



**European Union
Election Observation Mission**

**Final Report
MALAWI**

2014



**TRIPARTITE ELECTIONS
PRESIDENTIAL, PARLIAMENTARY AND LOCAL COUNCIL**





MALAWI

FINAL REPORT

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PRESIDENTIAL, PARLIAMENTARY AND LOCAL COUNCIL
20 MAY 2014**

**EUROPEAN UNION
ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION**

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ACRONYMS

ACHPR	African Charter of Human and People's Rights
AU	African Union
BVR	Biometric Voter Registration
CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
CCP	Chipani Cha Pfuko
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CEO	Chief Elections Officer
CMD-M	Center for Multiparty Democracy – Malawi
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
EU EOM	European Union Election Observation Mission
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
JSC	Judicial Service Commission
MACRA	Malawi Communication Regulatory Authority
MAFUNDE	Malawi Forum for Unity and Development
MANA	Malawi News Agency
MBC	Malawi Broadcasting Corporation
MCM	Media Council of Malawi
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MEC	Malawi Electoral Commission
MEIC	Malawi Election Information Center
MESN	Malawi Election Support Network
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
MPLC	Multiparty Liaison Committee
NASAF	National Salvation Front
NECOF	National Elections Consultative Forum
NICE	National Initiative for Civic Education
NLP	New Labour Party
NPL	Nation Publications Limited
NSO	National Statistical Office
OMR	Optical Mark Recognition
OSISA	Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa
PAC	Public Affairs Committee
PETRA	People's Transformation Party
PP	People's Party
PPEA	Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Act
PPM	People's Progressive Movement
PVT	Parallel Vote Tabulation
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
UDF	United Democratic Front
UIP	United Independence Party
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
UP	Umodzi Party
ZBS	Zodiac Broadcasting Stations

I. Executive Summary

- The 20 May 2014 elections were the fifth general elections and the second for local government since the introduction of multiparty democracy in 1994. Following an invitation from the Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC), the European Union deployed an Election Observation Mission (EU EOM) to Malawi to observe the 2014 tripartite elections. The EU EOM was present in Malawi from 12 April to 19 June 2014. The Mission was led by Chief Observer, Véronique De Keyser, Member of the European Parliament. In total, the EU EOM deployed 85 observers from 28 EU Member States plus Norway across the country. The mandate of the EU EOM was to conduct a comprehensive assessment of the electoral process, based on its own observations, in accordance with Malawi's national, regional and international commitments for democratic elections.
- The 2014 tripartite elections were the most complex that Malawi has held, as for the first time three elections were conducted simultaneously – presidential, parliamentary and Local Council elections. The 2014 tripartite elections posed, therefore, significant challenges for all electoral stakeholders, including to the MEC's capacity and independence. The 2014 elections were highly competitive as no political party was seen as being favourite before the elections. These elections were also inclusive as a significant number of political parties and candidates participated in the tripartite elections.
- The legal framework governing the tripartite elections provides a good basis for the conduct of credible elections in line with international and regional commitments. Nevertheless, a number of shortcomings remain in the law, including absence of rules for financing of election campaigns and lack of clear and enforceable regulations to prohibit the use of state resources for campaigning. Despite the legislation providing sound mechanisms to address election related disputes, the Multiparty Liaison Committees (MPLC) were the preferred forum for seeking timely and effective remedy when resolving election related complaints during the pre-election period.
- Requirements to stand for elections are generally reasonable and in line with the international commitments of Malawi. Candidates for presidential elections were nominated by 12 political parties, the most prominent of which were the People's Party (PP) of President Joyce Banda, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) of Peter Mutharika, the United Democratic Front (UDF) of Atupele Muluzi and the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) of Lazarus Chakwera. The four highest-profile presidential candidates, including the incumbent president Joyce Banda, were competing for presidential office for the first time. A total of 17 political parties and 419 independent candidates, amounting to 1,293 candidates, competed for 193 parliamentary seats. For the 462 elected seats of Local Councils, candidates from 18 political parties plus 576 independent candidates had their nominations accepted, resulting in 2,412 candidates.
- Political parties and candidates were able to campaign freely in all parts of the country. The election campaign was largely calm and peaceful. Only the four main political parties – the PP, DPP, UDF and MCP – succeeded in holding large rallies and countrywide 'whistle-stop' tours. The remaining political parties channelled the majority of their resources into small meetings and door-to-door campaign activities, due to lack of financial resources and lack of party structures at local level. The distinction between the ruling PP campaign activities and the activities inherent to the presidential office was not always clear.
- Despite the weaknesses in the election administration's structural capacity and the resulting organisational shortcomings, MEC acted impartially throughout the election period. MEC sought inclusive solutions in an effort to enfranchise all voters following delays in the processing of the voter register. In the lead up to the elections, MEC initiated a communication strategy aimed at keeping the public and political parties informed about the situation.
- Civil society organisations played an important and active role throughout the electoral process. For the 2014 elections, there was an unprecedented level of cooperation between MEC and civil society

organisations. Domestic observers were present in the vast majority of the polling stations visited by the EU EOM. The data obtained through the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) exercise conducted by the Malawi Electoral Support Network (MESN) reflected the official results for presidential elections released by the MEC.

- Although MEC made efforts to level the playing field for media coverage by purchasing airtime for political parties and candidates, some media provided unbalanced coverage of political activities. The PP dominated the airtime on both state-owned radio and television. Galaxy radio allocated more airtime to DPP and Joy radio provided more coverage to UDF. Times TV afforded more airtime to the MCP. *The Daily Times*, *The Nation* and radio stations Zodiak and Capital FM provided adequately balanced coverage of political actors.
- MEC did not succeed to complete organisational and logistical preparations on time for election day and showed a lack of structural capacity in conducting some key operations of the electoral process. Notwithstanding considerable organisational shortcomings and a few isolated incidents of unrest, in particular in Blantyre, calm prevailed on election day. Lack of essential material resulted in delays in the opening of polling stations. However, the commitment of polling station staff facilitated the voting process, along with the implementation of *ad hoc* solutions, made in agreement with political party representatives, to address problems caused by the lack of material. Although these *ad hoc* solutions facilitated the conduct of the voting process, they had a significant impact on the tabulation process and the results transmission system.
- Voting was generally conducted in an orderly, calm and peaceful manner. Voters patiently waited to cast their vote despite long queues. EU observers assessed the overall conduct of voting as being good or very good in 92 per cent of 410 polling stations. Political party representatives were present in the vast majority of polling streams visited.
- Only 32 women - 16 per cent - were elected for the 2014 parliament, which is a notable drop from the 42 elected in the previous elections. Of these, eight were DPP candidates, six were MCP, five PP, two UDF and 11 were independent candidates. For the Local Council elections, 56 women were elected amounting to 12 per cent. Women participated in large numbers in campaign events. On election day, in the polling stations visited by EU observers, approximately half of the polling station staff and 30 per cent of presiding officers were women.
- In the week after elections, the MEC announced its intention to conduct a total recount of the presidential ballots due to significant anomalies detected during tallying. MEC's decision was challenged at the High Court in a politically charged atmosphere and under intense media scrutiny. On the last day of the legal deadline to announce the results, the court stated that whilst the MEC had the authority to take any measures necessary to determine the results, including recounting of the ballots, the statutory eight-day period for the announcement of the results could not be extended by a court's decision. The MEC subsequently announced the presidential election results within an hour of the proclamation of the ruling.
- For the 2014 elections, a new results management and transmission system was designed. As a safeguard measure, the software was designed not to allow data transmission in cases where the figures did not reconcile. Due to the high number of arithmetical errors in reconciliation and the *ad hoc* measures taken during polling, in particular the merging of several polling streams, the system for transmission of results failed. MEC decided to conduct the aggregation process at the national level. The EU EOM was granted access to the national tally centre and to polling station presidential results sheets.
- Although the EU EOM recognised efforts by the MEC to provide transparency throughout the tallying process, several key factors, notably - organisational mismanagement, lack of capacity and training, significant logistical shortcomings on election day resulting in non-compliance with polling procedures, failure to transmit results electronically using the planned results management system and consequent *ad*

hoc and non-secure transmission of results by a variety of means, and the tense political environment since election day – gave rise to significant concerns about the integrity and authenticity of the results. Nevertheless, no substantiated evidence of systematic rigging was presented to or revealed by the EU EOM.

- For the parliamentary elections, the independent candidates obtained 52 seats, more than those obtained by any single party. Party-affiliated candidates won altogether 140 seats: DPP secured 50 seats, MCP followed with 48 seats, PP with 26 seats and UDF obtained 14 seats. AFORD and CCP secured one seat each. Within the 140 constituencies won by party-affiliated candidates, the same party was voted for parliamentary and presidential elections in 122 constituencies.
- Final presidential election results were announced shortly before expiry of the legal eight-day period for the announcement of the results, on 30 May, declaring Peter Mutharika of the DPP as the winner of the presidential race with 36.4 per cent of the valid votes. Lazarus Chakwera of MCP obtained 27.8 per cent, followed by Joyce Banda of PP with 20.2 per cent and Atupele Muluzi of UDF with 13.7 per cent of the valid votes. The official turnout for the presidential election was 70.78 per cent. The presidential results were accepted by the leaders of the three other main political parties and generally across the country, not least due to the law-abiding character of Malawians.
- Following an analysis of the database and the scans of polling station result sheets, the EU EOM concluded that there was a significant number of anomalies in the results database. Nonetheless, given the difference of almost 450,000 votes between the two leading candidates, it would have required either alterations in the polling station results sheets on a massive scale or changing the total national results whilst neglecting the results from the polling stations, in order to have any effect on the final result of the winning presidential candidate. The anomalies found by the EU EOM in the MEC presidential results database had no tendency in favour of any particular party, and were spread geographically over different districts, hence suggesting isolated cases of errors or anomalies rather than anything more systematic.
- In order to improve future electoral processes the following recommendations are offered for consideration and action by the Government of Malawi, the Malawi Electoral Commission, political parties, civil society and the international community. Many of these recommendations were included in the 2009 EU EOM Final Report and remain valid. A strategic plan, including discussion on implementation of the following recommendations, should be considered as early as possible in order to address in a timely manner the shortcomings identified in the 2014 electoral process. A detailed table of recommendations can be found in Annex I of this report. Key recommendations include:
 - A. Introduction of a legal requirement to disclose political party sources of financing and to report on campaign spending would improve transparency and public accountability of political financing.
 - B. Introduction of a clear and enforceable ban on the use of state resources for campaigning purposes into the electoral legislation, together with an independent oversight mechanism to ensure that state resources for public office are not used for campaigning, in order to tackle undue advantages of incumbency.
 - C. The MEC should conduct an internal review in light of its limited capacity in organising these elections. The external expertise supplied by the United Nations Development Programme should also be assessed as part of this process.
 - D. Internal communication channels between the different MEC departments at national and local levels should be reviewed and strengthened to ensure consistent, effective and regular communication in a timely manner across the country.
 - E. Ensure that political parties and other stakeholders have access to the final voter register sufficiently in advance of the elections.

- F. Review of the technology and training used for the voter register to ensure suitability and possible future use for civil register purposes. Consideration should be given to the introduction of Biometric Voter Registration (BVR).
- G. Logistical and operational arrangements for election day, including distribution of all election material, need to be thoroughly planned and put in place well in advance. Secure retrieval of sensitive material from the polling stations to MEC warehouses after the counting is essential.
- H. Conduct of effective and timely training of polling staff. Provisions for extra tallying staff where necessary, to avoid errors due to exhaustion, should be taken into account. Particular focus on procedures for reconciliation and result forms, packing of election material and material transfer could enhance the overall credibility of the process and accelerate the results tallying process.
- I. Tallying procedures should be designed to ensure easy traceability from polling station results onwards, including for those cases where arithmetic corrections are needed due to reconciliation errors.
- J. An adequate and reliable results management system should be designed to ensure integrity and reliability in the collection, aggregation and publication of results. The system used should be thoroughly tested well in advance and an alternative option of results transmission should be put into place.

II. Introduction

Following an invitation from the Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC), the European Union deployed an Election Observation Mission (EU EOM) to Malawi to observe the 2014 tripartite elections. The EU EOM was present in Malawi from 12 April to 19 June 2014. The Mission was led by Chief Observer, Véronique De Keyser, Member of the European Parliament. In total, the EU EOM deployed 85 observers from 28 EU Member States plus Norway across the country. The mandate of the EU EOM was to conduct a comprehensive assessment of the electoral process in accordance with Malawi's national, regional and international commitments for democratic elections.

The EU EOM is independent in its findings and conclusions and adheres to the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation signed at the United Nations in October 2005. This report seeks to present a detailed assessment of the Mission's findings on the various stages of the electoral process, as well as suggesting a number of recommendations for the improvement of future elections based on these findings.

The EU EOM wishes to express its appreciation to the Government of Malawi, the Malawi Electoral Commission and other national authorities, political parties and civil society, as well as to the people of Malawi, for their cooperation and assistance in the course of the observation. The EU EOM is also grateful to the Delegation of the European Union to Malawi, and the European Union member states' diplomatic missions resident in Malawi for their support throughout.

III. Political Background

Following the 2009 Democratic Progressive Party's (DPP) landslide victory in presidential and parliamentary elections (66 per cent of the presidential vote and 114 of the 193 constituencies), DPP was confronted with internal divisions over President Bingu Mutharika's succession within the party as his two limit mandate would expire in 2014. Consequently, Vice-President Joyce Banda formed the Peoples' Party in 2011. Nevertheless, the death of President Mutharika on 5 April 2012, brought Joyce Banda to the presidential office despite obstacles from her opponents on the grounds that Banda no longer represented the party in government. Although section 65 of the Constitution precludes *floor-crossing* of members in the National Assembly, many DPP members of parliament changed their political affiliation in 2012, after Joyce Banda

assuming the presidential office, and joined the PP parliamentary bench.

The 20 May 2014 elections were the fifth general elections and the second for local government since the introduction of multiparty democracy in 1994. These elections were the most complex that Malawi has held, as for the first time three elections were conducted simultaneously – presidential, parliamentary and Local Council elections. The 2014 tripartite elections posed, therefore, significant challenges for all electoral stakeholders, including to the MEC's capacity and independence.

The 2014 elections were highly competitive as no political party was seen as being favourite before the elections. These elections were also inclusive as a significant number of political parties and candidates participated in the tripartite elections.

Candidates for presidential elections were nominated by 12 political parties. The most prominent of which were the People's Party (PP) of President Joyce Banda, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) of Peter Mutharika (brother of former president Bingu Mutharika), the United Democratic Front (UDF) of Atupele Muluzi (son of former president Bakili Muluzi) and the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) of Lazarus Chakwera. The four highest-profile presidential candidates were competing for presidential office for the first time, including the incumbent president Joyce Banda. Two of the presidential candidates were female, the incumbent President and Helen Singh of the United Independence Party (UIP), as well as two running mates. Other parties competing for the presidency included the People's Transformation Party (PETRA), the New Labour Party (NLP), Chipani Cha Pfuko (CCP), the People's Progressive Movement (PPM), the Malawi Forum for Unity and Development (MAFUNDE), the National Salvation Front (NASAF), the United Independence Party (UIP) and the Umodzi Party (UP).

A total of 17 political parties and 419 independent candidates, many of whom lost the primaries in their respective parties, competed for 193-seat parliamentary elections, amounting to 1,293 candidates, of which only 261 were women. For the 462 elected seats of Local Councils, candidates from 18 political parties plus 576 independent candidates had their nominations accepted, resulting in 2,412 candidates, of which only 419 were women.

Political parties in Malawi are generally based on regional support. However, the Southern region was the electoral base of three of the four main parties - the PP, the DPP and the UDF. All of these parties put forward presidential running mates from the Central region in an attempt to increase their regional support. The only non Southern-based party, the MCP, had a presidential candidate from the Central region and a running mate from the North.

Although the political environment remained calm throughout the pre-election period, some tensions raised during and after the day of the elections due to the organisational shortcomings and concerns raised by political parties about the integrity of the tallying process.

On 24 May, President Joyce Banda ordered the nullification of the electoral process, calling for new elections within 90 days on the grounds that the process had been marred by fraud. This order was immediately dismissed by Malawian constitutionalists due to lack of constitutional powers of the president, and later officially by the High Court. The MEC announced on the same day its intention to conduct a total recount of the presidential ballots due to significant anomalies detected during tallying. All main political parties, except for DPP, supported the decision of the MEC. However, the matter was taken to the High Court. This issue created an environment of uncertainty and political tensions between the political parties, including instances of demonstrations.

Immediately after the High Court decision confirming that MEC had the authority to conduct recounts but only within the eight-day period to announce the results established by the law, the MEC announced presidential election results, as the legal deadline was on the point of expiring, confirming Peter Mutharika from DPP as the elected president with 36.4 per cent of the national vote, followed by Lazarus Chakwera of

MCP, Joyce Banda from PP and Atupele Muluzi from UDF. The new president Peter Mutharika was immediately sworn in the morning after and the inauguration ceremony took place on 2 June. All candidates (including PP, UDF and MCP) accepted the outcome of the presidential elections. The protests in Mangochi, before the announcement of results, resulting in the death of a youth and some injuries including two policemen, and the subsequent calls for peace by stakeholders might have played a role in diffusing the political tensions.

IV. Legal Framework

A. Universal and Regional Principles and Commitments

Malawi is committed to a wide range of international and regional instruments that contain obligations of the state related to elections. The relevant international commitments include the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ratified in 1993, the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women ratified in 1987, the 1966 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination ratified in 1996, the 2007 Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities ratified in 2009 and the Convention against Corruption ratified in 2007. As for regional instruments, Malawi is committed to the 1981 African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) ratified in 1989 and the 2003 ACHPR Protocol on the Rights of Women ratified in 2005 as well as the 2007 African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, ratified in 2012. It has signed but not ratified the protocol of the ACHPR on the African Court. Malawi is a party to various Southern African Development Community (SADC) documents, namely the 2004 SADC Principles and Guidelines Covering Democratic Elections and the 1997 Declaration on Gender and Development.

B. Legal Framework

The Malawian legal framework governing the tripartite elections is to be found in the Constitution of the Republic of Malawi of 1994 as amended, the Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Act (PPEA) of 1993, the Local Government Elections Act of 1996, the Electoral Commission Act of 1998, the Political Parties (Registration and Regulation) Act of 1993 and other related acts. In addition, several Codes of Conduct were adopted by the MEC including for the media, political parties, civic educators and most recently for traditional authorities.

In 2012, Parliament unanimously amended the Constitution in order to allow for the conduct of local government elections together with the general elections in a single day in May 2014. Amendments to other acts aimed at harmonising the electoral legislation framework followed in 2013, but included almost no substantive improvements. The one positive change was the extension of the period for submitting election petitions from 48 hours to seven days after the announcement of the election results, which was one of the EU EOM 2009 recommendations.

The legal framework provides a good basis for conducting credible elections in line with international and regional commitments. Political rights and fundamental freedoms essential to elections such as those of association, assembly, movement and expression are guaranteed by the Constitution. Nevertheless, a number of shortcomings and inconsistencies in the law remain unaddressed since the previous elections. These include absence of rules for funding of political parties and financing of election campaigns, resulting in lack of transparency and public accountability, and lack of clear and enforceable regulations to prohibit the use of state resources for campaigning purposes. There are inconsistencies in the constitutional timeframes and statutory legislation for the different parts of the electoral process, including the dissolution of parliament and the beginning of the campaign period.

A contradiction between the obligation of the MEC to determine accurate results and the provision of the Parliamentary and Presidential Election Act prescribing an eight-day limit for the MEC to announce the final

results came into prominence in the context of the delays in results transmission and tallying after the May 2014 elections. The deficiency in the legislation is that it does not provide for a solution in a situation when the process of the determination of accurate results requires additional time.

C. The Electoral System

Malawi applies a first-past-the-post system, based on simple majority, to elect the President, parliamentary members and Local Councillors by universal adult suffrage. Presidential office, parliamentary and Local Council terms are for a period of five years. There is a limit of two consecutive terms placed on holding of presidential office. The Vice-President is elected together with the President on the same ballot. The president appoints a cabinet of ministers. The National Assembly has 193 members who are elected from single-member constituencies. The members of 35 Local Councils are elected in 462 single member wards.

Following the 2014 elections, several prominent civil society organisations (Public Affairs Committee, NGO Gender Co-ordination Network, Centre for Human Rights and Rehabilitation) announced that they would be lobbying for the introduction of an absolute majority requirement for the presidential election.

D. Delimitation of Parliamentary Constituency Boundaries

The MEC has the responsibility to determine constituency and ward boundaries on the basis of ensuring that constituencies contain approximately equal numbers of eligible voters, and is obliged to review existing constituency boundaries at intervals of not more than five years. However, the constituency boundaries have not been reviewed since 1999 when the number of parliamentary seats increased from 177 to 193. The current delimitation based on the 193 constituencies does not accurately reflect equal proportions of the electorate or the highly populated areas are under-represented in terms of seats in parliament compared to less populated constituencies. Presently, 14 constituencies have less than 20,000 registered voters, and 18 constituencies have more than 60,000 registered voters. As a result, the existing lack of balance undermines the principle of equal representation of voters.¹

V. Election Administration

A. Structure and Composition

The Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC) is an independent, permanent body established under article 75 of the Constitution, mandated to conduct, direct and supervise all elections.² The current MEC is composed of a chair and nine commissioners. The chairperson must be a judge nominated by the Judicial Service Commission (JSC) and appointed by the president, whereas the commissioners are appointed by the president in consultation with political parties represented in the parliament, for a four-year period that may be renewed. The president may remove a member of the commission from office on the grounds of incapacity or incompetence. President Joyce Banda appointed the new commissioners in May 2012 after consultation with the political parties. The MEC Chair Maxon Mbendera, a senior judge and former Attorney General, was appointed in October 2012.

In performing its activities, MEC is assisted by a Secretariat headed by the Chief Elections Officer (CEO), appointed by the MEC commissioners. The Secretariat oversees and coordinates the work of a number of

¹ Article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), United Nations Human Rights Commission, General Comment No. 25, paragraph 21: "The drawing of electoral boundaries and method of allocating votes should not distort the distribution of voters."

² Article 25 ICCPR, United Nations Human Rights Commission, General Comment No. 25, paragraph 20: "An independent electoral authority should be established to supervise the electoral process and to ensure that it is conducted fairly, impartially and in accordance with established laws which are compatible with the Covenant." See also Article 17 (1) African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, 2007.

specialised departments, including electoral services, civic and voter education, media and public relations, information and communication technology, finance, administration and human resources. Besides its national headquarters in Blantyre, the MEC has three regional offices in the regional capitals (Blantyre, Lilongwe and Mzuzu) and permanent staff - district election clerks - located at the District Commissioner's offices in the 28 districts of Malawi. In addition, for the 2014 elections, 193 returning officers (one per constituency) and approximately 80,000 temporary polling staff were recruited. Most of the MEC's senior personnel had previous electoral experience. The MEC received international technical assistance from UNDP during the past and current elections. The legacy of the UNDP technical assistance in terms of capacity building remains to be assessed.

B. Administration of the Elections

Despite weaknesses in the election administration structure and resulting organisational shortcomings, MEC acted impartially throughout the election period and made considerable efforts, in a challenging environment, to enfranchise all voters for the 20 May elections. Key stakeholders expressed a reasonable level of confidence in the integrity of the Commission. Whilst some allegations were raised by political parties throughout the pre-election period regarding attempted rigging, the MEC did not receive, until election day, any official complaint substantiating these allegations.

MEC did not succeed to complete organisational and logistical preparations on time for election day and showed a lack of structural capacity in conducting some key operations of the electoral process, in particular the distribution of election material to polling station level. Furthermore, tight deadlines, together with insufficient internal communication and exchange of information, geographical dispersion of the MEC commissioners, frequent deployment of commissioners and senior election staff to the field, and inexistent election administration physical structures at the district and constituency levels, posed considerable organisational and logistical challenges for conducting the tripartite elections.³

The repeated postponement and late conduct of the voter register verification exercise negatively affected the election calendar with respect to printing of the final voter register. The final voter register was completed only on 18 May 2014 and shared electronically with the political parties one day before elections. In an attempt to fully enfranchise registered voters, MEC introduced some *ad hoc* measures, such as the use of the permanent record of voter registration (Part A) in addition to the voter register being distributed to polling stations on election day.

To enhance transparency throughout the pre-election period, MEC regularly consulted stakeholders both at national and local levels, through the National Elections Consultative Forum (NECOF). The last NECOF meeting before election day took place on 9 May in Lilongwe. Nevertheless, failed to communicate adequately to issues raised by political parties and civil society organisations regarding the accuracy of the voter register. During the week before elections, public confidence building measures to increase transparency and ensure the integrity of the electoral process were implemented by the MEC, including regular press briefings providing updates on the state of preparedness for the 20 May elections.

C. Voter Education

The National Initiative for Civic Education (NICE) and religious organisations, such as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) and the Public Affairs Committee (PAC), have, together with the MEC, had a vital task in conducting civic and voter education activities. The MEC published a Civic and Voter Education Strategy and elaborated a code of conduct for civil society organisations responsible for implementing civic and voter

³ Section 2, Article 4 (e) of the African Union Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa, 2002: "Democratic elections should be conducted [...] by impartial, all inclusive competent and accountable electoral institutions staffed by well trained personnel and equipped with adequate logistics." See also SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections of 2004, Section 7, Article 7.3.

education. Notwithstanding the fact that 107 civil society organisations were accredited by the MEC to conduct civic and voter education, only 12 successfully obtained funding.

NICE has played a crucial role in delivering permanent civic education to citizens on a continual basis with the support of EU financial assistance since the 1999 elections. Beside permanent NICE structures at regional and district levels, over 9,000 NICE volunteers engaged with traditional leaders, school headmasters and faith-based groups, using posters, leaflets, public meetings, theatre and audio-visual material to promote awareness of the elections nationwide. The main messages disseminated to the public were information on voting procedures and the role and importance of Local Councils, thus providing the opportunity for voters to make a more informed choice.

Even though voter education activities were assessed by EU observers as being of good quality, in particular those activities conducted by NICE, their impact was hampered by insufficient financial resources and lack of adequate means to cover remote rural areas.

VI. Voter Register

A. *The Right to Vote*

Sections 40 and 77 of the Constitution establish the right to vote and the Presidential and Parliamentary Election Act (PPEA) elaborates on the procedures for voter registration. The criteria for voter registration are in line with international and regional principles.⁴ Under section 77 of the Constitution, eligible voters are citizens of Malawi or ordinarily resident in Malawi for seven years, who have attained the age of 18 years and who are ordinarily resident in a constituency or were born there or are employed or carry out a business there. A voter may be registered in only one constituency. Persons who have been declared mentally incompetent, sentenced to death by a court, or convicted of violation of any law relating to elections are not eligible to vote. The latter criterion deprives a voter of the right to vote for the elections in question only, not for subsequent ones.⁵

A person who wishes to be registered as a voter needs to prove their identity by producing any document or to obtain a written, verbal or visual testimony of a chief, a village headman, the registration officer or a registered voter of the same area. An inconsistency exists between the Constitution, which establishes that voters must have attained 18 years of age at the time of registration, and the PPEA that stipulates that the person must be 18 on polling day. For the 2014 elections, MEC registered voters who would have 18 years of age on election day.

B. *Voter Registration*

For the 2014 tripartite elections, MEC compiled a new voter register, as the accuracy of the 2009 register was questioned by the majority of stakeholders involved. Initially, MEC hoped to use biometric voter registration (BVR) technology for the new register, but ultimately decided against this due to cost and time considerations. Instead, the existing optical mark recognition (OMR) technology was used. Electors were registered over nine phases between 22 July and 18 December 2013. According to the MEC, some 7,538,000 registrations received, corresponding to 94 per cent of the number of eligible voters as estimated by the MEC.

Weaknesses in MEC's internal communication and capacity as well as logistical and technical difficulties resulted in serious delays in the processing of voter registration data. A verification period, to allow the public

⁴ Article 25 ICCPR, United Nations Human Rights Commission, General Comment No. 25, paragraph 4: "States must take effective measures to ensure that all persons entitled to vote are able to exercise that right. Where registration of voters is required, it should be facilitated and obstacles to such registration should not be imposed. If residence requirements apply to registration, they must be reasonable, and should not be imposed in such a way as to exclude the homeless from the right to vote.

⁵ Article 25 ICCPR, United Nations Human Rights Commission, General Comment No. 25, paragraph 14: "If conviction for an offence is a basis for suspending the right to vote, the period of such suspension should be proportionate to the offence and the sentence."

to verify their names and photos, request corrections of their data, request a transfer of polling station and to report deceased voters, was originally scheduled to take place between 24 and 28 March 2014 throughout the whole country. However, it had to be postponed due to logistical challenges faced by the MEC and consequent delays in producing the preliminary voter register. Consequently, the verification exercise was conducted in three separate phases. Phase one was carried out in the Southern region between 9 and 13 April; phase two followed in the Northern region and five districts of the Central region from 21 to 25 April; and phase three was conducted in the seven remaining districts of the Central region from 1 to 5 May and extended in some registration centers in Lilongwe and Dedza due to late arrival of registration materials.

An SMS and internet voter register verification system was launched on 23 April 2014 by the Malawi Election Information Center (MEIC), a platform of civil society organisations led by the Malawi Election Support Network (MESN) in cooperation with MEC. The platform received over 65,000 requests to verify voter registration data within the first 48 hours. The total number of voters who successfully verified their registration details using the electronic system was 242,363. Following the verification exercise, the total number of voters in the final voter register was 7,470,806.

Insufficient dissemination of information to the public about the initial problems with registration data processing helped fuel rumours and doubts regarding the integrity of the register. However, no substantiated complaints of widespread irregularities have been reported. Poor publicity about postponements had an impact on the voter verification exercise, contributing to a relatively low turnout. Both the preliminary and final voter registers were made available very late in the process, affecting the level of confidence of certain stakeholders in the capacity and impartiality of the MEC. Nevertheless, the fact that MEC shared the provisional voter register with political parties, provided some degree of transparency to the process.

Given the inexistence of a civil register, the lack of systematic registering of births and deaths, and the lack of regulated documents on both date of birth and Malawian citizenship, there is inevitable imprecision about the total number of eligible voters in the country. This needs to be taken into account when questions are raised about the number of registered voters compared to the estimated number of eligible voters in population projections. Whilst issues around spelling of some voters' names, errors in date of birth and quality of some voter photos used in the register clearly exist, these are not sufficient to put in doubt the overall integrity of the voter register.

VII. Registration of Political Parties and Candidates

A. Registration of Political Parties

Legal provisions for the registration of political parties in Malawi are reasonable and in line with international and regional principles relating to freedom of association.⁶ The Constitution provides for political rights of citizens including the right to form, join and participate in the activities of a political party as well as to participate in political activity intended to influence the composition and policies of the government.

The Political Parties (Registration and Regulation) Act of 1993 establishes the principles for the registration of political parties and allows any citizen of Malawi who has reached the age of 18 years to be a member of a political party. Registration is denied to political parties whose purpose and object is unlawful including ethnic, racial or religious discrimination, seeking political change through violence or aiming for secession of any part of the territory of Malawi. The registration of political parties falls under the authority of the

⁶ Article 22 and 25 ICCPR, United Nations Human Rights Commission, General Comment No. 25, paragraph 26: "The right to freedom of association, including the right to form and join organizations and associations concerned with political and public affairs, is an essential adjunct to the rights protected by article 25." See also Article 10 of the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights 1986 and African Union Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa, IV. Elections: Rights and Obligations, paragraph 5: "Every citizen shall have the freedom to establish or to be a member of a political party or Organization in accordance with the law."

Registrar of the Ministry of Justice and Judicial Affairs. If registration of a political party is refused or cancelled, the decision may be appealed to the High Court.

B. Registration of Candidates

Requirements to stand for elections are generally reasonable and in line with the international commitments of Malawi.⁷ Eligible candidates may contest all types of elections as a party-sponsored or independent candidate. No candidate may be nominated for more than one parliamentary constituency or ward for the same election. However, they may be nominated for multiple types of election, meaning that a candidate may contest presidential, parliamentary and council elections simultaneously. The nominations are subject to the payment of a fee which, according to the latest legislative amendments, is no longer refundable. Female candidates for parliament and local councils benefit from a 25 per cent reduction in the fees.

Members of parliament are constitutionally banned from being nominated as candidates due to holding a public office. This creates an unreasonable restriction and appears to serve no purpose. Although the nomination period took place from 10 to 14 February, the MEC delayed the official announcement of the nominations until the same day as the dissolution of the parliament, on 20 March, to overcome the constitutional ban on sitting members of parliament. This solution, although practical and generally accepted, remains legally questionable. According to the law, a candidate is deemed duly nominated when his or her valid nomination paper is delivered to the returning officer and not at the moment of the announcement by the MEC.

The MEC had originally rejected nominations of one presidential candidate (John Chisi of the Umodzi Party) and 14 parliamentary candidates on the grounds of holding public office. The MEC considered employment at universities and membership on boards of public entities - such as the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation - as public offices. Public office holders are prohibited by the Constitution from standing for elections but the legislation contains no definition of this term, thus creating legal uncertainty regarding the eligibility of certain categories of candidates. Five of the rejected candidates appealed to the High Court and in all the cases the Court ruled that the candidates were eligible to be nominated. The grounds for the court decisions varied as in some cases, the court interpreted their employment as not being a public office, in others the court was satisfied that the leave of absence was equivalent to the termination of the employment contracts. Following these five appeals, the MEC reinstated all 15 nominations.

The law provides no mechanism to replace a running mate after the nomination has been registered, hence his name remained on the ballot. Two vice-presidential candidates withdrew Silvester Chabuka of Mafunde Party and Godfrey Matenganya of CCP.

VIII. Election Campaign

A. Campaign Regulations and Financing

The Constitution guarantees freedom of assembly and speech for political parties and candidates. Political parties and candidates, including independents, are entitled to equal access to public space to hold campaign activities and to display election material. The Constitution contains a general ban on civil servants using state resources for promotion of a political party, however, the applicability of this provision is narrowed down to the members of the civil service and there is no provision in the legislation for practical means of

⁷ Article 25 ICCPR, United Nations Human Rights Commission, General Comment No. 25, paragraph 10: "Any restrictions on the right to stand for election, such as minimum age, must be justifiable on objective and reasonable criteria. Persons who are otherwise eligible to stand for election should not be excluded by unreasonable or discriminatory requirements such as education, residence or descent, or by reason of political affiliation," and paragraph 16: "Conditions relating to nomination dates, fees or deposits should be reasonable and not discriminatory." See also the African Union Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa, 2002.

implementation. The electoral legislation makes no mention of this subject and the use of state resources for campaigning does not figure in the list of election offences.

According to the law, the official campaign period is supposed to last for two months, finishing 48 hours before the opening of the polls. Due to conflicting constitutional timeframes, the MEC was obliged to wait until after the dissolution of the parliament before the official announcement of candidatures and opening the campaign period on 20 March. The campaign period was thus shortened by two days, even though the MEC has no authority to alter its legally prescribed length.

Clear rules for campaign finances are absent from the legislation. There is no provision for a campaign expenditure ceiling, which results in great discrepancies between the resources of the contestants. Parties and candidates are allowed to receive funds from any sources, both domestic and foreign. There is no requirement to disclose funding sources and report on campaign spending, leading to a lack of transparency and public accountability. Also, the lack of explicit prohibition of the use of state resources for campaigning, as already highlighted by the 2009 EU EOM, opens up the possibility of blurring between the ruling party resources and state resources.

B. Election Campaign

The election campaign was largely calm and peaceful with only a few isolated incidents, which had a very limited impact on the election atmosphere. Political parties and candidates were able to campaign freely in all parts of the country,⁸ except for a few instances where EU observers noted traditional authorities limiting access of opposition candidates to some areas in Karonga (Mlare) and Zomba (Chikowi and Mulumbe).

Only the four main political parties – the PP, DPP, MCP and UDF – were able to hold large rallies and countrywide whistle-stop tours. The remaining political parties channelled their resources into small meetings and door-to-door campaign activities with much less visibility, mostly due to a lack of financial resources and the absence of party structures at local level. However, presidential debates were broadcast throughout the country by TV and radio offering an opportunity for candidates from smaller parties to have national exposure.

During campaign activities, messages have focused on general socio-economic development issues, with most opposition parties also giving significant emphasis to corruption and governance issues. The incumbent PP focused its messages on the achievements and successes of Joyce Banda's presidential initiatives in providing housing and livestock to the population.

The ruling PP clearly had an advantage over the three main opposition political parties as it benefitted from the advantages of the incumbency including more state-owned media coverage. The distinction between PP campaign activities and the activities inherent to the presidential office were not always clear. The blurring was evident in daily state television and radio broadcasting of PP rallies and in presidential activities where attendants and speakers wore clothes and party paraphernalia of the ruling party, including the President herself. Such events included the inauguration of public works such as the Malawi Rural Electrification programmes, construction of roads and housing projects in Mulanje, Zomba and Thyolo, the promoting of traditional chiefs in Machinga, Chikwawa and Mulanje, where appeals to vote for PP were addressed to the audience.

During the 144 campaign rallies observed by the EU EOM,⁹ most of the main parties provided participants with material handouts (campaign t-shirts and other party paraphernalia, food and drink) as well as financial

8 Article 25 ICCPR, United Nations Human Rights Commission, General Comment No. 25, paragraph 12: "Freedom of expression, assembly and association are essential conditions for the effective exercise of the right to vote and must be fully protected." See also Section 4, Article 3, the African Union Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa, 2002.

9 The EU EOM observed presidential, parliamentary and local government rallies of PP, DPP, MCP, UDF, UIP, Umodzi Party, PPM, MAFUNDE, AFORD, NCP, and 21 independent candidates.

incentives to attend the events. The financial resources available to the PP appeared to be higher than for other parties. The EU EOM observed PP distribution of handouts such as maize (in Mangochi, Machinga, Phalombe, Blantyre and Mulanje), motorbikes and bicycles (Phalombe and Zomba), construction equipment (Mulanje) and blankets (Phalombe and Blantyre).

IX. Domestic and International Election Observation

Civil society organisations played an important and active role throughout the electoral process. The main groups deploying observers were the National Initiative for Civic Education (NICE) and the Malawi Election Support Network (MESN), a platform of 27 civil society organisations. For the 2014 elections, there was an unprecedented level of cooperation between MEC and civil society organisations. A Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) exercise in 800 randomly sampled polling stations nationwide was conducted by MESN in close cooperation with the MEC. The data obtained through the PVT reflected the official results for presidential elections released by the MEC. MESN also established the Malawi Election Information Centre (MEIC), the Election Situation Room and Citizen Journalism Initiative. The initiative, funded by Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA) and the international NGO HIVOS, conducted a real-time observation of all polling stations in the country, with more than 4,500 local observers and over 100 mobile supervisors deployed in the field. The task-force of the situation room, composed of MESN, MEC, the police, civil society organisations and political parties, processed the data coming from the field. On election day, NICE and MESN deployed observers to all polling stations in the country. Religious organisations, such as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) and the Public Affairs Committee (PAC) also deployed local monitors though on a smaller scale.

Apart from the EU EOM, international election observation missions were deployed by the African Union (AU), the Commonwealth, the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and the SADC Electoral Commission Forum. All international observation missions issued their post-election statement on 22 May 2014. Diplomatic representations based in Lilongwe, including the US, UK, German and Japan embassies, also deployed observers on election day.

The African Union mission deployed 10 long term observers on 14 April 2014, and a further 40 short-term observers on election week together with a support team from the AU Headquarters and two AU Secretariat members. The mission was led by Sam Nujoma, former president of Namibia. The African Union also presented a pre-election assessment on 15 May 2014 in Blantyre. The Commonwealth mission, headed by the former vice president of the Republic of Botswana Mompoti Merafe, arrived in the country on 13 May 2014. In total, the mission deployed 11 short-term observers and 4 staff members from the Secretariat. The SADC mission arrived in Malawi on 1 May and was led by the Foreign Minister of Namibia, Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah. A total of 147 SADC observers were deployed in all three regions of the country.

X. Media and Elections

A. Media Environment

Since the introduction of multiparty democracy in 1994, Malawi has enjoyed a diversity of media outlets ranging from print to electronic media. As in most countries in the region, radio remains the most important source of information, followed by television, newspapers and lastly Internet. Under President Joyce Banda's mandate, new broadcasting licences were awarded and currently the country counts over 65 news outlets. In 2014, Malawi made a step forward in the Reporters without Frontiers World Press Freedom Index ranking from position 146 out of 179 countries in 2012, to position 73 out of 180 countries. However, poor financial and logistical resources characterise the media outlets in Malawi and limit the capacity of professional institutional bodies in promoting professional values and ethics for journalists.

The state media include the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) which comprises two radio stations and one television channel, the Malawi News Agency (MANA). The public broadcasting media outlets have the widest coverage in Malawi. Private media include 14 newspapers and 10 magazines, however most of them are not published regularly. The most trusted newspaper-publishing companies are the Nation Publications Limited (NPL) and Times Media Group. Electronic private media is comprised of nine commercial radio stations, 13 religious radio stations, seven community radio stations, one private television channel - Times TV - with national coverage, and several regional television channels. Internet is the least used of the media as a source of information in the country due to limited access. The most popular online news websites are Nyasatimes, Malawi Voice and Maravi Post, all of them hosted abroad. According to the Malawi Communication Regulatory Authority (MACRA) official data, Zodiak Broadcasting Station (ZBS) is the radio station with the highest listenership in Malawi.

The media provided substantial coverage of the electoral process. Special radio programmes and supplements in newspapers broadened the debate on the electoral campaign and electoral procedures.¹⁰ As election day approached, electronic media intensified voter and civic education messages on polling procedures, voter verification, anti-corruption messages and safe custody of the voter's ID. The messages were sponsored by electoral stakeholders, mostly MEC and NICE.

For the first time in Malawi, presidential debates were organised by the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) – Malawi, and took place in Lilongwe on 22 April and 29 April and in Blantyre on 6 May 2014. The three presidential debates were simultaneously covered by state and private media, which helped to increase political discussion and provided voters with the possibility of making a more informed political choice.

The publication of various opinion polls in the media opened an intense debate regarding the regulation of surveys during election time.¹¹ The surveys released during the election period were criticised by the opposition and analysts alike due to unclear methodology and the small sample size used. Due to the absence of regulation, opinion polls are generally deemed unreliable in Malawi.

MEC appointed Zodiak radio station as the official broadcaster for announcing election results. MEC's choice was based on capacity for geographical coverage, audience reached, professionalism and neutrality of the broadcaster when reporting. MEC also entrusted the state-owned television MBC to broadcast the election results, as it has the widest television coverage in the country. Unofficial election results compiled by correspondents across the country were released shortly after counting was concluded at the polling stations. Political parties raised concerns about the influence on the public of the early announcement of unofficial results, as in various locations polling was still on-going. However, the High Court rejected an application from PP seeking an injunction to have these announcements stopped.

B. Legal Framework

The Constitution of the Republic of Malawi guarantees freedom of opinion and expression, freedom of the press and free access to information. Freedom of expression and of the press were respected throughout the campaign period. Coverage of election activities was reported to be carried out without restriction of movement or access.¹²

Electronic media operates under the legal framework of the Malawi Communications Act of 1998. However,

10 For example, "Talking Elections 2014" on *Nation Weekend*, "Decision Time" on *Malawi News* or "Sunday Roundtable Election Special" on *Capital Radio*.

11 Relevant opinion polls were the Research Tech Consultants poll, published on 28 April 2014 in *The Nation*, the NyasaTimes online publication survey in early April, and the African public opinion survey project Afrobarometer, published on 11 May 2014.

12 Article 25 ICCPR, United Nations Human Rights Commission, General Comment No. 25, paragraph 25: "The free communication of information and ideas about public and political issues between citizens, candidates and elected representatives is essential. This implies a free press and other media able to comment on public issues without censorship or restraint and to inform public opinion."

during election period the Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Act (PPEA) constitutes the cornerstone of both print and electronic media regulation.

The Communications Act establishes an independent media regulatory body, the Malawi Communication Regulatory Authority (MACRA). MACRA is responsible for monitoring the activities of electronic media and has the authority to issue fines in cases of breaching license terms. License terms include adherence to the Code of Conduct which emphasises equitable treatment of political parties and candidates during the election period. The Media Council of Malawi (MCM) is the regulatory body for both printed and electronic media and the work of journalists is regulated by the MCM Code of Conduct. Moreover, the MEC, media institutions and MCM jointly adopted the Media Code of Conduct for media reporting on the 2014 elections. This obliged media houses to ensure balanced and impartial reporting, which journalists had generally adhered to throughout the election period.

MACRA, along with the media body MISA Malawi (Media Institute of Southern Africa) monitored the campaign in the media, releasing periodic reports on media functioning and the extent to which coverage was balanced. MACRA performed its duties as a regulatory body and acted *ex officio*, warning media houses on cases of hate speech, defamatory language and unbalanced coverage throughout the election period. However, the fact that MACRA board members were appointed by the Cabinet undermined its independence and its ability to discipline the state broadcaster for unbalanced coverage.

The Broadcasting Monitoring and Complaints Committee, composed of MEC, the Malawi Law Society, MISA-Malawi, the Centre for Multiparty Democracy of Malawi (CMD-M), MCM and MACRA, was established with the purpose of monitoring election coverage (through MACRA) and taking disciplinary measures in cases of breach of the Code of Conduct. A live broadcast by Galaxy radio of a DPP rally on 27 April, where allegedly abusive remarks were made about President Joyce Banda, resulted in complaints submitted to MACRA from the PP against Galaxy radio. MACRA imposed a one-month ban from live broadcasts of campaign rallies on Galaxy as it considered that the live broadcast amounted to hate speech, contrary to Section 52 of the Communications Act. Consequently, Galaxy radio submitted the case to the High Court and obtained an injunction suspending the MACRA decision until the matter was heard by the court. Therefore, Galaxy radio continued to broadcast campaign rallies live until the end of the campaign period.

In order to ensure that all contestants had equal access to the media, MEC purchased airtime on both private and state electronic media for presidential contestants to air their campaign messages,¹³ despite there being no specific provision about the purchase of this airtime in the media. MEC also deployed 31 stringers to all districts of Malawi to cover party and candidate activities on a daily basis. Although this was viewed as being a positive initiative, the lack of available human and financial resources to support these stringers, as well as the high number of candidates standing in the tripartite elections, limited their performance.

C. Electoral Coverage and EU EOM Media Monitoring

The EU EOM Media Monitoring Unit started its activities on 20 April 2014. The following media were monitored for the duration of the campaign period: five radio stations - MBC Radio 1 (state-owned), Capital Radio, Zodiak Radio, Galaxy FM and Joy Radio; two television broadcasters - MBC TV (state-owned) and Time TV; and two newspapers - *The Nation* and *The Daily Times*.

According to EU EOM media monitoring results, some media provided unbalanced coverage of political activities. The presidential race dominated news coverage over parliamentary and local government elections. The four most prominent political parties (PP, DPP, UDF and MCP) and its presidential and parliamentary candidates received more coverage on the monitored media than smaller parties contesting

¹³ Two radio stations, Ufulu – linked to the PP – and the Catholic owned Radio Maria, refused to air the political messages arguing editorial incompatibilities.

the 20 May tripartite elections.¹⁴ Women candidates and female party spokespersons were less present in the media than their male counterparts, except for the state-owned electronic media due to Joyce Banda's appearances.

The PP dominated the airtime on both state-owned radio and television, partly due to the live broadcasts of 'development rallies' and 'Presidential Diary' events, where the separation between the president's political party and presidential functions were unclear.¹⁵ Galaxy radio allocated more airtime to DPP whereas Joy radio provided more coverage to UDF, by broadcasting live the two parties' campaign rallies. According to both radio stations, the time allocated to the two parties was, however, paid airtime. The private Times TV afforded MCP more airtime in its news coverage than other parties. News bulletins and election related reports were broadly neutral. However, the state-owned radio and television covered the PP in a more positive tone, whereas Joy radio and Galaxy gave a more positive tone to UDF and DPP respectively.

The Daily Times, *The Nation* and radio stations Zodiak and Capital FM provided adequately balanced coverage of political actors. The four main political parties that enjoyed the biggest financial resources purchased more paid advertisement in the monitored media than other parties.

Though MACRA warned broadcasters over unprofessional conduct in terms of hate speech, biased reporting and defamatory language, no broadcaster was disciplined for unbalanced coverage during the electoral campaign.

XI. Gender Equality and Human Rights

A. Gender Equality

The law ensures women full and equal protection of their rights, whilst discrimination based on gender is forbidden by the Constitution. Malawi has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) together with its first Protocol and is a party to the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. In February 2013, Malawi adopted the Gender Equality Act to strengthen the implementation of CEDAW in domestic legislation. The act aims for equal integration of men and women in all aspects of Malawian society and introduces a 40 per cent quota for certain types of public appointment. However, cultural barriers and economic constraints remain the main impediments to more active participation of women.

There has been a steady increase in the number of women in parliament from just 6 per cent in 1994 to 22 per cent in 2009. However, this figure is still below the SADC target of 30 per cent,¹⁶ and far short of the 50 per cent target as set out in the government's "50-50 National Programme on Increasing Women Representation in Parliament and Local Government", running since 2004. However, only 32 women – 16 per cent - were elected for the 2014 parliament, a notable drop from the 42 elected in the previous elections. Of these, eight were DPP candidates, six were MCP, five PP, two UDF and 11 were independent candidates. For the Local Council elections, 56 women were elected amounting to 12 per cent.

For the tripartite elections, two presidential candidates were female: the President Joyce Banda and Helen

14 African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance 2007, Chapter 7, Article 17 (3): State Parties shall "Ensure fair and equitable access to contesting parties and candidates to state controlled media during elections."

15 African Union Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa, 2002, section 4, Article 12: "Every candidate and political party shall respect the impartiality of the public media by undertaking to refrain from any act which might constrain or limit their electoral adversaries from using the facilities and resources of the public media to air their campaign." SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections of 2004, article 2.1.5: SADC member states [shall provide] "Equal opportunity for all political parties to access the state media."

16 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, 1997, article H (i): SADC member states [are committed to] "Ensuring the equal representation of women and men [...] and the achievement of at least 30 per cent target of women in political and decision making structures by year 2005."

Singh of the UIP. Two running mates were also women. Approximately 20 per cent of the parliamentary and 17 per cent of the Local Council candidates were women (259 and 415, respectively). The Ministry for Gender, Child Welfare and Community Services, together with the NGO Gender Coordination Network and supported by UNDP, implemented an assistance programme for female candidates under the auspices of the 50:50 campaign which included capacity building and financial assistance to cover part of their campaign expenses - MKW 200,000 (approx. €360) for parliamentary candidates and half of that sum for local council candidates. To encourage participation of women, the MEC also reduced nomination fees for female parliamentary and Local Council candidates by 25 per cent. Women participated in large numbers in the campaign events. On election day, in the polling stations visited by EU observers, approximately half of the polling station staff and 30 per cent of presiding officers were women.

B. Persons with Disabilities and Marginalised Groups

The Constitution provides support for persons with disabilities to enable their “fullest possible participation in all spheres of Malawian society”. The legislation contains reasonable provisions on assisted voting. Blind and disabled persons may vote accompanied by another registered voter of their own choice or by a polling station officer. In approximately half of the polling stations visited by the EU observers tactile ballot guides for blind voters were available, however in the majority of polling stations where they were available, neither polling staff nor blind voters knew how to use them and preferred to vote assisted by another person. The majority of polling stations observed were accessible to voters with disabilities with only minor assistance. According to the Federation of Disabled Organisations of Malawi, a large proportion of disabled persons were not able to register due to the large distances required to travel in order to reach registration centres.

The right to vote was guaranteed for prisoners both on remand and convicts, with the exception of those sentenced to death. Prisoners could register as voters and polling stations were set up in prisons. There were targeted Civic and Voter Education activities conducted in prisons.

XII. Electoral Justice

A. Complaints and Appeals

The legislation provides for sound mechanisms to address election related disputes. All complaints related to alleged irregularities are handled by the MEC, whose decision may be appealed to the High Court in accordance with international and regional commitments.¹⁷

During the pre-election period, the legal channels for election related disputes were rarely used as most complaints from stakeholders were resolved through the Multiparty Liaison Committees (MPLC). The MPLCs were composed of representatives of all parties, district election officials, state administration, traditional authorities, police and civil society organisations. There were a number of complaints submitted to the MEC structures at district level, mostly from political parties and candidates, related to voter registration and campaigning. Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, these were forwarded to the MPLC for resolution. Despite the fact that the MPLCs were of an informal nature and had no legal enforcement powers, they served as the preferred tool for conflict resolution in almost all districts. However, in three districts – Balaka, Machinga and Mangochi – the effective functioning of the MPLC was hampered by lack of funding.

The law prescribes a specific procedure for handling of complaints presented during registration and polling, which first have to be dealt with by the registration centre and polling station officers respectively, whose decision can be appealed to the MEC and ultimately to the High Court. There is, however, no clear directive as to how the complaints that have not been resolved by the registration/polling officers should be addressed.

¹⁷ Article 2 ICCPR, United Nations Human Rights Commission, General Comment No. 25, paragraph 20: “There should be independent scrutiny of the voting and counting process and access to judicial review or other equivalent process so that electors have confidence in the security of the ballot and the counting of the votes.” African Charter of Human and Peoples’ Rights, 1986, Article 7.

Moreover, the presence of only four High Court registries in the entire country makes it almost impossible for a voter who has been denied the right to register to seek an effective legal remedy. Furthermore, submissions to courts are subject to court fees that have recently increased and vary from MKW 1,000 to 5,000 (approx. from € 2 to €10). High lawyers' fees make appeals to High Court even more costly.

Shortly before election day, accessibility to the complaint mechanisms improved through the establishment of the MEC Complaints Handling Unit, supported by UNDP, and in particular by the introduction of the option to communicate the complaints by email or telephone. The newly created unit, however, failed to draw on MEC's existing institutional experience in dealing with complaints as personnel previously involved were not engaged. In total, the MEC received over 300 complaints from individual voters as well as political parties, many of them relating to logistical and organisational shortcomings during election day, such as late opening of polling station and missing material including ballots. After election day, complaints were received from political parties and candidates relating to the non-distribution of polling station result sheets to political party representatives and alleged irregularities during the transition and tallying of results, alleged malfunctioning of the internet transmission system, lack of safeguards during physical transport of the results and anomalies in the results sheets from different levels of tallying. According to the MEC, very few of them were supported by tangible evidence. The Complaint Handling Unit formally responded to all complaints and in many cases affirmed the existence of certain anomalies and irregularities, but found no proof of alleged rigging.

B. Judicial Review Proceedings

On 24 May, President Joyce Banda proclaimed that she had annulled the elections due to alleged massive irregularities, called for a fresh election to be held within 90 days, and ordered that the tallying of the results by the MEC be stopped. There was a general consensus that according to the Constitution the President had no authority to annul the elections. On the same day, the MEC together with the Malawi Law Society applied for a judicial review and were granted a court order preventing the execution of the President's decision, which allowed the MEC to continue with tallying. The court also issued an identical order on request of Peter Mutharika in a separate procedure on the same day.

Pursuant to Section 76 (5) of the Constitution, the High Court has authority to conduct a judicial review of MEC's decisions. Following the announcement of the MEC's intention to recount all presidential ballots and to withhold the announcement of the results pending the recount, which it was estimated would last up to one month, Peter Mutharika and Friday Jumbe (the presidential candidate for the New Labour Party) initiated two separate judicial review proceedings. On their request the High Court granted two injunctions effectively restraining the MEC from conducting the recount pending a final court decision. The court consolidated the two proceedings into one trial and admitted MCP, PP and UDF as interested parties. Despite the MEC's public claim that they sought an extension of the eight-day legal deadline for the announcement of the results, during the hearing the MEC made no case for such an extension.

The court hearing took place in a politically charged atmosphere and under intense media scrutiny, which created unrealistic expectations regarding the powers of the court to change the existing legislative framework and also gave rise to concerns that the judiciary was being used for political goals. Nevertheless, the court managed to conduct the hearing in an independent and expedient manner and based its ruling on the letter of the law, stating that whilst the MEC had the authority to take any measure necessary to determine the results, including recounting of the ballots, the statutory eight-day period for the announcement of the results could not be extended by a court's decision. The MEC subsequently announced the presidential election results within an hour of the proclamation of the ruling.

C. Electoral Offences

The electoral legislation covers a comprehensive set of electoral offences, including, inter alia, double

registration, false statements regarding qualification for registration, falsification of registration certificates, holding unauthorised meetings, campaigning within the 48 moratorium, destruction of campaign material, unauthorised voting, impersonation and violation of the secrecy of voting. There is also a specific category of offences relating to polling staff not fulfilling their legal duties, such as failure to display an empty ballot box or refusal to receive a complaint or to respond to a complaint. All electoral offences are considered to be of a criminal nature, and therefore fall under the jurisdiction of the courts. Maximum penalties are fines of MWK 500,000 (approx. €900) or two years' imprisonment. Rather inconsistently, the Local Government Election Act sets a maximum imprisonment limit for almost identical offences to five years. Other offences that relate to election campaigning are covered by the Penal Code of 1930 as amended and include defamation, insulting speech and incitement to violence.

There was a small number of cases involving electoral offences tried before magistrate courts. These included multiple registration, possession of multiple voter cards, theft of a voting card, destruction of campaign material and physical assault of party supporters. The penalties applied by the courts were either fines, ranging from MWK 10,000 to 30,000 (approx. € 20 to € 60), or suspended sentences.

Incidents of skirmishes between party supporters were reported from around the country and resulted in several criminal investigations and convictions. The most prominent criminal procedure was the one related to the violence at a DPP rally in Thyolo, on 16 March before the start of the campaign, which resulted in the death of a policeman and a civilian. Four people were charged with murder at the High Court and two with incitement to violence at the Magistrates' Court; at the time of the writing all were awaiting trial. According to the police, no investigations were initiated in relation to isolated incidents of unrest during election day.

Following a violent post-election demonstration in Mangochi on 30 May which resulted in the death of one civilian and injuries to three police officers, 32 people were arrested and were awaiting court appearance in Zomba on charges of inciting violence. Thirteen people were arrested and charged with breach of the peace in connection with a protest by MCP sympathisers in Lilongwe involving the burning of tyres and blocking of roadways.

D. Election Petitions

The validity of parliamentary and presidential election results can be challenged by a petition submitted directly to the High Court within seven days of the declaration of results.¹⁸ As in 2009, the legislation does not specify whether the seven-day period starts at the moment of the announcement of parliamentary results at the constituency level by the returning officer or the announcement of national results by the MEC. In comparison with the 2009 election, this has been partially rectified by extending the petition period from 48 hours to seven days. When determining the validity of the results, the High Court has the authority to declare that a candidate was or was not duly elected. In case of undue election of a candidate, fresh elections must be held. There is no specific procedure for election petitions related to local government elections.

At the time of the writing of this report, there had been 16 election petitions submitted to High Court related to parliamentary elections. The majority of petitioners claimed that the results were affected by a number of irregularities, including discrepancies on the results sheets, non-distribution of copies of results sheets to the party monitors, lack of election material and the late opening of polling stations. Unsuccessful candidates of UDF, PP, MCP and DPP in Mangochi West constituency joined together and submitted one petition against the winning independent candidate claiming that the wide range of irregularities undermined the credibility

¹⁸ Article 2 of the ICCPR, United Nations Human Rights Commission, General Comment No. 25, paragraph 20: "There should be independent scrutiny of the voting and counting process and access to judicial review or other equivalent process so that electors have confidence in the security of the ballot and the counting of the votes" See also African Union Declaration on the Principles governing Democratic Elections in Africa, section IV.7 "Individuals or political parties shall have the right to appeal and to obtain a timely hearing against all proven electoral malpractices to the competent judicial authorities in accordance with the electoral laws of the country".

of the election in this constituency. A petition related to the election in Ntcheu North alleged that the winning candidate did not have sufficient command of the English language, hence his nomination was in breach of constitutional requirements.

XIII. Election Day and Transmission of Results

A. Opening and Voting

Notwithstanding considerable organisational shortcomings and a few isolated incidents of unrest, in particular in Blantyre, calm prevailed on election day. Lack of essential material resulted in delays in the opening of polling stations, mainly in the Southern region. The missing material included voter registers, indelible ink, ballot boxes, seals and ballot papers, amongst others. In Blantyre, Mangochi and Chikwawa some polling stations opened as late as 4:00 p.m. Although a number of *ad hoc* solutions, implemented in agreement with political party representatives, facilitated the conduct of the voting process, they had a significant impact on the tallying process and on the results transmission system.

Out of the polling stations visited during the opening process, 51 per cent opened either on time or with less than 30 minutes delay. The EU EOM assessed the overall opening process as good or very good in 49 percent of the polling stations visited.

Voting was generally conducted in an orderly, calm and peaceful manner. Voters patiently waited to cast their votes despite long queues observed at many polling stations. In the 410 polling streams observed by the EU EOM during voting hours, the overall conduct of voting was assessed as being good or very good in 92 per cent of cases, and the performance of polling staff was evaluated as good or very good in 93 per cent of cases observed. Political party representatives were present in 99 per cent of polling streams visited, with the PP present in 93 per cent, the DPP in 81 per cent, MCP in 65.5 per cent and UDF in 60.3 per cent. Domestic observers were present in 97 per cent of cases.

In some polling stations where opening was delayed or voting interrupted, voting was prolonged until 9:00 p.m. For 46 polling stations in Blantyre, Lilongwe and Dedza, MEC annulled the voting on 20 May and re-opened polling for the following two days, in order to guarantee the right to vote for every registered voter.

B. Closing and Counting

Following the end of polling, counting was conducted at all polling stations in a calm and orderly manner, despite lack of proper lightning in numerous polling stations. The overall assessment of the closing and counting process was good or very good in 64 per cent of the polling streams observed by the EU EOM, with the transparency of the process being assessed as good or very good in 82 per cent. The counting process in the polling streams observed was conducted in the presence of political party representatives and local monitors, and the integrity of the counting process was sufficiently protected. However, copies of the polling station results sheets were not publicly displayed in 61 per cent of the cases observed and were not handed over to party representatives in 36 per cent of the observed polling stations. In addition, lack of training, general fatigue of the polling staff and complicated closing and counting procedures resulted in a high number of mistakes and arithmetic errors that led to anomalies in reconciliation, in particular with respect to filling in of result sheets.

C. Tallying and Transmission of Election Results

For the 2014 elections, a new results management and transmission system was designed. The related software was developed by Globe Computer System, a Malawian company. As a safeguard measure, the software was designed to catch arithmetical errors and possible cases of over voting, thus, it did not allow for data transmission in cases where the figures did not reconcile or the number of registered voters was higher than 800. MEC presented the results management system on 14 May to key stakeholders. Although the

software had been tested by the developers and by the MEC ICT department, it clearly transpired from what followed on the days after the election that it had not been tested in field conditions using real polling station staff and constituency returning officers under simulated election day conditions.

Upon finalisation of the counting process at the polling stations, result sheets were delivered in tamper evident envelopes by the presiding officers to the constituency returning officers based at the 35 local tally centres. Once at the local tally centre, the polling station results were supposed to be entered into the online results transmission system and transferred by internet to the national tally centre. Due to the high number of arithmetical errors in reconciliation and the *ad hoc* measures taken during the polling, in particular the merging of several polling streams triggered by lack of ballot boxes or other essential material, the transmission of results system by internet failed.

Following the failure of the online transmission system, local tally centres used different solutions for tallying results and transmitting them to the national level. Even after MEC became aware of the problem, they did not have the structural capacity nor the necessary communication structures in place between the national tally centre and the local tally centres to resolve the issues. Presiding officers and constituency returning officers attempted to correct the result sheets in order to make the figures reconcile. This has made it challenging to assess the integrity of the process and to distinguish between genuine correction attempts and eventual deliberate alterations.

Consequently, MEC took a decision on 22 May to proceed with physical transmission of results from local council tally centres to the national tally centre in Blantyre and to conduct the aggregation process at the national level. Whilst the delivery of result sheets from the polling stations to the local tally centres was assessed by the EU EOM observers as generally secure, the transfer of the polling station results sheets from the local tally centres to the national tally centre was not secure as the tamper evident envelopes had already been opened.

At the national tally centre, polling station result sheets were scanned upon receipt and the data entered into the system, which had been adapted on the national tally centre computers to relax the conditions requiring the results data to reconcile. The process was time-consuming and, although tallying of presidential results was prioritised, data processing only finished on 30 May. Talled results per constituency and per district were made available for crosschecking to the political parties present. Nevertheless, representatives of political parties present at the national tally centre complained about the slowness and transparency of the process and claimed not having received printouts of all polling station result sheets. The EU EOM was granted access to polling station results sheets, as well as constituency and district tallied results.

The MEC chairman admitted a number of anomalies while processing the presidential results, and announced the intention, pending the decision of the High Court, to undertake a full audit of the ballot boxes that were retrieved and stored at the three MEC regional warehouses. One of the main concerns was the fact that in 65 polling stations the number of votes cast was higher than the number of registered voters. Nevertheless, the total number of valid votes at stake could not influence the order of the presidential candidates in the final results.

The transfer of sensitive material, including ballot boxes and ballot papers from polling stations to tally centres and storage facilities, was rather poorly planned and disorganised in a number of places. The sensitive material was not secured at all times, and many ballot boxes remained unsealed. Due to inadequate storage arrangements, the contents of some sealed ballot boxes were damaged by rain, and due to poor security provisions, the integrity of the ballots for a potential recount was questioned by some stakeholders.

Although the EU EOM recognised efforts by the MEC to provide transparency throughout the tallying process, several key factors, notably - organisational mismanagement, lack of capacity and training, significant logistical shortcomings on election day resulting in non-compliance with polling procedures, failure to transmit results electronically using the planned results management system and consequent *ad hoc* and

non-secure transmission of results by a variety of means, and the tense political environment since election day – gave rise to significant concerns about the integrity and authenticity of the results. Nevertheless, no substantiated evidence of systematic rigging was presented to or revealed by the EU EOM.

D. Analysis of the MEC Presidential Results Database

The MEC provided the EU EOM with access to the presidential election results database, including electronic copies of scans of the polling station results sheets. Following a thorough assessment of the database and the scans, the EU EOM concluded that there was a significant number of anomalies in the results database. Nonetheless, given the difference between the two leading candidates of almost 450,000 votes, or 8.6 per cent of all valid votes, it would have required either alterations in the polling station results sheets on a massive scale to impact on the national results, or changing the total national results whilst neglecting the results from the polling stations, in order to have any effect on the final result of the winning presidential candidate. The anomalies found by the EU EOM in the MEC presidential results database had no tendency in favour of any particular party, and were spread geographically over different districts, hence suggesting isolated cases of errors or anomalies rather than anything more systematic.

The national aggregation of the polling station presidential results as calculated corresponded exactly to those published by MEC: DPP 1,904,399 votes (36.4 per cent); MCP 1,455,880 votes (27.8 per cent); PP 1,056,236 votes (20.2 per cent); and UDF 717,224 votes (13.7 per cent). This was also true for the aggregation of results by district. Although the aggregation of presidential results by constituency generally corresponded to the ones provided to political parties and stakeholders at the national tally centre, some discrepancies were noted in Nkhatabay West, Nkhatabay North West, Lilongwe City South West, Mangochi Central and Mangochi Masongola. Nevertheless, these discrepancies in the constituency results were not reflected in the district and national results. The discrepancies were probably due to errors in the constituency totals or corrections made to polling station results in the database after the constituency totals were handed out.

The EU EOM was able to identify a number of anomalies in the MEC presidential results database. This was done by carrying out basic internal cross-checks of figures in the database, combined with cross-checking the database figures against the figures from scans of the polling station results. These anomalies present in the database suggest that MEC did not carry out a similar analysis, otherwise MEC would have been able to easily correct some of these anomalies.

XIV. Election Results

A. Announcement of Results

Final presidential election results were announced, on 30 May, shortly before expiry of the legal eight-day period for the announcement of the results, declaring Peter Mutharika of the DPP as the winner of the presidential race and endorsed by all 10 MEC commissioners. Notwithstanding the rising political tension before the results announcement, presidential results were accepted by the leaders of the three other main political parties and generally across the country, not least due to the law-abiding character of Malawians. The official figure for the national turnout for the presidential election was 70.78 per cent corresponding to 5,285,258 total votes cast – 7.5 per cent lower than the official figure for the 2009 elections. The official figure for invalid votes was 56,675 or 1.07 per cent.

Final results for the presidential elections announced by MEC on 30 May 2014.

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percentage
Peter MUTHARIKA	DPP	1,904,399	36.4 %
Lazarus McCarthy CHAKWERA	MCP	1,455,880	27.8 %
Joyce Hilda BANDA	PP	1,056,236	20.2 %
Atupele MULUZI	UDF	717,224	13.7 %
Kamuzu Walter CHIBAMBO	PETRA	19,360	0.4 %
Mark KATSONGA PHIRI	PPM	15,830	0.3 %
John CHISI	UMODZI	12,048	0.2 %
George NNENSA	MAFUNDE	11,042	0.2 %
James Mbowe NYONDO	NASAF	10,623	0.2 %
Abusa Helen SINGH	UIP	9,668	0.2 %
Friday Anderson JUMBE	NLP	8,819	0.2 %
Aaron Davies Chester KATSONGA	CCP	7,454	0.1 %

Parliamentary elections results for 192 constituencies and for 457 Local Council wards were released on 2 June, almost 72 hours after the announcement of presidential results. The results for local government elections were broadcast by Zodiak radio and MBC TV. Parliamentary elections did not take place in one constituency - Blantyre North, and Local Council elections were also postponed in four wards: Zgeba ward in Karonga Nyungwe constituency, Lifupa ward in Kasungu West, Kandeu ward in Ntcheu North East and Lisanjala ward in Machinga Likwenu, due to the death of candidates. In Mbalachanda ward in Mzimba Central constituency the polling for Local Council elections did not take place due to incorrect allocation of ballot papers. The total turnout for parliamentary elections was 5,234,506 representing 70.1 per cent of registered voters. Of these votes, 74,634 votes or 1.43 per cent were invalid.

For the local government elections, DPP won 165 out of the total of 457 seats, followed by MCP with 131 seats, PP with 65, UDF with 57, independent candidates with 35, CCP with 2 and AFORD and NASAF each with one seat. The total number of votes cast was 5,153,993 representing 68.99 per cent of all registered voters, with 121,170 votes or 2.35 per cent deemed as invalid.

B. Political Overview of Election Results

Peter Mutharika of DPP was elected president with 1,904,399 votes amounting to 36.4 per cent of the valid votes, followed by Lazarus Chakwera of MCP with 27.8 per cent, hence a difference of around 450,000 votes between the two leading candidates. Joyce Banda of PP obtained 20.2 per cent and Atupele Muluzi of UDF 13.7 per cent of the valid votes. There was a significant gap in votes separating the four leading candidates from the other presidential candidates who altogether obtained 1.8 per cent of the valid votes.

Regionalism was a significant factor influencing the presidential choice. Although DPP, MCP, PP and UDF carried out a nationwide campaign strategy, all four parties obtained the vast majority of their support from respective regional and sub-regional strongholds. The Southern region, and in particular the six Lhomwe Belt districts, with the exception of the eastern part, voted largely for Peter Mutharika (DPP); the Central region for Lazarus Chakwera (MCP); and the eastern part of the Southern region for Atupele Muluzi (UDF). Joyce Banda attracted the vast majority of her votes in the Northern region.

The three main presidential candidates each obtained around 56 per cent of the votes in their respective strongholds: Peter Mutharika won 56.7 per cent of the ballots in the South, Lazarus Chakwera 56.3 per cent in the Central Region and Joyce Banda 56.6 per cent of the votes in the North.

Peter Mutharika was elected mainly due to the support of the Southern Region where he obtained 1,298,432, representing 68 per cent of the total 1,904,399 votes won nationally. The support from his own community -

the Lhomwe who amount to nearly 36 per cent of the Southern region's voting population - in the five Lhomwe Belt districts (Phalombe, Thyolo, Mulanje, Chiradzulu and Chickwawa) and Blantyre district provided him with 921,333 votes.¹⁹ Furthermore, the district of Ntcheu (stronghold of Saulos Chilima, the DPP presidential running mate) provided Mutharika with more than one fourth (123,703) of the 430,117 votes obtained in the nine districts of the Central region. Moreover, Mutharika counted on the support of the Lilongwe urban area²⁰ that had benefited from the urbanization plan of his late brother, president Bingu Mutharika. In the Northern region Peter Mutharika was the third choice of the electorate obtaining 175,850 votes (22.2 per cent) just 0.6 per cent less than the MCP candidate. The public endorsement of Peter Mutharika's candidature by the PP vice-president Kumbo Kachali from Mzimba may have contributed to the support that the DPP had in the Northern region.

Lazarus Chakwera of the MCP gathered most of his support in the Central region, where he obtained 1,208,432 votes out of the 1,455,880 total votes across the country. This region (including Lilongwe) is a traditional MCP stronghold. The MCP benefitted from the support of the Chewa community from where Lazarus Chakwera and Hastings Kamuzu Banda (founder of the MCP) originate. In the Northern region Chakwera obtained the second position with 22.8 per cent, a result considerably lower than that expected by the MCP due to the fact that it was the only party with a presidential running mate originally from the North. The low support for MCP in the North was a factor that ultimately contributed to Peter Mutharika's victory at national level. MCP's performance in the South was poor with only 2.9 per cent of the electorate's support.

Joyce Banda had the support of 56.6 per cent of the Northern region corresponding to almost half of her national support. In absence of a strong presidential candidate from the Northern region, Joyce Banda, was able to attract the Northern vote because of her marriage with a northerner which traditionally makes her part of the same community. Nevertheless, the Northern region is the least populated area in Malawi and the support obtained by the PP candidate in the region was not sufficient to secure a winning national result. In the Central and Southern regions, Joyce Banda obtained only 12.7 and 14.7 per cent respectively.

Atupele Muluzi obtained the second best result in the South with 540,963 votes, representing 23.6 per cent of the ballots cast in the region. The UDF's eastern sub-region traditional stronghold, namely Balaka, Mangochi, Machinga and Zomba, provided Muluzi with 397,406 out of 717,224 national votes, corresponding to 55.4 per cent. In the Northern region Atupele Muluzi obtained only 2.8 per cent of the regional vote. In the Lilongwe urban area, Muluzi obtained 16.7 per cent.

For the parliamentary elections, the independent candidates obtained 52 seats, more than those obtained by any single party. Since 1999, when four independent candidates were elected to Parliament, independent MPs have increased in the National Assembly reaching 32 members in 2009, representing then the second largest group after the DPP of Bingu Mutharika. For the 2014 elections, locally popular candidates that did not succeed in the party primaries often decided to run as independent candidates. A total of 66 per cent of elected independent MPs had a previous party-affiliation.

Party-affiliated candidates won altogether won 140 seats: DPP secured 50 seats, MCP followed with 48 seats, PP with 26 seats and UDF obtained 14 seats. AFORD and CCP secured one seat each.²¹ Within the 140 constituencies won by party-affiliated parliamentarians, the same party was voted for parliamentary and presidential elections in 122 constituencies.

In the Northern region, PP candidates secured 13 out of 33 constituencies, followed by 11 seats for independent candidates, six seats won by DPP, two for MCP and one obtained by AFORD in the constituency

19 Political support for the DPP is linked to the fact that the late DPP president Bingu Mutharika established the "Mulhakho wa Alhomwe", an organization tasked with promoting Lhomwe culture.

20 In particular in the following constituencies: 39.1 per cent in Lilongwe City West, 39.4 per cent in Lilongwe City Centre, 37.1 per cent in Lilongwe City South East and 32.2 per cent in Lilongwe City South West).

21 The 193rd seat in the National Assembly is still vacant as in Blantyre North parliamentary elections did not take place due to the death of an MCP candidate.

of its president Enock Chihana. In the Central region, MCP consolidated its presidential results by winning 46 out of 73 constituencies. Independent candidates and DPP won 11 seats each, while PP was successful in the remaining five constituencies. For the Southern region, DPP obtained 33 out of 86 seats. Independent candidates secured 30 seats, UDF and PP won in 14 and 8 constituencies, respectively. Finally, the CCP obtained one constituency in the home district of its president Davis Katsonga.

MCP secured 63 per cent of the constituencies in its stronghold, while the PP and the DPP obtained 39 per cent and 38 per cent of the seats in their respective strongholds as independent candidates were able to capitalise the electorate support between the presidential and parliamentary votes in these areas.

XV. RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to improve future electoral processes the following recommendations are offered for consideration and action by the Government of Malawi, the Malawi Electoral Commission, political parties, civil society and the international community. Many of these recommendations were included in the 2009 EU EOM Final Report and remain valid. A strategic plan, including discussion on implementation of the following recommendations, should be considered as early as possible in order to address in a timely manner the shortcomings identified in the 2014 electoral process. A detailed table of recommendations can be found in Annex I to this report.

Legal framework

1. Inclusion of a clear definition of the term ‘public office’ into the election legislation would increase the legal certainty regarding the eligibility criteria for the nomination of candidates. The ban on sitting parliamentarians to stand for re-election could be reconsidered as it serves no purpose and forces the MEC to seek *ad hoc* solution.
2. Harmonisation of the timeframes relating to the dissolution of parliament, nomination of candidates, campaign period and election day would increase consistency in the legislation and ensure legal certainty regarding the right of incumbent parliamentarians to stand for election and regarding the length of the campaign.
3. Introduction of a legal requirement to disclose political party sources of financing and to report on campaign spending would improve transparency and public accountability of political financing.
4. Introduction of a clear and enforceable ban on the use of state resources for campaigning purposes into the electoral legislation, together with an independent oversight mechanism to ensure that state resources for public office are not used for campaigning, in order to tackle undue advantages of incumbency.

Election Administration

5. The MEC should conduct an internal review in light of its limited capacity in organising these elections. The external expertise supplied by the United Nations Development Programme should also be assessed as part of this process.
6. Enhanced transparency measures in MEC external communication should be introduced to guarantee accountability through regular meetings with political parties and civil society organisations as well as regular updates to the public.
7. Internal communication channels between the different MEC departments at national and local levels should be reviewed and strengthened to ensure consistent, effective and regular communication in a timely manner across the country.

8. More adequate distribution of available financial resources to MEC departments and to local levels according to financial needs should be envisaged. Consideration should be given to strengthen the role and increase the financial, technical and human resources available to the MEC permanent staff at the district/constituency level.
9. The integration of the Complaints Handling Unit, currently under the UNDP, into a permanent MEC structure and its transformation into a legal department would ensure sustainability of institutional capacity to deal with legal issues in the future. MEC would benefit from integrating the existent legal capacity and experience of its officers into the legal department.

Voter Registration

10. The voter registration process, including verification should be implemented in a timely manner.
11. Ensure that political parties and other stakeholders have access to the final voter register sufficiently in advance of the elections.
12. Review of the technology and training used for the voter register to ensure suitability and possible future use for civil register purposes. Consideration should be given to the introduction of Biometric Voter Registration (BVR).

Voter and Civic Education

13. Voter and civic education activities should be extended to the grass roots level and an adequate budget should be provided for these activities to be undertaken.
14. Make civic and voter education available to persons with disabilities, namely the visually and hearing impaired.

Media and Elections

15. To ensure a transition from state broadcaster to public service broadcaster, the director general and the members the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) board should be appointed by the National Assembly. Broadcasting public entities should assure universal accessibility and balanced coverage, especially during an election campaign period.
16. In order to ensure the independence and the impartiality of the broadcasting regulatory body, the director general and the members of the Malawi Communications Regulatory Authority (MACRA) board should be appointed by the National Assembly amongst renowned professionals of the communications sector.
17. Introduce legislation regulation opinion poll related to elections, including the methodology, sample size used and timeframe for publication of opinion polls prior to election day.

Domestic Election Observation

18. The active role of civil society in Malawi should continue to be supported in respect to their election related work. Civil society organisations should continue to work together in observing elections to ensure coordination between organisations. The MEC should also continue actively engaging with these groups to ensure their maximum potential is realised.

Participation of Women

19. An introduction of legal requirement, such as mandatory quotas, for the political parties to apply affirmative action gender policies within parties, in terms of integrating women into party structures and selecting women as party candidates, in order to increase women's participation.

Polling, Counting and Tallying of Results

20. Logistical and operational arrangements for election day, including distribution of all election material, need to be thoroughly planned and put in place well in advance. Secure retrieval of sensitive material from the polling stations to MEC warehouses after the counting is essential.
21. Conduct of effective and timely training of polling staff. Provisions for extra tallying staff where necessary, to avoid errors due to exhaustion, should be taken into account. Particular focus on procedures for reconciliation and result forms, packing of election material and material transfer could enhance the overall credibility of the process and accelerate the results tallying process.
22. Tallying procedures should be designed to ensure easy traceability from polling station results onwards, including for those cases where arithmetic corrections are needed due to reconciliation errors.
23. An adequate and reliable results management system should be designed to ensure integrity and reliability in the collection, aggregation and publication of results. The system used should be thoroughly tested well in advance and an alternative option of results transmission should be put into place.
24. Announcement of progressive presidential election results evenly representing all districts during the tallying process could increase the overall transparency of the results tallying process and defuse any potential tensions between election day and the announcement of results.
25. Ensure there is awareness about the use of tactile ballot guides among disabled voters and provide training for polling staff on their use.

Electoral Justice: Complaints and Appeals

26. Introduction of mechanisms at district level to deal with complaints related to voter registration, in order to make access to legal remedies more accessible to the general public, especially in rural populations, including the right of appeal to magistrate courts.
27. Harmonisation of the penalties for identical electoral offences set by the Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Act and the Local Government Election Act.

ANNEXES

Annex I: Table of Recommendations

Purpose and reference in the Final Report	Recommendation	Suggested activities and timeline if suitable	Targeted institutions	International and/or Regional Commitment
LEGAL FRAMEWORK				
<p>To promote right of political representation and increase legal certainty</p> <p><i>Final Report Page 16</i></p>	<p>Inclusion of a clear definition of the term ‘public office’ into the election legislation would increase the legal certainty regarding the eligibility criteria for the nomination of candidates. The ban on sitting parliamentarians to stand for re-election could be reconsidered as it serves no purpose and forces the MEC to seek <i>ad hoc</i> solution.</p>	<p>Amend the Constitution And The Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Act</p>	<p>National Assembly; Malawi Law Commission</p>	<p><i>Article 25 (a) ICCPR: the right to take part in public affairs... through freely chosen representatives; Article 21.1 UDHR</i></p>
<p>To ensure consistency of legislation and increase legal certainty</p> <p><i>Final Report Page 11</i></p>	<p>Harmonisation of the timeframes relating to the dissolution of parliament, nomination of candidates, campaign period and election day would increase consistency in the legislation and ensure legal certainty regarding the right of incumbent parliamentarians to stand for election and regarding the length of the campaign.</p>	<p>Amend the Constitution and statutory election law</p>	<p>National Assembly; Malawi Law Commission</p>	<p><i>Respect for Rule of Law</i></p>
<p>To promote increased transparency and public accountability in political party financing and to promote a more level playing field</p> <p><i>Final Report Page 16</i></p>	<p>Introduction of a legal requirement to disclose political party sources of financing and to report on campaign spending would improve transparency and public accountability of political financing.</p>	<p>Amend the Parliamentary and Presidential Election Act</p>	<p>National Assembly</p>	<p><i>Article 25 (b) ICCPR: the right to elect freely chosen representatives... in genuine elections; General Comment 25 – paragraph 19 – limitations on campaign expenditure...to ensure that the free choice of voters is not undermined... by disproportionate expenditure. Article 7(3) Convention against Corruption consider taking appropriate legislative and administrative measures ...to enhance transparency in the funding of candidatures for elected public office.</i></p>

Purpose and reference in the Final Report	Recommendation	Suggested activities and timeline if suitable	Targeted institutions	International and/or Regional Commitment
LEGAL FRAMEWORK				
<p>To promote a more level playing field for election contest</p> <p><i>Final Report Page 16</i></p>	<p>Introduction of a clear and enforceable ban on the use of state resources for campaign purposes into the electoral legislation, together with an independent oversight mechanism to ensure that state resources for public office are not used for campaigning, in order to tackle undue advantages of incumbency.</p>	<p>Amend the Parliamentary and Presidential Election Act</p>	<p>National Assembly</p>	<p><i>SADC Parliamentary Forum Norms and Standards for Elections in the SADC Region, Part 2, Art 3 (i): The electoral law should prohibit the Government to aid or to abet any party gaining unfair advantage.</i></p>
ELECTION ADMINISTRATION				
<p>To improve internal capacity and accountability</p> <p><i>Final Report Page 13</i></p>	<p>The MEC should conduct an internal review in light of its limited capacity in organising these elections. The external expertise supplied by the United Nations Development Programme needs also to be assessed as part of this process.</p>	<p>Conduct an internal analysis of factors leading to the shortcomings throughout the electoral period, including operational and procedural decisions, available capacity and expertise and MEC national and local structures</p> <p>A review of the MEC electoral services and information technology departments should be undertaken in respect to the performance and decisions from voter registration to the system employed for the collection of the final results.</p> <p>An external independent audit could enhance transparency.</p>	<p>MEC</p>	
<p>To enhance the transparency and confidence of stakeholders in the process and to ensure collective ownership of elections</p> <p><i>Final Report Page 13</i></p>	<p>Enhanced transparency measures in MEC external communication should be introduced to guarantee accountability.</p>	<p>MEC should work in a fully consultative manner through regular meetings with political parties and civil society organisations as well as regular updates to the public.</p> <p>The electoral calendar should be respected at all times. If readjustments are required, these shall be communicated to all stakeholders and the public in advance in a transparent manner.</p> <p>Financial accountability and annual accounts of the MEC should be published to guarantee public accountability.</p>	<p>MEC</p>	

Purpose and reference in the Final Report	Recommendation	Suggested activities and timeline if suitable	Targeted institutions	International and/or Regional Commitment
ELECTION ADMINISTRATION				
To enhance internal capacity, communication and efficiency <i>Final Report Page 13</i>	Internal communication channels between the different MEC departments at national and local levels should be reviewed and strengthened to ensure consistent, effective and regular communication in a timely manner across the country.	Establishment of an effective communication system between different departments and lower levels of the election administration	MEC	
To enhance internal capacity and efficiency <i>Final Report Page 13</i>	More adequate distribution of available financial resources to MEC departments and to local levels according to financial needs.	Strengthening the role and increase of the financial, technical and human resources available to the MEC permanent staff at national and lower levels.	MEC	
To ensure sustainable capacity of the MEC to deal with legal issues <i>Final Report Page 23</i>	The integration of the Complaints Handling Unit, currently under the UNDP, into a permanent MEC structure and its transformation into a legal department would ensure sustainability of institutional capacity to deal with legal issues in the future.	Review of MEC internal structure MEC would benefit from integrating the existent legal capacity and experience of its officers into the legal department.	MEC	
VOTER REGISTRATION				
To ensure an accurate, inclusive and credible voters' register <i>Final Report Page 14</i>	The voter registration process, including verification should be implemented in a timely manner.	An improved internal organisation and communication within MEC would ensure that all aspects of the registration process are advancing according to the electoral calendar. Extended period for exhibition and cleaning of the provisional voter register to ensure confidence and transparency.	MEC	
To ensure transparency <i>Final Report Page 14</i>	To ensure that political parties and other stakeholders have access to the final voter register sufficiently in advance of the elections.	Timely conduct of the voter registration and verification exercise	MEC	

Purpose and reference in the Final Report	Recommendation	Suggested activities and timeline if suitable	Targeted institutions	International and/or Regional Commitment
VOTER REGISTRATION				
To ensure an accurate, inclusive and credible voters' register <i>Final Report Page 14</i>	Review of the technology and training used for the voter register to ensure suitability and possible future use for civil register purposes.	Consideration should be given to the introduction of Biometric Voter Registration (BVR)	MEC	<i>ICCPR General Comment 25: "States must take effective measures to ensure that all persons entitled to vote are able to exercise that right..."</i>
CIVIC AND VOTER EDUCATION				
To ensure effective exercise of political rights. <i>Final Report Page 13</i>	Voter and civic education activities should be extended to the grass roots level and an adequate budget should be provided for these activities to be undertaken.		MEC and CSO	
To promote political participation of persons with disabilities <i>Final Report Page 13</i>	Make civic and voter education available to persons with disabilities, namely the visually and hearing impaired.	Design dedicated voter education	MEC and CSO	<i>Article 29(a) CRPD: the equal right of persons with disabilities to "effectively and fully participate in political ...life.... Including the right and opportunity for persons with disabilities to vote"</i>
MEDIA AND ELECTIONS				
To ensure that the public broadcaster remains independent and impartial. <i>Final Report Page 20</i>	The director general and board members of the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) should be appointed by the National Assembly.	Amend the Malawi Communications Act (1998) and specific legislation to MBC to make it a public broadcaster.	National Assembly	<i>IPU Declaration on Criteria for Free and Fair Elections (1994), Art.4 (3): "The State should ensure that the necessary steps are taken to guarantee non-partisan coverage in State and public-service media".</i>
To ensure impartiality and independence of the broadcast regulatory body. <i>Final Report Page 20</i>	The director and board members of the Malawi Communications Regulatory Authority (MACRA) shall be appointed by the National Assembly among renowned professionals of the communications sector.	Amend the Malawi Communications Act (1998), Art. 7, 8 and 9	National Assembly	<i>Independence and legal authority of media regulatory bodies.</i>

Purpose and reference in the Final Report	Recommendation	Suggested activities and timeline if suitable	Targeted institutions	International and/or Regional Commitment
MEDIA AND ELECTIONS				
To ensure that opinion polls published on election results are reliable. <i>Final Report Page 19</i>	Introduce regulations for the conduct of opinion polls related to elections.	Introduce legislation regulating the methodology, sample size used and timeframe for publication of opinion polls prior to election day.	National Assembly	
PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN				
To promote greater participation of women in political life <i>Final Report Page 21</i>	Introduction of legal requirement, such as mandatory quotas, for the political parties to apply affirmative action gender policies within parties, in terms of integrating women into party structures and selecting women as party candidates.	Amend Political Parties Act	National Assembly	<i>Article 3, ICCPR: the equal right of women & men to enjoyment of all ... political rights; Article 4.1 CEDAW: Adoption... of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men & women shall not be considered discrimination.</i>
DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVATION				
To promote greater participation in political life <i>Final Report Page 18</i>	The active role of civil society in Malawi should continue to be supported in respect to their election related work. Civil society organisations should continue to work together in observing elections to ensure coordination between organisations.	The MEC should continue actively engaging with these groups to ensure their maximum potential is realised.	MEC and CSOs	
POLLING, COUNTING AND TABULATION				
To ensure timely conduct of polling and credibility of the process <i>Final Report Page 25</i>	Logistical and operational arrangements for election day, including distribution and retrieval of all election material, need to be thoroughly planned and put in place well in advance. Secure retrieval of sensitive material from the polling stations to MEC warehouses after the counting is essential.		MEC	

Purpose and reference in the Final Report	Recommendation	Suggested activities and timeline if suitable	Targeted institutions	International and/or Regional Commitment
POLLING, COUNTING AND TABULATION				
To ensure greater clarity and consistency in procedures applied on election day <i>Final Report Page 25</i>	Conduct of effective and timely training of polling staff. Provisions for extra tallying staff where necessary, to avoid errors due to exhaustion, should be taken into account.	Particular focus on procedures for reconciliation and result forms, packing of election material and material transfer could enhance the overall credibility of the process and accelerate the results tallying process.	MEC	
To ensure greater clarity and consistency in procedures applied on election day <i>Final Report Page 25</i>	Tallying procedures should be designed to ensure easy traceability from polling station results onwards, including for those cases where arithmetic corrections are needed due to reconciliation errors.		MEC	
To ensure credibility of the election results <i>Final Report Page 25</i>	An adequate and reliable results management system should be designed to ensure integrity and reliability in the collection, aggregation and publication of results. The system used should be thoroughly tested well in advance and an alternative option of results transmission should be put into place.	Key procedures should be reviewed and suitable measures put in place to ensure the accuracy and security of results as they are collected from polling stations. When electronic results management system is opted-for, a comprehensive study of the necessary hardware, software and infrastructure, alongside adequate time for procurement, preparation and deployment of all required material/hardware and proper training is required. Possibility of cross-checking the polling station results in the national database in order to find and correct anomalous results.	MEC	
To ensure credibility and transparency of the election results <i>Final Report Page 25</i>	Announcement of progressive presidential election results evenly representing all districts during the tallying process could increase the overall transparency of the results tallying process and defuse any potential tensions during the period between election day and the announcement of results.	Disaggregated results down to the polling station level for all elections should be published on the MEC website.	MEC	

Purpose and reference in the Final Report	Recommendation	Suggested activities and timeline if suitable	Targeted institutions	Principle International and/or Regional Commitment
POLLING, COUNTING AND TABULATION				
<p>To protect secrecy of the vote of persons with disabilities</p> <p><i>Final Report Page 22</i></p>	<p>Ensure there is awareness about the use of tactile ballot guides among disabled voters.</p>	<p>Provide training to polling staff on the use of tactile ballot guides</p>	<p>MEC</p>	<p><i>Article 25 (b) ICCPR: the right to vote.... by secret ballot; Article 21.3 UDHR</i> <i>Article 29(a) (ii) CRPD: protecting the right of persons with disabilities to vote by secret ballot in elections.... Facilitating the use of assistive and new technologies where appropriate</i></p>
ELECTORAL JUSTICE COMPLAINTS AND APPEALS				
<p>To provide better access to legal remedies</p> <p><i>Final Report Page 22</i></p>	<p>Introduction of mechanisms at district level to deal with complaints related to voter registration, in order to make access to legal remedies more accessible to the general public, especially in rural populations, including the right of appeal to magistrate courts.</p>	<p>Amend Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Act, Local Government Elections Act</p>	<p>National Assembly</p>	<p><i>Right to timely and effective remedy</i> <i>Art. 8, UDHR, Art. 2, ICCPR</i> <i>(a) any person whose rights or freedoms as herein recognized are violated shall have an effective remedy, (b) right determined by competent judicial, administrative or legislative authorities,</i></p>
<p>Promote legal consistency and certainty</p> <p><i>Final Report Page 24</i></p>	<p>Harmonisation of the penalties for identical electoral offences set by the Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Act and the Local Government Election Act.</p>	<p>Amend Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Act, Local Government Elections Act</p>	<p>National Assembly</p>	<p><i>ICCPR Art. 14, 15, UDHR Art. 11</i> <i>Right to a fair trial</i></p>

ANNEX II: EU EOM MEDIA MONITORING FINDINGS

RADIO

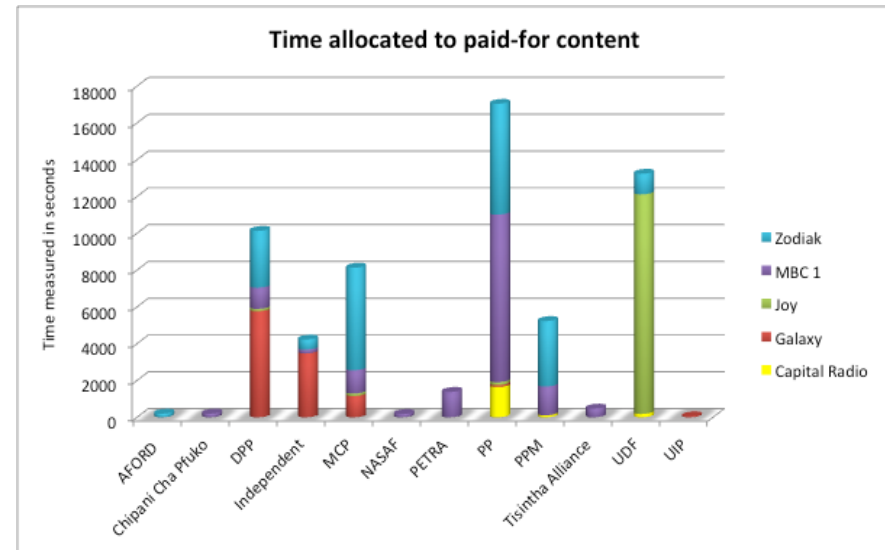
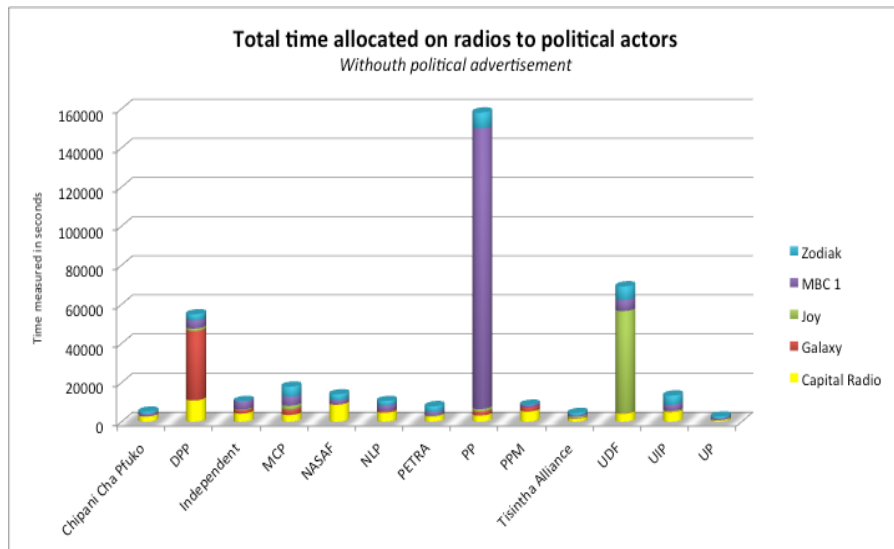
The sample monitored by the EU EOM is based on the size of listenership and their impact. The sample includes state-owned MBC 1 and private stations Capital Radio, Joy FM, Zodiak Broadcasting Station (ZBS) and Galaxy FM. Monitored period – from 20 April to 18 May from 17:00 to 21:00.

Graph 1: Total time allocated on radio to political actors

PP, DPP, UDF and MCP received more coverage than the smaller parties. PP dominated on radio coverage on state-owned MBC 1. Galaxy FM allocated more airtime to DPP whereas Joy radio provided more coverage to UDF. Zodiak and Capital FM provided more adequately balanced coverage of political actors.

Graph 2: Time allocated to paid-for content

The four main political parties that enjoyed the biggest financial resources (PP, DPP, UDF and MCP) purchased more paid advertisement in the monitored radio stations than other parties. PP placed more political paid-advertisement on state-owned MBC 1 and on private radio Zodiak, DPP and independent candidates chose Galaxy FM, while UDF used Joy radio to air its political messages.

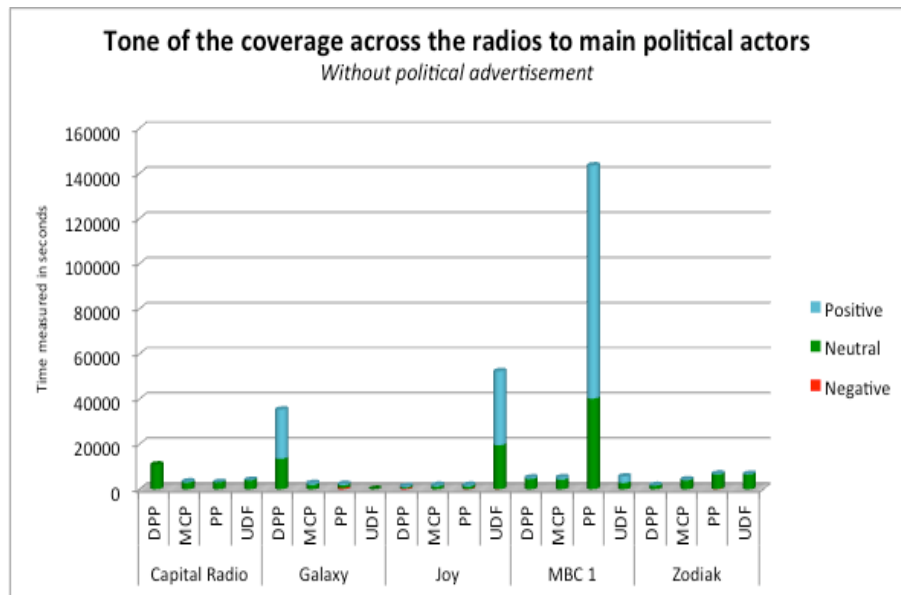


	MBC 1	Joy	Capital Radio	Galaxy	Zodiak
base	49h 1min	16h 26 min	15h 57min	12h 35min	10h 57min

	Zodiak	MBC 1	Joy	Galaxy	Capital Radio
base	5h 35min	4h 18min	3h 25min	2h 56min	32min 34s

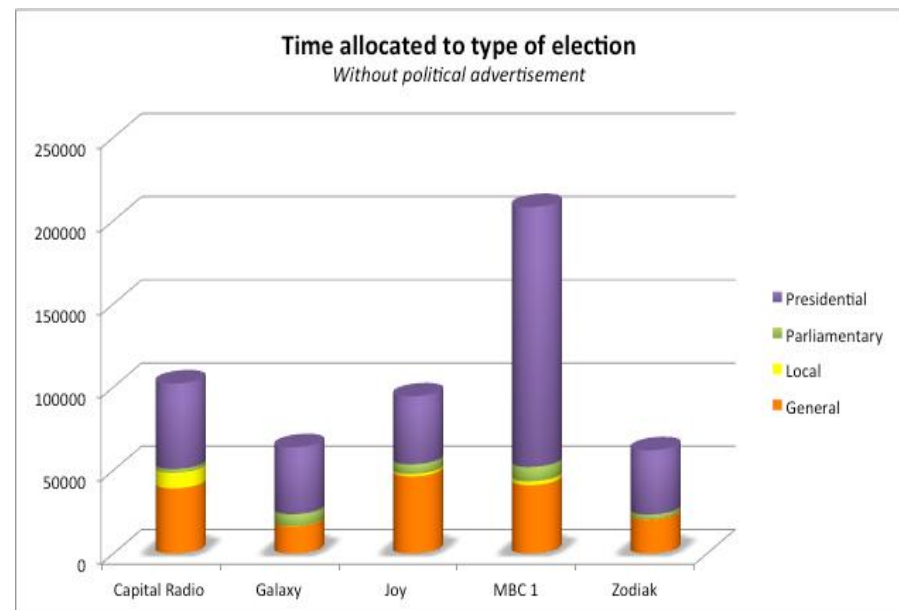
Graph 3: Tone of the coverage on the radio about main political actors

News bulletins and election related reports were broadly neutral. However, the state-owned radio covered the PP in a more positive tone, whereas Joy radio and Galaxy gave a more positive tone to UDF and DPP respectively.



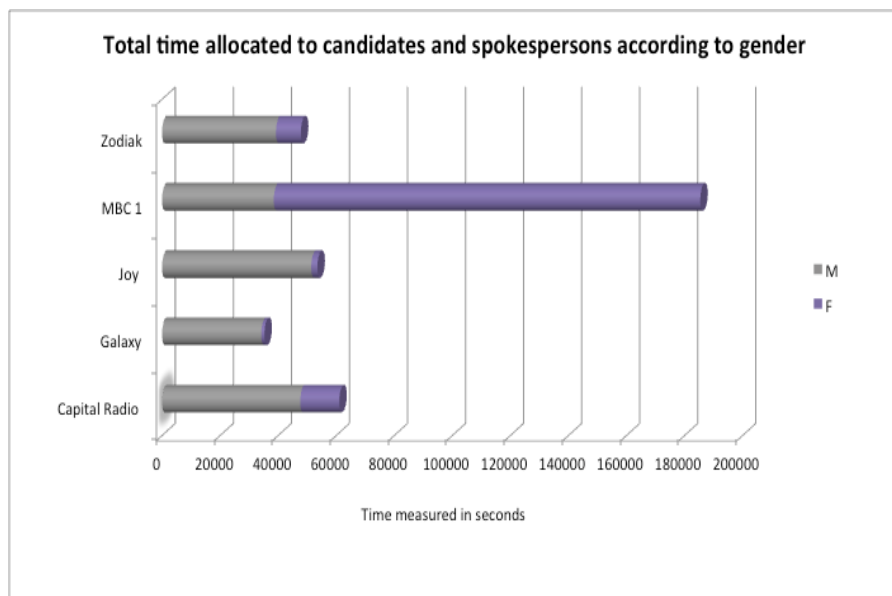
Graph 4: Time allocated to type of election

The presidential race dominated news coverage over parliamentary and local government elections due to the presidential nature of the Malawi political system. The state-owned radio MBC 1 gave more coverage than the other radio stations to the presidential race, partly due to the large coverage of the incumbent President's activities throughout the electoral campaign.



Graph 5: Total time allocated to candidates and spokespersons according to gender

Women candidates and female party spokespersons were less present in the media than their male counterparts, except for the state-owned MBC 1, due to Joy Banda’s appearances.



	MBC 1	Capital Radio	Joy	Zodiak	Galaxy
base	51h 30min	16h 57min	14h 52min	13h 17min	9h 48min

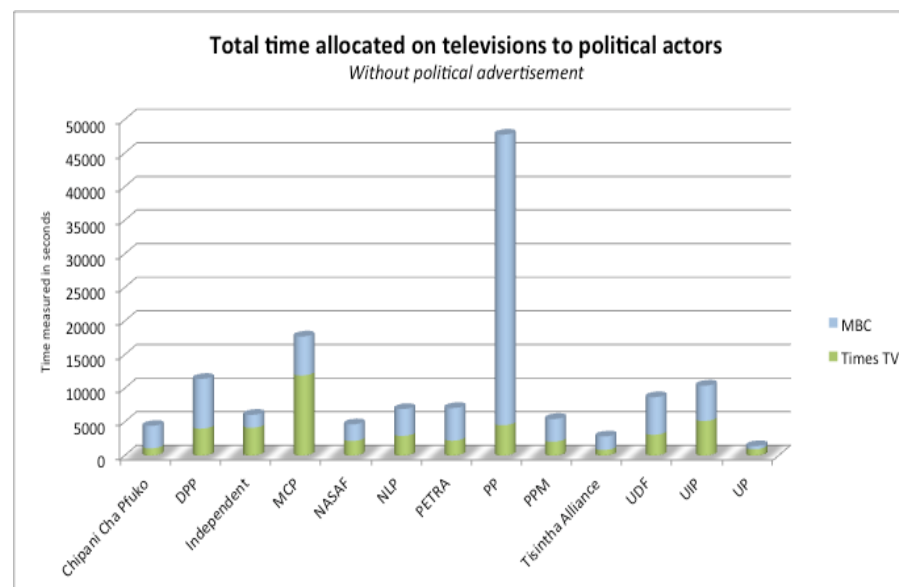
TELEVISION

The sample of television stations monitored by the EU EOM is based on size of audience and their impact. The sample is comprised of state owned MBC TV and private television Times TV.

Monitored period – from 20 April to 18 May from 17:00 to 21:00.

Graph 6: Total time allocated on television to political actors

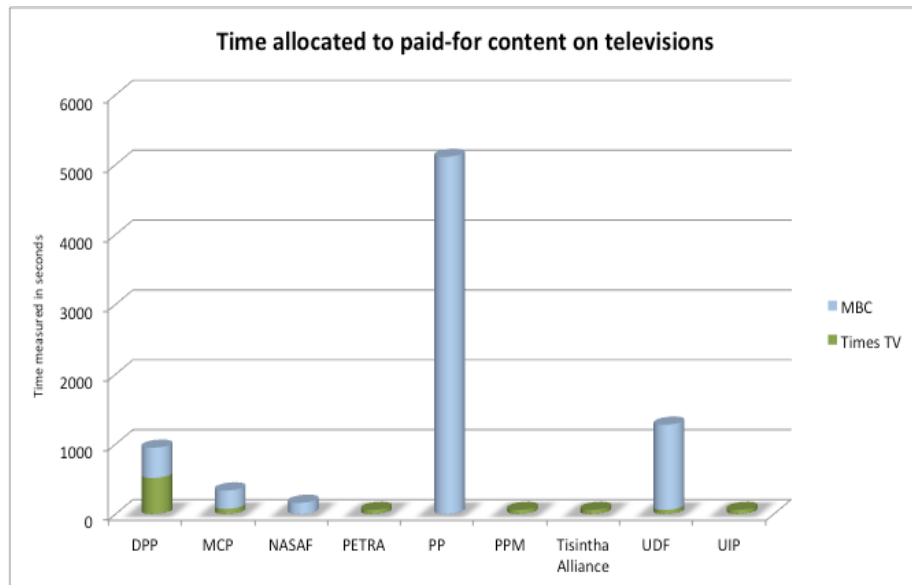
PP dominated the airtime on MBC TV, partly due to live broadcasts of ‘development rallies’ and ‘Presidential Diary’ events. Times TV afforded MCP more airtime in its news coverage.



	MBC TV	Times TV
base	24h 53min	12h 29min

Graph 7: Time allocated to paid-for content on televisions

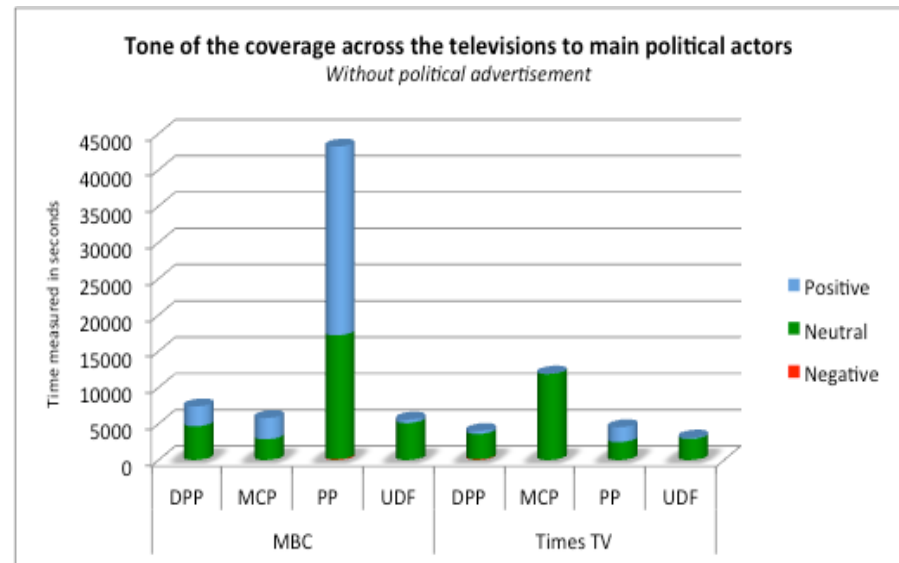
PP was the party that placed most paid advertisements on television. It conveyed its paid political messages mostly through the state-owned television MBC TV, while DPP placed them more on privately owned Times TV.



	MBC TV	Times TV
base	1h 59min	14min 54s

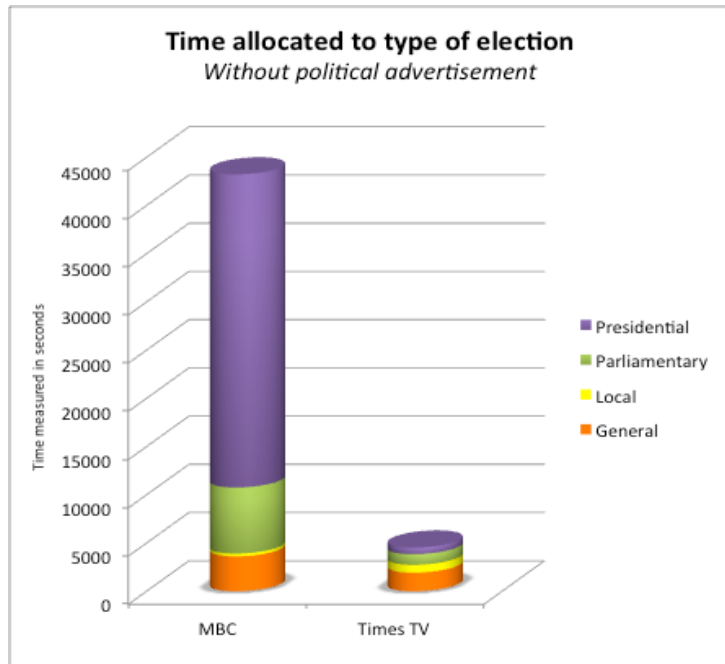
Graph 8: Tone of the coverage across television stations to main political actors

The state-owned television MBC TV covered the PP in a more positive tone. Times TV accorded more neutral coverage to the four main political parties.



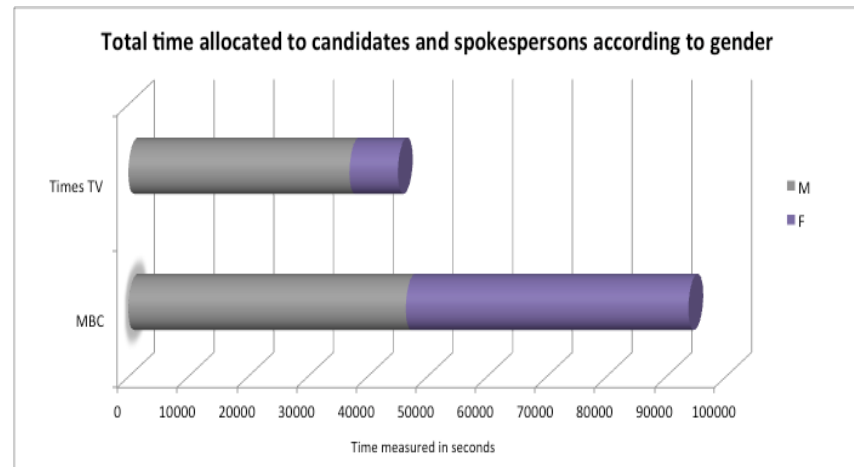
Graph 9: Time allocated to type of election

MBC TV coverage of elections focused most on the presidential race, due to Joyce Banda’s appearances. On Times TV, the airtime allocated to presidential, parliamentary and local council elections was more balanced.



Graph 10: Total time allocated to candidates and spokespersons according to gender

MBC TV accorded a more balanced coverage of male and female candidates due to the incumbent President’s appearances on the state-owned television. As on private owned Times TV, male candidates and male spokespersons dominated coverage.



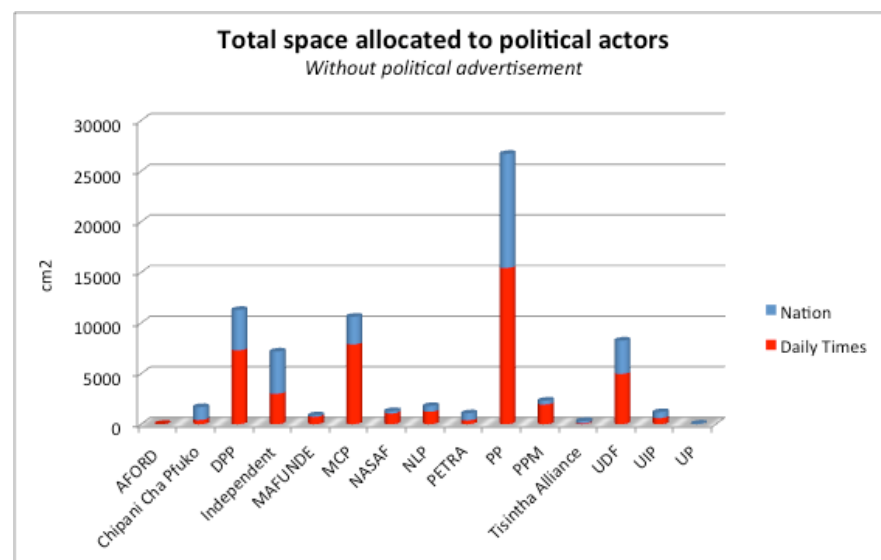
	MBC TV	Times TV
base	26h 3min	12h 44min

NEWSPAPERS

The sample of newspapers monitored by the EU EOM is based on readership, impact and frequency of publication. The sample includes Nation Publications Limited (The Nation, Weekend Nation and Nation on Sunday) and Times Media Group (The Daily Times, Malawi News and Sunday Times). Monitored period – from 21 April to 18 May.

Graph 11: Total space allocated to political actors

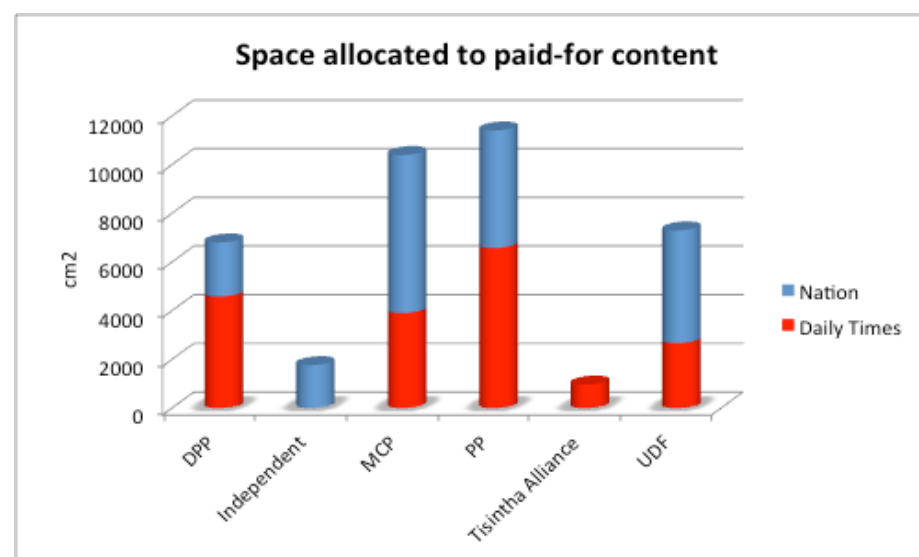
The print media followed the same trend as electronic media, allocating to the four most prominent political parties (PP, DPP, UDF and MCP) more coverage than to the small parties. Newspapers also covered a broader spectrum of parties and candidates than electronic media.



	Nation	Daily Times
base	29 543cm ²	45 041cm ²

Graph 12: Space allocated to paid-for content

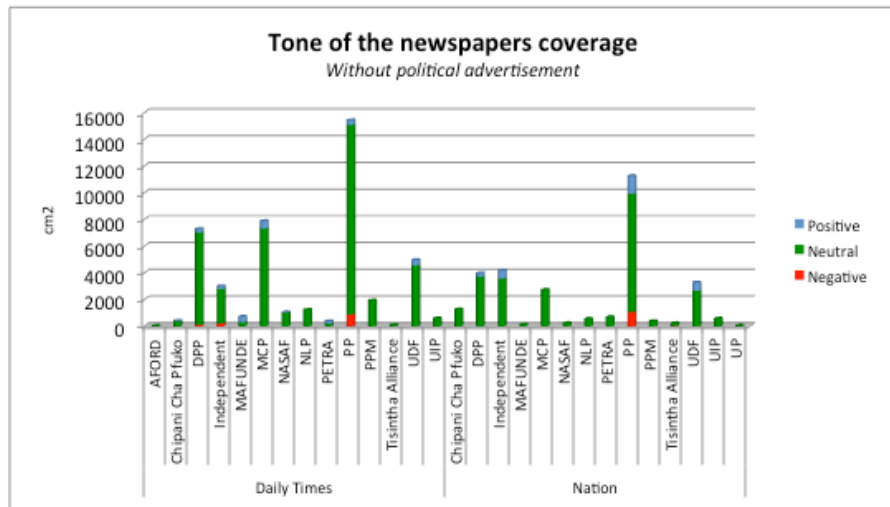
The four main political parties that enjoyed the biggest financial resources purchased more paid advertisement in the print media than the smaller parties. PP was the party with most expenditure, followed by MCP, UDF and DPP.



	Nation	Daily Times
base	19 945cm ²	18 666cm ²

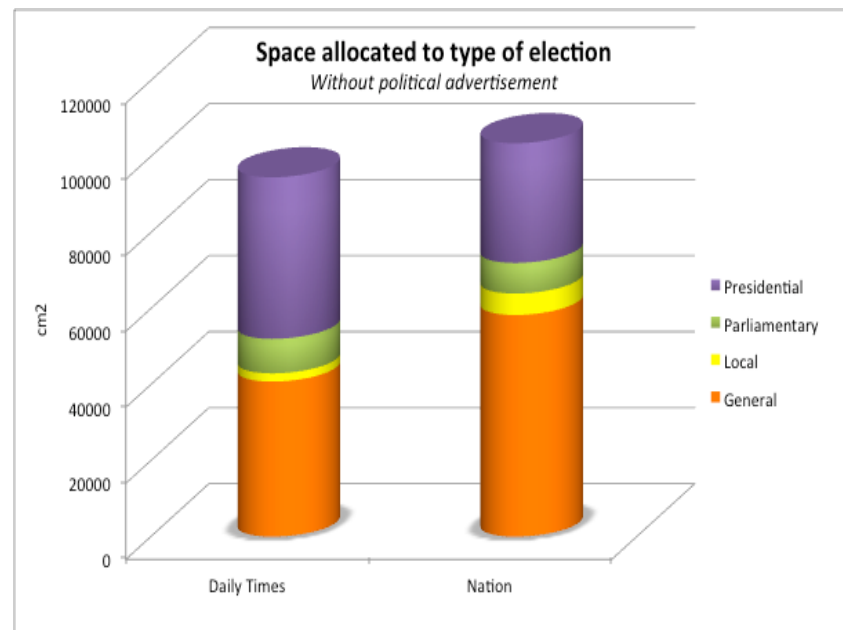
Graph 13: Tone of the newspaper coverage

The print media provided more balanced coverage to political actors in terms of tone of coverage than the electronic media. PP dominated in space in both newspapers.



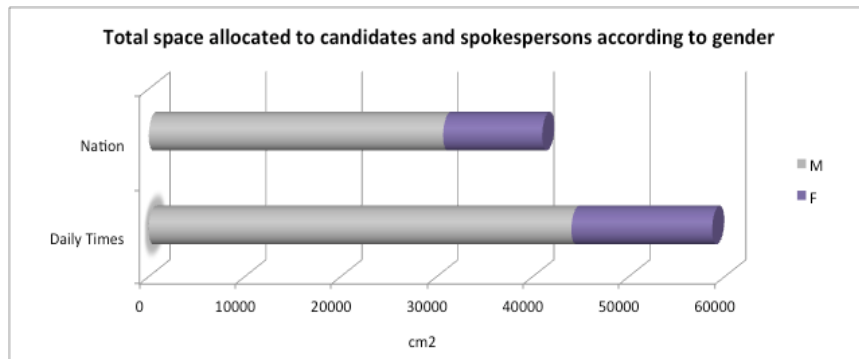
Graph 14: Space allocated to type of election

Following the pattern of private radios and the state-owned broadcaster, the Nation Publications Limited (NPL) and Times Media Group accorded more space to the presidential race than to the parliamentary and local council elections. Both newspapers were highly committed to the process, publishing special supplements and issues on elections.



Graph 15: Total space allocated to candidates and spokespersons according to gender

Women candidates and party spokespersons were less present than their male counterparts in the Nation Publications Limited (NPL) and Times Media Group coverage of elections. This media coverage responds to the low participation of women in the elections.



	Nation	Daily Times
base	40 999cm ²	58 700cm ²

ANNEX III: Comparison of Voting in Presidential and Parliamentary Elections

MEC Official Parliamentary Results TRIPARTIE ELECTIONS 2014										
DISTRICT	CONSTITUENCY	PARLIAMENTARY WINNER	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION					District Presidential Results		
			HIGHEST	PP	MCP	UDF	DPP			
1	Chitipa	1 East	DPP	DPP	30.7%	9.4%	1.6%	56.5%		
1	Chitipa	2 South	PP	PP	62.4%	12.9%	2.5%	20.0%	DPP	39%
1	Chitipa	3 Central	DPP	DPP	36.9%	11.1%	1.3%	41.9%	MCP	10%
1	Chitipa	4 North	PP	PP	49.0%	4.3%	0.8%	44.5%	PP	45%
1	Chitipa	5 Wenya	PP	PP	59.2%	11.2%	2.4%	21.9%	UDF	2%
2	Karonga	6 North	DPP	DPP	36.4%	19.3%	2.6%	40.0%		
2	Karonga	7 North West	DPP	PP	49.4%	21.5%	3.5%	23.8%	DPP	22%
2	Karonga	8 Central	Independent	PP	61.0%	18.7%	1.6%	17.2%	MCP	22%
2	Karonga	9 Nyungwe	MCP	PP	52.5%	39.3%	1.8%	5.2%	PP	52%
2	Karonga	10 South	PP	PP	68.9%	12.6%	2.0%	15.4%	UDF	3%
3	Rumphi	11 East	PP	PP	83.7%	6.0%	1.4%	7.9%	DPP	8%
3	Rumphi	12 Central	AFORD	PP	69.8%	14.3%	4.9%	9.7%	MCP	14%
3	Rumphi	13 West	Independent	PP	79.3%	11.6%	1.8%	6.2%	PP	74%
3	Rumphi	14 North	Independent	PP	64.3%	24.4%	3.0%	6.2%	UDF	3%
4	Nkhata Bay	15 North	PP	PP	67.7%	5.7%	1.7%	24.2%	DPP	25%
4	Nkhata Bay	16 Central	PP	PP	45.9%	6.4%	4.3%	42.6%	MCP	7%
4	Nkhata Bay	17 West	DPP	PP	51.6%	12.7%	1.0%	33.1%	PP	64%
4	Nkhata Bay	18 North West	Independent	PP	64.7%	7.3%	2.4%	24.3%	UDF	3%
4	Nkhata Bay	19 South East	PP	PP	72.8%	5.3%	3.2%	17.6%		
4	Nkhata Bay	20 South	Independent	PP	72.1%	8.1%	4.0%	13.7%		
5	Likoma	21 Likoma	DPP	DPP	26.8%	19.9%	10.0%	42.4%	DPP	42%
									MCP	20%
									PP	27%
									UDF	10%
6	M'mbelwa	22 Mzuzu City	Independent	PP	44.8%	26.4%	6.2%	21.6%	DPP	20%
6	Mzimba	23 North	PP	PP	58.3%	11.0%	6.4%	22.2%	MCP	20%
6	Mzimba	24 North East	Independent	PP	58.7%	13.0%	2.4%	21.8%	PP	55%
6	Mzimba	25 West	PP	PP	57.7%	14.9%	2.6%	23.2%	UDF	3%
6	M'mbelwa	26 Mzimba South	pp	PP	68.2%	20.8%	1.0%	8.7%		
6	M'mbelwa	27 Mzimba Central	Independent	PP	66.3%	12.6%	0.7%	18.7%		
6	M'mbelwa	28 Mzimba Hora	PP	PP	74.1%	10.3%	0.4%	14.3%		
6	Mzimba	29 Luwerezi	Independent	PP	59.1%	18.4%	0.9%	20.1%		
6	Mzimba	30 Solola	MCP	MCP	40.6%	41.1%	1.8%	14.1%		
6	Mzimba	31 East	Independent	PP	57.7%	10.2%	1.0%	28.7%		
6	Mzimba	32 South West	PP	PP	45.9%	19.8%	0.9%	31.3%		
6	Mzimba	33 South East	Independent	PP	48.1%	21.6%	1.0%	27.7%		

MEC Official Parliamentary Results TRIPARTIE ELECTIONS 2014											
DISTRICT	CONSTITUENCY		PARLIAMENTARY WINNER	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION					District Presidential Results		
				HIGHEST	PP	MCP	UDF	DPP			
7	Kasungu	34	North	PP	PP	39.6%	33.1%	1.2%	23.3%	DPP	16%
7	Kasungu	35	North North East	Independent	MCP	27.0%	42.6%	1.0%	26.8%	MCP	60%
7	Kasungu	36	West	MCP	MCP	14.2%	70.0%	1.7%	13.0%	PP	20%
7	Kasungu	37	North West	MCP	MCP	23.4%	57.1%	1.4%	16.3%	UDF	3%
7	Kasungu	38	South	MCP	MCP	9.8%	81.8%	2.5%	4.6%		
7	Kasungu	39	South East	MCP	MCP	21.1%	62.7%	2.6%	11.5%		
7	Kasungu	40	East	MCP	MCP	18.3%	67.0%	2.6%	11.0%		
7	Kasungu	41	Central	MCP	MCP	17.5%	53.5%	6.1%	22.3%		
7	Kasungu	42	North East	PP	MCP	25.6%	62.4%	1.6%	9.6%		
8	Nkhotakota	43	North	DPP	DPP	26.2%	20.6%	8.1%	44.0%	DPP	26%
8	Nkhotakota	44	North East	Independent	DPP	22.9%	15.7%	16.6%	42.1%	MCP	33%
8	Nkhotakota	45	Central	MCP	MCP	25.0%	32.8%	23.8%	16.4%	PP	25%
8	Nkhotakota	46	South	DPP	MCP	31.4%	38.7%	14.3%	13.6%	UDF	14%
8	Nkhotakota	47	South East	MCP	MCP	16.5%	49.1%	12.4%	19.8%		
9	Ntchisi	48	East	MCP	MCP	19.4%	45.9%	2.1%	30.8%	DPP	18%
9	Ntchisi	49	South	MCP	MCP	16.4%	67.7%	1.4%	12.3%	MCP	60%
9	Ntchisi	50	North	Independent	MCP	18.3%	59.4%	1.2%	19.0%	PP	18%
9	Ntchisi	51	North East	MCP	MCP	22.1%	56.0%	1.3%	17.9%	UDF	1%
10	Dowa	52	East	MCP	MCP	6.7%	82.3%	1.3%	8.4%	DPP	8%
10	Dowa	53	South East	MCP	MCP	9.0%	79.9%	1.6%	8.5%	MCP	79%
10	Dowa	54	North East	MCP	MCP	11.3%	74.2%	1.8%	11.3%	PP	10%
10	Dowa	55	Ngala	Independent	MCP	10.7%	76.1%	2.3%	9.4%	UDF	2%
10	Dowa	56	Central	DPP	MCP	8.6%	73.7%	2.0%	14.4%		
10	Dowa	57	West	MCP	MCP	9.3%	85.8%	1.2%	3.1%		
10	Dowa	58	North	MCP	MCP	14.8%	78.0%	1.0%	5.0%		
11	Salima	59	North	MCP	MCP	16.7%	56.2%	12.3%	12.3%	DPP	17%
11	Salima	60	Central	MCP	MCP	15.0%	36.3%	23.6%	23.5%	MCP	38%
11	Salima	61	South	PP	PP	42.6%	20.0%	21.1%	14.4%	PP	23%
11	Salima	62	South East	PP	MCP	32.2%	35.7%	17.0%	12.2%	UDF	20%
11	Salima	63	North West	MCP	MCP	19.0%	52.5%	15.9%	11.2%		
12	Mchinji	64	North	PP	MCP	24.3%	59.9%	3.2%	11.1%	DPP	12%
12	Mchinji	65	North East	MCP	MCP	14.0%	68.6%	6.5%	8.7%	MCP	70%
12	Mchinji	66	East	MCP	MCP	8.2%	77.1%	3.4%	10.0%	PP	13%
12	Mchinji	67	West	MCP	MCP	10.2%	68.7%	7.1%	13.3%	UDF	4%
12	Mchinji	68	South	Independent	MCP	9.3%	80.5%	2.8%	6.2%		
12	Mchinji	69	South West	MCP	MCP	9.8%	65.4%	2.9%	20.6%		

MEC Official Parliamentary Results TRIPARTIE ELECTIONS 2014											
DISTRICT	CONSTITUENCY	PARLIAMENTARY WINNER	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION					District Presidential Results			
			HIGHEST	PP	MCP	UDF	DPP				
13	Lilongwe Rural	70	Mapuyu North	MCP	MCP	3.6%	90.2%	1.3%	4.2%	DPP	18%
13	Lilongwe Rural	71	Mapuyu South	MCP	MCP	8.3%	82.4%	1.4%	7.2%	MCP	66%
13	Lilongwe Rural	72	North	MCP	MCP	4.0%	91.3%	1.9%	2.4%	PP	7%
13	Lilongwe Rural	73	Msozi South	MCP	MCP	6.2%	80.4%	1.4%	10.5%	UDF	8%
13	Lilongwe Rural	74	Msozi North	MCP	MCP	7.9%	77.0%	2.5%	11.2%		
13	Lilongwe Rural	75	Kumachenga	Independent	MCP	6.9%	69.4%	7.4%	15.4%		
13	Lilongwe Rural	76	North East	MCP	MCP	4.4%	81.0%	3.1%	9.6%		
13	LiLongwe City	77	City West	DPP	DPP	7.8%	34.6%	17.9%	39.1%		
13	Lilongwe Rural	78	Mpenu Nkhoma	Independent	MCP	3.7%	89.3%	0.7%	4.8%		
13	Lilongwe Rural	79	Mpenu	MCP	MCP	15.2%	74.2%	1.2%	6.8%		
13	Lilongwe Rural	80	South East	MCP	MCP	10.4%	78.1%	2.0%	8.5%		
13	Lilongwe Rural	81	East	MCP	MCP	13.3%	81.2%	0.6%	3.4%		
13	Lilongwe Rural	82	Central	MCP	MCP	4.6%	72.2%	6.8%	14.9%		
13	LiLongwe City	83	City Centre	Independent	MCP	9.7%	39.9%	10.4%	39.4%		
13	Lilongwe Rural	84	North West	MCP	MCP	4.3%	92.5%	1.3%	1.6%		
13	Lilongwe Rural	85	City North	MCP	MCP	4.3%	86.5%	1.6%	6.9%		
13	Lilongwe Rural	86	South West	Independent	MCP	7.3%	73.3%	4.7%	13.7%		
13	LiLongwe City	87	City South East	DPP	DPP	9.4%	35.2%	17.8%	37.1%		
13	LiLongwe City	88	City South West	MCP	MCP	8.2%	39.7%	19.2%	32.2%		
13	Lilongwe Rural	89	Msinja North	MCP	MCP	9.0%	71.0%	3.8%	12.7%		
13	Lilongwe Rural	90	Msinja South	MCP	MCP	6.3%	80.6%	1.1%	10.8%		
13	Lilongwe Rural	91	Mapuyu North	MCP	MCP	8.5%	60.5%	8.6%	21.0%		
14	Dedza	92	North	MCP	MCP	11.2%	50.3%	34.8%	2.4%	DPP	10%
14	Dedza	93	Central	MCP	MCP	29.7%	60.6%	2.3%	6.6%	MCP	66%
14	Dedza	94	South West	MCP	MCP	12.2%	74.6%	3.5%	7.8%	PP	13%
14	Dedza	95	North West	MCP	MCP	7.3%	83.1%	1.3%	5.5%	UDF	10%
14	Dedza	96	East	MCP	MCP	11.0%	51.0%	8.9%	27.7%		
14	Dedza	97	South	MCP	MCP	9.1%	67.9%	11.3%	10.1%		
14	Dedza	98	West	MCP	MCP	18.9%	72.6%	1.6%	5.6%		
14	Dedza	99	Central East	MCP	MCP	7.4%	76.2%	8.2%	6.0%		
15	Ntcheu	100	North East	DPP	DPP	10.6%	9.5%	6.2%	71.2%	DPP	69%
15	Ntcheu	101	Bwanje North	Independent	DPP	14.8%	8.1%	21.4%	52.4%	MCP	9%
15	Ntcheu	102	Bwanje South	DPP	DPP	11.0%	4.0%	11.7%	68.3%	PP	10%
15	Ntcheu	103	Central	DPP	DPP	8.0%	6.6%	8.8%	74.8%	UDF	9%
15	Ntcheu	104	South	DPP	DPP	8.4%	5.0%	10.2%	74.5%		
15	Ntcheu	105	North	DPP	DPP	14.7%	24.8%	4.1%	54.2%		
15	Ntcheu	106	West	DPP	DPP	7.6%	6.8%	4.3%	79.7%		

MEC Official Parliamentary Results TRIPARTIE ELECTIONS 2014												
DISTRICT	CONSTITUENCY	PARLIAMENTARY		PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION					District Presidential			
		WINNER	HIGHEST	PP	MCP	UDF	DPP	Results				
16	Mangochi	107	North	Independent	UDF		20.6%	2.1%	63.4%	10.4%	DPP	18%
16	Mangochi	108	North East	UDF	UDF		10.4%	1.7%	78.5%	6.8%	MCP	2%
16	Mangochi	109	Malombe	UDF	UDF		8.5%	1.4%	75.7%	11.4%	PP	14%
16	Mangochi	110	East	UDF	UDF		18.8%	1.4%	70.2%	4.9%	UDF	63%
16	Mangochi	111	South	UDF	UDF		17.6%	1.4%	70.5%	8.2%		
16	Mangochi	112	South West	Independent	UDF		14.6%	1.5%	47.9%	32.8%		
16	Mangochi	113	Central	UDF	UDF		10.2%	2.5%	61.3%	23.4%		
16	Mangochi	114	Nkungulu	UDF	UDF		8.8%	1.7%	72.4%	14.2%		
16	Mangochi	115	West	Independent	DPP		17.0%	5.2%	32.2%	42.6%		
16	Mangochi	116	Mangochi-MonkeyBay	PP	DPP		14.5%	5.5%	36.9%	40.8%		
16	Mangochi	117	Lutende	Independent	UDF		20.6%	1.5%	68.3%	6.8%		
16	Mangochi	118	Masongola	Independent	UDF		9.4%	1.8%	80.0%	5.9%		
17	Balaka	119	Central East	UDF	UDF		15.0%	1.8%	51.6%	29.8%	DPP	43%
17	Balaka	120	North	UDF	UDF		14.6%	2.0%	44.6%	37.4%	MCP	2%
17	Balaka	121	West	Independent	DPP		16.9%	2.5%	23.6%	55.0%	PP	16%
17	Balaka	122	South	DPP	DPP		17.1%	1.5%	23.2%	55.8%	UDF	38%
18	Machinga	123	North East	UDF	UDF		34.9%	1.0%	53.6%	9.0%	DPP	19%
18	Machinga	124	Central	UDF	UDF		12.1%	1.3%	51.9%	32.9%	MCP	1%
18	Machinga	125	Central East	UDF	UDF		19.7%	1.3%	50.5%	26.5%	PP	26%
18	Machinga	126	East	Independent	UDF		27.9%	1.4%	56.2%	9.7%	UDF	51%
18	Machinga	127	South	UDF	UDF		19.4%	0.9%	62.3%	15.9%		
18	Machinga	128	Likwenu	UDF	UDF		18.4%	3.3%	39.4%	37.3%		
18	Machinga	129	South East	PP	UDF		42.3%	0.8%	46.3%	8.3%		
19	Zomba	130	Nsondole	Independent	UDF		32.2%	1.7%	34.6%	29.2%	DPP	48%
19	Zomba	131	Thondwe	DPP	DPP		24.3%	1.2%	10.2%	63.0%	MCP	4%
19	Zomba	132	Chingale	PP	DPP		31.1%	3.5%	22.4%	41.5%	PP	28%
19	Zomba	133	Changalume	PP	DPP		20.8%	3.0%	23.2%	51.4%	UDF	20%
19	Zomba	134	Lisanjala	DPP	DPP		33.6%	0.9%	27.7%	36.8%		
19	Zomba	135	Malosa	PP	PP		52.0%	2.7%	30.5%	13.6%		
19	Zomba	136	Ntonya	PP	DPP		23.7%	1.1%	16.0%	57.9%		
19	Zomba	137	Central	PP	DPP		20.8%	13.2%	21.2%	43.9%		
19	Zomba	138	Likangala	Independent	DPP		23.9%	1.9%	13.3%	59.6%		
19	Zomba	139	Chisi	DPP	DPP		26.6%	1.0%	5.3%	66.0%		
21	Blantyre Rura	145	North		DPP		15.2%	2.1%	24.7%	56.5%	DPP	74%
21	Blantyre Rura	146	North East	DPP	DPP		9.9%	3.2%	28.2%	55.5%	MCP	1%
21	Blantyre Rura	147	East	DPP	DPP		12.0%	3.2%	21.2%	62.2%	PP	8%
21	Blantyre Rura	148	South West	Independent	DPP		8.5%	2.6%	10.0%	76.8%	UDF	14%
21	Blantyre City	149	City Centre	DPP	DPP		11.9%	8.9%	18.8%	59.9%		
21	Blantyre City	150	Malabada	DPP	DPP		11.5%	8.4%	22.5%	57.0%		
21	Blantyre City	151	City South	Independent	DPP		13.3%	17.4%	17.1%	50.7%		
21	Blantyre City	152	City East	DPP	DPP		11.8%	9.5%	23.4%	54.6%		
21	Blantyre City	153	Bangwe	DPP	DPP		11.0%	5.3%	20.3%	62.7%		
21	Blantyre City	154	City South East	DPP	DPP		9.3%	5.3%	14.8%	69.9%		
21	Blantyre City	155	City West	DPP	DPP		11.0%	10.0%	18.3%	59.9%		
21	Blantyre City	156	Kabula	Independent	DPP		8.1%	7.7%	18.8%	64.4%		
21	Blantyre Rura	157	West	DPP	DPP		8.9%	3.0%	9.5%	76.5%		

MEC Official Parliamentary Results TRIPARTIE ELECTIONS 2014											
DISTRICT	CONSTITUENCY		PARLIAMENTARY WINNER	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION					District Presidential Results		
				HIGHEST	PP	MCP	UDF	DPP			
22	Mwanza	158	Central	CCP	DPP	18.9%	3.1%	9.1%	55.7%	DPP	60%
22	Mwanza	159	West	DPP	DPP	24.4%	2.2%	6.8%	63.6%	MCP	3%
										PP	22%
										UDF	8%
23	Neno	160	South	Independent	DPP	24.1%	3.0%	7.0%	60.0%	DPP	68%
23	Neno	161	North	Independent	DPP	9.5%	2.7%	3.3%	80.2%	MCP	3%
										PP	18%
										UDF	5%
24	Thyolo	162	North	DPP	DPP	2.9%	1.4%	4.0%	90.9%	DPP	91%
24	Thyolo	163	West	DPP	DPP	6.7%	0.9%	2.9%	88.3%	MCP	1%
24	Thyolo	164	Central	Independent	DPP	3.8%	1.2%	3.3%	90.4%	PP	4%
24	Thyolo	165	South	Independent	DPP	2.8%	1.1%	2.2%	91.6%	UDF	3%
24	Thyolo	166	East	DPP	DPP	2.6%	0.8%	1.3%	94.8%		
24	Thyolo	167	South West	DPP	DPP	3.3%	1.2%	1.9%	91.6%		
24	Thyolo	168	Thava	DPP	DPP	4.1%	1.3%	4.1%	88.9%		
25	Phalombe	169	South	Independent	DPP	3.8%	1.3%	4.3%	89.5%	DPP	79%
25	Phalombe	170	Central	DPP	DPP	9.0%	1.2%	9.5%	77.9%	MCP	1%
25	Phalombe	171	North	DPP	DPP	12.6%	1.0%	9.4%	75.8%	PP	11%
25	Phalombe	172	East	Independent	DPP	11.8%	1.1%	5.1%	79.4%	UDF	7%
25	Phalombe	173	North East	Independent	DPP	27.4%	1.4%	8.4%	59.9%		
26	Mulanje	174	South East	Independent	DPP	4.3%	1.4%	3.0%	89.7%	DPP	82%
26	Mulanje	175	South	DPP	DPP	5.3%	2.6%	4.3%	86.3%	MCP	1%
26	Mulanje	176	Central	DPP	DPP	17.3%	1.6%	8.2%	71.6%	PP	9%
26	Mulanje	177	Limbuli	Independent	DPP	5.3%	1.4%	3.1%	88.8%	UDF	6%
26	Mulanje	178	Bale	Independent	DPP	6.1%	0.9%	4.9%	86.2%		
26	Mulanje	179	South West	DPP	DPP	13.9%	1.2%	11.9%	71.3%		
26	Mulanje	180	Pasani	DPP	DPP	9.1%	1.5%	8.2%	79.5%		
26	Mulanje	181	West	DPP	DPP	14.0%	1.0%	6.3%	77.7%		
26	Mulanje	182	South East	Independent	DPP	13.6%	0.9%	9.2%	74.9%		
27	Chikwawa	183	South	PP	DPP	21.9%	2.0%	6.3%	67.5%	DPP	69%
27	Chikwawa	184	Nkombedzi	DPP	DPP	13.8%	1.8%	11.7%	70.4%	MCP	3%
27	Chikwawa	185	Central	Independent	DPP	17.1%	3.9%	6.7%	70.2%	PP	16%
27	Chikwawa	186	North	Independent	DPP	11.3%	3.5%	8.3%	73.7%	UDF	9%
27	Chikwawa	187	East	UDF	DPP	9.4%	2.2%	12.3%	72.9%		
27	Chikwawa	188	West	DPP	DPP	24.7%	2.6%	9.1%	60.3%		
28	Nsanje	189	South	DPP	DPP	21.0%	2.2%	19.4%	54.5%	DPP	65%
28	Nsanje	190	South West	Independent	DPP	17.7%	3.9%	8.0%	66.9%	MCP	3%
28	Nsanje	191	Central	DPP	DPP	19.9%	4.4%	12.7%	59.3%	PP	18%
28	Nsanje	192	Lalanje	Independent	DPP	18.4%	2.5%	6.6%	69.3%	UDF	11%
28	Nsanje	193	North	Independent	DPP	14.5%	3.4%	7.8%	70.1%		

ANNEX IV: Presidential Election District Results obtained by each of the four main candidates

