

2014 National Elections



Mozambique political process bulletin



Special study 1 27 October 2014

Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)
Deputy editor: Adriano Nuvunga News editor: Teles Ribeiro Reporter: Idalêncio Sitoê

Published by CIP, Centro de Integridade Pública e AWEPA, European Parliamentarians for Africa

Material may be freely reprinted. Please cite the *Bulletin*

web: bit.ly/NatElec

Facebook in Portuguese: <https://www.facebook.com/CIP.Eleicoes>

To subscribe: <http://tinyurl.com/sub-moz>

Bulletin special study 1

Special report on turnout at PVT polling stations

By Joseph Hanlon, revised 27 October 2014

In this report we look at polling station turnout as recorded by the PVT (parallel vote tabulation) as recorded by EISA for the Electoral Observatory. The data covers 1797 polling stations which was a statistically representative sample of 10.6% of the 17,012 polling stations. The observers collected the data from the official results sheet (edital), either by obtaining an official copy as provided for in the law, or copying the results from the posted edital.

We identify two groups of polling stations where we think the data shows ballot box stuffing.

1) Where there is a very high turnout.

2) Where there are significantly more votes for president than for Assembleia da República.

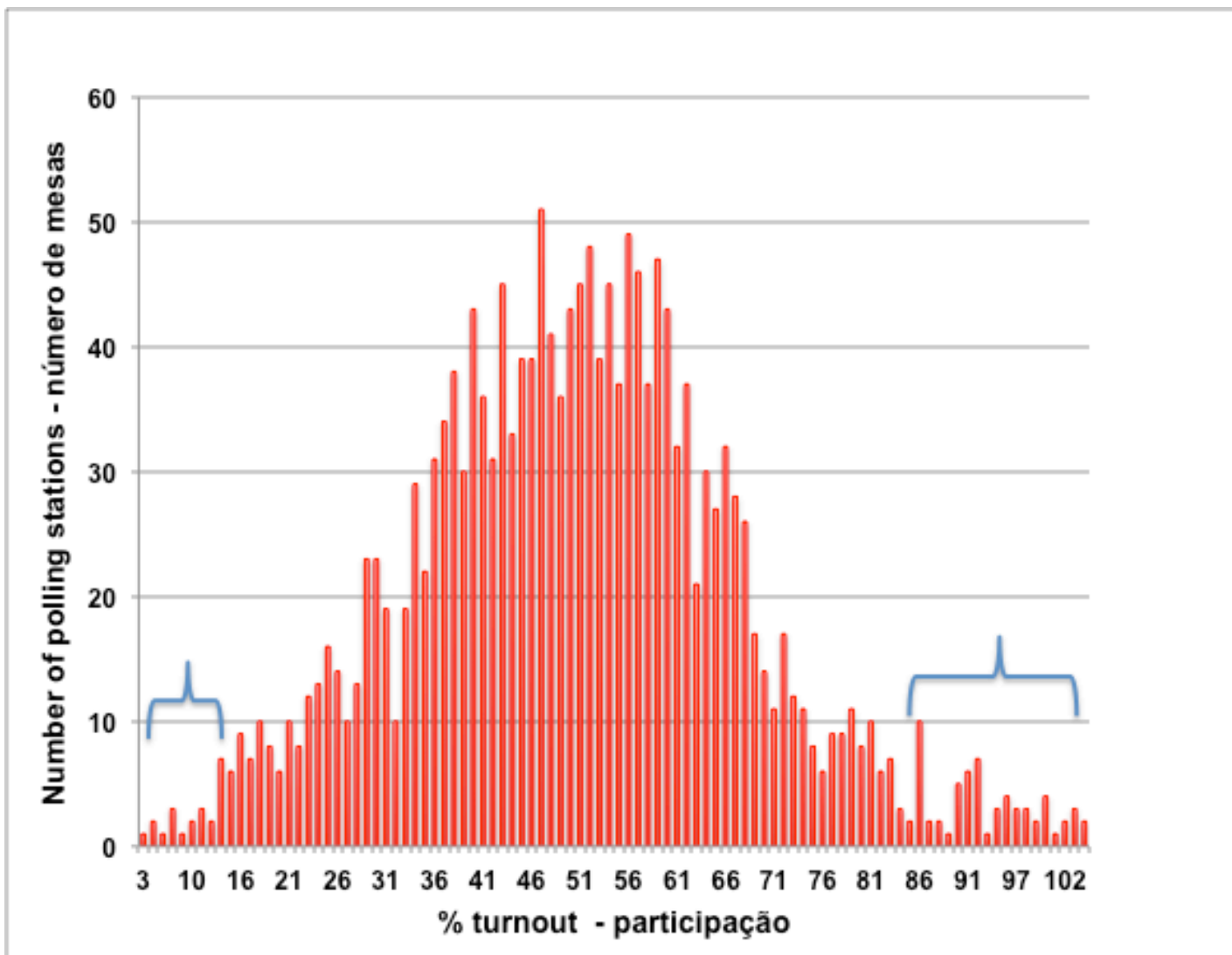
This analyses of the PVT data suggests that there may be more than 105,000 extra votes. This is a mix of two things, actually putting extra physical ballot papers into ballot boxes. or, probably more commonly, simply adding extra numbers to editais when no one is watching. We loosely call both "ballot box stuffing".

We also identify two other groups of polling station where we think the turnout data indicates administrative problems on the part of STAE (Secretariado Técnico da Administração Eleitoral; Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration) which could have deprived people of the right to vote or could have opened the way for extra people to vote:

3) Polling stations where there was very low turnout, which we think shows polling stations which opened very late or where there were problems with register books.

4) Polling stations where the number of people voted ranged from 105% to ten times the number given on the official STAE list. We think this was unlikely to be ballot box stuffing, but rather indicated polling stations with unrecorded extra register books.

For groups 1) and 3) above, we use a chart, below, of polling station turnout. The chart shows the turnout at 1770 of the sample polling stations, excluding 27 polling stations with a turnout of over 105%, which are discussed as part of group 4). 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%. We explain in the statistical note at the end that this chart shows anomalies at the ends, where there is exceptionally small or exceptionally high turnout, as shown by the brackets.



1) Very high turnout and possible ballot box stuffing

Looking at the right of the chart, we see that turnout falls steadily, but there is a sudden peak at 86% and some high rates after that. In real life people are sick or tired or busy and very few polling station ever have a real turnout of nearly everyone in the register book. Based on the statistical note at the end, we consider turnouts about 85% to be suspicious, and the bracket on the right shows the data of 63 polling stations with a turnout above 85% and below 105%. This is quite a large group, 3.6% of all sample polling stations.

The PVT showed an average turnout of 50%, and in these 63 polling stations we estimate there was an average of 142 voters each who could be considered "extra". If we then extrapolate these number to the entire 17,012 national polling stations, 3.6% of polling stations is 612 polling stations with a much too high turnout and thus ballot box stuffing. If each had 142 "extra" voters as in the PVT sample, this would mean 87,000 "extra voters" - or we would think a mix of extra ballot papers stuffed into the ballot boxes and extra numbers added to the editais.

Polling stations with such a high turnout tend to be smaller. 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

2) More votes for President

A different kind of warning signal is suggested by voting patterns where many more people vote for president than for parliament. The ballot boxes are side-by-side and can be easily seen by staff and observers, and voters are very rarely seen to be depositing ballots in one box but not another. Thus a big difference suggests ballot box stuffing for the presidential vote but not the parliamentary one. This was not as common as high turnouts, but it was seen by the PVT observers. In 1.2% of polling stations, the results show that between 10% and 90% of voters deposited ballots for president and not for parliament.

Some polling stations fall into both the first and second groups. For example, one polling station in EPC de Nhaacamba in Changara, Tete, had a 100% turnout, but 21% of those voters did not bother to put a vote in the parliamentary ballot box. Changara has been notorious for ballot box stuffing in past elections.

We can exclude those polling stations already counted in group 1) for excessively high turnout. But in the remaining polling stations, we find that ballots placed in the presidential ballot box but not in the parliamentary box were 0.4% of the entire presidential vote as measured by the PVT. If applied to all polling stations, this suggests that 20,000 people voted for President and not parliament. We believe that a high majority of these will be due to a form of ballot box stuffing.

More than one-third of the polling stations where there was a difference between votes for president compared with votes for parliament were in Zambézia, particularly Alto Molocué, Ile, and Nicoladala. Other districts which showed high levels of this behaviour were:

Cabo Delgado, Chiure
Nampula: Angoche and Mossuril.

The analyses above points to at least 85,000 extra ballots where turnout was too high and 20,000 more where many voted for president but not parliament. These votes probably went to Filipe Nyusi. This figure of 105,000 must be an absolute minimum of irregularities, because the PVT is largely from polling stations where observers were present, and polling station staff are less likely to be involved in misconduct if someone is watching.

If 105,000 votes were taken away from Filipe Nyusi's total, his share of the vote in the provincial count published on 24 October would fall by 1%, from 56.8% down to 55.8%.

HISTORICAL NOTE: The CNE recently quietly released detailed results of the 2009 election. Changara, Tete, has been notorious for ballot box stuffing. In 2009 there were 60,855 people registered, of whom 53,567 (88%) voted, and 52,595 (86%) voted for Armando Guebuza. Also in Tete, Magoe district had an 82% turnout and Zumbo 87%.

3) Very low turnout and possible late opening

On the left of the chart above, the bracket highlights 15 polling stations with an extremely low turnout of less than 13%. This is 0.8% of polling stations in the PVT sample. 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 0.8%, or approximately 150, polling stations. The problem was most notable in Zambézia, Nampula, Niassa, and Sofala.

4) Extra books?

The PVT showed 27 polling stations with a turnout above 105%, with turnout going up to 10 times the number of voters who should have been on the register according to the official list. This remains completely unexplained.

We think a few may simply be typing errors, most obviously in Angonia, Tete, at EP1 de Chinkhwamba the official list had only 50 voters but 409 people voted. This polling station might have had 500 registered voters and not 50, and the number was input incorrectly.

Observers and party delegates noted that some polling stations had extra register books which were not on their lists, and we think most of these 27 polling stations are examples of unreported extra register books. These polling stations are 1.4% of the sample, which suggests that up to 250 polling stations had extra, unreported, register books. These tend to be polling stations with larger numbers of people voting, and they accounted for 2.5% of the votes in the PVT sample.

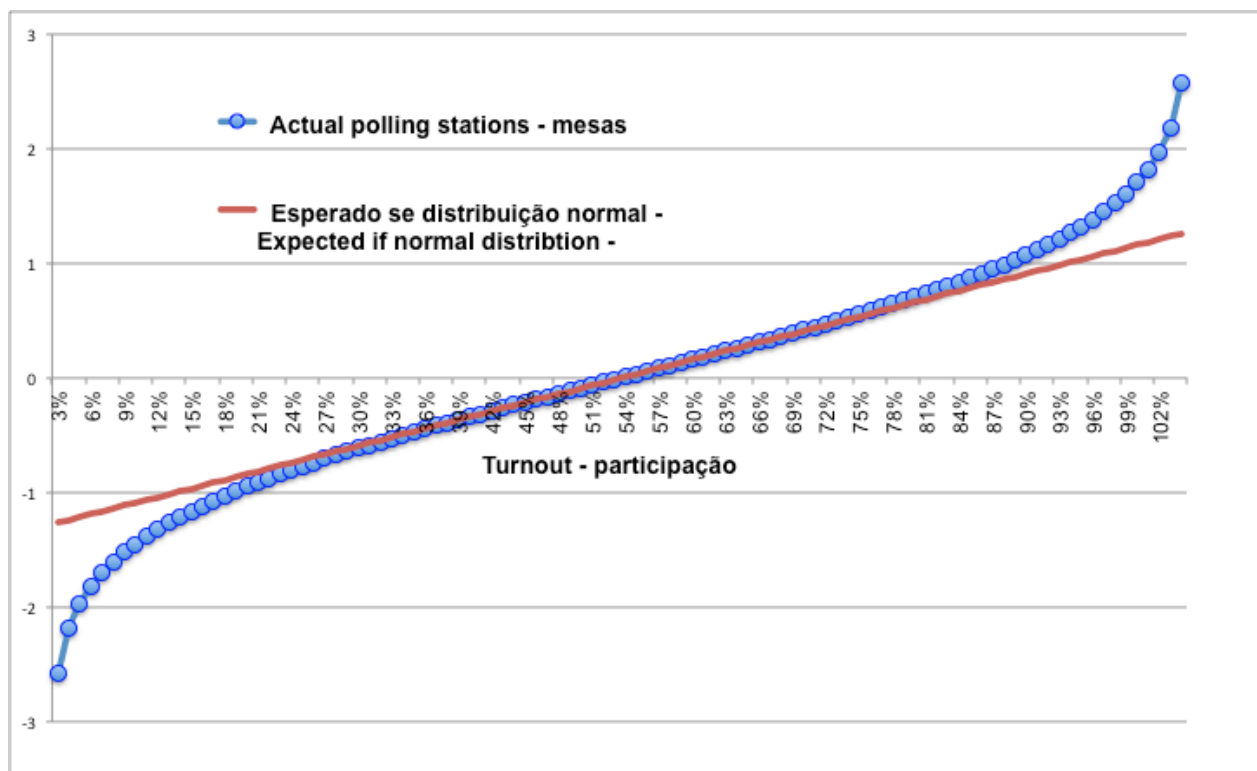
The problem was most serious in Nampula province, in Angoche, Erati, Moma, Muecate and Nacala-a-Velha. It was also noted in:

- Cabo Delgado: Macomia and Mocimboa da Praia,
- Gaza: Chigumbo
- Maputo province: Boane
- Niassa: Lago and Maua
- Maputo province: Magude,
- Sofala: Beira
- Tete: Angonia, Chiuta, Moatize, and Mutarara
- Zambézia: Nicoadala

STATISTICAL NOTE:

In the chart above we bracket areas of high and low turnout. But we need to ask at what point we consider the data to be anomalous. Many events in nature and life involving large groups of people or plants, ranging from height to voter turnout, follow what is called a normal (or Gaussian) distribution - a chart shows a peak in the middle and the incidence drops off evenly on both sides. This is what we see in the chart above from 20% to 80% turnout. But what about below 20% and above 80%?

The normal probability plot is a graphical technique to identify substantive departures from a normal distribution. Data is sorted from smallest to largest and processed so that a normal distribution gives a straight line. Deviations from a straight line suggest departures from normality. The chart below is the normal probability plot for voter turnout. As expected, it is completely normal in the middle, but the way the data turns away from the straight line suggests that there are too many polling stations with below 20% turnout and above 85% turnout. Based on this chart, we selected 85% above when we calculated excessive turnout.



Mozambique Political Process Bulletin

Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

Deputy editor: Adriano Nuvunga News editor: Teles Ribeiro Reporter: Idalêncio Sitoê

Material may be freely reprinted and circulated. Please cite the Bulletin.

Published by CIP and AWEPA

web: bit.ly/NatElec

CIP, Centro de Integridade Pública, Rua B (1335) Nr. 79, Bairro da Coop. Maputo. Moçambique.

(CP 3266) Maputo www.cip.org.mz cip@cip.org.mz Tel: +258 21 492 335, 823 016 391, 843 890 584

AWEPA, the European Parliamentarians with Africa, Rua Licenciado Coutinho 77 (CP 2648) Maputo

awepa@awepa.org.mz Tel: +258 21 418 603, 21 418 608, 21 418 626

To subscribe: <http://tinyurl.com/sub-moz> **To unsubscribe:** <http://tinyurl.com/unsub-moz>

To opt-out from the election bulletin but still receive other Mozambique-related publications, send an email to j.hanlon@open.ac.uk with just "no election" in the subject line.

Para subscrever a este boletim em **Português**, envie uma mensagem para j.hanlon@open.ac.uk apenas com a palavra "subscrever" na linha de assunto.

Academic citations: Cite as "2014 National Elections, Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, Maputo"
