

2014 National Elections



Mozambique political process bulletin



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COLLECTIVE ACTION: This newsletter is based on reports from 150 journalists in nearly every district, working together to give the most up to date coverage of the election. We are also working with the Community Radios Forum (FORCOM) and the Human Rights League.

More evidence of ballot box stuffing

Reports of impossibly high turnouts are providing more evidence of ballot box stuffing. Turnouts of more than 80% of registered voters are highly unlikely in Mozambique, especially in rural areas where people have to walk long distances. It is much more likely that there has been ballot box stuffing, either putting unused ballot papers into the ballot box, or simply changing the results sheet (edital) at the end of the day. This occurs more easily in polling station where opposition parties have not been able to place delegates or polling station staff to watch the process.

Most extreme is Gaza, where five districts report very high turnouts: **Chicualacuala** 89%, **Chigubo** 82%, **Mabalane** 80%, **Massangena** 96% and **Massingir** 92%. These results are especially suspect when compared to equally loyal Frelimo areas of Gaza, such as Mandlakazi where the turnout was a more average 56%.

These five are small rural districts, but they have probably added 20,000 false votes for Frelimo candidate Filipe Nyussi.

The Electoral Observatory (EO) also points to suspiciously high turnouts in **Guija**, Gaza, where we do not have a district result yet.

Another suspect district is **Ka Nanyaka in Maputo city**, which reported a turnout of 79% compared to a city-wide turnout of 60%. Again the EO finds suspiciously high turnouts in the sample polling stations in that district.

Mabote district, Inhambane, with 81% turnout, was also reported by EO observers to have an impossibly high turnout.

EO data also point to ballot box stuffing in these districts:

Cabo Delgado: **Muidumbe**

Inhambane: **Inhassoro**, and **Panda**

Nampula: **Iilha de Moçambique** and **Nacala-a-Velha**

Niassa: **Mecula**

Tete: **Cahora Bassa**, **Changara**, and **Zumbo**

Most of these districts are strongly pro-Frelimo. The Tete districts are majority Frelimo with a significant Renamo vote. The Nampula districts are divided and hard fought. Ilha de Moçambique and Changara have a long history of ballot box stuffing in favour of Frelimo.

Historically, nearly all ballot box stuffing has been in favour of Frelimo and its presidential candidate.

More than 5% of ballot boxes stuffed

We estimate that there was significant ballot box stuffing in more than 5% of polling stations, which probably increased the vote for Frelimo candidate Filipe Nyusi by more than 100,000.

Using the Electoral Observatory sample count, we also estimate that there were problems such as very late opening or changed location for about 130 polling stations. Observers and party delegates reported cases of polling stations having an additional register book which was not on the official list of polling stations and register books. We suggest this happened in up to 250 polling stations. The full report and analysis is below.

The Electoral Observatory sample count collected data from observers in 1770 polling stations which were selected by statistical methods to be an accurate sample of the more than 17,000 polling stations. That information can be used to estimate the scale of problems.

We suggest that any turnout above 80% is irregular and probably indicates ballot box stuffing. And the sample count found that 5% of all polling stations had a higher turnout. If that percentage applies to all polling stations, that suggests that there was significant ballot box stuffing by polling station staff (MMVs, membros das mesas de voto) in more than 850 polling stations, which could have added more than 100,000 votes for Filipe Nyusi, the Frelimo presidential candidate. If that 100,000 is removed from his total, his share of the vote in the provincial count published yesterday would fall nearly 1%, from 56.8% down to 55.9%

Turnouts of over 80% were particularly noted in Tete, Gaza, Inhambane, and Cabo Delgado.

This estimate is based only on large-scale ballot box stuffing. We have also reported smaller scale ballot box stuffing, of a few extra ballot papers. That cannot be identified by these statistical methods.

Minor correction

In our table of results yesterday, a misheard telephone report deprived Afonso Dhlakama of some votes. He actually received 357,000 in Zambézia. This makes the provincial national totals:

Afonso Dhlakama	1,777,093	36.77%
Filipe Nyusi	2,744,066	56.78%
Daviz Simango	311,358	6.44%

The full table, with corrections, is posted on <http://www.cip.org.mz/election2013/>
We will update this table as we receive more complete versions of provincial totals.

We now have results for 107 of 150 districts, which are posted on <http://www.cip.org.mz/election2013/>

Provincial and district totals are before the inclusion of thousands of requalified votes. The CNE estimates that there are 700,000 invalid votes (nullos), and all of them are being reconsidered by the National Elections Commission. In more than 10% of cases, the CNE concludes that polling station staff have been too harsh, and the intent of the voter was clear even if the mark was not

precisely in the right square. These votes are then added in, and could increase the total by tens of thousands.

PVT proved accurate

The parallel sample count (PVT, parallel votes tabulation) produced by EISA for the Electoral Observatory again proved to be quite accurate. Their final estimate, based on a sample of just over 10% of polling stations, was

Dhlakama: 35.22%

Nyusi 57.24%

Simango 7.54%

COMMENT: PVT serves as a confirmation

The PVT provides an essential check on the electoral process. There have been widespread reports of the chaos and confusion around the district and provincial counts, including reports and arrests of officials trying to change the results.

Because the PVT is based on official copies of the results sheets (editais) collected by independent national observers at the polling station, the PVT provides an important check on any manipulation done at district, provincial and national level. Because the PVT prediction remains close to the provincial results, this suggests that there has been relatively little manipulation at intermediate levels, despite the confusion, and thus the results so far are approximately correct.

The PVT does not serve as a formal check on what happens at the polling station, but as we note in the articles above, we can make estimates of polling station misconduct. And we will continue to do so over the next few days. *jh*

Two arrests in Beira for electoral fraud

Two election officials have been arrested in Beira for trying to tamper with the results, according to the Beira daily newspaper *Diário de Moçambique*. The MDM-nominated member of the Sofala Provincial Elections Commission (Comissão Provincial de Eleições, CPE), Lucas Zabica, was arrested Wednesday for trying to change the district edital for Chibabava to give more votes to MDM and Renamo and fewer to Frelimo.

The head of operations for Beira city STAE (Secretariado Técnico de Administração Eleitoral), Sónia Zimba or Dzimba, was arrested Tuesday after having been caught Monday changing polling station editais. *Canal de Moçambique* Wednesday reported that she sent staff out to lunch and then tried to replace editais from Manga Laforte neighbourhood with ones that gave more votes to Frelimo.

ISS: 'Resumption of hostilities was a political masterstroke'

"As unlikely as it may seem, Renamo's return to the bush had proved to be a most effective campaign strategy," writes South Africa's Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in its analysis of the election

"Far from being Renamo's death knell, its resumption of hostilities was a political masterstroke. It was able to depict itself as the party that was able to take real action to defend its principles, which it argued were for the good of Mozambique as a whole. Dhlakama's rhetoric on the campaign trail echoed this, and emphasised values such as tolerance and unity, which contrasted sharply with Frelimo's either-with-us-or-against-us approach."

"Oddly enough, by pulling out of the democratic process, Renamo was able to demonstrate its commitment to it; at least as far as its constituency is concerned," ISS says.

<http://www.polity.org.za/article/renamos-renaissance-and-civil-war-as-election-strategy-2014-10-22>

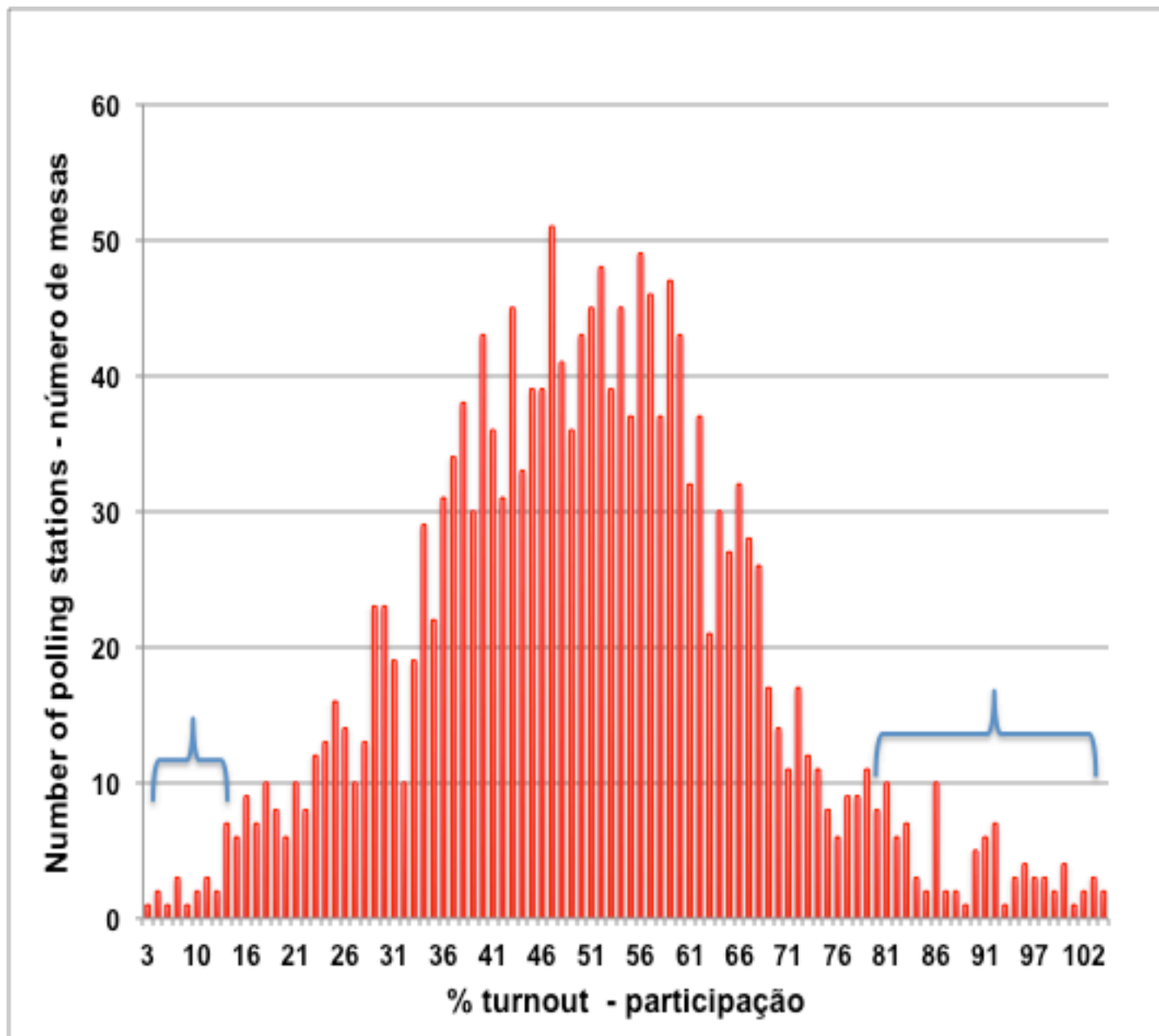
Bulletin study 1

Special report on turnout at PVT polling stations

By Joseph Hanlon, 24 October 2014

This chart shows the turnout at the 1770 polling stations sampled as part of the Electoral Observatory PVT (parallel vote tabulation), a statistically representative sample of one-tenth of the 17,000 polling stations.

We have divided the turnout into 1% bands, and each bar shows the number of polling stations with that turnout. Thus the tallest bar shows that 51 polling stations had a turnout of 47%. The distribution is as we would expect, but we can use this chart to look for anomalies at the ends.



Very low turnout and possible late opening

On the left, the bracket highlights 15 polling stations with a turnout of less than 13%. This is a relatively small group of 0.8% of polling stations with an extremely low turnout. These are likely to be polling stations which opened very late, where there was confusion over register books, or where the polling station was moved and the voters were not told. Although the number is low, it does suggest that STAE had problems with approximately 150 polling stations, which could be considered to be too high.

Very high turnout and possible ballot box stuffing

Looking at the right of the chart, we see that turnout falls steadily, but there is an increase at 80%. We consider very high turnouts to be suspicious, and the bracket on the right is of 89 polling stations with a turnout from 81% to 104%. There are very few polling stations where nearly everyone votes, and these very high turnouts are an indication of possible ballot box stuffing. This is quite a large group, 5% of all sample polling stations.

Thus this suggests ballot box stuffing in 850 polling stations, 5% of the total. The average polling station has 590 voters and turnout was about 50%, or 295 on average. Taking the turnout up to just 85% would add 205 ballot papers to each polling station, or an extra 175,000 nationally. Many of the affected polling stations were smaller and less closely monitored, so we cannot be sure of such a large number. But we suggest that these polling stations accounted for more than 100,000 extra votes.

If 100,000 votes were taken away from Filipe Nyusi's total, his share of the vote in the provincial count published yesterday would fall nearly 1%, from 56.8% down to 55.9%.

The Electoral Observatory noted particularly serious problems of excessively high turnout in:

- Cabo Delgado: Muidumbe
- Gaza: Massangena, Chicualacuala, and Chigubo
- Inhambane: Mabote, Inhassoro, and Panda
- Maputo City: KaNyaka
- Nampula: Ilha de Moçambique and Nacala-a-Velha
- Niassa: Mecula
- Tete: Zumbo, Changara, Cahora Bassa, and Chiuta

This must be an absolute minimum of irregularities, because there were largely polling stations where observers were present.

Extra books?

Not included in the analysis above are 25 polling stations with a turnout above 104%, with turnout going up to 10 times the number of voters who should have been on the register according to the official list. For example, in Angonia, Tete, at EP1 de Chinkhwamba the official list had only 50 voters but 409 people voted. This could be a typing error, and EP1 de Chinkhwamba might have had 500 registered voters and not 50, but we cannot be sure. At least in some cases, we think this reflects the problem of some polling stations have received an extra registration book which was not on the official list, which some observers and party delegates have noted. The problem was most serious in Nampula province.

25 polling stations is a quite large 1.4% of the sample. This suggests that up to 250 polling stations had extra, unreported, register books. This was particularly noted in:

Cabo Delgado: Macomia and Mocimboa da Praia,
Gaza: Chigumbo
Maputo province: Boane
Niassa: Lago and Maua
Maputo province: Magude,
Nampula: Angoche, Erati, Moma, Muecate and Nacala-a-Velha
Sofala: Beira
Tete: Angónia, Chiuta, Moatize, and Mutarara
Zambézia: Nicoadala

A detailed report on the 2009 elections is available, in two parts, on
<http://bit.ly/MozElec2009-1a> and <http://bit.ly/MozElec2009-2>

The Portuguese edition of the Bulletin is more detailed, and can be read on
<http://www.cip.org.mz/election2013/> Portuguese Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/CIP.Eleicoes>
Some English bulletins cover two Portuguese bulletins and have a double number.

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