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GUINE-BISSAU

LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS AND COALITIONS

LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS IN GUINEA-BISSAU

The objective of this study is to analyze:

1. What the results of the 2023 elections would be, considering a coalition composed of the political parties MADEM G15, PRS, PTG, and APU-PDGB on one side, and the PAI TERRA RANKA coalition on the other.
2. To forecast the results of the Legislative Elections scheduled for November 23, 2025.

It is worth recalling that in the tenth legislature, a new majority was formed through a Parliamentary Incidence Agreement, grouping MADEM G15, PRS, APU-PDGB, and five deputies from PAIGC, allowing governance until the elections of June 4, 2023. For the first time in Guinea-Bissau's political history since the introduction of multiparty democracy, PAIGC did not appear on the list of candidates in a legislative election. Instead, it participated in a coalition named PAI TERRA RANKA, alongside the parties PCD, MDG, PSD, UM, and possibly other parties with lesser electoral expression.

This was a strategic move by PAIGC, enabling it to secure an absolute majority of 54 seats. It is important to highlight that clear indications from the last presidential elections suggested that only a coalition—or rather, a concentration of support—could lead to electoral success, whether in legislative or presidential contests. The latter, however, has particularities that can strongly influence voters due to the direct voting system.

Assuming voters act rationally and follow the voting guidance of their party leaders, and considering the existence of ethnic solidarity votes or other voting motivations, this study explores the hypothesis that in the 2023 legislative elections, MADEM G15, PRS, PTG, and APU formed a coalition—here referred to as the MADEM G15 Coalition—where all useful votes from these four parties were consolidated. This forms the basis of the study's analysis.

Electoral Districts and Mandates

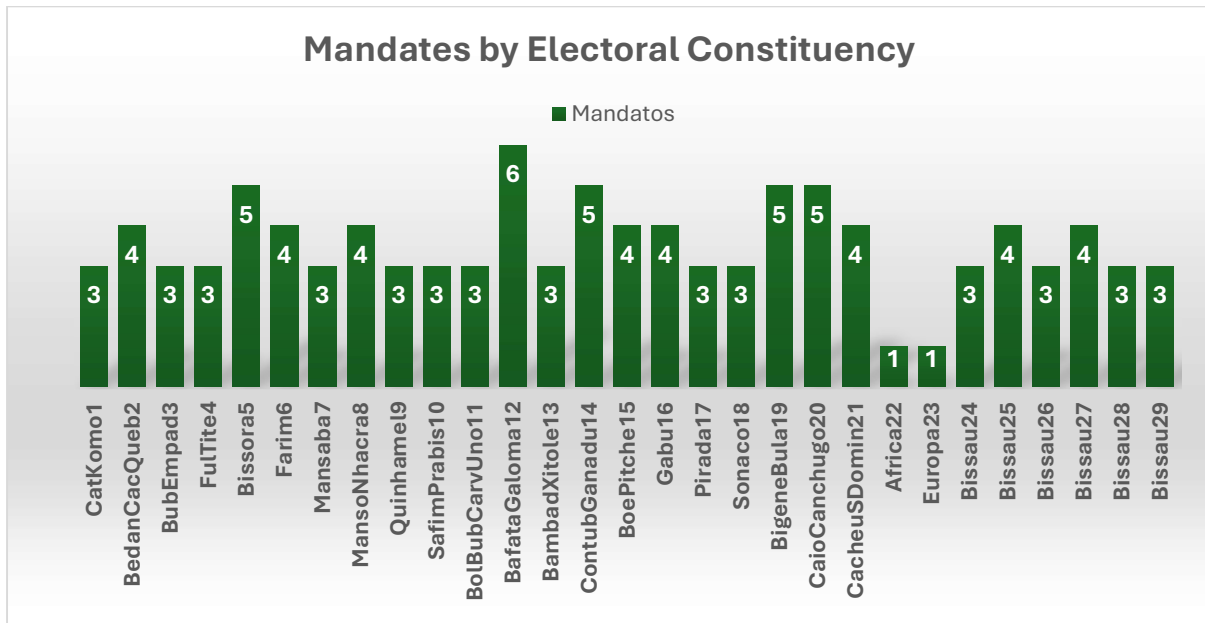
The data analysed in this study are numerical results from the 2023 Legislative Elections, produced and published by the National Electoral Commission (CNE) of Guinea-Bissau. All calculations, tables, and graphics are my own.

The structure of mandates per electoral district in Guinea-Bissau, among the 29 districts, is as follows:

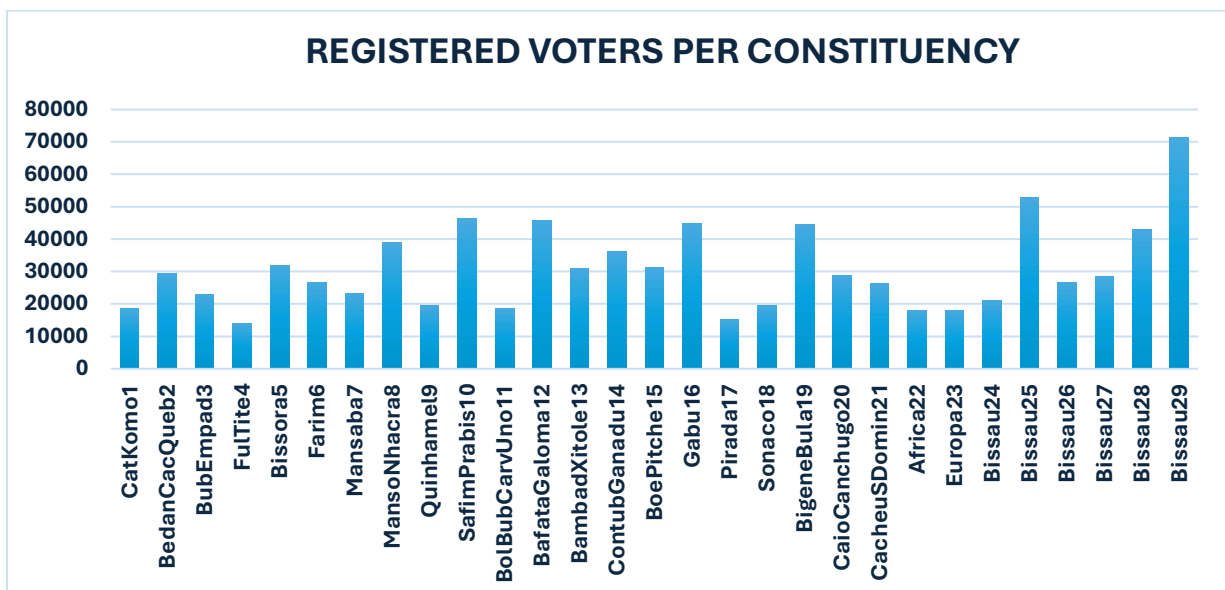
- 1 district with 6 mandates
- 4 districts with 5 mandates

- 8 districts with 4 mandates
- 14 constituencies with 3 seats each
- 2 constituencies with 1 seat each

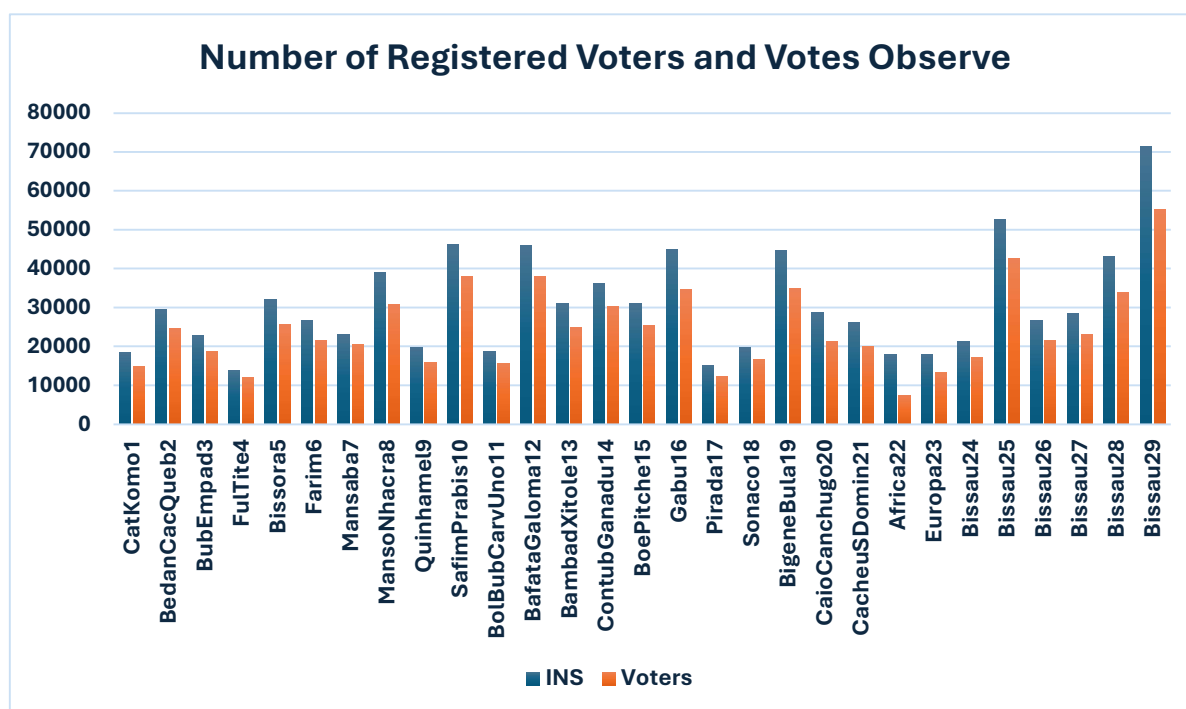
This distribution of seats by electoral constituency totals **102 seats**, which define the composition of the parliamentary groups. The chart below shows how the seats are distributed across the different electoral constituencies in **Guinea-Bissau**.



It's worth highlighting that **Electoral Constituency 12, Bafata Galomaro**, has **6 seats**, making it the constituency with the highest number of seats in this structure. I'd like to emphasize that this analysis focuses solely on individual constituencies, not on regional divisions. Electoral Constituency 12 stands out to me for another reason: **What is its electoral size?**



In terms of the number of voters, Circle 12 (Bafata Galomaro) is not the largest electoral circle. Excluding the Electoral Circles of the Autonomous Sector of Bissau, which obviously have a higher population density, it is worth highlighting another interesting conclusion. Electoral Circles 10 (Safim Prabís) and 12 (Bafata Galomaro) have approximately the same number of registered voters, with a difference of 317 in favour of Safim Prabís, as shown below.



This observation does not allow for a conclusive justification as to why Bafata Galomaro received a higher number of mandates compared to the number of registered voters in other constituencies such as:

- Constituency 10 Safim Prabís – 46,207 registered voters
- Constituency 12 Bafata Galomaro – 45,890 registered voters
- Constituency 16 Gabu – 44,935 registered voter
- Constituency 19 Bigene Bula – 44,702 registered voters

The abstention rate in Constituency 10 is 20.68%, while in Constituency 12 it is 23.44%. The overall average abstention rate stands at 25.27%, which also generally indicates that Guineans participated in the 2023 electoral process.

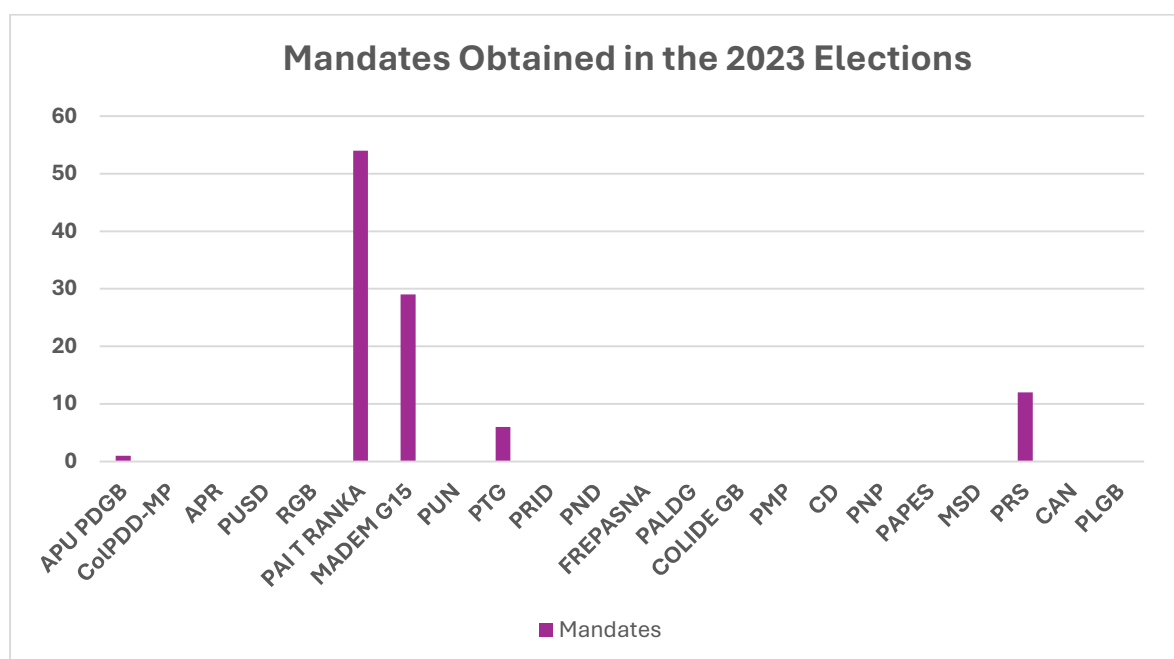
Other determining variables that might explain why Constituency 12 was given this advantage over other electoral constituencies are not available to me.

All data used here refers to those published by the National Electoral Commission (CNE) from the latest Legislative Elections of 2023 and obviously based on the most recent updates to the electoral rolls.

The results of these elections are known and widely disseminated. To recall:

- APU PDGB – 1 mandate
- PAI TERRA RANKA – 54 mandates
 - MADEM G15 – 29 Seats
 - PRS – 12 Seats
 - PTG – 6 Seats

From a general perspective of the competing political parties, the results indicate that there are many candidates vying for a limited number of seats across the electoral constituencies.



APU-PDGB, having secured only one seat or elected deputy, nearly disappears from this chart. Another equally important observation is the significant number of votes that do not translate into seats—votes that the **D'Hondt method** effectively excludes. In the most recent elections, **670,257 voters** participated, and under the D'Hondt method, **57,508 votes** were left out, representing **8.58%** of the total valid votes cast. Too many candidates for too few seats.

Only **five parties** won seats out of a total of **22 contesting parties**: APU, PAI TERRA RANKA, MADEM G15, PTG, and PRS. The remaining parties saw their votes go unrepresented electorally—**17 parties** with minimal electoral expression.

Political parties that remain outside any coalition, platform, or alliance have little chance of securing seats. A new political era is unfolding in **Guinea-Bissau**. Democracy is taking its first steps in the right direction, and all parties have begun to understand this shift.

They now recognize that there are few seats available for many partisan candidates, and the only viable solution is to **form coalitions**.

Today in Guinea-Bissau, nearly all parties are part of some coalition, regardless of the name they choose to identify with. There are numerous names such as **PAI TERRA RANKA**, **API CABAZ GRANDE**, **PLATAFORMA REPUBLICANA**, **KUMBA LANTA**, **ACORDOS DE PARIS**, among others. All these movements share a single objective: to **concentrate a larger number of votes** in legislative elections—and eventually presidential ones—which brings benefits by reducing the excessive number of parties within an electoral structure that offers few seats per constituency.

The following results table clearly illustrates the foundation of this analysis.

sequence	Party acronym	TotVotesObt	Total seats won
1	APU PDGB	29787	1
2	CoIPDD-MP	2600	0
3	APR	757	0
4	PUSD	1070	0
5	RGB	10989	0
6	PAI T RANKA	264240	54
7	MADEM G15	163509	29
8	PUN	2368	0
9	PTG	54784	6
10	PRID	2363	0
11	PND	7111	0
12	FREPASNA	6379	0
13	PALDG	1657	0
14	COLIDE GB	5200	0
15	PMP	717	0
16	CD	303	0
17	PNP	1155	0
18	PAPES	4272	0
19	MSD	3020	0
20	PRS	100429	12
21	CAN	4526	0
22	PLGB	3021	0
TOTAL		670257	102
Ineffective votes		57508	
Percent Votes Ineffective		8.58%	

Of the 102 seats in the 2023 elections:

- 54 for PAI TERRA RANKA
- 29 for MADEM G15
- 12 for PRS
- 6 for PTG
- 1 for APU PDGB

We observe here tens of thousands of wasted votes that did not result in any parliamentary seats.

Had these votes been integrated into a coalition, the outcome would have been entirely different—especially when applying the calculations of the D'Hondt method.

Before exploring that shift, let us examine what the method determines by using Electoral Constituency 21 as an example from the 2023 elections, where the vote difference between PAI TERRA RANKA and MADEM G15 was relatively small.

Practical Case of the D'Hondt Method – Electoral Constituency 21

ELECTIONS 2023 CONSTITUENCY 21 CACHEU SAO DOMINGOS - 4 MandatES													Wastes
Divisor	RGB	PAI T RANKA	MADEM G15	PTG	PRID	FREPASNA	COLIDGB	PMP	PNP	PAPES	PRS	PLGB	
1	1025	6055	4428	1648	189	158	367	122	119	255	2370	445	4328
2	513	3028	2214	824	95	79	184	61	60	128	1185	223	
3	342	2018	1476	549	63	53	122	41	40	85	790	148	

In this Constituency, PAI TERRA RANKA won 2 seats, MADEM G15 won 1 seat, and PRS won 1 seat, as detailed below:

- **First seat** awarded to PAI TERRA RANKA (first) with a quotient of **6,055**
- **Second seat** awarded to MADEM G15 (first) with a quotient of **4,428**
- **Third seat** awarded to PAI TERRA RANKA (second) with a quotient of **3,028**
- **Fourth seat** awarded to PRS (first) with a quotient of **2,370**

WHAT WOULD BE THE OUTCOME OF THE 2023 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS?

Considering a coalition (CoalitionMADEM) that includes MADEM G15, PRS, PTG, and APU PDGB (based on the observed vote concentration), the outcome would be as follows:

Constituency		ColigPAI	ColigMADEM	Mandatos
CatKomo	1	1	2	3
BedanCacQueb	2	1	3	4
BubEmpad	3	1	2	3
FulTite	4	1	2	3
Bissora	5	1	4	5
Farim	6	2	2	4
Mansaba	7	1	2	3
MansoNhacra	8	1	3	4
Quinhamel	9	1	2	3
SafimPrabis	10	2	1	3
BolBubCarvUno	11	2	1	3
BafataGaloma	12	2	4	6
BambadXitole	13	1	2	3
ContubGanadu	14	1	4	5
BoePitche	15	1	3	4
Gabu	16	1	3	4
Pirada	17	0	3	3
Sonaco	18	0	3	3
BigeneBula	19	2	3	5
CaioCanchugo	20	2	3	5
CacheuSDomin	21	1	3	4
Africa	22	0	1	1
Europa	23	1	0	1
Bissau	24	2	1	3
Bissau	25	2	2	4
Bissau	26	2	1	3
Bissau	27	2	2	4
Bissau	28	2	1	3
Bissau	29	2	1	3
TOTAL MANDATES		38	64	102

The MADEM Coalition would hold an absolute majority with 64 Members of Parliament, while the PAI TERRA RANKA Coalition would secure 38 seats. No other political party outside these two coalitions would have any chance of obtaining even a single seat.

After calculations were made using the D'Hondt method, circle by circle, the surplus or invalid votes would not significantly affect this outcome. Returning to Circle 21 (which allocates 4 seats), the scenario under the D'Hondt method (see previous table) grants 3

seats to the MADEM Coalition (9,252 votes) and 1 seat to PAI TERRA RANKA (6,055 votes). The surplus votes amount to 3,170, distributed among 8 minor parties, with RGB standing out (1,025 votes). If these votes were integrated into the PAI TERRA RANKA Coalition, the number of seats under the D'Hondt method would be split evenly between the two coalitions, 2 seats each.

Considering only the candidate parties that received votes in this circle, we have:

CONSTITUENCY 21 CACHEU SAO DOMINGOS - 4 Mandates												wastes
Divisor	RGB	PAI T RANKA	ColigMADEM	PRID	FRPASNA	PALDG	COLIDEGB	PMP	PNP	PAPES	PLGB	
1	1025	6055	9252	189	158	490	367	122	119	255	445	3170
2	513	3028	4626	95	79	245	184	61	60	128	223	
3	342	2018	3084	63	53	163	122	41	40	85	148	

The D'Hondt method allocates 3 seats to the MADEM Coalition and 1 seat to the PAI TERRA RANKA Coalition, based on divisors 1, 2, and 3. The allocation is as follows:

- First seat awarded to the MADEM Coalition (first quotient): 9,252
- Second seat awarded to the PAI TERRA RANKA Coalition (first quotient): 6,055
- Third seat awarded to the MADEM Coalition (second quotient): 4,626
- Fourth seat awarded to the MADEM Coalition (third quotient): 3,084

The remaining parties were not awarded any seats, although their total vote count amounts to 3,170 (note that RGB received 1,025 votes in this constituency).

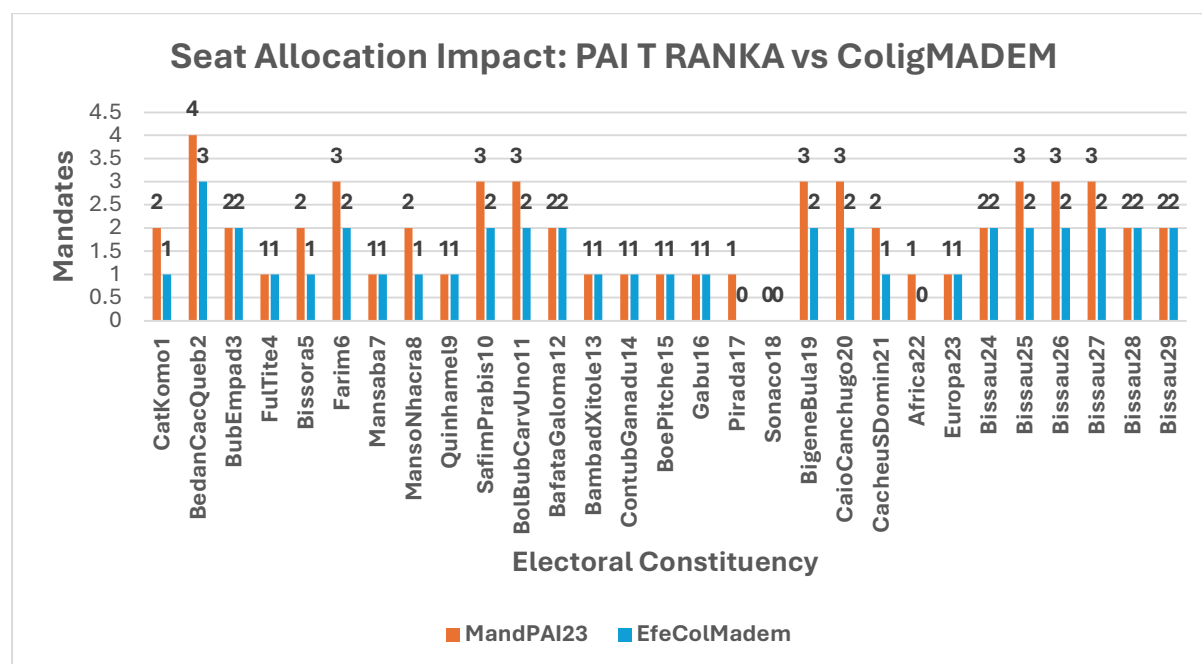
Now, assuming these parties were part of the PAI TERRA RANKA Coalition, the result would be 2 seats for PAI TERRA RANKA and 2 seats for the MADEM Coalition, as shown below:

CONSTITUENCY 21 CACHEU SAO DOMINGOS - 4 Mandates												
Divisor	RGB	PAI T RANKA	ColigMADEM	PRID	FRPASNA	PALDG	COLIDEGB	PMP	PNP	PAPES	PLGB	
1	0	6055	9252	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2	0	3028	4626	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	2018	3084	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

This is precisely what the D'Hondt method does. Since there are only four seats available, the fewer the number of candidate parties, the greater their chances of securing mandates. Conversely, this becomes a foregone disaster for smaller parties.

The last scenario assumes that no other parties exist and that only the two coalitions are running. It is worth recalling that PAI TERRA RANKA won the 2023 elections by running as a coalition composed of several small parties—an approach that makes a significant difference in the allocation of seats, as we will see further ahead.

THE CONTEST FOR SEATS



This chart presents a comparison between the results obtained by the PAI TERRA RANKA Coalition in the 2023 legislative elections across all constituencies (in orange), and the projected results for PAI TERRA RANKA (in blue) in a hypothetical scenario where MADEM had contested as a coalition in the same election.

Had MADEM run as a coalition in the last elections, PAI TERRA RANKA would have lost its dominance in many constituencies and would not have secured seats in Pirada17 and Africa22. The constituencies where PAI TERRA RANKA would have lost one seat total 13:

- CatKomo1
- BedanCacQueb2
- Bissora5
- Farim6
- MansNhacra8
- SafimPrabis10
- BolBubCarvUno11

- BigeneBula19
- CaioCanchungo20
- CacheuSDomin21
- Bissau25
- Bissau26
- Bissau27

The strongholds of PAI TERRA RANKA, where its mandates would remain unchanged even if MADEM had run as a coalition in 2023, are also 13:

- BubEmpada3
- FulTite4
- Mansaba7
- Quinhamel9
- BafataGaloma12
- BambadXitole13
- ContubGanadu14
- BoePitche15
- Gabu16
- Europa23
- Bissau24
- Bissau28
- Bissau29

Finally, in the Sonaco18 constituency, PAI TERRA RANKA would not win a seat under either scenario, as shown in the chart (00).

GENERAL ELECTIONS – 23 NOVEMBER 2025

The upcoming general elections in November 2025 are marked by an intense race among political parties seeking to consolidate as many allies as possible. The candidates will predominantly be political coalitions rather than individual parties, diverging from the electoral landscape Guineans have traditionally seen.

Any party with limited electoral expression that chooses to contest the elections alone is unlikely to secure even a single parliamentary seat. The major parties—PAIGC, MADEM G15, PRS, PTG, and APU-PDGB—have merged into coalitions.

POLITICAL COALITIONS

As previously demonstrated, a MADEM-led coalition could have won the 2023 legislative elections with just five parties. Today, MADEM G15 is part of a broader coalition known as the **Plataforma Republicana No Kumpo Guine**, composed of 16 parties identified so far:

- **MADEM-G15** (Movement for Democratic Alternation)
- **PTG** (Workers' Party of Guinea)
- **PRS** (Social Renewal Party)
- **RGB** (Resistance of Guinea-Bissau)
- **PND** (New Democracy Party)
- **CNA** (African National Congress)
- **PALDG** (African Party for Freedom and Development of Guinea)
- **PLGB** (Light of Guinea-Bissau Party)
- **PAPES** (African Party for Peace and Social Stability)
- **MP** (Patriotic Movement)
- **PRID** (Republican Party for Independence and Development)
- **PUSD** (United Social Democracy Party)
- **PNGD** (New Guinea Democratic Party)
- **PRG** (Guinean Republican Party)
- **PMP** (People's Manifesto Party)
- **PRT** (Party for Reconciliation and Work)

The **PAI TERRA RANKA Coalition** consists of five parties:

- **PAIGC** (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde)
- **UM** (Union for Change)
- **PCD** (Democratic Convergence Party)

- **MDG** (Guinean Democratic Movement)
- **PSC** (Social Democratic Party)

As for the **API CABAZ GARANDE**, at the time of completing this study, the full list of member parties was not yet defined. While finalizing the coalition analysis, I watched a video in which Dr. Fernando Dias confirmed his affiliation with API. As of this writing, API comprises three political parties and one faction of PRS:

- **APU-PDGB** (United People's Assembly – Democratic Party of Guinea-Bissau), led by **Nuno Nabiam**, former Prime Minister
- **FREPASNA** (Patriotic Front for National Salvation), led by **Baciro Dja**, also a former Prime Minister
- **MGD** (Guinean Movement for Development), chaired by **Jorge Mario Fernandes**
- A faction of **PRS** (Social Renewal Party), led by **Fernando Dias**

In the 2023 legislative elections, PAI TERRA RANKA contested with 21 political parties and won 54 seats. Regarding the parties running in the 23 November 2025 elections, 16 of the original 21 are now part of the Plataforma Republicana, 3 have joined API, and the remaining—such as **CD** (Democratic Centre), **PUN** (National Unity Party), and **PNP** (Our Homeland Party)—have not yet clarified their positions.

THREE COALITIONS WILL COMPETE IN THE 2025 ELECTIONS

- **PAI TERRA RANKA**
- **PLATAFORMA REPUBLICANA NO KUMPO GUINÉ**
- **API CABAZ GARANDE**

Based on the data and analysis presented here, the expected winner of the legislative elections on 23 November 2025 is the **Plataforma Republicana No Kumpo Guine**.

Ussumane Seidi

Leeds, 26 August 2025