Ballot box stuffing boosted Nyusi’s victory by 6.8% and Frelimo’s victory by 7.3%.

Abstract

This *Democracia Review* (DemRev) analyzed the discrepancy between the number of ballot papers deposited in the ballot box for the presidential election and the corresponding number in the ballot box for the legislative election and their possible impact on the election results. The result indicates that the discrepancy in the number of voters between the presidential and legislative elections, according to the general tabulation, contributed significantly to the victory of Filipe Nyusi and of Frelimo’s qualified majority in the legislative election in 6.8% and 7.3%, respectively. Accordingly, Filipe Nyusi’s victory goes from 73% to 66.2% and the Frelimo party from 70.78% to 63.5%.

1. Introduction

Official results announced by the National Elections Commission (CNE) on 27 October, indicate Filipe Jacinto Nyusi and the Frelimo party as the winners of the six general elections of the democratic history of Mozambique. According to CNE data, Nyusi is re-elected president of the Republic of Mozambique with 73% of the total votes. Frelimo won 70.8% of the total votes, a result which gives it more than two-thirds of seats (a qualified majority). Thus, under Article 187 of the Constitution, Frelimo has quorum and deliberative power even in the absence of the opposition.

However, the 2019 electoral process was marked by mathematical and statistical inconsistencies, both in the voter registration phase (with particular emphasis on the case of Gaza province), as well as in the voting phase (for example, partial tally sheets in which the sum of the number of voters and the number of abstentions is higher than the number of registered voters, see attached image). The Center for Public Integrity (CIP) has published a number of reports on this topic that indicate as evidence of fraud that the number of votes for the presidential candidate of Frelimo was higher than the number of votes obtained by the party (CIP 2019 and CIP 2019a). CIP justifies the superiority of the number of votes obtained by Nyusi over Frelimo as a consequence of the greater “ease” of filling the ballot box for the presidential election compared to the ballot box for the legislative election and provincial elections.

From a numerical and statistical perspective, in this *Democracia Review* (DemRev) we analyze other irregularities that have not yet been addressed about the mathematical discrepancy found during the partial tabulation of results for the total number of voters for the presidential election and the corresponding number for the legislative election. Our argument is that if every voter who went to a polling station received three ballot papers (with the exception of voters from Maputo City who do not elect at provincial level), it was expected that, at least mathematically, the number of voters (thus,
the total number of ballot papers) was equal in the three ballot boxes. However, it turned out that in the elections of 15 October 2019, more ballot papers appeared in the ballot box for the presidential election compared to the ballot box for the legislative election. These results suggest that ballot boxes have been filled and that the CNE general tabulation announcements carry this electoral offense. The “extra” voters generated at least 315,874 votes that boosted Nyusi’s victory by 6.8% and Frelimo’s victory by 7.3%. Therefore, by subtracting these “extra” votes from the results announced by the CNE, rather than a qualified majority, Frelimo would be left with only an absolute majority, which, if considered, would prevent it from deliberating in the absence of opposition.

2. The 2019 Electoral Process Mathematical Discrepancies

2.1. Graph 1 below shows the evolution of voter discrepancy between presidential and parliamentary elections (1994 – 2014)

Graph 1 compares the number of voters who cast votes in the ballot boxes for the presidential and legislative elections, respectively. From the analysis of the graph, it appears that the discrepancy in the number of voters (measured by the difference between the number of ballot papers deposited in the ballot box for the presidential election and the corresponding number of ballot papers deposited in the ballot box for the legislative election) was on average 80,315 voters, with a minimum (1,259) and a maximum (240,800) observed in 1994 and 1999, respectively.

Graph 1: Number of Presidential Election Voters vs. Number of Legislative Election Voters

Source: CIP and AWEPA (2009), IESE (2014) and Constitutional Council (2014)
2.2. **Figure 2 below shows that the greater the discrepancy between voters in the presidential and legislative elections, the greater the number of Frelimo candidates compared the party**

Graph 2 shows that since the 1999 elections, the evolution of discrepancy in the global number of voters (all election voters) has been clearly and positively related to the movements in the evolution of discrepancy in the number of Frelimo party sympathetic voters.

**Graph 2**: Discrepancy in the number of voters (presidential vs. legislative election), 1999-2014

![Graph showing discrepancy in voter numbers from 1999 to 2014](image)

**Source**: CIP and AWEPA (2009), IESE (2014) and Constitutional Council (2014)

In fact, in the interval of low discrepancy (1999-2004) in voter numbers between the presidential and legislative elections were accompanied by corresponding declines in the voter discrepancy for the winning party (Frelimo). The same correspondence relationship is observed in periods of accentuated discrepancy (2009-2014).

**2.3. The discrepancy between the total number of voters for the presidential election and the total number of voters for the legislative election widened in the 2019 elections**

In table 1 below, we compare the number of voters in the presidential election with the corresponding number of the legislative election for 2019. The data presented in this table suggests that, in absolute terms, the numerical discrepancies of voters in the presidential and legislative elections were larger in Niassa (18,100), Nampula (12,024), Gaza (11,153) and Zambezia (36,341) and smaller in Cabo Delgado (141), Africa (17) and the rest of the world.
In relative terms, the data confirm Niassa (6%) and Gaza (1.5%) as provinces with the largest concentration of discrepancy in voter numbers, and Cabo Delgado and Africa, both with 0.01% as constituencies where the discrepancy in the number of voters is almost nonexistent.

2.4. **The discrepancy between the total number of voters for the presidential election and the total number of voters for the legislative election “generated” at least 315,874 additional votes for the Frelimo party and its candidate**

Table 2 below presents the results obtained by the Frelimo party and its presidential candidate in the 2019 general elections. The numbers presented here are consistent with the scenario described in the previous section (table 1) in which we found that there were more voters for the presidential election than for the legislative election. Indeed, in all provinces and the diaspora, Frelimo’s presidential candidate got more votes than his party, especially in the provinces of Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Maputo-City and Maputo Province.

Results at the national level indicate that the Frelimo party benefited at least 315,874 “extra votes” that boost its victory by 6.8% and 7.3% in the presidential and legislative elections, respectively. By subtracting these percentages from the final results announced by the CNE, Felipe Nyusi goes from 73% to 66.2% and the Frelimo party from 70.78% to 63.5%, so for the Parliament, Frelimo goes from a qualified majority to an absolute majority.
### Table 2: Votes for FRELIMO in the 2019 General Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Presidential Election (1)</th>
<th>Legislative Election (2)</th>
<th>Difference between (1 and 2)</th>
<th>Weight of discrepancy at (1)</th>
<th>Weight of discrepancy at (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Niassa</td>
<td>188.030</td>
<td>170.176</td>
<td>17.854</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Delgado</td>
<td>385,996</td>
<td>353.205</td>
<td>32.791</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nampula</td>
<td>546.485</td>
<td>495.642</td>
<td>50.843</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambezia</td>
<td>541,399</td>
<td>505.906</td>
<td>35.493</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tete</td>
<td>476,113</td>
<td>457,526</td>
<td>18.587</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manica</td>
<td>381,822</td>
<td>365.359</td>
<td>16.463</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sofala</td>
<td>377,902</td>
<td>361.408</td>
<td>16.494</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhambane</td>
<td>266,276</td>
<td>246,212</td>
<td>20.064</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaza</td>
<td>679,929</td>
<td>654,244</td>
<td>25.685</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo P</td>
<td>387,489</td>
<td>343.267</td>
<td>44.222</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo C</td>
<td>276.108</td>
<td>242.127</td>
<td>33.981</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>130.598</td>
<td>127.286</td>
<td>3.312</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of the world</td>
<td>1.025</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,639,172</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,323,298</strong></td>
<td><strong>315,874</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.8%</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.3%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CNE (2019a)

### 3. Conclusion

In this *Democracia Review* (DemRev) we analyzed the discrepancy between the number of ballot papers deposited in the ballot box for the presidential election and the corresponding number in the ballot box for the legislative election and their possible impact on the election results. It concludes that the discrepancy in the number of voters between the presidential and legislative elections, according to the general tabulation, contributed significantly to the victory of Filipe Nyusi and the achievement of qualified majority in the Assembly of the Republic, on the part of Frelimo, in 6.8% and 7.3%, respectively. Accordingly, Filipe Nyusi’s victory goes from 73% to 66.2% and the Frelimo party from 70.78% to 63.5%.

### 4. Consulted Documents

Constitutional Council (2014), Ruling no.21/CC/2014 of 29 December of the Constitutional Council, National Press of Mozambique. Maputo
CIP and AWEPA (2009), Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, Maputo
CNE (2019), Tabulation: Election of MPs of the Assembly of the Republic. Maputo
CNE (2019a), Tabulation: Election of the President of the Republic. Maputo
Annex: Public notice/announcement with results above 100%
The number of registered voters is 800, 800 voters and 8 votes abstention (8 extra votes)