

# COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL COMPETITION EFFECTIVENESS IN BRAZIL AND IN MOZAMBIQUE (1990-2014)

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## Introduction

Studies regarding party systems and political parties are complex. Although a wide literature concerning this topic has already been developed, it is necessary to recapitulate some empirical and theoretical features. In this context, it is imperative to study the party systems of the aforementioned countries, discussing the functioning of political parties and the structure of political competition in these nations. Authors such as Manwaring and Torcal (1995; 2006) sustained that voters, political parties and party systems vary according to the context and are built in concert with social and political scenarios of each collectivity. Therefore, thinking about political parties in “Third Wave” democracies, in accordance with Huntington’s typification in his work (Third Wave Democracy, 1990-), and in secular democracies, as is the case of many Western countries (England, Italy, United States of America), requires raising a range of arguments for or against, which will sustain or demonstrate the *sui generis* features to explain the party systems and the functioning of the institutions called Political Parties.

In this sense, the research goal is to verify party competition, profiles and functioning of political parties in Mozambique and in Brazil, describing the dynamics of the party system as a whole and the structure of competition in each country. The proposed analysis would be limited without the inclusion of theoretical and empirical studies developed by Duverger (1961), Huntington (1991), Griffin (2010), Inglehart (1971), Sartori (1982), Aldrich (1995), Webb (2000), Dalton and Wattenberg (2000), Eldersveld

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(1964).

In methodological terms, this is an exploratory and descriptive work. A database of political processes in a comparative perspective was considered, combining quantitative and qualitative productivity measures, in order to comprehend the evolution and the setbacks of party systems and political competition, as well as the functioning of political parties in both countries. The process of the structure of the party system and the electoral competition were also analyzed in both countries, based on data from official electoral results, which is available in the websites of the electoral management bodies from both countries. In temporal terms, our analysis begins with the democratization processes of the aforementioned countries, and we resort to the comparative approach in order to identify similarities or differences between the political fields.

Thus, this paper is structured as follows: the second part, after this introduction, presents a set of theoretical arguments about the party system and the political parties as fundamental entities in the functioning of the modern political system; the third part presents a contextual characterization of both countries; the last part is reserved to the empirical elements, such as the number of political parties as a whole (particularly the effective ones) and the structure of competition; and finally, some final considerations, since this is an exploratory research.

## **Structure of the party political system: theoretical considerations**

The debate on the party system has always been associated with two elements: on the one hand, the institutional structure, that is to say the electoral system, as its determinant and, on the other hand, the functioning of political parties, the structuring of the vote and the political behavior as determinant of the party system. Two elements must be taken into account to resume the debate on the party systems. First, one must think about the party system considering social nuances, such as the socioeconomic dimension, left vs right, religious issues, ethnicity vs culture, urban vs rural, support to the regime, foreign policy or post-materialism (Mair 1996; Dalton & Wattenberg 2000; Sartori 1982), and, later, one must think about the political institutions as rules of coexistence; as a *modus vivendi* and *modus operandi* of political actors that can determine the structure of the party system (Rothstein 2001; Steinmo & Thelen 1992).

Thereby, the debate on the party system, as emphasized by Tavares (1994), is a compelling and complex dimension of the political system, and

its profile is an outcome of the unique association of four sets of phenomena, indicated as follows, for each contextual case.

[...] 1- the internal organization of the parties, including the relationships among ruling elites, cadres, adherent members, voters and masses; 2- the relationships among the different forces and trends or projects, as well as among remarkable sociopolitical cleavages that divide the society, and the parties; 3- the nature of electoral and parliamentary competition among parties; and finally 4- the relationships among parties in regard to the relative participation of each one of them in the electoral market and in the exercise of the political representation and of the government [...] (Tavares 1994, 287).

The three last phenomena are affected, on the one hand, by the differentiation of the society to a greater or lesser degree, and, on the other hand, by the political culture, that includes perceptions, values and attitudes which are linked to the pragmatism and to the ideologically polarized politics (by the number of parties and the electoral system). Our argument is based upon the idea that the party system is anchored in the categories and effects of the electoral system.

## Political Parties and Their Functioning Within the Party System

Some aforementioned authors (Paiva; Braga; & Pimentel 2007; Webb 2000; Dalton & Wattenberg 2000), explain that the structure of the political field and of the electoral competition is one of the key indicators of political parties in democracies considered representative. That is because this is the activity which provides the greater visualization and embodies the essential role in the relationship between the voters and the political system as a whole, having in mind its dimension and the possibility to recruit for different functions and to offer the citizens a practical or symbolic integration in the different governability channels.

The political parties, conventionally, perform functions (Strom, Dalton & Wattenberg 2000; Katz & Mair 1994; Webb 1994; Scarrow 2000; Farrell & Webb 2000; Diamond & Gunther 2001) which can be categorized as follows: political parties in the electorate (considering parties as a set of voters, members and activists); parties as party organizations (parties as projected extra-parliamentary organizations with the aim of contesting elections or participating on them); parties in the government (parties as

organizations of civil servants).

In order to substantiate these three topics that allow the existence of political parties in modern times, it is necessary to associate them with four main topics that a few authors have listed (Dalton & Wattenberg 2000; Webb 1995; 2002; Held 1996; Scarrow 1996):

**Table 1: Topics about existence of political parties in modern times**

<p><b>Governance and Political Recruitment</b></p>	<p>It must be thought within the dimension between indication for the government and recruitment. In the same line of thought, the cynicism of electors in regard to the impacts of parties in the government; rethinking the dimension: government personal and the process of recruitment (Dalton &amp; Wattenberg 2000; Webb 1995).</p>
<p><b>Articulation of Interests and Aggregation</b></p>	<p>This requires that parties function as a mechanism of connection among representatives, society and State; in the same way, the articulation suggests the idea of the role played by parties and other institutions in expressing and seeking political demands; aggregation, a process related to the moment parties aggregate the requirements of many social groups (Dalton &amp; Wattenberg 2000; Held 1996; Scarrow 1996; Cockett 1994).</p>
<p><b>Political Communication or Political Education</b></p>	<p>The idea of dependence of the non-party modes on means of information and political communication (Dunleavy 1985), and helping to inform and educate citizens about public and political matters, that is to say the exercise of the dimension of political education by parties (Scarrow 1996; Dalton &amp; Wattenberg 2000; Cockett 1994; Miller 1989).</p>

Source: Adapted by the author (2017).

Recent studies indicate that political parties, as key elements of the functioning of the party system, have been facing a set of transformations

since the decade of 1960. There are many reasons for that, such as the ideologic pendulum, electoral recruitment, political participation, popular support and ideologic strengthening; however, they have not been reshaped in terms of political coherence (Green 2003). Thus, two perspectives can be identified to analyze the functionality of political parties nowadays. On the one hand, there are the declinastes, authors, such as (Wattenberg 1991; Ware 1985; Crotly & Jacobson 1980), that sustain the idea that the political party as an organization has disappeared and lost its utility. On the other hand, there is the thesis of the revivalists, whose exponents are (Fisher 1978; Frantzich 1989; Petterson 1996), which support the idea that the main party organizations were developed after the World War II and, in the 1980s, obtained resources for their self-support and functioning was sustained<sup>2</sup>. The parties started to adapt themselves to the challenges of the centralization of candidates, the major trend of ideologic coherence according to Aldrich (1995), what proves that some parties are functioning well.

## Contemporary Context of Political Parties in Brazil

In 2014, the sixth electoral cycle was conducted in Brazil, in terms of national general elections for President, senators and congressmen. On the one hand, it meant the increasingly institutionalization of the political and electoral competition. On the other hand, at the same a cycle considered by theorists as sufficient to speak of structuring of political wills was beginning.

Since the redemocratization, in 1988, with the promulgation of Brazil's Constitution of 1988, the free competition among nationwide parties, which were able to run in executive or legislative (Senate or Chamber) elections on equal terms, among other elements, gained relevance. From the viewpoint of the origin of Brazil's party system, the main parties have been organizing the electoral and political competition for more than 29 years, which means that the country has already had some experience and that this is the most long-lasting experience with parties in the country's political history.

Historically, between 1979 and 1980, PT, PDT and PTB were created. Meanwhile, PMDB and PDS/PP went through a reorganization process with the aim of satisfying the new requirements of the party reform of 1979 (Braga 2006; Nicolau 1994). Moreover, PFL, which corresponds to DEM nowadays, was founded in the period of the indirect elections

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<sup>2</sup> This is not the specific case of Mozambique or of Brazil, but it was necessary to expose this point in order to demonstrate the functional and organizational dimension of the parties.

for President of 1985; in 1987, still during the constitutional debates, a dissidence of PMDB led to the creation of PSDB (Braga 2010). The author continues to explain that some parties with some relevance arose in the mid-80s, highlighting PSB, PL, PR, PCB/PPS, PC do B and PV. Since the end of 1989, the institutional structure has established itself, allowing the legal actuation of political parties, which are components of the main democratic institutions, such as the electoral system, the government system and the format and functioning of the State.

It is necessary to contextualize the issue of the coalition presidentialism. Sadek (1993), Avritzer (2016), Sathler e Braga (2015) aim to clarify that the multiparty system, that was ratified by the Constitution promulgated in 1988, has allowed to redraw a multiparty scenario with a wide range of parties or coalitions, and that was confirmed by the presidential election – which had 22 candidates, most of them from parties with no representation in Congress –, that, on the one hand, confirmed the trend towards party proliferation and, on the other hand, demonstrated the weakness of the parties with congressional strength (Sadek 1993; Avritzer 2016).

In this way, the combination between the proportional principle and the open list that determines the occupancy of the seats in Parliament is a key issue in Brazil's electoral organization, since this format allows a great proliferation of parties, which, consequently, leads to party fragmentation; hence, later, Abranches (1998) analyzed the consequences of these electoral rules and identified that these rules, such as the electoral system and electoral laws, which are the guiding principles of the rules of the game, among others, produce the coalition presidentialism in the Brazilian context. Hence, it is imperative to acknowledge that Abranches labeled the political system that way because of the fact that the President is elected with more votes than his party in the parliamentary elections, what makes political alliances necessary (Avritzer 2016; Abranches 1998; Sathler & Braga 2015).

In theory, Abranche's (1988) idea was to recognize that presidentialism could function as parliamentarianism. This idea counters Linz's (1999) arguments that 1- the executive power cannot be shared in a presidential system, 2- the idea that interparty coalitions are rare in presidentialism. These theses have been rapidly outdated, since they have not encompassed a set of comparative analyses about the same topic in Latin America. Amorim Neto's (1998) and Altman's (2001) researches were important steps in political science literature, since they demonstrated that Latin American presidents employ a multiparty ministerial composition in order to ensure governability (Sathler & Braga 2015).

This model has some consequences, since the elections for Brazil's

Parliament (in national or state level), excluding the elections for the Senate, are based upon the rules of proportionality and follow the open list system – in the case of Brazil, the electoral districts are the states, endowed with a large number of voters. Thus, the seats are distributed proportionally to the votes of each party or (in some cases) of the coalitions, what leads to the division of the votes and, consequently, to the proportionality, with no winners – in contrast to majority elections (Nicolau 2004; Leite & Santos 2010; Lamounier 1994; Kinzo 1993; Reis 1995). That is what determines the natural emergence of the coalition presidentialism (Abranches 1998).

## Parties and Mozambique's Political Context

Mozambique, as a nation, is an outcome of the war against the colonizer (Portugal) faced by FRELIMO between 1964 and 1974. This process was supported by the bases held back in the newly independent Tanzania (whose government was then socialist); hence, FRELIMO had established itself in the North of Mozambique very early (De Brito 1995; Terenciano and Souza 2015; Terenciano, Carlos and Braga 2016). With military support from China, the USSR and other socialist countries, the Front expelled the Portuguese in eminent areas of the northern provinces of Tete, Niassa and Cabo Delgado. The military coup of 1974, in Lisbon, ousted Marcelo Caetano from the government, paving the way for Mozambique's Independence, which happened in 1975 under FRELIMO's power (Pitcher 2002; Manning 2002; Pitcher 2004; Terenciano and Souza 2015; Terenciano 2016). The socialist orientation of FRELIMO was consolidated in 1977 with the official adoption of Marxism-Leninism by the party. Under the leadership of the liberation movement (FRELIMO), the independent Mozambique became in 1977 a one-party socialist and Marxist state based upon the principles of democratic centralism with a highly hierarchical political-administrative system.

Mozambique's political and electoral history was instituted by elections in a one-party context. That is the reason why the first and second elections in this context took place in 1977 and 1986 with the aim of choosing the representatives of the people (Nuvunga 2007; Terenciano et al. 2015; 2016). According to Pitcher (2002) and Terenciano (2016), in the period in which an ideologically Marxist Party-State prevailed, the country faced a period of crisis, a subsequent transition and casual changes in the socialist model of government at the same time that the government was involved in the seventeen years conflict against RENAMO. This latter organization was created in 1976/7 against FRELIMO's centralized power, and its leaders, such as André Mantsangaisa and Afonso Dhlakama, organized the

resistance against FRELIMO's authoritarian power.

FRELIMO's government started a process of economic reforms which was accompanied by political liberalization. This was evidenced in the 5th Congress of the Party, in 1989, when FRELIMO abandoned its Marxist-Leninist ideology, turning into a party with a broader ideological field. RENAMO, FRELIMO's opponent during the Civil War, signed a General Peace Agreement in 1992 and started to build a political party; later, it began its election campaign. In the elections of 1994, FRELIMO won with 44% of the votes for the Assembly of the Republic, but RENAMO became the major opposition force with 38% of the votes (Manning 2002; Terenciano and Souza 2015; Visentini 2016).

## Effectiveness of political parties and of electoral competition in Brazil and Mozambique

The issue of political parties and of the effectiveness of the competition has always been under discussion. It is necessary to primarily comprehend the way in which political competition is structured in order to understand the structure of the political field. In the case of Brazil, it is important to note that, since the elections of 1989, there has always been a trend to a centripetal competition, since the main parties, such as PMDB, PSDB, PT and DEM, are capable of structuring the competition around them, forming what Ribeiro (2013) labels as first line parties. It is becoming increasingly evident that there is a kind of standardization of electoral competition in Brazil as long as the disputes are divided between two parties, PSDB and PT, which, in the viewpoint of the author, are the only ones able to head national electoral coalitions strong enough to win the elections and to at least structure the competition<sup>3</sup>.

Other important feature of this debate is the regionalization of the votes, which was visible at least until the elections of 2010. The dimension we present regards the standardization of the distribution of votes in each region of the country. It can be seen that the Northeast region was overwhelmingly favorable to PT and its candidate, and the South and Southeast regions were favorable to PSDB and PMDB. Carreirão (2014) sustained that there is a set of arguments raised to comprehend the idea that the indexes of party consolidation or institutionalization have been significant and tend to become effective, in line with the models of secular

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<sup>3</sup> Discussing the elections of 2016 is not our aim; however, our analysis involves the elections of 2014, in which, in the presidential or congressional disputes, the two parties were the most capable of structuring coalitions and of becoming winner coalitions again.



democracies. Secondly, the structure of the presidential dispute is not based upon ideology, but upon pragmatism.

In Mozambique's case, the structure of political competition is dual in the sense that it is dependent on the two dominant political forces (FRELIMO and RENAMO). This happens because of two reasons: on the one hand, these two forces are the most deeply-rooted in society, their social bases are strong and their electoral support is notably regional. That way, the multiparty or biparty democracy in Mozambique began in effect since 1990, when the Popular Assembly approved a new constitution, changing the political-electoral system, since then one-party, to a multiparty system, creating the conditions to the end of the civil war (1976-1992), which had its apogee in the General Peace Agreement of Rome in 1992, that led to the formation of new political groups and to the holding of the first multiparty elections of the country in 1994. In this standard, nine elections under a multiparty system have already been hold (four of them executive and legislative elections– 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009 e 2014).

Since 1994, the party known as Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) has been winning successively the elections and conquering most seats of Mozambique's Parliament; it is the winning party of all executive elections up to the present. In spite of FRELIMO's successive victories, Mozambique's political field is distributed in areas dominated by the two main parties; in this regard, it is possible to identify the electoral and political geography of the country as follows: FRELIMO dominates all Southern provinces and the far North; conversely, RENAMO dominates Center and North Center regions. This scenario has been increasingly consolidating itself since the first elections of 1994, however, most notably in 1999, when a balance between the two parties was reached (De Brito 2014, 31).

Hypothetically, in Brazil's context, as in Mozambique's, what is visualized is that the process of party system is institutionalized in and of another incipient, respectively. Some authors such as Rose and Mackie (1988) clarify that the main arguments that must be raised in order to comprehend the institutionalization of the party system or of the political parties may include three elements: 1- refer to the existence of competitive organizations at the level of national elections which can be identified in Mozambique as well as in Brazil. Electoral and political competition is nationwide, and the parties run all over the country; 2- institutionalized parties present presidential candidates for national disputes in Mozambique as well in Brazil – in this context, both countries have parties running for president.

In 2014, Mozambique had three presidential candidates – who

also preside the parties in the legislature between 2015 and 2019. In the Brazilian case, there were three presidential candidates, whose parties obtained representation in Parliament; PMDB, even without a candidate for the presidency, had a good electoral performance in the legislative elections. 3- The fact that the parties remain in competition for successive elections. In this regard, only two parties in Mozambique have this feature. The others remain in the game, but with no parliamentary representation, such as PIMO. In the same way, in Brazil, there are many parties that have remained strong since the legislature of 1989, notably PMDB, PSDB and PT (Braga 2010, 49).

## About the structure of the electoral competition in both countries

To evaluate the dynamics and the structure of the electoral competition and assess whether it can be considered as closed or open, it is necessary to resort to a branch of literature which sustains our arguments. Sartori (1982), Lipset & Rokkan (1967) propose that social conditions explain the electoral competition in a significant manner. According to the authors, the function of parties is what determines if the party system is closed or open. In this case, the parties become centers of attraction and production of the electoral alignment, which is not dependent of the social, geographic and cultural element underlying the movement. The same way, for Lipset & Rokkan (1967), it is important to think about the structure of the cleavage that determines if the party system is open or closed. In this case, elements such as political support, loyalty, solidarity and commitment must be included, and internal and external agents must also be considered.

Mair (1996) explains that it is necessary to think about the possibility of a freeze in party systems, not allowing the entry or the increase of importance of new actors. For Mair (1996), the real competition is verified not among parties with different ideologies, but rather among invisible parties and the ones willing to keep the main dimensions of competition. Conversely, the thawed party system is the one whose electoral market is only closed for the parties that arose from deep and strong social cleavages, that is to say the major organized parties, and there is a continuous volatility and instability of electoral preferences (Poguntke 1995; Schattschneider 1960; Blondel 1968).

In the Brazilian case, the structure of the competition is unfrozen, since it allows accessibility of (n) actors which were not integrated within the party system yet. Our approach assumes that the high fragmentation is

not accompanied by the premise of the unfrozen party system. Conversely, Mozambique's party system is frozen, since it does not allow the entry of new political actors with reliability, that is to say that only two parties (FRELIMO and RENAMO) control the party system. We are not saying it is a biparty system, but it has some features that allow this label instead of calling it multiparty or one-party. In this case, the structure of electoral and political competition in Mozambique would be closed to the entry of new political actors and to the possibility of evaluating them in regard to the structure and the formation process of the government.

Mair (1996) explains that the structure of the competition can be considered closed when there is no alteration in offices or cabinets; there are few formulations that rule the access to the government; new parties are precluded from breaking the structure of the government; the absence of innovative formulations and the presence of only two parties in the government or with capacity to blackmail. The predictable or open system is the one endowed with practical alternation in cabinets, innovative regimental formulations and free access to the government by (almost) all parties.

## Political parties in Mozambique and Brazil

Since the approval of the multiparty constitution of 1990 in Mozambique, electoral and political competition was allowed, ruled by laws and regulations, as well as principles arisen from the Constitutional Charter and other laws - electoral law, law on political parties, etc. Many political parties have arisen, firstly as an ethnic and tribal expression and later with the aim of having national amplitude. As Lundin (1995) demonstrates, political parties and congressmen in Mozambique- FRELIMO, RENAMO and the Democratic Union Coalition (with some exceptions) - have had an almost ethnical and tribal support basis in Mozambique. This data can be measured by their main party leaders, their zones of electoral dominance, as well as the electoral districts with a performance above average. It was precisely the regions that the same parties occupied, dominated and controlled during the civil war, that adopted a multiparty democracy.

According to official information of the National Commission of Elections and to the official data available on the website of the government, there are in Mozambique around 50 political parties<sup>4</sup>. Among the 47 existent

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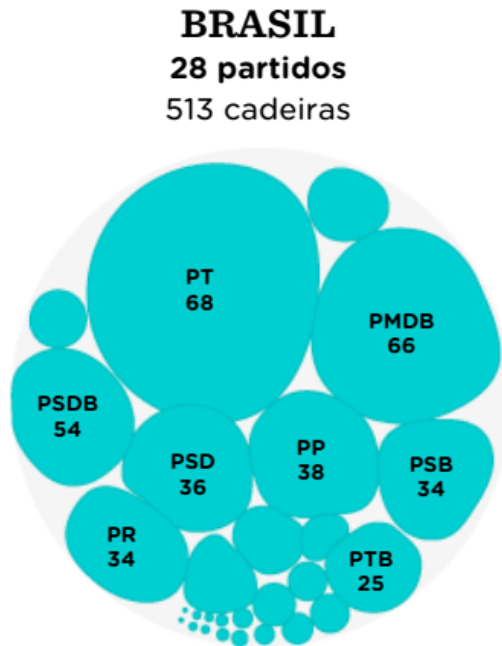
4 1 – Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) 2 – Mozambican National Resistance (REMANO) 3 – United Democratic Front (FDU) 4 –Democratic Movement of Mozambique Movimento Democrático de Moçambique (MDM) 5 – Mozambican People's Progress Party (PPPM) 6- Party of National Unity (PUN) 7- United Front of Mozambique/ Party of National

parties, only three have parliamentary representation. That is to say, in the words of Nicolau (2004), that there is a low fragmentation of the party system, since only two have a representation over 10%. In the Brazilian context, only five political parties exist since before the democratization, but they consolidated themselves as important institutions only after the Constitution of 1988. Hence, there is a set of studies that conclude that the fragmentation of the party system is the key feature of Brazilian party system, since Brazil has more than 35 parties, and 28 of them have representation in the lower house, as the following picture indicates:

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Convergence (FUMO/PCD) 8- Mozambican Nationalist Movement/ Social Democratic Party (MONAMO/PSD) 9- National Convention Party (PCN) 10- Independent Alliance of Mozambique (ALIMO) 11- Ecologist Party of Mozambique (PEMO) 12- Democratic Reconciliation Party (PAREDE) 13- Independent Party of Mozambique (PIMO) 14- Liberal and Democratic Party of Mozambique (PALMO) 15- Democratic Party for the Reconciliation in Mozambique (PAMOMO) 16- Party of the National Congress (PACODE) 17- Workers' Party (PT) 18- Popular Party of Mozambique (PPM) 19- Democratic Party of Mozambique (PADEMO) 20- Party for Peace, Democracy and Development (PDD) 21- Social Liberal and Democratic Party (SOL) 22- Democratic Party for the Liberation of Mozambique (PADELIMO) 23- National Democratic Party (PANADE) 24- Social Amplification Party of Mozambique (PASOMO) 25- National Party of Mozambique (PANAMO) 26- National Party of Workers and Campesinos (PANAOC) 27- Ecologist Party – Earth Movement (PEC e MT) 28- Renovator Democratic Party (PRD) 29- Congress of the United Democrats (CDU) 30- Mozambican National Union (UNAMO) 31- African Conservative Party (PAC) 32- Liberal Front (FL) 33- Union for Change Party (UM) 34- Free Democratic Party of Mozambique (PLDM) 35- Party for Freedom and Solidarity (PAZS) 36- National Reconciliation Party (PARENA) 37- Greens Party of Mozambique (PVM) 38- Party for all Nationalists of Mozambicans (PARTONAMO) 39- Social Democratic Party of Mozambique (PSDM) 40- Party of the Democratic Alliance and Social Renovation (PADRES) 41- Socialist Party of Mozambique (PSM) 42- Social Democrat Independent Party (PASDI) 43- Democratic Popular Party of Mozambique (PPD) 44- Party for the Liberal Progress of Mozambique (PPLM) 45- Mozambican Opposition Union (UMO) 46- Youth Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MJRD) 47- Front of Patriotic Action (FAP) Democratic Liberty United Party of Mozambique (PUMILD).

Image 1: Brazilian political parties



**Source:** Almeida, R; Mariani, D; Damasi, B (2016). Adapted by the author (2017)

All parties, regardless of having representation in the Parliament, were created between 1981 and 2014. In the Brazilian context, the age of the party does not matter much in determining its effectiveness or in attracting votes in order to reach parliamentary representation. Sinuously, in the Mozambican context, the main parties remain dominant in Congress because, on the one hand, of its strength and social deepening and, on the other, of the fact that the opposition doesn't function effectively as an alternative.

## Final Considerations

This paper had as its research goal analyzing the party systems of both countries considering elements such as the structure of the competition, political parties and the context and functionality of the key elements which characterize the political field in both countries. Considering these aspects, it is clear that Mozambique has a party system of two parties, in which FRELIMO, the ruling party, and RENAMO, are the most dominant.

Obviously, considering the typology which can be thought about a dominant party that allows the existence of other parties giving it keeps winning the elections. Conversely, the Brazilian party system is multiparty and highly fragmented, which often hinders governability and the execution of governance.

In terms of the structure of the party system, Mozambique presents an almost closed party system, since not all elements that characterize closed systems can be identified in the Mozambican context. In Brazil, the structure of the party system is open, since it allows the entry of new parties from outside the government.

Lastly, we can verify the dominance of two parties in the Mozambican case, structuring the elements of political competition and of party organization of the government, the parliament or the electorate. In the Brazilian case, there are many aspects that must be outlined: an incipient system with a structure of open competition, characterized by a high fragmentation explained by the coalition presidentialism. Political institutions are functional, but they are sustained by the strength of more than eight effective parties.

Also governability has been an element to be measured, since eight effective parties can make governability unfeasible in a democracy that is representative of many sectors of the society. And becoming continuously a “reasonably stabilized” party system, with some regularity in the relationship among parties, voters and the State.

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## **ABSTRACT**

The aim of this study is to understand the structure of the party system and the effectiveness of political competition in Brazil and Mozambique, highlighting the outlines and functioning of political parties in Mozambique and Brazil. Theoretically, there are studies (Duverger, 1961; Inglehart, 1971; Sartori, 1982; Webb, 2000; Dalton and Wattenberg, 2000) that illustrate some of the approaches we have developed in this study. Methodologically, this is an exploratory and descriptive work. The database on political processes was considered in a comparative perspective, and measures of qualitative and quantitative productivity were combined. The results indicate that Mozambique has a two party system and Brazil presents a multiparty system, highly fragmented. In terms of the structure of the party system, Mozambique has an almost closed party system and in the case of Brazil, the structure of the party system is open.

## **KEYWORDS**

Parties; Political Competition; Brazil; Mozambique.

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