two hours for them to go back. I was really ashamed. We should have talked it over until we solved the problem.
63. **CHICO 1** - You're right, grandpa.
64. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - But what did we do instead? We only considered our own argument. We didn't want to hear the others' argument. And now, instead of talking, we're fighting. This is very bad. We're behaving like a rhinoceros.
65. **CHICO 1** - A rhinoceros?

66. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I've forgotten that you're a city boy, and that you're not familiar with rhinos. It's a very big beast, very strong, who can't see very well. He is always thinking that the place where he finds himself belongs only to him. He looks around and says: from here to there, this place is mine. When another animal approaches, he doesn't ask: are you a friend, are you coming to visit me? - or, do you need something, do you want any help? - or, are you only passing by? He puts his head down and charges immediately. We behaved like a rhino.

67. **CHICO 1** - And now, grandpa?

68. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I don't know. We have to do something. We have to think how to resolve this situation.

69. **JINGLE**

70. (Outdoor setting, night)

71. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Chico! Chico! Look here, are you deaf or something?

72. **CHICO 2** - No. But now when you yell "Chico!", you're never calling me.

73. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - There's no other Chico around here. Look here, where is everybody? Your mother, your father, where are they?

74. **CHICO 2** - Mother, I don't know. She went out after lunch and she's still not back. Father went out not long ago, not even a half an hour ago. He went with Mario and Dimas. They all carried sticks.

75. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (disturbed) - Sticks? And where did they go?

76. **CHICO 2** - Don't know.

77. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (after a long pause) - I think I know, and they're going to get themselves into big trouble. Where's Chico?

78. **CHICO 2** - I'm here.

79. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Not you. The other Chico, where is he? Go look for him and tell him to come here quickly. Wait. (Very long pause) Looks like there's some folks coming down here. (Raising his voice) Is it you, Maria?

80. **MARIA** (from afar) - Yes.

81. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (still yelling) - Have you seen Joaquim?

82. **MARIA** (moving into immediate background) - Everything is all right. Joaquim is coming.

83. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - But he and his friend left here carrying sticks.

84. **MARIA** - I know, father. But nothing's happened and everything is all right now. Look there, Joaquim is coming.

85. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (after a Very long pause) - Joaquim, what were you about to do when you headed off from here?

86. **JOAQUIM** (with embarrassment) - It was nothing, father.

87. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It was nothing? You... Huh! Little Chico! This conversation is not for you. Go get some wood.

88. **CHICO 2** - All right, grandpa.

89. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (after a long pause) - Now, Joaquim, tell us what you had in mind, carrying those sticks. (Triple break) You wanted to catch Jonasse in order to beat him up, didn't you?

90. **MARIA** - Father, I've already told you that nothing happened and that everything is fine. The problem doesn't exist anymore.

91. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - How come there's no problem? They hit each other with sticks and there's no problem? When is it that we'll start having a problem? When they start using cutlasses?

92. **MARIA** - It's all ended.

93. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It has?

94. **JOAQUIM** - It's true. When we left of here, we were determined to catch Jonasse. Our heads were hot. On the way, we met Maria and other women from our village and we returned. The problem's solved.

95. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I don't understand anything. How come the problem's solved?

96. **JOAQUIM** - It'd be better if Maria told the story.

97. **MARIA** - It went like this, grandpa: the women from our village discussed this school situation. And we saw that it was better to go and talk to the women from the other village, otherwise our husbands would end up with broken heads. So we formed a delegation and away we went. There, the women had the same worries. They even had a delegation prepared to come here and talk with us. So we had a very good talk. We found out that building a school on that spot is bad for both villages. With the material they're going to give, we can build one school there and repair our school. With two more teachers, both schools could function. Now, it'll only be necessary to find the two teachers, but we'll manage to do that before the other school is built.

98. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And how will you convince those from the Ministry of Education?

99. **MARIA** - I forgot to tell you that we'd invited teacher Paulo to come with us. He came, heard everything and said that he'll explain everything to the district.

100. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (after a Very long pause) - Maria.

101. **MARIA** - Yes, father.

102. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It seems that I owe you an apology for the thing I said.

103. **MARIA** - What thing?

104. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - That this problem was for the men to solve among themselves. After all, it was the women who solved it.

105. **MARIA** - It's because the problem was about school, father. And we have a lot of experience with that. The first school folks ever attend is the mother's womb, isn't it true?

106. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (laughing) - It is true indeed..

107. **JINGLE**

108. Today's story talked about a conflict. A conflict occurs when individuals or groups are in disagreement. To have conflicts is normal. All people do not think alike and may have different interests. Conflicts exist even within a united family. Conflicts exist within local communities. Therefore, conflicts exist in the whole country as well.

109. **JINGLE**

110. To have conflicts is not a bad thing. What can be bad are the ways used to resolve conflicts. When violence is used in conflict resolution, that is bad, because it causes suffering and, if it is taking place on the level of the whole country, it can cause a war. Moreover, violence alone does not resolve conflicts.

111. JINGLE

112. Conflicts should be resolved peacefully. When people talk with each other about their respective problems, they have a chance to understand other people's reasons and to explain their own. In doing that, they find the common points. Once they understand each other better, they also understand the problem better and it is easier for both of them to yield a little bit so that an agreement can be reached. Dialogue is a good form of conflict resolution.

113. The electoral campaign and the elections are a kind of dialogue. All parties and presidential candidates present their programs, their ideas and opinions, so that we can get to know them and understand them. Later, at the elections, citizens give their verdict, choosing parties and candidates they support. It is the majority's choice that will indicate the leaders. This is a peaceful and democratic way for the people to make decisions about the great questions in our country's life. Don't forget: in your vote, the future of Mozambique.

114. JINGLE and CLOSURE

THERE IS A PLACE FOR EVERYBODY - FOURTH STORY
TOPIC: THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

THE FAMILY MAKES A DECISION

1. (Outdoor setting, night, crickets, fire)
2. **MARIA** - Joaquim, thank goodness you've arrived. They came to deliver us a letter this afternoon.
3. **JOAQUIM** - A letter? From where?
4. **MARIA** - It's from your brother, Chico's father. It was brought by that driver who's Isabela's brother-in-law. It's here.
5. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (coming from distant background into the foreground)- Good evening. It's cold tonight, I'll stay here by the fire. What's that you have there?
6. **JOAQUIM** - It's a letter. Chico's father sent it.
7. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And what does it say?
8. **JOAQUIM** - I don't know. I haven't opened it yet.
9. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Even if you opened it, you wouldn't know either 'cause you can't read. Neither can I, nor can Maria. Only one of the Chicos can read it to us.
10. **MARIA** - Chico is coming. He went to borrow sugar, which I forgot to buy.
11. **JOAQUIM** - I'll open it. (sound of tearing and shuffling paper) My oh my! There's money in it. (Very long pause) There's a hundred thousand.
12. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - A hundred thousand!
13. **MARIA** - It must be for Chico.
14. **CHICO 2** (approaching the foreground from distant background) - What's for me, mom?
15. **MARIA** - It's not for you, it's for the other Chico.
16. **CHICO 2** - It had to be.
17. **JOAQUIM** - See if you can read this letter.

18. **CHICO 2** (paper shuffle - reads with some difficulty) - Bro Joaquim. I want to th... thank you very much for having Chico at the house. I also thank Maria and father. I know that you don't want me to pay for Chico's expenses. The money I'm sending is for the family. You decide what you're going to do with it. A big hug from your brother, Antonio.

19. **CHICO 1** (approaching) - Good evening. What's that you're reading, Chico?

20. **MARIA** - It's a letter from your father.

21. **CHICO 2** - He sent money... but it's not for you. It's for the family here.

22. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Be quiet kid. The money is for all the family that's currently here. It's for Chico too. Your father sent a hundred thousand. Says it's up to us to decide what we are going to do with the money. (A long pause) Now, who's going to decide?

24. **CHICO 2** - I saw a shirt in the shop...

23. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - The best would be to save the money. We're not much in need now, but we could be one day.

25. **CHICO 2** - I need a shirt.

26. **MARIA** - There are beans at the shop. We could buy a sack that would last us a long time.

27. **JOAQUIM** - That large kid of Januario's... he said he'd sell it for forty thousand. We need a male kid, ours is too old.

26. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It's better to bury it until we need it one day.

27. **JINGLE**

28. (Outdoor setting, near the river)

29. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You're not bringing two rods today...

30. **CHICO 1** - Felismina couldn't come. She's got work at home.

31. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Yesterday evening, you didn't say anything about the money your father sent.

32. **CHICO 1** - He didn't send it to me, grandpa. Little Chico was right. The money is for the family here.

33. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Now you too are family here. (A long pause) This money will bring trouble yet. This idea of your father's, to tell us that we ourselves have to decide what to do with the money was not good. It would have been better if he sent it to Joaquim so that he could then decide. Now we're all arguing. Your aunt wants to buy a sack of beans and shawls. Your uncle wants to buy a billy-goat. Your cousin wants to buy a shirt. You, I still don't know what you might want. And the money is not enough for all of that. (A long pause) It's just like that democracy thing. Everybody argues a lot, but what's available is not enough for everybody.

34. **CHICO 1** - And how do you think it should be, grandpa?

35. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - There has to be a chief who decides.

36. **CHICO 1** - And who should be the chief, grandpa? Here, among the family its uncle Joaquim. But in our country there are many families, there are people everywhere, in the city, in the district, in villages. How do you elect a chief, grandpa?

37. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You're always asking difficult questions. How do you elect a chief? In the old days, the chief was the son of the chief.

38. **CHICO 1** - But there would be too many sons of chiefs in the whole country. It wouldn't work.

39. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So how do you resolve this?

40. **CHICO 1** - The country belongs to all of us, doesn't it, grandpa? Mozambique is yours, it's mine, it belongs to all families, to all men and women. Therefore, the right to decide about Mozambique belongs to everybody too.

41. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Bah! All this is confusing. When everybody is in charge at the same time, nobody is really in charge.

42. **CHICO 1** - That's true. Because of that we'll be electing people who will represent us. The people we choose will be making the decisions.

43. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And if we don't like their decisions?

44. **CHICO 1** - Every five years there are new elections. If people don't like what their representatives have done, they chose other ones. But not even the President of the Republic, the representatives, the Government and the tribunals can behave as they please. They have to obey what's written in the country's principal law, the Constitution. And they have to obey and enforce all the laws, just as we do. Because we're all equal before the law. And, moreover, when we don't agree with what our leaders are doing, we have the right to say that we disagree. When we have different ideas, we have the right to speak out our ideas, to try to convince others that our ideas are right. But we should also respect the right of others to have ideas that differ from ours...

45. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - This seems very difficult.

46. **CHICO 1** - Remember the school, grandpa. Wasn't it you yourself, grandpa, who said that we'd done wrong by not listening to the arguments of the people from the other village?

47. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - That's right, but I'm still your grandfather. I've reached a certain age and I've learned a lot.

48. **CHICO 1** - We all have to learn the things you've learned, grandpa.

49. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Well... there could be a couple of things that I, too, have to learn.

50. **JINGLE**

51. (Outdoor setting, night, crickets, fire)

52. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Everybody is so quiet tonight. (A long pause) Bah! It even looks as if they're all angry. Everybody only looks down at his plate, everybody's eating in silence, we're already not talking with each other, it even looks as if we aren't a family anymore. (A long pause) It's because of the money Chico's father sent. (A long pause) I've got an idea how to solve the problem.

53. **JOAQUIM** - We already know your idea. It's to bury the money. I'm just remembering the time when father buried ten thousand and, afterwards, never found the money again.

54. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I don't want to talk about that idea. It is an idea for solving the problem of how are we going to decide what to do with this money. (A long pause) This money is ours, right?

55. **MARIA, JOAQUIM** - Right.

56. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Therefore, the right to decide is also ours. We want different things and there's not enough money to get everything. It's not enough to buy a shirt for the little Chico, the billy-goat Joaquim wants, the sack of beans and shawls Maria wants. So my idea is that we put one of us in charge of deciding. But this person has to listen very carefully to other people's opinions and to give them a good thought.

57. **CHICO 2** - I already know that I'll end up without my shirt. For sure I won't be the one who's going to be deciding, I'm not old enough.

58. **MARIA** - I think it should be Joaquim who should decide.

59. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I have the same opinion.

60. **CHICO 1** - Me too.

61. **JOAQUIM** - If everybody agrees...

61. (!!!) **CHICO 2** - Meh-eh-eh (bleats)! I can already hear the billy-goat coming.

62. **MARIA** - Chico! That's a lack of respect.

63. **CHICO 2** - I apologize, father. I was only joking.

64. **JINGLE**

65. (The same setting as in the previous scene)

66. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So, did Joaquim already decide?

67. **MARIA** - Two days have passed and he still says nothing.

68. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - That's good. It means that he's thinking about what each of us said. Look, Joaquim is coming.

69. **JOAQUIM** (approaching) - Good evening.

70. **ALL** - Good evening.

71. **JOAQUIM** - I want to tell you that I've made a decision. (Very long pause) I did what we agreed. I heard the opinion of each of you and I gave it a thought. Now I'm going to tell you what I've decided. Maria wanted to buy a sack of beans. I thought and thought and realized that it is a good idea. We all need food. But the sack of beans would cost all our money. So I decided to buy only twenty kilos of beans. Chico wanted a shirt. I went and looked and saw that Chico really needed a shirt. But the shirt he wanted was too expensive, it was nice, but the cloth was too weak, it wouldn't have lasted long. Thus I decided to buy one made of stronger cloth, that will last longer and costs less. Father wanted to bury the money. I thought about it and I figured that he was talking about that in order to avoid mentioning what he really needed. Well, there are many things he needs, but it is cold and the shawl he had was old and torn. That's why I decided to buy a shawl for father. After buying all these things, twenty thousand were left. So I went to talk with Januario and made a deal with him. I paid twenty thousand for the billy-goat and I'll pay the rest in corn after the harvest. Such were my decisions.

72. **MARIA** - I think you've decided very well.

73. **CHICO 2** - What's my shirt like, father? Does it have a crocodile on the pocket?

74. **JOAQUIM** - No, but it's as strong as hippo's skin.

75. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - This shawl idea! I don't need a new shawl.

76. **JOAQUIM** - You need it, father. I already decided, (A long pause) There's only one thing. Maria said that she didn't want anything for herself. But, with the change, I bought her this side comb for hair. Because it's also necessary to think about beautiful things, right?

76. (!!!) **LAUGHTER AND VOICES** - Right!

77. **JINGLE**

78. Today's story talked about democracy. Democracy is a political system based on certain principles: The sovereignty belongs to the people. The government has to have the people's consent. The government should represent the majority of citizens and, in order to do that, free and fair elections must be held periodically. The minorities are respected and have rights. All citizens are equal before the law and the government also has to respect the laws, especially the constitution which limits its powers. Citizens have rights, freedoms and guarantees, recognized by the Constitution and respected by the State. Two of these rights are the right to freely express their ideas and the right to organize themselves in order to peacefully promote their ideas. In that way, citizens participate in a country's political life, that is, participate in the decision-making.

79. **JINGLE**

THERE IS A PLACE FOR EVERYBODY - FIFTH STORY
TOPIC: POLITICAL PARTIES

THE FAMILY ARGUMENT

1. RURAL SETTING, NIGHT
2. **JOAQUIM** - I think that Serafim has said the right things. I think that I'm going to vote for his party.
3. **CHICO 1** - In my opinion, Mr. Serafim said nothing.
4. **JOAQUIM** - Said nothing? So he was talking for two hours and said nothing!
5. **CHICO 1** - Uncle Joaquim, one can speak a lot without saying anything. At least without saying anything important. To say what he said, Mr. Serafim could have remained silent.
6. **JOAQUIM** - So you think that he shouldn't speak? For a boy of your age you're very arrogant.
7. **CHICO 1** - It wasn't what I said, uncle.
8. **JOAQUIM** - That's what I just heard.
9. **CHICO 1** - I apologize, uncle, but it wasn't. Mr. Serafim has all the right in this world to speak. I simply think he talked a lot, but didn't say anything.
10. **JOAQUIM** - You're continuing to be arrogant. Look at you: you're just a boy and you're saying bad things about an experienced grownup man. He might not have studied as much as you, but he's lived through a lot more than you. Age teaches you more than school. Moreover, he's from here and he knows our problems. And you? You came from the city a month ago, you don't know anything about things around here. You're very disrespectful.
11. **CHICO 1** - Mr. Lucas is even older than Mr. Serafim, he's from here too and he said very different things.
12. **JOAQUIM** - Everybody knows that Lucas is stupid.
13. **CHICO 1** - But uncle, many folks from here agree with what Mr. Lucas said.
14. **JOAQUIM** - That means that you're in Lucas' party. Those are folks who can't think.
15. **CHICO 1** - I didn't say that I was in Mr. Lucas' party. But I think that the ideas he proposed are better than the ones proposed by Mr. Serafim.

80. Elections are one of the most important aspects of democracy. Through elections, citizens periodically vote in order to choose their leaders. Because of that, don't forget: in your vote, the future of Mozambique.

80. (!!!) JINGLE AND CLOSURE

16. **JOAQUIM** - Better in what way?
17. **CHICO 1** - At least he talked about the problems we have here and he proposed solutions. I don't agree with all that he's said, but he indeed proposed some solutions. Meanwhile Mr. Serafim did nothing of the kind.
18. **JOAQUIM** - Watch it, I don't allow this kind of talk in my house.
19. **CHICO 1** - I didn't say anything bad, uncle.
20. **JOAQUIM** - Oh yes sir, you did. I am the one who decides about the family's party in this house.
21. **CHICO 1** - But I'm not deciding about anything, uncle.
22. **JOAQUIM** - Nor do you have anything to decide about. Here in this house, I don't want to hear a word about Lucas' party.
23. **CHICO 1** - But, uncle...
24. **JOAQUIM** (angrily) - I already said that I don't want to hear about Lucas' party.
25. **MARIA** (from distant background into the foreground) - I'm sorry I'm late. But the food is almost ready, it just needs to be heated up. (A long pause) The meeting lasted longer than I thought.
26. **JOAQUIM** - What meeting?
27. **MARIA** - Mr. Lucas held a meeting to explain his party's ideas. He said good things, that Mr. Lucas.
28. **JOAQUIM** - You've been to Lucas' party meeting?
29. **MARIA** - Yes I have, Joaquim. It was very interesting.
30. **JOAQUIM** - Is everybody nuts in this house? I've already said that I don't want to even hear about Lucas and his party. In this family, there's only one party.
31. **MARIA** - But, Joaquim, I only went to the meeting, nothing else.
32. **JOAQUIM** - And they've put things into your head. Did you or didn't you say that Lucas said good things and that the meeting was interesting.
33. **CHICO 1** - I did.

34. **JOAQUIM** - See! You were already defending Lucas' party.

35. **CHICO 1** - Aunt was just saying...

36. **JOAQUIM** (angrily) - You be quiet. I am the boss in this family and I don't allow disrespect.

37. **GRANDPA MATEUS** (from distant background into the foreground) - Hey! What's happening here? I could hear you arguing even from far away.

38. **JOAQUIM** - What's happening is that this family is getting out of control. (A long pause) Are you also for Lucas' party, Sir?

39. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Which Lucas? What party?

40. **JOAQUIM** - It's a group of idiots with an ass as a leader. And there are certain people from this family who also want to be stupid.

41. **MARIA** - Joaquim!

42. **CHICO 1** - This is also not the way to talk, uncle.

43. **CHICO 2** (from distant background into immediate background) - Father! Father!

44. **JOAQUIM** - What is it?

45. **CHICO 2** (in the foreground) - On my way here I met Mr. Lucas. He's sent a message for you, father.

46. **JOAQUIM** (out of his mind) - What!

47. **CHICO 2** - He said that he's holding a meeting tomorrow and that he's inviting you to come along, father.

48. **JOAQUIM** - Do you see this! Now this Lucas is already mobilizing children.

49. **CHICO 1** - But he only sent a message, uncle.

50. **JOAQUIM** - What message! He very well knows that I don't want to have anything to do with his party. He's using my son in order to convince me. He's using my wife in order to convince me. I don't allow this, do you hear me? I won't allow it.

51. **JINGLE**

52. **SETTING** - Riverside.

53. **CHICO 2** - You look worried, Chico.
54. **CHICO 1** - It's nothing.
55. **CHICO 2** - I think there's something.
56. **CHICO 1** - It's back home. It's been two days since my grandfather stopped talking to anybody. He's sitting there without saying a word.
57. **CHICO 2** - But why? Is he sick?
58. **CHICO 1** - I think he's angry. Very angry, indeed. I've never seen him like this.
59. **CHICO 2** - Look, it seems that he's coming down here. I'd better be going. He must be wanting to talk with you.
60. **CHICO 1** (After a Very long pause) - Good day, grandpa.
61. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Hum.
62. **CHICO 1** (After a Very long pause) - You didn't bring a fishing rod, grandpa. Do you want me to go and get it from home?
63. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - No. (A long pause) This democracy of yours! It's just what I thought, after all. A folly from the city only creating problems. Now they're only talking about parties. Party of this, party of that, party of something else. I'd like to understand this folly, but I don't understand anything. You tell me: what's this party business all about?
64. **CHICO 1** - I don't know if I can explain it.
65. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Try. I want to understand it.
66. **CHICO 1** - Not all people think in the same way.
67. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - That's for sure. There are clever people who think well, there are stupid people who think poorly and there are the hard heads who don't think at all. It was like that even in the times of my grandfather, we didn't need parties.
68. **CHICO 1** - You must be joking, grandpa.
69. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I'm not joking at all. I'm very angry and I have no desire at all to joke. But go on.

70. **CHICO 1** - I was saying that all people don't think alike. They have different ideas about many things. They also have different ideas about the best way to organize the country, to resolve the problems of the country. It is natural that people who share the same ideas come together with the goal of promoting their ideas.

71. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - All right. But could it happen that all the people from our village get together and everyone turns up with a different idea?

72. **CHICO 1** - But there are many villages like this one. You can't get together all the people from all villages. But in each of them there are people who think in a certain way, who have the same ideas about the solution of the country's problems. A party is an association of people who, although they live far away from each other, although they don't even know each other, share the same ideas. They associate in order to present and defend their ideas.

73. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And what does this have to do with the elections?

74. **CHICO 1** - A party is an association that presents its ideas to all the people. There are different parties, each with its own ideas. And all want their ideas to be implemented. In order to do that, they have to have their representatives in the Assembly of the Republic and they have to govern. But it's the people who decide who's going to be the president of the Republic, which representatives are going to be in the Assembly and the party that will be in the Government. This decision is made at the elections, when people vote.

75. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Hum.

76. **CHICO 1** - You'll see that parties have a great responsibility, grandpa. They don't limit themselves to the presentation of their own ideas. They present their programs and ask the people to choose them to run the country. To run a country is a great responsibility.

77. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And how do I know if a party is able to run the country?

78. **CHICO 1** - That is a thing that each of us has to decide on his own. The parties present themselves to the citizens and each party asks the citizens to entrust it to rule the country. Each of us has to judge the parties and to decide which one he trusts the most. What's important is that different parties, by presenting their ideas, programs and candidates, allow for the citizens to choose what they think is best at the elections.

79. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - All right, I think I understand a bit better what parties are. But, meanwhile, we have people from our family crossed with each other because of the parties.

80. **CHICO 1** - I don't know if it's because of the parties, grandpa.

81. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Be it because of parties or not, I have to do something to end this bickering. And you're going to help me.

82. **CHICO 1** - Help you how, grandpa?

83. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I still don't know how. But we have to resolve this problem. I don't want the family to be like this. Let's solve this problem, solve it very quickly.

84. **JINGLE**

85. **NARRATOR** - Today's story talked about political parties. Political parties are organizations that are formed through the voluntary association of individuals. Nobody can be forced to belong to a certain party. To belong or not to belong to a party is a personal decision.

86. **JINGLE**

87. **NARRATOR** - Political parties are organizations that defend ideas and programs which they consider to be the best ways of governing the country, of solving the problems of the country and of developing the country. Besides presenting and defending their ideas, political parties want to apply them and, in order to do so, they try to get into the Assembly of the Republic and into the government. They should do it in a peaceful way. Therefore they compete at the elections, by presenting their programs and their candidates. It is the people who choose. Whether they win or lose the elections, parties must accept the voters' decision.

88. **JINGLE**

89. **CLOSURE**

THERE IS A PLACE FOR EVERYBODY - TENTH STORY
TOPIC: THE VOTING PROCESS AND THE SECRET BALLOT

THE FAMILY PLAY - SECOND PART

1. RURAL SETTING, NIGHT

2. GRANDPA MATEUS - So let's continue our play about voting. Each of us already has his role. The big Chico is the President of the Board of the Voting Assembly. Felismina is the Vice-President. The little Chico is a party monitor. Joaquim is an international monitor. Me and Maria are voters, we've already formed our waiting line and I'm the first up. Now, what should I do.

3. CHICO 2 - Now you're going to wait.

4. GRANDPA MATEUS - I'll wait for what? I'm the first in the line!

5. CHICO 2 - You have to wait till it's seven in the morning. In all Voting Assemblies, everywhere, the voting will begin at the same time, and it will end at the same time as well. Voting begins at seven in the morning on October 27.

6. GRANDPA MATEUS - So let's say it's already seven o'clock. What do I do now?

7. CHICO 1 - You get out of the line, grandpa, and come up to here, where the Board is sitting.

8. GRANDPA MATEUS - I'm coming. I'm already there. And now?

9. CHICO 2 - Now, show your hands so that we can see them.

10. GRANDPA MATEUS - Why do you want to see my hands? Who doesn't wash his hands can't vote?

11. CHICO 1 - We want to see whether you have traces of dye on your fingers. If there's dye on your hands, it means that you've already voted and we don't let anybody vote twice.

12. GRANDPA MATEUS - What's that? When you vote, dye shows up on your fingers?

13. CHICO 2 - You'll understand soon Mr. Mateus.

14. GRANDPA MATEUS - All right. Take a look at my hands.

15. CHICO 1 - There's no trace of dye.

16. **CHICO 2** - Now give me your voter ID card.
17. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It's here.
18. **CHICO 2** - Now, with your card I'll be checking whether you've been included the electoral register of this Voting Assembly, that is, whether you've registered here. (A LONG PAUSE) I found Mr. Mateus' name, he's registered here, his voter ID card seems to be in order. He can vote.
19. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Of course I can vote.
20. **CHICO 1** - I'll give your two ballots. This one is blue. Here are the names of the candidates for the President of the Republic. In front of every name there's a photo of the candidate. And in front of all this is this empty little square.
21. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I see.
22. **CHICO 1** - In order to vote for the presidential candidate of your choice with a pen that you'll find in the voting booth, you should put a cross in the little square in front of the name and the photo of the candidate
23. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I see.
24. **CHICO 1** - Here's the second ballot. This one is white. Here are the names of parties that have put forward their candidates for the representatives in the Assembly of the Republic. In front of each name, there's a drawing which is in effect the symbol of a party. And, after that, there's a little square in which you should put a cross that'll indicate the party of your choice.
25. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I see. But this cross business, I'm not sure I can do it.
26. **CHICO 2** - There's no problem. In the voting booth there'll be one of these pads with stamp ink. Instead of writing, Mr. Mateus, you can put the ink on a finger and with the tip of your finger, you should make a mark in the little square next to your choice on both ballots.
27. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I see. And then?
28. **CHICO 1** - Then you fold each of the ballots. First you fold it once, like this... from right to left. Then fold it one more time from top to bottom.
29. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I see. And then?
30. **CHICO 1** - Then you come back here to put the ballots in the ballot-boxes.

31. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And that's all. Hum... I'm going to the voting booth... Hey kid, get out of here, 'cause no one should see who I'm voting for.
32. **CHICO 2**- Don't you hey-kid me, Mr. Mateus. I'm a party monitor now.
33. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - All right, but nobody monitors my vote. Get out, get out. (A LONG PAUSE -TALKS TO HIMSELF) I press the tip of my finger on the stamp pad... now I'll use the tip of my finger to mark this square... the first one's done... now I'm going to vote on the ballot for the representatives... done... now I fold this ballot, once, from right to left... then from top to bottom... it's done... now the other ballot... done. (TALKING TO THE OTHERS) Done, I've voted.
34. **CHICO 1** - Now come back here. (VERY LONG PAUSE) You'll put the blue ballot in the blue ballot-box. That's it. And you'll put the white ballot in the white ballot-box. Well done.
35. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Is it over?
36. **CHICO 1** - Not yet. Now you'll have to put a finger in this glass. This is only water. But when you finish voting for real, you'll have to dip a finger in a special dye.
37. **CHICO 2** - It's a dye that doesn't rub off. Even if you wash it very well, many times, it doesn't rub off. If someone who's voted tries to vote again, he'll have to show his hands to the members of the Board and they'll see the dye showing that he's voted so they won't let him do it.
38. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Oh! That's why folks have to show their hands first. Whoever thought this up was clever. He can't be from the city, the one who thought it up. (A LONG PAUSE) Wait a minute! Does it mean that I'll have this finger dyed for ever?
39. **CHICO 1** (LAUGHS) - No, grandpa. The dye doesn't rub off for a couple days. It rubs off later, but when it goes away, the voting's already over.
40. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - The man who thought this up was really clever. (A PAUSE) Done, I've dipped my finger in the dye. And now?
41. **CHICO 2** - Now I write in the electoral register that Mr. Mateus has voted and I give you back your voter ID card. And, that's it, your voting's over.
42. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I see. Well, when I go to vote for real, I'll stick around to see the others. There'll be some that won't know how to do it and I'll want to see that.
43. **CHICO 1** - That's exactly what you can't do, grandpa. When you finish voting you can't remain at the place where the Voting Assembly is functioning. You have to go away.

44. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Bah! And why?
45. **CHICO 1** - If voters could hang out there after finishing their vote, it'd be a great mess. The room would be full of people, the members of the Board wouldn't be able to control anything, there would be people who'd be going around wanting to peep into the voting booth... It can't be, grandpa.
46. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - That's true. All right, I finished voting, off I go.
47. **CHICO 2** - Now let's repeat with the second voter in the line.
48. **MARIA** - I'm coming. Here are my hands...
49. **JINGLE**
50. **SAME SETTING**
51. **JOAQUIM** - This play of ours was very interesting.
52. **MARIA** - It was a good way of learning.
53. **CHICO 2** - If only the teacher at school taught in this way, it'd be so much better.
54. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I think that now I know how to vote. (A LONG PAUSE) Well, Chico, isn't there a way, any way on earth, of finding out for whom somebody's voted?
55. **CHICO 1** - No, grandpa, nobody can find that out. The secrecy of voting is a very important thing. Because, in that way, every individual votes for whom he really wants, with complete freedom, without any fear. Nobody can persecute or harm him for not voting for a candidate because nobody knows for whom he voted.
56. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - All right, I get this. But isn't there a way of knowing?
57. **CHICO 1** - No, grandpa. Everybody uses the same ballots. Each voter is alone in the voting booth. Nobody writes his name or signs the ballot. If anybody writes his name, signs it, or writes something other than a cross or a mark made with a fingertip in one square only, that particular ballot is not valid. It's as if a person hadn't voted at all. After that, the voter folds the ballots and only gets out of the booth with folded ballots. It's not possible to see for whom he's voted. Then, he puts the ballots in the ballot-boxes that are closed. When the ballot-boxes are opened, many ballots are in them, all of which are identical, each of them with a cross or a fingertip mark. It's impossible to discover to whom each of the ballots belonged. (A PAUSE) There's really no way to find out who anybody voted for, unless somebody's willing to say it openly.

58. **CHICO 2** - But he can't say it at the place where the Voting Assembly is functioning, in order not to influence other voters.

59. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I see. It's a good thing. In that way, people can choose without fear. Isn't it true, Joaquim?

60. **JOAQUIM (WITHOUT CONVICTION)** - Yes... it looks like a good thing...

61. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It looks like you're not too convinced about that.

62. **JOAQUIM** - I was only thinking about one thing. A husband doesn't have the right to know for whom his wife's voted?

63. **CHICO 1** - Oh uncle! The secrecy of voting is a very....

64. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Watch it, Chico! Don't forget the story about the monkey and the fish.

65. **CHICO 1** - You're right, grandpa.

66. **MARIA** - I want to answer this question. (VERY LONG PAUSE) Joaquim: properly speaking, you don't have the right to know for whom I'm going to vote.

67. **JOAQUIM** - Hum.

68. **MARIA (AFTER A VERY LONG PAUSE)** - But I'll be willing to tell you for whom I'm going to vote. I'll tell you because it's my right to like telling my husband that. It's my right, Joaquim. My right. Is it right, Joaquim?

69. **JOAQUIM** - It's right, Maria. I also have the right to like telling you for whom I'll vote.

70. **JINGLE**

71. **NARRATOR** - The second part of the story "The Family Play" continued talking about the voting process and about a very important aspect of elections - the secrecy of voting. The voting process ensures that nobody can find out for which candidate for the President of the Republic or for which party any voter has voted. Only the voter, in his free will, can reveal his vote if he wishes. The secrecy of voting is an important aspect of voters' freedom of choice. Voters can vote freely, without fear of persecution or reprisals, because nobody can find out for whom each of us has voted.

72. **JINGLE**

73. **CLOSURE**

THERE IS A PLACE FOR EVERYBODY - SIXTH STORY
TOPIC: FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

THE FAMILY RECONCILIATION

1. RURAL SETTING, OUTDOORS, BY THE HOUSE

2. GRANDPA MATEUS (Calling) - Chico!

3. CHICO 2 - Yes, grandpa.

4. GRANDPA MATEUS - I'm not calling you. I'm calling the big Chico. Chico!

5. CHICO 1 (in distant background) - Yes, grandpa.

6. GRANDPA MATEUS - Come here, because I want to talk to you. And you, little Chico, go and do something, because this conversation is not for your ears.

7. CHICO 2 - Now you only talk with the big Chico, grandpa.

8. GRANDPA MATEUS - I'll talk to you as well, afterwards.

9. CHICO 2 - I'm not so little, grandpa. I also know how to talk.

10. GRANDPA MATEUS - Sure you do. You're even quite good at it. And I like talking to you. But, now, I have to have a private conversation with the big Chico.

11. CHICO 2 - Promise me that you'll also talk to me afterwards, grandpa.

12. GRANDPA MATEUS - I promise.

13. CHICO 2 - Then off I go, but I'll be back in a while.

14. CHICO 1 - What is it that you want to talk about, grandpa?

15. GRANDPA MATEUS - I've got an idea how to end the bickering in our family. I need your help.

16. CHICO 1 - I'll do what you tell me, grandpa.

17. GRANDPA MATEUS - First, you always have to remember that your uncle Joaquim is a good person. He gets angry often, but it's because he always thinks about the well-being of the family. Do you understand?

18. **CHICO 1** - Hum.

19. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - What I'm saying is true. If you don't believe it, you won't be able to help me.

20. **CHICO 1** - All right, grandpa. I believe it.

21. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So listen carefully. Tonight, when your uncle returns (fade-out starts) you and me are going to be talking here...

22. **JINGLE**

23. **RURAL SETTING, OUTDOORS, NIGHT**

24. **JOAQUIM** - This afternoon I had a conversation with Samisone. He's going to make a vegetable-garden down by the riverside. He's going to plant onions, tomatoes and cabbage. I've been thinking that I could also make a little vegetable-garden. What do you think, father?

25. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - If that is what you think, it's all right.

26. **JOAQUIM** - And you Maria, what do you think?

27. **MARIA** - If you're up for it, it's all right.

28. **JOAQUIM** - Now, I'm thinking what I am going to plant. Tomatoes and onions are fine, we can eat them and sell them as well. But cabbage, I don't know. I could try with carrots. Or maybe a little bit of potatoes. What do you think, father?

29. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Whatever you decide will be right.

30. **JOAQUIM** - And you, Maria, what do you think?

31. **MARIA** - If that's your wish, it's fine.

32. **JOAQUIM** - Hum.

33. **JINGLE**

34. **SAME SETTING**

35. **JOAQUIM** - Yesterday, it looked like it was going to rain, but it didn't. This afternoon, there were dark clouds, and even my godfather Inacio's oxen were giving signs of the weather changing, but it also didn't rain. Now, this wind is blowing and you can't see the moon. Do you think it's going to rain, father?

36. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And what do you think?
37. **JOAQUIM** - I think that it should rain. You, Chico from the city, what do you think?
38. **CHICO 1** - You know more about this than I do, uncle.
39. **JOAQUIM** - Hum.
40. **JINGLE**
41. **SAME SETTING**
42. **JOAQUIM** - I've heard that Lucas is going to hold another meeting of this party of his tomorrow. (A long pause) This party of Lucas' has only crazy ideas. (A long pause) Serafim's party is the one that has good ideas. Isn't it true, father?
43. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I accept your opinion.
44. **JOAQUIM** - The boy from the city is the one who likes Lucas' party. Tell me Chico, what are the good ideas that Lucas' party has?
45. **CHICO 1** - I'd prefer to hear what you think, uncle.
46. **JOAQUIM** - What I think, I already said: it's a group of idiots with an ass as their leader. They're no good. I'd really like to see what Lucas would do if he won the elections. He'd do only stupid things. (A long pause) And you, Maria, do you still have the desire to go to his meetings?
47. **MARIA** - I'll go if you tell me to go.
48. **JOAQUIM** - Me telling you to go to Lucas' party meetings! Only when hell freezes over.
49. **MARIA** - Then I won't go.
50. **JOAQUIM** - Hum.
51. **JINGLE**
52. **SAME SETTING**
53. **JOAQUIM** - Have you already heard that another party has appeared, holding meetings and all? Salomao is leading them. Salomao is a clever man. Isn't he, father?
54. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - If you say so, he must be.

55. JOAQUIM - It's funny how two clever people, Serafim and Salomao, think in such different ways. (A long pause) Nevertheless, I prefer Serafim's party. Chico, what do you think about Salomao's ideas?

56. CHICO 1 - I'd like to know what you think, uncle.

57. JOAQUIM - Well, what I think is... (Very long pause) But what's happening here?

58. GRANDPA MATEUS - What are you talking about?

59. JOAQUIM - For three days now nobody is thinking anything in this house. I talk about the vegetable-garden, nobody has any opinion. I talk about the rain, nobody thinks anything. I talk about Lucas' party, which everybody used to defend, and suddenly nobody has an opinion about it. I talk about Salomao, nobody thinks anything. Is it only me that has any opinions in this family?

60. GRANDPA MATEUS - Then you need our opinions?

61. JOAQUIM - Of course I need your opinions. Otherwise, it's only me who's talking and it's like talking to a tree.

62. GRANDPA MATEUS - But, the other day, you didn't want anybody talking.

63. JOAQUIM - Me? When was that?

64. CHICO 1 - You don't remember, uncle. I said what I thought about Mr. Lucas' party and you said that you won't allow me to talk about that because it was disrespectful.

65. GRANDPA MATEUS - You got angry with Maria for the same reason.

66. MARIA - And you even got angry at the little Chico, only because he gave you a message from Lucas.

67. JOAQUIM - You want to say that what's been going on during the last three days was arranged among yourselves?

68. GRANDPA MATEUS - No. I asked the others to always say that they agreed with you.

69. JOAQUIM - Father, you said... But why did you do that?

70. GRANDPA MATEUS - I thought that it was what you wanted. I thought that in that way you'd be satisfied.

71. JOAQUIM - You shouldn't have done this, father. I'm very offended.

72. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It wasn't meant to offend you.

73. **JOAQUIM** - I'm very offended, father.

74. **JINGLE**

75. **RURAL SETTING, OUTDOORS, MORNING**

76. **CHICO 1** - It looks like your plan didn't work, grandpa. Uncle is very angry.

77. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - All things take their time. Let your uncle think a while.

78. **CHICO 1** - But uncle is really angry. For two days he almost hasn't even looked at me.

79. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It's true, he's angry. But it could be that he's not angry with us.

80. **CHICO 1** - So who is he angry with?

81. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - With himself, Chico. I think he's angry with himself.

82. **JINGLE**

83. **OUTDOOR SETTING. NIGHT.**

84. **JOAQUIM** - Father, Maria, Chico, I've got something to tell you.

85. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Tell us, Joaquim.

86. **JOAQUIM** - What I want to say is the following: father wanted to give me a lesson, and he sure did. I need your opinions. I know that I made it seem otherwise on the day when I got angry at all the folks in the house because of Lucas and his party, and I apologize for that. What happened is the following: I've had a discussion with Lucas. He said things with which I didn't agree and we argued a lot. We got angry with each other. I came home angry, and when the big Chico praised Lucas I told him to be quiet. Then, Maria came saying that she just went to a meeting of Lucas' party and I also didn't want to hear her opinion. Then little Chico came saying that he had a message from Lucas for me and I got even more angry. But, in reality, I didn't want you to stop saying what you think. I need your opinions.

87. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And we need yours. All the people need other people's ideas. Look, I'm old, I didn't go to school and I know little about these things like democracy, parties, and elections. But there's one thing I know: nobody knows everything, nobody's ideas are all good, and moreover, I believe there's nobody who has only good ideas.

88. **JOAQUIM** - That is true, father.

89. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - If we don't listen to other people's ideas, we are missing all the good ideas that other people have, we're missing the experience and the knowledge of other people. We make ourselves poor on purpose. It's as if we were going to a party with all other families, one of these parties where each family brings some food. So we go and we only eat the rice we've brought. Others bring peanut curry, and we don't eat it. Others bring fish, and we don't eat it. Others bring manioc, and we don't eat it. Others bring tea, and we don't drink it. We only eat our rice, we have a poor meal while we could be having a hearty meal. Do you think that whoever is behaving like this is doing the right thing?

90. **JOAQUIM** - I don't think so.

91. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It's the same thing with ideas. It's necessary to give everybody freedom to bring out and present their ideas. This doesn't mean that we have to agree with all of them. If there's a dish that I don't like at a party, I don't eat it. If I don't like an idea, I'll say that I don't like it. But I can't forbid, I can't say, "don't say your opinion, be quiet". If I did this, I'd be saying that others can also tell me to be quiet. I get very angry when they don't let me speak. And I think that other people get as angry as I do. (A long pause) I'm old and I know little about these party and elections business. But this is what I feel.

92. **CHICO 1** - I really liked hearing what you were saying, grandpa. What you have just explained so well is called the freedom of expression. It's a right of all citizens declared by the Constitution.

93. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I don't know this lady called Constitution. But if she's saying so, she's got a good head on her shoulders.

94. **JINGLE**

95. **NARRATOR** - Today's story talked about the freedom of expression. The freedom of expression is one of the human rights that is very important in the electoral process. Without the freedom of expression there could not be free and fair elections, because, without it, people, parties, candidates would not be able to present their ideas and programs, the voters would not get to know them and they would not be able to choose those they judge best. The freedom of expression is a freedom that all citizens have, to express and defend in a peaceful way their thoughts, their ideas, their opinions. The State has the duty of guaranteeing the freedom of expression and to ensure that nobody is harmed or persecuted for freely expressing his ideas.

97. (!!!) **JINGLE**

98. **CLOSURE**

THERE IS A PLACE FOR EVERYBODY - SEVENTH STORY
TOPIC: ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

THE MULTIPARTY GET-TOGETHER

1. DINER SETTING. CROWD IN THE BACKGROUND, NOISES IN THE BACKGROUND, SUCH AS TINKLING OF GLASSES, ETC.

2. SALOMAO (A FORTY YEAR OLD MAN) - Oh Mr. Joaquim! I'm so glad to see you.

3. JOAQUIM - Good afternoon, Mr. Salomao.

4. SALOMAO - You know, Mr. Joaquim, that I'm the representative of party A, here in our village.

5. JOAQUIM - I sure do know that already.

6. SALOMAO - I'd like to have a conversation with you about my party

7. JOAQUIM - I don't think it'd be worthwhile, Mr. Salomao. I don't do politics.

8. SALOMAO - It's not that I want you to be a member of my party. I just want to introduce you to our ideas. You and your family.

9. JOAQUIM - Look, Mr. Salomao, I'm not against anybody. But my family's already had an argument about this party thing. I don't want to start another one at home.

10. SALOMAO - Nobody will get angry. I just want to come to your house tonight and explain the political line of my party. It's just a conversation, half an hour.

11. JOAQUIM - Hum, I'm not sure...

12. SALOMAO - You know me, Mr. Joaquim. I don't go around making problems at other people's houses.

13. JOAQUIM (AFTER A PAUSE) - All right.

14. SALOMAO - Then I'll come to your house soon.

15. JINGLE

16. RURAL SETTING. NIGHT. CRICKETS IN DISTANCE; SOUND OF SPOONS TINKLING AGAINST METAL PLATES

17. **JOAQUIM** - I was almost forgetting. Mr. Salomao should be coming soon.
18. **MARIA** - Mr. Salomao?
19. **JOAQUIM** - He met me at the diner and asked if he could come to our house to talk about his party, party A.
20. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Today? Here at home?
21. **CHICO 2** - He's coming to ask for a contribution. You could give it to me, father, instead of giving it to him. That is, you could give it to my party.
22. **JOAQUIM** - Which is your party, kiddo?
23. **CHICO 2** - It's LCP. The Little Chico's Party. There's also the big Chico's party, but that one is called PCF.
24. **JOAQUIM** - PCF?
25. **CHICO 2** - Yes. The Party of Chico and Felismina. Its headquarters are by the riverside. They hold a lot of rallies, but with only the two same participants: Chico and Felismina.
26. **CHICO 1** - Watch it, kid, are you going around spying on me?
27. **CHICO 2** - No, I'm only going around studying. Observation lessons.
28. **MARIA** - Chico! I'll punish you.
29. **CHICO 2** - Let him be, aunt. Next time I'll catch him and give him a couple of slaps.
30. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It looks like we're going to have a problem...
31. **JOAQUIM** - Do you think that it'd be better if he didn't come and talk about politics at our house? I was also in doubt, but he insisted and...
32. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It's not that. It's that...
33. **MARIA** - Someone's coming.
34. **JOAQUIM** - It must be Mr. Salomao.
35. **SALOMAO (FROM DISTANT BACKGROUND INTO THE FOREGROUND)** - Good evening. With your permission?

36. **JOAQUIM** - Come in, come in, Mr. Salomao. Sit down here with us. Would you care for some?
37. **SALOMAO** - No, thank you very much.
38. **JOAQUIM** - But you must have a drink with us. Maria, pour a glass for Mr. Salomao.
39. **MARIA** - Coming!
40. **SALOMAO** - Thank you very much.
41. **CHICO 2** - It looks like someone else is coming.
42. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - That's what I wanted to say. It was that this afternoon Lucas asked me if he could come to our house and talk about the Party B, and I said that it was all right.
43. **LUCAS (40 YEARS OLD, FROM DISTANT INTO IMMEDIATE BACKGROUND)** - Good evening. With your permission?
44. **JOAQUIM** - Come in, Mr. Lucas. However, it seems that we might have a tiny problem. I'd arranged with Mr. Salomao that he come here and tell us about his party. I didn't know that my father had made the same arrangement with you.
45. **LUCAS** - I can come tomorrow.
46. **CHICO 1** - Why don't you stay too, Mr. Lucas? In that way we can have a multiparty conversation. Provided that you don't get angry with each other.
47. **SALOMAO** - I don't mind.
48. **LUCAS** - It could be even interesting. If Mr. Joaquim doesn't mind.
49. **JOAQUIM** - It's fine with me. Maria, pour another glass for Mr. Lucas.
50. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Mr. Salomao and Mr. Lucas, are you coming to give us lessons in politics?
51. **SALOMAO** - I only came to talk about my party. About the ideas we have which we are presenting to people who are going to participate in the elections.
52. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Then begin, Mr. Salomao. You're the one who came first.
53. **SALOMAO (IN FADE-OUT)** - I want to thank you for letting me come to your home to talk about my party. My party is called Party A and....

54. A VERY BRIEF JINGLE

55. SALOMAO (FADING IN)- ... and it is because we think that these are the best solutions for our country that we ask the voters to vote for our party.

56. GRANDPA MATEUS - We heard Mr. Salomao. Now let's hear Mr. Lucas.

57. LUCAS (FADING OUT) - Thank you very much. My party is called Party B and...

58. A VERY BRIEF JINGLE -

59. LUCAS (FADING IN) - ... because of that, we appeal to everybody to vote for Party B.

60. GRANDPA MATEUS - Well, we heard Mr. Salomao and Mr. Lucas presenting the ideas of their parties. And now?

61. MARIA (AFTER A PAUSE) - I'd like to ask a question. May I?

62. LUCAS - Of course, Madam Maria

63. SALOMAO (SIMULTANEOUSLY) - Please go ahead and ask, Madam Maria.

64. MARIA - Well, Mr. Lucas and Mr. Salomao have talked about many things. Things about politics, Government, that I don't understand very well. That is, certain things I do understand, some others I don't. But here in the village we also have problems, don't we? It looks like the Government is so far away, up in the city. Now, I don't know if these problems of ours, here in the village, ever reach the city. I'm just going to mention one thing. That medical center of ours doesn't have a nurse, doesn't have a midwife. What do we have to do to get a nurse and a midwife here?

65. LUCAS AND SALOMAO (AT THE SAME TIME) - My party believes...

66. GRANDPA MATEUS - Wait a minute! You better speak one at a time. This time Mr. Lucas should go first.

67. LUCAS (FADING OUT) - Well, Madam Maria pointed out the health care problem. It's a problem that my party holds as very important. Our program says that...

68. JINGLE

69. RIVERSIDE SETTING

70. GRANDPA MATEUS - It was interesting last night. Listen, Chico, was that the electoral campaign?

71. **CHICO 1** - It's one of the ways to conduct the electoral campaign. But there are other ways too.
72. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - They also hold meetings.
73. **CHICO 1** - Yes, they hold meetings, rallies, seek direct contacts with voters. But they also put up posters, distribute little books. They talk on the radio and on television...
74. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I've never seen television...
75. **CHICO 1** - They stage manifestations.
76. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - What's that?
77. **CHICO 1** - A lot of people from a party get together and, for example, march in a street with slogans, flags, banners with certain phrases written on them, recite their party platform, sing...
78. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And why they do that?
79. **CHICO 1** - It's also a way of making their party known, of promoting their ideas, of attracting new members and of asking the voters to vote for their party.
80. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I hope they're not coming here to do these ma... ma-what?
81. **CHICO 1** - Manifestations...
82. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - These mani... these things here. Only the monkeys would be watching them from the tree tops.
83. **CHICO 1** - That's more for cities, where many folks live in a small space.
84. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - My oh my! And if two groups come across each other, wouldn't a fight break out?
85. **CHICO 1** - It shouldn't, grandpa. The electoral campaign must be peaceful. Violence ain't allowed. It's forbidden to tell people to perform violent acts. It's forbidden to mobilize people to beat up other people and to instigate hatred.
86. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I hope that all people respect this. Like Salomao and Lucas last night. They have very different ideas, but they both managed to talk without hitting or insulting each other. And in that way we found out about their ideas. Otherwise, they could have fought each other all night and nobody would have known what they really think.
87. **JINGLE**

88. **NARRATOR** - Today's story talked about the electoral campaign. The electoral campaign starts 45 days before the elections and ends two days before them. All candidates and parties are free to conduct their electoral campaign in all parts of the country.

89. **JINGLE**

90. **NARRATOR** - In the electoral campaign, candidates and parties can use different means: rallies, meetings, displaying posters in public places, radio and television programs, advertisements in newspapers, festivals, public manifestations, etc. All citizens have the right to participate in the electoral campaign of any candidate or party. They also have the right of not participating and nobody can oblige them to participate in or support an electoral campaign. Parties and candidates are free to promote their ideas and programs and appeal for voters' support through their electoral campaigns. However, it is forbidden to incite disorder, insurrection, war, hatred and any form of violence.

91. **JINGLE**

92. **CLOSURE**

THERE IS A PLACE FOR EVERYBODY - EIGHTH STORY
TOPIC: THE RIGHT OF PARTIES TO DISAGREE

THE RIGHT AND WRONG

1. **RURAL SETTING, NIGHT**
2. **JOAQUIM** - I think that Serafim is right. We should have two schools, one for boys and another for girls. Boys and girls in a single school is not good.
3. **CHICO 1** - That's an obsolete idea, it's an idea from another time.
4. **JOAQUIM** - From another time? What time?
5. **CHICO 1** - From the time when it was thought that boys and girls should learn different things.
6. **JOAQUIM** - I think that boys and girls should learn different things. Maybe there in the city men and women do the same things. Maybe they all wear pants there. Here women do one thing and men do another thing. That's why they should learn different things and go to different schools.
7. **CHICO 1** - This is surely an idea from ancient times.
8. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I don't know why are you saying this, Chico? Is your uncle dead or is he alive?
9. **CHICO 1** - Of course he's alive, grandpa. Fortunately.
10. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So if he's alive and he thinks in that way, his thinking belongs to today, not to ancient times.
11. **CHICO 1** - But almost everywhere in the world...
12. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Chico, this here is not "almost everywhere in the world". This here is our village. Do you know the story about the monkey and the fish?
13. **CHICO 1** - No, grandpa, I don't know it.

14. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - One day a monkey was strolling along. He came to a pond and, as he was already tired, he sat down by the water. When he looked in the water he saw a fish swimming. So the monkey got very worried that the fish was going to drown. He got into the pond, caught the fish and put it ashore, convinced that he was saving the fish. The fish started jumping and the monkey thought: it must be dancing out of happiness. Time passed and the fish died. The monkey got sad and said: poor thing, but at least it died satisfied and ashore. (A LONG PAUSE) Did you understand the story, Chico? He who comes from outside and comes to a land he doesn't know, if he doesn't study the way of life of the people living in that land, can end up doing bad things, while convinced that he's doing good things.

15. **CHICO 1** - I understand the story, grandpa. But I don't know whether it is a good example for this case.

16. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I don't know either. I only know that it's a good example for you.

17. **CHICO 1** - For me?

18. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Yes, for you. You come here, see real people thinking in a certain way and say that their thinking doesn't belong to today, that it's from ancient times. No it ain't. Their thinking also belongs to today. You're behaving like the monkey. You think that one can live only if one lives like you do.

19. **CHICO 1** - You're being unfair, grandpa.

20. **MARIA** - Chico, that's not the way to talk to your grandfather.

21. **CHICO 1** - Sorry, grandpa. What I wanted to say was that I don't think that way.

22. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Are you sure you don't? Judging from the way you spoke to your uncle Joaquim, it seemed that you think just that.

23. **CHICO 1** - But, grandpa, Mr. Lucas, who's also from here, says that there should be only one school for both boys and girls.

24. **JOAQUIM** - That's his party's idea.

25. **CHICO 1** - Mr. Serafim's idea is also his party's idea.

26. **JOAQUIM** - Yes, but while the ideas of Serafim's party are good ideas, the ideas of Lucas' party are crazy. I don't know why we let him go around here defending these ideas. We should tell him to be quiet. And you should also be quiet.

27. **JINGLE**

28 .RIVERSIDE SETTING

29 .GRANDPA MATEUS - You're very quiet, Chico.

30. CHICO 1 - You treated me badly yesterday, grandpa.

31. GRANDPA MATEUS - Me?

32. CHICO 2 - And uncle Joaquim too. He even said that I should be quiet.

33. GRANDPA MATEUS - You told him the same thing first. In another way, but you said it. Anyway, almost all the folks from here don't like what your friend Lucas is going around saying. It's not the issue of school. It's more the other things that Lucas and his party are saying.

34. CHICO 1 - You also think that people from the village shouldn't let him speak.

35. GRANDPA MATEUS - Almost all folks support the ideas of Serafim's party. Almost all folks think that Lucas' ideas are against them. Wouldn't it be better if he stayed quiet?

36. CHICO 1 - Now, it seems that you're being the monkey from your story.

37. GRANDPA MATEUS - This is an insult.

38. CHICO 2 - Sorry, grandpa. I didn't mean to insult you.

39. GRANDPA MATEUS - Isn't it you who's always talking about democracy? And weren't you saying that, in a democracy, the majority is always right? So the majority here is against Lucas' ideas, and since it's the majority that's on the side of reason, he'd better stay quiet.

40. CHICO 2 - I've never said that the majority is always right.

41. GRANDPA MATEUS - So what's the purpose of elections? Isn't it to see who's right? If that's not their purpose, then what is it?

42. CHICO 1 - I think that elections serve for us to find out the will of the majority, and not to see who's right. That's why parties have the right to disagree among themselves. Even after elections, parties that have lost continue to have the right to disagree with the one that's won. Even a party that's received less votes has the right to disagree with a party that's gotten more votes.

43. GRANDPA MATEUS - Why?

44. **CHICO 1** - Because this is the guarantee that everybody can participate in the political life of the country. This is the guarantee that everybody can express their own ideas. It's also a guarantee for the people who are in the majority.

45. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - How come?

46. **CHICO 1** - Because if I have a right to prevent somebody from disagreeing with me, I have to accept that others could also come to have the right to prevent me from talking.

47. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - That's true.

48. **CHICO 1** - Moreover, grandpa, life does not stand still. Things don't always stay the same. Ideas that are today defended by a few people, could start to be defended by the majority five or ten years from now.

49. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - That's also true.

50. **CHICO 1** - After all, grandpa, if parties, big and small, didn't have the right to disagree among each other, there would be no discussion at all. We'd all have to accept the same ideas, even if we didn't share them.

51. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So you think that parties and individuals have the right to defend wrong ideas?

52. **CHICO 1** - I think so, grandpa. It's important to have the right ideas. But it's also important that we have the freedom to express different ideas and to choose the ones that seem right. There's something I read which I thought was very interesting.

53. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Say it.

54. **CHICO 1** - They asked a person why did he think that all opinions should be considered. He answered: if the opinion of the other is right, then we have the possibility of changing our wrong opinion. If the opinion of the other is wrong, we have the possibility of comparing both and of obtaining a proof that our opinion is right.

55. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Hum, this is a bit complicated. For me, what's wrong is wrong, what's right is right.

56. **CHICO 1** - Do you think that it's right not to let people speak, grandpa?

57. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Look, I'm old. I've already heard many people speak. I've accumulated a lot of patience. I'm used to listening to people talking, talking, talking. (A LONG PAUSE) You're right. It's wrong not to let people talk. But there's something in which you're wrong. It's the when you hear a thing you don't like and say that it's an outdated idea. It looks then as if you were saying to older people that they already should've died. This is also a way of not letting the others speak.

58. **CHICO 1** - But, grandpa...

59. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Wait. It's me who's talking now and you are going to listen. When two people talk at the same time they're not talking, they're just making noise. (A LONG PAUSE) When you told your uncle Joaquim that his idea was from ancient times, you didn't show that it was wrong. You only said a thing that was meant to shut him up. Parents bringing up children, isn't that an idea from ancient times? Is it wrong because it's from ancient times?

60. **CHICO 1** - No, grandpa, it's not.

61. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So you are seeing that you didn't prove anything when you told your uncle Joaquim that his idea was from ancient times.

62. **CHICO 1** - You're right, grandpa.

63. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I know I am. Sometimes the old can also be right.

64. **CHICO 1** - I'll apologize to uncle Joaquim. But, grandpa,...

65. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Go ahead.

66. **CHICO 1** - I agree that I didn't say it right. But concerning that school issue, uncle Joaquim is wrong.

67. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So show him that he's wrong without insulting him. Isn't that the way you're saying that parties should discuss these electoral campaign issues?

68. **JINGLE**

69. NARRATOR - Today's story talked about the right that parties have to disagree among themselves. This right is a part of freedom of thought and expression. This is an essential part of democracy, which is important at all times and particularly during electoral campaigns. During them, candidates and parties present and defend their ideas. It's natural that these ideas are different and that candidates and parties disagree among each other. In a democracy, nobody has the right to impose his ideas on others. Everybody has the right to present his ideas, to try to show that his ideas are the best and to try to obtain the support of voters by means of their votes. All parties should have the same opportunities to promote their own ideas and programs during the electoral campaign.

70. JINGLE

71. CLOSURE

THERE IS A PLACE FOR EVERYBODY - NINTH STORY
TOPIC: THE FUNCTION OF THE CNE (NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION)
AND THE VOTING PROCESS

THE FAMILY PLAY (PART ONE)

1. RURAL SETTING, NIGHT

2. **JOAQUIM** - I was talking at the diner about the way in which people are going to vote. It seems that everybody has an idea of his own. Nobody seems to know very well how it's going to be.

3. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - But they're going to explain it, aren't they?

4. **JOAQUIM** - I think they should explain it so that all folks know how it's done.

5. **CHICO 2** - I know how it is. Every person comes there with a paper with the name of the person he wants to elect and hands it in.

6. **MARIA** - No, it can't be that way. It'd be a great confusion, everybody would bring a different paper. And afterwards, how would the counting be controlled? And those who can't write, like me, how could they write the person's name?

7. **CHICO 2** - But it's done with a paper. I heard my teacher say that it's done with a paper.

8. **CHICO 1** - You're right in this, little Chico. It's done with a paper, which is called a ballot. But voters don't bring papers with writing on them. They should receive ballots at the place where they're going to vote.

9. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Ha... and then you have to write a name on this paper

10. **CHICO 1** - No, grandpa. The names of presidential and party candidates are already written on the ballot.

11. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Pfft! How come? If there's already the name, then we ain't voting at all.

12. **CHICO 1** - I've got an idea, grandpa. Let's stage a kind of play tomorrow, here at home. We're going to do an imitation of how it's voted. Me and Felismina are going to prepare everything.

13. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Looks like a good idea.

14. **MARIA** - It could be even amusing. Can we do this imitation, Joaquim?

15. **JOAQUIM** - Let's try.

16. **JINGLE**

17. **SAME SETTING**

18. **CHICO 1** - Let's start our play about voting. The first thing is that in order to have elections, there's got to be some organization. Me and Felismina have organized this play. We've arranged these papers - these will be our ballots, we set up this notebook, that'll be our electoral register, these boxes, they will be our ballot-boxes and other things. On the level of our whole country, elections also require organization. To do that there's the CNE.

19. **MARIA** - CNE? What does it mean?

20. **CHICO 2** - It means National Electoral Commission (Comissao Nacional de Eleicoes). The National Electoral Commission directs and organizes elections.

21. **CHICO 1** - Now, the voters also have to be organized. I think that everybody already knows who the voters are.

22. **CHICO 2** - Even I know that. They're the people who are going to vote.

23. **MARIA** - They're Mozambican men and women, 18 or older, who got registered and therefore have the voter ID card.

24. **CHICO 2** - All that is set up so that I can't vote.

25. **MARIA** - You'll vote at the next elections.

26. **CHICO 1** - Voters are organized in Voting Assemblies. A Voting Assembly is a set of thousand voters.

27. **JOAQUIM** - Thousand people? But that's more people than there is in our village.

28. **CHICO 1** - Right, uncle. In many cases, an Assembly is formed by all adults in a village. But there are boroughs and cities where there's a lot of people. There you have various Voting Assemblies, each with a thousand people. (A LONG PAUSE). In our play here, we'll pretend that our family is a Voting Assembly.

29. **CHICO 2** - I can't. I'm still not old enough.

30. **MARIA** - Since we're pretending here, you can be a voter. But only pretending.

31. **CHICO 1** - The Voting Assembly has its administration. It's called the Board of the Voting Assembly.

32. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - What's this nonsense? Since when do boards tell people what to do?
33. **CHICO 1** - It's not a board, board. It's not a piece of wood, grandpa. The group of people who administer something are often called the board. That's why this group of people is called the Board of the Voting Assembly. The board has a president, a vice-president and three members.
34. **CHICO 2** - I can be the President.
35. **CHICO 1** - No, little Chico. I've got another job for you. If you don't mind, me and Felismina are going to be the President and the Vice-President of the Board of the Voting Assembly. In this way we can explain better our play.
36. **CHICO 2** - It had to be Chico and Felismina. Or Felismina and Chico, for a change.
37. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - All right. You're the President and Felismina is the Vice-President. And then?
38. **CHICO 1** - When October 27th arrives, which is the first day of voting, the members of the Board have to come to the place where the Assembly will function very early, at five in the morning.
39. **CHICO 2** - So that they can prepare all the things. At that time, the President speaks up in order to open the proceedings.
40. **CHICO 1** - The Voting Assembly is open. Now let's control the ballot-boxes.
41. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Hey! More slowly. What's this ballot-box thing?
42. **CHICO 1** - Ballot-boxes are boxes where voters put their ballots. There's a blue ballot-box where votes for the President of the Republic are put and there's a white ballot-box, where people put votes for the representatives in the Assembly of the Republic.
43. **JOAQUIM** - But what's there to be controlled?
44. **CHICO 2** - It's necessary that all ballot-boxes are empty before the voting begins.
45. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Hum! If not, some rascal could put votes there before the voting starts.
46. **CHICO 1** - Exactly, grandpa. Therefore, I, as the President of the Board, open the ballot-boxes, I show each of them to all members of the Board, so that they can see that they're empty and, after that, I close the ballot-boxes.

47. **JOAQUIM** - My oh my! And what if all of the members of the Board are in a deal with each other?

48. **CHICO 1** - Good question, uncle. In order to ensure that such things don't happen, all candidates for the President of the Republic and all parties can nominate their monitors, people they trust, so that they can see that everything is done according to the rules. That'll be the role of the little Chico. Come here. Stand there and watch all that me and Felismina are doing.

49. **CHICO 2** - I don't want to.

50. **CHICO 1** - Why don't you want to?

51. **CHICO 2** - Because just the other day you told me that if I continue to spy on you and Felismina, you'd slap me.

52. **MARIA** - Chico! Stop joking. We want to learn these things. This is important and, although you're still not old enough to vote, it's good for you to learn it.

53. **CHICO 2** - All right. So I'm going to monitor. But if the President of the Board gives a kiss to the Vice-President, I'll denounce this voting.

54. **LAUGHTER**

55. **CHICO 2** - After controlling the ballot-boxes, the Board members and party monitors control the voting booths.

56. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Hey! Stop there. What's that? I've heard of phone booths...

57. **CHICO 2** - The voting booth is the place where people go with their ballots in order to mark on them for whom they're voting. It has to be a protected place, covered in such a way from the sides, so that nobody can see for whom each voter is voting. For our little play, we've set up this place here, that'll be covered with these curtains.

58. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I see, that is, I see that you can't see what a person is doing in there.

59. **CHICO 1** - Then, the Board checks whether all things necessary for voting are there.

60. **JOAQUIM** - And what are these things?

61. **CHICO 1** - The electoral registers of the Voting Assembly. All voters registered at this particular place are in these registers. That's why people can only vote at the places where they were registered.

62. **CHICO 2** - There are also the ballots, special dye, pens, a stamp pad that should be in the booth for people who can't write.
63. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Hey! More slowly! Special dye, stamp pad, what are these for?
64. **CHICO 1** - I think it'd be better if we see that when everyone will be pretending to vote here in our play. Now we have to organize the waiting line.
65. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - There had to be a waiting line. You can really see that it was all thought up by city folks. And who's going to be organizing the line? The police?
66. **CHICO 2** - No, Mr. Mateus. The police can't be near a place where a Voting Assembly is functioning. It has to be more than three hundred meters away. The same thing is with the army. The police can come only if the Board of the Voting Assembly calls them up.
67. **MARIA** - Why's that so?
68. **CHICO 2** - Because police and army can be forces of intimidation. They've got guns. At the voting places, voters should feel absolutely free, without any fear, without feeling any pressure.
69. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So policemen and soldiers can't vote.
70. **CHICO 1** - They can. But they have to go and vote as ordinary citizens. They have to go without their weapons, they have to line up just like other people, to wait for their turn, vote and go home.
71. **JOAQUIM** - And who's organizing the line-up?
72. **CHICO 2** - Voters themselves and the members of the Board. Voters form the line as they're arriving. Who comes first, votes first. There are no people who are more important than others and who should go to the front of the line. However, the Board can give priority to pregnant ladies, sick or disabled people.
73. **MARIA** - Well, that's good.
74. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Let's make our line up. Since I talked first, I'll be the first in line.
75. **CHICO 1** - I was thinking about something else for you, grandpa.
76. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Be careful, 'cause I want to vote.
77. **CHICO 1** - I was thinking that you could be an international monitor.

78. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - International monitor?

79. **CHICO 1** - People from other countries will be in Mozambique during the elections to control whether they are free and fair. These people are the international monitors.

80. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - International, me? No, I'm too old to be international. Joaquim should be international, since he always goes looking around for that money that speaks English

81. **LAUGHTER INTO FADE OUT**

82. **JINGLE**

83. **NARRATOR** - You have heard the first part of the story "The Family Play". This story talks about what the voting process is going to be like. The voting process, the way in which voters exert their right to vote, is defined by the electoral law and it will be the same throughout the country. It is important that voters get familiar with the voting process, so that they know what to do when they go to vote.

84. **JINGLE**

85. **CLOSURE**

THERE IS ROOM FOR EVERYBODY - ELEVENTH STORY

TOPIC: ELECTIONS DO NOT SOLVE PROBLEMS - THEY DEFINE THE WAYS OF SOLVING THEM

THE MAN WHO DIDN'T KNOW HOW TO WISH

1. RURAL SETTING, DAY

2. GRANDPA MATEUS - Chico, what are you doing here? You should be at school by now.

3. CHICO 2 - There are no classes today. You forgot that today is Sunday, grandpa.

4. GRANDPA MATEUS - So it happens, I did forget it. But look, son, when there are no classes, you normally go out to play, you don't stay at home, sitting down, looking up in the air.

5. CHICO 2 - It seems that you forgot another thing, grandpa.

6. GRANDPA MATEUS - What?

7. CHICO 2 - You promised me that you'd find time to talk with me. You're always talking with the big Chico.

8. GRANDPA MATEUS - Are you jealous of your cousin?

9. CHICO 2 - It's not jealousy, no sir. But before big Chico came from the city, you used to talk more with me, grandpa. Now it even looks like you've forgotten that I'm your grandson too.

10. GRANDPA MATEUS - I didn't forget anything. But you're right. I've been talking very little with you. Come, let's sit there... in that shade over there, and let's talk. Come with me. (A VERY LONG PAUSE) Ah! Here we are, it's cool here and we can talk. Tell me, what do you want us to talk about?

11. CHICO 2 - About the same things you talk with the big Chico. This election business.

12. GRANDPA MATEUS - Hum... Aren't you too little to talk about these things?

13. CHICO 2 - I'm already twelve.

14. **GRANDPA MATEUS (LAUGHING)** - Right. You're really over the hill. I can already see the grey hairs on your head. All right, let's talk about elections. Go ahead.

15. **CHICO 2** - What I wanted to say, grandpa, is that I'm very pleased with all these things that are going to happen after the elections.

16. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Which things?

17. **CHICO 2** - So you don't know, grandpa? I've been listening to what folks are saying and it seems that we'll have cattle once again, they're going to build a new school, they're going to open a road so that bus can come here and they're saying that they're going to open a playground which will also have one of those big water tanks in which folks go swimming. I can barely wait to see these elections end so that I can see all these things happen here.

18. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - And you think that all these things are going to show up immediately after the elections?

19. **CHICO 2** - You're not saying it isn't true, grandpa, are you? Everybody is saying that. Didn't you hear that important gentleman from the city who was here the other day talking to all the folks here? He said just that.

20. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I'm not saying it's a lie, Chico. But I've learned that all things take their time. Before you have new things you have to make them.

21. **CHICO 2** - Are you saying that I'll still have to wait a long time before I'll be able to take a swim in the big tank, grandpa? But they're promising, grandpa.

22. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I think you'd better not start taking off your clothes to go swimming before you see this tank of theirs.

23. **JINGLE**

24. **RURAL SETTING, NIGHT, OUTSIDE THE HOUSE**

25. **JOAQUIM** - Have you already heard, father, that they're going to build a big barn where all of us will be able to store our corn?

26. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - That's a good thing.

27. **JOAQUIM** - And they're going to bring a tractor with a plough which folks will be able to rent to open up new fields.

28. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - That's a good thing too.

29. JOAQUIM - I can barely wait. When the elections are over, life is going to change here. Unless all these party people who've been here are big liars.

30. MARIA - They also said that they're going to build a new maternity ward, with midwives who've had proper schooling. (A LONG PAUSE) But you don't seem too convinced, father? Do you think that they're just talking empty talk, father?

31. CHICO 1 - We have the right to demand whatever the party that wins the elections promised.

32. GRANDPA MATEUS - I know little about this election business. But it seems that what you're saying... well... there are too many things at the same time.

33. JOAQUIM - So you don't believe it, father? Everything will stay the same? That's very bad, people are going to get very angry.

34. CHICO 1 - There's no need for getting angry, what we need to do is to demand that they fulfill what they promised...

35. JOAQUIM - I'll get angry. Because I heard them promise. I heard them myself, with my own ears, I didn't just hear it from somebody else. Don't you think, father, that we have the right to get angry if they don't do the things they've been telling us about?

36. GRANDPA MATEUS - I believe I never told you the story of the man who didn't know how to wish. It's a story that my grandfather told my father and my father told me. Do you want to hear it?

37. CHICO 2 - I want to.

38. GRANDPA MATEUS - A long long time ago, a young man lived around here. As he was of the marrying age, the family found him a bride. But before they did so, they made an agreement between the two families. The grandfather told him to ask the ancestors whether this marriage was going to be good for him. And he told him the following: I'll show you a tree. You should lie down and sleep a whole night under this tree. While you're sleeping, our ancestors will come and talk to you about your future. The grandfather showed him the tree and, the following evening, the young man went and lay down under it. While he was asleep, he saw the first ancestor who told him: if you wish and you wish with all your might, you'll have a big house, the biggest house in these lands. After that, he saw the second ancestor who told him: if you wish and you wish with all your might, you'll have a big farm, the biggest farm in these lands, where corn will shoot up and grow quickly and produce many ears. After that, he saw the third ancestor who told him: if you wish and if you wish with all your might, you'll have a big herd of goats, the biggest in these lands. Finally, the fourth ancestor showed up, who was

the most ancient of all of his ancestors, who told him: to wish with all your might is to wish like an ant. Therefore, don't get married before you find out the ant's secret .

39. **CHICO 2** - This guy was lucky. But grandpa, what's the ant's secret?

40. **MARIA** - Shhh! Let your grandfather continue the story.

41. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It is true, he was a lucky young man. But he didn't have a good head on his shoulders. He reasoned like this: I don't need to discover the ant's secret, I know very well how to wish with all my might. So, he chose the place where it'd be nice to have a house and sat down, and with his eyes closed he started saying: I want my big house here; I wish with all my might that my big house be here, the house my ancestor promised me. He stayed like that for an hour and then he opened his eyes to see the house, but the house wasn't there. He got annoyed, but he thought: I should wish for a farm first.

So he chose the spot where it looked good to have a farm and did the same thing. He sat down and with his eyes closed, for an hour, repeated: I want my big farm here, I wish with all my might for my big farm to be here, the farm my ancestor promised me. When he opened his eyes, the farm wasn't there. He thought: I should wish for the goats first. He went to a pasture and did the same thing, but when he opened his eyes, there was not a single goat in sight. He spent many days like that, for two full months, but neither the house, nor the farm nor the goats ever appeared. After all this time, the bride's family canceled the wedding arrangement, saying that a young man who spent his days wandering from one spot to another, where he stayed sitting down talking to himself, could not possibly have a good head on his shoulders. The girl married another man. So the young man, angrily, went to the tree and shouted, so that the ancestors could hear him: all of you lied to me; I did what you told me to do, I wished with all the might in this world and after all that, I have neither a house, nor a farm, nor a herd. All of a sudden, he got tired, so he lay down under the tree and fell asleep. While he was asleep, he saw his most ancient ancestor, who told him: I am your oldest ancestor, and because of that you should've known that what I'd said was the most important thing. You haven't tried to discover the ant's secret, you never learned how to wish with all your might and it's because of this that you shall have neither a house, nor a farm, nor a herd, nor a wife. And so, the young man woke up with a great sadness that never went away until the day he died, many years later, without a house, or a farm, or a herd, or a wife. The folks called him the man who didn't know how to wish.

42. **CHICO 2** - Shoot! It's a sad story. But, grandpa, what's the ant's secret?

43. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You don't know it? It's simple. If you spend an hour watching how ants live, with your eyes open wide, you'll soon find out their secret. You should see their house. For such a small animal, that's the biggest house that could ever be. Their farm is also the biggest, it's all the land where they are always searching for food and carrying it home. Their herd is all the animals, bigger than them, who they hunt

and carry home together. To wish with all your might is to know what you want and to work so that you can have what you want.

44. **CHICO 1** - What you are trying to say, grandpa, is that we shouldn't sit down and wait for the government to fulfill its promises.

45. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I'm not sure whether you've understood me properly. He who makes promises, should carry them out. But if I'm properly understanding this democracy and election business, the promises are made by two sides. The parties present their programs and we choose what seems the best, isn't it so?

46. **CHICO 2** - It is, grandpa.

47. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So, if we choose, it's because this is the program we want. But there are two ways of wanting something. One is the way of the young man from the story, who just sat there, with his eyes closed, saying: I wish, I wish, I wish. The other way is the ants' way.

48. **CHICO 1** - But there's a difference: the ants don't have elections, they don't choose a program or a government.

49. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - That's true. But, if democracy is really what you're saying it is, then it's much easier for you to wish with all your might for something you choose than for something that others tell you to wish for.

50. **CHICO 2** - Grandpa got you this time, Chico from the city.

51. **LAUGHTER**

52. **CHICO 1** - No, grandpa taught me something. That is, again he taught me something.

53. **JINGLE**

54. **NARRATOR** - Today's story talked about the expectations that we have about what will happen after the elections. These expectations are reasonable and natural and it is normal that we expect the party that wins the elections to work, once it's in the government, toward the realization of the program it had presented. But a program can't be realized immediately the day after the elections. We'll feel the same difficulties and deprivations that we feel today, the day after the elections. Elections do not build schools, open roads, drill wells and produce food. Elections are a form of us choosing the solutions that look best to us. After that, it's necessary to carry them out. This takes time and requires hard work. Hard work that all of us have to participate in, each in his own profession, in his own activity, in his own city or village. No government can

develop a country on its own and solve all the problems on its own. The development of the country is the responsibility of all citizens, with their hard work, their ideas, their initiatives, and their pursuit of well-being and happiness.

55. JINGLE

56. CLOSURE

THERE IS ROOM FOR EVERYBODY - TWELFTH STORY

TOPIC: THE ACCEPTANCE OF RESULTS, THE RIGHTS OF THE MAJORITY,
THE RIGHT OF CONTINUING TO DEFEND ONE'S IDEAS AND TO RUN IN NEW
ELECTIONS

PIG'S TAIL AND FLY'S EYES

1. RURAL SETTING, NIGHT, OUTSIDE THE FAMILY'S HOUSE

2. JOAQUIM - Do you know something, father? I'm starting to pity Lucas. I think that he deserves what's about to happen, because he's stupid and stubborn, but even so, I pity him.

3. GRANDPA MATEUS - Why do you pity Lucas?

4. JOAQUIM - All the folks here know that his party is going to lose. Nobody here is going to vote for his party.

5. CHICO 1 - You don't know that, uncle.

6. JOAQUIM - How come I don't know?

7. CHICO 1 - The vote is secret. Only each individual voter knows who his vote goes to.

8. JOAQUIM - All right, but I talk with the folks from here, I hear people talking and nobody's supporting Lucas' party. But then again, with these ideas... Nobody even goes to his meetings. In the beginning, some people went, like you did, Chico.

9. MARIA - I also went to his meetings.

10. JOAQUIM - That's because you're a woman and women are very curious. They're always going around prying into things. But, it looks like Chico was in Lucas' party.

11. CHICO 2 - I know which one is Chico's party. It's Felismina.

12. MARIA - Shhh, Chico. You're always teasing your cousin.

13. CHICO 1 - Doesn't matter, aunt. It's just a joke. (A LONG PAUSE) But uncle Joaquim is wrong. I was never a member of Mr. Lucas' party.

14. **JOAQUIM** - Bah! We even argued here. You were always defending Lucas.
15. **CHICO 1** - I thought that some of Lucas' ideas were good. And I still think so. But it doesn't mean that I'm in his party. Anyway, I don't know why are you pitying Mr. Lucas, uncle. Losing elections is a normal thing. Not everybody can win.
16. **JOAQUIM** - Ha! But you don't know Lucas! He doesn't know how to lose. He's very stubborn. He's like a pig's tail.
17. **CHICO 1** - Like a pig's tail?
18. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Chico from the city doesn't know these things from around here. Have you ever seen a pig, Chico?
19. **CHICO 1** - I've seen dozens of pigs already, grandpa.
20. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So tell me, what does a pig's tail look like?
21. **CHICO 1** - What does a pig's tail look like? Well... a pig's tail is... it's small. That is, it's small compared to the pig's size.
22. **JOAQUIM** - A pig's tail is always curled.
23. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - You can stretch a pig's tail, but when you let it go it curls back up. You could even put it in a pipe, to keep it straight, and leave it like that for a year. When you take it out again, the tail curls up immediately. It's a very stubborn tail.
24. **JOAQUIM** - It's like Lucas. He won't accept a defeat at the elections. He'll stir up trouble around here. And if other folks from his party are like him, they'll stir up trouble everywhere.
25. **CHICO 1** - The truth is that uncle Joaquim doesn't like Mr. Lucas. That's why he's saying these things.
26. **JOAQUIM** - It's true that I don't like his ideas. It's also true that I think that he's a bit stupid, that is, he's even a bit too stupid. But about not liking him... I was even saying that I was beginning to pity him. I pity him because after losing, being stupid and stubborn as he is, he'll get himself into trouble.
27. **CHICO 1** - I think that you're wrong, uncle Joaquim.
28. **JOAQUIM** - Why am I wrong?

29. **CHICO 1** - Because having an idea and defending it is not like being a pig's tail. I think that if Mr. Lucas' party loses the elections, he'll accept it. But accepting the results of the elections is not the same thing as abandoning one's ideas. If you vote for a party, uncle, and that party loses the elections, are you going to change your ideas because of that, uncle?

30. **JOAQUIM** - If there's another party with better ideas, I could change them.

31. **CHICO 1** - But, you could think that there's no other party with better ideas and continue to think in the same way, even if the party that you voted for lost the elections, isn't it true, uncle? Why couldn't Mr. Lucas do the same?

32. **JOAQUIM (SOMEWHAT ANGRILY)**- I already told you that you don't know Lucas.

33. **CHICO 1** - You wouldn't mind if we made an experiment, uncle?

34. **JOAQUIM** - An experiment? What experiment?

35. **CHICO 1** - Do you remember the night when two people from two different parties came here to explain their politics?

36. **JOAQUIM** - I remember. And so, what's that got to do with this?

37. **CHICO 1** - We could invite Mr. Lucas to come here tomorrow.

38. **JOAQUIM** - What? Lucas coming to spread his propaganda here at our house? Only when hell freezes over!

39. **CHICO 1** - It's not to make propaganda. It's only so that we can ask him what is he going to do if he loses the elections.

40. **JOAQUIM** - I don't need to ask anything. I already know what he is going to do.

41. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Asking can't hurt.

42. **MARIA** - I'd like to know his answer.

43. **CHICO 2** - I'd also like that.

44. **CHICO 1** - So, uncle Joaquim, it seems that we've agreed.

45. **JOAQUIM** - Pish! It looks like everybody's against me. (A LONG PAUSE) All right, let's make this experiment. But don't tell me later that I didn't warn you.

46. **MARIA** - But one thing is necessary. Let's all talk politely to Mr. Lucas. It's not nice to invite somebody and then treat him badly. Is it all right, Joaquim?
47. **JOAQUIM** - So now I go around treating people badly.
48. **MARIA** - You don't, but since you don't like Mr. Lucas...
49. **JOAQUIM** - Bah! I'll talk to this ass if he shows up here. But don't think that I'll accept his ideas just because he's coming to my house.
51. **(!!!) JINGLE**
52. **SAME SETTING**
53. **CHICO 1** - Mr. Lucas is coming.
54. **JOAQUIM** - This fellow is going to talk a load of garbage. Maybe it'd be better if I go inside and you tell him I'm sick.
55. **MARIA** - Joaquim, you promised!
56. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - When we invite someone, we'd better receive him. And receive him well. This is our family custom.
57. **JOAQUIM** - All right. But don't tell me later that I didn't warn you that this fella won't know what it is to be well received.
58. **MARIA** - Here comes Mr. Lucas.
59. **LUCAS (AFTER A PAUSE, FROM DISTANT BACKGROUND INTO FOREGROUND)** - Good evening to you all.
60. **SEVERAL VOICES** - Good evening.
61. **MARIA** - Please sit down, Mr. Lucas.
62. **LUCAS** - Mr. Joaquim, thank you so much for inviting me to your house...
63. **JOAQUIM** - Me? It wasn't me who...
64. **GRANDPA MATEUS (INTERRUPTING)** - Joaquim wants to say that the idea for our conversation was not his... and that we're all very pleased that you came, isn't it true, Joaquim?

65. JOAQUIM - Huh? It's true... we're all very pleased... that is... I'm very pleased that you came.

66. LUCAS - So, whose idea was it to invite me?

67. MARIA - To tell the truth, it was everybody's. But the one who mentioned it first was Chico, my nephew.

68. LUCAS - Oh, Chico! We've talked many times already.

69. CHICO 1 - It's true.

70. LUCAS - We argued. Chico criticizes my ideas very much.

71. JOAQUIM (ASTONISHED) - Criticizes your ideas? Chico? I thought he was in your party.

72. LUCAS - I still didn't manage to convince him. But I don't give up. My party needs people with good heads like his.

73. CHICO 1 - We want to ask you a question. (A LONG PAUSE) Mr. Lucas, what are you going to do if your party loses the elections?

74. LUCAS (ASTONISHED AT THE QUESTION. MAKES A VERY LONG PAUSE) - What am I going to do? I don't understand this question.

75. GRANDPA MATEUS - I'll put it in a different way. Mr. Lucas, will you accept the results if your party loses the elections?

76. LUCAS - Hm... I understand the question. But I don't see why you are asking me that question. I could ask you something else. If my party loses the elections, what are the people from the winning party going to do to me? (A VERY LONG PAUSE) It looks like my question has surprised you. But it's normal for me to be asking this question, isn't it?

77. JOAQUIM - You're trying to avoid the answer, Mr. Lucas.

78. LUCAS - No, I'll answer it in a little while. But, before that, I'd like to say one thing. (A LONG PAUSE) I know that Mr. Joaquim's ideas are different from mine.

79. JOAQUIM - It's not only me. If you ask around you'll see that everybody has different ideas from you.

80. LUCAS - Not everybody. But it's true that a few people think like me. I know that my party will not win these elections. I even know that it won't get many votes. Mr. Joaquim, we've already argued and I know your ideas. Therefore, I believe I know for which party you are going to vote. In my opinion, that party is one of those that could win the elections. That's why I'm asking: if your party wins, what are you going to do to me?

81. JOAQUIM - Why are you asking me this?

82. LUCAS - Because, Mr. Joaquim, possibly you'll belong to the majority and I to the minority. Out of the two of us, the one who has a reason to be afraid is me.

83. JOAQUIM - You shouldn't be afraid of me. I've never harmed anybody.

84. LUCAS - I know. But, Mr. Joaquim, what do you think your party should do to me if it wins the elections? I'm asking you because I'm from a weak party and you, Mr. Joaquim, are going to vote for one of the parties that will possibly win. This is the weak asking the strong, isn't it?

85. JOAQUIM - I never thought about it in this way. But I think that they shouldn't do anything to you... that is... nothing bad. They should leave you alone.

86. LUCAS - Thank you, that was what I wanted to hear. Now I'm going to answer your question. My party will not win these elections. After the elections I'll continue to defend my party's ideas, my ideas. I'll continue to talk to people, to hold meetings, to do my party work in order to convince people to vote for my party at some other elections.

87. CHICO 2 - So this is why you've been saying that Mr. Lucas is as stubborn as a pig's tail, isn't it, father?

88. MARIA - Chico!

89. JOAQUIM - Chico, don't be rude. (A VERY LONG PAUSE. WITH EMBARRASSMENT) I apologize for what my son has said.

90. LUCAS (LAUGHING) - It doesn't matter. After all, what Chico said is true. I'm as stubborn as a pig's tail in defending my ideas. And you should be too, Mr. Joaquim, in defending yours. Unless one of us comes to a conclusion that he himself is wrong. Can I ask you a question, Mr. Joaquim?

91. JOAQUIM - Certainly.

92. LUCAS - If the party that you are going to vote for this time wins the elections and doesn't do what it promised to do and governs badly, are you going to vote for that party again at the next elections, Mr. Joaquim?

93. JOAQUIM - That's a good question. I think that it won't happen. but if it does happen. no, I won't vote for it at the next elections.

94. LUCAS - So, if it happens. maybe you'll vote for my party five years from now. I'll continue to try to convince you.

95. JOAQUIM - It'll be difficult.

96. LUCAS - I know. Our ideas are different. But we can always talk and discuss our ideas.

97. JOAQUIM - That's right.

98. GRANDPA MATEUS - I've been quiet, listening and thinking. This democracy thing, which my grandson from the city Chico talks about a lot, must have eyes like a fly. Do you understand what I'm saying Chico?

99. CHICO 1 - I'm not following your idea very well, grandpa.

100. GRANDPA MATEUS - These city folks don't understand anything. Have you ever had a good look at a fly's eyes? They're not like ours, which can only see in the direction which we are turned to. Fly's eyes can see all sides, back and forth, up and down, left and right, everything at the same time. This democracy thing, which I still don't understand very well, maybe because I'm old, should also be able to see all sides, so that it knows that all sides exist at the same time. Am I right, Mr. Lucas?

101. LUCAS - I think that you're very right, Mr. Mateus.

102. JOAQUIM - There's something missing here. Maria, isn't there something we could drink with our friend Lucas?

103. MARIA - I was just about to get it.

104. CHICO 2 - Pig's tails... fly's eyes... This democracy thing is darn complicated!

105. LAUGHTER

106. JINGLE

107. **NARRATOR** - Today's story talked about the acceptance of election results by all participating parties and about the right of all parties to continue to defend their ideas.

108. **JINGLE**

109. **NARRATOR** - Democracy is not manifested only at the moment of elections. In a democratic society, the debate about ideas, the dialogue between different opinions, is permanent. This allows for all citizens to freely express themselves and to exert their right to vote, consciously and responsibly at the time of elections. To accept the election results is to respect the will of the majority. But the majority should also respect the minority's right to defend its own ideas. Life doesn't stop. The ideas that are today supported by the minority, tomorrow could be supported by the majority. And the party that wins certain elections should know that, if it doesn't carry out its program, if it doesn't govern in accordance with the citizens' will, it can lose the following elections.

110. **JINGLE**

111. **CLOSURE**

THERE IS ROOM FOR EVERYBODY - THIRTEENTH STORY
TOPIC: THE ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC (first part)

THE WILL AND THE LAWS (I)

1. RURAL SETTING. NIGHT

2. GRANDPA MATEUS - This rice you cooked, Maria, is very good.

3. MARIA - Thank you, father.

4. GRANDPA MATEUS - It's true, it's really good! But I've been watching little Chico. He's eaten almost nothing. What's up with you, Chico? Why have you lost your appetite?

5. CHICO 2 - It's nothing, grandpa.

6. CHICO 1 - It could be that there's a girl who doesn't notice you...

7. CHICO 2 - There's no girl.

8. JOAQUIM - I hope it's not some problem at school...

9. CHICO 2 (hesitates) - At school... No, there's no problem at all... that is, there's no trouble with my teacher.

10. GRANDPA MATEUS - Judging by the way you're talking about it, there's some problem at school.

11. JOAQUIM - What did you do this time?

12. CHICO 2 - Nothing, father, I swear. It's only that... it's nothing.

13. MARIA - There is something. Tell us what it is.

14. CHICO 2 - It's that I... I made a bet. And I'm not sure whether I've won or lost. Me and Albino were arguing who has more power, is it the President of the Republic or is it the Assembly of the Republic. We argued and argued and then we made a bet.

15. JOAQUIM - If you're smart, you bet that the President is more powerful.

16. CHICO 2 - No, I bet that it was the Assembly of the Republic.

17. JOAQUIM - So, you lost.
18. CHICO 1 - Could you tell me what you bet?
19. CHICO 2 - That doesn't matter.
20. GRANDPA MATEUS - Hum... If you had bet something little, you wouldn't be so worried as to lose your appetite.
21. CHICO 2 - It was nothing, grandpa. But do you also think that the President has more power, grandpa?
22. GRANDPA MATEUS - I know nothing of these things. Here, your cousin, big Chico, can answer.
23. CHICO 1 - I'll only answer if little Chico tells what he bet.
24. CHICO 2 - I... we bet... The one who loses can't talk to Rita for a week.
25. CHICO 1 - It's obvious that both of you want to be sweethearts with Rita.
26. CHICO 2 - But the worst thing is that the one who loses can't tell Rita why he isn't talking to her.
27. MARIA - You should both be ashamed. That's a very ugly bet. Didn't it occur to you that, in either case, Rita will be upset with one of you two.
28. CHICO 2 - If she gets angry at Albino, it's good. I just don't want her to be angry at me. Chico, you promised that you'd answer. Who's more has more power? The President of the Republic or the Assembly of the Republic? Which of us won the bet?
29. CHICO 1 - I think that neither of you won. This question has no answer.
30. JOAQUIM - No answer! I've never heard such nonsense. Isn't the President the chief of State? If he's the chief of the whole state, he is in charge.
31. CHICO 1 - It's not that simple, uncle. The president of the Republic and the Assembly of the Republic have different powers.
32. JOAQUIM - How come?
33. CHICO 1 - Maybe the best way to understand it is to make a comparison with the ancient kings. In the old times, a king had all the power, ordered everybody and everything around. He could've had councilors, he could've had ministers, he even could

have had a kind of assembly, with elders or heads of the main families. But the decisions were made by the king. The king's will was above any of his subjects' will.

34. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - It's true. It was like that in the old times.

35. **CHICO 1** - Later, people began to feel that, in order to make their will count too, it was necessary to assure that the power isn't in the hands of one person only. It was necessary to divide the power.

36. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Then the confusion started.

37. **CHICO 1** - In a way, it's true. But it was in order to avoid the confusion that people started looking into what kinds of powers made up the king's power. So they saw that there are three kinds of power. One was the power of making big decisions about the country's affairs, of making the laws. This power is called the legislative power. Another was the power of executing these decisions and of implementing the laws. This power is called the executive power. And another was the power of judging, that is, of determining whether the laws have been broken, and who broke them and to punish those who broke the law. This power is called the judicial power. In a democracy, it is considered that these three powers should not be given to a single person or a single body, they should be separated. Thus, the Assembly of the Republic has the legislative power, the government exercises the executive power and the courts have the judicial power.

38. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So is this what makes democracy happen?

39. **CHICO 1** - No. This alone is not enough to make democracy possible. For example, if the Assembly or the President isn't elected freely by the citizens, they wouldn't be democratic. In a democracy, these three powers are the three parts of a single power, and that is the sovereignty of the people. They're different powers, but they all should reflect the will of the majority of citizens.

40. **MARIA** - This is what I wanted to comprehend better. How does the Assembly of the Republic reflect the majority's will?

41. **CHICO 1** - The Assembly of the republic consists of 250 representatives who were elected throughout the country. There are representatives from the Frelimo, from the Renamo and from the Uniao Democratica. The representatives from Frelimo make up more than half of all the representatives. So they constitute the majority in the Assembly. The representatives from the Renamo and from the Uniao Democratica constitute the minority. This majority and this minority were determined by the votes cast by voters.

42. **JOAQUIM** - So it means that, in reality, whoever is the majority in the Assembly has the legislative power.

43. **CHICO 1** - It's not exactly so. The legislative power belongs to the Assembly of the Republic, and to all the representatives together, not only to one part of them.

44. **JOAQUIM** - All right, but the part that is in the majority wins all the votes in the assembly.

45. **CHICO 1** - It can lose as well. There could be representatives from the majority who can vote on certain issues in the same way as the minority representatives. But there's another important aspect. The representatives do not limit themselves only to voting. Before voting, they discuss the issues on which they'll be voting. And in this discussion all representatives, from both the majority and the minority, have the equal opportunity to present and defend their own positions. This means that, during the study and the discussion of issues, it is always possible that the positions of representatives from different parties could come closer to each other, that the minority presents ideas that the majority considers good and accepts them.

46. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Tell me one thing, Chico. Can the Assembly make whatever law it wants? For example, can it make a law forbidding people to be religious?

47. **CHICO 1** - No, it can't. In a democracy, nobody has unlimited powers. Religious freedom is a fundamental right of all citizens. Our fundamental rights can't be denied, not even by a law made by the Assembly of the Republic.

48. **JOAQUIM** - And where are these rights written?

49. **CHICO 1** - In the Constitution, which is the fundamental law of the country.

50. **JOAQUIM** - Can't the Assembly change the Constitution?

51. **CHICO 1** - It can. But in order to change something in the Constitution, it's not enough that the majority of representatives votes in favor of this change. A two-thirds majority is necessary, that is, it is necessary that 167 out of 250 representatives vote in favor of this change. But if the change alters a fundamental right of citizens, the Assembly can only propose it. This proposal has to be discussed by citizens and then a vote is held in which all voters take part in order to say whether they agree or disagree with the change. This vote is called the referendum. Therefore, in order to alter a fundamental right it is necessary that the majority of citizens agrees with it.

52. **JOAQUIM** - You said that the Assembly makes the big decisions, makes the laws, but that it's the government that later executes the decisions and the implementation of laws. But if the Assembly and the government have separate powers, how can the Assembly be sure that the government is carrying out its decisions?

53. **CHICO 1** - Because one of the Assembly's powers is to supervise the actions of the government.

54. **JOAQUIM** - And how does the Assembly do that?

55. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - At this moment. I'd like to make a proposal to this family assembly of ours.

56. **JOAQUIM** - What's your proposal, father.

57. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Since it's getting late, I propose that we continue our conversation tomorrow evening.

58. **CHICO 2** - But grandpa, I still don't know whether I won or lost the bet!

59. **MARIA** - I also think that it's better to stop here, because it's already getting late.

60. **JOAQUIM** - Me too.

61. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - Little Chico, you're in the minority.

62. **CHICO 2** - I don't feel like sleeping. I won't be able to go to sleep until I find out whether I can talk to Rita.

63. **MARIA** - You sure deserve it, so you learn that you shouldn't go around making stupid bets.

64. **SONG**

65. **NARRATOR** - In today's episode, whose main topic was the Assembly of the Republic, we talked about the separation of powers. In a democratic state, the power is not concentrated in a single person or in a single body. The power is separated into three big branches. There is the legislative power, which is exercised by the Assembly of the Republic, the executive power which is exercised by the government, and the judicial power, which is exercised by the courts.

66. **JINGLE**

67. **NARRATOR** - The make-up of the Assembly of the Republic reflects the voters' will. Because of that, it is normal that the representatives of the party that won the elections are in the majority in the Assembly. The powers of the Assembly are not unlimited. For example, it can't make laws that are contrary to the Constitution. We will continue to talk about the Assembly of the Republic in the next episode.

THERE IS ROOM FOR EVERYBODY - FOURTEENTH STORY
TOPIC: THE ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC

1. OPENING

2. Rural setting, night.

3. **CHICO 2** - Can we continue our conversation from last night soon? After all, I still don't know whether I can talk to Rita.

4. **MARIA** - I'd like to know how you managed to avoid talking to her today.

5. **CHICO 2** - I've been running away from Rita.

6. **CHICO 1** - That probably wasn't easy. Especially if she is also after you.

7. **JOAQUIM** - Nowadays girls also go after boys. In my time...

8. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - In your time too... even in mine. Only they didn't show that they were after us, they had other ways. But tell us, Chico, how did you manage to run away from Rita?

10. **CHICO 2** - Well, whenever I saw her coming near me, I always found something to do and ran away. That wasn't difficult. The difficult part was to go around spying on Raul to see whether he was talking to Rita. It's getting very complicated and I need the answer. But it seems that the answer is also very complicated. It would've been better if the big Chico answered it simply who has more power. Is it the President of the Republic of the Assembly of the Republic?

11. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - No, let's continue clarifying what's this Assembly of the Republic business all about. It only serves us well if we understand things, not if we accept just any one answer. Yesterday, when we stopped, the big Chico was about to explain how the Assembly of the Republic supervises the government. Explain it to us, Chico.

12. **CHICO 1** - It's like this, grandpa: The government makes its program. The program has all the things that each ministry is going to do. For example, what is the Ministry of Health Care going to do, how will it organize hospitals and medical centers, if it's going to build new medical centers, how is it going to carry out immunization, where will it send the doctors, nurses and midwives, how will it distribute medicines all over the country and many other things that are important for health care.

13. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I see. That must be complicated.

14. **CHICO 1** - The program also has to say what will the government do in other areas, education, agriculture, transports, roads, water, everything. When the program is ready, the government presents the program before the Assembly of the Republic. Then the representatives analyze this program and start exchanging their opinions: some will say it's well prepared, some that it's badly prepared, some might think there are important things missing in the program, some might think that there are certain things in it that aren't so important or some might even say what the government shouldn't do.

15. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - But if they're discussing there in Maputo, in the city, they're only going to discuss city things. We out here will be forgotten.

16. **CHICO 2** - If they do so, it'll be wrong. But you see, grandpa, the representatives aren't only city folk elected in the city. They are people from all parts of the country and they've been elected all over the country. Due to that, there are representatives from all cities and districts and regions of the country in the Assembly.

17. **JOAQUIM** - All right, the representatives discuss the government's program, and then?

18. **CHICO 2** - Then the Assembly can say: we think that this program is good, we'll vote and accept the program. This means that the Assembly has approved the program and that the government has to implement it.

19. **JOAQUIM** - And what if the government doesn't implement it?

20. **CHICO 1** - It shouldn't be forgotten that the representatives are familiar with the program, they know what the government should do. The representatives come from all parts of the country and, beside that, they should be in touch with the people from the area where they got elected, so they are in the position to know whether or not the government is implementing it. If it isn't, the representatives can raise the question in the Assembly and show that the government isn't fulfilling its program. What's more, is that the government itself has to report to the Assembly about its activities. Representatives study and discuss these reports and in that way also supervise the government.

21. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I see. And what if the Assembly doesn't accept the government's program?

22. **CHICO 1** - In this case, the government can change the program in accordance with the Assembly's proposals. Or else, there is a very serious disagreement between the Assembly and the government.

23. **MARIA** - And how is that resolved?

24. **CHICO 1** - If the disagreement is very serious and there is no way to resolve it, then new parliamentary elections have to be held. If the new Assembly again doesn't accept the government's program, then the President of the Republic has to nominate a new government.

25. **MARIA** - But, Chico, you said that the Assembly is the one that makes the laws and you even said that this was the most important task of the Assembly of the Republic.

26. **CHICO 1** - It's true.

27. **MARIA** - That's what I'm not getting. Because it seems that there are others who also make laws.

28. **CHICO 2** - Now that's true. Even mom makes laws. She says: Chico, you have to be home at four o' clock to do your homework. And I have to come, even without the Assembly saying a word.

29. **CHICO 1** - Because, little Chico, that's not a law. It's an order. A law applies to all the folks. Your mother is telling only you to be home at four o' clock. But it isn't true that the Assembly doesn't say anything about that. It sure does, yes sir.

30. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - What? The representatives also poke their noses into our family affairs? That's not right.

31. **CHICO 1** - No, grandpa, the representatives don't mess with our family affairs, but there is a law approved by the Assembly of the Republic that says that persons younger than eighteen years of age are under the authority of their parents, that they should obey their parents. That's a law that applies for all parents and children younger than eighteen, not only for our family, but for all families.

32. **JOAQUIM** - So when the order is for all the folks, only the Assembly can give it.

33. **CHICO 1** - It's not quite like that, uncle.

34. **JOAQUIM** - Then I don't get it.

35. **MARIA** - Me neither.

36. **CHICO 1** - The Assembly makes the most important laws, but not all of them.

37. **JOAQUIM** - And how do you know which law is more important than another? A law is a law, who breaks it and is caught is in serious trouble right away.

38. **CHICO 1** - First of all, we have a law that's the most important of all, which is the Constitution. No law can say anything contrary to what the Constitution says. For example, the Constitution says that it's a right of all Mozambicans to live in any part of the national territory. Therefore, there can't be a law saying that Mozambicans born in one province can't go to live in another province. If a law saying this appeared, it wouldn't be valid, because it contradicts the Constitution.

39. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I see. So it means that the Constitution is the chief of all laws.

40. **CHICO 1** - Exactly.

41. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - The laws give orders, but all of them have to obey the Constitution.

42. **CHICO 1** - That's exactly how it is. After the Constitution, the most important laws are those made by the Assembly of the Republic.

43. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So there are others who also make laws?

44. **CHICO 1** - Yes. The government makes laws that are called decrees. But these decrees serve only for implementing the Constitution and the laws and decisions of the Assembly of the Republic. For example: the Constitution says that all people born in Mozambique of Mozambican father or mother are Mozambicans. So, in order for the State to find out who's Mozambican, it's necessary to register all newborn children, where they were born, when they were born and who are their parents. And who has to organize this registration? It's the government. But there are technical questions: how is the registration carried out, what do the registering papers look like, so that they're the same everywhere, where is the registration carried out, what's necessary to make the registration, etc. And since the civil servants who are experts in these things are in the government, it's the government that makes a law that says how children should be registered.

45. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - I see. And these Government laws can't be contrary to the laws of the Assembly of the Republic. Because of that, it's the Assembly of the Republic that makes the most important laws. It's clear to me.

46. **JOAQUIM** - Thus, it's the Assembly of the Republic that says what can't be done.

47. **CHICO 1** - Yes. But laws don't serve only for forbidding. Many very important laws are there to spell out our rights, our freedoms, what we have the right to do. And others serve to tell the authorities that they can't prevent us from doing these things. For example: there is a law in the Constitution that says that Mozambicans can travel

anywhere within the country, unless they're jailed for breaking a law. That means that nobody can prevent grandpa Mateus from traveling wherever he wants to go.

48. **MARIA** - So there are laws that give orders to the government too?

49. **CHICO 1** - Yes. There are very important laws that give orders to the government. One of these laws is made every year and is called the General Budget of the State.

50. **MARIA** - What's that?

51. **CHICO 1** - You know what it is, aunt, but you don't know it under that name. It's the same as what our family earns and what our family spends, but on the level of the entire State.

52. **MARIA** - That's something I'd like to understand.

53. **CHICO 1** - The State doesn't simply produce money. The State's money comes from all of us, from our taxes, from taxes paid by companies. In reality, from everything we pay to the State. Therefore, as the representatives of all citizens, the members of the Assembly of the Republic tell the government which taxes it can charge us and how it should use this money. They tell the government that it should spend this much for education, that much for health care, that much for the roads, this much for paying civil servants, this much for the army, that much for drilling wells, etc.

54. **MARIA** - This is a really important law indeed. Just one more thing: how are the laws made in the Assembly?

55. **CHICO 1** - At first, laws are proposals. Any representative can propose a law. The President of the Republic can propose laws. The government can also propose laws. The Assembly studies and discusses these proposals. After discussion it votes. If the majority of representatives agrees, the law is approved.

56. **CHICO 2** - So, if it's like this, it's the Assembly that has more power and I win the bet.

57. **CHICO 1** - The law is approved by the Assembly, but it's still not valid. In order for it to be valid, it's necessary that the President of the Republic agrees with it and signs the law.

58. **CHICO 2** - Hum... so I lost the bet.

59. **CHICO 1** - Well, if two thirds of the representatives approve the law for the second time, the President has to sign the law.

60. **CHICO 2** - Hey! So I won the bet.

61. **CHICO 1** - No, you didn't. But you didn't lose either. I already told you that this question, who has more power, the President of the Republic or the Assembly of the Republic, has no answer. It's a wrong question. The President of the Republic and the Assembly of the Republic have different powers. No single body of the State has all the power. For certain things, the President has more power. For other things, the Assembly has more power. And, furthermore, for other things, the courts have more power.

62. **CHICO 2** - I didn't win... but I won. Because, between me and Raul, Rita prefers me.

63. **GRANDPA MATEUS** - So in this romantic business, the one with the power is the one who chooses. Rita is the one who has the power here. It seems that it's the same thing with these powers of the President and of the Assembly. The one that chooses has the most power and the people are the ones who choose.

64. **SONG**

65. **NARRATOR** - In today's episode, we talked about how the Assembly of the Republic supervises the government's activity. It is the Assembly that approves the government's program. The representatives, being from all parts of the country and being in contact with their voters, check if the government is implementing its program. Besides that, the government gives reports of its activity to the Assembly of the Republic.

66. **JINGLE**

67. **NARRATOR** - The Assembly of the Republic makes the principal laws of the country. The most important of these laws is the Constitution. All other laws should respect the Constitution. The government also makes laws called decrees. But the Government makes these laws only in order to implement the Constitution and the laws of the Assembly of the Republic.

68. **CLOSURE**

"WOMEN ON THE ROAD TO THE ELECTIONS"

15 min. radio program dealing with issues related to women and the elections.

A co-production of NDI and producers of Radio Mozambique, aired Mondays between 3:05 and 3:20 within "Quadrante da Mulher", a dialy woman's program at RM.

PROGRAM CONTENT:

I. 05 Sept.

Interview with Charlotte Cerf, Angela Abdula, and Helena Jossai on the NDI role in Mozambique.

II. 12 Sept.

Interview with Jacinta Nhamitambo, STAE trainer in Dondo (Sofala province) about voter registration and women's participation in the electoral process.

III. 19 Sept.

Interview with the Organization of Mozambican Women, OMM, representative in Beira on how do women cadres of the ruling FRELIMO party see the forthcoming election, and the participation of other women in politics.

IV. 26 Sept.

Interview with 3 prominent women lawyers,

Leonor Joaquim
Latifa Ibraimo
Zelma Vasconcelos

about voters' political behavior, and women's status in the electoral process.

V. 03 Oct.

Interview with leading women representatives of the PCN, PADEMO, and SOL political parties on what is being done to achieve greater women's participation in the electoral process, within the political parties.

VI. 10 Oct.

Interview with Ivette M'Boa, NDI coordinator in Maputo province, on her work. Ms. M'Boa, a well known Mozambican businesswoman, is particularly active in civic education in and around the Maputo suburbs, and rural areas of the province.

VII. 17 Oct.

Interviews with leaders and representatives of the RENAMO, PPPM, and PRD political parties on the role of women within these parties and on how do they plan to empower women in Mozambican politics.

VII. 24 Oct.

Street interviews with "Jane Doe" type of women. The interviewees were asked questions such as "Are you going to vote? What do you expect from the election?". These interviews will be used to produce a program mobilizing women to vote on election day.

SABADAR ELEIÇÕES - 1

GUIÃO

1 - ABERTURA E APRESENTAÇÃO DO PROGRAMA

CANÇÃO

2 - SORTEIO DOS CINCO CONCORRENTES

CANÇÃO

3 - ENTREVISTA COM MANUELA SOEIRO

CANCAO

4 - PRIMEIRA RONDA DE PERGUNTAS

5 - ROBERTO CHITSONDZO - CANÇÃO E ENTREVISTA

5 - FORME A PALAVRA PARA ESPECTADORES E OUVINTES

CANCAO

6 - TEM A PALAVRA A MULHER

7 - NOTICIARIO

8 - REABERTURA

9 - SEGUNDA RONDA DE PERGUNTAS

SKETCH

CANÇÃO

10- ENTREVISTA COM EDUARDO WHITE

CANCAO

11 - ESTA É A DEFINIÇÃO - DIGA A PALAVRA

12 - ENTREVISTA COM IDASSE TEMBE

CANCAO

14 - ENTREVISTA COM NAZARE RIBEIRO

CANCAO

15 - ENTREVISTA COM DESPORTISTA

16 - TERCEIRA RONDA DE PERGUNTAS E ENTREGA DOS
PREMIOS

17 - FECHO DO PROGRAMA

ABERTURA

EFEITO

- SABADAR - ELEIÇÕES

EFEITO

- Sabado sim, sabado sim...
- ao longo de oito sins, oito sábados
- Sabadar está consigo para duas horas de convívio
- duas horas para falar do processo eleitoral, ouvir, opinar, participar em concursos, ganhar bons prémios e também sorrir.

EFEITO

- Sabadar- eleições é um patrocínio exclusivo do National Democratic Institute - Projecto Vota Moçambique.

CANÇÃO HA LUGAR PARA TODOS

- O Sabadar regressa, para já durante oito semanas e com um formato diferente do anterior.
- Neste sábados vamos falar do processo eleitoral, principalmente divulgando a lei eleitoral e o processo de votação.
- Mas, como sempre foi habitual no Sabadar, não estamos aqui para uma aula. Procuraremos divulgar a lei eleitoral através dos concursos que vamos realizar. Esta é uma dica para os concorrentes. Se querem ganhar - e os prémios são bons - estudem a Lei Eleitoral. Não apenas para ganhar concursos, mas porque é importante conhecê-la.
- Teremos aqui também muitos convidados. Pessoas a quem pedimos que venham conversar connosco sobre como vêem processo eleitoral, sobre as expectativas que têm para si, para a sua família, para a sua arte, o seu desporto, a sua profissão, a sua actividade.

- E convidaremos também representantes dos Partidos e coligações de Partidos que concorrem às eleições. A eles pediremos que respondam a uma lista de 10 perguntas, exactamente as mesmas perguntas para todos os partidos. Perguntas que se referem aos seus programas políticos.

- Essa parte do Sabadar não começará hoje. Os Partidos serão convidados a partir do próximo programa e de acordo com a ordem de apresentação à Comissão Nacional de Eleições das suas listas de candidatos a deputados.

- Assim será o Sabadar- Eleições.

- E vamos agora falar do nosso concurso principal. Chama-se "Vota Moçambique". Em cada programa haverá cinco concorrentes apurados por sorteio entre os que se inscreverem. Aos concorrentes serão postas quinze perguntas em três rondas. Em cada ronda será feita uma pergunta a cada concorrente, pela ordem indicada pelo sorteio. Sempre que um concorrente não souber a resposta, a pergunta passará para o concorrente seguinte. Cada pergunta vale um ponto. No final o concorrente que tiver mais pontos será o vencedor.

- O vencedor ficará automaticamente apurado para a final do concurso que se realizará no dia 29 de Outubro.

- O vencedor do Vota Moçambique de hoje terá como prémio um radio gravador double deck. O segundo classificado receberá um rádio-gravador. Para os restantes haverá prémios de consolação, e não irão nada mal consolados.

- Teremos ainda dois outros concursos. Retomamos um concurso que já era habitual no Sabadar - o Forme a Palavra - e teremos ainda um outro concurso com o nome Esta é a Definição, Diga a Palavra. Será disputado por três concorrentes. Como o nome indica, nós daremos uma definição e o concorrente terá de indicar a palavra ou expressão que corresponde a essa definição.

- Para o Forme a Palavra o prémio é -----

----- Para o Esta é a Definição
- Diga a Palavra o prémio é um fogão a gás.

- Resta dizer que estão abertas as inscrições para os concursos e que, dentro de minutos faremos os sorteios para conhecermos os concorrentes.

ESTA A DEFINICAO - DIGA A PALAVRA

1 - Acto que visa alterar o resultado duma eleição

FRAUDE ELEITORAL

2 - Cidadão proposto para ser eleito.

CANDIDATO

3 - Cada uma das áreas geográficas em que se organiza o território nacional para os eleitoras procederem à eleição de um determinado número de deputados

CIRCULO ELEITORAL

4 - Caixa especial onde os eleitores depositam os seus boletins de voto

URNA

5 - Forma pela qual um candidato, um partido ou um cidadão manifesta a sua discordância por qualquer irregularidade

PROTESTO

6 - Acto de contar os votos depositados na urna pelos eleitores para apurar o resultado da votação

ESCRUTINIO

FORME A PALAVRA

VOGAIS - A A E I O U

CONSOANTES - B F G H M R S T

VOTA MOÇAMBIQUE

1 - Quando se diz "o voto é igual" o que é que isso significa?

R - Que o voto de todos os eleitores tem o mesmo valor. Cada eleitor tem direito a um voto para a eleição do Presidente da República e a um voto para a eleição dos deputados. Ninguém tem direito a mais do que um voto.

2 - Quem promulgou a Lei Eleitoral?

R - O Presidente da República

3 - Que idade é preciso ter para se ser candidato a deputado?

R - 18 anos.

4 - O voto é pessoal e presencial. O que significa isto?

Que o eleitor tem de votar pessoalmente (ninguém pode votar por ele) e para votar tem de estar presente no local onde funciona a sua Assembleia de Voto.

5 - Quantos círculos eleitorais há para a eleição do Presidente da República e quais são?

Um. Todo o território nacional.

6 - Quantos deputados vai ter a próxima Assembleia da República?

7 - Que idade é preciso ter para se ser candidato a Presidente da República?

35 anos

8 - O que é um voto em branco?

É o boletim de voto que, embora tenha sido colocado por um eleitor na urna não tem nenhum sinal e, por isso, não contém a indicação da vontade do eleitor.

9 - O Sr. Siteo é moçambicano, tem 41 anos, vivia na Zâmbia até ao mês de Janeiro deste ano, data em que regressou ao país, exercendo desde essa altura até ao presente as funções de juiz num tribunal da cidade de Maputo. O Sr. Siteo poderia ser neste momento candidato a deputado? Se não poderia, porquê?

Porque é juiz em efectividade de serviço e ser magistrado judicial é uma condição de inelegibilidade.

10 - Qual é o número máximo de círculos eleitorais em que uma pessoa se pode candidatar a deputado?

Um

11 - Como se chama a instituição que organiza e dirige todas as actividades relativas ao processo eleitoral?

Comissão Nacional de Eleições

12 - Quem nomeou o Presidente da Comissão Nacional de Eleições?

O Presidente da República

13 - Qual é o número máximo de eleitores que deve ter uma Assembleia de Voto ?

Mil

14 - Indique três locais onde não pode funcionar uma Assembleia de Voto?

Unidades militares, unidades policiais unidades sanitárias, locais de culto ou destinados ao culto, edifícios de partidos ou organizações religiosas, locais onde se vendem bebidas alcoólicas, residências de ministros de culto.

15 - Quantos são e que designações têm os membros da Assembleia de Voto?

Cinco. Presidente, Vice-Presidente (que é também secretário), Escrutinadores (3)

PREMIOS

VOTA MOCAMBIQUE

- 1 - Rádio - gravador double deck
- 2 - Rádio - gravador
- 3 - Rádio pequeno
- 4 - 20.000,00
- 5 - 10.000,00

FORME A PALAVRA

DEFINIÇÃO

- 1 - Fogão a gás
- 2 - Rádio pequeno
- 3 - 20.000,00

ELEICOES

SPOT 1 - 30"

EFEITO

LOC - Eleitora, eleitor, escuta o avô Mateus.

MATEUS - Votos são muitos, todos iguais. Mas o meu avô dizia: palavra na garganta afoga a gente. Por isso, para mim, o voto mais importante é o meu. A minha vontade não fica na garganta, vai no meu voto para ser contada. Um voto pode fazer diferença. Para ti, o teu voto é o mais importante. Vota! O teu voto pode fazer diferença!

EFEITO

ELEIÇÕES

SPOT 2 - 30"

LOC - Eleitora, eleitor, escuta o avô Mateus

MATEUS - Esses dias de votar é festa. Cada vez, cada vez, cada um vota quem quer com sua liberdade. Vamos fazer festa da nossa vontade. Festa não tem zanga. Sua ideia não é minha, não faz mal, é festa com muitas músicas, tem muitas danças na festa. Só na festa não tem zanga. Vai no voto. Vai com tuas alegrias, teu respeito, vai com todos teus irmãos, fazer festa de vontade, fazer festa de verdade.

EFEITO

ELEIÇÕES

SPOT 3 - 30"

EFEITO

LOC - Eleitora, eleitor, escuta o avô Mateus

MATEUS - Nos dias de votar, tem lugar para todos. Mas não atrasa. Vai cedo, fica na bicha com as tuas calmas e paciências. E não esquece de saber qual é a tua Assembleia de Voto. Também não podes esquecer o cartão de eleitor. Vamos votar muito organizados para todos terem tempo de votar.

EFEITO

ELEIÇÕES

SPOT 4 - 30"

EFEITO

LOC - Eleitora, eleitor, escuta o avô Mateus

MATEUS - Votar é difícil? Não é nada. Tem um boletim azul, vais votar numa pessoa para presidente da República. Tem um boletim branco, vais votar nos candidatos para deputados. Marcas com cruz ou marcas com dedo. Não custa nada. Se tiveres dificuldade, tem gente da Assembleia de Voto para te explicar. Agora a escolha, quem faz és tu. E ninguém vai saber a tua escolha. Só tu é que vais saber.

EFEITO

APPENDIX 5

Radio Mozambique Journalist Training: Report and Agenda
Voice of Renamo Journalist Training: Report and Agenda

TO: Charlotte Cerf
Director, NDI Maputo

FR: Luis Costa Ribas
Instructor, Radio Seminars

SUB: Radio Seminars for RM in Quelimane, Nampula and Beira

DT: August 26, 1994

The seminars held this month for Radio Mozambique's national languages reporters were highly successful in the participant's opinion.

A total of 24 individuals attended - 3 in Quelimane, 8 in Nampula (of which 3 came from Pemba) and 13 in Beira. Twelve participants (50%) rated the sessions as "excellent", 11 (45.8%) described them as "good" and one (4.2%) said it was "normal".

Excerpts from the participants' remarks:

"This is the great light that came upon me, as working in the dark is always risky," said one Beira participant. Another wrote: "Now, even my listeners will note a difference in my newscasts, for I am more mature."

From a Quelimane newscaster we learned that "this will greatly improve the way I work. Now I feel I can conduct an interview without hesitation."

"The clarity of the explanations was very important, as this seminar is very important for my career," said a Pemba reporter who added: "Up until now I had no clear idea on how to get a report together, and how to work with sound bites."

A Nampula participant, who called the seminar "my guiding lamp from now on," said the most important aspects of the seminar were the discussions on how to seek the truth, how to tell facts from claims, how to proceed to confirm claims made by sources, what is a news report and how should it be structured, and how to make the best possible use of a Sony 5000 cassette recorder.

In general, most participants underlined the fact that everything in the seminars was new for them. They also complained about the length of the program, and requested more and longer workshops.

The participants's reaction to the seminar was, in my view, greatly influenced by the fact that most have never attended any class, seminar, or workshop and have had absolutely no training beyond the sixth grade. Only a few have high school diplomas.

234

That presented me with more than a few difficulties in trying to get a given point across, forcing me to resort to very basic language to deal with participants who were not used to reason. One of them told NDI staff member Angela Abdulah, during a break in Beira, that the first morning session was difficult but enjoyable, because "we were forced to think and to do a mental workout." The fact that I was addressing issues in news coverage and reporting that they have never heard about, made my work even more challenging. They were used to being fed from the top, and had no concept that their jobs could be done differently and better.

Because I had no information on the level of professional aptitude of the participants, each seminar was like a blind date. I used the first morning session to try and understand who those people were, what did they know, and how to approach them. In Quelimane one participant who was hired less than a month ago, was sitting next to a 28 year veteran.

Every seminar started with a theoretical discussion, and then the principles discussed were applied to a specific reporting situation. The reports done by the participants during the sessions, were then aired by their stations.

In Quelimane, using ONUMOZ jeeps and drivers and logistical support from USIS's David Ballard and NDI's Sean Kelly, we travelled to voter registration posts in downtown, and in the nearby district of Issidua, where we gathered material for reporting. A report on the challenges of voter registration was produced at the end of the seminar. The participants had no idea that in some remote areas registration teams had to walk 60 miles through jungle

paths carrying their kits on their heads, to get to where the voters were. The reporters had not visited any registration post before, even though registration had been going on for over one month.

In Nampula, with Sean Kelly's and USIS's Rob House's help we flew an ONUMOZ helicopter to the demobilization site of Angoche, where the last soldiers were supposed to be sent home and the post shut down. As fate would have it, the demobilization papers were not sent from Maputo to ONUMOZ and the soldiers were stuck. A report on the event was produced (including interviews with soldiers and UN personnel) mindful that previous delays in registration were at the root of riots.

In Beira, the number of participants did not make it easy to take them on field trips. So, NDI's Angela Abdulah brought three women involved in civic education projects to the seminar site, for a joint news conference on women's issues and rights. In all three locations, the goal was to tie the principles and guidelines

discussed in the seminar to a specific assignment related to the electoral process.

Leading the seminars was a difficult task, particularly because I was expecting help from a second instructor banned from the program by the Director General of Radio Mozambique. While the discussion sessions presented no particular problem, it was difficult to pay the necessary attention to each participant during the practice sessions.

In Quelimane, the number of participants was not a problem. But in Nampula, and in Beira it was quite a challenge to help the participants produce a final report where they would apply what they learned.

I would suggest that future seminars at this basic level last five working days, with no more than eight participants per instructor.

I also suggest that NDI would consider further such programs, in order to cover more national languages reporters who have never been trained before. It would also be useful to create intermediate and advanced levels of seminars, and a series on particular issues, such as politics, economics, minorities, elections, etc.

While I tried to link every seminar to the electoral process and democracy, I could not engage in a serious discussion of election coverage with participants who had not gone through basic instruction. I will be glad to help NDI develop programs and curricula for such seminars. In the mean time, I used this experience to draw the curricula for a Basic seminar (Annex A to this report).

I am also enclosing a detailed analysis of the questionnaires filled by the participants (Annex B).

I would also like to inform NDI of my willingness to participate in a proposed seminar for private stations in Mozambique, early in October.

Finally, I should note that even though the Director General of Radio Mozambique, Manuel Tome, imposed unreasonable and unjustified burdens on the seminars, it was worth doing them.

Mr Tome banned portuguese speaking reporters from the seminars, fearful that they would be contaminated with our ideas of freedom of the press. He also feared the impact of our reporting techniques on his ability to manipulate the election coverage.

In spite of him, seven portuguese language journalists in Quelimane asked me to hold an informal seminar session with them. I agreed and we met for six and one half hours, at a local restaurant. We discussed at length issues such as conflict of interest (Mr Tome is also the Propaganda Secretary for the ruling FRELIMO party), dealing with sources who try to manipulate

journalists, handling pressure from individuals unhappy with negative coverage or trying to prevent it, and many other issues.

Annex A**Outline of Program for Radio Seminar - Basic Level****DAY ONE**

1. Introduction
2. Presentation of Instructors and Participants
3. The Pillars of Journalism: Overview - Truth, Objectivity, Impartiality
4. Discussion of Impartiality (concept and examples)
5. Discussion of Objectivity (concept and examples)
6. Further discussion: What is a Fact (definition, examples)
7. Discussion of Truth: What is the truth. The several truths. Sorting different truths out. The truth in reporting.

Lunch Break

8. Individual exercises dealing with situations in which the participants are required to distinguish between fact and opinion; and identify instances of partiality vs. impartiality.

DAY TWO

1. Introduction: The Types of Interview
2. The Interview as a Source of Information
3. The Fact Gathering Interview
4. The Opinion/Analysis Interview
5. The Interview as a Duel
6. The Biographical Interview
7. The All-Of-The-Above Interview

Lunch Break

8. Practical Exercises: Mock Interviews where participants assume roles and are interviewed by other participants

DAY THREE

1. The News Report
2. The Elements of a News Report (concept and examples)
3. Structure of a News Report: Who, Whom, What, When, What, How
4. Reporting on the Impact and Implications of News Events
5. What Makes News Interesting

Lunch Break

6. Practical Exercises in News Writing

DAY FOUR

1. Using the Sony 5000 cassette recorder
2. Field Trip

Lunch Break

3. Analysis of the Material gathered during the field trip (quality of the sound recordings, relevancy to the subject)

DAY FIVE

1. Preparation and Production of the Report (subject chosen at the beginning of the seminar)

Annex 2**Analysys of the Participant's Feedback**

(summary of the most common opinions, unless otherwise stated)

A.**1.**

Excellent: 50%
Good: 45.8%
Fair: 4.2%
Bad: 0%

2.

Subject interesting and important. Helps us increase our knowledge of journalism and reporting. Help us work better.

3.

Strong Points: Opportunity to participate, how to report, how to write news reports, elements of the news, structure of a report, how to deal with sources and interviewees, how to identify facts, how to search for the truth in a multiparty environment, how to cover complex issues in which many parties make different claims which are difficult to confirm, how to conduct and report on an interview, using the Sony 5000, fairness in covering the electoral campaign, the issue of impartiality, producing a report (use of sound), clarity in the presentation of the news, how to assure that the news is interesting. Some of the participants answered that "everything was a strong point."

Weak Points: seminar too short.

4.

Field trip, clarity of the explanations, knowledge of the news, impact of the seminar in one's career, writing a news report, using the cassette recorder, instructions to improve reporting, improve professional abilities, the practice sessions, career boost, elements of a news report, how to write reports, journalism techniques Many participants said "everything."

5.

More time to work with sound recordings, more field trips, more interviews, more time to deal with interviews, to receive a news manual to keep after the seminar, more seminars, Most common suggestion: "Longer seminars, more seminars."

B.

1.

Impact will be great. Will improve job performance. Enlarged horizons. Made me better news writer. My reports will be better. Did not know how to use the Sony 5000 counter to track down sound bites. Great light upon me. I learned a lot and my listeners will appreciate the difference.

2.

Keep in touch with instructor for further improvement. More seminars. Thanks to NDI and to the instructor who personally helped us.

NDI MAPUTO
REPORT ON THE SECOND SERIES OF RADIO SEMINARS

The second series of NDI radio seminars for Mozambican journalists was held in Maputo from September 28 to October 7, 1994. The participants were reporters and broadcasters working for "VOR", or Voice of Renamo, the main opposition party radio station. Two sessions were held for a total of 20 participants.

During the August 1994 seminars, held for Radio Mozambique journalists, NDI Maputo was approached by Renamo's Raul Domingos (number three in the party ranking) who asked if journalists working for VOR could also be trained.

Following a brief investigation to determine whether Renamo had an actual working radio station, and whether it employed actual broadcasters and journalists, and in consultation with NDI's headquarters in Washington, the decision was made to go ahead with a new series of two seminars for VOR. In part, NDI Maputo felt it should be seen as an impartial entity working with all sides.

NDI invited VOA Portuguese to Africa's Senior Editor Luis Costa Ribas to return to Mozambique and lead the seminars.

NDI Maputo's Angela Abdullah worked with Renamo on the logistics of the sessions, and arrangements were made for the dates, facilities, transportation, and meals for the participants. Ms Abdullah liaised with USIS Maputo's Nicole Lorenzini who obtained kits for the participants from VOA's Connie Stephens. The kits included VOA and NDI folders, ballpens, t-shirts, note pads, VOA booklets with broadcast frequencies and articles on the freedom of the press translated to Portuguese, and the "What Is Democracy" publication, also in Portuguese.

Ms Abdulah also liaised with Mr Ribas to obtain information on the syllabus for the seminars. That enabled her to include a complete program for the seminars in the participant's kits. Voice of America printed certificates which will be soon be shipped to USIS Maputo by pouch and distributed to all participants.

The seminars proceeded as planned, with no problems to report.

The level of proficiency of the VOR participants was considerably higher than that of the previous Radio Mozambique trainees. The RM trainees worked for the regional RM offices in national languages, and have never received training. The VOR group was made up mostly of Portuguese language reporters, some with considerable experience, and mostly attended previous training sessions with local organizations.

However, this was their first seminar on the coverage of electoral campaigning and elections in a multi-party environment.

For this series of seminars, considering the particular needs of the Mozambicans, the following program was developed:

Day One

Opening and Introductions

Explanation of the Goals of the Seminar

Multi Party Elections

The Journalists and the Electoral Process

Public Expectations; Political Leaders' Expectations

Professional Integrity; Journalists' Behavior; Press Laws

Journalism as a Tool For Civic Education

Concept and Practice

Risks and The Need For Caution: Civic Education vs .

Propaganda

Working With the Sony TCM 5000 EV cassette recorder

Day Two

The Main Principles in Journalism

Objectivity, The Fact

Impartiality, The Two Source Rule

The Truth(s), Dealing With Contradictory Accounts

Practical Examples

Sourcing in an Electoral Campaign

Criteria

Credibility

Balance and Verification of Information

The Principle of Systematic Skepticism

Structuring a Campaign Report

Six Basic Questions: What? Whom? How? Where? When?

Why?

The Seventh Question: Impact and Consequences of Events

The Sound Bite

Day Three

Specific Problems in Campaign Coverage

Minorities and Small Parties

Public Opinion Surveys

The Reporter and the Political Parties and Organizations

Comprehensive Coverage of the Campaign

The Political Parties

The Democratic Process

The Role of the Military

The Electoral System

Popular Expectations

Covering Election Day

Covering the Release of the Election Results

Field Trip (trainees attended a news conference by US Ambassador Dennis Jett, using the Sony 5000 cassette recorders issued to VOR by NDI. Ambassador Jett, speaking in the media packed US AID conference room in Maputo, discussed at length the US efforts in the Mozambique demining program, and President Clinton's newly announced moratorium on the export of mines).

Day Four

Production of a Report on an Election or Peace Process Related Issue (the participants wrote and produced reports based on Ambassador Jett's news conference, using sound bites, and making full use of the Sony 5000).

The feedback of the participants indicates the program was suited to their needs. Eighteen out of 20 participants, or 90%, rated the sessions "excellent." Two, or 10%, rated them "good." There were no "fair," or "bad" ratings.

One participant said in the evaluation report that "the seminar gave us better, more professional, and more competent ways to do our jobs", and that "the experience and ability of the instructor made this session a pleasant experience." Another said: "Now I know a lot more about journalism, reportage, integrity, and behavior of journalists." From another the remark that "I learned many things that I have never heard about, with a sense of depth." A more detailed report of the feedback in the evaluation forms will be provided in a separate annex.

At the conclusion of the seminars, VOR received from NDI, 18 Sony TCM 5000EV cassette recorders, 10 Sony Dynamic microphones, three Sanyo battery chargers, 64 Eveready rechargeable batteries, 50 Tudor batteries, and 25 TKM 60M audio cassettes. VOR coordinator Casimiro Serra signed an NDI receipt for all the equipment received.

The participants in both the RM and the VOR seminars insistently requested that they be provided with a manual so that they have a tool to resort to, in the future to help them deal with any doubts arising from the coverage of multi-party elections.

They called for more training sessions, so that they may continue to make progress in other areas of news coverage. They specifically asked for training in post-electoral political reporting.

NDI decided to ask Luis Costa Ribas to produce a radio news manual for immediate distribution to all participants both from RM and from VOR. The draft should be ready within one week. Upon his return to Washington, early in November, Mr Ribas will immediately work on a more definite manual for distribution to the participants in the

Mozambican seminars. The manual will be written in such a manner that it could be adapted for further training sessions.

Maputo, October 10, 1994

(report by Angela Abdullah and Luis Costa Ribas)

APPENDIX 6

CNE Electoral Seminar Agenda

**A Democracia e a Comissao Nacional de Eleicoes em
Mocambique:**

Questoes Eleitorais Comparativas

9 e 10 de Maio 1994 - MAPUTO

AGENDA

Domingo 8 de Maio

Chegada dos delegados a Maputo

Segunda-feira 9 de Maio

9:00 - Chegada e registo dos participantes

9:45 - Abertura do seminario por Charlotte Cerf do NDI

Apresentacoes dos delegados por Paula Santa-Rita.

10:00 - Intervencao de Fernando Marques da Costa

**Tema - " Posicao Chave no Processo Eleitoral:
Partidos Politicos, a Comissao Nacional de Eleicoes,
Associacoes Civicas e Religiosas, a Comunidade
Internacional, os Eleitores"**

11:00 - Intervalo para cafe

11:15 - Perguntas e repostas

12:30 - Intervalo para almoco

157

14:30 - Intervencao do Julio Reis (Brasil)

Tema: " Conseguir Votos: A Educacao Civica e a Comissao Nacional de Eleicoes"

Perguntas e respostas

16:00 - Intervalo para cafe

16:15 - Intervencao por Oscar Fernandez (Costa Rica)

Tema: " Desmobilizacao, Desmilitarizacao, e seus Efeitos nos Processos Eleitorais".

Perguntas e respostas

17:30 - Fim dos trabalhos do dia

Terca -Feira 10 de Maio

9:00 - Intervencao de Antonio Manuel Santos de Aguiar (Sao Tome e Principe)

Tema: "A Estrutura Internas das Comissoes Nacionais de Eleicoes: Delegacas de Poderes, Comunicacoes Internas e Funcionamento Diario".

Perguntas e respostas

10:45 - Intervalo para cafe

- 11:00** - Intervencao de Fernando Marques da Costa
(Portugal)
- Tema: "Regras de Conduta no Periodo Eleitoral:
Codigos de Conduta, Auto-Disciplina Partidaria, o
Papel Controlador de Grupos Civicos e Religiosos, o
Papel dos Observadores Internacionais."
- Perguntas e respostas
- 12:30** - Intervalo para almoco
- 14:30** - Intervencao de Julio Reis (Brasil)
- Tema: " O Contencioso Eleitoral e a Resolucao de
Disputas Eleitorais".
- Perguntas e respostas
- 17:00** - Intervalo
- 17:15** - Sessao de Encerramento - Criticas e Comentarios
- 18:00** - Fim do dia do trabalho
- 19:00** - Jantar-convivio no Clube dos Empresarios
Rua Mateus Sansao Muthemba, 452 (perto do
Museu de Historia Natural).

Quarta-feira dia 11 de Maio

Partida dos delegados

APPENDIX 7

**Train-the-Trainers Workshop Agenda
Synthesis of Trainers' Final Reports**

TRAINING WORKSHOP
MAY 19 - 21, 1994
MAPUTO, MOZAMBIQUE

AGENDA

Wednesday, May 18

6 pm Arrival of Pat, Anna and Monica
7:30 Dinner
 Review preparations for workshop

Thursday, May 19

~~9~~ 9:30 am Arrival of trainers; distribution of materials
~~1000~~ 10:00 Welcome and Opening Address - PAT
 Introduction of participants
 Introduction of Project Vote SA &
 Mozambique
11:00 Overview of Mozambican Electoral Process - PAULA
 CNE
 STAE
 Registered political parties
 Registration period, the campaign and election day
 Introduction of CNE civic education plan and its
 objectives - "No teu voto, o futuro de Mocambique"
12:30 pm Lunch

14:30 Presentation of election kit, CNF Education Guide and other materials (Caritas video, posters, Voting Times)

Group Session: Role Playing - PAT & MONICA

17:00 Wrap up - PAULA

17:15 Meeting with USAID - Roger Carlson

20:00 Dinner

Friday, May 20

(Don't forget - PAULA WILL BE IN COURT ALL MORNING)

9:00 am The day to day experience of being a trainer -
Useful Training Techniques - MONICA

Brainstorm: Potential types of voters and then
discuss training techniques that will be most useful

10:30 Tea

11:00 Organizing your workshop - PAT

How can materials be adapted to local conditions,
organizational goals, workshop participants?

How to work with illiterate voters/how to use the
materials with special groups and under special
circumstances

12:30 pm Lunch



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**PROJECTO VOTO MOÇAMBIQUE
NDI/MAPUTO**

Rua Joaquina Lapa 22 - 4ª
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Tel: (258)(1) 425184; 429666
Fax: (258)(1) 427570

To: *Charlotte Cerf*
From: Angela Abdula, NDI, Maputo
Date: December 10, 1994
Ref. "Vota Mocambique" final training report

FINAL REPORT ON TRAINING - A SYNTHESIS

NDI coordinators -- Final Reports

I. The level of proficiency of NDI coordinators was considerably higher than that of trainers. They worked with their trainers recruited by them, who did the coverage of NDI civic education campaign in most of the districts.

In their evaluation reports, they all agree that this was a very important way to contribute for the elections in Mozambique. Belindo Manhiça, Maputo city coordinator says "I would like to work on civic education because this was a sort of work that helped me to develop new ideas". Juvenalia Muthemba, Gaza coordinator adds "I am interested because it has been an enthusiastic task".

From Nampula, the coordinator thinks that "as a way to raise the value of our previous experience, we are at your entire disposition to collaborate in the future".

Inhambane coordinator goes further "NDI should suggest the Ministry Education that civic education be part of educational curriculum so that children would be raised learning this subject".



II. The first NDI coordinators started working in June 1994, a few more were recruited in July. According to the size of each province, they were one or two coordinators. Nampula, Gaza and Maputo were the cases in which NDI started with one coordinator but ended up having two.

MATERIALS - Comments

Posters - Steps to Voting

The use of posters is considered by Alberto Soberano, Zambezia Coor. as "excellent because people would visualize what they would do". Seven other considered the use of posters as excellent and three have considered it good.

video - Steps to Voting

Cabo Delgado Province did not use the video, complaining that the first NDI director, Paula Santa Rita had promised them a video and a TV set which they never received. In the other provinces, coordinators reported the use of the video in places where there was power or, as Alberto Soberano from Zambezia says "although we did not have a machine, whenever we could use it by asking local video owners to show it, it would create much interest". Belindo Manhiça, from Maputo city concludes "The way people reacted to the video was very good but it would have been much better if the video would have been already in the local language"

manual - Steps to Voting

Orlando Fazenda, Niassa Coor states that " they were welcome and very much appreciated... there were times when people asked for more and we could not give". All coordinators agreed that people have reacted very positively to the manuals.

slides - Steps to Voting

Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Gaza Provinces did not get the slides. From Zambezia, Alberto Soberano tells that the use of slides was "excellent, although we did not have a generator which would allow us to project it in all the districts and bairros, but in the ones we did, it caused a great emotion and expectation from the people".

"vamos votar" (newspaper)

The reception of the "vamos votar" newspaper was according to Niassa Coord. "very good". Zambezia coord. considered it "very good, specially for the people who read and the last one was even better because it brought the names and the pictures of all the candidates". But, in Cabo Delgado, Cecilia Justino states that "Vamos Votar should have arrived fifteen days before"

"radionovela"

"It was good, mainly for the trainers who had access to radios", says Alberto Soberano, from Zambezia.

"kits"

Alberto Soberano, Zambezia coordinator thinks "it was great because the trainers had always the kits which created much curiosity and was something very new for the people". All the other coordinators found it the best way to teach people how to vote.

III. LANGUAGES USED IN NDI TRAINING

Apart from the portuguese language, simulation was done in most of the local languages. The following languages were used during the civic education campaign:

Ronga
Changane Maputo province

Changane Gaza

Bitonga
Xitswa
Chopc
Ndau Inhambane

Chissena
Ndau Sofala

Chitende
Chissena
Chindau
Chibanc
Chinhungue Manica

Makwa
Lomwe
Coti Nampula

Nhungwe
Nyanja
Chissena Tete

Chuabo
Muningue
Txitxena
Chissena Zambezia

Yao
Makwa
Chicheva Niassa

Makwa
Maconde
Kimwani
Swahili Cabo Delgado

IV. ORGANIZATIONS THAT WORKED TOGETHER WITH NDI DURING THE CIVIC EDUCATION CAMPAIGN

1. National and Non-Governmental Organizations

MULEIDE - Women's organization
OTM - Trade Union
CARITAS - religious organization
HANDICAP - NGO
Igreja Catolica Apostolica Romana - (Catholic Church)
Igreja Islamica - (Islamic Church)
Conselho Cristão de Moçambique - (Christian Council)
ADOC
COCAMO
AMAL
SALAMA
MOCIZA
OMM - Women's organization
OJM - Youth organization
Casa Velha - Cultural organization

2. STAE

Ivette M'boa from Maputo Province considers the work with STAE "good". Maputo-city coordinator, Belindo Manhiça reports that " I have done some sessions with STAE trainers. They invited me several times to do training courses and I have participated in two which were very appreciated."

In Gaza, Juvenalia Muthemba says that "it was good, but they did not get some of our materials to the trainers in the districts". Vitorino Januario, Inhambane coordinator says " the work was done together in some districts". Da Barca, Manica coordinator thinks that " in the beginning there was a certain mistrust about the non-partisan nature of NDI work but the situation improved after they had attended some of our sessions".

In Sofala, Ines Sarmento considers that "it was good although in the beginning they did not understand what NDI is".

Adelino Macie, Nampula coordinator states that "there has been always a mutual cooperation between NDI and Stae".

On contrary, in Zambezia, Alberto Soberano claims that "working with STAE was negative, they have been never helpful but they had transportation and used NDI benefits".

Orlando Fazenda, from Niassa adds that "the work of STAE was delayed and we had to cover most of the districts, it was not possible to work with STAE and the only things we got from them were the loans and credentials for us to go to the districts and we can affirm that STAE was not properly prepared for the task they had".

Beatriz Manuel, Gaza coordinator considers that " the situation got better in last weeks before the elections".

3. ONUMOZ

Belindo Manhiça, Maputo-city coordinator declares that " I had no contact with ONUMOZ", Beatriz Manuel from Gaza says " we could not do any work with ONUMOZ" while still from Gaza, Juvenalia Muthemba considers that "working with ONUMOZ was excellent even though there was no coordination".

Da Barca, Manica Coordinator tells that "the work with ONUMOZ was reasonable but they would help us only when they had not much to do with their own programs".

Ines Sarmento, from Sofala reports that "in some cases they did not fill their commitments with us, they would drop us in a district and did not come to pick us up on the date we had set up".

Orlando Fazenda points out that "it was difficult the work with ONUMOZ, only their coordinator, Mr. Carlos Vanarzuela understood what NDI was, his collaborators just pretended to work with NDI, accomodating NDI program in their electoral observation program, which was not possible. In regard to transportation, ONUMOZ could only guarantee one way, never the return journey"

Adelino Macie was more positive "we congratulate ONUMOZ cooperation, the Electoral Division not only put their transportation at our disposition but also all their auxillar materials".

V. PROBLEMS

Coordinators have faced problems; Beatriz Manuel, North Gaza coordinator considers lack of transportation as the main problem "it is known that in some districts the access to the villages is very difficult; ex. Chicualacuala, Chigubo and Massenga; trainers had to make great efforts to get there." Beatriz continues "In some areas trainers faced food suplies problems because they could not buy there even with money. There was nothing to buy".

Alfredo Nkonde from Tete Province tells that "we have always faced minor problems, especially with transportation. Our trainers had to walk many kilometers in places with no access. Our trainers were able to fullfill their duties although they were not all dynamic and we have faced some technical errors, especially working in offices where they had to work with more educated people..."

Alberto Soberano from Zambezia says also that " the problems we faced had to do with transportation and the poor amount of money that was not enough for all the expenses we had to pay for".

In Cabo Delgado, the coordinator refers that " there were difficulties in working with other organizations. There was no collaboration and the civic education campaign was only done by NDI"

VI. PROPOSALS FOR FUTURE PROGRAM

" We should have more time for this work", says Belindo Manhiça from Maputo-city.

Beatriz Manuel refers that " it is our proposal that trainers be stimulated financially ".

Adelino Macie things that "we suggest that the activists should be carefully selected and the existing ones should be trained according to the purposes of a new program".

From Gaza, Juvenalia Muthemba thinks that " the material for our work must arrive on time".

The coordinator in Inhambane suggests that " we should have an office with a fax, transportation and better working conditions".

In Sofala, Ines Sarmento has the opinion of " higher subsidies and permanent transportation in a future program".

Da Barca, from Manica considers that a new program "should be a general program in which initiatives would take place, adapting the goals to ethnic diversities"

The Zambezia Coordinator, Adelino Macie like Vitorino Januario from Inhambane, also agrees that "a careful selection of the activists should take place according to the demands of a new project. He adds that " we should make all efforts to extend civic education in all areas of the province."

From Tete, Alfredo Nkonde shares the same proposals " we have to better select our trainers in order not to denigrate our organization which is the most famous in the country".

... 8 = 2:30 ...

" If a second program would be approved, NDI should have one vehicle in each province to facilitate our movements through the province and we should rent a place to set up our office with means of communication such as telephone and fax machine", considers Zambezia coordinator.

Finally, Cabo Delgado coordinator says that " for a better work in the future, we should be supplied with transportation and a concrete budget".

VII. COMMENTS FROM THE TRAINERS' SESSIONS

1. In their reports, trainers reported the reactions and questions made by the people attending the civic education sessions. The most common comments were:

- People are happy about the elections and want to vote.
- People ask for more sessions or a repetition of the training they had.
- People only knew about FRELIMO and RENAMO and not about the other political parties.
- People wondered why only know they have the right to vote.
- People said that they understand what elections are and they think it will be difficult because they never saw that process before.
- People said that they do not want war.
- People asked if elections meant to keep peace in Mozambique.

2. There were some questions made people at the training sessions:
- Old people can vote?
 - We are happy to know that the vote is secret.
 - What will happen if a drunk person comes to vote?
 - How can a handicapped person without arms vote?
 - How can a person without fingers in the left hand vote?
 - How can we choose between the several political parties and candidates if we do not know their programs?
 - Will two days be enough time to vote?
 - Why in this elections are they calling for all the people to vote?
 - Is this registration for military purposes?
 - Which measures would be taken for the people who do not vote?
 - Which measures would be taken for the people who vote more than one time?
 - In the vote tables, will parties representatives be there to see for who people are voting?

3. In their earlier reports, trainers compiled a list of the more common questions made by the people attending the vote simulation sessions. NDI Maputo prepared answers to the common questions and mailed them to all the trainers so they could address them in their workshops. The common questions were:

- Is the vote compulsory?
- What is a civic right?
- Why do only people with more than eighteen years of age vote?
- What is the universal suffrage?
- Do the prisoners have the right to vote?
- What is a deputy? Which role does he have?
- Why does the President benefit from immunity?
- Why are elections denominated as general and multipartisan?
- Why is the voting card important and will it be useful for identification?
- In case a person is very old or a blind person who has to vote in the company of another person, is this vote considered secret?
- How can we choose between the several political parties and candidates if we do not know their programs?
- Will two days be enough time to vote?
- Why, in these elections are they calling for all the people to vote?
- Is this registration for military purposes?
- Which measures would be taken for the people who do not vote?

APPENDIX 8

“The Steps to Voting” Video Narrative
Election Kit: List of Contents, Diagram of Voting Station, Sample Ballots, Quantities of Kits
Vamos Votar
Materials Request Form

OS PASSOS DA VOTAÇÃO LOCUÇÃO DO FILME

Os dias 27 e 28 de Outubro serão dias especiais em Moçambique. Vão ser os dias das primeiras eleições multipartidárias do Presidente da República e dos deputados à Assembleia da República. Neste pequeno filme, feito com a colaboração da população de Matalane, vamos mostrar os passos da votação, a maneira como vão trabalhar as Assembleias de Voto e o modo como os eleitores exercem o seu direito de voto. A maior parte das Assembleias de Voto serão em aldeias como esta. As Assembleias de Voto são formadas por todos os eleitores dessa aldeia ou bairro..

As Assembleias de Voto funcionam em locais da administração pública, de preferência em escolas e nos mesmos sítios onde se fez o recenseamento eleitoral. Não podem funcionar em sedes de partidos políticos, unidades militares, postos da polícia, postos de saúde, locais de culto religioso nem em lojas ou cantinas onde se vendem bebidas alcoólicas.

A polícia e outras forças da ordem não podem estar a menos de 300 metros do local onde funciona a Assembleia de Voto, a não ser que sejam chamadas pelo Presidente da Assembleia de Voto.

Em cada Assembleia de Voto há cinco pessoas que dirigem o processo de votação. Formam a Mesa da Assembleia de Voto. Tem um Presidente, um Vice-Presidente e três escrutinadores. Cada Partido pode designar um delegado seu em cada Assembleia de Voto. Os delegados fiscalizam a actividade da Assembleia de Voto. Há também observadores independentes que acompanham os trabalhos para verificar se as eleições são livres e justas.

Às sete horas da manhã, o Presidente declara aberta a Assembleia de Voto.

O Presidente da Assembleia de Voto mostra aos outros membros, aos delegados dos Partidos e aos observadores as urnas vazias.

O Presidente, os outros membros da Mesa da Assembleia de Voto, os delegados e observadores verificam a cabina de voto.

No exterior do local onde funciona a Assembleia de Voto, os eleitores colocam-se em bicha pela ordem da sua chegada. A Mesa da Assembleia pode autorizar que passem à frente dos outros eleitores pessoas doentes, mulheres grávidas ou deficientes físicos.

Perto da Assembleia de Voto não pode haver nem ninguém pode fazer propaganda de partidos políticos.

O voto é secreto, ninguém deve dizer na Assembleia de Voto em quem vai votar.

Depois de os seus membros votarem, a Mesa da Assembleia chama o primeiro eleitor da bicha para votar.

O eleitor mostra as mãos aos elementos da Mesa para verem que não têm a marca da tinta especial.

O eleitor entrega ao Presidente da Mesa o seu cartão de eleitor.

A Mesa verifica no caderno de recenseamento eleitoral se o eleitor pertence aquela Assembleia. A Mesa entrega ao eleitor dois boletins de voto. Um, de cor azul, é para a eleição do Presidente da Republica. O outro, de cor branca, é para a eleição da Assembleia da República. O eleitor vai sozinho para a cabina de voto. Ninguém vê nem sabe em quem o eleitor vota. O voto é secreto.

O eleitor marca com uma cruz, em cada um dos boletins, o quadro correspondente à candidatura em que vota. Só deve marcar um quadro em cada boletim.

Quem não sabe escrever molha a ponta dum dedo com tinta e marca o quadro que escolheu com a ponta do dedo.

Para o boletim de voto ser válido, só um dos quadros deve estar assinalado. O eleitor não pode assinar, não pode escrever, desenhar ou fazer outras marcas no boletim. Se se enganar ao fazer a votação, deve entregar à Mesa o boletim inutilizado e pedir outro boletim.

O eleitor deve dobrar o boletim em quatro. Primeiro, dobra o boletim da direita para a esquerda, no sentido da largura. A seguir, o eleitor dobra o boletim de cima para baixo, no sentido do comprimento.

O eleitor sai da cabina de voto com os boletins dobrados. Mete o boletim azul na urna azul e o boletim branco na urna branca..

Depois de votar, o eleitor molha um dedo na tinta especial. A tinta especial não sai do dedo durante 3 dias. Assim, o eleitor não poderá votar outra vez.

A Mesa regista no caderno de recenseamento que o eleitor votou e devolve-lhe o cartão de eleitor.

O voto é secreto. Ninguém deve dizer na Assembleia de Voto em quem votou.

O Voto é secreto. Ninguém pode estar perto da cabina de voto quando uma pessoa está a votar.

Sem o cartão de eleitor não se pode votar.

Depois de votar, o eleitor não pode ficar no local da Assembleia de Voto.

No fim do primeiro dia da votação e no fim da votação as urnas são seladas para proteger os votos.

Durante a noite do primeiro para o segundo dia das eleições, as urnas ficam no local da Assembleia de Voto, guardadas pela Polícia e pelos delegados dos Partidos.

Os eleitores deficientes, por exemplo, pessoas cegas, podem ser acompanhados por outro eleitor da sua confiança. A pessoa que acompanha o eleitor deficiente é obrigada a cumprir a vontade do eleitor e a guardar segredo acerca do voto.

No fim do segundo dia, ou quando todos tiverem votado, o Presidente encerra a votação e a mesa da Assembleia de Voto faz a contagem dos votos. Entretanto, é natural que a população da aldeia festeje a sua participação nas primeiras eleições multipartidárias em Moçambique.

Os passos da votação



Produção conjunta da CNE-NDI
Comissão Nacional de Eleições
Departamento de Educação Cívica
Rua Dr. Almeida Ribeiro nº 100
Telefone: 429316 Fax: 429306
Maputo – República de Moçambique

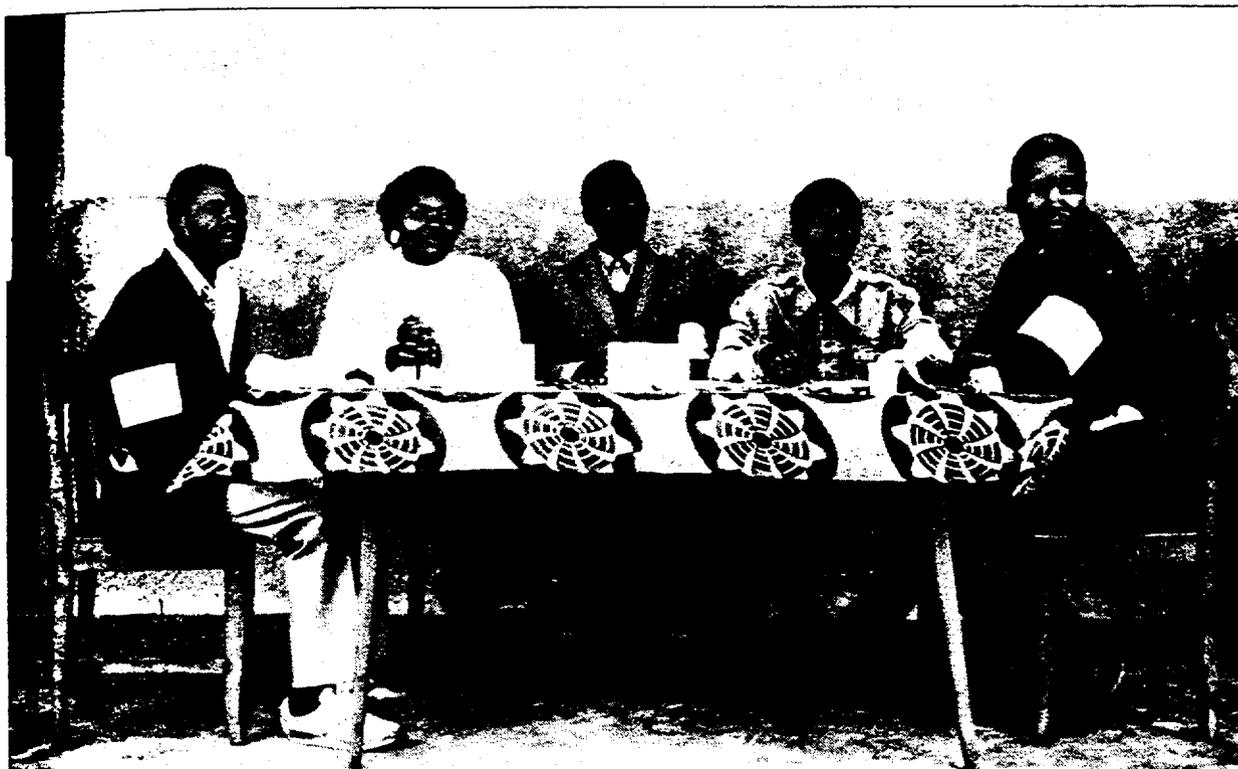
National Democratic Institute
Rua Joaquim Lapa nº 22
Telefone: 425184 Fax: 427570
Maputo – República de Moçambique



**Este manual é dedicado a todos
aqueles, que não medindo esforços
têm trabalhado em difíceis condições
com o objectivo do sucesso do
processo eleitoral.**

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A mesa da assembleia de voto



Em cada assembleia de voto há cinco pessoas que dirigem o processo de votação. Formam a mesa da assembleia de voto. Tem um Presidente, um Vice-Presidente e três escrutinadores.

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Os delegados e observadores



Cada partido ou candidato podem designar um delegado seu em cada assembleia de voto. Os delegados fiscalizam a actividade da assembleia de voto. Há também observadores internacionais que acompanham os trabalhos para verificar se as eleições são livres e justas.

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Abertura da assembleia de voto



Às sete horas da manhã, o Presidente declara aberta a assembleia de voto.

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Fiscalização das urnas



Presidente da assembleia de voto mostra aos outros membros e aos delegados as urnas vazias.

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274

O l.
ob-

Fiscalização das cabinas de voto



O Presidente, os outros membros da mesa da assembleia de voto, os delegados e observadores verificam a cabina de voto.

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275

6

Eleitores formam bicha



Pela ordem de chegada à assembleia de voto, os eleitores colocam-se em bicha.

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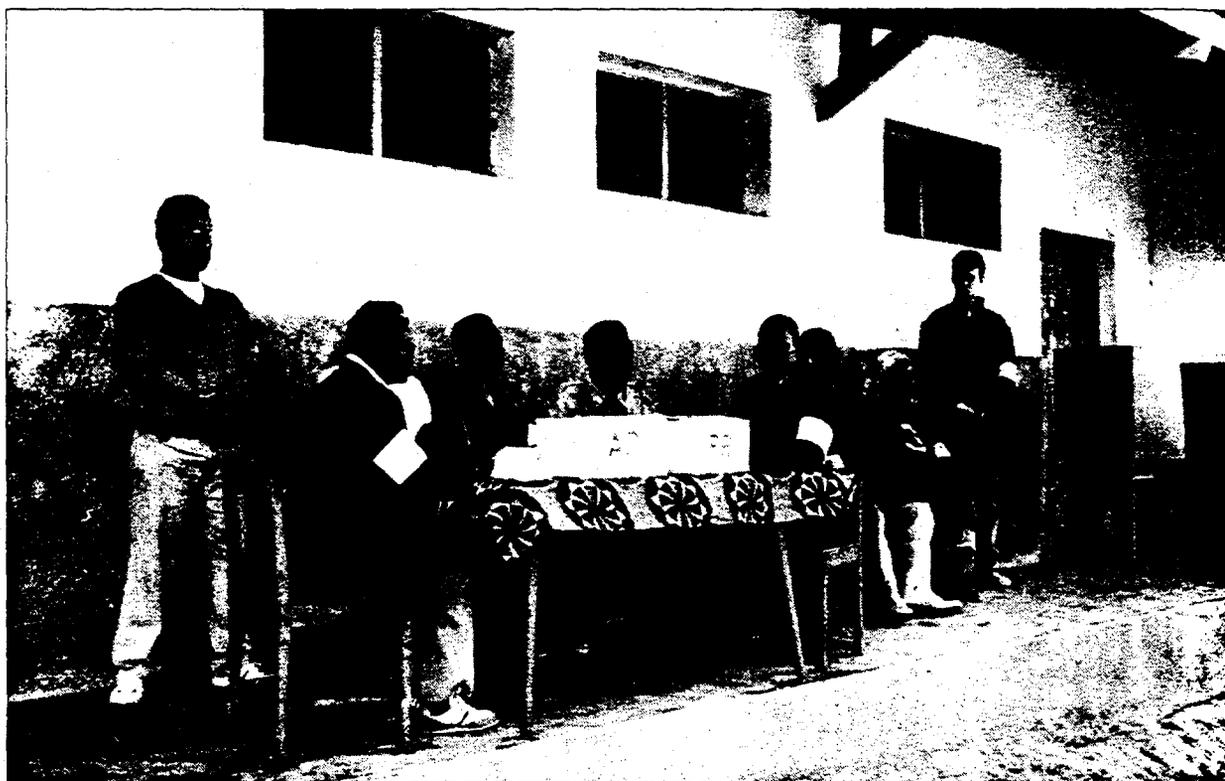
276

Forças de manutenção da ordem



A polícia e outras forças de manutenção da ordem não podem estar a menos de 300 metros do local onde funciona a assembleia de voto, a não ser que sejam chamadas pelo Presidente da mesa da assembleia de voto.

Começo da votação



Depois de os seus membros votarem, a mesa da assembleia chama o primeiro eleitor da bicha para votar.

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O eleitor prova que não votou



O eleitor mostra as mãos aos elementos da mesa para verem que não têm a marca da tinta especial. Prova, assim, que ainda não votou.

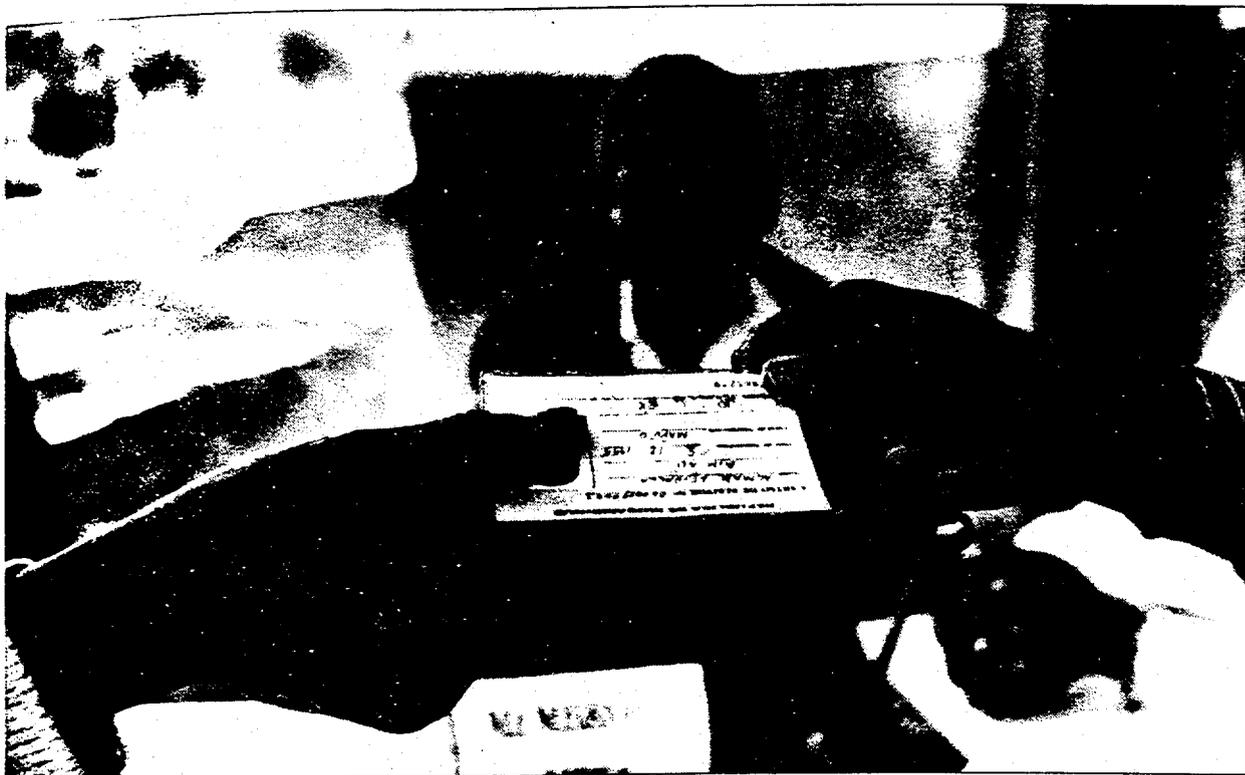
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Entrega do cartão de eleitor



O eleitor entrega ao presidente da mesa o seu cartão de eleitor.

Sem cartão não há voto



O cartão de eleitor é a prova de que o cidadão é eleitor. Sem apresentar o cartão de eleitor ninguém pode votar.

Verificação no caderno de recenseamento



A mesa verifica no caderno de recenseamento eleitoral se o eleitor pertence aquela assembleia. Os eleitores só podem votar no mesmo local onde se recensearam.

Entrega dos boletins de voto



A mesa entrega ao eleitor dois boletins de voto. Um, de cor azul, é para a eleição do Presidente da República. O outro, de cor branca, é para a eleição da Assembleia da República.

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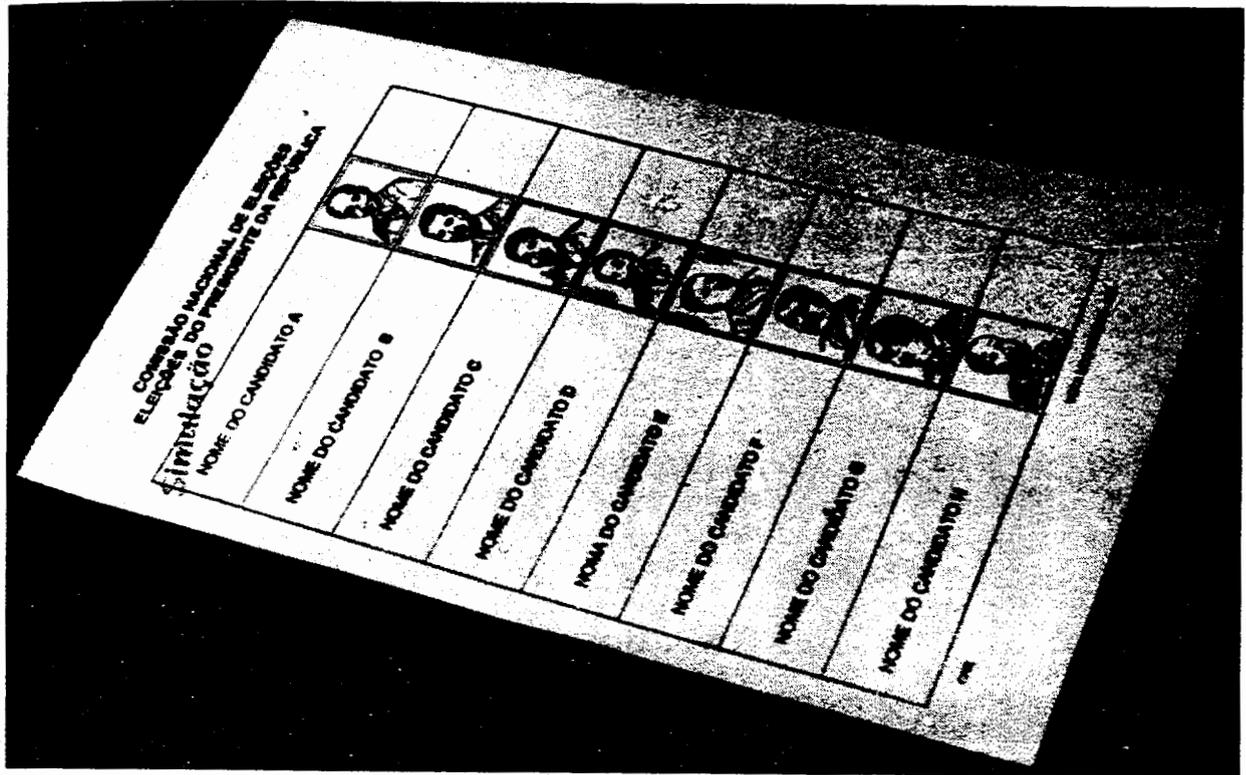
14

Cabina de voto



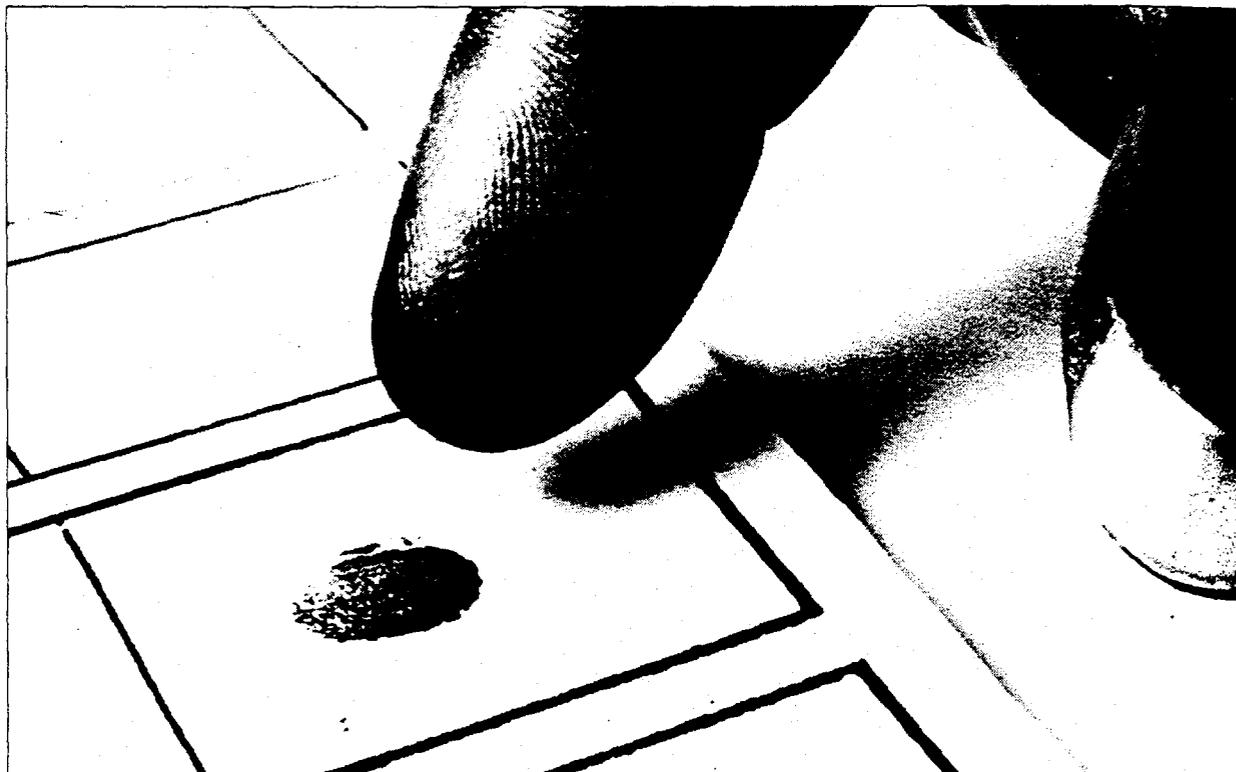
O eleitor vai sózinho para a cabina de voto. Ninguém vê nem sabe em quem o eleitor vota. O voto é secreto.

Modelo de um dos boletins de voto



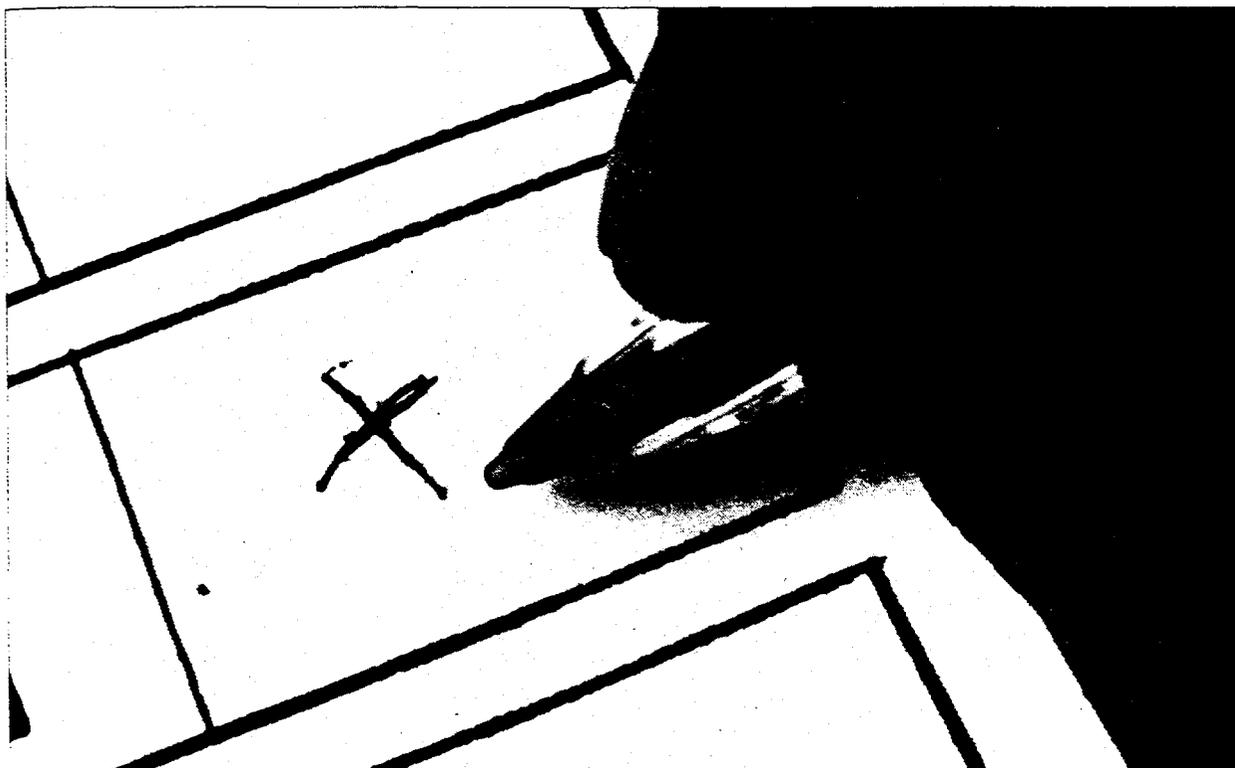
O eleitor marca com uma cruz, em cada um dos boletins, o quadrado correspondente ao candidato em que vota.

Votação com a marca do dedo



Quem não sabe escrever molha a ponta dum dedo com tinta e marca com a ponta do dedo o quadrado que escolheu. Só se pode marcar um quadrado.

Votação com caneta



Para o boletim de voto ser válido, só um dos quadrados deve estar assinalado. O eleitor não pode assinar, não pode escrever, desenhar ou fazer outras marcas no boletim. Se se enganar ao fazer a votação, deve entregar à mesa o boletim inutilizado e pedir outro boletim.

Primeira dobra do boletim de voto



O eleitor deve dobrar o boletim em quatro. Primeiro, dobra o boletim ao meio, no sentido da largura.

Segunda dobra do boletim de voto



A seguir, o eleitor dobra o boletim de cima para baixo, no sentido do comprimento.

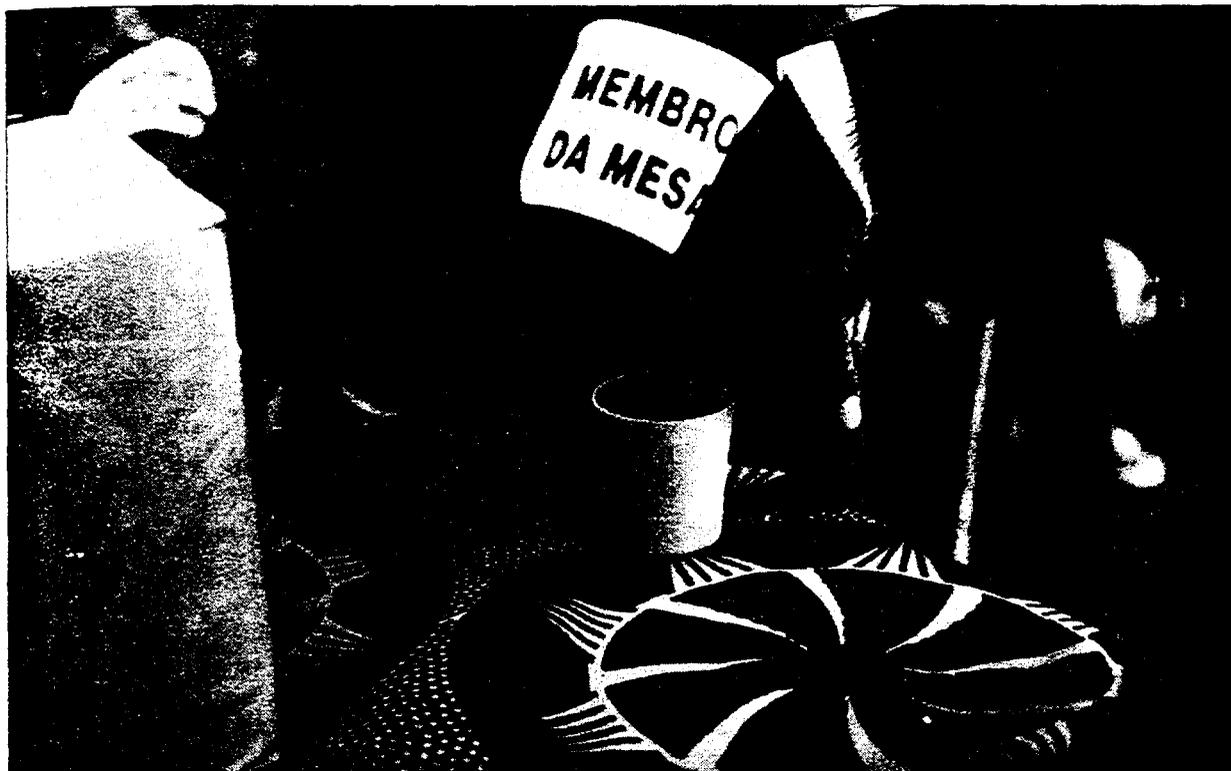
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Colocação dos boletins nas urnas



O eleitor sai da cabina de voto com os boletins dobrados. Mete o boletim azul na urna azul (eleição do Presidente da República) e o boletim branco na urna branca (eleição da Assembleia da República).

Marca o dedo com tinta especial



Depois de votar, o eleitor molha um dedo na tinta especial.

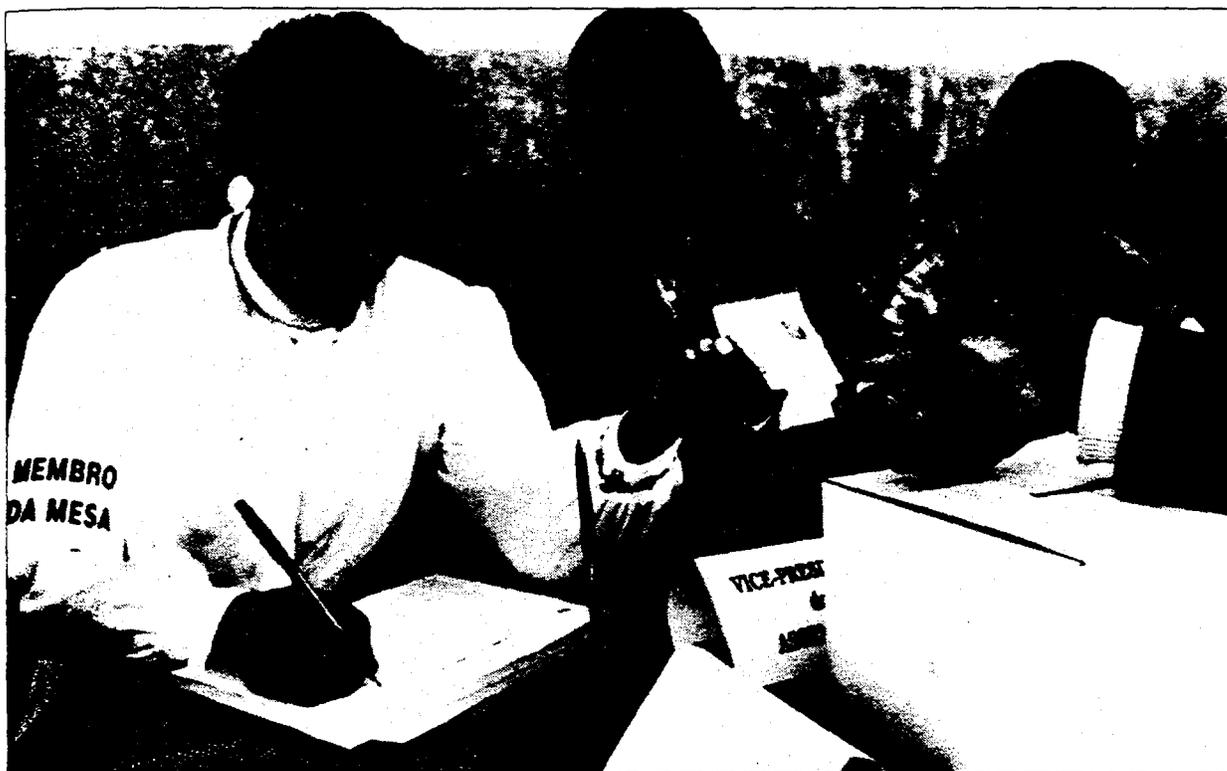
Cada eleitor só vota uma vez



A tinta especial não sai do dedo durante vários dias. Assim, o eleitor não poderá votar outra vez.

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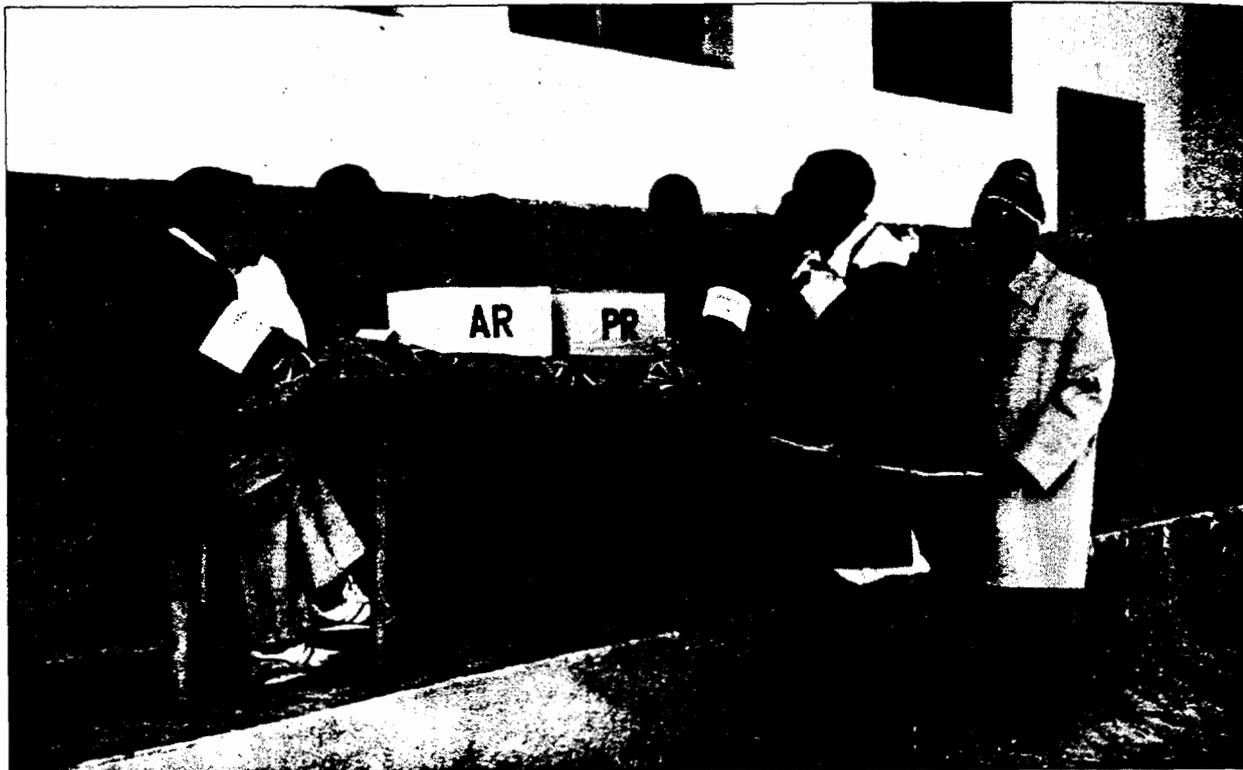
Devolução do cartão de eleitor



A mesa regista no caderno de recenseamento que o eleitor votou e devolve-lhe o cartão de eleitor.

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Votação de deficientes



Os eleitores deficientes, por exemplo, pessoas cegas, podem ser acompanhados por outro eleitor da sua confiança.

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A responsabilidade do acompanhante



A pessoa que acompanha o eleitor é obrigada a cumprir a vontade do eleitor e a guardar segredo acerca do voto do eleitor.

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295

Não se pode votar duas vezes



Se alguém tentar votar duas vezes, ao mostrar as mãos, a mesa vê que ele tem a marca da tinta especial e não deixa que ele vote de novo.

Protecção do segredo da votação



Ninguém pode aproximar-se da cabina de voto quando uma pessoa está a votar.

Segredo do voto



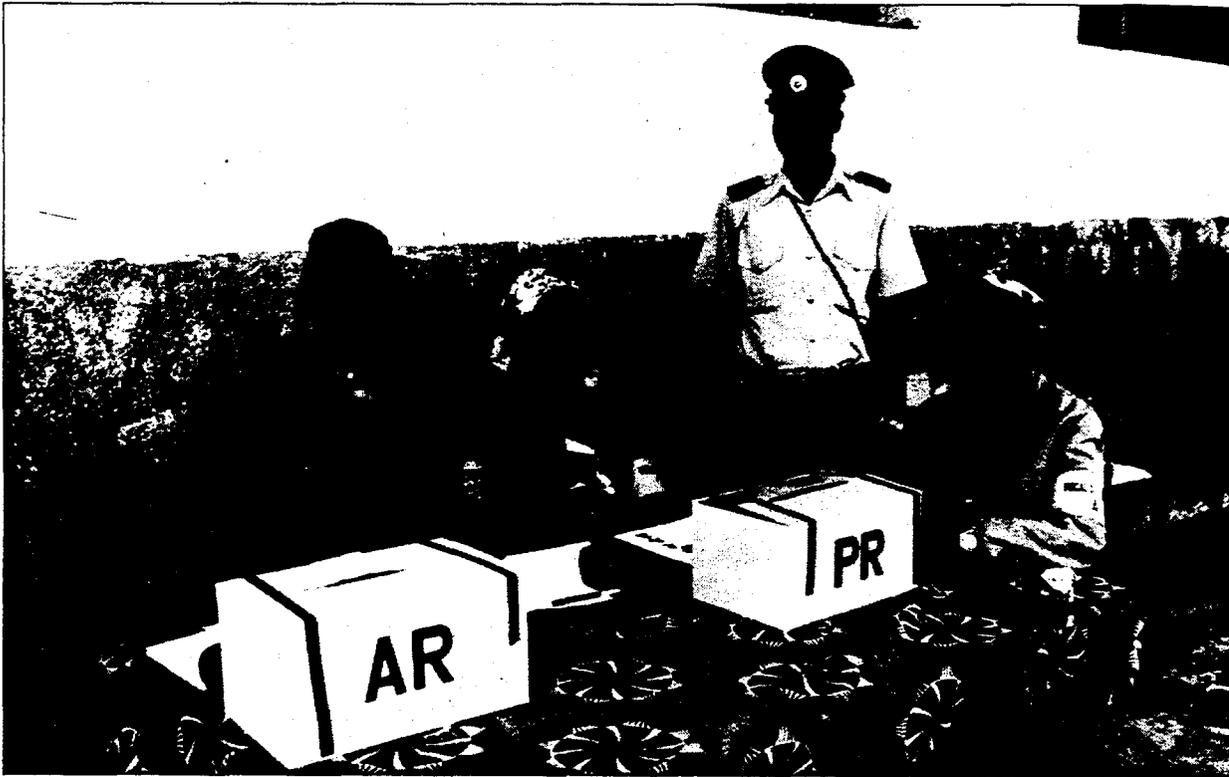
Ninguém é obrigado a dizer em quem votou ou vai votar. Na assembleia de voto ninguém pode dizer em quem votou ou vai votar.

Selagem das urnas



No fim do primeiro dia da votação as urnas são seladas para proteger os votos.

Guarda das urnas



Durante a noite do dia 27 para o 28 de Outubro, as urnas ficam no local da assembleia de voto, guardadas pela polícia e pelos delegados dos partidos.

**COMISSÃO NACIONAL DE ELEIÇÕES
ELEIÇÕES DA ASSEMBLEIA DA REPÚBLICA**

NOME DO PARTIDO A	ANSD		
NOME DO PARTIDO B	DEP		
NOME DO PARTIDO C	GRE		
NOME DO PARTIDO D	ITRER		
NOME DO PARTIDO E	DFGI		
NOME DO PARTIDO F	SRTO		
NOME DO PARTIDO G	POLJ		
NOME DO PARTIDO H	RUG		
NOME DO PARTIDO I	TECV		
NOME DO PARTIDO J	FJK		

Simulação

NOME DO CANDIDATO A		
NOME DO CANDIDATO B		
NOME DO CANDIDATO C		
NOME DO CANDIDATO D		
NOMA DO CANDIDATO E		
NOME DO CANDIDATO F		
NOME DO CANDIDATO G		
NOME DO CANDIDATO H		

CNE

VOTA MOÇAMBIQUE - NDI

302

CARO (A) FORMADOR (A)

Este "KIT" contém todos os materiais para fazer uma simulação de votação:

Caixa/mochila para carregar

Urnas

- 1 Branca com AR,
- 1 que cabe dentro/azul claro PR

1 cabine de voto

11 "babetes" de tela cores diferentes

- 1 azul claro "OBSERVADOR INTERNACIONAL"
- 1 violeta "FISCAL DO PARDIDO A"
- 1 verde claro "FISCAL DO PARTIDO B"
- 1 rosa "FISCAL DO PARTIDO C"
- 2 azul marinho "AUXILIAR DA MESA"
- 4 branco "MEMBRO DA MESA"
- 1 cinzento claro "PRESIDENTE DA ASSEMBLEIA"

10 canetas

- 1 tinteiro de plástico
- 1 caixinha de pioneses
- 1 pacote de Bostik Prestik 25 g.
- 1 diagrama plastificado 18cm x 24cm
- 15 cartão de eleitor (homem)
- 15 cartão de eleitor (mulher)
- 500 boletins de Voto Assembleia
- 500 boletim de Voto Presidente

Estes boletins vêm fora do KIT (à parte):

- 500 boletins de Voto Assembleia
- 500 boletins de Voto Presidente

OBSERVAÇÕES:

1. O diagrama plastificado serve para ajudar a montar uma Assembleia de Voto. (Deve-se retirar o OBSERVADOR NACIONAL da Assembleia de Voto).
2. De modo a tornar as mochilas menos pesadas, devem levar para as sessões apenas os boletins de voto necessários.
3. Dentro da mochila estão pioneses e o Bostik Prestik de 25 g que servem para afixar papeis ou cartazes na parede.
4. A mochila tem uma bolsa exterior que serve para levar os cartazes.

BOM TRABALHO,
N.D.I.

203



OBSERVADOR NACIONAL



MEMBRO DA MESA



MEMBRO DA MESA



PRESIDENTE DA ASSEMBLEIA



MEMBRO DA MESA



MEMBRO DA MESA



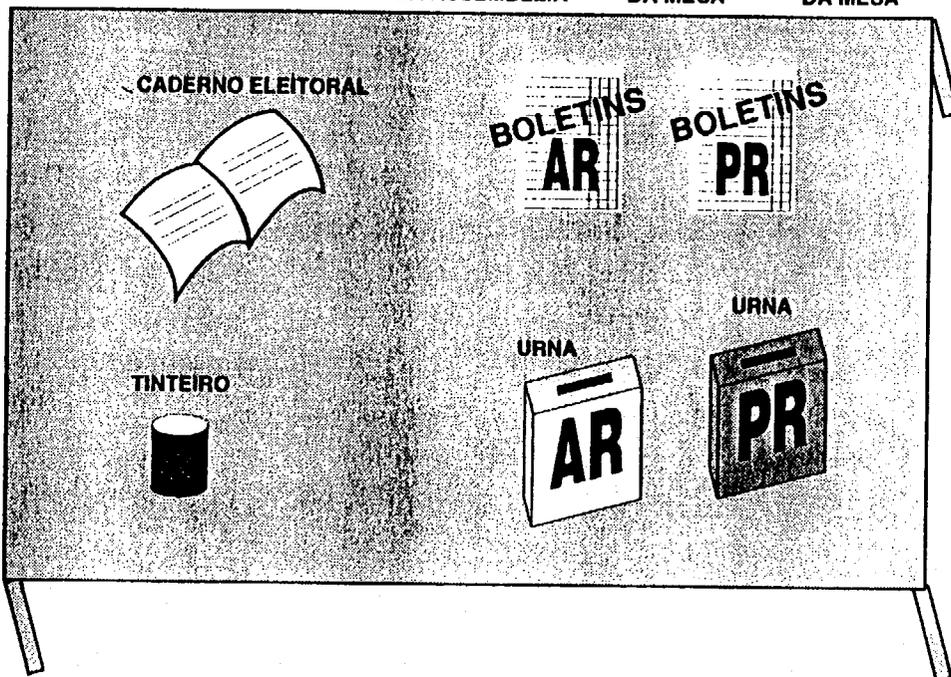
OBSERVADOR INTERNACIONAL



DELEGADO DO PARTIDO A

DELEGADO DO PARTIDO B

DELEGADO DO PARTIDO C



CABINO DE VOTO



AUXILIAR DA MESA



ELEITORES



AUXILIAR DA MESA

PESSOAS

- Observador Nacional
- Observador Internacional
- Delegado do Partido A
- Delegado do Partido B
- Delegado do Partido C
- Presidente da Assembleia
- Membro da Mesa
- Auxiliar da Mesa
- Eleitores

OBJECTOS

- Tinteiro
- Caderno Eleitoral
- Urna PR
- Urna AR
- Boletins PR
- Boletins AR
- Cabina de Voto.



COMISSÃO NACIONAL DE ELEIÇÕES
ELEIÇÃO DO PRESIDENTE DA REPÚBLICA

Simulação

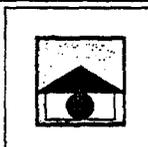
NOME DO CANDIDATO A		
NOME DO CANDIDATO B		
NOME DO CANDIDATO C		
NOME DO CANDIDATO D		
NOMA DO CANDIDATO E		
NOME DO CANDIDATO F		
NOME DO CANDIDATO G		
NOME DO CANDIDATO H		

CNE

VOTA MOÇAMBIQUE - NDI

305

L E L S
ELEIÇÕES DA ASSEMBLEIA DA REPÚBLICA

NOME DO PARTIDO A	ANSD	
NOME DO PARTIDO B	DEP	
NOME DO PARTIDO C	GRE	
NOME DO PARTIDO D	ITRER	
NOME DO PARTIDO E	DFGI	
NOME DO PARTIDO F	SRTO	
NOME DO PARTIDO G	POLJ	
NOME DO PARTIDO H	RUG	
NOME DO PARTIDO I	TECV	
NOME DO PARTIDO J	FJK	

QUANTIDADE DE KITS DISTRIBUIDOS PELAS PROVINCIAS

PROVINCIA

MAPUTO

Ivette M'boa - 35

Artur Antonio - 1

Charlotte Cerf - 13

Onumuz (Angela) -1

Joao Pedro (Escritório) - 2

Francisco Bobos (Electoral Div. Statistics Unit) - 1

Onumuz Civic Education (Tony Zeros) - 18

Stae - 2000

Belindo Manhiça - 12

Heiki Dilssner (Civic Education) Onumuz - 11

Instituto Republicano Internacional (CIRI) - 60 nao marcados

Macamo Bruno Macamo (Aro Juvenil) - 1

N.D.I. (escritoria) - 1

Caritas - 40

N.D.I. (escritório) - 1

Care - 3

Frankel - 25

Whilliamo Roucle - 2

Sr. Thelma ou Lucia (Wepa) - 31

T.D.M. (Political Party Training) - 32

Sindicato Nacional dos Trabalhadores dos Transportes
Rodoviários e Minas - 5

Conselho Cristão de Moçambique - 11

Sindicato Nacional dos Trabalhadores da Indústria Química - 6

Sr. Lodovina (Wepa) - 5

Sindicato Nacional dos Trabalhadores Marinha e Pescas - 3

Amélia Nikisse (Secretariado Provincial OMM) - 50

Sindicato Nacional dos Trabalhadores Indústria Alimentar e
Bebidas - 20

Awepa (Sr. Lodovina) - 5

Stae (departamento de educação cívica) sr Suraia - 20

Sindicato Nacional de Indústria Química e Papel - 50

Fumo (sergio) - 5

Sindicato Metalógico - 50

Sindicato Caju (Maurício Cuambe) - 10

Sindicato Nacional dos Empregados Bancários (Helena) - 50

Sindicato Nacional dos Empregados do Comércio Seguros e
Serviços (Sinecosse) - 7

Sérgio Justino - 2

Sindicato Nacional dos Trabalhadores da Indústria Metal
Mecânica e Energia - 6

Monapo (Carla Dias) - 4

Abílio Tivane - 30

TOTAL DE KITS (MAPUTO) - 2629

PROVINCIA

GAZA

Beatriz Manuel (Coordenadora) - 75

Juvenália (Coordenadora) - 40

TOTAL DE KITS (GAZA) - 115

PROVINCIA

INHAMBANE

Victorino Januário (Coordenador) - 35

Igreja Metodista Unida em Moçambique - 11

TOTAL DE KITS (INHAMBANE) - 46

PROVINCIA

MANICA

Nicolau da Barca - 20

Jorine Muiser - 10

TOTAL DE KITS (MANICA) - 30

PROVINCIA

SOFALA

Ines Sarmento - 30

Lisa Bronstein - 35

TOTAL DE KITS (SOFALA) - 65

PROVINCIA

TETE

Alfredo Launde Nkhonde - 20

PROVINCIA

ZAMBEZIA

Andy Scheiner e Ivan Gradowski - 40

Andy Scheiner - 145

TOTAL DE KITS (ZAMBEZIA) - 185

PROVINCIA

NAMPULA

Andy Scheiner (Tatiana Androsov) - 60

PROVINCIA

NIASSA

Orlando José Fazenda (Coordenador) - 20

PROVINCIA

CABO DELGADO

Cecilia Justino (Coordenadora) - 6

TOTAL DE KITS DISTRIBUIDOS EM MOÇAMBIQUE - 3176

Vamos Votar

Edição do NDI

Registado sob o nº 01180/FBM/94

Nº 2 • OUTUBRO • 1994



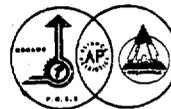
**VAMOS VOTAR UMA SÓ VEZ
COM DOIS BOLETINS DE VOTO**

Partidos e Coligações

concorrentes às eleições multipartidárias

1 - AP

Aliança Patriótica (Coligação)



2 - UNAMO

União Nacional de Moçambique



3 - PT

Partido Trabalhista



4 - FUMO/PCD

Frete Unida de Moçambique/Partido de Convergência Democrática



5 - FRELIMO

Partido Frelimo



6 - SOL

Partido Social-Liberal e Democrático



7 - PIMO

Partido Independente de Moçambique



8 - RENAMO

Resistência Nacional Moçambicana



9 - PRD

Partido Renovador Democrático



10 - PACODE

Partido do Congresso Democrático



11 - PADEMO

Partido Democrático de Moçambique



12 - PPPM

Partido do Progresso do Povo de Moçambique



13 - PCN

Partido da Convenção Nacional



14 - UD

União Democrática (Coligação)



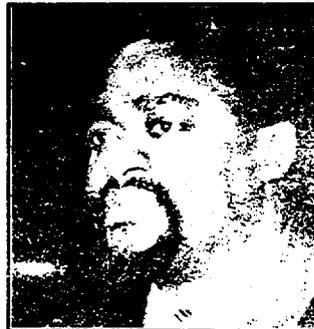
OS DOZE CANDIDATOS À PRESIDÊNCIA



Máximo Diogo José Dias
(MONAMO)



Carlos José Maria Jaque
(INDEPENDENTE)



Casimiro Miguel Nhamithambo
(SOL)



Mário Fernando Carlos Macheis
(INDEPENDENTE)



Carlos Alexandre dos Reis
(UNAMO)



Afonso Macacho Marceta Dhlakama
(RENAMO)



Jacob Neves Selomão Sibindy
(PIMO)



Padimbe Mohocse Kamati Andrea
(PPPM)



Domingos António Mascarenhas Arouca
(FUMO/PCD)



Vasco Campira Mombaya Alfazema
(PACODE)



Welis Monakacho Ripua
(PADEMO)



Joaquim Alberto Chissano
(FRELIMO)

No teu Voto, o Futuro
de Moçambique

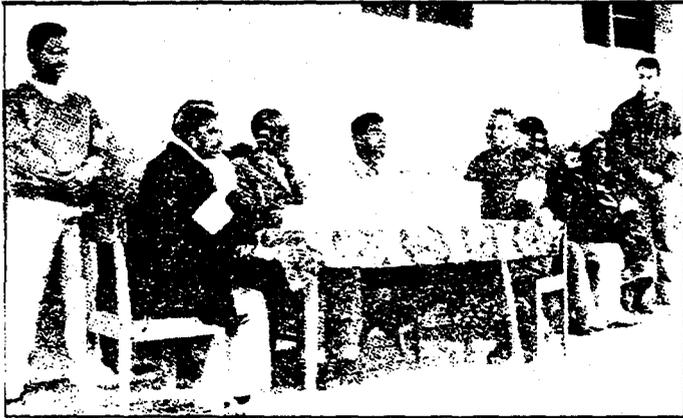


314

O processo

1

A mesa da assembleia de voto



2

O eleitor prova que não votou



5

Entrega dos boletins de voto



6

Cabina de voto



9

Primeira dobra do boletim de voto



10

Segunda dobra do boletim de voto



votação

3

Identificação do eleitor



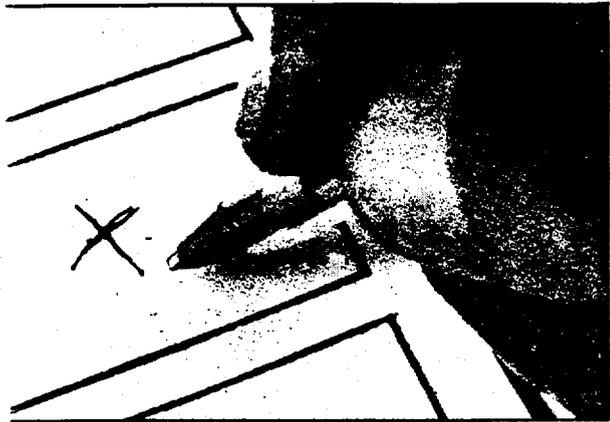
4

Verificação no caderno de recenseamento



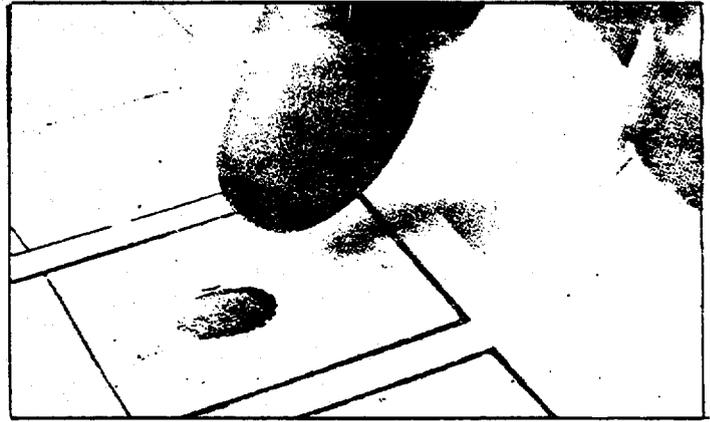
7

Votação com caneta



8

Votação com a marca do dedo



11

Colocação dos boletins de voto

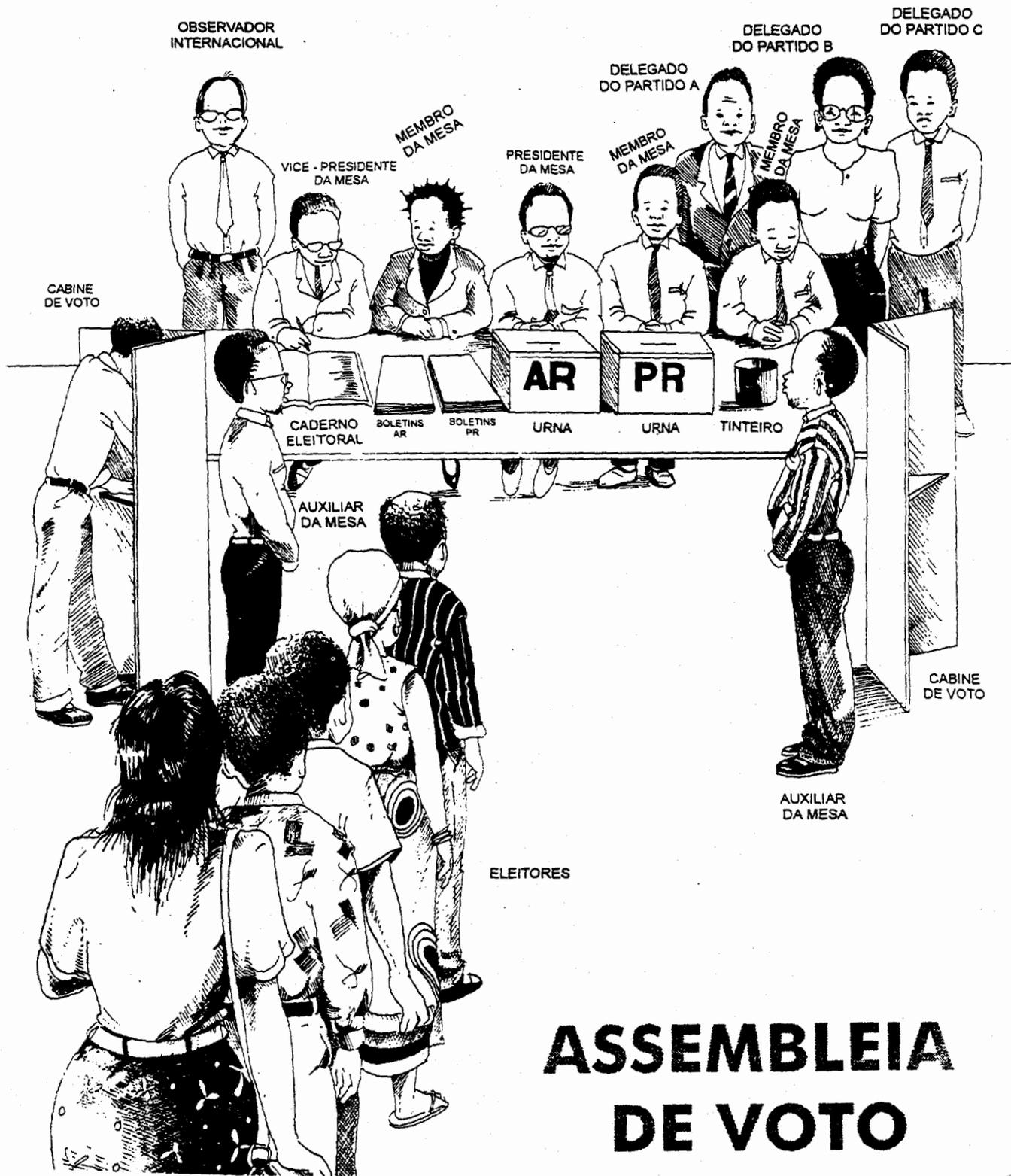


12

Marca o dedo com tinta especial



ONDE VAMOS VOTAR



ASSEMBLEIA DE VOTO

O VOTO É SECRETO

SEGREDO DO VOTO



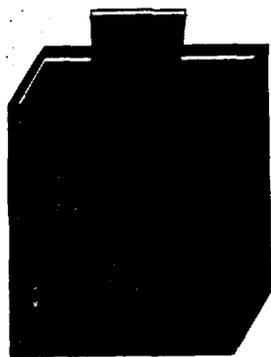
Ninguém é obrigado a dizer em quem votou ou vai votar. Na assembleia de voto ninguém pode dizer em quem votou ou vai votar.

PROTECÇÃO DO SEGREDO DA VOTAÇÃO

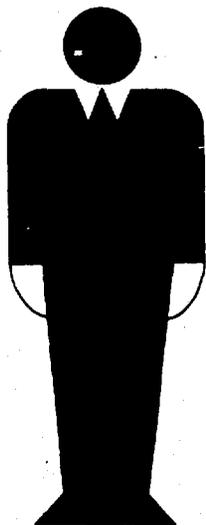


Ninguém pode aproximar-se da cabina de voto quando uma pessoa está a votar.

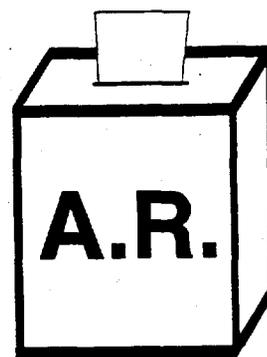
VAMOS VOTAR UMA VEZ COM DOIS BOLETINS



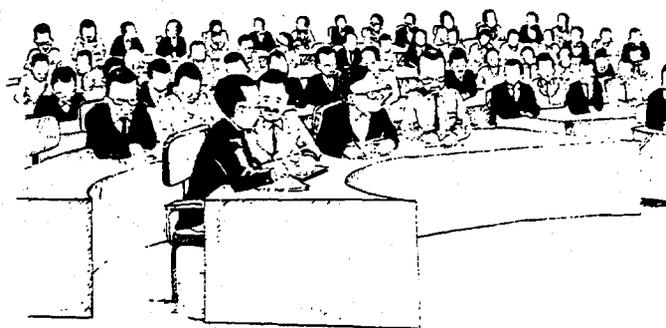
PRESIDENTE DA REPÚBLICA



**DOS CANDIDATOS À PRESIDÊNCIA
O QUE GANHAR SERÁ
PRESIDENTE DA REPÚBLICA**



ASSEMBLEIA DA REPÚBLICA



**OS PARTIDOS QUE FOREM
MAIS VOTADOS ENVIARÃO
DEPUTADOS PARA CONSTITUIR
A ASSEMBLEIA DE 250 DEPUTADOS**

ENCOMENDA DE MATERIAL DO
INSTITUTO NACIONAL DEMOCRÁTICO
"VOTA MOÇAMBIQUE"

NOME: _____

ENDEREÇO: _____

CIDADE E DISTRITO: _____ / _____

PROVÍNCIA: _____ TELEFONE: _____ FAX: _____

OUTRA FORMA DE COMUNICAÇÃO (RECADOS, VIZINHOS, FAMÍLIA, ETC.):

DESCRIÇÃO DO PEDINTE:

- FORMADOR DO N.D.I.
 FORMADOR DO C.N.E. / S.T.A.E.
 AGENTE DE PARTIDO POLÍTICO; QUAL? _____
 ORGANIZAÇÃO CÍVICA OU RELIGIOSA; QUAL? _____
 OUTRO; QUAL? _____

MATERIAL SOLICITADO

DESCRIÇÃO	QUANTIDADE
KITS DE SIMULAÇÃO DE VOTAÇÃO PARA FORMAÇÃO	-----
CARTAZES PARA ANÚNCIOS LOCAIS	-----
CARTAZES DE RECENTEAMENTO	-----
CARTAZES MOSTRANDO COMO VOTAR	-----
CARTAZES PARA MOTIVAR OS ELEITORES	-----
MANUAIS FOTOGRÁFICOS DE VOTAÇÃO	-----
VÍDEOS DE VOTAÇÃO	-----
PUBLICAÇÃO DE INFORMAÇÃO SOBRE ELEIÇÕES	-----
PACOTES DE INFORMAÇÃO PARA FORMADORES	-----

ESPAÇO PARA USO DO N.D.I.

MEIO DE TRANSPORTE

INDICAR ACIMA A QUANTIDADE ENVIADA:

MATERIAL SOLICITADO: _____ / _____ / 1994

MATERIAL ENVIADO : _____ / _____ / 1994

CONFIRMAÇÃO DE ENTREGA: _____ / _____ / 1994

- AIRSERV
 ONUMOZ
 VEÍCULO NDI
 ONG INTERNACIONAL
 QUAL? _____
 OUTRO;
 QUAL? _____

APPENDIX 9

Training Session Forms and Database Totals

DESCRIÇÕES DOS FORMULÁRIOS DO N.D.I.

1. ENCOMENDA DE MATERIAL DO N.D.I.

Serve para qualquer organização que precise do nosso material encomendá-lo. Pode ser um formador do N.D.I. ou do C.N.E./S.T.A.E., um agente de partido político, Organizações Cívicas ou Relegiosas, e outras. Todos os nossos materiais serão enviados gratuitamente. O espaço em baixo da página é só para uso dos nossos armazenistas em Maputo.

2. FORMADORES DO N.D.I.

Serve para o N.D.I. saber como contactar ou mandar encomendas ou recados aos nossos formadores. Se não tiver telefone, podemos deixar recados no serviço ou com um amigo ou outra pessoa? Têm acesso a transporte? Quais os seus contactos com organizações representadas localmente.

3. RELATÓRIO DE FORMAÇÃO DO N.D.I. "VOTA MOÇAMBIQUE"

Serve para os nossos formadores informarem sobre as sessões de esclarecimento e simulações de votação que fazem nos distritos. A primeira página pede informação sobre o formador e sobre 3 (três) sessões. As páginas a seguir pede informação sobre 4 (quatro) sessões cada, e estas páginas podem-se juntar à primeira. É preciso por a data de cada sessão.

4. RECIBO DE DESPESAS DO N.D.I.

Serve para colar os recibos das despesas de trabalho dos coordenadores provinciais, e para descrever as despesas.

FORMADORES DO NDI

PROVÍNCIA: _____

CIDADE E DISTRITO: _____ / _____

NOME: _____

ENDEREÇO: _____

TELEFONE: _____

FAX: _____

OUTRA FORMA DE COMUNICAÇÃO (RECADOS, VIZINHOS, FAMÍLIA, ETC.):

REDE DE DISTRIBUIÇÃO DE MATERIAIS :

ACESSO A ESPAÇO PARA GUARDAR MATERIAL? SIM NÃO

ACESSO A TRANSPORTE (AMIGOS)? SIM NÃO

SE SIM, ASSINALE COM UM CÍRCULO (0):

4X4 CARRO TRACTOR CAVALO BURRO MOTO BICICLETA

CONTACTOS COM ORGANIZAÇÕES:

CÍVICAS: _____

RELIGIOSAS: _____

POLÍTICAS (PARTIDOS): _____

GOVERNAMENTAIS: _____

ASSOCIAÇÕES LOCAIS: _____

COOPERATIVAS: _____

OUTRAS: _____

"VOTA MOÇAMBIQUE"



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Fifth Floor, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 328-5136

■ FAX (202) 939-3166
■ Telex 5106015068 NDI/IA

PROJETO VOTO MOÇAMBIQUE
NDI / MAPUTO

Rua Joaquim Lapa, 22 - 4º
Maputo, Moçambique

Tel: (258.1) 425184

Fax: (258.1) 427570

C R E D E N C I A L

O National Democratic Institute for International Affairs - NDI -
certifica que o Sr./a
portador/a do BI nº de/...../..... emitido em ..
..... é coordenadora de educação eleitoral na província
de sob a responsabilidade directa do NDI.

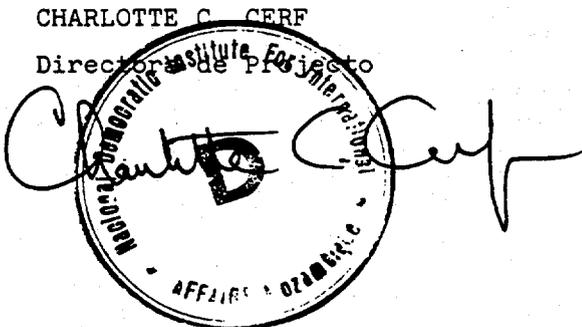
O NDI tem um projecto de educação cívica do eleitor em Moçambique atra-
vés de um acordo com o Governo de Moçambique, para trabalhar com a
Comissão Nacional de Eleições (CNE) sendo o seu funcionamento em es-
treita coordenação com a CNE, o Secretariado Técnico de Administração
Eleitoral (STAE), com as Comissões provinciais e Distritais CPES e CDES
e com os STAE provinciais e Distritais.

Agradecemos desde já toda assistência e atenção prestada ao nosso/nossa
responsável portador/a desta credencial.

Maputo, ao 27 de Julho de 1994

CHARLOTTE C. CERF

Directora do Instituto for Projecto



324

RELATÓRIO DE FORMADOR DO INSTITUTO NACIONAL DEMOCRÁTICO "VOTA MOÇAMBIQUE"

NOME: _____

DISTRITO/PROVÍNCIA: _____/_____

SESSÕES DE ESCLARECIMENTO/SIMULAÇÕES DE VOTAÇÃO:

1. LOCAL/ALDEIA: _____/_____

A SESSÃO REALIZOU-SE NUMA Igreja/Mesquita, Escola, Centro de
Brigadistas, debaixo duma árvore ou outro local? _____

NÚMERO DE HOMENS: _____ MULHERES: _____

COMENTÁRIOS INTERESANTES: _____

2. LOCAL/ALDEIA: _____/_____

A SESSÃO REALIZOU-SE NUMA Igreja/Mesquita, Escola, Centro de
Brigadistas, debaixo duma árvore ou outro local? _____

NÚMERO DE HOMENS: _____ MULHERES: _____

COMENTÁRIOS INTERESANTES: _____

3. LOCAL/ALDEIA: _____/_____

A SESSÃO REALIZOU-SE NUMA Igreja/Mesquita, Escola, Centro de
Brigadistas, debaixo duma árvore ou outro local? _____

NÚMERO DE HOMENS: _____ MULHERES: _____

COMENTÁRIOS INTERESANTES: _____

__ LOCAL/ALDEIA: _____ / _____
A SESSÃO REALIZOU-SE NUMA Igreja/Mesquita, Escola, Centro de
Brigadistas, debaixo duma árvore ou outro local? _____
NÚMERO DE HOMENS: _____ MULHERES: _____
COMENTÁRIOS INTERESANTES: _____

__ LOCAL/ALDEIA: _____ / _____
A SESSÃO REALIZOU-SE NUMA Igreja/Mesquita, Escola, Centro de
Brigadistas, debaixo duma árvore ou outro local? _____
NÚMERO DE HOMENS: _____ MULHERES: _____
COMENTÁRIOS INTERESANTES: _____

__ LOCAL/ALDEIA: _____ / _____
A SESSÃO REALIZOU-SE NUMA Igreja/Mesquita, Escola, Centro de
Brigadistas, debaixo duma árvore ou outro local? _____
NÚMERO DE HOMENS: _____ MULHERES: _____
COMENTÁRIOS INTERESANTES: _____

__ LOCAL/ALDEIA: _____ / _____
A SESSÃO REALIZOU-SE NUMA Igreja/Mesquita, Escola, Centro de
Brigadistas, debaixo duma árvore ou outro local? _____
NÚMERO DE HOMENS: _____ MULHERES: _____
COMENTÁRIOS INTERESANTES: _____

7/10

RECIBO DE DESPESAS DO NDI

NOME: _____

DATA: ____/____/____

PROVÍNCIA/DISTRITO: _____/_____

COLAR AQUI O "RECIBO" ORIGINAL

DESCRIÇÃO DAS DESPESAS (Exemplos: Transporte de lugar _____
a lugar _____; alimentação/"bacela" a um ajudante;
dormida no campo (hospedagem), _____

327

		63	85		148	1
	SUB-TOTAL	3226	3688	0	6912	46
AFIA FERNANDO OMAR N.	NACAROA	17	101		118	1
	NACAROA	113	93		206	1
	NACAROA	235	196		431	1
	NACAROA	236	195		431	1
	NACAROA	138	39		177	1
	NACAROA	240	400		640	1
	NACAROA	65	100		165	1
	NACAROA	20	39		59	1
	NACAROA	53	38		91	1
	NACAROA	95	109		204	1
	NACAROA	73	47		120	1
	NACAROA	111	93		204	1
	NACAROA	235	196		431	1
	NACAROA	171	107		278	1
	NACAROA	53	38		91	1
	NACAROA	95	109		204	1
	NACAROA	47	73		120	1
	NACAROA	20	39		59	1
	NACAROA	236	195		431	1
	NACAROA	138	39		177	1
	NACAROA	19	12		31	1
	NACAROA	36	18		54	1
	NACAROA	68	78		146	1
	NACAROA	39	44		83	1
	NACAROA	10	19		29	1
	NACAROA	50	66		116	1
	NACAROA	27	30		57	1
	NACAROA	30	15		45	1
	NACAROA	9	7		16	1
	SUB-TOTAL	2679	2537	0	5214	29

TOTAL DE HOMENS	NUMERO DE MULHERES	NUMERO DE JOVENS	TOTAL DE PESSOAS	NUMERO DE SESSOES
64649	71693	0	136342	1525

329

	MECANHELAS	94	85	179	1	
	MECANHELAS	209	173	382	1	
	MECANHELAS	350	134	484	1	
	MECANHELAS	704	503	1207	1	
	MECANHELAS	402	256	658	1	
	MECANHELAS	425	276	701	1	
	MECANHELAS	807	239	1046	1	
	MECANHELAS	401	268	669	1	
	MECANHELAS	871	720	1591	1	
	MECANHELAS	810	621	1431	1	
	MECANHALES	502	158	660	1	
	MECANHELAS	558	379	937	1	
	MECANHELAS	761	502	1263	1	
	MECANHELAS	350	79	429	1	
	MECANHELAS	801	530	1331	1	
	SUB-TOTAL	13233	8188	0	21421	27
INACIO SOMUEUGE	MECANHELAS	80	105	185	1	
	MECANHELAS	75	68	143	1	
	MECANHELAS	210	257	467	1	
	MECANHELAS	200	230	430	1	
	MECANHELAS	200	220	420	1	
	MECANHELAS	50	110	160	1	
	MECANHELAS	100	200	300	1	
	SUB-TOTAL	915	1190	0	2105	7

NUMERO DE HOMENS	NUMERO DE MULHERES	NUMERO DE JOVENS	TOTAL DE PESSOAS	NUMERO DE SESSOES
62625	56144	0	118869	280

	PEMBA	5	10	15	1
	PEMBA	10	16	26	1
	NAO INF			0	1
	PEMBA	17	26	43	1
	PEMBA	26	47	73	1
	PEMBA	30	33	63	1
	SUB-TOTAL	100	157	0	257 8
ABEL ABUDO	IBO	158	510	668	1
	IBO	27	30	57	1
	IBO	107	161	268	1
	IBO	151	500	651	1
	IBO	380	51	431	1
	IBO	451	95	546	1
	IBO	30	20	50	1
	IBO	59	32	91	1
	IBO	16	10	26	1
	IBO	15	40	55	1
	IBO	48	35	83	1
	IBO	100	31	131	1
	SUB-TOTAL	1542	1515	0	3057 12

TOTAL DE HOMENS	NUMERO DE MULHERES	NUMERO DE JOVENS	TOTAL DE PESSOAS	NUMERO DE SESSOES
-----------------	--------------------	------------------	------------------	-------------------

114270 134416 650 252276 403

MUTARARA	100	94	194	1	
MUTARARA	15	25	40	1	
MUTARARA	70	33	103	1	
MUTARARA	22	16	38	1	
MUTARARA	65	47	112	1	
MUTARARA	52	81	133	1	
MUTARARA	30	22	52	1	
MUTARARA	70	51	121	1	
MUTARARA	45	20	65	1	
MUTARARA	67	51	118	1	
MUTARARA	50	25	75	1	
MUTARARA	91	48	139	1	
MUTARARA	20	13	33	1	
MUTARARA	63	29	92	1	
MUTARARA	37	62	99	1	
MUTARARA	69	10	79	1	
MUTARARA	78	81	159	1	
MUTARARA	50	73	123	1	
MUTARARA	20	42	62	1	
MUTARARA	60	46	106	1	
MUTARARA	18	25	43	1	
MUTARARA	53	76	129	1	
MUTARARA	25	40	65	1	
MUTARARA	91	54	145	1	
MUTARARA	81	53	134	1	
MUTARARA	93	71	164	1	
MUTARARA	69	50	119	1	
MUTARARA	19	31	50	1	
MUTARARA	39	51	90	1	
MUTARARA	37	17	54	1	
MUTARARA	29	51	80	1	
MUTARARA	71	65	136	1	
MUTARARA	53	28	81	1	
MUTARARA	72	37	109	1	
MUTARARA	39	51	90	1	
MUTARARA	82	21	103	1	
MUTARARA	63	81	144	1	
MUTARARA	101	98	199	1	
MUTARARA	63	42	105	1	
MUTARARA	56	70	126	1	
MUTARARA	59	61	120	1	
MUTARARA	43	69	112	1	
MUTARARA	82	51	133	1	
MUTARARA	20	41	61	1	
MUTARARA	53	39	92	1	
MUTARARA	78	91	169	1	
MUTARARA	63	47	110	1	
MUTARARA	59	15	74	1	
SUB-TOTAL	2820	2417	0	5237	50

TOTAL DE HOMENS	NUMERO DE MULHERES	NUMERO DE JOVENS	TOTAL DE PESSOAS	TOTAL DE SESSOES
51124	61492	0	112616	535

GAZA PROVINCE

CHIBUTO	55	95	150	1
CHIBUTO	71	98	169	1
CHIBUTO	102	206	308	1
CHIBUTO	95	102	197	1
CHIBUTO	95	106	201	1
CHIBUTO	90	131	221	1
CHIBUTO	35	85	120	1
CHIBUTO	45	65	110	1
CHIBUTO	105	213	318	1
CHIBUTO	92	143	235	1
CHIBUTO	63	99	162	1
CHIBUTO	26	41	67	1
CHIBUTO	43	66	109	1
CHIBUTO	85	104	189	1
CHIBUTO	73	102	175	1

SUB-TOTAL

1474 2353 0 3827 20

TOTAL DE HOMENS	NUMERO DE MULHERES	NUMERO DE JOVENS	TOTAL DE PESSOAS	NUMERO DE SESSOES
-----------------	--------------------	------------------	------------------	-------------------

114876 210890 0 325766 1000

	CHIBUTO	55	95	150	1	
	CHIBUTO	71	98	169	1	
	CHIBUTO	102	206	308	1	
	CHIBUTO	95	102	197	1	
	CHIBUTO	95	106	201	1	
	CHIBUTO	90	131	221	1	
	CHIBUTO	35	85	120	1	
	CHIBUTO	45	65	110	1	
	CHIBUTO	105	213	318	1	
	CHIBUTO	92	143	235	1	
	CHIBUTO	63	99	162	1	
	CHIBUTO	26	41	67	1	
	CHIBUTO	43	66	109	1	
	CHIBUTO	85	104	189	1	
	CHIBUTO	73	102	175	1	
	SUB-TOTAL	1474	2353	0	3827	20

TOTAL DE HOMENS	NUMERO DE MULHERES	NUMERO DE JOVENS	TOTAL DE PESSOAS	NUMERO DE SESSOES
114876	210890	0	325766	1000

VILANKULOS	11	1	12	1
VILANKULOS	15	10	25	1
VILANKULOS	43	39	82	1
VILANKULOS	12	18	30	1
VILANKULOS	21	26	47	1
VILANKULOS	43	57	100	1
VILANKULOS	47	63	110	1
VILANKULOS	20	32	52	1
VILANKULOS	91	187	278	1
VILANKULOS	43	59	102	1
VILANKULOS	19	29	48	1
VILANKULOS	15	30	45	1
VILANKULOS	30	55	85	1
VILANKULOS	95	106	201	1
VILANKULOS	14	11	25	1
VILANKULOS	47	38	85	1
VILANKULOS	30	39	69	1
VILANKULOS	42	43	85	1
VILANKULOS	60	52	112	1
VILANKULOS	70	82	152	1
VILANKULOS	23	21	44	1
VILANKULOS	6	10	16	1
VILANKULOS	98	150	248	1
SUB-TOTAL	1965	2487	0	4452 18

TOTAL DE HOMENS	NUMERO DE MULHERES	NUMERO DE JOVENS	TOTAL DE PESSOAS	NUMERO DE SESSOES
85450	121254	142	206848	552

APPENDIX 10

Thank You Letter from MOCIZA

REPUBLICA DE MOÇAMBIQUE
PROVINCIA DA ZAMBÉZIA

MOCIZA--
(Movimento Cívico de Solidariedade e Apoio
ao Desenvolvimento da Zambézia)

Ao:
Instituto Democrático para Assuntos Internacionais
Att. Srã: CHARLOTTE
Tel. nº 425184
FAX: 427570

A MOCIZA, vem através desta manifestar a sua atitude de gratidão pelo apoio prestado ao subsidiar o tempo de antena dedicado à Educação Cívica do Eleitorado e pelo Slogan especificamente preparado e cedido.

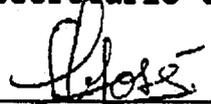
Por motivos alheios à nossa vontade, que se circunscreve na falta de equipamento para copiar o programa das fitas magnéticas e cassettes, lamentavelmente não nos é possível enviar uma cópia dos programas já radiodifundidos com o vosso apoio.

Nestes termos, desejamos ver consolidadas e ampliadas as relações já existentes, podendo contribuir para a melhoria dos nossos programas e não só, como para a preparação do pessoal ligado a produção de programas.

Sem outro assunto de momento, as nossas cordiais saudações.

Quelimane, aos 09 de Setembro de 1994.

o Secretário Geral


(Pedro Lopes Murima)

N.B.: Endereços:

Ángelo Custódio Tel. nº 214186 ou 214188
Rodrigues João Tel. nº 213723 ou 212192 (C.P. 215)
Quelimane

APPENDIX 11

Scheiner and Bornstein Final Reports

1. INTRODUCTION

This is the final report by the National Democratic Institute's regional training coordinator for Northern Mozambique concerning the civic education programme undertaken in the Provinces of Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Niassa and Zambezia in the four months prior to the country's first multiparty elections.

The northern programme began with the appointment of the Zambezia provincial coordinator on May 26th 1994, and finished on November 22nd 1994. The regional training coordinator was appointed on August 5th.

The allocated budget was \$38,000 for the programme itself, with upto \$2,000 available for the Per Diem expenditure of the RTC.

2. OBJECTIVES

Of the eight objectives listed in the Project Vote Mozambique proposal, the northern programme can be evaluated against the following:

1. "to inform an estimated 7-8 million potential voters about the voter registration and balloting process"¹;
4. "to empower, through training and the provision of material resources, social organizations and political parties as agents for conducting community based civic education related to the electoral process";
7. "to maximize voter turnout and minimize spoiled ballots";
8. "to contribute to an understanding of the value of pluralism in a democracy".

The responsibilities of the regional coordinator were listed in the consulting agreement as being the following:

"to recruit and train trainers in specified central and northern provinces, to distribute materials and subsidies to the trainers, to collect reports of their training sessions, to monitor their activities, to assess needs and to feed information back and forth between the provinces and

¹ By the time I fully took charge of the northern region the scheduled registration period was nearly over. There was an extension, but this had no affect on the NDI programme as I found it, as the trainers continued to concentrate on the balloting process. I will not be addressing registration in this report.

NDI in Maputo about project progress and needs in those regions of the country. [The RTC] will take responsibility for training activities in the following provinces: Zambezia, Niassa, Nampula and Cabo Delgado. He will make use of local and international NGOs, ONUMOZ and provincial and district level electoral commissions to help identify districts and groups where training should be done. [He] will also draw upon these same resources to help distribute materials and arrange training sessions for the populations that these organizations come into contact with. [The RTC] will be expected to file regular reports and keep accurate accounting of finances needed to maintain trainer activities."

3. BACKGROUND

The coordination of all provincial training activities was originally the responsibility of Paula Santa-Rita. In May, Ms Santa-Rita recruited as provincial coordinators Amelia Filipe Andifo in Quelimane, Zambezia and Atia Mussa in Pemba, Cabo Delgado who were brought to Maputo to attend a training session given by Pat Keefer and Monica Zabo from Project Vote South Africa. (cf. reports by Bambu, Tito and Paula).

It became apparent that, given the size of Mozambique and the inferior condition of the country's communications and infrastructure, it was not possible for one person to provide the necessary amount of supervision and guidance to the provincial programmes. This was particular relevant to the northern region, where the southernmost provincial capital, Quelimane, is one thousand kilometres from Maputo.

In the handover of responsibility and the verbal briefing by Ms Santa-Rita, no clear plan or strategy was evident. Rather, it seemed that the programme had been conducted on an *ad hoc* basis.

4. PROGRAMME DETAILS

4.1 Budgeting and planning

Early meetings with Zambezia, Nampula and Niassa coordinators revealed that they felt their respective programmes lacked direction and leadership. The concerns each expressed were that they did not know what scale their programmes were supposed to be -- more specifically, how many trainers NDI wanted per district -- and that the expense money was inadequate for the work required. There were no provincial budgets, and therefore no framework through which the provincial coordinators could understand their responsibilities and plan their programmes.

In a meeting with the financial controller and the country director in Maputo, it was agreed to divide the training line item from the budget between the regions on the basis of population, with the more populated northern region being

allocated \$38,000. This amount included the money provided to the coordinators prior to August 5th. In turn, this budget was divided into provincial and subprovincial budgets, again using population figures, with \$5,000 being held back for contingency and further allocations. Niassa and Cabo Delgado would later have their smaller budgets substantially increased from this reserve.

The provincial coordinators were each asked to draw up a plan and a budget that would fully utilize the money available, using their local knowledge to calculate between the relative benefits of more trainers, increased expense money and hired transport. Their ability to do so was overestimated, and in every case, I drafted the plans with their consultation. In part, this resulted from limited mathematical and accounting skills, but also from a failure to envision the possibilities presented by the allocated budget: they had been complaining about the lacking sufficient money to run the programme, but when it was offered to them, the provincial coordinators did not know what to do with it.

Some of the coordinators mastered the basic accounting techniques required of them; a couple had difficulties until the end of the programme. The revised funding scheme, which gave the coordinators more responsibility, was felt to be more helpful than the arrangement that had existed before, and activities were expanded greatly in all provinces except Cabo Delgado which was already overmanned². A schedule would be drawn up showing planned expenditure on a week-by-week basis, with categories for old trainers' expenses and salaries, new trainers' expenses and salaries, coordinators' expenses and hired transport. A new monthly expense rate of 150,000 Meticais was felt by coordinators to be adequate and affordable in most cases. Money would be left with the coordinator sufficient for a two or three week period, and then on the return visit, their accounts would be audited prior to being given a resupply.

This disbursing of funds, delayed as it was, did help put the provincial programmes on a more rational footing, and the programme was tripled in size between mid-August and early October. In a couple of areas, more money was available than could have been profitably used in that time period, and excess money was returned to the central fund.

4.2 Training

4.2.1 Number of civic education sessions held

[Information to be supplied from the database.]

4.2.2 Quality of training

² For promises made by Paula Santa-Rita concerning the Cabo Delgado programme, see annexed report by Cecilia Justinho and Adriana Silva.

Less time was spent on visiting and monitoring the trainers than would have been desirable. The few visits made in Niassa, Nampula and Cabo Delgado revealed that standards varied greatly, but it is not possible to make a generalized, qualitative assessment.

A session given by Sr. Branco and one of his trainers in Eastern Nampula may have been representative of a weakness in the programme as a whole (cf. Weekly Report 1st - 7th October). In many cases the importance of the kits had become overstated in the sessions: they were designed as an educational tool, but, amongst the weaker trainers, there was a tendency for the kit itself to completely dominate the session to the exclusion of informed explanation. This dependence on the kits did not foster instruction that led to a "contribution to an understanding of the value of pluralism in a democracy" (objective 8).

Recognition that the training sessions varied in quality and lacked in a core curriculum of essential topics led to the decision to produce an instructional pack for the trainers. These arrived too late to make any difference however.

4.3 Materials cf. Provincial coordinators reports.

Posters Widely distributed and well-received by the population, as were all the handouts; the *Passos de Votação* was used as a visual aid by trainers and by STAE.

Video Distributed to STAE and ONUMOZ; use by NDI was minimal, though in the cases where trainers/coordinators managed to locate a television, a video and electricity the response was reported to have been good.

Manual An important training guide for the trainers themselves; limited numbers meant that the manuals were not distributed to the public.

Vamos Votar Very popular; cf. Logistics

Kits The backbone of the programme (but see 4.2.2). It was a mistake not to include inkpads, given the level of illiteracy in this country and that they were then either bought in small numbers at greater cost in the provinces or, worse, were not bought at all.

Radionovela I ^{did} ~~need~~ not have any feedback about this serial.

Song As per radionovela.

T-shirts Excellent. These were prized as a source of identity by NDI trainers. To my knowledge, none of the 1,700 T-shirts with the modified frontal design reached NDI personnel in the north.

4.4 Logistics

The delayed all supply of materials from Maputo to the northern provincial capitals was unsatisfactory. Many of those materials

which arrived approximately one week before the elections were unusable in that timeframe.

Logistics within the provinces were not a problem for most of the programme, as the materials (usually kits and posters) were man-portable and were carried out in small numbers by the coordinator on training missions. With a bulk delivery, specifically the Vamos Votar newspaper, NDI personnel were dependent on support from STAE/PNUD and ONUMOZ at a time when these organizations were fully occupied with their own programmes immediately before the elections. Much of the supply was handed over to them to be distributed without NDI involvement; many papers did not get distributed at all.

4.5 Relations with other organizations cf. Provincial coordinators reports.

Amongst the provincial coordinators, there seemed to be a reluctance -- slight in some cases, marked in that of Niassa -- to seek full collaboration with the other principal organizations involved in civic education, ONUMOZ and STAE/UNDP. Where successful contact was made, it was either at the UNV-electoral officer or the district STAE level, rather than at the provincial level. Certainly no case of close coordination and division of territory and personnel by STAE and NDI coordinators was reported to me.

In part this state of affairs probably resulted from a degree of intimidation felt by some of the coordinators *vis-à-vis* these more imposing organizations, one staffed by ex-pats, the other by Mozambicans who were often regarded NDI as competition rather than collaborators. In part, NDI coordinators were keen to preserve their independence and autonomy, as well as possibly avoiding a degree of scrutiny which close collaboration would entail (though in Cabo Delgado the NDI coordinators required some of their trainers to have their reports authenticated by the CDE. Lack of organization on the part of ONUMOZ, UNDP and STAE was also a factor limiting collaboration, as was the fact that their programmes and working methods did not always overlap with our own.

My experience with trying to facilitate relations with STAE came early in the programme in Alto Zambezia, where I had heard that the sub-provincial coordinator, Senor Manuel Adriao, had been having difficulties with the Gurue STAE office. I arranged a meeting with Manuel and the STAE director, where I called for closer cooperation, and outlined ways in which we could help one another, but my parting impression was that they both said exactly what they thought I wanted to hear, but would not make any changes to their programmes. Thereafter, I would only ask coordinators if they wanted me to accompany them to a meeting with STAE or ONUMOZ to try to facilitate a better working relationship. Invariably, they declined, except insofar as specific lifts were concerned. On reading the Baixo Zambezia report, it is clear now that in that area at least more could have been attempted to work closer with STAE.

NDI trainers did receive assistance from UNVs usually in terms of transport (Nicole Siebol in Quelimane and Therese Laanela in Nampula of UNDP were particularly supportive) and came to arrangements at the district levels with the CDEs. With the notable exception of Jarin Siripornpak, the FSA in Quelimane, ONUMOZ and UNDP were very helpful to my personal work in Nampula, Quelimane and Niassa.

4.6 Discussion of Personnel cf. Weekly Reports and "Ideas for a Post-Electoral Programme" attached in annex.

The strengths and weaknesses of the programme lay primarily in the provincial coordinators, who ranged from good to appalling. With the hindsight that comes from removing three coordinators from positions of responsibility (Atia Mussa, Senhor Branco and Amelia Andifoi) and having been embezzled by a fourth (Manuel Adriaio), it is clear that more time and care should have been spent selecting the coordinators, with some form of testing, at least of mathematical and bureaucratic skills (I cannot make any suggestions on character referencing), though given the low levels of education and work experience in Mozambique, suitable and available people may have been difficult to locate. Senhor Branco of Eastern Nampula, weak in both his roles as a chief trainer and as a coordinator, revealed one of the limitations of the programme working on such a tight timetable: he was recruited late (early September) by Adelino Macie, and it was evident from my first proper meeting with him that he was out of his depth, but there was no opportunity to replace him with somebody else from Nacala, and the alternative, of cutting all funding to the area was not acceptable. (A third possibility, which I did not think of at the time, would have been to have had one of Macie's senior trainers coordinate the area out of Nampula city, but instant dismissal is contrary to Mozambican labour laws.

4.7.1 Transportation: trainers and provincial coordinators

The lack of cheap and adequate transportation in the face of large distances was the main difficulty faced by the programme in the north. This was the primary reason why the trainer's expenses were increased from 100,000 Meticaïs to 150,000 Meticaïs. The new level was on the whole sufficient, though some complaints were still received from trainers, possibly the less industrious ones. Other trainers were prepared to walk tens of kilometres to reach target villages.

Even with this money, the irregularity of transportation forestalled some visits by trainers and coordinators. Available funds for renting cars were used by the coordinators, though these were expensive.

4.7.2 Transportation: regional coordinator

Probably more time was spent travelling than on any other single activity. The AirServ aircraft was a great convenience, though much of its utility was later replaced by the ONUMOZ air transport provided through the letter of cooperation with Horacio

Boneo. The AirServ Cessna did facilitate trips to remote locations like Gurue, and additional flight hours would have made possible more visits to districts, particularly in Cabo Delgado and Niassa. Using the Cessna on principal routes after Boneo had signed the letter³ was a wasteful use of resources.

Vehicles were hired on several occasions in Nampula for 550,000 Meticaís per day (approximately \$80)⁴ not including fuel, but none could be found for rental by myself in Niassa or Zambezia when they were needed. A couple of journeys were made by *chapa cem* (collective taxi), but useful trips to visit trainers in the districts were not made because of the uncertainty surrounding departure and return times. A project vehicle would have been of great help, not only to the regional coordinator's work, but also as an asset to be shared between the provincial coordinators.

4.8 Crime

According to Senhor Branco, a trainer in Eastern Nampula, Daniel Gomez, absconded with 2.3 million Meticaís intended to pay old and recruit new trainers. In fact it later transpired that Gomez had met a senior trainer from Nampula city and handed over 750,000 Meticaís to allow him to work in one district with that money. It is believed that Gomez kept the remaining 1.55 million (re. Branco's report stamped by Nacala police in the Eastern Nampula file).

At the end of the programme it was discovered that the coordinator of Alto Zambezia, Manuel Adriao, had been stealing an uncertain amount of money from his trainers, by paying them less than he was receiving for them from the regional coordinator and then submitting forged receipts. Regrettably it was not possible to locate all the trainers and take Manuel to the police in the time available. At the time of writing, he remains uncharged.

5. IMPACT OF PROGRAMME/ACHIEVEMENT OF STATED OBJECTIVES

cf. Provincial coordinators' reports.

5.1.1 Quantifying the impact of the programme is problematic. The only data available are the reports of the trainers themselves, and there is grounds to doubt the reliability of some of these. The claim by the Cabo Delgado coordinators that their trainers reached over 500,000 of the approximately 750,000 voters is difficult to credit; similarly the assertion of the Nampula coordinator that 75-80% of central and west Nampula's electorate received civic education from NDI trainers is doubtful. The

³ The letter is dated 11th August 1994, but a copy did not reach me until September.

⁴ This was increased to 750,000 Meticaís per day on the final Alto Zambezia trip.

figure of approximately 30,000 produced by the Niassa coordinator is more realistic, though the size and style of that operation would have led to much fewer people being reached than in other provinces. These figures would benefit from closer scrutiny before being quoted in the final report for USAID.

If it is difficult to quantify how many of the "estimated 7-8 million potential voters [were informed] about the...balloting process" (objective 1), it is impossible to quantify the effect on voter turnout and spoiled ballots (objective 7).

5.1.2 NDI did undoubtedly make a major impact however. In the north at least, I believe it was the second largest force involved in civic education after STAE. NDI staff were entering villages and training electors for weeks before STAE had begun its electoral education phase. In Cabo Delgado and Niassa according to the coordinators, STAE remained disorganized until very late or else concentrated on the mesa training, while NDI continued with its programme.

5.1.3 A clearer image of the programme, in microcosm at least, can perhaps be grasped from anecdotal evidence than from the statistics. On a number of occasions ex-pats, particularly UNVs, would describe arriving in a remote village to see an NDI trainer surrounded by scores of villagers and compliment NDI on its dedicated staff NDI; more impressively, the trainers themselves would recount with earnestness walking or cycling tens of kilometres to reach villages.

5.2 There was no systematic attempt to provide assistance to social organizations and political parties in the northern region (objective 5). Instruction was given when NDI was approached, and kits were also shared with other groups, when there was an excess number which was not until near the end of the time period.

5.5 The value of pluralism in a democratic society was not stressed during the programme (cf. 4.2.2).

6. ASSESSMENT OF THE REGIONAL COORDINATOR'S POSITION AND PERFORMANCE

cf. Provincial coordinators' reports.

The coordinators' assessments need to be treated with caution. Senhor Branco's "excelente" was written by a worried incompetent resorting to sycophancy, and it is not surprising that Manuel described my work as "very good" when he had succeeded in stealing hundreds of thousands of Meticaís without detection. Macie's and Alberto's reports are more honest but may still be touched by friendship and an unnecessary deference. Fazenda's and Cecilia's/Adriana's are probably the most impartial.

On being cross-questioned (see rear of their report), the Cabo Delgado coordinators' complaint that I had not accompanied them into the districts illustrated the main difficulty with the

position, and its consequent effect on my ability to fulfill all the duties stated in the consulting agreement. With the poor conditions of transport and communications, the region was too large to be covered adequately by one person.

Concerned about the level of financial competency amongst the coordinators, I decided that not more than three weeks funding should be given at any one time before the provinces accounts were reaudited. This necessitated a continuous shuttling between five cities (Manuel would helpfully appear in the office in Quelimane) by AirServ, by available ONUMOZ flights and rented vehicles. This, accounting and report writing occupied the vast majority of my time.

My failure with Manuel and Alto Zambezia was that I did not start with the suspicion that a coordinator would be committing fraud and stealing money from his trainers. Moreover, Alto Zambezia was the most difficult area to access as there were no regular flights there, rented transport from Quelimane is very difficult to find and is unreliable, whilst public transport is slow, incredibly uncomfortable and even more unreliable. Meeting him in Quelimane was convenient and it enabled me to return to the other coordinators sooner.

Most of the duties set out in the consulting agreement were delegated to the provincial coordinators, who would give verbal progress reports on each visit and would prepare a written report at the end of each month.

7. FINANCIAL DETAILS See first annex.

Note that receipts of payments by Paula Santa-Rita, Bambu and Tito have not been provided and the amounts entered on the Provincial Budgets Overview are taken from what the coordinators said they received.

Andrew Scheiner
Regional Training Coordinator
NDI, Northern Mozambique

Maputo, 24th November 1994

SUMMARY:

This report summarizes activities undertaken by NDI's civic education program in three central provinces of Mozambique—Sofala, Manica and Tete—between August and November 1994. During the four months leading to elections (held October 27-29), one regional coordinator, four provincial coordinators, and 64 civic education trainers were responsible for over xxx voter simulation sessions, directly reaching over xxx people throughout the 32 districts and three capital cities of the region. Distribution of xxx posters and educational pamphlets reached an estimated xxxxx people. Costs for personnel and their transport within the districts totaled less than \$15,000 for the three months of operations.

NDI activities included the following: training of civic education trainers; training and supervision of coordinators in management, civic education and bookkeeping; distribution of materials to NDI staff and other entities (STAE, UNDP, UNOMOZ, church groups, Renamo and other political parties); liaison and coordination with other electoral organizations (UNDP-STAE, CNE, UNOMOZ); and reporting and monitoring of field activities. The program began in July in Manica and Sofala, and in August in Tete Province.

PERSONNEL

The provincial coordinators for Sofala and Manica, Ines Sarmento and Antonio da Barca, respectively, were hired in May 1994 by Project Officer Paula Santa-Rita. They, like other provincial coordinators, were selected on the basis of their familiarity with the province, experience in community education and outreach, knowledge of local languages, contacts with different groups and social networks (political, religious, and cultural), and potential for management and leadership. Following a brief orientation by Paula Santa-Rita, the two provincial coordinators attended a one-week training session in Maputo. The provincial coordinators then returned to Manica and Sofala provinces and began to contract trainers, one or two from each district.

The program in Tete only commenced after activities in the other central provinces were well-established. The provincial coordinator for Tete, Alfredo Nhkonde, was hired in August, by the Project Officer's assistant. At that same time, five trainers were contracted from Tete City.

A regional coordinator, Lisa Bornstein, was hired on August 21 to better support the provincial coordinators and the overall training program.

Between August 22-26, the three provincial coordinators, together with the trainers from STAE, attended a week-long training program in Maputo designed to orient activities for the second, post-voter registration, phase of civic education. Upon their return to the provinces, the provincial coordinators continued to expand the team of trainers, visiting the districts previously unreached. Three distinct strategies towards personnel, trainers, and program management developed from that point forward.

In Manica, the regional coordinator and Maputo office determined that the provincial coordinator needed additional support in field visits for training, monitoring, and delivery of materials and funds. A deputy provincial coordinator, Alberto Antonio, was hired. Sr. da Barca continued to coordinate activities from the Manica's capital, Chimoio, holding a training session for all trainers in mid-September, visiting the remote Renamo-district of Macossa to contract a trainer, and maintaining close contact with trainers via messages, weekend field visits, and trainer visits to Chimoio (by those trainers capable of reaching the capital). Alberto Antonio was given principal responsibility for those districts far from the capital, Guro, Tambara, Macossa and Barue to the north, and Mossurize and Machaze to the south. The regional coordinator visited Manica Province as needed to provide support, e.g. to assist with programming, simplify and clarify reporting requirements, provide funds, and liaison with UNDP and UNOMOZ-electoral division, the international organizations directly involved in the elections. By September, trainers had

been hired in each of the districts, with those areas with large population concentrations receiving additional trainers (three trainers were hired in Manica district, and two in Gondola); there were a total of 15 trainers, including the provincial and deputy-provincial coordinators.

In Sofala, the provincial coordinator Ines Sarmiento decided to hire two trainers for each district and to provide additional training updates through her visits to the districts. At the end of each month ~~about~~ the 26 trainers were responsible for coming to the provincial capital, Beira, to turn in their reports and receive their monthly salary and stipend; in cases where trainers were unable to reach Beira, the provincial coordinator or one of the trainers traveled to the districts. By September, there were two trainers in each of Sofala's districts, with two additional trainers covering the city of Beira, and trainers for Moçimboa in the far south of the province also responsible for Mambone in the north of Inhambane Province. Trainers were selected on the basis of their knowledge of and respect within the district, and their potential as civic educators.

In Tete, a total of 13 trainers were hired. Of these 9 were based in Tete city, covering selected districts each week. Of the additional four trainers, two were in Angonia, a third was in Tsangano and the fourth was based in Mutarara, these representing the areas with high concentrations of registered voters not easily accessible from Tete City. In addition, the provincial coordinator for Tete required assistance with control and documentation of expenses. Consequently, an administrator/bookkeeper was hired for the month of October.

Of the four provincial coordinators, one (25%) was a woman; the regional coordinator (international) was a woman; of the trainers, 3 of 13 (23%) in Manica, 2 of 12 (20%) in Tete, and 5 of 26 (19%) in Sofala were women. Of total staff for the region 77% were women. In Tete, the majority of trainers were quite young (under 22 years of age), reflecting the scarcity of literate people with work experience. In contrast, the majority of the trainers in Manica were over 30 years of age, with several trainers in their 50s. In Sofala, there was a mix of ages, ranging from recent school-leavers (Manromeu for example) to older women (Gorongosa). Literacy and numeracy was variable among the trainers, although all were capable of reading through the simpler NDI documentation, recording expenses and activities, and speaking the local languages. For the most part, people were hired to work in their areas of residence since familiarity with the zone was considered essential to successful outreach. The exception was in Tete, where core trainers worked out of the capital, and in two districts of Sofala, where trainers were hired in Beira and returned to their rural areas of origin for the duration of NDI's program.

PROJECT STATUS ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The NDI program for the central provinces was highly successful in directly reaching rural and urban populations with clear instructions on when and how to vote in Mozambique's presidential elections. Outreach campaigns introduced populations to basic tenets of democratic elections—secrecy, the right and obligation to vote, one person one vote, etc. In the Central Region a total of 56 Mozambicans were trained in civic education and outreach techniques. Over xxx voting simulations were held, reaching an estimated xxxx people in factories, markets, churches, water points, the homes of local leaders and elders, and schools. Over xxx posters and explanatory pamphlets were distributed to local residents, community groups, electoral agencies and political parties. Trainers were frequently quite creative in overcoming serious difficulties including lack of transport, ways to notify communities of their arrival, tables and chairs for the simulation, knowledge of Portuguese or democratic principles among rural populations. NDI trainers, with their easily identifiable black backpacks, were acknowledged to be at the forefront of voter education by rural residents and several international electoral bodies. NDI reached rural populations prior to STAE's own outreach program, and conducted voter education in places that STAE never succeeded in holding sessions. Moreover, in addition to receiving materials from NDI, many STAE civic educators learned how to conduct sessions by accompanying several NDI sessions.

352

MATERIALS PRODUCED

The principal output of the civic education program was the provision of voting simulations to a vast number of registered voters in rural and urban areas in the Central Region. These simulations involved several important steps. First, the arrival of NDI trainers in rural areas entailed an explanation of NDI's activities and, more important, NDI's political neutrality to local authorities. At times, NDI trainers were the first to reach local populations with a non-partisan message about the elections. Second, NDI's program provided people--in rural and urban areas alike--with much needed instruction in what to expect and what to do the day of elections. The demonstration of the voting process was invaluable in clarifying confusion of a mostly illiterate population. The distribution of sample ballots, and the display of valid and invalid ways to mark the ballots, was also of particular interest and usefulness to potential voters.

TRAINING PROVIDED (GENDER TABLE)

Get from computer files.

COMMODITIES PURCHASED

Limited office supplies. One fax machine installed in Manica.

FINANCIAL SUMMARY

See attached.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS/LESSONS LEARNED

Lessons Learned

1. Needed to emphasize that all valid registered voters in line to vote on last day of voting would be permitted to do so. Lines terrible on days of voting. Not clearly understood or accepted that the elderly, the ill, pregnant women, and women with infants (80% of the women in some rural areas) had the right to vote first; men in line did not permit this in some localities.
2. Financial tracking system cumbersome and inadequate. This true at all levels. The trainer's forms did not serve as a control on spending or as easy way to register expenses. Salaries should be sufficient to cover food expenses while traveling throughout the district and subsidies should only be provided for transport. At the regional level, information and monies were not transferred in a timely fashion.
3. Transport in some districts was extremely difficult. Some trainers reported walking over 50 kms. to reach some settlement areas. Rental of bicycles was encouraged where and whenever possible. Funds were also allocated for purchase for fuel for government or private vehicles capable of transporting trainers. In Manica and Tete rental of a vehicle for visits to some districts was necessary.
4. Greater monitoring of training sessions needed to be done by the provincial coordinators and, perhaps, the regional coordinator. This would have ~~enabled~~ better communications with the trainers because frequently they were away from the district headquarters when coordinators arrived for visits. Coordinators would also have needed better access to transportation to and within the districts.
5. Access to Air Serv for delivery of materials and for limited transport to remote districts was invaluable. It was a shame that the air support ended so early in the civic education campaign. It would have made supervision tasks much easier and would have permitted civic education in some areas that were never adequately reached. UN transport was useful as long as NDI staff adjusted to UN schedules, including suddenly canceled pick-up flights from remote locations, canceled trips, two hour visits, many hour delays, etc. At times the coordinators found that the schedules made NDI training or supervision unworkable. At other times rural populations proved extremely patient, waiting for hours in the sun for the arrival of NDI trainers accompanied by UN personnel.
6. Those coordinators receiving both training sessions in Maputo much better prepared than those who had not attended.

Lisa Bornstein

6 Feb 95

APPENDIX 12

**Trainer Summit: Questionnaire, Report, Certificate, Thank You Letter from Ken Wollack
Independent Evaluation Report
Results of 1994 Mozambican Elections**

QUESTIONARIO PARA OS COORDENADORES

NOME _____
PROVINCIA _____ CIDADE _____

ADMINISTRACAO

FINANCAS

1. Se acha que o metodo anteriormente utilizado nao era o mais correcto, diga quais deveriam ter sido as formas correctas de trabalho?

2. No final do anterior programa foi introduzido um novo impresso - Recibo. Pensa que funcionou? Quais as alteracoes que propoe?

FORMULARIOS

3. Dos formularios utilizados, quais pensa que se devem manter?

4. Que novos formularios pensa que devemos introduzir?

RELATORIOS

5. O formulario para o relatorio era facilmente preenchido pelos formadores?

6. Pensamos introduzir mais um formulario para relatorios bi-mensais de forma a que os dados nos cheguem o mais sintetizados possivel. Que pensa sobre isto?

COORDENACAO

COMUNICACOES

7. Quais as principais dificuldades que encontrou em termos de comunicacoes?

8. Como pensa que podemos resolver este problema?

COORDENADOR REGIONAL

9. Como decorreu o seu trabalho com o Coordenador Regional?

10. Como pensa que deve ser feito o seu trabalho com o seu Coordenador Regional?

11. Se tivesse que contractar um Coordenador Regional, quais as qualidades que exigiria?

TRANSPORTES

12. Quais foram as dificuldades em transporte que teve para o desenvolvimento do seu trabalho?

13. Tendo como principio que nao podemos fornecer uma viatura a cada Coordenador Provincial, como pensa que se podem ultrapassar as dificuldades em deslocacoes aos distritos?

COORDENACAO COM MAPUTO

14. Como decorreu a sua coordenacao com Maputo no anterio programa?

15. Como pensa que deve ser estabelecida esta coordenacao?

FORMACAO

IDENTIFICACAO DOS FORMADORES

16. Pensa que deveremos continuar com o cartao dos Formadores?

17. Se sim, diga-nos se o crachat preparado para o anterior programa foi util e se foi bem aceite.
Quais as alteracoes que propoe?

FORMADORES

18. Do grupo de Formadores que consigo trabalharam, quais foram aqueles que pensa terem exercido melhor as suas funcoes?

19. Quais sao aqueles com quem nao devemos contar e porque?

20. Quais as qualidades que pensa exigir dos Formadores para o novo programa?

21. Qual a melhor distribuicao de 10 formadores na sua Provincia?

FORMACAO

22. Acha que a formacao que foi dada aos Coordenadores e aos Formadores foi suficiente?

23. Quais foram as principais lacunas observadas por si?

24. No novo programa, temos a intencao de fazer formacao em tres fases.

a. Acha que a formacao deve ser feita na capital provincial com todos os formadores reunidos ou poderiamos subdividir os distritos em dois ou tres grupos?

b. Como pensa que de uma forma global a formacao deve ser feita?

MATERIAIS

TIPOS

25. Como foi a aceitacao do eleitorado aos materiais utilizados para a Educao Civica?

26. Qual foi para si a principal lacuna?

27. Com base no Plano do proximo programa, diga-nos quais os materiais que gostaria que fossem preparados?

DISTRIBUICAO

28. Como acha que funcionou a distribuicao no anterior programa?

29. E como pensa que devemos planificar esta area no presente programa?

PROGRAMA ANTERIOR

30. Indique quais os tres aspectos mais positivos .

31. Indique os tres aspectos mais negativos.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Pat Keefer, Amy Marshall, Carol Smetana, Ken Wollack

FROM: Charlotte Cerf, NDI Maputo

DATE: April 5, 1995

RE: Report on Trainer Summit

FAX NUMBER : 202 939 3166

TEL. NUMBER : 202 328 3136

NO. OF PAGES _____

The following is a report on the 3 day trainer summit held in Maputo from March 29th- March 31st 1995.

The NDI office in Mozambique held a 3 day meeting in Maputo with our best core trainers from seven provinces for the purpose of evaluating the pre-electoral civic education program and discussing the concepts and organization of the post-electoral civic education program planned for the future. Over the past six months since the elections, the NDI team in Maputo had been in constant contact with these core trainers; both keeping them informed of plans for future civic education activities and receiving their input and suggestions for an NDI post-electoral program. When they were invited to attend the March meeting in Maputo, all were very enthusiastic about participating in the event.

The core trainers selected to attend out of the 15 coordinators who worked for NDI during the pre-electoral program, were those coordinators who had demonstrated the most competence and dedication as well as have a strong capacity for civic organizing and activism. We are hoping this group will become the core members of the NGO that can continue after NDI leaves.

The following coordinators participated:

Maputo Province: Yvette M'Boa

Gaza Province: Beatriz Manuel

Inhambane Province: Victorino Januario

Sofala Province: Ines Sarmento

Manica Province: Nicolau Xavier Da Barca

Nampula Province: Adelino Macie

Niassa Province: Orlando Fazenda (represented by Hagy Zacharias)

The provinces that were not represented at the meeting were Tete, Cabo Delgado, Zambezia and Maputo City. Coordinators from these provinces were not reliable so it was decided that new core trainers from these 3 provinces and Maputo City will have to be recruited for the new program.

Before arriving in Maputo, all the trainers were sent a questionnaire (attached) for evaluating the past program and making recommendations for the new program. They were also sent an outline of the program description for the future program.

Upon arrival all trainers were given a loose leaf notebook of materials that were both used in the sessions and will be the beginning of a reference book for training in the next program. Each notebook contained: the Mozambican constitution, a draft of the constitution "translation" being prepared by NDI, the law on municipal elections, an article on civil rights, a guide to the African Letter on Human Rights, scripts from the two most recent radioplays on the new assembly, and information on forming an NGO in Mozambique from LINK (an NGO coordinating organization).

The agenda for the 3-day seminar (attached) was as follows:

Wednesday, March 29th - Evaluations and recommendations.

Thursday, March 30th - Presentations by guest speakers on concepts to be covered in the next program and discussions:

Morning sessions: Dr. Manuel Frank, lawyer and member of the CNE ; "The constitution and the New Assembly"

Alice Mabote, lawyer and President of the Mozambican League of Human Rights;
" Human Rights in Mozambique"

Afternoon session: Fernando Macamo, member of the legal staff of the National Office of State Administration
"Municipal elections in Mozambique"

Friday, March 31st Presentations and discussion of forming NGO's in Mozambique

Morning session: Guy Mullin, Director of Link
"Types of NGO's and forming an NGO in Mozambique"

Fernanda Farinha, Project Director for AAI program for development and consolidation of NGO's in Mozambique

" Description of AAI's NGO program"

Afternoon session: Discussion with NDI trainers on becoming an NGO.

Evening session: Dinner for trainers and guest speakers

Day One - Evaluation and Recommendations

First the trainers were congratulated on the success of their work for the pre-electoral program. The Certificates of Merit and letter from Ken Wollack were handed out to all the core trainers to distribute to their trainers in the provinces. Each core trainer was also given the data-base printout for totals for his/has respective province.

All the trainers had filled out the evaluation questionnaire and were prepared for the day-long session to discuss the former program and how the new program can be improved.

Finances

The first item on the questionnaire, finances, provoked spirited discussion. Trainers made the following recommendations for improvement: Each province should have a bank account that the core trainer will manage with the help of the regional coordinator. Accounting should be made simpler. Receipts and financial accounting should be done on forms that are attached to the forms that trainers use to report on training sessions. These financial forms and reports should be collected and submitted together, rather than separately to minimize paper confusion.

Coordination

Coordination between between district trainers, provincial coordinators and regional coordinators should happen in the following way. Provincial coordinators will have administrative meetings once a month in one location with all their district trainers who will submit their forms and reports and receive salaries. Periodically these monthly meetings will be used for training trainers on new concepts to be covered in the four phases of the civic education program as well as to distribute new materials .

Every two months, provincial coordinators will meet with regional coordinators to submit reports and to do administration and finances. Every three months, the regional coordinators will submit all of these forms and reports to Maputo.

A criticism of the former program was the varying start up dates of different regions and provinces, which led to confusion in how things were to be done, as new systems were devised. Who got paid when and where was very confused as we moved from

Paula's mode to a nationwide system. The trainers felt strongly that the new program should begin all activities at the same time in all the provinces.

Communications

The core trainers agreed that the communications between the provinces and Maputo were very good, but there was a breakdown at the district level since these areas lack telephones. It was suggested that perhaps NDI could set up some kind of contract with local district short wave radio operators so that NDI provincial trainers could reach the district trainers by radio. Short-wave radios were used by trainers in the past program, but since the radio-operators had no obligation to NDI trainers, messages were only passed as a "favor", and often didn't get transmitted or received.

Identification

Trainers felt that, in some places, the letters of identification they held were not enough. Although they agreed that if in the next program we are under the Ministry of State Administration, this will carry more weight. As an identifier, the T-shirts (although they were not USAID approved) were well-liked by trainers and they suggested for the future, NDI caps, as well, to protect them from the sun. They all agreed that the pin-on photo ID badges we gave all the trainers were indispensable, but that new ones should be issued for the next program. Their rationale is that there are NDI trainers who will not be "asked back" who are still holding the ID badges from the former program.

Materials

The trainers agreed overwhelmingly that they liked all the materials and felt that it was a "luxury" to have these tools to do their work. They related incidences of STAE trainers in the provinces who had no materials to work with because their own materials didn't arrive on time or never arrived due to a poor distribution system. The STAE trainers would beg NDI trainers for NDI materials to use which, when there was enough, were distributed by NDI trainers to STAE trainers.

The trainers praised the NDI materials for their simple, photographic, non-text laden format, which they found easy to use in the field in different local languages.

The only criticism was the Voting Times editions which showed photos of the presidential candidates which were not the official photos used on the ballot. One candidate was shown wearing glasses in the Voting Times photo, but not in the official photo. We explained that unfortunately when we went to press with the paper, the official photos were not yet available and we did not want to hold up the printing to wait for them.

The video was very well-liked by those who had access to equipment to play it. In the provincial capital this was not a problem. In towns with electricity, local residents lent their personal VCR's and TV's so the video could be shown to the whole community. The trainers reported that the STAE's roving media vehicles that were equipped with video recorders, were not well utilized by the STAE, so the video did not get seen in the more rural areas.

People's capacity for viewing videos is great since they rarely, if ever, get to see videos. Trainers reported that people liked the video so much they wanted to watch it several times. Therefore, future videos should be longer. Future videos should also come in national language versions.

The radioplays were also very well-liked and trainers felt they should be continued. They would like to use cassettes of the radio plays in their training sessions. NDI should consider inexpensive battery operated cassette players for trainers in the field.

Distribution

In general the trainers were pleased with the NDI distribution system for the materials, especially when they compared it to the STAE. They felt that a better way to coordinate the distribution in the future, would be for Maputo to get materials up to the provinces well in advance of their scheduled use so that everyone would have what they needed before they began.

We asked the trainers about poster distribution, if this had been a problem. They said that, having so little in most towns and villages, people enjoyed having the posters displayed on the outside walls of administrator's buildings, at local stores, houses etc. as a decoration. It was very easy to give out the posters and the locals found ways of affixing them to available surfaces.

Future Recruitment

In discussing criteria for recruitment of district trainers, the core trainers came up with a list of minimal requirements for all trainers.

- 1) District trainers should be residents of the district where they work.
- 2) They should be able to read and write Portuguese (at least have finished primary school).
- 3) Should be fluent in the local language.
- 4) Should be non-partisan. Like all Mozambicans they can favor a political party in their personal life, but this should not be reflected in their work. They cannot hold any official position in any political party.
- 5) Have the ability to transmit information to large groups.
- 6) Be of voting age.
- 7) There should an effort to recruit as many women as men.

Regional Coordinators

The discussion of regional coordinators was somewhat touchy since two of the coordinators we had used in the past program were ex-pats and varied in their styles. It was agreed that the role of the regional coordinator should be administrative more than programmatic although they should go through the same training that the core trainers go through. The regional coordinators jobs are to write reports and handle finances. Since this job requires skills such as writing reports in English, computer literacy and managing financial databases and spreadsheets, the candidates are more likely to be ex-pats who happen to be living in the regions. If there are Mozambicans in these regions that have the necessary skills they will be hired. If not, then the ex-pat regional coordinator should be assigned a Mozambican "apprentice" who can learn the computer/accounting skills, so that

these skills can be passed on.

DAY TWO - Concepts to be covered in post-electoral civic education

Constitution and the New Assembly

Dr. Manuel Frank gave a very informative presentation on the Mozambican constitution. He discussed the concept of a constitution for a society, the history of the three constitutions in Mozambique since independence and how they differ, and articles of the current constitution that are, in his opinion, problematic and why. He discussed the role of the new assembly and the balance of power between the three branches. He also discussed how new laws are made or changed and how violations of the constitution are supposed to be handled.

Human and Civic Rights

Alice Mabote gave a presentation on human rights and tried to make a distinction between rights you are born with and rights that the society gives to you. Unfortunately much of her presentation was focused on the many ways in which the Mozambique government has and continues to violate human rights. Her presentation did not help the trainers to define what are the human and civic rights that are most important to teach to people. Later in the summit the trainers held a session among themselves. Using the constitution and the African Letter on Human Rights, they defined a list of the most important civic and human rights that Mozambicans should be aware of.

Municipal Law and Local Elections

Fernando Macamo gave a lengthy explanation of the criteria by which the new municipalities will be formed and how the municipal governments would be structured. He explained that, as yet, the electoral law for the municipal elections has not yet been written. By October 1996, the law must be written and the dates for the local elections must be set. The trainers raised many interesting questions about the role of traditional leaders in these new local governments and how these local elected officials will determine land ownership and land-use in the future. Macamo stated how important it is for his Maputo-based planning office to have dialogues with people like our trainers who have local experience. The input helps his planning team develop long term

goals and programs.

DAY THREE - Forming an NGO

Guy Mullin of LINK gave an informative presentation on the different types of NGO's operating in Mozambique and what the basic requirements are for establishing an NGO in Mozambique. He was candid about the pitfalls and what plagues many would-be organizations.

Fernanda Farinha discussed the AAI's program to develop and consolidate NGO's in Mozambique. She invited our trainers to participate in NGO skills building training sessions when they occur in the provinces. She also solicited the help of the NDI trainers in identifying community-based groups and local NGO's in the provinces that could benefit from the AAI training sessions.

The rest of the session the trainers and NDI staff discussed the possibility of the core trainers becoming an NGO when NDI leaves. Although there is unanimous enthusiasm for the plan, there is also some fear of not being prepared to stand on their own unless they begin planning from the beginning. They agreed they need to get themselves established and learn how to fundraise so that when NDI leaves they will be able to continue. Yvette M'Boa, who has extensive experience working in NGO's, brought an example of the the organizational statutes for a Mozambican NGO she has worked with. The trainers all got copies of this to look over to see how a typical Mozambican NGO is described on paper. It was decided they would all go back to their provinces thinking about the NGO plan and ideas for further discussion at the next summit.

End of Summit Dinner

The trainer summit concluded with a dinner at a Maputo restaurant for NDI trainers, Maputo NDI staff and guest speakers. Guy Mullin, Fernando Macamo and Dr. Manual Frank were in attendance and trainers had an opportunity to socialize with the speakers at the dinner.

In conclusion the summit was a success and the trainers both contributed and learned valuable information.



INSTITUTO NACIONAL DEMOCRÁTICO

DIPLOMA DE MÉRITO

**PELA SUA CONTRIBUIÇÃO NA PREPARAÇÃO DAS PRIMEIRAS ELEIÇÕES
GERAIS MULTIPARTIDÁRIAS NA REPÚBLICA DE MOÇAMBIQUE, LOUVAMOS,**

PELO TRABALHO DESEMPENHADO COMO AGENTE DE EDUCAÇÃO CÍVICA.

NOVEMBRO DE 1994

CHARLOTTE CERF

DIRECTORA DO INSTITUTO NACIONAL DEMOCRÁTICO

DR. BRAZÃO MAZULA

PRESIDENTE DA COMISSÃO NACIONAL DE ELEIÇÕES (CNE)

National Democratic Institute For International Affairs



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O sucesso das primeiras eleições multipartidarias em Moçambique deve-se, em grande parte, a campanha de educação civica levada a cabo por todos voses.

O programa "Vota Moçambique" chegou aos locais mais distantes do pais atraves da vossa dedicacão e em muitos casos do vosso sacrificio.

Na qualidade de Presidente do NDI, gostaria de agradecer pessoalmente a cada um de voses a contribuicão que deram nesta tarefa de educar os cidadões sobre o processo eleitoral.

O reconhecimento internacional do NDI e produto dos esforços feitos por activistas de educacão civica, tal como voses, em todas as partes do mundo.

Aprecio com muito orgulho o trabalho realizado pelos coordenadores e formadores do NDI em Moçambique.

Agradecemos o vosso trabalho dificil e os esforços bem sucedidos.

Washington, 15 de Novembro de 1994

Ken Wollack
Presidente do NDI

Kenneth D. Wollack—President • Jean B. Dunn—Vice President for Administration & Development
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Vota Mocambique
Ha Lugar para Todos

Evaluation Report
December 1994

Table of Contents

A. Acknowledgements	1
B. Introduction	1
B.1 Purpose of Evaluation	1
B.2 Background of the Program	1
B.3 Constraints of the Program	2
C. The Civic Education Players	3
C.1 The National Elections Commission	3
C.2 United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)	4
C.3 National Democratic Institute	5
C.4 Other NGOs and Political Parties	5
D. Evaluation Methodology	5
D.1 Internal Evaluation	5
D.2 External Evaluation	6
E. Program Objectives	7
E.1 Inform potential voters	7
E.2 Educate parties and organizations about their roles	7
E.3 Design materials	7
E.4 Empower agents for conducting civic education	8
E.5 Create radio and television programs	10
E.6 Conduct public opinion surveys	10
E.7 Maximize voter turnout; minimize spoiled ballots	11
E.8 Contribute to understanding of pluralism	11
F. Conclusions	12
F.1 Impact of the program	12
F.2 Cooperation with the CNE	13
F.4 Materials and radio programming	13
F.5 Developing skills in the community	14
F.6 Continuity of civic education	14
G. Recommendations	14
H. Appendices	16
H.1 Evaluator's biography	16
H.2 Interviews	16

A. Acknowledgements

The external evaluation of Vota Mocambique was carried out in late November and early December, 1994, with the cooperation of The National Democratic Institute for International Development (NDI) and Vota Mocambique. Several interviews were conducted in Mozambique with both headquarters and field staff of the NDI program. The program director, C. Cerf, and her staff assisted in setting up interviews and arranging meetings with field staff. Copies of reports, project details, materials and other written information was also provided and inquiries were readily answered. Their assistance expedited the evaluation process and was much appreciated.

Mr. Augusto Nunes, a Mozambican national, acted as interpreter during the interviews and translated several documents. His assistance was invaluable in the collection of information for this report.

B. Introduction

B.1 Purpose of Evaluation

The purpose of the evaluation is to assess the Vota Mocambique program to determine the extent to which the program achieved its objectives. In terms of meeting these objectives, the program will be evaluated as part of the overall democratization process in Mozambique.

B.2 Background of the Program

The Vota Mocambique program was conducted by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) under a Cooperative Agreement with USAID. The purpose of the project was to "conduct a civic education project in Mozambique to support informed participation in the country's first multiparty elections." The goal of the program was to "instill in the electorate an understanding of and a desire to participate in Mozambique's first democratic election."

The program had six major components which were investigated in terms of the objectives of the program:

(1) Three sets of public opinion surveys/focus groups were conducted to gather information on the knowledge and attitudes of Mozambicans about the democratic process and elections. The first (with a grant from the National Endowment for Democracy), in June 1993, gathered information to assess the need for a civic education

program and to use in the design of civic education materials. The second, in April 1994, assessed whether there had been any changes in the knowledge and attitudes during the previous year. The third, in September 1994, was to measure changes in the knowledge of the electorate, if any, after the civic education program had been in operation for three months.

(2) Voter education materials were developed and produced, some independently by the NDI and others in cooperation with the National Elections Commission (CNE) and its technical organization (STAE). These materials had to be suitable for a large non-literate population.

(3) A countrywide network of trainers was recruited and trained to deliver voter education in local languages to community groups. Workshops were conducted by close to 200 trainers throughout Mozambique. These trainers were supervised by Provincial Coordinators and three Regional Coordinators.

(4) Materials were distributed to the trainers by various transportation methods and a data base was developed to track requests and distribution of the materials.

(5) Radio programs and information spots were produced in several languages and broadcast as widely as possible. A twelve part radio play was used to discuss and develop concepts related to democracy and the elections. As well, eight weekly segments were developed which dealt with women's involvement in the electoral process, for an existing women's program. The third radio initiative was a weekly election quiz show which also featured entertainment and information from the political parties.

(6) In addition, the program included a series of workshops for radio journalists about objective reporting and coverage of the elections; a seminar for the CNE/STAE on the role and structure of elections commissions; and two study tours for members of the CNE and STAE to South Africa and Malawi.

B.3 Constraints of the Program

Mozambique's elections were the culmination of the General Peace Agreement (GPA) signed in October 1992, which ended sixteen years of armed civil conflict in the country. As a result of that conflict, Mozambique was left with its infrastructure devastated. Transportation and communications were particularly difficult. The predominantly rural population was often inaccessible by road.

There is a high rate of illiteracy (estimated at 70 - 80%) and several languages are spoken. Although Portuguese is the official language, it is spoken mainly in the urban areas by those with some education. Many of the African languages are not written languages.

The political negotiations to establish the framework for the election were lengthy. The Electoral Law was approved on 9 December 1993 and entered into force on 12 January 1994. The CNE members were appointed on 21 January 1994. The dates for the elections (27 and 28 October 1994) were announced by the President of Mozambique only on 11 April 1994. On 13 April 1994, the technical secretariat (STAE) was established to implement the decisions of the CNE. The delays in the law and the appointments meant that the time to prepare for the registration and the election was very short.

The Electoral Law stated that the CNE had the responsibility for civic education. The president of the CNE also saw the coordination of the initiatives by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) as the exclusive responsibility of the CNE. This was to ensure that there was a common message and program of voter education. As a result, the NDI program was tied to the CNE/STAE's schedule.

C. The Civic Education Players

C.1 The National Elections Commission

Under the CNE's statutory responsibility for civic education, it was decided that each of the 1600 registration brigades would have a civic education agent. The speedy implementation of civic education was a priority in terms of the credibility of the electoral process. The STAE civic education campaign was to combine traditional means (word of mouth, theatre, dance, festivals, games) and conventional means (radio, TV, press, distribution of materials). Priority was to be given to interpersonal methods.

The civic education campaign was to have four phases: information about CNE; registration; pre-election; polling and counting. The first phase was to include education about democratic principles; the second phase was to include the political campaign; and the third, the rationale and meaning of voting. The fourth phase was to deal with the concept of the secrecy of the vote.

The registration agents were encouraging people to register but they were doing very little in the field of civic education. STAE information agents did not talk about concepts of democracy, multiparty system, secrecy of ballot, freedom of expression, etc. It was not clear that the agents understood these ideas themselves. By July 15, STAE admitted that their civic education agents had not met the standards expected and that STAE was not in a position to carry out a satisfactory civic education campaign. Lack of money and transportation problems were part of the problem but STAE did not have experience with civic education and had too many other tasks to perform. The civic education department of STAE had only four staff members; two of those had been added very late in the process.

At the local level, the District Elections Commissions (CDE/STAE) often blocked voter education initiatives from the NGOs as they were not aware of national decisions. However, in time this problem was overcome by the intervention of the Provincial Elections Commissions (CPE).

The civic education agents from the registration teams were re-trained in late September to assist with voter education and they were in the field by early October, less than a month before the election. STAE did have mobile units (i.e. vehicles with voter education agents and audiovisual equipment) which went to communities and information centres in the provinces.

CNE/STAE viewed the voter education initiatives as one program; the various groups worked under its supervision and mandate and it did not try to separate the programs by the responsible agency. The civic education program was praised by the President of Mozambique after the election and estimates were that up to 90% of the electorate had been reached.

C.2 United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)

The terms of reference for ONUMOZ included "participation in the electoral education campaign" which was to be reinforced by "a public information campaign about electoral activities, ONUMOZ objectives and the mechanisms established". Because the CNE did not want direct involvement by ONUMOZ in the civic education program, electoral staff at provincial and district levels were encouraged to interact with the Provincial and District Elections Commissions (CPEs and CDEs) who needed assistance. ONUMOZ had electoral staff in each province (total 130) and over 1000 CIVPOL observers. It was envisioned that they could easily and efficiently perform the function of civic educators if they were properly trained. The training did not materialize and ONUMOZ staff had several other responsibilities in the lead-up to the election.

By July, when the CNE encouraged a stronger ONUMOZ involvement in voter education and in coordinating NGOs, it was too late to design a civic education campaign. Posters on peace were printed, videos were developed and logistical support was offered to voter education agents from STAE and the NDI.

A proposal for joint action with CNE/STAE, NDI and ONUMOZ was drawn up but never signed. The suggested logistical support for NDI trainers and materials was put into place. Representatives of the three groups were to meet on a weekly basis to coordinate programs and parallel coordination would occur at the provincial level.

The ONUMOZ approach to civic education was ambivalent. The definition of the activities stated in the mandate was not precise enough and was not further defined with a formal agreement with the CNE. Staff in the field were not clear on what the expectations were for them in the area of civic education.

C.3 National Democratic Institute

The NDI program to fund civic education gave it the base to become the major player in the efforts to get information to the electorate of Mozambique. A formal 'Memorandum of Understanding' was signed with the CNE/STAE. It was a joint venture agreement to produce educational materials and to recognize the CNE's role in the coordination and definition of civic education and STAE's role in the delivery of civic education. The NDI's role was to reinforce the CNE's initiatives by participating within the framework of the program in cooperation with STAE. Weekly meetings were held to discuss the implementation of the program. The CNE had to approve the materials and scripts before production.

By the time the NDI trainers were in the field, it was July and August, well into the registration period. Since the CNE education agents were also working at this time, the NDI program concentrated on training for the voting process.

The NDI was the only body involved in voter education in some provinces before October. They were the "only group out there doing any substantive voter education work in the way of training" stated the program's director. Interviews confirmed that the NDI was the only group doing "grassroots" education. The CNE was positive about the way in which the NDI worked together with them. The CNE also recognized and appreciated the efforts of the NDI to understand the problems of the country in designing its program.

C.4 Other NGOs and Political Parties

There were voter education programs by other groups in Mozambique including political parties, women's groups and NGOs. According to STAE, most of these were very localized and suffered from lack of funds. Education efforts by the political parties consisted mainly of telling voters who to vote for, not how to vote or why to vote. Without taking away from any positive impact they may have had, there were no nationally organized or far-reaching programs other than that of the NDI.

D. Evaluation Methodology

D.1 Internal Evaluation

Vota Mocambique had an internal evaluation methodology built into the proposal. The continuing focus groups gave feedback at three stages which allowed for the development of the program and for adjustments to be made.

The trainers made reports on all workshops/presentations which gave numbers, locations, makeup of audience and other comments. This information was entered into

a data base as it was received which gave an up-to-date picture of the areas covered and the people reached. The data base also could be used to identify areas or groups of voters that might have been missed.

The distribution system was also entered into a data base for instant feedback on coverage and language needs. This assisted in determining the numbers of materials needed.

The internal evaluation methods were a very important part of the program. At each stage, staff were aware of changes needed to staffing and production to cover any weaknesses in the program. Adjustments could be made to the final radio programs and printed materials to deal with information raised in the focus groups. The external evaluator found that any problems or weaknesses in the program had been identified by the staff and adjusted, if time permitted.

D.2 External Evaluation

An independent evaluation was commissioned soon after the elections in late October. The investigator reviewed reports and background documents, examined materials, interviewed NDI staff, voters, STAE members and ONUMOZ staff. (See appendices). These interviews were structured to determine if the program met its objectives and to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the program.

One of the drawbacks of the enquiries was the evaluator's lack of Portuguese. An interpreter was retained who was familiar with the electoral system and with Mozambique but who was not involved in the NDI program. His professionalism and empathy assisted greatly in eliciting information from Portuguese-speaking participants and staff.

The investigator had been present at the presentation of the findings of the first focus groups in Maputo in June 1993 which was useful background for the evaluation process. It is difficult to determine the specific effects of an educational program on the behaviour of voters but conclusions can be drawn from anecdotal and statistical information. The following report discusses the program's objectives and the findings related to those objectives.

E. Program Objectives

E.1 Inform potential voters about registration and balloting

A varied program, including personal contact through voter education meetings, radio programming and printed materials, was used to reach the 6.2 million registered voters in Mozambique. Although no measure can be made of the numbers reached, close to half a million voters were reached through workshops. As well, about 30% of homes have a radio so a large number would have been reached through that medium. The NDI video was used in the CNE information centres and at ONUMOZ public meetings where equipment was available. There were also spinoff effects such as voters talking to family members and friends about the workshops and other information.

ONUMOZ field staff in the districts gave anecdotal information about the large number of meetings held at the community level by NDI trainers and the interest shown by voters. In many districts, it was reported that the NDI trainers were the only people actively involved in voter education. The presentations were generally about the technical process of voting and not the concepts of multiparty democracy and the campaign. However, the personal contact was seen as important to the process of encouraging participation.

E.2 Educate parties and organizations about their roles

The NDI was involved in advising and educating the parties during the development of the Electoral Law. Within the voter education program, the trainers responded to requests from political parties and other organizations for voter education. However, the lack of time prevented a less ad hoc system from being developed.

A program for the education of party monitors was carried out under the auspices of ONUMOZ and other NGOs which dealt with a much-needed aspect of the voter education program.

Within communities, the NDI trainers addressed groups from various organizations and in the workplace. Often, the trainers were requested to hold further sessions for other groups in the same community.

E.3 Design materials

The development of materials fit into the overall strategy of the CNE's approach to civic education and, as a result, could be used by all the groups delivering education programs. Materials were designed to respond to the need for many languages and for a non-literate audience. In printed materials, preference was given to photographic images and colour, methods which were identified in the first focus groups.

Three posters were developed. The first had three photographs and a simple text which encouraged people to register to vote. Unfortunately, if the voter could not read the text, it was difficult to ascertain the message from the pictures. The second poster was a workshop announcement which had limited use in a population which does not read. Because the workshops were often held spontaneously in a community, there was not time to advertise them in advance and word of mouth was the best advertisement. An announcement poster was found to be useful in a more urban setting.

The third and most popular poster was the final one which had a series of photographs depicting how to vote. There was universal acclaim for this poster and its utility. The poster and other visual material was used in the tabloid 'Vamos Votar' which also was very popular. The poster and the tabloid were widely distributed.

The development of the kits for the trainers to use for voter simulations were a great success. The need to have a portable kit of materials was solved with the design of a backpack which held the necessary equipment. The kit also included a manual with photographs and a short text which was an important training guide for the trainers. Nearly all the materials in the kit were produced in Mozambique and the assembly was done by NDI-hired staff. The NDI kits were used by their trainers as well as STAE trainers, ONUMOZ staff and other agencies.

A video was produced which showed the voting process. It was used for public information where the equipment was available (i.e information centres, ONUMOZ presentations, etc.). Despite its high quality and informational value, it could not be used during most of the workshops due to the lack of electricity and/or the lack of equipment.

Distribution of the materials was a time-consuming and frustrating experience due to the transportation problems. One staff member was responsible for these arrangements and was assisted by a warehouse staff. Materials were kept moving by air, bus and other vehicles. Some provincial staff found it difficult to distribute the materials to their trainers in the field once they were received. Towards the end of the program, many materials arrived in the provinces too late for further distribution. Despite the problems, most of the materials were distributed widely. The movement of materials was tracked on a database which aided in a fairly equitable distribution throughout the country.

E.4 Empower agents for conducting civic education

Vota Mocambique developed its own cadre of trainers to deliver voter education programs. Many of these trainers were drawn from social organizations such as churches, mosques, NGOs, etc. There was not a well-developed or organized civil society in most of Mozambique and these trainers became a focal point for delivering information to the district communities.

The trainers were recruited where possible from the district (one or two in each) in which they would work. One of the problems with the STAE education agents was that they were often students who were not from the area where they worked and were not accepted by the community. The NDI did not encounter this problem as their trainers were hired from the community and were chosen for their community experience so that they were acceptable to the communities where they worked. They were also recruited based on criteria such as maturity, confidence, local languages and some literacy skills, communication experience and politically neutral. A large number of the trainers were women and, again, because they were drawn from the communities where they delivered the programs, they did not encounter problems of acceptance.

The training program was decentralized with core trainers (or provincial coordinators) responsible to recruit and train district trainers and to plan programs and budgets. Three regional coordinators (northern, central, southern) were recruited to assist with the administrative aspects of the program when it became apparent that there was a need for program development and better liaison. The core trainers often did not have the skills needed to budget, keep accounts, have contracts signed, and other administrative duties. The regional coordinators worked with the provincial coordinators to assess needs, coordinate with the Maputo headquarters, distribute materials, keep financial records and collect reports. Administration and financial details took time at all levels. There was a staff member in the Maputo office who was responsible for tracking and consolidating these details.

The Regional Coordinators developed a strategy for each province which allowed the planning to take into account local differences and problems. Transportation proved to be a serious problem in most areas and the large number of trainers (close to 200) was needed to compensate for the lack of mobility. There was insufficient time to monitor the work in the field in any systematic way both because of the size of the program and the very short time period.

The program was to be coordinated at the provincial level with the Elections Commissions but there was a reluctance by some provincial coordinators to seek contacts. The NDI coordinators and trainers set up their workshops in cooperation with the district administrators and community groups. In many cases the organization of the CPE/STAE and of ONUMOZ was lacking any mechanisms for coordination and the NDI trainers just got on with their first priority which was to do voter education.

The original core trainers had received training in Maputo in June. As the remaining core trainers were hired, they were trained in the field. Subsequently, in late September, the core trainers attended a week-long training by STAE for its trainers. These core trainers were then responsible to recruit and train the district trainers and to provide them with the materials to conduct further sessions. Programs were underway by July with most districts operational by August. The trainers were expected to conduct workshops throughout their districts and to keep a written record of each one.

The training sessions relied to a large extent on simulations using the kit and did not include much information on the democratic process and the campaign. In the conversations with voters who attended and with ONUMOZ staff who observed the sessions, it was acknowledged that the information received was very technical but it was also seen as very necessary and useful. Voters who were interviewed expressed the need for longer sessions with more information.

E.5 Create radio and television programs

A fairly intensive radio strategy was used to present information to the electorate on all aspects of the election and on democratic principles. A variety of radio productions were recorded in several languages to reach the large number of voters who did not understand Portuguese. A radio series, titled Ha Lugar para Todos (There is a place for everyone) focussed on a rural family and was used to raise issues and the concepts of democracy, opposition, campaigning, etc. As well, there were public service announcements, a series c. . women and elections, a theme song and a game show. These were broadcast nation-wide at various times and on several days a week.

Since there are no surveys of the reach of programming in Mozambique, the extent of the voter education on radio cannot be measured. Those who did hear the radio serial found it interesting but they needed more information on some of the ideas discussed.

E.6 Conduct public opinion surveys

Three surveys of public opinion were conducted prior to and during the program. The first of these in June 1993 showed that Mozambicans had little understanding of what democracy meant and how to participate and vote in an election. The problems of illiteracy, multiple languages, lack of national communications systems and distrust of the government and other parties were all potential problems to overcome in any voter education program. Those in rural areas and women had the least information. Personal contact was seen as an important way to disseminate information with radio as the next best method.

The second set of focus groups in April 1994 showed that there was more knowledge of the election and a perception that it would occur. There was more optimism about peace and elections. Although democracy was viewed more positively, there was still a lack of information about the actual process. A discussion of possible slogans showed that it should focus on the future.

The third focus groups in September 1994 showed that although there was no fear of participating in the election, there was a fear of war after the vote when one side lost. The voters had more knowledge of how to vote but did not understand the multiparty system and democracy. Radio was a source of information on the electoral process.

This ongoing research with the use of focus groups was a valuable way to follow the development and changes in the knowledge of, and attitudes to, the electoral process. The information gathered was an integral part of the development of materials and radio programming.

E.7 Maximize voter turnout; minimize spoiled ballots

Voter turnout was very high, approximately 87% of the registered electorate. Since the early focus groups showed a low level of awareness about the election, the voter education program can be credited with disseminating information about the election and encouraging voters to participate.

The issue of spoiled ballots is confused by two factors. Firstly, blank ballots accounted for 6% and 8% of the ballots cast for the presidential and legislative elections respectively. There is no specific explanation for this high number. One theory is that voters believed that casting the ballot was the important part, thus forgetting to mark it; another is that many women did not want to vote so they simply cast a blank ballot. Neither of these has been accepted as the explanation but there is obviously an issue for voter education programs. Since the education programs concentrate on marking the ballot correctly, perhaps there was an omission of the important fact that the ballot had to be marked.

Nil ballots (or incorrectly marked ballots) accounted for 3% of the ballots cast in each of the presidential and legislative elections. This is somewhat higher than many first elections (usually 1-2%) but significantly lower than in Angola. The CNE felt that the design of the ballot paper was part of the problem as there was a lot of white space between the name and the photograph/logo on the ballot. Many voters marked this space instead of the box. Another extenuating circumstance is that the criteria for an acceptable ballot were extremely stringent. Marks had to be in the box to be accepted. Ballots with any marks outside the box were rejected. In most elections the mark is accepted if it clearly indicates the choice of one party or candidate. The international community raised concerns with the CNE about the strictness of the interpretation but the CNE retained it. When the CNE reviewed the nil ballots, they did reverse the decision on a large number of them but 3% were still rejected.

E.8 Contribute to understanding of pluralism

The concepts of multiparty democracy, representation, civic rights, political stability, making a choice and the role of the opposition are important to the understanding of the electoral process, especially in a first multiparty election. These themes were dealt with in the radio serial but not in the printed materials or in the workshops. This was in part due to the short time frame for the voter education program but nevertheless, these concepts cannot be ignored.

In order to deal with these topics, the trainers would have needed more education. The trainers were starting their jobs with very little knowledge about the electoral system and it was easier for them to deal with the technical aspects of the voting. In the time available, it was probably the only solution.

In speaking with Mozambicans, both NDI staff and voters, one of the hopes expressed over and over was that this type of education would not end with the election. Since the election is the start of a whole new process, they expressed the need for a continuing program to deal with the legislative system, the role of the opposition and the expectations for the future.

F. Conclusions

All of the observations and findings of the Vota Mocambique program had to be seen in the context of a proposed 15 month program which was carried out in less than seven months. Despite the unavoidable constraints this put on the planned program, several lessons can be learned about what is possible in such a setting. In many ways, these lessons are as important as any weaknesses in the program. The NDI has a proven track record in democratic development programs and it is this expertise and experience which gave Vota Mocambique the necessary means to achieve as much as it did in such a short time.

F.1 Impact of the program

The strength of the Vota Mocambique program was that it was a national, community-based and mass media-based educational initiative which reached broad sections of the population in all ten provinces and Maputo City. A massive organization was assembled in a short time which was able to deliver information to voters in their communities. This was accomplished by decentralizing the hiring and training process to the regional and provincial level.

When asked about the impact, one Mozambican staff member said that it was like "a dancer who cannot judge a performance, only the audience can." She left the judgement of the program in the hands of the audience. That judgement has been very positive according to reactions from voters, from community leaders, from district staff of the United Nations and other interested observers.

In most cases, the NDI program was the 'only game in town' and a staff member (non-Mozambican) expressed how satisfying it was "to see trainers making a real difference" in their communities. Many Mozambicans identified the importance of education for the election and saw the NDI program as necessary to that process. The personal contact of the trainers with the community was appreciated.

F.2 Cooperation with the CNE

The NDI program operated within the framework of the CNE civic education program and in cooperation with STAE. The decision of the NDI to recognize the authority of the CNE as the responsible body for all aspects of the election was important to the acceptance and success of the program. In a country where too many 'development projects' have ignored local input and priorities, the cooperative agreement between the NDI and the CNE was viewed very positively. The goodwill gained by these consultations and the approval process for materials was a valuable part of the overall program both for the NDI and the CNE.

F.3 Voter education workshops

The quality of the presentations depended to a large extent upon the abilities of the coordinators and the trainers. And as with many programs, this varied widely. A large number of trainers were hired in a short time and were trained 'on the spot'. In reference to the provincial coordinators, one regional coordinator said they "ranged from good to appalling" and in reference to the trainers, one provincial coordinator said she "had to criticize some and some were brilliant."

The content of the presentations was basic information on how to mark the ballot and how the voting process worked. There is no question that valuable knowledge was gained but the "gains made were on a simple level." Voters were encouraged to vote and did gain confidence about the process and how the polling would happen. It would have required a more intensive training program for the trainers to have done much more.

One of the coordinators expressed the opinion that had there been time, it would have been better to have "more quality, less quantity" in the trainers. She did acknowledge that in the setting of the program, "more quantity, less quality" was the only way to accomplish what they did. Despite the desire to accomplish more civic education; the fact that such a large program was launched can be seen as a major accomplishment.

F.4 Materials and radio programming

The printed materials aimed at basic levels of information to supplement the training program. The use of photographs and simple text was used to communicate to an audience with low literacy levels. The tabloid production was very popular as it put information into the voters' hands which could be taken home and shared with others.

Although the reach of the radio serial cannot be measured, those who had heard it expressed positive comments. The production of the segments in several languages was important to reach all groups. "Receiving a message in our own language is important to people" said one listener.

F.5 Developing skills in the community

A major component of any community-based education program is to develop a civic culture with increased skills and motivation. The Vota Mocambique program involved nearly 200 Mozambicans from all parts of the country who organized workshops with community groups and made presentations on an on-going basis. Amongst the newly acquired skills which were mentioned by various staff persons were self-confidence, communication skills, an appreciation of the importance of education in the community, a sense of teamwork in an organization, and new learning and training techniques. For persons whose only previous experience with learning was to do it by rote, it was stimulating to encourage questions and to use simulation methods to train. There was a desire to have feedback and to improve.

The program has been successful in developing skills in a group of people who are active in their communities. Many of these trainers were involved in community activities before they were recruited and will continue in an activist role following the election. The new confidence, mobility and organizational skills gained in the program can only enhance their involvement.

F.6 Continuity of civic education

Most of the people interviewed agreed that the civic education program should not end with the election. The program was seen as too important to end it abruptly as citizens would need information about their rights and responsibilities in a democratic country. There was a sincere desire by those involved to work for the betterment of their country and education was identified as a priority. At the same time, there was a recognition that Mozambique will need assistance to carry out programs which can mobilize the newly-acquired skills and establish on-going programs.

G. Recommendations

1. A longer time frame is essential for the electorate to learn about democracy and a democratic culture. Funds need to be available to set up an office, to staff it, to develop a plan and to design materials, at least tentatively, prior to the beginning of the program especially when the final go-ahead is awaiting electoral legislation or the appointment of a commission. In this way, there is a framework ready when the program starts.
2. When the conditions exist so that there can only be a short-term voter education program before an election, the project needs to build in a post-election educational program which will continue the democratization process. Post-election training programs for national staff would prepare them to continue the civic education program to prepare citizens for a democratic society.

3. With a short-term voter education program, more attention needs to be given to materials preparation. More emphasis could be put on democratic concepts in a poster or pamphlet or in a page of the tabloid paper. The rights of voters to attend political meetings, to choose a party or candidate by asking questions, to understand what happens to the losers, etc., could be depicted simply by photographs. It is important that these materials be tested with voters to ensure that the message is clear to those who cannot read. These issues could be dealt with in the voter presentations, too, by drawing up a simple core program outline which could be the basis for training the trainers and for their subsequent presentations.

4. Whether the program is short-term or long-term, it is important to have enough staff available so that monitoring can be done in the field. This would assist in upgrading skills and building morale.

5. It is important to investigate the reasons for the large number of blank ballots cast in Mozambique's election. If any information can be discovered about this problem, it would be invaluable for future voter education programs.

6. It would be useful to build into a future program a project to measure the reach and impact of radio broadcasts. It is generally accepted that radio is a powerful medium in many countries to reach voters but some random sampling or surveys would be helpful to confirm it.

7. The internal evaluation process built into the Vota Mocambique program is a valuable model for future programs. At each stage, the staff could make adjustments and changes to benefit the program based on the focus groups, the report-backs of the trainers, the distribution data-base and the reports from the coordinators. The external evaluator found that the staff, both in Maputo and the regions, were aware of any weaknesses that were detected. With a similar evaluation process in future programs, it would not be necessary to have an external evaluator. The senior NDI staff were very objective in their assessments and were ready to discuss future improvements which they could recommend.

H. Appendices

H.1 Evaluator's biography

Judy Thompson is an election administrator from Canada who worked for Elections Manitoba for several years, eventually serving as Deputy Chief Electoral Officer. Ms. Thompson chaired a national committee to develop educational initiatives for first-time voters. She was instrumental in developing information materials and programs for the illiterate, the homeless, the disabled, native Canadians and new Canadians.

Ms. Thompson served with the United Nations in Cambodia as Deputy Chief Electoral Officer for Training, Education and Communications. She worked with the Independent Elections Commission in South Africa as an advisor on training and was a Commonwealth Observer in Malawi. Ms. Thompson recently completed a contract with the United Nations in Mozambique where she was chief of training in the Electoral Division.

H.2 Interviews

Charlotte Cerf, Director, Vota Mocambique, NDI

Amy Marshall, Program Assistant, NDI

Tito Farias, Operations Officer, NDI

Angela Abdula, Production Assistant, NDI

Otilia Aquino, National Training Coordinator and Regional Training Coordinator, Southern Region

Lisa Bornstein, Regional Training Coordinator, Central Region

Andy Scheiner, Regional Training Coordinator, Northern Region

Beatriz Manuel, Provincial Coordinator, Gaza

Ivette M'Boa, Provincial Coordinator, Maputo Province

Antonio Carrasco, Department of Civic Education, STAE

Shirley Skorbiansky, Chief, Civic Education and Media Unit, ONUMOZ

United Nations Volunteers (UNVs), ONUMOZ (Debriefing Session, approximately 40)

Provincial Coordinators and Deputy Provincial Coordinators, ONUMOZ (Debriefing session, approximately 20)

Voters, random sample of voters in Maputo and at a community outside Maputo

Results

Presidential election*

Máximo Dias	115,442	2.34%
Carlos Jeque	34,588	0.70%
Casimiro Nhamithambo	32,036	0.65%
Mário Machele	24,238	0.49%
Carlos Reis	120,708	2.44%
Afonso Dhlakama	1,666,965	33.73%
Ya-Qub Sibindy	51,070	1.03%
Padimbe Kamati	24,208	0.49%
Domingos Arouca	37,767	0.76%
Campira Momboya	58,848	1.19%
Wehia Ripua	141,905	2.87%
Joaquim Chissano	2,633,740	53.30%
Registered electors:	6,148,842	
Electors who voted:	5,402,904	87.87%
Blank votes	312,143	5.78%
Invalid votes	149,282	2.76%

Parliamentary election**

AP	93,031	1.95%
UNAMO	34,809	0.73%
PT	26,961	0.56%
FUMO/PCD	66,527	1.39%
FRELIMO	2,115,793	44.33%
SOL	79,622	1.67%
PIMO	58,590	1.23%
RENAMO	1,803,506	37.78%
PRD	48,030	1.01%
PACODE	52,446	1.10%
PADEMO	36,689	0.77%
PPPM	50,793	1.06%
PCN	60,635	1.27%
UD	245,793	5.15%
Registered electors:	6,148,842	
Electors who voted:	5,404,199	87.89%
Blank votes:	457,382	8.46%
Invalid votes:	173,592	3.21%

Parliamentary seats

	FRELIMO	RENAMO	UD	total
Niassa:	7	4	0	11
Cabo Delgado:	15	6	1	22
Nampula:	20	32	2	54
Zambezia:	18	29	2	49
Tete:	5	9	1	15
Manica:	4	9	0	13
Sofala:	3	18	0	21
Inhambane:	13	3	2	18
Gaza:	15	0	1	16
Maputo-prov:	12	1	0	13
Maputo-city:	17	1	0	18
Total	129	112	9	250
<i>Women MPs</i>	48	13	1	62

* In order as candidates appeared on the ballot paper

** In order as parties appeared on the ballot paper