Study Paper

PROPOSALS FOR AN IMPROVED MALTA ELECTORAL SYSTEM

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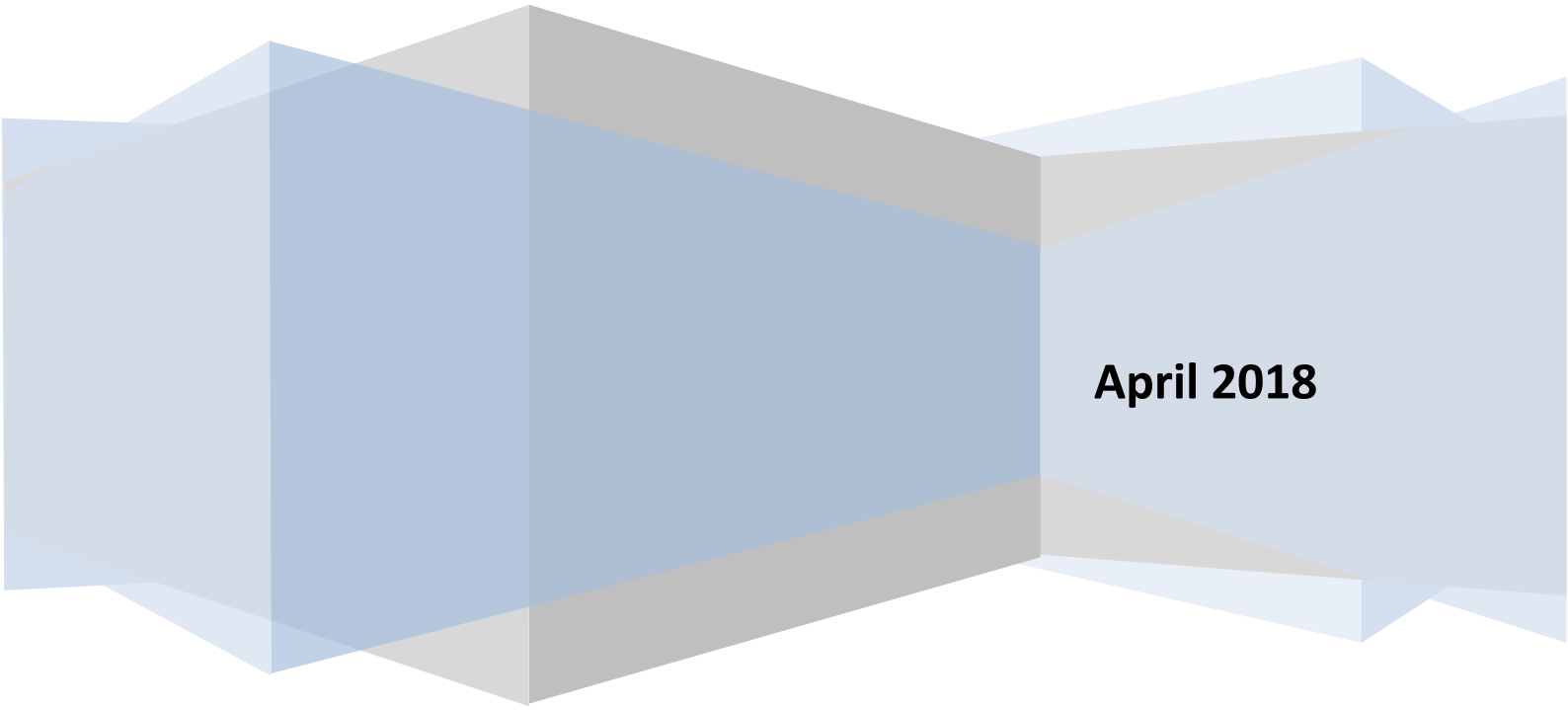
A Study Paper that analysis the results of all the twenty four General Elections held in Malta between 1921 and 2017 and proposes revisions to the current Single Transferable Vote System:

- *to make the electoral system fairer for all contesting candidates and political parties*

- *to make the final result of the General Elections truly reflect the choices of the electorate*



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The scope of this study paper is to propose five revisions to the current Malta Electoral System so as to address its disadvantages as follows:

DISADVANTAGES OF THE CURRENT ELECTORAL SYSTEM	PROPOSED REVISIONS	BENEFITS FROM THE PROPOSED REVISIONS
THE QUOTA IN EACH ELECTORAL DIVISION There is a wastage of almost one (1) whole quota in each electoral division, all due to the method used to calculate the quota in each electoral division.	A proposed change in the method used to calculate the quota in each electoral division. *(Refer to Section 3)*	The wastage of almost one (1) whole quota in each electoral division would be reduced drastically to approximately a quarter (¼) of a quota, making the final result of a general election reflect more the choice of the electorate.
CASUAL ELECTIONS AS PART OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM When a candidate is elected from two electoral divisions, casual elections are held as a sort of 'addendum' to the general election, and there are times when their results do not necessarily reflect the exact choice made by the electorate that is clearly indicated in the counting sheets.	A proposed new method for holding casual elections in a way that the seats that are to be vacated and the candidates that are to be elected are decided through the extraction of details inherent in the counting sheets. *(Refer to Section 4)*	The candidates elected in causal elections would always reflect the choice of the electorate and their names would be included in the official list of the elected members to parliament that is officially published at the end of the electoral process.
DISTRICTS OF MALTA AND FIXED DISTRICTS The revision of the boundaries of the electoral divisions before a general election, so as to keep the number of registered voters within each electoral division to within ± 5% of the electoral quota, creates difficult and frustrating situations for electoral candidates when they are faced with such changes at a	It is being proposed to have Malta divided into fixed districts that would be utilised as electoral divisions, with the possibility of also utilising them as administrative districts, as already is the case with Gozo, which is defined as a fixed electoral division and operates as an administrative district under the Gozo Ministry.	Having fixed districts would mean that the district boundaries would be fixed, thus eliminating the need to effect changes to the electoral division boundaries. Fixed districts would give candidates the peace of mind required in running their electoral campaign and would also help them develop a decent fruitful

relatively short period of time before a general election. It also creates an absurd sense of belonging to the electorate that is shifted from one electoral division to another.	*(Refer to Section 5)*	contact with the electorate during the whole length of the legislature. Fixed districts would also give a firm sense of belonging to all Maltese residents.
ELECTORAL CORRECTIVE MECHANISM The electoral corrective mechanisms introduced over the years have resolved a number of issues. However, the current mechanism in use does not cater for a number of different potential scenarios that may arise in a general election.	A proposed mathematically based system that will enhance the electoral corrective mechanism so as to cater for all different potential scenarios that may occur in a general election, based on the experiences encountered through the years since when the current STV electoral system started being used in Malta in 1921. *(Refer to Section 6)*	The proposed revised electoral corrective mechanism would produce results similar to the ones currently reached through the application of the current electoral corrective mechanism, with the difference that they would be applicable at all times to all political parties that have candidates elected to parliament.
BALLOT PAPER FORMAT The current candidates' lists for different political parties are printed in alphabetical order on the ballot papers. Such a system proves to be disadvantageous to candidates lower down in the lists, particularly due to 'donkey voting'.	The proposal entails printing the ballot papers using the "Robson Rotation" method. Ballot papers in the same electoral division would have a number of different pre-set lists of the same candidates sorted in different formats to balance out the effects of 'donkey voting'. *(Refer to Section 7)*	'Donkey voting' can never be eliminated as a large number of voters usually indicate their first two/three preferences and continue voting top-down. The new proposed method would drastically reduce the effect of 'donkey voting' and help obtain a fairer result in a general election.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Definitions of Terms used in the Document

% Seat Gain	(Party % Seats) – (Party % Votes)
Basic Reference	Reference to the analysis of the results of the general elections held between 1921 and 2017 and to other related data used as a basis for the proposals detailed in this study paper.
Case Studies	Relevant data and actual results of the general elections held between 1921 and 2017 used as case studies.
Electoral Corrective Mechanism	The system that corrects (if required) the number of seats gained by the political parties at the last count so that the proportion of seats reflects the same proportion of first count valid votes received by the political parties.
Electoral Quota (National Mean)	$\frac{\text{Total number of registered votes at national level}}{\text{Total number of seats in parliament}}$
First Count Valid Votes	The total first count votes that are officially declared to be valid.
Full Quota Seats	Refers to the parliament members elected by a full quota.
Initial Projected Seats	(Party % Votes) x (Total Seats in Parliament)
Last Count Seats	(Full Quota Seats) + (Part Quota Seats)
Mean Seat Vote Value	Seat value of the political party with highest % seat gain.
NPS	New proposed system – (Proposed revisions to the current STV system).
Part Quota Seats	Refers to the parliament members elected by part of a quota.
Party % Seats	$\frac{\text{Total political party seats}}{\text{Total seats in parliament}}$
Party % Votes	$\frac{\text{Total political party first count valid votes}}{\text{Total number of first count valid votes}}$
Quota (Droop)	$\frac{\text{Total number of first count valid votes in an electoral division}}{\text{(Number of candidates to be elected) + 1}} + 1$
Quota (Hare)	$\frac{\text{Total number of first count valid votes in an electoral division}}{\text{Number of candidates to be elected}}$
Quota (NPS)	$\frac{\text{Total number of first count valid votes in an electoral division}}{\text{Number of candidates to be elected}} + 1$
Quota (STP System)	$\frac{\text{Total number of first count valid votes in an electoral division}}{\text{(Number of candidates to be elected) + 1}} + 1$
Registered Voters	The voters that are eligible to vote, namely those included in the last electoral register published prior to a general election.
Revised Projected Seats	$\frac{\text{Total political party first count valid votes}}{\text{Mean seat vote value}}$
Runner-up Part Quota Seats	Additional seats allocated to the political parties' runner-up candidates, all as defined in the actual counting sheets, allocated when testing the NPS system, so as to satisfy the NPS quota calculation formula, thus electing a number of candidates in each electoral division equal to the divisor number in the NPS quota equation.
Seat Vote Value	$\frac{\text{Total political party first count valid votes}}{\text{Political party last count seats}}$
STV System	Current single transferable vote electoral system.
Total Seats in Parliament	The number of members to be elected to parliament.
Wasted Votes	The votes that are not reflected in the quotas received by the elected candidates.

1.2 Background

The current Single Transferable Vote (STV) system was introduced in Malta in 1921. Since then, twenty four (24) general elections were held.

In this study paper, the relevant data and the actual results of all these general elections have been analysed, taking the actual general election results as "case studies" and using them as "basic reference" to develop and propose revisions to the current STV system.

The said proposed revisions to the Malta electoral system are referred to in this study paper as the New Proposed System (NPS). All other details in the current STV system are retained.

Legal Parameters regulating the Current Malta Electoral System

The constitution of Malta states that:

- The number of members in the house of representatives
  - is to be an odd number;
  - be divisible by the number of electoral divisions;
  - reflect proportionality across all the electoral divisions.

- Each electoral division is to return such a number of members
  - this being not less than five (5) and not greater than seven (7);
  - as determined by law.

- The total number of electoral divisions should be
  - of a minimum number of nine (9) and a maximum number of fifteen (15);
  - made up of a number of voters which is not more and not less than 5% of the electoral quota or national mean, thus making it possible to have the widest difference between the smallest and largest electoral divisions at 10%;
  - with the exception of Gozo which is defined as being one of the electoral divisions but with its number of registered voters not being subjected to the regulation of being within ± 5% of the electoral quota.

The Current Single Transferable Vote (STV) System

Currently, the members of parliament are elected using the STV system. Until the 1981 general election, the STV system determined the final result of a general election through the seats allocated to the elected candidates of the political parties at the last count of the counting process. Since 1987, through the introduction of the electoral corrective mechanism, the final general election result is determined relative to the first count valid votes.

The New Proposed System (NPS)

Once the current Malta electoral system has developed to such an extent that governability is guaranteed through the application of the electoral corrective mechanism relative to the first count valid votes, it is now opportune to address and correct the apparent disadvantages experienced through the application of the current STV system since it was introduced in Malta in 1921.

The proposals being put forward in this study paper do not necessarily have to be accepted and applied as one whole package, as each proposal is distinctive and could be applied on its own merits.

2. REGULATION OF THE REGISTERED VOTERS AND GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

Through the years, the regulation of the registered voters relative to the electoral quota, within the electoral divisions, was carried out as follows:

- No regulation existed between the years 1921 and 1955 (11 general elections).
- Regulation to ± 15% between 1962 and 1971 (3 general elections).
- Regulation to ± 5% between 1976 and 2017 (10 general elections), with the exception of the 13th electoral division (Gozo & Comino) which was exempted from being regulated for the last 3 general elections held between 2008 and 2017.

The General Picture of the Regulation of Registered Voters in Electoral Divisions (1921 to 2017)

Table 2a

General Election	Number of Electoral Divisions	Number of Candidates to elect to Parliament in each Electoral Division	Total Number of Members in Parliament	Regulation of the Number of Registered Voters relative to the Electoral Quota
1921 to 1932 (4 Elections)	8	4	32	Not Done
1939 & 1945	2	5	10	Not Done
1947 to 1955 (5 Elections)	8	5	40	Not Done
1962 & 1966	10	5	50	to ± 15%
1971	5 5	5 6	55	to ± 15%
1976 to 2003 (7 Elections)	13	5	65	to ± 5%
2008 to 2017 (3 Elections)	13	5	65	to ± 5% (except for Gozo)

Table 2a indicates clearly that up until 1955 no regulation of the number of registered voters in each electoral division was carried out when establishing the electoral divisions. This regulation was first introduced prior to the 1962 general election, first to ± 15%, and as from the 1976 general election to ± 5% of the electoral quota.

Deviation from the Electoral Quota of the Number of Registered Voters in Electoral Divisions

Up until the introduction of the regulation of the registered voters, the unbalance between the electoral divisions was quite high. This is evidenced by the data presented in Table 2b which indicates the respective largest deviations in the number of the registered voters in the electoral divisions relative to the various general elections held in Malta since the current STV system was introduced. Through the finer regulation of the number of the registered voters, the deviation from the electoral quota was reduced through the years, until the 2008 general election when the thirteenth electoral division (Gozo & Comino) stopped being regulated, and as a consequence, the percentage difference starting rising again.

Table 2b

Group of General Elections	Number of Electoral Divisions	General Election with Largest Deviation	Largest Negative Deviation from the Electoral Quota	Largest Positive Deviation from the Electoral Quota	Highest Deviation of Registered Voters between particular Electoral Divisions
1921 to 1932 (4 Elections)	8	1932	-38.89%	+48.60%	87.49%
1939 to 1945 (2 Elections)	2	1945	-15.14%	+15.14%	30.28%
1947 to 1955 (5 Elections)	8	1953 1955	-29.64%	+24.99%	54.44%
1962 to 1971 (3 Elections)	10	1966	-13.75%	+15.49%	29.24%
1976 to 2003 (7 Elections)	13	1981 1998 2003	-7.10%	+6.35%	11.11%
2008 to 2017 (3 Elections)	13	2017	-5.36%	+8.97%	14.33%

Full details of all the deviations from the electoral quota in all the electoral divisions for all the general elections held between 1921 and 2017 can be accessed in attached TABLES 'A1' to 'A24' *(soft copy)*. Appendix I shows a summary of the largest deviations in all the general elections held.

Actual General Election Results (1921 to 2017) analysed using the NPS method

To be able to analyse what final results would have been obtained had the NPS been used in the counting process of the general elections held between 1921 and 2017, it is necessary to respect and use the actual published counting sheets as case studies. When using the proposed NPS method, the number of candidates to be considered to be elected in each electoral division has to be declared to be equal to the divisor number that was actually used to calculate the quota. For instance, if the divisor is "6", then six candidates are to be declared elected from each electoral division, totalling to 78 (not 65) the number of members in parliament. This is done only when testing the proposed NPS method so as to be able to use the actual results of the 24 general elections held between 1921 and 2017 as case studies. Attached TABLE 'D1' to 'D24' *(soft copy)* shows a direct comparison of the results of the general elections 1921 to 2017 both under the current STV system as well as under the proposed NPS method. The figures quoted in attached TABLES 'C1' to 'C24' *(soft copy)* and in Table 2c below were obtained using the data taken from attached TABLE 'D1' to 'D24' *(soft copy)* respectively.

Percentage Difference between Votes & Seats belonging to Political Parties in Parliament

In order to understand how the regulation of the number of the registered voters in electoral divisions effects the final result of a general election, an analysis was carried out comparing the relation between first count valid votes obtained and the seats gained by the respective political parties that contested all the general elections held between 1921 and 2017. Attached TABLES 'C1' to 'C24' *(soft copy)* show the full analysis that was carried out. This analysis also compares the actual figures experienced over the years as results of the current STV system with the figures that are obtained when using the proposed NPS.

A summary, of the largest differences between % votes obtained and % seats gained for all the general elections held between 1921 and 2017 is shown in Appendix II. Table 2c below shows a general view of the lower and higher % differences between % votes obtained and % seats gained over the years, whilst also comparing these when using the current STV system and when using the proposed NPS respectively.

Table 2c

Group of General Elections	General Election with Largest % Difference	Lower % Difference between % Votes & % Seats (STV System)	Higher % Difference between % Votes & % Seats (STV System)	Lower % Difference between % Votes & % Seats (NPS)	Higher % Difference between % Votes & % Seats (NPS)
1921 to 1932 (4 Elections)	1927 1932	-5.44%	+6.05%	-4.55%	+3.42%
1939 to 1945 (2 Elections)	1939 1945	-13.80%	+13.80%	-3.10%	+3.82%
1947 to 1955 (5 Elections)	1951 1953	-4.32%	+6.86%	-4.45%	+5.61%
1962 to 1971 (3 Elections)	1962 1966	-2.84%	+8.11%	-4.33%	+7.11%
1976 to 2003 (7 Elections)	1996 1998	-3.68%	+4.32%	-1.81%	+3.03%
2008 to 2017 (3 Elections)	2013	-3.34%	+5.17%	-1.80%	+1.58%

Analysis of Data shown in Tables 2b & 2c

Table 2c shows that when using the current STV system the percentage difference between votes and seats range between -13.80% and +13.80%, whilst when using the proposed NPS the same differences for the same general elections range between -4.45% and +7.11%. Furthermore, Table 2c shows that, over the years, the percentage difference between the first count valid votes and the seats gained in parliament by political parties has not really been affected to such a great extent as one would have expected, when stricter regulation of the registered votes in the electoral divisions was applied.

General Election Results not affected by the Regulation of the number of Registered Voters

It is evident from Tables 2b & 2c that general election results were not affected through the application of the regulation of the number of the registered voters in the electoral divisions, since similar final election results were achieved in all the general elections all through the years. Table 2c illustrates clearly that the percentage differences between % votes obtained and % seats gained did not vary much over the years, although there was an attempt to control the size of the electoral divisions when applying heavier regulation to ± 5% in most recent years. Table 2c confirms also that the proposed NPS is more effective when it comes to converting the valid votes into parliamentary seats as the percentage difference between % votes obtained and % seats gained is reduced when compared to the actual percentages obtained under the current STV system.

3. THE QUOTA IN EACH ELECTORAL DIVISION

3.1 The Current System

The Quota as calculated using the current STV System in Malta

In the current STV system used in Malta, the quota for each electoral division is established using the "Droop Quota". The computation formula adopted by Henry Richmond Droop in 1868 was different from the original computation formula developed by Thomas Hare.

$$\text{Droop Quota} = \frac{\text{Total First Count Valid Votes in an Electoral Division}}{\text{(Number of Candidates to be elected) +1}} + 1$$

Example: Quota to elect 5 candidates $= \frac{\text{Total First Count Valid Votes}}{6} + 1$

Wasted Votes

The term 'wasted votes' refers to the votes that are not reflected in the quotas received by the elected candidates. In other words, 'wasted votes' could be defined as being the residual votes at the end of the counting process, namely, the votes that are not contained in the 'pack of votes' defining the seat of each elected candidate at the end of the counting process. On average, the equivalent of almost one whole quota of votes is wasted in each electoral division.

Disadvantages of the Current System

The wastage of such a high number of votes in each electoral division leads to a heavy loss of proportionality between the first count valid votes obtained by a political party and the seats gained by candidates belonging to that same political party at the end of the counting process. This wastage of votes could be drastically reduced by changing the method of computation of the quota in each electoral division.

3.2 The Proposed System

Background

When the STV system was independently developed by Thomas Hare in 1857, the quota was computed using the following equation. This is known as the "Hare Quota".

$$\text{Hare Quota} = \frac{\text{Total First Count Valid Votes in an Electoral Division}}{\text{Number of Candidates to be elected}}$$

Example: Quota to elect 5 candidates $= \frac{\text{Total First Count Valid Votes}}{5}$

The Quota as calculated using the proposed NPS method

The NPS is proposing a new method of computation of the quota in each electoral division, this being almost identical to the "Hare Quota". When using the NPS method, the quota for each electoral division is established by dividing the number of the total first count valid votes by the number of candidates to be elected and finally adding one to the sum thus resulting.

$$\text{NPS Quota} = \frac{\text{Total First Count Valid Votes in an Electoral District}}{\text{Number of Candidates to be elected}} + 1$$

Example: Quota to elect 5 Candidates $= \frac{\text{Total First Count Valid Votes}}{5} + 1$

Advantages of the proposed NPS method

- The adoption of the proposed NPS method for the calculation of the quota in each electoral division would reduce drastically the wastage of votes at national level from an overall average of 15.96% of the first count valid votes to an overall average of 4.22% (refer to Table 3.3a below), this being equivalent to a reduction in wasted votes in each electoral division from 0.93 quota to 0.25 quota (refer to Table 3.3b below).

- When using the proposed NPS, the result at the end of the counting process would reflect more the choice of the electorate as a higher percentage of cast votes would be utilised to determine which candidates are to be elected to parliament.

- It is already an accepted practice that some candidates are elected at the end of the counting process without having reached the full quota. The new NPS method of calculation of the quota would mean in practice that relatively more candidates would be elected without reaching the quota. This would not affect the final result of the general election, as the final result is defined by the first count valid votes through the application of the electoral corrective mechanism.

3.3 Case Studies

All the general elections held between 1921 and 2017 were analysed to determine the number of wasted votes in each general election. The data was taken from the counting sheets, and a comparative study was carried out, namely, under the current STV system as well as under the proposed NPS. The wasted votes were equated into quotas, so as to make the comparison between different elections possible.

Table 3.3a - Average Percentage Wasted Votes at National Level for all General Elections 1921 to 2017

Average for groups of General Elections	Number of Electoral Divisions	Average % Wasted Votes at National Level (STV System)	Average % Wasted Votes at National Level (NPS)
9 General Elections	8	17.84%	5.16%
2 General Elections	2	12.20%	3.26%
3 General Elections	10	15.23%	4.09%
10 General Elections	13	15.24%	3.60%
Overall Average		15.96%	4.22%

Table 3.3b - Average Percentage Wasted Quotas in Electoral Divisions for all General Elections 1921 to 2017

Average for groups of General Elections	Number of Electoral Divisions	Average Wasted Quotas at Electoral Division Level (STV System)	Average Wasted Quotas at Electoral Division Level (NPS)
9 General Elections	8	0.99	0.29
2 General Elections	2	0.73	0.20
3 General Elections	10	0.94	0.25
10 General Elections	13	0.91	0.21
Overall Average		0.93	0.25

A direct comparison of the wasted votes and quotas under the two systems, for all the 24 general elections held between 1921 and 2017, can be referred to in Appendices III & IV. The full analysis is shown in attached TABLES 'B1' to 'B24' *(soft copy)* where the wasted votes and quotas for each political party that contested the elections are defined. The total number of wasted votes is highlighted in "Yellow" colour, the number of equivalent quotas is highlighted in "Green" colour, and the percentage of wasted votes is highlighted in "Cyan" colour. The totalling up of the wasted votes per party in the respective electoral divisions for each general election is shown in attached TABLES 'H1' to 'H24' *(soft copy)*.

4. CASUAL ELECTIONS AS PART OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

4.1 The Current System

Casual Election Scenarios

Casual elections are held in two different scenarios:

Scenario 1:

When a newly elected member of parliament vacates one of the seats from one of the two electoral divisions on which he/she was elected.

Scenario 2:

When a member of parliament is deceased or resigns his/her seat in parliament.

This section puts forward proposals for casual elections that fall under scenario 1.

Current Casual Election Process

Some candidates are elected from the two electoral divisions they contest. Following the completion of the counting process and the publishing of the result of a general election, for each and every candidate elected from two electoral divisions, the respective political party decides which seat is to be vacated, thus deciding in which electoral division the respective casual election is to be held. Prospective candidates are requested to apply to contest such casual elections and, on holding of the casual elections, the vacated seats are taken up by the newly elected candidates.

Disadvantages of the Current System

The main disadvantages when holding casual elections using the current system are the following:

- The newly elected candidates may not be the ones that the electorate had already indicated through the transferable vote as recorded in the counting process.
- The candidates elected through casual elections do not feature in the official list of elected members of parliament that is published at the end of the counting process, and as a direct consequence of this, the members that are elected through casual elections do not normally feature in the list of cabinet members of the newly elected government.
- The decision taken by the respective political party on which electoral division a casual election is to be held could determine who eventually gets elected, and this sometimes goes against the wishes expressed by the electorate through their transferable vote.
- Candidates that feature relatively on the top part of the party alphabetical list on the ballot paper, have a higher chance of being elected in a casual election.
- The first runner-up in an electoral division, who is not eliminated by the particular count when the candidate vacating the seat is elected, stands disadvantaged in a casual election.

4.2 The Proposed System

Rather than treating the casual elections as being a sort of “addendum” to a general election, the proposed NPS considers them as being part of the electoral counting process. In practice this would mean that the casual elections are actually held prior to the publication of the general election result, and so the names of the candidates that are elected through casual elections would also be included in the list of elected members that is formally published at the end of the counting process.

The counting sheets already contain enough inherent information to show which “runner-up” candidates are to be elected to fill the seats vacated by candidates elected on two electoral divisions. Consequently, there would be no need for the political parties to decide which seats are to be vacated and in which electoral division a casual election is to be held, because all this would come out through the extrapolation and interpretation of the details already inherently contained in the counting sheets.

The 2017 general election result is here utilised to amplify the proposed NPS method. It also compares the results thus obtained with the actual results of the casual elections held using the current STP system.

Step 1: The Counting Process

The counting process in each electoral division is to be completed to the point when all candidates inherit the highest possible number of votes. These highest vote values are highlighted in “Green” colour on the counting sheets shown in attached TABLE ‘E24’ *(soft copy)*.

Step 2: Translating Votes into “Quota” and “Part Quota” Values

At the end of the counting process, the highest votes obtained by each candidate are translated into “quota” or “part quota” values. A list of candidates is then created for each electoral division separately showing the highest “quota” value reached by each candidate. The “quota” values thus obtained are values that can be directly compared at national level, as they have a common “neutral base” that makes them all comparable and inter-related both at electoral division level and also at national level. This is an important characteristic of the proposed NPS.

Table 4.2a - 2017 General Election – List of Candidates in Electoral Division 1

Quota: 4033 Electoral Division	Candidate	Political Party	Highest Votes Gained in Electoral Division (a)	Equivalent Quota Value at National Level
1	Debattista Deo (EL)	PL	5734	1.421770
1	Herrera Jose (EL)	PL	4630	1.148029
1	Farrugia Aaron (EL)	PL	4207	1.043144
1	Parnis Silvio *	PL	1957	0.485247
1	Busuttil Luciano	PL	908	0.225143
1	Attard Joseph Matthew	PL	595	0.147533
1	Sammut Hili Davina	PL	431	0.106868
1	Cilia Joe	PL	172	0.042648
1	Stivala Carlo	PL	54	0.013390
1	Demarco Mario (EL)	PN	4721	1.170593
1	Grech Claudio (EL)	PN	4033	1.000000
1	Mifsud Bonnici Paula *	PN	2749	0.681627
1	Bugeja Ray	PN	474	0.117530
1	Farrugia Herman	PN	269	0.066700
1	Buttigieg Anthony	PN	167	0.041408
1	Schembri Justin	PN	122	0.030250
1	Torpiano Edward	PN	60	0.014877
1	Schembri Liam	PN	55	0.013637

(EL) Elected candidate.

* First runner-up candidate for each political party with the highest "quota" value.

(a) The figures listed in the column "Highest Votes Gained in Electoral Division" are taken from the counting sheets, where they are indicated highlighted in "Green" colour in attached TABLE 'E24' (*soft copy)*.

Similar lists produced for all other electoral divisions are shown in attached TABLE 'F24' *(soft copy)*.

Step 3: Compiling Neutral Lists at National Level

Once the highest votes obtained by all candidates in all the electoral divisions are translated into "quota" or "part quota" values, the lists at national level of the elected candidates and of the runner-up candidates for each political party are compiled. These lists are shown below in Tables 4.2b, 4.2c, 4.2d & 4.2e respectively.

Table 4.2b - 2017 General Election – List at National Level of Elected PL Candidates

Electoral Division	Elected Candidate	Political Party	Highest Votes Gained in Electoral Division (a)	Equivalent Quota Value at National Level
2	Muscat Joseph *	PL	14647	3.612506
5	Muscat Joseph *	PL	12886	3.329716
1	Debattista Deo	PL	5734	1.421770
7	Borg Ian	PL	5566	1.342175
4	Fearne Chris *	PL	5405	1.340193
7	Schembri Silvio *	PL	5542	1.336388
2	Agius Chris	PL	5152	1.268341
10	Bartolo Evarist *	PL	4793	1.233085
4	Mizzi Konrad	PL	4968	1.231837
3	Dalli Helena *	PL	4697	1.206210
3	Fearne Chris *	PL	4693	1.205190
3	Grixti Silvio	PL	4571	1.173860
1	Herrera Jose	PL	4630	1.148029
5	Bonnici Owen	PL	4396	1.135917
13	Caruana Justyne	PL	4865	1.129819
13	Refalo Anton	PL	4853	1.127032
4	Parnis Silvio	PL	4448	1.102901
6	Abela Robert	PL	4222	1.097479
12	Farrugia Michael	PL	4272	1.095666
13	Camilleri Clint	PL	4579	1.063400
2	Mizzi Joe	PL	4243	1.044559
1	Farrugia Aaron	PL	4207	1.043144
10	Falzon Michael *	PL	4045	1.040648
12	Bartolo Evarist *	PL	4046	1.037702
4	Camilleri Byron	PL	4164	1.032482
3	Abela Carmelo	PL	3999	1.026960
6	Schembri Silvio *	PL	3950	1.026774
2	Dalli Helena *	PL	4114	1.012802
7	Scicluna Edward *	PL	4197	1.012057
5	Farrugia Portelli Julia	PL	3903	1.008527
8	Scicluna Edward *	PL	4188	1.005444
11	Agius Decelis Anthony	PL	3986	1.000000
11	Muscat Alex	PL	3986	1.000000
8	Cardona Chris	PL	3868	1.000000
9	Falzon Michael *	PL	3853	1.000000
6	Galdes Roderick	PL	3847	1.000000
9	Grima Clifton	PL	3853	1.000000

This list is taken from attached TABLE 'F24' *(soft copy)*.

* Candidates elected from two electoral divisions.

(a) The figures listed in the column "Highest Votes Gained in Electoral Division" taken from the counting sheets, indicated highlighted in "Green" colour in attached TABLE 'E24' (*soft copy)*.

Table 4.2c - 2017 General Election – List at National Level of Elected PN Candidates

Electoral Division	Elected Candidate	Political Party	Highest Votes Gained in Electoral Division (a)	Equivalent Quota Value at National Level
11	Busuttil Simon *	PN	11266	2.826392
12	Busuttil Simon *	PN	9389	2.408053
8	Fenech Adami Beppe *	PN	6484	1.634073
6	Puli Clyde	PN	5115	1.329607
9	Portelli Marthese *	PN	4937	1.281339
10	Arrigo Robert *	PN	4793	1.233085
11	Vassallo Edwin	PN	4811	1.206974
6	Callus Ryan	PN	4570	1.187939
1	Demarco Mario	PN	4721	1.170593
2	Spiteri Stephen	PN	4671	1.149926
13	Portelli Marthese *	PN	4792	1.112866
4	Azzopardi Jason	PN	4450	1.103397
13	Said Chris	PN	4642	1.078031
8	Commodini Cachia Therese	PN	4244	1.069556
8	Agius David *	PN	4210	1.060988
12	Cutajar Robert	PN	4123	1.057451
9	Debono Kristy	PN	4022	1.043862
9	Arrigo Robert *	PN	4011	1.041007
5	Bezzina Anthony	PN	4016	1.037726
10	Farrugia Marlene	PN	3970	1.021353
3	Galea Mario	PN	3929	1.008990
11	Agius David *	PN	4013	1.006774
7	Debono Jean Pierre	PN	4147	1.000000
7	Fenech Adami Beppe *	PN	4147	1.000000
10	Gouder Karl	PN	3887	1.000000
1	Grech Claudio	PN	4033	1.000000
12	Buttigieg Claudette	PN	3869	0.992306
5	Schiavone Hermann	PN	3695	0.954780

Notes:

This list is taken from attached TABLE 'F24' *(soft copy)*.

* Candidates elected from two electoral divisions.

(a) The figures listed in the column "Highest Votes Gained in Electoral Division" taken from the counting sheets, indicated highlighted in "Green" colour in attached TABLE 'E24' (*soft copy)*.

Table 4.2d - 2017 General Election – List at National Level of "Runner-up" PL Candidates

Electoral Division	Runner-up Candidate	Political Party	Highest Votes Gained in Electoral Division (a)	Equivalent Quota Value at National Level
5	Zrinzo Azzopardi Stefan *	PL	3509	0.906718
12	Schembri Deborah *	PL	3417	0.876379
8	Zammit-Louis Edward *	PL	3298	0.831149
11	Cardona Chris *	PL	3246	0.814350
9	Zammit-Louis Edward *	PL	2954	0.766675
6	Cutajar Rosianne *	PL	2745	0.713543
10	Mallia Manuel *	PL	2362	0.607667
13	Mercieca Franco *	PL	2394	0.555968
9	Mallia Manuel	PL	2061	0.534908
7	Azzopardi Charles *	PL	2179	0.525440
4	Grech Etienne *	PL	1925	0.477312
12	Bartolo Clayton	PL	1825	0.468069
11	Schembri Deborah	PL	1605	0.402659
5	Bedingfield Glenn	PL	1519	0.392506
7	Gulia Gavin	PL	1569	0.378346
2	Bedingfield Glenn *	PL	1345	0.331118
4	Ellul Andy	PL	1201	0.297793
10	Borg Manchè Conrad	PL	1126	0.289684
7	Pullicino Orlando Jeffrey	PL	1040	0.250784
3	Micallef Jean Claude *	PL	909	0.233436
5	Farrugia Joe	PL	884	0.228424
1	Busuttil Luciano *	PL	908	0.225143
5	Stivala Carlo	PL	797	0.205943
13	Cordina Joe	PL	877	0.203669
9	Borg Manchè Conrad	PL	767	0.199066
5	Cachia Roderick	PL	709	0.183204
7	Castaldi Paris Ian	PL	759	0.183024
4	Bontempo Stefan	PL	723	0.179271
3	Grech Etienne	PL	666	0.171032
12	Mercieca Franco	PL	643	0.164914
8	Cutajar Rosianne	PL	625	0.157510
5	Calleja Mario	PL	595	0.153747
2	Buontempo Stefan	PL	619	0.152388
1	Attard Joseph Matthew	PL	595	0.147533
12	Attard Joseph Matthew	PL	510	0.130803
3	Calleja Mario	PL	506	0.129944
8	Muscat Alex	PL	498	0.125504
4	Cilia Joe	PL	483	0.119762
1	Sammut Hili Davina	PL	431	0.106868
5	Cutajar Joseph	PL	405	0.104651
9	Zammit Alamango Nikita	PL	396	0.102777

12	Grima Alfred	PL	352	0.090280
7	Zrinzo Azzopardi Stefan	PL	369	0.088980
10	Zammit Alamango Nikita	PL	277	0.071263
4	Grima Dominic	PL	284	0.070419
5	Busuttil Luciano	PL	267	0.068992
8	Castaldi Paris Ian	PL	246	0.061996
5	Muscat Sebastian	PL	220	0.056848
11	Tua Rachel	PL	209	0.052434
9	Mifsud Sigmund	PL	187	0.048534
8	Tua Rachel	PL	178	0.044859
10	Mifsud Sigmond	PL	170	0.043736
1	Cilia Joe	PL	172	0.042648
3	Micallef Edric	PL	159	0.040832
6	Gulia Gavin	PL	152	0.039511
12	Spiteri Kenneth	PL	149	0.038215
4	Sammut Rita	PL	150	0.037193
5	Micallef Edric	PL	139	0.035917
10	Micallef Jean Claude	PL	129	0.033188
3	Spiteri Kenneth	PL	98	0.025167
10	Mizzi Marion	PL	95	0.024440
13	Camilleri George	PL	104	0.024152
5	Sammut Rita	PL	80	0.020672
11	Vella Fleur	PL	75	0.018816
10	Causon Mark	PL	66	0.016980
12	Vella Fleur	PL	61	0.015645
1	Stivala Carlo	PL	54	0.013390
2	Causon Mark	PL	41	0.010094
3	Mizzi Marion	PL	29	0.007447
3	Muscat Sebastian	PL	23	0.005907

Notes:

This list is taken from attached TABLE 'F24' *(soft copy)*.

* Runner-up candidates with the highest "quota" in the respective electoral division.

(a) The figures listed in the column "Highest Votes Gained in Electoral Division" taken from the counting sheets, indicated highlighted in "Green" colour in attached TABLE 'E24' (*soft copy)*.

Table 4.2e - 2017 General Election – List at National Level of "Runner-up" PN Candidates

Electoral Division	Runner-up Candidate	Political Party	Highest Votes Gained in Electoral Division (a)	Equivalent Quota Value at National Level
4	Mifsud Bonnici Carm * (b)	PN	3437	0.852219
13	Azzopardi Frederick * (b)	PN	3583	0.832095
7	Borg Antoine *	PN	3256	0.785146
1	Mifsud Bonnici Paula *	PN	2749	0.681627
10	Pullicino George *	PN	2622	0.674556
2	Muscat Joseph *	PN	2493	0.613737
10	Refalo Nick	PN	2153	0.553898
9	Bartolo Ivan (2) * (c)	PN	2123	0.550999
11	Bartolo Ivan (1) * (c)	PN	2163	0.542649
8	Thake David *	PN	1928	0.485887
10	Attard Previ Graziella	PN	1883	0.484435
12	Thake David *	PN	1864	0.478071
6	Micallef Peter *	PN	1834	0.476735
4	Sammut Mark Anthony	PN	1895	0.469874
5	Vella Norman *	PN	1762	0.455297
7	Abela Sam	PN	1733	0.417892
3	Mifsud Bonnici Carm *	PN	1549	0.397791
10	Zammit Dimech Francis	PN	1499	0.385644
7	Farrugia Godfrey	PN	1514	0.365083
13	Cutajar Kevin	PN	1524	0.353925
12	Galea Graziella	PN	1257	0.322390
11	Perici Calascione Alex	PN	1269	0.318364
6	Aquilina Karol	PN	1215	0.315831
9	Muscat Noel	PN	1170	0.303659
7	Vassallo David	PN	1105	0.266458
12	Deguara Maria	PN	1016	0.260580
2	Bartolo Ivan (1) (c)	PN	1047	0.257755
13	Stellini David	PN	1078	0.250348
8	Schembri Justin	PN	920	0.231855
3	Rizzo Naudi Mario	PN	890	0.228557
5	Zammit Stanley	PN	855	0.220930
9	Zammit Dimech Francis	PN	815	0.211523
11	Deguara Maria	PN	838	0.210236
6	Psaila Zammit Alessia	PN	804	0.208994
13	Mercieca Ryan	PN	899	0.208778
10	Borg (Borg Knight) Roselyn	PN	805	0.207101
7	Micallef Peter	PN	856	0.206414
3	Abela Amanda	PN	777	0.199538
12	Abela Sam	PN	740	0.189792
9	Buttigieg Albert	PN	727	0.188684
10	Abela Wadge Alan	PN	645	0.165938

5	Rizzo Naudi Mario	PN	612	0.158140
9	Abela Wadge Alan	PN	598	0.155204
3	Camilleri John Baptist	PN	597	0.153313
6	Farrugia Godfrey	PN	557	0.144788
2	Bonello Charles	PN	583	0.143525
5	Vella Mary Grace	PN	553	0.142894
10	Aquilina Karol	PN	555	0.142784
8	Vella Norman	PN	558	0.140625
9	Pullicino George	PN	523	0.135738
7	Vassallo Ian Mario	PN	560	0.135037
4	Bonello Charles	PN	541	0.134143
13	Portelli Maria	PN	549	0.127497
10	Buttigieg Albert	PN	495	0.127348
11	Mangion Alex	PN	492	0.123432
10	Sansone Christopher	PN	475	0.122202
1	Bugeja Ray	PN	474	0.117530
10	Zammit Jason	PN	431	0.110882
5	Refalo Nick	PN	428	0.110594
8	Asciak Michael	PN	437	0.110131
2	Cassar Kevin	PN	431	0.106105
11	Galea Graziella	PN	390	0.097842
9	Borg (Borg Knight) Roselyn	PN	363	0.094212
12	Muscat Fenech Adami Anne Marie	PN	343	0.087971
13	Ellis Joseph	PN	377	0.087552
3	Cassar Charlot	PN	331	0.085003
10	Muscat Noel	PN	314	0.080782
2	Teeling Ruben	PN	323	0.079517
13	Zammit Jason	PN	338	0.078495
4	Bartolo Ivan (3) (c)	PN	282	0.069923
6	Abela Amanda	PN	267	0.069405
3	Muscat Joseph	PN	263	0.067540
9	Selvaggi Charles	PN	257	0.066701
1	Farrugia Herman	PN	269	0.066700
11	Cauchi Shirley	PN	265	0.066483
4	Schembri Liam	PN	262	0.064964
10	Muscat Fenech Adami Anne Marie	PN	252	0.064831
3	Chetcuti Janice	PN	250	0.064201
10	Bugeja Ray	PN	238	0.061230
8	Galea Vincent	PN	226	0.056956
2	Cutajar Errol	PN	223	0.054899
10	Vella Brincat Evelyn	PN	203	0.052225
12	Bonnici Duncan	PN	200	0.051295
8	Schembri Dorian	PN	197	0.049647
4	Galea Caroline	PN	191	0.047359
10	Hewitt Wayne	PN	182	0.046823

3	Caruana Ramond	PN	182	0.046739
2	Borg Doris	PN	189	0.046529
9	Attard Previ Graziella	PN	176	0.045679
1	Buttigieg Anthony	PN	167	0.041408
12	Azzopardi Mark	PN	158	0.040523
9	Fenech Justin	PN	155	0.040228
9	Alden Timothy	PN	149	0.038671
9	Farrugia Herman	PN	141	0.036595
6	Cassar Kevin	PN	139	0.036132
8	Micallef Angelo	PN	143	0.036038
9	Azzopardi Mark	PN	136	0.035297
8	Alden Timothy	PN	140	0.035282
12	Aquilina Simone	PN	135	0.034624
11	Aquilina Simone	PN	137	0.034370
1	Schembri Justin	PN	122	0.030250
4	Bonavia Lawrence	PN	121	0.030002
12	Mallia Salvu	PN	116	0.029751
10	Fenech Justin	PN	114	0.029329
3	Farrugia Catherine	PN	114	0.029276
3	Cutajar Errol	PN	108	0.027735
8	Bugeja Bartolo Lee	PN	106	0.026714
2	Zammit Jason	PN	108	0.026588
10	Buttigieg Anthony	PN	103	0.026499
13	Galea Vincent	PN	110	0.025546
9	Bonnici Duncan	PN	93	0.024137
2	Mallia Salvu	PN	96	0.023634
13	Polidano Carmel	PN	99	0.022991
7	Mazzola Paul	PN	95	0.022908
11	Polidano Carmel	PN	90	0.022579
10	Selvaggi Charles	PN	87	0.022382
2	Micallef Angelo	PN	89	0.021910
6	Muscat George	PN	84	0.021835
8	Schembri Giorgio Mario	PN	86	0.021673
7	Agius Monique	PN	87	0.020979
11	Scerri Connie	PN	83	0.020823
5	Galea Noel	PN	78	0.020155
3	Bezzina Mary	PN	74	0.019004
4	Farrugia Catherine	PN	76	0.018845
9	Vella Brincat Evelyn	PN	67	0.017389
4	Micallef Piccione Aaron	PN	69	0.017109
1	Torpiano Edward	PN	60	0.014877
6	Camilleri Schembri Elaine	PN	57	0.014817
2	Bezzina Malcolm	PN	56	0.013786
5	Gauci Shirley	PN	53	0.013695
1	Schembri Liam	PN	55	0.013637
11	Schembri Giorgio Mario	PN	54	0.013547
12	Torpiano Edward	PN	45	0.011541

2	Bezzina Mary	PN	46	0.011324
7	Bugeja Bartolo Lee	PN	45	0.010851
3	Zammit Jason	PN	38	0.009759
6	Agius Monique	PN	37	0.009618
8	Bezzina Malcolm	PN	33	0.008317
7	Borg Dounia	PN	34	0.008199
9	Hewitt Wayne	PN	28	0.007267

Notes:
This list is taken from attached TABLE 'F24' *(soft copy)*.
* Runner-up candidates with the highest "quota" in the respective electoral division.
(a) The figures listed in the column "Highest Votes Gained in Electoral Division" taken from the counting sheets, indicated highlighted in "Green" colour in attached TABLE 'E24' (*soft copy)*.
(b) The two PN candidates with highest quota at national level.
(c) The three PN candidates with same name (Bartolo Ivan) identified here as (1), (2) or (3).

The lists at national level of the elected and runner-up candidates shown in Tables 4.2b, 4.2c, 4.2d & 4.2e could not be produced by simply quoting (and thus comparing) the highest votes achieved by the candidates at the end of the counting process. This is due to the fact that, although the relation between the electoral divisions is governed by the regulation that the number of the registered voters within each one of them has to be within ± 5% of the electoral quota, the possible deviation of up to 10% renders the direct comparison between the highest votes gained meaningless.

To eliminate this issue and produce a list of candidates at national level, the highest number of votes obtained by the individual candidates are translated into a "quota" value. This process is an essential part of the proposed NPS method. The indicated lists confirm that there can be cases where candidates relatively gain more votes in a particular electoral division, but actually achieve a lower "quota" value at national level. The placing defined in the indicated lists is strictly relative to the "quota" value thus achieved.

The "quota" values are here produced to six decimal places to achieve clear distinction between candidates with very near quota values. Several examples could be extracted from the quoted lists to amplify this. But it suffices to quote three of them, namely:

- In Table 4.2b, Fearne Chris (with 5405 highest gained votes in electoral division 4 and a quota value of 1.340193 at national level) places immediately before Schembri Silvio (with 5542 highest gained votes in electoral division 7 and a quota value of 1.336388 at national level).

- In Table 4.2e, Mifsud Bonnici Carm (with 3437 highest gained votes in electoral division 4 and a quota value of 0.852219 at national level) places immediately before Azzopardi Frederick (with 3583 highest gained votes in electoral division 13 and a quota value of 0.832095 at national level).

- In Table 4.2e, Selvaggi Charles (with 257 highest gained votes in electoral division 9 and a quota value of 0.066701 at national level) places immediately before Farrugia Herman (with 269 highest gained votes in electoral division 1 and a quota value of 0.066700 at national level).

Step 4: Application of the Electoral Corrective Mechanism
Before proceeding with the casual elections, the electoral corrective mechanism is applied. In the case of the 2017 general election, two additional seats were awarded to the PN. Referring to the list of runner-up candidates in Table 4.2e, it is confirmed that the two PN candidates with the highest quota at national level are Mifsud Bonnici Carm and Azzopardi Frederick, who were eventually elected on application of the corrective mechanism. This aspect of the electoral process is discussed in detail in section 6 of this paper.

Step 5: Selection of the Electoral Division where the first Casual Election is to be held
The NPS proposes that the first casual election to be held is the one to replace the candidate who was elected from two electoral divisions with the highest "quota" value. As shown in Table 4.2b, in the case of the 2017 general election, the first casual election is thus held to replace one seat vacated by Muscat Joseph of the PL, who obtained the highest "quota" value of 3.612506. Muscat Joseph was elected on electoral divisions 2 & 5. The electoral division to be vacated is determined mathematically as follows below, this method guaranteeing total fairness.

Referring to the list at national level of the PL runner-up candidates shown in Table 4.2d, it is established that the two contenders in this casual election are Bedingfield Glenn on electoral division 2 with a quota value of 0.331118, and Zrinzo Azzopardi Stefan on electoral division 5 with a quota value of 0.906718. So, the first casual election is held in electoral division 5, where the higher quota value is reached by one of the contending runner-up candidates, in this particular case by Zrinzo Azzopardi Stefan.

Repeating the same process, the sequence of the other casual elections to be held is established. On completion of the casual elections held to replace PL candidates elected on two electoral divisions, the same process is used to define which casual elections are to be held to replace elected PN candidates, starting with the casual election to replace one seat vacated by Busuttil Simon who obtained the highest "quota" value at 2.826392, as shown in Table 4.2c.

Step 6: Election of the Prospective Candidates
Tables 4.2f & 4.2g below amplify the process used when holding the casual elections using the proposed NPS method. They also compare the results thus achieved with the actual results arrived at through the actual casual election process carried out under the current STV system.

At the end of the casual election process, the newly elected candidates inherit the respective pack of votes received in the counting process by the elected candidates that vacate their seats in the particular electoral divisions where the casual elections are held.

Table 4.2f - 2017 General Election – PL Casual Elections

#	Elected Candidate	Highest Quota Gained (used to determine sequence of Casual Elections)	Electoral Division	Candidates with the Highest Part Quota in the respective Electoral Division	Highest Part Quota Gained in the Counting Process	NPS Casual Election Elected Candidate	2017 Electoral Division Chosen by the respective Political Party	2017 Actual Elected Candidate & (Quota Gained)
1	Muscat Joseph	3.612506	2 5	Bedingfield Glenn Zrinzo Azzopardi Stefan	0.331118 0.906718	Elected *	5	Zrinzo Azzopardi Stefan (a)
2	Fearne Chris	1.340193	3 4	Micallef Jean Claude Grech Etienne	0.233436 0.477312	Elected *	4	Grech Etienne (a)
3	Schembri Silvio	1.336388	6 7	Cutajar Rosianne Azzopardi Charles	0.713543 0.525440	Elected *	6	Cutajar Rosianne (a)
4	Bartolo Evarist	1.233085	10 12	Mallia Manuel Schembri Deborah	0.607667 0.876379	Elected *	12	Bartolo Clayton (b) & (c) (0.468069)
5	Dalli Helena	1.206210	2 3	Bedingfield Glenn Micallef Jean Claude	0.331118 0.233436	Elected *	2	Bedingfield Glenn (b)
6	Falzon Michael	1.040648	9 10	Zammit-Lewis Edward Mallia Manuel	0.766675 0.607667	Elected *	9	Mallia Manuel (b) & (c) (0.534908)
7	Scicluna Edward	1.012057	7 8	Azzopardi Charles Muscat Alex (g)	0.525440 0.125504	Elected *	8	Zammit-Lewis Edward (f) (0.831149)

Notes:

* When using the NPS, runner-up candidates with the highest "quota" value always get elected.

(a) 1st runner-up candidate is elected when candidate vacating seat is elected on the 1st count.

(b) Runner-up elected candidate features in the top part of the party alphabetical list on ballot paper.

(c) 1st runner-up candidate was not eliminated by the count when candidate vacating seat was elected.

(f) 1st runner-up candidate is elected & party alphabetical list on ballot paper is relatively short.

(g) Muscat Alex, being the 2nd runner-up candidate replaces Zammit-Lewis Edward who was elected in the previous casual election.

Table 4.2g - 2017 General Election – PN Casual Elections

#	Elected Candidate	Highest Quota Gained (used to determine sequence of Casual Elections)	Electoral Division	Candidates with the Highest Part Quota in the respective Electoral Division	Highest Part Quota Gained in the Counting Process	NPS Casual Election Elected Candidate	2017 Electoral Division Chosen by the respective Political Party	2017 Actual Elected Candidate & (Quota Gained)
1	Busuttil Simon	2.826392	11 12	Bartolo Ivan (1) Thake David	0.542649 0.478071	Elected *	11	Bartolo Ivan (1) (a)
2	Fenech Adami Beppe	1.634073	7 8	Borg Antoine Thake David	0.785146 0.485887	Elected *	7	Farrugia Godfrey (b) & (c) (0.365083)
3	Portelli Marthese	1.281339	9 13	Bartolo Ivan (2) Cutajar Kevin (e)	0.550999 0.353925	Elected *	13	Stellini David (d) (0.250348)
4	Arrigo Robert	1.233085	9 10	Muscat Noel (f) Pullicino George	0.303659 0.674556	Elected *	10	Aquilina Karol (b) (0.142784)
5	Agius David	1.060988	8 11	Thake David Perici Calascione Alex (g)	0.485887 0.318364	Elected *	11	Deguara Maria (b) (0.210236)

Notes:

* When using the NPS, runner-up candidates with the highest "quota" value always get elected.

(a) 1st runner-up candidate is elected when candidate vacating seat is elected on the 1st count.

(b) Runner-up elected candidate features in the top part of the party alphabetical list on ballot paper.

(c) 1st runner-up candidate was not eliminated by the count when candidate vacating seat was elected.

(d) Both 1st & 2nd runner-up candidates stood a good chance of being elected.

(e) Azzopardi Frederick, the 1st runner-up candidate with "quota" at 0.832095, when using the NPS, is elected as a result of the application of the electoral corrective mechanism (refer to attached TABLE 'D24'), and so Cutajar Kevin (the 2nd runner-up) replaces him in this casual election.

(f) Muscat Noel being the 2nd runner-up candidate replaces Bartolo Ivan (2) who was elected in the previous casual election.

(g) Perici Calascione Alex being the 2nd runner-up candidate replaces Bartolo Ivan (1) who was elected in one of the previous casual elections.

Advantages of the Proposed NPS Method

The main advantages of the proposed NPS method for holding casual elections are three, namely:

- The results reached always reflect the wishes of the electorate which are inherent in the counting sheets.
- The casual elections are held as part of the general election system.
- The publication of the official final general election result would include the list of all members elected to parliament, inclusive of those elected through the casual elections.

4.3 Case Studies

Figures from the 2017 general election result have been used here to explain how the new casual election method proposed in the NPS works and to compare it to the current STV method.

A similar exercise was carried using the results of the general elections held in 1971, 1962 & 1955. These general elections were chosen as case studies as they present three other scenarios different from the 2017 general election scenario. The reason behind the selection of these case studies is to show that the proposed NPS method is applicable to general elections under different scenarios.

Case Study 1

In 2017, the general election was contested by five political parties, where two of them managed to elect members to parliament. Malta was divided into 13 electoral divisions, each electing 5 candidates and the number of registered voters in the electoral divisions was regulated to be within ± 5% of the electoral quota, except for electoral division 13 (Gozo and Comino). Tables 4.2f & 4.2g show the comparison of the casual elections held using the current STV system method and also when using the proposed NPS method. Additional relevant documentation can also be referred to in attached TABLES 'E24' & 'F24' *(soft copy)*.

Case Study 2

In 1971, the general election was contested by three political parties, where two of them managed to elect members to parliament. Malta was divided into 10 electoral divisions, 5 of which electing 6 candidates each, and the other 5 electing 5 candidates each. The number of registered voters in the electoral divisions was regulated to be within ± 15% of the electoral quota. Tables 4.3h & 4.3i, showing the comparison of the casual elections held using the current STP method and also when using the proposed NPS method, can be accessed in Appendix V. Additional relevant documentation can also be referred to in attached TABLES 'E14' & 'F14' *(soft copy)*.

Case Study 3

In 1962, the general election was contested by six political parties, where five of them managed to elect members to parliament. Malta was divided into 10 electoral divisions, each electing 5 candidates and the number of registered voters in the electoral divisions was regulated to be within ± 15% of the electoral quota. Tables 4.3j, 4.3k, 4.3l & 4.3m, showing the comparison of the casual elections held using the current STP method and also when using the proposed NPS method, can be accessed in Appendix VI. Additional relevant documentation can also be referred to in attached TABLES 'E12' & 'F12' *(soft copy)*.

Case Study 4

In 1955, the general election was contested by three political parties, where two of them managed to elect members to parliament. Malta was divided into 10 electoral divisions, each electing 4 candidates and the number of registered voters in the electoral divisions was not regulated. Tables 4.3n & 4.3p, showing the comparison of the casual elections held using the current STP method and also when using the proposed NPS method, can be accessed in Appendix VII. Additional relevant documentation can also be referred to in attached TABLES 'E11' & 'F11' *(soft copy)*.

5. DISTRICTS OF MALTA AND FIXED DISTRICTS

5.1 The Current System

Background

Four different types of "Districts of Malta" exist officially through legislation, namely:

- Regions of Malta
- Statistical Regions and Districts
- Police Districts
- Electoral Divisions

Regions of Malta

Malta is subdivided into 5 regions. Three regions were originally created by the Local Councils Act of 1993, and were integrated into the constitution in 2001. Two of these regions were split into smaller ones by Act No. XVI of 2009, and now there are five regions, which are defined as: Central Region, Gozo Region, Northern Region, South Eastern Region and Southern Region.
Details of these regions can be seen in Appendix VIII.

Statistical Regions and Districts

Malta is subdivided into 6 districts which are used for statistical purposes and they, in turn, are grouped into 3 regions: Malta Majjistrall, Malta Xlokk & Gozo. Each district consists of a number of Localities. The North Western Region (Malta Majjistrall) is divided into: The Northern Harbour District, The Western District & The Northern District. The South Eastern Region (Malta Xlokk) is divided into: The South Eastern District & The Southern Harbour District. The Gozo and Comino District is a region on its own right.
Details of these districts and regions can be seen in Appendix IX.

Police Districts

Malta is subdivided into 11 districts, each having its own headquarters.
Details of these districts can be seen in Appendix X.

Electoral Divisions

There are currently 13 electoral divisions, each consisting of a number of Localities (although there is no requirement that electoral boundaries have to follow the boundaries of Localities).
Details of the formation of the electoral divisions as detailed in the Electoral Register published in May 2017 can be seen in Appendix XI.

The Current Process in defining Electoral Divisions

Electoral divisions are presently revised before each general election so that the number of registered voters in each electoral division adds up to within ± 5% of the electoral quota or national mean. Such changes and revisions were not carried out prior to all general elections held in Malta since the introduction of the STV system in 1921. The rigorous control of the size of the electoral divisions presently being carried out was not always the norm.

Disadvantages of the Current System

The main disadvantage in establishing the electoral boundaries is the necessity that always arises of shifting around Localities and/or part of Localities from one electoral division to another to balance out the number of electoral voters to within ± 5% of the electoral quota.

The shifting of electoral division boundaries creates difficult and frustrating situations for electoral candidates when they are faced with such changes at a relatively short period of time before a general election.

Another disadvantage that Malta faces is that in such a small state, there are four types of "Districts of Malta". This does not help in establishing a national identity and is not helping in the day to day administration of the country.

5.2 The Proposed System

Defining Fixed Districts

The regulation of the registered voters in each electoral division does not really affect the result of a general election. This has been amply defined in section 2 of this study paper. This established fact opens up for the consideration of possibly doing away with the regulation of the number of electoral voters in the individual electoral divisions, and instead defining fixed districts that would serve also as electoral divisions.

Having fixed districts would avoid the need of altering electoral division boundaries and of the shifting of Localities, Hamlets or Areas from one electoral division to another.

Advantages of the Proposed NPS Method

As a basic condition in defining fixed districts, none of the Localities are deprived of any Hamlet or Area within their boundaries. Once defined, these fixed districts would give a better direction in the administration of the whole country, more sense of unity and less ambiguity at times as to which district the Locality "belongs" to. This change would also avoid undue political rivality that Malta normally experiences when it comes to defining revisions to the electoral division boundaries.

Fixed districts would guarantee electoral candidates the peace of mind required in running their electoral campaign and would definitely be beneficial to help them maintain a good contact with the electorate all through the legislature.

5.3 Case Studies

Changes to the Electoral Divisions – 1976 to 2017

Attached TABLE 'G1' *(soft copy)* lays out the data related to the changes that were carried out to the electoral divisions between 1976 and 2017, since when Malta was subdivided into 13 electoral divisions.

Table 5.3a

Electoral Division	Localities that always made part of the same Electoral Division
1	Valletta
2	Birgu, Bormla, Isla, Kalkara & Xgħajra
3	Marsaskala & Żejtun
4	Paola & Tarxien
5	Birżebbuġa, Mqabba & Żurrieq
6	Qormi
8	Birkirkara
9	Msida & San Ġwann
10	Pembroke & Sliema
11	San Pawl il-Baħar
13	Gozo & Comino

The Localities shown in Table 5.3a are the only ones that over the years were not shifted from one electoral division to another. The electoral division allocations relative to these Localities are shown highlighted in "Red" colour in attached TABLE 'G1' *(soft copy)*.

All other Localities were part of different electoral divisions over the years. Attached TABLE 'G1' *(soft copy)* shows the "most common" electoral divisions allocated to these Localities (highlighted in "Blue" colour). Other less common electoral division allocations are indicated highlighted in "Green" colour.

Table 5.3b

Number of Localities	Number of Electoral Divisions in which the Localities were allocated
34	Allocated in the **same** Electoral Divisions
23	Allocated in **two** different Electoral Divisions
8	Allocated in **three** different Electoral Divisions
3	Allocated in **four** different Electoral Divisions

As shown in this Table 5.3b, between 1976 and 2017, only half of the Localities in Malta and Gozo were allocated in the same electoral division, and as such were never shifted from one electoral division to another.

Possible Fixed Districts Arrangement

Attached TABLE 'G1' *(soft copy)* also defines a first "Possible Districts Arrangement" made up of the various Localities (highlighted in "Yellow" colour). This is based on all the data analysed, giving priority to the affinity between neighbouring Localities, and with the premise of keeping all Localities as a whole unit.

Comparing the Four Types of Districts of Malta

Attached TABLE 'G2' *(soft copy)* starts with the "Possible Districts Arrangement" as defined in attached TABLE 'G1' *(soft copy)* and compares it with the four different formats of "Districts of Malta" mentioned in Section 5.1.

Fixed Districts Proposal

Attached TABLE 'G2' *(soft copy)* goes further to present a proposal of the "Final Fixed Districts" as defined here:

Table 5.3c

Fixed Districts	**Localities defined within the Fixed District** (1)	**Registered Voters** (2)
1	Floriana, Ħamrun, Marsa, Pietà, Santa Venera, Valletta	26,590 *
2	Birgu, Bormla, Isla, Kalkara, Xgħajra, Żabbar	24,647 *
3	Għaxaq, Gudja, Marsaskala, Marsaxlokk, Żejtun	28,007 *
4	Fgura, Paola, Santa Luċija, Tarxien	25,226 *
5	Birżebbuġa, Kirkop, Mqabba, Qrendi, Safi, Żurrieq	24,717 *
6	Luqa, Qormi, Siġġiewi	25,451 *
7	Dingli, Mdina, Mtafra, Rabat, Żebbuġ	24,277 *
8	Attard, Balzan, Birkirkara, Iklin, Lija	32,998 *
9	Msida, San Ġwann, Swieqi, Ta' Xbiex	25,239 *
10	Gżira, Pembroke, San Ġiljan, Sliema	24,098 *
11	Għargħur, Naxxar, Mosta	29,500 *
12	Mellieħa, Mġarr, San Pawl il-Baħar	22,354 *
13	All Localities in Gozo and Comino	28,648 *

Note:

(1) Attached TABLE 'G4' *(soft copy)* also defines the Hamlets & Areas in each Locality (details being taken from the list of "Regions of Malta" mentioned in Section 5.1, as defined by the Local Councils Act).

(2) The number of the registered voters, both in Table 5.3c and in attached Table 'G4' *(soft copy)* are taken from the electoral register published in May 2017.

* The total number of the registered voters within the localities in each district respectively. For details refer to attached TABLE 'G4' *(soft copy)*.

Attached TABLE 'G3' *(soft copy)* gives the number of registered voters in each Locality as published in the electoral register in May 2017.

A Map of the Proposed Fixed Districts for Malta and Gozo can be seen in Appendix XX.

Current Legal Parameters and Fixed Districts

The legal parameters that regulate the formation of electoral divisions are mainly the following:

- The number of members of parliament is to be odd, and is currently fixed by law at 65.
- The number of members of parliament is to be divisible by the number of electoral divisions.
- The number of members of parliament to be elected is to be the same for each electoral division and equal to a minimum of 5 and a maximum of 7, currently fixed at 5.
- The electoral divisions are to be of a minimum number of 9 and a maximum number of 15, and their number is currently fixed at 13.
- The total number of the registered voters in an electoral division is to be within ± 5% of the electoral quota.
- Gozo is a fixed electoral division where the number of the registered voters is not regulated.

Table 5.3d - Possible Numerical Formats of Fixed Districts that respect all the current Legal Parameters

Number of Fixed Districts	Number of Elected Candidates in Each	Members in Parliament
11	5	55
11	7	77
13	5	65
13	7	91
15	5	75
17	5	85

Table 5.3d shows the limited number of options that are possible when applying the current legal parameters. These are not enough to embark on the definition of fixed districts. This is due to the fact that the current legal parameters that regulate the formation of electoral divisions are very restrictive in this aspect.

Proposed Revised Legal Parameters envisaged as needed to define Fixed Districts

The main legal parameters that are being envisaged as needed when defining fixed districts are the following:

- The number of members of parliament is to be odd.
- The number of members of parliament to be elected from each district is to be equal to a minimum of 4 and a maximum of 7.
- The number of fixed districts is to be of a minimum number of 9 and a maximum number of 15.
- All districts are to be fixed and the number of the registered voters in each one is not to be regulated.
- Gozo is defined as one of the fixed districts.

Table 5.3e - Possible Numerical Formats of Fixed Districts that respect all the proposed Legal Parameters

Number of Fixed Districts	Number of Elected Candidates in Each	Members in Parliament
9	7	63
10	(1 x 4) + (5 x 7) + (4 x 6)	63
10	(1 x 4) + (7 x 7) + (2 x 6)	65
10	(7 x 7) + (3 x 6)	67
10	(9 x 7) + (1 x 6)	69
11	(1 x 4) + (9 x 6) + (1 x 5)	63
11	(7 x 5) + (4 x 7)	63
11	(5 x 7) + (2 x 6) + (4 x 5)	67
12	(1 x 4) + (6 x 6) + (5 x 5)	65
12	(1 x 4) + (8 x 6) + (3 x 5)	67
12	(9 x 6) + (3 x 5)	69
12	(7 x 6) + (1 x 7) + (4 x 5)	69
13	(13 x 5)	65
13	(1 x 4) + (11 x 5) + (1 x 6)	65
13	(1 x 4) + (9 x 5) + (3 x 6)	67
13	(11 x 5) + (2 x 6)	67
13	(1 x 4) + (7 x 5) + (5 x 6)	69
13	(9 x 5) + (4 x 6)	69
13	(12 x 5) + (1 x 7)	67
13	(11 x 5) + (2 x 7)	69
13	(10 x 5) + (3 x 7)	71
14	(1 x 4) + (9 x 5) + (4 x 6)	73
14	(9 x 5) + (5 x 6)	75
15	(15 x 5)	75
15	(1 x 4) + (13 x 5) + (1 x 6)	75
15	(1 x 4) + (9 x 5) + (5 x 6)	79
15	(11 x 5) + (4 x 6)	79

The scope of listing all these possible formats in Table 5.3e is to show that when applying the proposed revised legal parameters, various practical formats result.

Defining the Number of "Seats" in each Fixed District

The allocation of the number of "seats" in each proposed fixed district is carried out relative to the number of the registered voters in the respective fixed district.

In attached TABLE 'G5' *(soft copy)*, the fixed districts are listed in order of size, starting on top with the one that has the smallest number of registered voters. Table 5.3f defines various possible arrangements when allocating "seats" in each fixed district. This proposal is based on the assumption that the number of fixed districts is to be kept at 13. This is being done due to the fact that the "13 district format" is the one that lends the largest number of possible format options, as shown in Table 5.3e.

This exercise is based on the number of the registered voters as detailed in the May 2017 electoral register and aims first at having 65 members elected to parliament.

The electoral quota is here established by dividing the total number of the registered voters in Malta and Gozo (341,752) by the total number of seats to be elected to parliament (65), thus resulting to be 5,257.

The total number of the registered voters in each fixed district is divided by the electoral quota and the resulting number of projected seats in each district are shown in the "Projected Seats" column, as shown in attached TABLE 'G5' *(soft copy)*, and in Table 5.3f below.

Possible Formats of Fixed Districts

Attached TABLE 'G5' *(soft copy)* defines also the various possible formats of fixed districts (A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H,I) for a total number of 13 districts. Of these, four particular formats, namely, those indicated in columns A, B, C & D are the ones that fit best the figures defined in the "Projected Seats" column. Table 5.3f shown below compares these four solutions (A to D).

Table 5.3f - Possible Formats of Fixed Districts (Electoral Quota = 341,752 divided by 65 = 5,257)

District	**Registered Voters**	**Projected Seats** (1)	**Solution 'A'** (2)	**Solution 'B'** (3)	**Solution 'C'** (4)	**Solution 'D'** (5)
12	22,354	4.3	5	4	4	5
10	24,098	4.6	5	5	5	5
7	24,277	4.6	5	5	5	5
2	24,647	4.7	5	5	5	5
5	24,717	4.7	5	5	5	5
4	25,226	4.8	5	5	5	5
9	25,239	4.8	5	5	5	5
6	25,451	4.8	5	5	5	5
1	26,590	5.1	5	5	5	5
3	28,007	5.3	5	5	5	5
13	28,648	5.4	5	5	6	5
11	29,500	5.6	5	5	6	6
8	32,998	6.3	5	6	6	6
TOTAL	341,752	65	65	65	67	67

Notes:

Electoral Quota: (Total Registered Voters) divided by (Total Number of Projected Seats) = 5,257

(1) Projected Seats = (Number of Registered Voters) divided by (Electoral Quota)

(2) Seats: (Districts 1 to 13) = 5; (Total Seats) = 65.

(3) Seats: (District 12) = 4; (District 8) = 6; (All other Districts) = 5; (Total Seats) = 65.

(4) Seats: (District 12) = 4; (Districts 8, 11, 13) = 6; (All other Districts) = 5; (Total Seats) = 67.

(5) Seats: (Districts 8, 11) = 6; (All other Districts) = 5; (Total Seats) = 67.

Table 5.3g - Seat Values (District Quota Values) relative to different Fixed Districts Formats

District	Number of Seats in Solution (A)	Number of Seats in Solution (B)	Number of Seats in Solution (C)	Number of Seats in Solution (D)	Seat Value in each District (Quota) (A)	Seat Value in each District (Quota) (B)	Seat Value in each District (Quota) (C)	Seat Value in each District (Quota) (D)
1	5	5	5	5	5,319	5,319	5,319	5,319
2	5	5	5	5	4,930	4,930	4,930	4,930
3	5	5	5	5	5,602	5,602	5,602	5,602
4	5	5	5	5	5,046	5,046	5,046	5,046
5	5	5	5	5	4,944	4,944	4,944	4,944
6	5	5	5	5	5,091	5,091	5,091	5,091
7	5	5	5	5	4,856	4,856	4,856	4,856
8	5	6	6	6	6,601	5,501	5,501	5,501
9	5	5	5	5	5,049	5,049	5,049	5,049
10	5	5	5	5	4,821	4,821	4,821	4,821
11	5	5	6	6	5,901	5,901	4,918	4,918
12	5	4	4	5	4,472	5,590	5,590	4,772
13	5	5	6	5	5,531	5,531	4,776	5,731
TOTAL	65	65	67	67				
ELECTORAL QUOTA					5,257	5,257	5,100	5,100

Table 5.3g defines the “District Quota Values” which in turn define the “Seat Value” for the four proposed solutions, namely solutions A to D.

Table 5.3h - Parameters to be used to determine which Solution is to be adopted to define the Fixed Districts

District	Number of Seats in Solution (A)	Number of Seats in Solution (B)	Number of Seats in Solution (C)	Number of Seats in Solution (D)	% Deviation from District Mean (A)	% Deviation from District Mean (B)	% Deviation from District Mean (C)	% Deviation from District Mean (D)
1	5	5	5	5	+1.16%	+1.16%	+4.27%	+4.27%
2	5	5	5	5	-6.23%	-6.23%	-3.35%	-3.35%
3	5	5	5	5	+6.55%	+6.55%	**+9.83% ***	+9.83%
4	5	5	5	5	-4.03%	-4.03%	-1.07%	-1.07%
5	5	5	5	5	-5.97%	-5.97%	-3.07%	-3.07%
6	5	5	5	5	-3.17%	-3.17%	-0.19%	-0.19%
7	5	5	5	5	-7.64%	-7.64%	-4.80%	-4.80%
8	5	6	6	6	**+25.54% ***	+4.62%	+7.84%	+7.84%
9	5	5	5	5	-3.98%	-3.98%	-1.02%	-1.02%
10	5	5	5	5	-8.32%	**-8.32% ***	-5.50%	-5.50%
11	5	5	6	6	+12.23%	**+12.23% ***	-3.59%	-3.59%
12	5	4	4	5	**-14.96% ***	+6.31%	+9.58%	**-12.34% ***
13	5	5	6	5	+8.99%	+8.99%	**-6.38% ***	**+12.35% ***
TOTAL	65	65	67	67				

Note:
* The Highest Positive or Negative Deviations are shown Bold.

Table 5.3h defines the parameters that are to be used to determine which solution is to be adopted when defining fixed districts.

Attached TABLE 'G6' *(soft copy)* gives full details of how the "% Deviation from District Mean" figures shown in Table 5.3h have been determined.

Using Fixed Districts as Electoral Districts

When using the proposed NPS method to conduct a general election, whichever format of "fixed districts" is adopted, the final result of a general election will not be affected. The format chosen would depend on which parameters defined in Table 5.3h are given precedence in such a choice, as explained hereunder.

Choosing the Solution to be adopted (Reference is here made to Tables 5.3g & 5.3h)

- **Choosing Solution 'A'** would mean having all districts elect the same number of members (5) to parliament, but at the same time having a varying "seat value" (or quota value) in each district, whilst keeping the total number of members in parliament at 65.

- **Choosing Solution 'B'** would mean keeping the total number of members of parliament at 65, whilst diminishing the difference in "seat value" (or quota value) between districts, with the number of seats in the various districts varying between 4, 5 or 6.

- **Choosing Solution 'C'** would mean further diminishing the difference in "seat value" (or quota value) between the various districts, bringing it nearest to the "electoral quota", and with the number of seats in each district resulting to be the nearest to the "proposed seat value", and the number of seats varying between 4, 5 or 6, but at the same time, increasing the total number of members in parliament to 67.

- **Choosing Solution 'D'** would mean having a higher difference in "seat value" (or quota value) between districts than in Solution 'C', whilst keeping the least number of seats in all districts at 5, with two districts having the seats defined at 6, and thus having the total number of members in parliament at 67.

Defining the Format of the Fixed Districts prior to a General Election

If the format of the fixed districts chosen for a general election is equal to "Solution A", that is, similar to the current electoral division format, no change would be made before a general election, thus adopting 13 districts each electing 5 members to parliament.

But if the format of fixed districts chosen for a general election is equal to one of the "Solutions B, C or D" or possibly any other format possible as shown in attached TABLE 'G5' *(soft copy)*, it is to be understood that, whilst the districts are kept fixed with their boundaries unchanged, the number of candidates to be elected from each district could be changed.

Between one general election and another, the number of the registered voters would definitely vary in the various fixed districts. Thus, it would be required to carry out an analysis, similar to the one carried out above, to determine the number of seats in the respective fixed districts and thus choose the best format of fixed districts that is to be used in the particular general election.

If the solution chosen would possibly result in being of a different format than that chosen for the previous general election, the difference would only possibly be in the number of candidates that are defined to be elected from the particular districts, whilst the districts arrangement and the district boundaries would remain to be that of the same unchanged fixed districts.

Using Fixed Districts as Administrative Districts

It would be a very positive step forward had the main entities in Malta, (namely, the Central Government, the Local Councils, the Malta National Statistics Office and the Police) to eventually come to utilise the fixed districts defined by the electoral commission as a common basis for their organisation, namely, as "Fixed Administrative Districts". This would definitely give a unified direction in the administration of the country. This change would require a change in mentality.

It is pertinent to observe that electoral division 13 (Gozo & Comino) has already been defined as a fixed district, irrespective of the varying number of registered voters within it. Once such a change has been proven to be possible and workable for one district, the same principle could be applied when defining the other districts in the island of Malta.

6. ELECTORAL CORRECTIVE MECHANISM

6.1 The Current System

In all the electoral corrective mechanisms that were introduced to supplement the current STV system, the emphasis was always put on the first count valid votes. Whatever the transfers of votes that occur through the counting system in the counts that follow, whatever the number of candidates declared elected to parliament by the last count, the political party that obtains a majority of the first count valid votes, is guaranteed the right to form a government.

The First Electoral Corrective Mechanism

The first electoral corrective mechanism was introduced in 1987 and was intended to be applied only when one political party obtained an absolute majority of the first count valid votes. That political party was guaranteed the minimum majority of one seat in parliament.

The Second Electoral Corrective Mechanism

The second electoral corrective mechanism, introduced in 1996, was a slight variation of the first, where the mechanism was now also applicable for the political party that gets a relative majority of the first count valid votes, but on condition that only two political parties have members elected to parliament. The political party that obtained an absolute or a relative majority was guaranteed only a one seat majority over the other political party.

The Third Electoral Corrective Mechanism

The third electoral corrective mechanism supersedes the previous two and was introduced in 2007. It guarantees proportionality of seats under two broadly defined situations, namely:

a) When only two political parties elect members to parliament, and when one of the political parties obtains absolute majority or relative majority in parliament, proportionality is guaranteed to both the majority party and the minority party.
b) When three or more political parties elect members to parliament, proportionality is guaranteed to the majority party, only when one of the political parties obtains absolute majority.

How the Current Electoral Corrective Mechanism Works

The current electoral corrective mechanism works by identifying the "seat vote value" of the advantaged political party and then divides the first count valid votes of the disadvantaged political party by this "seat vote value" number so as to determine the number of seats the disadvantaged political party is to have in parliament.

Table 6.1a - Current Electoral Corrective Mechanism as applied to the 2017 General Election Result where 2 political parties were elected to parliament and the PL obtained an absolute majority and formed a government.

Political Party	First Count Valid Votes	Seats Gained at the Last Count	Seat Vote Value	Revised Projected Seats	Final Seats Allocated
PL *	170,976	37	4,621	37	37
PN	135,696	28	4,846	29.37	30
Total	310,665	65			67

* Advantaged Political Party

Limitations of the Current Electoral Corrective Mechanism

When confronting the applicability of the current electoral corrective mechanism to the actual general election results as they occurred between 1921 and 2017, it is to be noted that the current electoral corrective mechanism would only apply to two thirds of the general elections held. Table 6.1b below defines in which general elections the current electoral corrective mechanism was/would have been applicable.

Table 6.1b - Current Electoral Corrective Mechanism confronted with the actual General Election Results

General Election	Number of Political Parties with Members elected to Parliament	Governability	Applicability of Current Corrective Mechanism
1932, 1945, 1955, 1971 to 2003, 2013 & 2017	2	1 Political Party obtained Absolute Majority	Yes
1966 & 2008	2	1 Political Party obtained Relative Majority	Yes
1939	3	1 Political Party obtained Absolute Majority	Yes
1945	5	1 Political Party obtained Absolute Majority	No
1921, 1924, 1927 & 1951	4	No Political Party obtained Absolute or Relative Majority	No
1962	5	No Political Party obtained Absolute or Relative Majority	No
1950	6	No Political Party obtained Absolute or Relative Majority	No

Necessary Amendments to the Current Electoral Corrective Mechanism

It is clear that the law defining the electoral corrective mechanism needs to be amended so as to (at least) cover all the possible scenarios that history puts before us. As clearly indicated in Table 6.1b, these amendments are required so as to cater for the different scenarios presented by the 24 general elections held between 1921 and 2017.

6.2 The Proposed System

Electoral Corrective Mechanism for all Political Parties Electing Members to Parliament

The electoral corrective mechanism can become effective also when candidates from more than two political parties are elected to parliament, irrespective of whether the larger political party gains absolute majority, relative majority, or no majority at all.

The proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism covers three types of "corrections", namely:
"The Proportionality Correction"
"The Odd Number Correction"
"The Governability Correction".

How the proposed NPS Electoral Corrective Mechanism works

When determining which political party is to be defined as the "advantaged political party", the proposed electoral corrective mechanism uses a new factor, namely, the "% seat gain" factor.

The proposed electoral corrective mechanism as detailed hereunder can be applied to the actual general election results obtained under the current STV system, as well as to the projected general election results obtained when applying the proposed NPS method.

An Optional Proposal

It is being proposed that when one of the elected political parties obtains a relative majority of at least 45% of the first count valid votes, it is to be considered as if it obtained an absolute majority (only for the purpose of the allocation of seats in parliament), and is then to be allocated the necessary number of additional seats to be able to form a majority government. The 45% value is an arbitrary figure that can be changed. The scope of this proposal is to guarantee governability when the larger political party obtains at least 45% of the first count valid votes. Such a governability guarantee would require endorsement by all political parties. Such an amendment may not be felt necessary given the present scenario with the largest political party having more than 50% of the first count valid votes, but should make sense when considering the particular scenario that emerged in the 1966 general election (refer to Case Study 3 below).

Advantages of the Proposed System

Attached TABLE 'D1' to 'D24' *(soft copy)* gives the details relative to the application of the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism when applied to the actual results of all the general elections held between 1921 and 2017. The results obtained from this analysis confirm that this corrective mechanism can be applied to all the political parties that have members elected to parliament.

Proposed NPS Electoral Corrective Mechanism Applied in Different Situations

Attached TABLE 'D1' to 'D24' *(soft copy)* is divided into two main sections, namely:

- One where the NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the actual results of all 24 general elections held between 1921 and 2017 when using the actual STV system;
- One where the NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the projected results for all 24 general elections held between 1921 and 2017 when using the NPS method.

6.3 Case Studies

The application of the proposed electoral corrective mechanism is here analysed relative to five particular general elections, namely 2017, 2008, 1966, 1962 & 1951, so as to elaborate on how it is applied in different scenarios.

Case Study 1: 2017 General Election

When 2 political parties are elected to parliament and one of them obtains an absolute majority and forms a majority government. As a case study, the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the 2017 general election result.

Full analysis is shown in attached TABLE 'D24' *(soft copy)*.
Tables 6.3a & 6.3b below show a summary of the results obtained.

Table 6.3a - Effect of NPS Electoral Corrective Mechanism on the Result obtained using the STV System

Political Party	First Count Valid Votes	Party % Votes	Seats Gained at Last Count	Party % Seats	% Seat Gain	Seat Vote Value	Revised Projected Seats	Final Seats Allocated
PL *	170,976	55.04%	37	56.92%	+1.89% *	4,621	37	37
PN	135,696	43.68%	28	43.08%	-0.60%	4,846	29.37	30
Total 1st Count Votes	310,665		65					67

* Advantaged political party with the highest "% Seat Gain".

Table 6.3a shows the result obtained when the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the actual result of the general election which was held using the current STV system. On comparison, the same result would be obtained if the current electoral corrective mechanism was applied, as only two political parties are elected to parliament.

Table 6.3b - Effect of NPS Electoral Corrective Mechanism on the Result obtained using the NPS

Political Party	First Count Valid Votes	Party % Votes	Seats Gained at Last Count	Party % Seats	% Seat Gain	Seat Vote Value	Revised Projected Seats	Final Seats Allocated
PL	170,976	55.04%	43	55.13%	+0.09%	3,976	44.10	44
PN *	135,696	43.68%	35	44.87%	+1.19% *	3,877	35	35
Total 1st Count Votes	310,665		78					79

* Advantaged political party with the highest "% Seat Gain".

Table 6.3b shows the result obtained when the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the projected result of the general election, had it been held using the proposed NPS method. Due to the fact that the actual counting sheets are here used as a case study, 6 candidates are declared elected from each electoral division, so as to respect the NPS quota formula where the number of candidates elected is equal to the divider number in the equation, and thus totalling the members of parliament to 78. On comparison, the same result would be

obtained if the current electoral corrective mechanism was applied, as only two political parties are elected to parliament.

Case Study 2: 2008 General Election

When 2 political parties are elected to parliament and one of them obtains a relative majority and forms a majority government.
As a case study, the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the 2008 general election result.

Full analysis is shown in attached TABLE 'D22' *(soft copy)*.
Tables 6.3c & 6.3d below show a summary of the results obtained.

Table 6.3c - Effect of NPS Electoral Corrective Mechanism on the Result obtained using the STV System

Political Party	First Count Valid Votes	Party % Votes	Seats Gained at Last Count	Party % Seats	% Seat Gain	Seat Vote Value	Revised Projected Seats	Final Seats Allocated
MLP *	141,887	48.79%	34	52.31%	+3.52% *	4,173	34	34
PN	143,468	49.34%	31	47.69%	-1.64%	4,628	34.38	35
Total 1st Count Votes	290,798		65					69

* Advantaged political party with the highest "% Seat Gain".

Table 6.3c shows the result obtained when the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the actual result of the general election which was held using the current STV system. On comparison, the same result would be obtained if the current electoral corrective mechanism was applied, as only two political parties are elected to parliament.

Table 6.3d - Effect of NPS Electoral Corrective Mechanism on the Result obtained using the NPS

Political Party	First Count Valid Votes	Party % Votes	Seats Gained at Last Count	Party % Seats	% Seat Gain	Seat Vote Value	Revised Projected Seats	Final Seats Allocated
MLP *	141,887	48.79%	39	50.00%	+1.21% *	3,638	39	39
PN	143,468	49.34%	39	50.00%	+0.66%	3,679	39.43	40
Total 1st Count Votes	290,798		78					79

* Advantaged political party with the highest "% Seat Gain".

Table 6.3d shows the result obtained when the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the projected result of the general election, had it been held using the proposed NPS method. Due to the fact that the actual counting sheets are here used as a case study, 6 candidates are declared elected from each electoral division, so as to respect the NPS quota

formula where the number of candidates elected is equal to the divider number in the equation, and thus totalling the members of parliament to 78. On comparison, the same result would be obtained if the current electoral corrective mechanism was applied, as only two political parties are elected to parliament.

Case Study 3: 1966 General Election

When using the actual STP system, 2 political parties are elected to parliament and one of them obtains a relative majority; whilst when using the NPS, more than 2 political parties are elected to parliament and none of them obtain an absolute or relative majority; and where the application of the proposed electoral corrective mechanism gives a different result to the actual result obtained.

When using the proposed STP system, the party having a relative majority of first count votes formed a majority government. This was due to the number of votes (and eventually seats) that were gained by the last count.

When using the proposed NPS, 3 political parties are elected and the party having more than 45% first count valid votes is given additional seats to guarantee governability (as proposed and explained in section 6.2).

As a case study, the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the 1966 general election where 5 political parties contested the general election.

Full analysis is shown in attached TABLE 'D13' *(soft copy)*.
Tables 6.3e & 6.3f below show a summary of the results obtained.

Table 6.3e - Effect of NPS Electoral Corrective Mechanism on the Result obtained using the STV System

Political Party	First Count Valid Votes	Party % Votes	Seats Gained at Last Count	Party % Seats	% Seat Gain	Seat Vote Value	Revised Projected Seats	Final Seats Allocated
MLP	61,774	43.09%	22	44.00%	+0.91%	2,808	25.19	25
PN *	68,656	47.89%	28	56.00%	+8.11% *	2,452	28	28
Total 1st Count Votes	143,347		50					53

* Advantaged political party with the highest "% Seat Gain".

Table 6.3e shows the result obtained when the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the actual result of the general election which was held using the current STV system. On comparison, the same result would be obtained if the current electoral corrective mechanism was applied, as only two political parties are elected to parliament.

Table 6.3f - Effect of NPS Electoral Corrective Mechanism on the Result obtained using the NPS

Political Party	First Count Valid Votes	Party % Votes	Seats Gained at Last Count	Party % Seats	% Seat Gain	Seat Vote Value	Revised Projected Seats	Final Seats Allocated
CWP	8,594	6.00%	1	1.67%	-4.33%	(e)	4.13	4
MLP	61,774	43.09%	26	43.33%	+0.24%	(e)	29.69	30
PN *	68,656	47.89%	33	55.00%	+7.11% *	2,080	33	35 (f)
Total 1st Count Votes	143,347		60					69

* Advantaged political party with the highest "% Seat Gain".

(e) Seat Vote Value of (CWP + MLP) = (8,594 + 61,774) divided by (1 + 26) = 2,606

(f) 2 seats added to the political party with more than 45% first count valid votes so as to guarantee governability.

Table 6.3f shows the result obtained when the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the projected result of the general election, had it been held used the proposed NPS method. Due to the fact that the actual counting sheets are here used as a case study, 6 candidates are declared elected from each electoral division, so as to respect the NPS quota formula where the number of candidates elected is equal to the divider number in the equation, and thus totalling the members of parliament to 60. On comparison, the current electoral corrective mechanism would not apply in this particular scenario, as three political parties are elected to parliament and one of them obtains only a relative majority.

Case Study 4: 1962 General Election

When more than 2 political parties are elected to parliament and none of them obtain an absolute or relative majority, and where the application of the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism gives a different result to the actual result obtained.

Although not having a relative majority of first count votes, one party formed a majority government. This was due to the number of votes (and eventually seats) that were gained by the last count, through the application of the STV system.

As a case study, the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the 1962 general election where 5 political parties were elected to parliament. When this corrective mechanism is applied, none of the political parties obtains a majority and a coalition government has to be formed.

Full analysis is shown in attached TABLE 'D12' *(soft copy)*.
Tables 6.3g & 6.3h below show a summary of the results obtained.

Table 6.3g - Effect of NPS Electoral Corrective Mechanism on the Result obtained using the STV System

Political Party	First Count Valid Votes	Party % Votes	Seats Gained at Last Count	Party % Seats	% Seat Gain	Seat Vote Value	Revised Projected Seats	Final Seats Allocated
CWP	14,285	9.49%	4	8.00%	-1.49%	(c)	5.65	6
DNP	13,968	9.27%	4	8.00%	-1.27%	(c)	5.52	5
MLP	50,974	33.85%	16	32.00%	-1.85%	(c)	20.14	20
PCP	7,290	4.84%	1	2.00%	-2.84%	(c)	2.88	3
PN *	63,262	42.00%	25	50.00%	+8.00% *	2,530	25	25
Total 1st Count Votes	150,606		50					59

* Advantaged political party with the highest "% Seat Gain".

(c) Seat Vote Value of (CWP + DNP + MLP + PCP) =
(14,285 + 13,968 + 50,974 + 7,290) divided by (4 + 4 + 16 + 1) = 3,460

Table 6.3g shows the result obtained when the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the actual result of the general election which was held using the current STV system. On comparison, the current electoral corrective mechanism would not apply in this particular scenario, as five political parties are elected to parliament and none of them obtains a majority.

Table 6.3h - Effect of NPS Electoral Corrective Mechanism on the Result obtained using the NPS

Political Party	First Count Valid Votes	Party % Votes	Seats Gained at Last Count	Party % Seats	% Seat Gain	Seat Vote Value	Revised Projected Seats	Final Seats Allocated
CWP	14,285	9.49%	6	10.00%	+0.51%	(d)	6.32	6
DNP	13,968	9.27%	4	6.67%	-2.61%	(d)	6.18	6
MLP	50,974	33.85%	21	35.00%	+1.15%	(d)	22.56	22
PCP	7,290	4.84%	1	1.67%	-3.17%	(d)	3.23	3
PN *	63,262	42.00%	28	46.67%	+4.67% *	2,259	28	28
Total 1st Count Votes	150,606		60					65

* Advantaged political party with the highest "% Seat Gain".

(d) Seat Vote Value of (CWP + DNP + MLP + PCP) =
(14,285 + 13,968 + 50,974 + 7,290) divided by (6 + 4 + 21 + 1) = 2,703

Table 6.3h shows the result obtained when the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the projected result of the general election, had it been held using the proposed NPS method. Due to the fact that the actual counting sheets are here used as a case study, 6 candidates are declared elected from each electoral division, so as to respect the NPS quota formula where the number of candidates elected is equal to the divider number in the equation, and thus totalling the members of parliament to 60. On comparison, the current electoral

corrective mechanism would not apply in this particular scenario, as five political parties are elected to parliament and none of them obtains a majority.

Case Study 5: 1951 General Election
When more than 2 political parties are elected to parliament and none of them obtain an absolute or relative majority.
As a case study, the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the 1951 general election result where 4 political parties were elected to parliament and a coalition government was formed.

Full analysis is shown in attached TABLE 'D9' *(soft copy)*.
Tables 6.3i & 6.3j below show a summary of the results obtained.

Table 6.3i - Effect of NPS Electoral Corrective Mechanism on the Result obtained using the STV System

Political Party	First Count Valid Votes	Party % Votes	Seats Gained at Last Count	Party % Seats	% Seat Gain	Seat Vote Value	Revised Projected Seats	Final Seats Allocated
PN *	39,946	35.47%	15	37.50%	+2.03% *	2,663	15	15
MLP	40,208	35.70%	14	35.00%	-0.07%	(a)	15.10	16
MWP	21,158	18.79%	7	17.50%	-1.29%	(a)	7.94	8
CON	9,150	8.12%	4	10.00%	+1.88%	(a)	3.44	4
Total 1st Count Votes	112,625		40					43

* Advantaged political party with the highest "% Seat Gain".
(a) Seat Vote Value of (MLP + MWP + CON) =
(40,208 + 21,158 + 9,150) divided by (14 + 7 + 4) = 2,820

Table 6.3i shows the result obtained when the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the actual result of the general election which was held using the current STV system. On comparison, the current electoral corrective mechanism would not apply in this particular scenario, as four political parties are elected to parliament and none of them obtains a majority.

Table 6.3j - Effect of NPS Electoral Corrective Mechanism on the Result obtained using the NPS

Political Party	First Count Valid Votes	Party % Votes	Seats Gained at Last Count	Party % Seats	% Seat Gain	Seat Vote Value	Revised Projected Seats	Final Seats Allocated
PN	39,946	35.47%	18	37.50%	+2.03%	(b)	18.89	19
MLP	40,208	35.70%	15	31.25%	-4.45%	(b)	19.01	19
MWP *	21,158	18.79%	10	20.83%	+2.05% *	2,115	10	10
CON	9,150	8.12%	4	8.33%	+0.21%	(b)	4.33	4
IND	1,206	1.07%	1	2.08%	+1.01&	(b)	0.57	1
Total 1st Count Votes	112,625		48					53

* Advantaged political Party with the highest "% Seat Gain".

(b) Seat Vote Value of (PN + MLP + CON + IND) =
(39, 946 + 40,208 + 9,150 + 1,206) divided by (18 + 15 + 4 + 1) = 2,381

Table 6.3j shows the result obtained when the proposed NPS electoral corrective mechanism is applied to the projected result of the general election, had it been held using the proposed NPS method. Due to the fact that the actual counting sheets are here used as a case study, 6 candidates are declared elected from each electoral division, so as to respect the NPS quota formula where the number of candidates elected is equal to the divider number in the equation, and thus totalling the members of parliament to 48. On comparison, the current electoral corrective mechanism would not apply in this particular scenario, as five political parties are elected to parliament and none of them obtains a majority.

7. BALLOT PAPER FORMAT

7.1 The Current System

Background

"Donkey voting" occurs when voters, after choosing their preferred candidate/s by writing (1/2…) against his/her/their name on the ballot paper, continue placing consecutive numbers against candidates' names in the alphabetical order as they appear on the ballot paper, predominantly proceeding top to bottom.

The discrimination created by "donkey voting" can be eliminated by printing the ballot papers using the "Robson Rotation" method. This method was first used in Australia in a by-election in 1980 and was adopted in the Capital Territory elections in 1995.

The Current Process

The lists of candidates on the ballot papers are currently printed in alphabetical order for each political party separately, with candidates whose surname starting with the first alphabet letters topping the lists.

Disadvantages of the Current System

Candidates lower down in the list are disadvantaged when electors vote using the "donkey vote" system. The more candidates there are on the ballot paper, the higher the donkey vote is likely to be used. The discrimination is increased through the "donkey voting" when the ballot papers are printed in alphabetical order.

7.2 The Proposed System

Proposed System

To eliminate any "donkey vote" disadvantage it is being proposed to use the "Robson Rotation" method. It requires ballot papers to be printed in equal-sized batches, with each batch having a different candidate's name appearing at prescribed different positions in political party columns on the ballot papers.

Advantages of the Proposed System

While this doesn't eliminate "donkey voting", it spreads its effect more-or-less equally to all the candidates standing for a general election, thus eliminating the discrimination mentioned earlier.

7.3 Case Studies

One way to uncover "donkey voting" is by analysing how the transferred excess votes are inherited by the other candidates, and then compare the placing achieved in the "votes received" list with the placing in the "alphabetical" party list on the ballot paper.

This has been done for the general elections held in 2017, 1971, 1962 and 1955. From the Tables 7.3a, 7.3b, 7,3c & 7.3d presented further-on in the four case studies, similar patterns emerge and these show that some candidates listed at the bottom of the "alphabetical" party lists end up at the bottom of the "votes received" list. Two typical cases taken off each presented case study are further detailed in the relevant Appendices as indicated.

Table 7.3a - Case Study 1: Evidence of Donkey Voting – General Election 2017
Similar patterns experienced in candidates' lists

Electoral Division	Political Party	Placing in the "Alphabetical" Party List	Placing in the "Votes Received" List	Total Number of Candidates in Party List	Further Details Reference
1	PL	8th & 9th	7th & 9th	9	
3	PL	12th, 13th & 14th	13th, 14th & 12th	14	(1)
4	PL	10th	10th	10	
5	PL	12th	14th	14	
6	PL	5th	6th	6	
7	PL	10th	10th	10	
8	PL	6th	7th	7	
11	PL	6th & 7th	6th & 7th	7	
12	PL	8th & 9th	8th & 9th	9	
1	PN	7th, 8th & 9th	7th, 8th & 9th	9	(2)
3	PN	14th	14th	14	
9	PN	19th	19th	20	
11	PN	11th, 12th & 13th	14th, 12th & 13th	13	
12	PN	13th	13th	13	

(1) Further details in Appendix XII.

(2) Further details in Appendix XIII.

The transfers considered in above table are shown highlighted in "Yellow" colour in attached TABLE 'J24' *(soft copy)*.

Table 7.3b - Case Study 2: Evidence of Donkey Voting – General Election 1971
Similar patterns experienced in candidates' lists

Electoral Division	Political Party	Placing in the "Alphabetical" Party List	Placing in the "Votes Received" Party List	Total Number of Candidates in Party List	Further Details Reference
2	MLP	11th & 12th	10th & 11th	12	
4	MLP	5th	5th	5	
7	MLP	10th	9th	10	
8	MLP	11th, 12th & 13th	14th, 12th & 13th	14	(3)
9	MLP	6th & 8th	7th & 6th	8	
10	MLP	14th	13th	14	
2	PN	6th	5th	6	
3	PN	8th	8th	8	
4	PN	5th & 6th	5th & 6th	5	
6	PN	4th, 5th & 6th	5th, 6th & 7th	7	(4)

(3) Further details in Appendix XIV.

(4) Further details in Appendix XV.

The transfers considered in above table are shown highlighted in "Yellow" colour in attached TABLE 'J14' *(soft copy)*.

Table 7.3c - Case Study 3: Evidence of Donkey Voting – General Election 1962
Similar patterns experienced in candidates' lists

Electoral Division	Political Party	Placing in the "Alphabetical" Party List	Placing in the "Votes Received" List	Total Number of Candidates in Party List	Further Details Reference
2	MLP	5th & 7th	7th & 5th	7	
4	MLP	5th, 7th & 8th	8th, 7th & 6th	8	(5)
5	MLP	4th	5th	5	
6	MLP	3rd & 4th	4th & 5th	5	
7	MLP	7th	6th	7	
10	MLP	4th & 5th	4th & 5th	5	
2	PN	6th	6th	6	
3	PN	5th	5th	5	
4	PN	4th & 5th	5th & 4th	5	(6)
5	PN	3rd & 4th	5th & 4th	5	
6	PN	3rd, 4th & 6th	5th, 4th & 6th	6	
9	PN	7th	7th	7	
10	PN	9th	8th	9	

(5) Further details in Appendix XVI.

(6) Further details in Appendix XVII.

The transfers considered in above table are shown highlighted in "Yellow" colour in attached TABLE 'J12' *(soft copy)*.

Table 7.3d - Case Study 4: Evidence of Donkey Voting – General Election 1955
Similar patterns experienced in candidates' lists

Electoral Division	Political Party	Placing in the "Alphabetical" Party List	Placing in the "Votes Received" List	Total Number of Candidates in Party List	Further Details Reference
1	MLP	9th	9th	9	
3	MLP	5th & 6th	6th & 5th	6	(7)
4	MLP	4th & 5th	4th & 5th	6	
5	MLP	6th	5th	6	
6	MLP	6th & 7th	6th & 7th	8	
7	MLP	8th	9th	10	
2	PN	7th	8th	8	
3	PN	7th & 8th	8th & 7th	8	
4	PN	4th	5th	5	
5	PN	4th, 5th & 6th	5th, 7th & 6th	7	(8)
6	PN	3rd, 4th & 5th	4th, 5th & 3rd	5	
7	PN	8th	8th	9	

(7) Further details in Appendix XVIII.

(8) Further details in Appendix XIX.

The transfers considered in above table are shown highlighted in "Yellow" colour in attached TABLE 'J11' *(soft copy)*.

8. GENERAL ELECTIONS 1921 TO 2017 - ANALYSIS WORKING SHEETS

Prior to compiling this study paper, the results of all the 24 general elections held between 1921 and 2017 were studied and analysed from various aspects, mainly to study the effects that the NPS would have on the general election results.
For completeness sake, these working sheets are being attached as TABLES 'K1' to 'K24' *(soft copy)* – "General Elections 1921 to 2017 – Analysis Working Sheets".

9. BIBLIOGRAPHY

When compiling this study paper, reference was made to the following publications:

- University of Malta *"Parliamentary Election Results, 1921-2013 – Malta Elections"* (as published on https://www.um.edu.mt/projects/malta elections/elections/parliamentary).
- Electoral Commission Malta, *"General Election 2017"* (as published on https://electoral.gov.mt).
- Felice Pace Joe & Felice Pace Richard, *"Who's Who In The House 1921-2006 Results of Maltese General and Casual Elections"* (midseaBOOKS, 2006).
- Borg Tonio, *"A Commentary on the Constitution of Malta"* (Kite Group, 2016)

10. LIST OF ATTACHED DOCUMENTS (Soft Copy)

TABLE 'A1' to TABLE 'A24'	General Elections 1921 to 2017 Deviation of the Number of Registered Voters in Electoral Divisions
TABLE 'B1' to TABLE 'B24'	General Elections 1921 to 2017 Wasted Votes in each General Election
TABLE 'C1' to TABLE 'C24'	General Elections 1921 to 2017 Comparison between First Count Valid Votes and Seats Gained
TABLE 'D1' to TABLE 'D24'	General Elections 1921 to 2017 Electoral Corrective Mechanism applied to all Political Parties
TABLE 'E1' to TABLE 'E24'	General Elections 1921 to 2017 – Counting Sheets
TABLE 'F11'	General Election 1955 – Election of Runner-up Candidates
TABLE 'F12'	General Election 1962 – Election of Runner-up Candidates
TABLE 'F14'	General Election 1971 – Election of Runner-up Candidates
TABLE 'F24'	General Election 2017 – Election of Runner-up Candidates
TABLE 'G1'	Changes to the Electoral Divisions – 1976 to 2017
TABLE 'G2'	Comparison of Existing Districts of Malta and Fixed Districts
TABLE 'G3'	General Election 2017 – Registered Voters in each Electoral Division
TABLE 'G4'	Fixed Districts
TABLE 'G5'	Determining the Number of Seats in Fixed Districts
TABLE 'G6'	Deviation of the Number of Registered Voters from the Electoral Quota In Proposed Fixed Districts
TABLE 'H1' to TABLE 'H24'	General Elections 1921 to 2017 – Totalling Up of Wasted Votes
TABLE 'J11'	General Election 1955 – Evidence of Donkey Voting
TABLE 'J12'	General Election 1962 – Evidence of Donkey Voting
TABLE 'J14'	General Election 1971 – Evidence of Donkey Voting
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APPENDIX I: Deviation from the Electoral Quota of the Number of Registered Voters in Electoral Divisions

General Election	Number of Electoral Divisions	Largest Negative Deviation from the Electoral Quota	Largest Positive Deviation from the Electoral Quota	Highest Deviation of Registered Voters between particular Electoral Divisions
1921	8	-27.45%	+14.82%	42.27%
1924	8	-26.83%	+19.21%	46.04%
1927	8	-36.89%	+36.52%	73.41%
1932	8	-38.89%	+48.60%	87.49%
1939	2	-1.86%	+1.86%	3.72%
1945	2	-15.14%	+15.14%	30.28%
1947	8	-23.81%	+16.71%	40.52%
1950	8	-28.42%	+22.46%	50.88%
1951	8	-28.18%	+23.79%	51.97%
1953	8	-29.64%	+24.80%	54.44%
1955	8	-28.16%	+24.99%	53.15%
1962	10	-12.47%	+14.86%	27.33%
1966	10	-13.75%	+15.49%	29.24%
1971	10	-10.54%	+7.41%	17.95%
1976	13	-4.79%	+4.89%	9.68%
1981	13	-7.10%	+3.31%	10.41%
1987	13	-4.09%	+4.56%	8.65%
1992	13	-5.32%	+5.35%	10.67%
1996	13	-3.01%	+4.62%	7.63%
1998	13	-4.31%	+6.35%	10.66%
2003	13	-6.66%	+4.45%	11.11%
2008	13	-3.70%	+7.97%	11.67%
2013	13	-4.18%	+8.25%	12.43%
2017	13	-5.36%	+8.97%	14.33%

APPENDIX II: **Percentage Difference between Votes & Seats belonging to Political Parties in Parliament**

General Election	Lower % Difference between % Votes & % Seats (STV System)	Higher % Difference between % Votes & % Seats (STV System)	Lower % Difference between % Votes & % Seats (NPS)	Higher % Difference between % Votes & % Seats (NPS)
1921	-3.44%	+4.68%	-2.04%	+2.19%
1924	-2.70%	+4.02%	-2.18%	+1.05%
1927	-5.17%	+5.39%	-4.55%	+3.42%
1932	-5.44%	+6.05%	-3.57%	+2.93%
1939	-6.43%	+5.49%	-3.10%	+3.82%
1945	-13.80%	+13.80%	-1.20%	+1.20%
1947	-3.28%	+2.29%	-1.52%	+3.13%
1950	-3.49%	+4.31%	-0.80%	+0.59%
1951	-1.29%	+2.03%	-4.45%	+2.05%
1953	-4.32%	+6.86%	-0.80%	+5.61%
1955	+0.77%	+2.29%	-0.48%	+3.54%
1962	-2.84%	+8.00%	-3.17%	+4.66%
1966	+0.91%	+8.11%	-4.33%	+7.11%
1971	+0.07%	+1.04%	-0.07%	+1.18%
1976	-0.77%	+0.78%	-1.02%	+1.04%
1981	-3.23%	+3.24%	-1.63%	+1.65%
1987	-3.22%	+3.43%	-1.44%	+1.66%
1992	+0.54%	+1.20%	+0.80%	+0.94%
1996	-3.68%	+4.32%	-0.55%	+1.19%
1998	-0.81%	+2.03%	-1.81%	+3.03%
2003	-1.36%	+2.05%	-1.79%	+2.49%
2008	-1.64%	+3.52%	+0.66%	+1.21%
2013	-3.34%	+5.17%	-1.80%	+1.58%
2017	-0.60%	+1.89%	+0.90%	+1.19%

APPENDIX III: Wasted Votes as Percentage of the Total Valid First Count Votes in the General Elections (1921-2017)

General Election	Number of Electoral Divisions	Wasted Votes at National Level (STV System)	% Wasted Votes at National Level (STV System)	Wasted Votes at National Level (NPS)	% Wasted Votes at National Level (NPS)
1921	8	3,936	19.22%	1,087	5.31%
1924	8	4,736	19.68%	1,471	6.11%
1927	8	6,151	17.86%	1,093	3.17%
1932	8	9,498	19.66%	1,451	3.00%
1939	2	4,797	13.65%	1,452	4.13%
1945	2	2,689	10.74%	596	2.38%
1947	8	17,704	16.78%	6,061	5.75%
1950	8	19,176	18.07%	7,962	7.50%
1951	8	19,796	17.58%	8,425	7.48%
1953	8	19,712	16.64%	7,034	5.94%
1955	8	18,162	15.05%	2,632	2.18%
1962	10	24,480	16.25%	6,519	4.33%
1966	10	21,024	14.67%	6,639	4.63%
1971	10	24,818	14.77%	5,583	3.32%
1976	13	32,085	15.62%	7,768	3.78%
1981	13	34,435	15.36%	8,169	3.64%
1987	13	35,630	15.15%	6,018	2.56%
1992	13	38,916	15.75%	12,142	4.91%
1996	13	39,562	15.14%	7,192	2.75%
1998	13	38,257	14.46%	10,437	3.95%
2003	13	43,176	15.30%	11,279	4.00%
2008	13	45,128	15.52%	9,859	3.39%
2013	13	46,469	15.21%	10,691	3.50%
2017	13	46,107	14.84%	10,819	3.48%
Overall Average			15.96%		4.22%

APPENDIX IV: Wasted Quotas in the 24 General Elections held between 1921 and 2017

General Election	Number of Electoral Divisions	Wasted Quotas at National Level (STV System)	Average Wasted Quotas at Electoral Division Level (STV System)	Wasted Quotas at National Level (NPS)	Average Wasted Quotas at Electoral Division Level (NPS)
1921	8	7.7	0.96	2.1	0.26
1924	8	7.9	0.99	2.4	0.30
1927	8	7.1	0.89	1.3	0.16
1932	8	7.9	0.99	1.2	0.15
1939	2	1.6	0.80	0.5	0.25
1945	2	1.3	0.65	0.3	0.15
1947	8	8.1	1.01	2.8	0.35
1950	8	8.7	1.09	3.6	0.45
1951	8	8.4	1.05	3.6	0.45
1953	8	8.0	1.00	2.9	0.36
1955	8	7.2	0.90	1.0	0.13
1962	10	9.7	0.97	2.6	0.26
1966	10	8.8	0.88	2.8	0.28
1971	10	9.6	0.96	2.2	0.22
1976	13	12.2	0.94	2.9	0.22
1981	13	12.0	0.92	2.8	0.22
1987	13	11.8	0.91	2.0	0.15
1992	13	12.3	0.95	3.8	0.29
1996	13	11.8	0.91	2.1	0.16
1998	13	11.3	0.87	3.1	0.24
2003	13	11.9	0.92	3.1	0.24
2008	13	12.1	0.93	2.6	0.20
2013	13	11.9	0.92	2.7	0.21
2017	13	11.6	0.89	2.7	0.21
Overall Average		9.2	0.93	2.4	0.25

APPENDIX V: 1971 General Election – MLP & PN Casual Elections

Table 4.3h - 1971 General Election – MLP Casual Elections

#	Elected Candidate	Highest Quota Gained (used to determine sequence of Casual Elections)	Electoral Division	Candidates with the Highest Part Quota in the respective Electoral Division	Highest Part Quota Gained in the Counting Process	NPS Casual Election Elected Candidate	1971 Electoral Division Chosen by respective Political Party	1971 Actual Elected Candidate & (Quota Gained)
1	Mintoff Dom	2.500815	1 2	Brincat Joe Azzopardi John	0.870000 0.815403	Elected *	1	Brincat Joe (a)
2	Hyzler Albert Victor	1.004415	5 8	Vassallo Karmenu Naudi Robert	0.280721 0.748076	Elected *	8	Sciberras Joseph Philip (c) (0.288376)

Notes:

* When using the NPS, runner-up candidates with the highest "quota" value always get elected.

(a) 1st runner-up candidate is elected when candidate vacating seat is elected on 1st count votes.

(c) 1st runner-up candidate was not eliminated by the count when candidate vacating seat was elected.

Table 4.3i - 1971 General Election – PN Casual Elections

#	Elected Candidate	Highest Quota Gained (used to determine sequence of Casual Elections)	Electoral Division	Candidates with the Highest Part Quota in the respective Electoral Division	Highest Part Quota Gained in the Counting Process	NPS Casual Election Elected Candidate	1971 Electoral Division Chosen by respective Political Party	1971 Actual Elected Candidate & (Quota Gained)
1	Borg Olivier Giorgio	1.619259	1 9	De Marco Guido Abela Sammy	0.571111 0.955888	Elected *	9	Spiteri Carm Lino (c) (0.245110)
2	Borg Olivier De Puget Albert	1.148271	3 5	Cassar Joseph Farrugia Giuseppe	0.742170 0.973878	Elected *	3	Bonnici Alfred (c) (0.196333)

Notes:

* When using the NPS, runner-up candidates with the highest "quota" value always get elected.

(c) 1st runner-up candidate was not eliminated by the count when candidate vacating seat was elected.

APPENDIX VI: 1962 General Election – MLP, PN, DNP & CWP Casual Elections

Table 4.3j - 1962 General Election – MLP Casual Elections

#	Elected Candidate	Highest Quota Gained (used to determine sequence of Casual Elections)	Electoral Division	Candidates with the Highest Part Quota in the respective Electoral Division	Highest Part Quota Gained in the Counting Process	NPS Casual Election Elected Candidate	1962 Electoral Division Chosen by respective Political Party	1962 Actual Elected Candidate & (Quota Gained)
1	Mintoff Dom	1.638092	1 2	Micallef Stafrace Joseph Piscopo Daniel	0.493544 0.626471	Elected *	2	Piscopo Daniel (a)
2	Hyzler Albert Victor	1.114412	5 8	Zammit Kalcidon Farrugia Remig	0.517782 0.417503	Elected *	5	Spiteri Lino (c) (0.133362)
3	Holland Patrick	1.000000	1 7	Micallef Stafrace Joseph Sammut Joseph (f)	0.493544 0.430541	Elected *	1	Micallef Stafrace Joseph (e)

Notes:

* When using the NPS, runner-up candidates with the highest "quota" always get elected.

(a) 1st runner-up candidate is elected when candidate vacating seat is elected on the 1st count.

(c) 1st runner-up candidate was not eliminated by the count when candidate vacating seat was elected.

(e) Political party put forward one candidate only to contest casual election, apart from other candidates from other parties.

(f) Baldacchino Joseph M, the 1st runner-up candidate with "quota" value at 0.727112, when using the NPS, is elected as a result of the application of the electoral corrective mechanism (refer to attached TABLE 'D12'), and so Sammut Joseph (the 2nd runner-up) replaces him in this casual election.

Table 4.3k - 1962 General Election – PN Casual Elections

#	Elected Candidate	Highest Quota Gained (used to determine sequence of Casual Elections)	Electoral Division	Candidates with the Highest Part Quota in the respective Electoral Division	Highest Part Quota Gained in the Counting Process	NPS Casual Election Elected Candidate	1962 Electoral Division Chosen by respective Political Party	1962 Actual Elected Candidate & (Quota Gained)
1	Camilleri Giuseppe Maria	1.187553	5 8	Pisani Nazzareno Schembri Adami Godfrey	0.861981 0.875151	Elected *	5	Pisani Nazzareno (e)
2	Cachia Zammit Alexander	1.110162	3 4	Caruana Georg Petroni Giuseppe Natale	0.421008 0.323868	Elected *	3	Caruana Georg (e)

Notes:

* When using the NPS, runner-up candidates with the highest "quota" value always get elected.

(e) Political party put forward one candidate only to contest casual election, apart from other candidates from other parties.

Table 4.3l - 1962 General Election – DNP Casual Elections

#	Elected Candidate	Highest Quota Gained (used to determine sequence of Casual Elections)	Electoral Division	Candidates with the Highest Part Quota in the respective Electoral Division	Highest Part Quota Gained in the Counting Process	NPS Casual Election Elected Candidate	1962 Electoral Division Chosen by respective Political Party	1962 Actual Elected Candidate & (Quota Gained)
1	Ganado Herbert	1.260516	1 7	De Marco Guido Busuttil Antonio	0.050574 0.137151	Elected *	7	Busuttil Antonio (b)

Notes:

* When using the NPS, runner-up candidates with the highest "quota" value always get elected.

(b) Runner-up elected candidate features relatively high in party alphabetical list in ballot paper.

Table 4.3m - 1962 General Election – CWP Casual Elections

#	Elected Candidate	Highest Quota Gained (used to determine sequence of Casual Elections)	Electoral Division	Candidates with the Highest Part Quota in the respective Electoral Division	Highest Part Quota Gained in the Counting Process	NPS Casual Election Elected Candidate	1962 Electoral Division Chosen by respective Political Party	1962 Actual Elected Candidate & (Quota Gained)
1	Pellegrini Toni	1.122441	6 8	Caruana Emidio Borg Richard Philip	0.154167 0.054998	Elected *	6	Caruana Emidio (e)

Notes:

* When using the NPS, runner-up candidates with the highest "quota" value always get elected.

(e) Political party put forward one candidate only to contest casual election, apart from other candidates from other parties.

APPENDIX VII: 1955 General Election – MLP & PN Casual Elections

Table 4.3n - 1955 General Election – MLP Casual Elections

#	Elected Candidate	Highest Quota Gained (used to determine sequence of Casual Elections)	Electoral Division	Candidates with the Highest Part Quota in the respective Electoral Division	Highest Part Quota Gained in the Counting Process	NPS Casual Election Elected Candidate	1955 Electoral Division Chosen by respective Political Party	1955 Actual Elected Candidate & (Quota Gained)
1	Flores Joseph	1.401748	6 7	Agius Oscar Agius Calcidon	0.593763 0.559483	Elected *	7	Agius Calcidon (b)
2	Mintoff Dom	1.340144	1 2	Salinos Joseph Boffa Anġlu	0.715144 0.456631	Elected *	1	Salinos Joseph (a)
3	Cole John J	1.060960	3 4	Attard Bezzina Emmanuel De Trafford Strickland Cecilia	0.966180 0.151247	Elected *	3	Attard Bezzina Emmanuel (b)

Notes:

* When using the NPS, runner-up candidates with the highest "quota" value always get elected.

(a) 1st runner-up candidate is elected when candidate vacating seat is elected on the 1st count.

(b) Runner-up candidate elected features relatively high in party alphabetical list on ballot paper.

Table 4.3p - 1955 General Election – PN Casual Elections

#	Elected Candidate	Highest Quota Gained (used to determine sequence of Casual Elections)	Electoral Division	Candidates with the Highest Part Quota in the respective Electoral Division	Highest Part Quota Gained in the Counting Process	NPS Casual Election Elected Candidate	1955 Electoral Division Chosen by respective Political Party	1955 Actual Elected Candidate & (Quota Gained)
1	Borg Olivier Giorgio	1.038862	1 7	Pace Paolo Gauci Paolo	0.774439 0.476507	Elected *	1	Pace Paolo (a)

Notes:

* When using the NPS, runner-up candidates with the highest "quota" value always get elected.

(a) 1st runner-up candidate is elected when candidate vacating seat is elected on the 1st count.

APPENDIX VIII: Regions of Malta

Region	**Localities** (shown bold)**, Hamlets** (shown underlined) **& Areas**
CENTRAL REGION (groups 13 Localities & 5 Hamlets)	**Attard** (include Ħal Warda, Misraħ Kola, Sant' Anton & Ta' Qali), **Balzan**, **Birkirkara** (include Fleur-de-Lys, Swatar, Tal-Qattus, Ta' Paris & Mrieħel), **Gżira** (include Manoel Island), **Iklin**, **Lija** (include Tal-Mirakli), **Msida** (include Swatar & Tal-Qroqq), **Pietà** (include Gwardamanġa), **St. Julian's** (include Paceville, Balluta Bay, St. George's Bay & Ta' Ġiorni), **San Ġwann** (include Kappara, Mensija, Misraħ Lewża & Ta' Żwejt), **Santa Venera** (include parts of Fleur-de-Lys & Mrieħel), **Sliema** (include Savoy, Tignè, Qui-si-Sana & Fond Għadir), **Ta' Xbiex**.
GOZO REGION (groups 14 Localities & 3 Hamlets)	**Fontana**, **Għajnsielem** (including Mġarr, Fort Chambray & Comino), **Għarb** (include Ta' Pinu, Birbuba & Santu Pietru), **Għasri** (include Għammar & Wied il-Għasri), **Kerċem** (include Santa Luċija), **Munxar** (include Xlendi), **Nadur** (include Daħlet Qorrot, San Blas, Nadur, Ta' Kuxxina & Ta' Kenuna), **Qala** (include Ħondoq ir-Rummien), **San Lawrenz** (include Ta' Dbieġi & Dwejra), **Sannat** (include Mġarr ix-Xini, Ta' Ċenċ & Ta' Saguna), **Rabat (Victoria)** (include Taċ-Ċawla & Ċittadella), **Xagħra** (include Ramla Bay), **Xewkija** (include Tal-Barmil), **Żebbuġ** (include Marsalforn & Qbajjar).
NOUTHERN REGION (groups 12 Localities & 5 Hamlets)	**Dingli** (include Buskett & Dingli Cliffs), **Għargħur** (include Xwieki), **Mdina (Città Notabile)**, **Mellieħa** (include Ċirkewwa, Marfa, Armier Bay, Għadira, Manikata, Golden Bay, Santa Maria Estate, Paradise Bay, Anchor Bay, Ta' Pennellu, Mġiebaħ, Selmun Palace & Selmunett), **Mġarr** (include Żebbiegħ, Ġnejna Bay, Binġemma, Ta' Mrejnu, Għajn Tuffieħa, Ballut, Lippija, Santi, Fomm ir-Riħ, Abatija & Mselliet), **Mosta** (include Bidnija, Sgħajtar, Blata l-Għolja, Santa Margarita, Tarġa Gap, Ta' Żokkrija & Ta' Mlit), **Mtarfa**, **Naxxar** (include Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Salina, Magħtab, Birguma, San Pawl tat-Tarġa & Simblija), **Pembroke** (include St. Andrew's, St. Patrick's & White Rocks), **Rabat** (include Baħrija, Tal-Virtù, Mtaħleb, Kunċizzjoni, Bieb ir-Ruwa & Għar Barka), **St. Paul's Bay** (include Burmarrad, Buġibba, Qawra, Xemxija, Wardija, Pwales, San Martin, Mbordin & San Pawl Milqi), **Swieqi** (include Madliena, Ibraġ, Victoria Gardens & High Ridge).
SOUTH EASTERN REGION (groups 15 Localities & 1 Hamlet)	**Birgu (Città Vittoriosa)** (include Tal-Ħawli), **Bormla (Città Cospicua)** (include San Ġwann t'Għuxa), **Fgura** (include Tal-Liedna), **Floriana** (include Sa Maison, Balzunetta & Valletta Waterfront), **Kalkara** (include Rinella, Bighi, Ricasoli & Smart City Malta), **Marsa** (include Albert Town & Menqa), **Marsaskala** (include St. Thomas Bay, Żonqor Battery & Bellavista), **Marsaxlokk** (include Delimara & Tas-Silġ), **Paola** (including Għajn Dwieli & Corradino), **Senglea (Città Invicta)**, **Tarxien**, **Valletta (Città Umilissima)**, **Xgħajra**, **Żabbar (Città Hompesch)** (include St. Peter's & Bulebel iż-Żgħir), **Żejtun (Città Beland)** (include Bulebel, Ġebel San Martin, Bir id-Deheb, Tal-Barrani, Ħajt il-Wied & Ħal Tmin).
SOUTHERN REGION (groups 14 Localities & 2 Hamlets)	**Birżebbuġa** (include Qajjenza, Tal-Papa, Bengħisa Battery, Ħal Far & Għar Dalam), **Għaxaq** (include Ħas-Saptan, Ħal Dmikki, Tal-Qattus & Tal-Millieri), **Ġudja** (include Bir Miftuħ & Burġlat), **Ħamrun** (include Blata l-Bajda & Rabbat), **Kirkop**, **Luqa** (including Ħal Farruġ), **Mqabba**, **Qormi (Città Pinto)** (include Ħandaq & Tal-Ħlas), **Qrendi** (include Maqluba, Wied iż-Żurrieq & Ħaġar Qim), **Safi**, **Santa Luċija**, **Siġġiewi (Città Ferdinand)** (include Għar Lapsi, Fawwara & Girgenti), **Żebbuġ (Città Rohan)** (include Ħal Muxi, Ħal Mula & Ħal Dwin), **Żurrieq** (include Bubaqra, Nigret & Tal-Bebbux).

APPENDIX IX: Statistical Regions and Districts

Region	District	**Localities** (shown bold)
North Western Region (Malta Majjistrall)	**Northern Harbour District** (groups 13 Localities)	**Birkirkara** (include Fleur-de-Lys *(Parish of Our lady of Carmelo)*, Swatar *(Parish of St. George Preca)*, Parish of St. Helen, Parish of St. Joseph the Worker & Parish of St. Mary), **Gżira**, **Ħamrun** (Parish of St. Cajtan & Parish of Immaculate Conception), **Msida**, **Pembroke**, **Pietà** (include Gwardamanġa), **Qormi** (include Parish of St. George & Parish of St. Sebastian), **St. Julian's** (include Paceville & Parish area of Balluta Bay), **San Ġwann** (include Kappara), **Santa Venera**, **Sliema** (include Parish of Stella Maris, Parish of Sacro Cuor, Parish of St. Gregory & Parish of Jesus of Nazareth), **Swieqi** (include Madliena), **Ta' Xbiex**.
	Western District (groups 10 Localities)	**Attard**, **Balzan**, **Dingli**, **Iklin**, **Lija**, **Mdina**, **Mtarfa**, **Rabat** (include Baħrija & Tal-Virtù), **Siġġiewi**, **Żebbuġ**.
	Nothern District (groups 6 Localities)	**Għargħur**, **Mellieħa** (include Parish area of Manikata), **Mġarr**, **Mosta**, **Naxxar** (include Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq), **St. Paul's Bay** (include Burmarrad *(Parish of the Sacred Heart of Mary)* & Parish of our Lady of Sorrows & Parish of St. Francis at Qawra).
South Eastern Region (Malta Xlokk)	**South Eastern District** (groups 11 Localities)	**Birżebbuġa**, **Għaxaq**, **Ġudja**, **Kirkop**, **Marsaskala**, **Marsaxlokk**, **Mqabba**, **Qrendi**, **Safi**, **Żejtun, Żurrieq** (include Bubaqra).
	Southern Harbour District (groups 14 Localities)	**Birgu (Vittoriosa)**, **Bormla (Cospicua)**, **Fgura**, **Floriana**, **Senglea**, **Kalkara**, **Luqa** (include Ħal Farruġ), **Marsa** (include Parish of Holy Trinity & Parish of Maria Regina), **Paola** (include Parish of Christ the King & Parish of Our Lady of Lourdes), **Santa Luċija**, **Tarxien**, **Valletta** (include Parish of Our Lady of Porto Salvo, Parish of St. Paul's Shipwreck & Parish of St. Augustine), **Xgħajra**, **Żabbar** (include St. Peter's).
Gozo & Comino Region	**Gozo & Comino District** (groups 14 Localities)	**Fontana**, **Għajnsielem** (including Comino), **Għarb**, **Għasri**, **Kerċem**, **Munxar**, **Nadur**, **Qala**, **San Lawrenz**, **Sannat**, **Rabat (Victoria)**, **Xagħra**, **Xewkija**, **Żebbuġ**.

APPENDIX X: Police Districts

District	**Localities** (District Headquarters shown bold)
District 1	**Valletta**, Floriana, Pinto Police.
District 2	**Qormi**, Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Għar Lapsi.
District 3	**Paola**, Fgura, Tarxien, Luqa, Santa Luċija.
District 4	**Bormla**, Żabbar, Kalkara, Isla, Birgu, Xgħajra, Marsaskala.
District 5	**Żejtun**, Gudja, Għaxaq, Birżebbuġa, Marsaxlokk, Żurrieq (include Bubaqra), Wied iż-Żurrieq, Qrendi, Mqabba, Kirkop, Safi.
District 6	**Sliema**, Gżira, Msida (include Ta' Xbiex).
District 6A	**St. Julian's** (include Paceville & Pembroke), Swieqi (include Madliena), San Ġwann.
District 7	**Ħamrun**, Marsa, Santa Venera, Rabat (include Baħrija & Tal-Virtù), Dingli, Mdina, Mtarfa.
District 8	**Birkirkara** (include Fleur-de-Lys & Swatar), Balzan (include Lija & Iklin), Attard, Naxxar (include Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq), Għargħur, Ta' Qali.
District 9	**Mosta**, Mġarr, St. Paul's Bay (include Burmarrad), Qawra, Mellieħa, Ċirkewwa, Għadira.
District 10	**Rabat (Victoria)**, Comino, Fontana, Għajnsielem, Għarb, Għasri, Kerċem (include Santa Luċija), Marsalforn, Mġarr Harbour, Munxar, Nadur, Qala, Ramla Bay, San Lawrenz, Sannat, Ta' Pinu, Xagħra, Xewkija, Xlendi, Żebbuġ, Gozo Fire Brigade.

APPENDIX XI: Electoral Divisions as detailed in the Electoral Register published in May 2017

Electoral Division	Localities
Electoral Division 1	Valletta, Floriana, Ħamrun, Marsa, Pietà (include Gwardamanġa), Santa Venera.
Electoral Division 2	Birgu, Isla, Bormla, Żabbar (include St. Peter's), Kalkara, Xgħajra, Fgura (Tal-Gallu area).
Electoral Division 3	Żejtun, Għaxaq, Marsaskala, Marsaxlokk.
Electoral Division 4	Fgura (Mater Boni Consigli & Tal-Liedna areas), Gudja, Paola, Santa Luċija, Tarxien.
Electoral Division 5	Birżebbuġa, Kirkop, Mqabba, Ħal-Farruġ, Qrendi, Safi, Żurrieq (include Bubaqra).
Electoral Division 6	Luqa, Qormi, Siġġiewi.
Electoral Division 7	Dingli, Mġarr, Mtarfa, Rabat (include Baħrija & Tal-Virtù), Żebbuġ.
Electoral Division 8	Birkirkara (include Fleur-de-Lys & part of Swatar), Iklin, Lija, Balzan.
Electoral Division 9	Għargħur, Msida (include part of Swatar), San Ġwann (include Kappara), Swieqi (include Ibraġ & Madliena), Ta' Xbiex.
Electoral Division 10	Gżira, Pembroke, St. Julian's (include Paceville), Sliema, Naxxar (include San Pawl tat-Tarġa, Birguma, Magħtab & Salina areas), Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq.
Electoral Division 11	Attard, Mdina, Mosta, Burmarrad.
Electoral Division 12	Mellieħa (include Manikata), Naxxar (Church area), St. Paul's Bay.
Electoral Division 13	Rabat (Victoria), Fontana, Għajnsielem (include Comino), Għarb, Għasri, Kerċem (include Santa Luċija), Munxar (include Xlendi), Nadur, Qala, San Lawrenz, Sannat, Xagħra, Xewkija, Żebbuġ (include Marsalforn).

APPENDIX XII: 2017 General Election – Partit Laburista (Electoral Division 3)

Votes inherited through the distribution of extra votes acquired at first count by Fearne Chris

Alphabetical Placing	Votes Received Placing	Candidate's Name	Votes Inherited
5th	2nd	Dalli Helena *	193
1st	3rd	Abela Carmelo *	170
3rd	4th	Bonnici Owen	146
8th	5th	Grixti Silvio *	110
10th	6th	Micallef Jean Claude	40
11th	7th	Mizzi Joe	32
7th	8th	Grech Etienne *	31
2nd	9th	Agius Chris	23
4th	10th	Calleja Mario	20
9th	11th	Micallef Edric	9
14th	12th	Spiteri Kenneth	8
12th	13th	Mizzi Marion	2
13th	14th	Muscat Sebastian	1

* Elected Party Candidate

APPENDIX XIII: 2017 General Election – Partit Nazzjonalista (Electoral Division 1)

Votes inherited through the distribution of extra votes acquired at first count by Demarco Mario

Alphabetical Placing	Votes Received Placing	Candidate's Name	Votes Inherited
6th	2nd	Mifsud Bonnici Paula	336
1st	3rd	Bugeja Ray	291
5th	4th	Grech Claudio *	215
2nd	5th	Buttigieg Anthony	134
4th	6th	Farrugia Herman	46
7th	7th	Schembri Justin	9
8th	8th	Schembri Liam	6
9th	9th	Torpiano Edward	4

* Elected Party Candidate

APPENDIX XIV: 1971 General Election – Malta Labour Party (Electoral Division 8)

Votes inherited through the distribution of extra votes acquired at first count by Buttigieg Anton

Alphabetical Placing	Votes Received Placing	Candidate's Name	Votes Inherited
7th	2nd	Hyzler Albert Victor *	184
3rd	3rd	Buttigieg John *	179
1st	4th	Borg Gontran	17
5th	5th	D'Amato Consiglio	17
14th	6th	Zammit Kelinu	17
10th	7th	Sciberras Joseph Philip	14
9th	8th	Naudi Robert	13
8th	9th	Matrenza Richard	7
4th	10th	Cutajar Emmanuel	2
6th	11th	Ellul Lino	2
12th	12th	Tedesco Victor	1
13th	13th	Theuma Frans	1
11th	14th	Spiteri Joseph Francis	0

* Elected Party Candidate

APPENDIX XV: 1971 General Election – Partit Nazzjonalista (Electoral Division 6)

Highest number of votes obtained at the last count by the candidates

Alphabetical Placing	Votes Received Placing	Candidate's Name	Highest Votes Obtained
3rd	1st	Fenech Adami Edward *	3394
1st	2nd	Borg Olivier Paolo *	2725
7th	3rd	Spiteri Joseph *	2725
2nd	4th	Dingli Frans	1827
4th	5th	Fenech Joe	1427
5th	6th	Gauci Borda Lino	441
6th	7th	Grima Pawlu	243

* Elected Party Candidate

APPENDIX XVI: 1962 General Election – Malta Labour Party (Electoral Division 4)

Votes inherited through the distribution of extra votes acquired at first count by Attard Bezzina Emmanuel

Alphabetical Placing	Votes Received Placing	Candidate's Name	Votes Inherited
4th	2nd	Dalli John Mary	113
1st	3rd	Abdilla Rokku *	69
3rd	4th	Dalli Zarenu	26
6th	5th	Micallef Stafrace Joseph	17
8th	6th	Zammit Calcidon	15
7th	7th	Moran Vincent	14
5th	8th	Izzi Savona Alex	1

* Elected Party Candidate

APPENDIX XVII: 1962 General Election – Partit Nazzjonalista (Electoral Division 4)

Votes inherited through the distribution of extra votes acquired at first count by Cachia Zammit Alexander

Alphabetical Placing	Votes Received Placing	Candidate's Name	Votes Inherited
1st	2nd	Bonnici Alfred *	79
3rd	3rd	Caruana Carmelo *	65
5th	4th	Saliba Albino	10
4th	5th	Petroni Giuseppe Natale	6

* Elected Party Candidate

APPENDIX XVIII: 1955 General Election – Malta Labour Party (Electoral Division 3)

Highest number of votes obtained at the last count by the candidates

Alphabetical Placing	Votes Received Placing	Candidate's Name	Highest Votes Obtained
4th	1st	Cole John J *	2541
2nd	2nd	Borg George *	2484
3rd	3rd	Cassar Joseph *	2409
1st	4th	Attard Bezzina Emmanuel	2314
6th	5th	Dalli Nazareno	1119
5th	6th	Dalli Gio. Maria	688

* Elected Party Candidate

APPENDIX XIX: 1955 General Election - Partit Nazzjonalista (Electoral Division 5)

Highest number of votes obtained at the last count by the candidates

Alphabetical Placing	Votes Received Placing	Candidate's Name	Highest Votes Obtained
2nd	1st	Felice Giovanni *	2799
3rd	2nd	Frendo Azzopardi John *	2767
7th	3rd	Rizzo Oscar *	2463
1st	4th	Borg Olivier Gaetano	1416
4th	5th	Meli Edwin	341
6th	6th	Portelli Gino	225
5th	7th	Mizzi Edgar	164

* Elected Party Candidate

APPENDIX XX: Map of the Proposed Fixed Districts

Fixed Districts	Localities defined within the Fixed District
1	Floriana, Ħamrun, Marsa, Pietà, Santa Venera, Valletta
2	Birgu, Bormla, Isla, Kalkara, Xgħajra, Żabbar
3	Ghaxaq, Gudja, Marsaskala, Marsaxlokk, Żejtun
4	Fgura, Paola, Santa Luċija, Tarxien
5	Birżebbuġa, Kirkop, Mqabba, Qrendi, Safi, Żurrieq
6	Luqa, Qormi, Siġġiewi
7	Dingli, Mdina, Mtafra, Rabat, Żebbuġ
8	Attard, Balzan, Birkirkara, Iklin, Lija
9	Msida, San Ġwann, Swieqi, Ta' Xbiex
10	Gżira, Pembroke, San Ġiljan, Sliema
11	Għargħur, Naxxar, Mosta
12	Mellieħa, Mġarr, San Pawl il-Baħar
13	All Localities in Gozo and Comino