



GENERAL ELECTIONS 2019:

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 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.

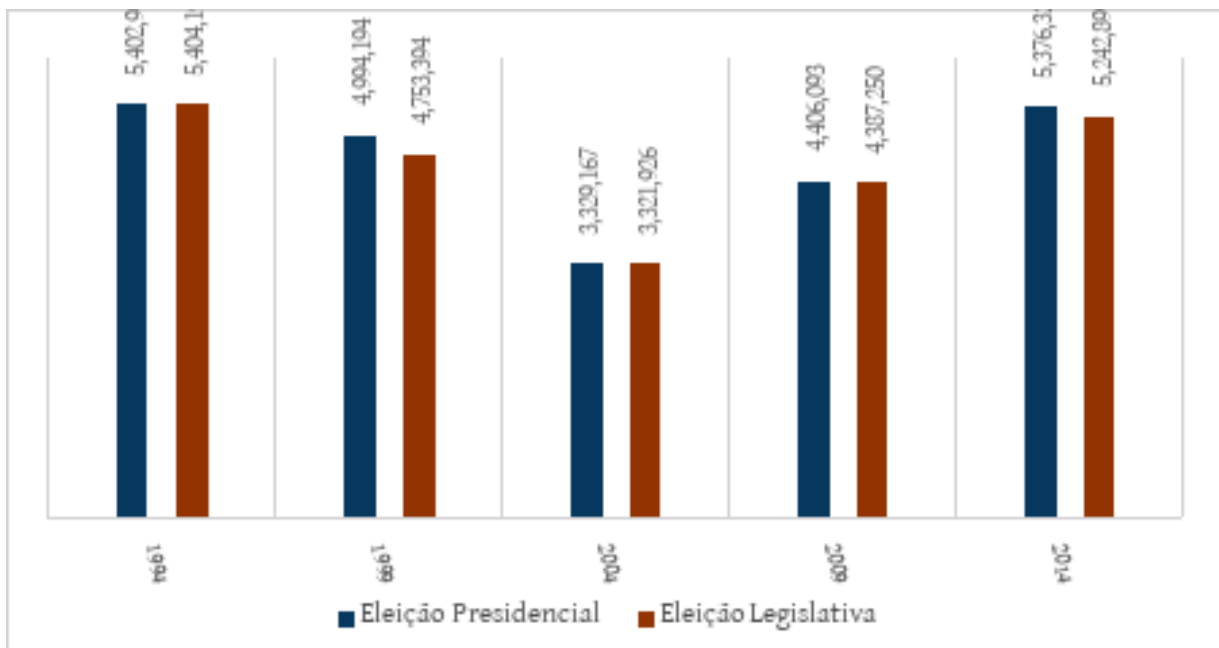
2. The 2019 Electoral Process Mathematical Discrepancies

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 in 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



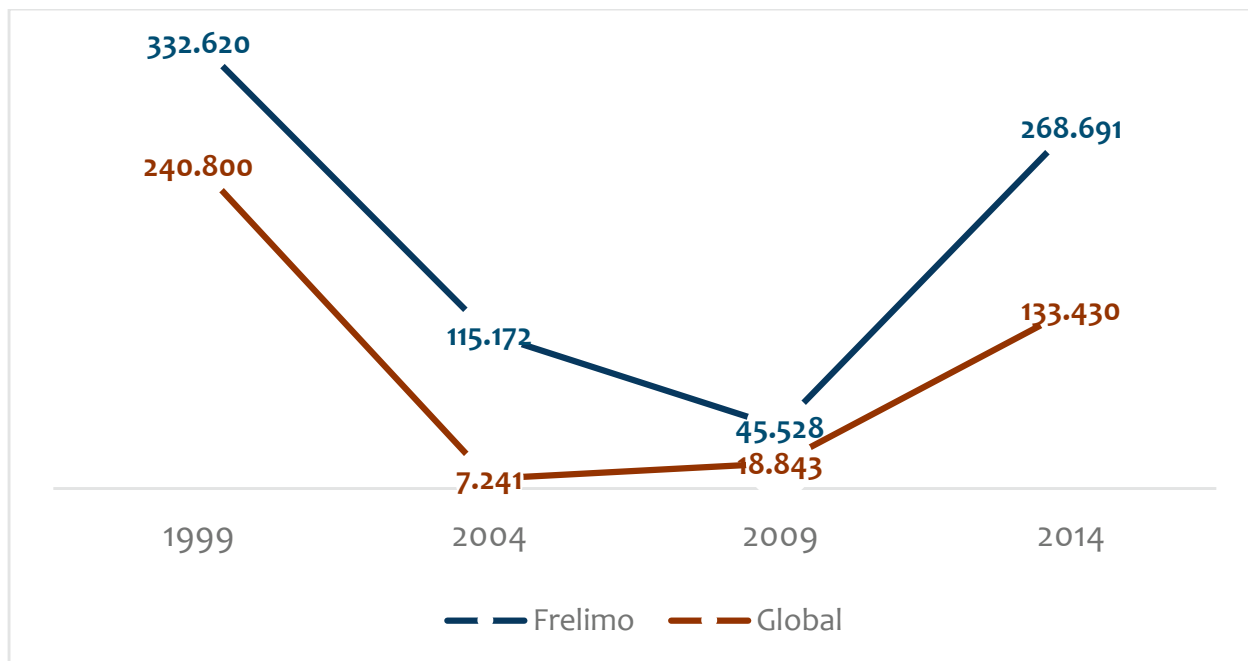
Source: CIP and AWEPA (2009), IESE (2014) and Constitutional Council (2014)

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 po-

sitively 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



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.

Table 1: Number of Voters with valid votes: Presidential Election vs. Legislative Election 2019

Province	Total Voters for Presidential Election (1)	Total Voters for Legislative Election (2)	Absolute difference between (1 and 2)	Relative Difference (%) between (1 and 2)
Niassa	300.212	282,112	18,100	6.0%
Cabo Delgado	582,380	582,521	-141	0.0%
Nampula	1.013,529	1,001,505	12.024	1.2%
Zambezia	917,219	906.078	11.141	1.2%
Tete	671,152	666,806	4.346	0.6%
Manica	543.112	542,520	592	0.1%
Sofala	593,725	593.058	667	0.1%
Inhambane	352,659	353,641	-982	-0.3%
Gaza	741,513	730,360	11,153	1.5%
Maputo P.	552,913	553,632	-719	-0.1%
Maputo C	410,594	409.247	1.347	0.3%
Africa	143.479	143.496	-17	0.0%
Rest of the world	1.439	1.438	1	0.1%
Total	6,823,926	6,766,414	57.512	0.8%

Source: CNE (2019)

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

Province	Presidential Election (1)	Legislative Election (2)	Difference between (1 and 2)	Weight of discrepancy at (1)	Weight of discrepancy at (2)
Niassa	188.030	170.176	17.854	9.5%	10.5%
C. Delgado	385,996	353.205	32,791	8.5%	9.3%
Nampula	546.485	495,642	50.843	9.3%	10.3%
Zambezia	541,399	505,906	35.493	6.6%	7.0%
Tete	476,113	457,526	18.587	3.9%	4.1%
Manica	381,822	365.359	16.463	4.3%	4.5%
Sofala	377.902	361.408	16,494	4.4%	4.6%
Inhambane	266,276	246,212	20.064	7.5%	8.1%
Gaza	679,929	654,244	25,685	3.8%	3.9%
Maputo P.	387,489	343,267	44.222	11.4%	12.9%
Maputo C	276.108	242,127	33,981	12.3%	14.0%
Africa	130.598	127.286	3,312	2.5%	2.6%
Rest of the world	1.025	940	85	8.3%	9.0%
Total	4,639,172	4,323,298	315,874	6.8%	7.3%

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 pre-

sidential 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

CIP (2019), 2019 General Elections Bulletin Number 84-21. Maputo

CIP (2019a), 2019 General Elections Bulletin Number 87-27. 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)

REPÚBLICA DE MOÇAMBIQUE

 COMISSÃO NACIONAL DE ELEIÇÕES

 ELEIÇÃO DO PRESIDENTE DA REPÚBLICA

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DISTRITO CHERWE LOCAL 3º BAIRRO DE MUNGONE

DUPLICADO

 USO EXCLUSIVO DOS ÓRGÃOS ELEITORAIS

Código da Assembleia de Voto 092012-02

NÚMERO DE ELEITORES INSCRITOS 800

NÚMERO DE VOTANTES 800

NÚMERO DE ELEITORES QUE NÃO VOTARAM 008

NÚMERO DE VOTOS NA URNA 800

Candidato (Na mesma ordem do boletim de voto)	Votos Obtidos	
	Algarismo	Extenso
Filipe Jacinto Nyusi	<u>(799)</u>	<u>(SETE NOVE NOVA)</u>
Daviz Mbepo Simango	<u>(000)</u>	<u>(ZERO ZERO ZERO)</u>
Ossufo Momade	<u>(001)</u>	<u>(ZERO ZERO UM)</u>
Mário Albino	<u>(000)</u>	<u>(ZERO ZERO ZERO)</u>
Total de Votos em Branco	<u>(000)</u>	<u>(ZERO ZERO ZERO)</u>
Total de Votos Nulos	<u>(000)</u>	<u>(ZERO ZERO ZERO)</u>
Votos Reclamados / Protestados	<u>(000)</u>	<u>(ZERO ZERO ZERO)</u>

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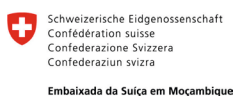


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