

Who Needs Transfer Votes?

by John C. Lane

The transferring of votes on successive counts of the ballots is an essential and conspicuous aspect of STV. The repeated counting of ballots -- carried out for long hours by a small army of officials and observed by anxious candidates and their supporters -- is a mix of tedium and excitement and often a source of perplexity for the voters. How necessary is this counting process? What difference would it make if only the first-count votes were used to determine the winners of an election?

In a recent article in the British journal *Representation* (Winter 2000 issue, pp. 187-193) entitled "Does the Transfer of Votes Really Matter?" Professor Neal Jesse addressed two questions: First, "how often is a transfer of votes needed for a candidate to secure a seat" and, second, "how often does the transfer of votes produce a winning candidate who was not a leading candidate before the transfer?" Jesse examined election results both under STV in Ireland and under the Alternative Vote system in Australia for an answer to his two questions. This note will undertake a parallel examination for Malta where STV has been in use since 1921.

(I) How often are vote transfers needed to determine a winner?

In Ireland, Jesse found, there were 451 instances (out of 1,856) where a candidate had a sufficient number of votes on the first count to be declared elected. But in 1,405 (or 75.7%) of the cases a candidate only won his or her seat after vote transfers had occurred.

This ratio is quite similar for Malta in its 18 parliamentary elections from 1921 to 1998, as Table 1 demonstrates: Of the 873 seats at stake, 704 (80.6%) required vote transfers for the winners to be determined; the remaining 169 (19.4%) of the candidates had more than the required quota on the first count.

Table 1: Vote Transfers (Not) Required

Year	Seats at Stake	No Transfer Votes Needed		Transfer Votes Needed		
		N	%	N	%	
1921	32	11	34.4	21	65.6	(a)
1924	32	8	25.0	24	75.0	(a)
1927	32	10	31.3	22	68.8	(a)
1932	32	6	18.8	26	81.3	(a)
1947	40	10	25.0	30	75.0	
1950	40	4	10.0	36	90.0	
1951	40	5	12.5	35	87.5	
1953	40	3	7.5	37	92.5	
1955	40	4	10.0	36	90.0	
1962	50	6	12.0	44	88.0	
1966	50	7	14.0	43	86.0	
1971	55	9	16.4	46	83.6	(b)
1976	65	11	16.9	54	83.1	
1981	65	15	23.1	50	76.9	
1987	65	20	30.8	45	69.2	
1992	65	14	21.5	51	78.5	
1996	65	12	18.5	53	81.5	
1998	65	14	21.5	51	78.5	
All	73	69	19.4	4	80.6	

(a) Four-seat constituencies (b) Six-seat constituencies in five of the ten districts All other, five-seat constituencies

Jesse also controlled for constituency size, finding that in Irish constituencies with three seats, 28% of the winners did not require vote transfers; in 4-member districts the percentage fell to 21%; and in 5-member districts it was at 22%. In Malta, the relationship with constituency size is similarly inconclusive: In 4-member districts, 27.3% of the seats were filled without a need for transferred votes; the percentage fell to 17.8% for 5-member districts and rose to 23.3% in the handful of 6-member districts.

There are two aspects other than constituencies size that appear to be related to the prevalence of first-count winners. First, as Table 1 shows, fewer candidates (in absolute numbers and percentage terms) managed to obtain the quota on the first round when there was multi-party competition, from 1950 to 1966, than in elections from 1976 to 1996 when two-party competition prevailed. The relationship, however, is not consistent.

Second is the prominent presence of incumbents who sought re-election, as the figures in Table 2 reveal. There has been a very substantial share of the seats won and it is these incumbents who account for nearly every seat that was won without resort to vote transfers.

Table 2: Incumbents as Candidates and Winners

Year	Incumbents' Percentage Share of:		
	All Candidacies	All Seats Won	Seats Won Without Transfer Votes
1924	30.93	65.63	100.00
1927	41.98	59.38	90.00
1932	44.44	71.88	83.33
1947	10.48	25.00	70.00
1950	28.34	60.00	100.00
1951	34.62	70.00	100.00
1953	30.23	70.00	100.00
1955	33.10	80.00	100.00
1962	15.23	46.00	100.00
1966	25.00	64.00	100.00
1971	30.65	81.82	100.00
1976	35.84	73.85	90.91
1981	38.96	86.15	93.33
1987	37.19	75.38	90.00
1992	42.28	80.00	85.71
1996	35.89	80.00	100.00
1998	36.52	89.23	100.00
All	31.96	71.34	93.04

(II) Do Transfer Votes Make a Difference in Who Wins?

Leaving behind the matter of candidates who already meet or exceed the quota on the first count, there is the question of what difference the vote transfers made to the fortunes of candidates. Were the candidates' standings on the first vote count substantially affected by the subsequent vote transfers?

Following Professor Jesse's approach, we can identify in each district the number of "leading candidates," that is, the four or five or six (matching the number of seats in the district) candidates who received the highest number of votes on the first count.

Table 3: "Leading Candidates" Ultimately (Not) Gaining a Seat

District Size	Total Seats	Leaders Winning	Leaders Losing	Leaders Losing (in %)	Adjusted: After Casual Elections	
					Leaders Not Seated	Leaders Not Seated (in %)
4 Seats	128	112	16	12.50	14	10.94
5 Seats	715	609	106	14.83	88	12.31
6 Seats	30	24	6	20.00	6	20.00
All	873	745	128	14.66	108	12.37

Note: The two right-hand columns take into account the results after the "casual elections" which must be conducted when a candidate resigns one of two seats he had won in the general election.

Table 3 shows that of a total of 873 leading candidates only 128 (14.66%) eventually failed to win a seat after the transfer of votes was completed. As district size increases, so does the rate of failure: In 6-seat district leading candidates were almost twice as likely to be denied a seat than in 4-seat districts (although the small number of cases of constituencies with other than 5 seats should caution against drawing a firm conclusion.) Most elections in Malta have been conducted in 5-seat districts and in these, about fifteen percent of the candidates with the highest first-count votes were denied a seat in the legislature.

When casual elections are taken into account, we find that an even greater majority of all contests are effectively decided on the first count: Of 873 leading candidates, 765 eventually gained seats in Parliament and whereas only 108 (12.37%) failed to do so.

Leaving aside the personal disappointment of candidates who started with high vote totals only to see themselves overtaken by others as the counts proceeded, the question arises of how consequential this was from the perspective of the political parties.

It turns out that in approximately one-third of the cases (46 of the 128), the initial leaders were overtaken at the finish line by another candidate of the same political party. The change of individual political fortunes consequently did not, in these cases, affect the numerical strength of the parties in parliament. However, in the remaining 82 instances a leading candidate of one party was replaced in the winning column by a candidate of another party who had obtained fewer first-preference votes. (See Table 4, which appears as an appendix to this note, for the years and districts where this occurred.)

Hypothetical Results

The results described above prompt the question of what would have happened if there had been no requirement to proceed with additional counts and instead the leading candidates on the first count were declared winners of the available seats.

This is, of course, a purely speculative exercise. If the rules had actually provided that the leading candidates on the first count be declared elected then parties and voters might well have altered their behavior. Political parties might have fielded a different number of candidates; the candidates might have pursued a different campaign strategy; and the voters might have been inclined to cast their vote differently. But let us assume here that only the rules, not political behavior, had changed.

When we examine these hypothetical results (detailed in Table 4) we see that 82 seats are indeed occupied by members of a different party. However, the changed sizes of parliamentary parties would have had no effect on the majority or minority status of the parties in any except two instances. Two examples of merely incremental effects: The Constitutionalist Party's hypothetical gain of three additional seats in the 1927 election would only have enhanced, but would not have created, its majority status; similarly, the PN majority in 1992 would have increased from three seats to nine.

In only a single instance, the election of 1976, would the balance of parliamentary strength have been reversed, with the MLP majority of three seats becoming a PN majority of one. A second, less extreme, case is the election of 1953 where the governing coalition (PN and MWP with a combined seat total of 21) would have obtained only 20 seats, the same as the MLP opposition.

Thus, if the leading candidates on the first count had been declared the winners without any subsequent vote transfers, the consequences for the parties' majority or minority status in Parliament and the forming of governments would almost always (in 16 of 18 elections) have been nil.

None of this, of course, constitutes a case for abandoning the wearisome vote transfer process required by STV. But the exercise suggests that STV vote transfers create results which, to a remarkable degree, a simpler process could also have achieved.

Those interested in the specific instances of unsuccessful leading candidates may consult Table 5 in Appendix B, below.

Appendix A

In Table 4, the second column indicates the particular election district in which a leading candidate from one party was ultimately overtaken by a candidate from another party. The third and fourth columns indicate the parties involved and the "Net Changes" column summarizes the overall shift in the election. The right-most columns show the numerical strength of the parties in the actual election (with the party or parties forming the Government identified by an asterisk) and then the hypothetical distribution of seats.

Table 4: Hypothetical Changes if the Leading Candidates Had Been Awarded the Available Seats

Year	District	Gain By:	Loss By:	Net Changes	Parliamentary Seats:		
						Original	Hypothetical
1921	2nd	MLP	UPM	MLP + 1	CON	7	8
	3rd	CON	UPM	CON + 1	MLP	7	8
	5th	CON	MLP	UPM - 2	*UPM	14	12
	6th	MLP	CON		DNP	4	4
1924	1st	UPM	DNP	UPM + 2	CON	10	10
	2nd	UPM	MLP	MLP - 2	*DNP	5	5
	6th	CON	MLP		MLP	7	5
	8th	DNP	CON		*UPM	10	12
1927	3rd	CON	MLP	CON + 3	*CON	15	18
	4th	CON	MLP	MLP - 2	MLP	3	1
	5th	CON	PN	PN - 1	PN	13	12
1932	1st	CON	PN	PN + 1	CON	10	8
	2nd	PN	CON	MLP + 1	MLP	1	2
	4th	MLP	PN	CON - 2	*PN	21	22
	6th	PN	CON				
	8th	PN	CON				
1947	1st	MLP	DAP	MLP + 3	*MLP	24	27
	5th	MLP	PN	GOZ + 1	PN	7	7
	6th	MLP	DAP	DAP - 3	JON	2	1
	7th	PN	DAP	JON - 1	DAP	4	1
	8th	GOZO	JON		GOZ	3	4

Year	District	Gain By:	Loss By:	Net Changes	Parliamentary Seats:		
					Original	Hypothetical	
1950	2nd	PN	MWP	PN + 3	CON	4	3
	4th	PN	MLP	DAP + 1	MLP	11	11
	5th	MLP	MWP	MWP - 3	*PN	12	15
	6th	DAP	MWP	CON - 1	DAP	1	2
	7th	PN	MWP		MWP	11	8
	8th	MWP	CON		GOZ	0	0
					Ind.	1	1
1951	1st	PN	MLP	PN + 1	CON	4	1
	4th	MWP	CON	MWP + 1	MLP	14	13
	5th	PN	MLP	IND + 1	*PN	15	16
	7th	MLP	CON	JON + 1	*MWP	7	8
	8th	Ind.	PN	CON - 3	JON	0	0
	8th	JON	CON	MLP - 1	Ind.	0	1
1953	2nd	MWP	PN	MWP + 1	MLP	19	20
	2nd	MWP	PN	MLP + 1	*PN	18	16
	5th	MLP	PN	PN - 2	MWP	3	4
	7th	PN	MWP				
1955	1st	PN	MLP	No change	*MLP	23	23
	5th	MLP	PN		PN	17	17
1962	1st	PN	MLP	PN + 5	DNP	4	3
	2nd	CWP	PN	MLP - 4	MLP	16	12
	3rd	PN	CWP	DNP - 1	*PN	25	30
	5th	PN	MLP		PCP	1	1
	7th	PN	MLP		CWP	4	4
	8th	PN	MLP				
	10th	PN	DNP				
1966	5th	MLP	PN	No change	MLP	22	22
	7th	PN	MLP		*PN	28	28
	8th	MLP	PN				
	10th	PN	MLP				
1971	4th	MLP	PN	MLP + 1	*MLP	28	29
	7th	MLP	PN	PN - 1	PN	27	26
	10th	PN	MLP				

Year	District	Gain By:	Loss By:	Net Changes	Parliamentary Seats:		
					Original	Hypothetical	
1976	1st	PN	MLP	PN + 2	*MLP	34	32
	2nd	PN	MLP	MLP - 2	PN	31	33
	7th	PN	MLP				
	11th	MLP	PN				
1981	1st	PN	MLP	PN + 1	*MLP	34	33
	2nd	PN	MLP	MLP - 1	PN	31	32
	8th	MLP	PN				
	11th	PN	MLP				
	13th	MLP	PN				
1987	2nd	PN	MLP	PN + 2	MLP	34	32
	8th	MLP	PN	MLP - 2	*PN	31	33
	9th	PN	MLP				
	10th	PN	MLP				4 bonus seats for PN
1992	1st	PN	MLP	PN + 3	MLP	31	28
	2nd	PN	MLP	MLP - 3	*PN	34	37
	3rd	PN	MLP				
	7th	PN	MLP				
	8th	MLP	PM				
	10th	PN	MLP				
	11th	MLP	PN				
1996	1st	PN	MLP	No change	*MLP	31	31
	3rd	PN	MLP		PN	34	34
	6th	PN	MLP				
	7th	MLP	PN				
	9th	MLP	PN				
	11th	MLP	PN				
1998	1st	PN	MLP	PN + 1	MLP	30	29
	3rd	PN	MLP	MLP - 1	*PN	35	36
	11th	MLP	PN				

Appendix B

Table 5: List of Leading Candidates Who Failed to Win Election and the Candidates Who Prevailed Over Them

Note: "Q-Share" refers to the candidates' first-preference votes as a percentage of the quota.

		Elected Despite a Lower Share of First-Preference Votes			Not Elected, Yet Had a Higher Share of First-Preference Votes		
Year	District	Name	Party	Q-Share	Name	Party	Q-Share
1921	2	Said, Emmanuele	UPM	33.13	Galea, Lewis	LP	39.38
1921	3	Buttigieg, Filippo Nicolo	UPM	52.72	Agius, Arcangelo	CON	59.01
1921	5	Busuttil, Vincenzo	LP	59.97	Mizzi, Lewis F.	CON	60.84
1921	6	Salomone, Walter	CON	4.23	Tua, Giacinto	LP	30.07
1924	1	Mallia, Carlo	DNP	39.68	Adami, Giovanni	UPM	42.63
1924	2	Farrugia, Vincenzo	LP	41.02	Mizzi, Bertu	UPM	45.80
1924	6	Zammit Hammet, Salvatore	LP	36.61	Bugeja, John	CON	59.02
1924	8	Micallef, Giuseppi	CON	6.43	Azzopardi, Giuseppi	DNP	23.01
1927	3	Sacco, Enrico	LP	51.62	Muscat, Joseph	CON	61.31
1927	4	Dundon, Michael	LP	36.08	Strickland, Gerald	CON	63.82
1927	5	Cachia Zammit, Alfredo	PN	36.52	Mifsud, Armand	CON	61.14
1932	1	Hyzler, Joseph	PN	67.12	Gera de Petri, Alfred	CON	79.03
1932	2	Galea, R. V.	CON	58.66	Azzopardi, Alfredo	PN	60.22
1932	4	Hamilton, Robert E.	CON	51.66	Boffa, Pawlu	LP	62.29
1932	6	Bugeja, John	CON	59.79	Zammit Hammet, Salvatore	PN	79.85
1932	8	Strickland, Roger	CON	60.53	Ruggier, Ruggiero	PN	62.04
1947	1	Hyzler, Joseph	DAP	34.45	Bencini, Robert	MLP	65.83
1947	2	Laiviera, Nestu	MLP	50.29	Raimondo, John	MLP	55.85
1947	3	Cole, Johnny	MLP	40.72	Dalli, Ganni	MLP	52.67
1947	5	Frendo Azzopardi, John	PN	33.51	Puglisevich, Giuseppi	MLP	45.73
1947	6	Hyzler, Albert V.	DAP	46.50	Schembri Adami, Godfrey	MLP	57.50
1947	7	Apap Bologna, Filippo	DAP	33.69	Zammit, Giuseppe	MLP	48.35
1947	7	Scicluna, Peter Paul	MLP	41.14	Vella, Francis E.	PN	41.36
1947	8	Camilleri, Francesco	JON	1.71	Cauchi, Guzeppi	GOZ	70.66

1950	2	Boffa, Anglu	MWP	29.71	Paris, Antonio	PN	33.04
1950	4	Abela, Joseph F.	MLP	32.15	Saliba, Philip	PN	42.85
1950	5	Galea, R.V.	CON	42.01	Scerri, Vincent	CON	44.64
1950	5	Colombo, Arthur F.	MWP	28.83	Ellul Mercer, J.	MLP	42.43
1950	6	Schembri, Joseph	MWP	36.31	Hyzler, Bertu	DAP	61.54
1950	7	Grech, Pawlu	MWP	40.94	Sammut, Gius.	PN	52.24
1950	8	De Trafford Strickland,C.	CON	27.65	Cefai, Giuseppe	MWP	54.79
1951	1	Attard Bezzina, Fanny	MLP	30.84	Pace, Paolo	PN	42.01
1951	2	Cassar Galea, Joseph F.	PN	31.03	Paris, Antonio	PN	46.94
1951	4	Strickland, Mabel	CON	44.97	Cole, Johnny	MWP	51.58
1951	5	Bonaci, Cikku	MLP	27.64	Rizzo, Oscar	PN	46.96
1951	7	Attard Montalto, Giuseppe	CON	33.64	Pulis, Mike	MLP	43.07
1951	8	De Trafford Strickland,C.	CON	39.95	Zammit Haber, Giovanni	Ind	57.89
1951	8	Cauchi, Amabile	PN	47.95	Jones, Henry	JON	49.30
1953	2	Paris, Antonio	PN	35.87	Piscopo, Daniel	MLP	51.03
1953	2	Caruana, Carmelo	PN	28.49	Boffa, Anglu	MWP	36.98
1953	5	Borg Olivier, Gaetano	PN	45.82	Decesare, Maurice	MLP	54.65
1953	7	Flores, Joseph	MLP	39.85	Vella, Ganni	MLP	42.31
1953	7	Bezzina Wettinger, F.	MWP	25.01	Schembri, Carmelo	PN	58.12
1953	8	Debrincat, Lorenzo	MLP	30.96	Cefai, Guzeppi	MLP	41.26
1955	1	Bonaci, Cikku	MLP	26.72	Pace, Paolo	PN	53.53
1955	3	Borg, George	MLP	73.03	Attard Bezzina, Emanuel	MLP	76.95
1955	5	Felice, Giovanni	PN	52.17	Bonaci, Cikku	MLP	67.55
1955	6	Caruana Demajo, Tom	PN	59.83	Schembri Adami, Godfrey	PN	64.31
1955	7	Flores, Joseph	MLP	37.51	Vella, Ganni	MLP	54.55
1955	8	Mizzi, Marcell	MLP	33.57	Zammit Haber, John Elia	MLP	46.19
1962	1	Holland, Patrick	MLP	15.82	Pace, Poalo	PN	39.24
1962	2	Catania, Espedito	PN	26.14	Saliba, Joseph	CWP	43.64
1962	3	Camilleri, Emilio	CWP	34.84	Caruana, Carmelo	PN	44.45
1962	5	Muscat, Filippo	MLP	37.47	Pisani, Nazareno	PN	72.90
1962	6	Pulis, Mike	MLP	43.92	Agius, Calcidon	MLP	46.04
1962	6	Agius, Emanuele	PN	43.63	Fenech, Albert J.	PN	51.38
1962	7	Holland, Patrick	MLP	34.61	Tabone, Vincent	PN	37.40
1962	8	Hyzler, Albert Victor	MLP	30.95	Schembri Adami, Godfrey	PN	54.60
1962	9	Abela, Salvatore	PN	40.62	Borg Olivier, Giorgio	PN	51.38
1962	10	Attard, Coronato	DNP	32.44	Cauchi, Amabile	PN	41.09

1966	3	Caruana, Carmelo	PN	36.68	Borg Olivier De Puget,A.	PN	37.99
1966	5	Borg Olivier De Puget, A.	PN	56.08	Hyzler, Albert V.	MLP	59.75
1966	6	Dingli, Frans	PN	49.61	Fenech Adami, Eddie	PN	52.28
1966	7	Baldacchino, Joseph M.	MLP	35.39	Refalo, Michael A.	PN	49.23
1966	8	Camilleri, Gius. Maria	PN	29.56	Zammit, Karmnu	MLP	40.06
1966	10	Galea, Kelinu	MLP	28.30	Busuttil, John	PN	33.69
1971	2	Laiviera, Nestu	MLP	24.90	Azzopardi, John	MLP	29.63
1971	3	Borg Olivier De Puget, A.	PN	43.39	Cassar, Joseph	PN	45.23
1971	4	Caruana, Carmelo	PN	66.60	Attard Bezzina, Emmanuel	MLP	77.23
1971	5	Borg Olivier De Puget, A.	PN	49.52	Farrugia, Giuseppe	PN	51.07
1971	7	Bonello Du Puis, George	PN	48.19	Privitera, Salvinu	MLP	65.04
1971	8	Buttigieg, John	MLP	27.54	Naudi, Robert	MLP	58.32
1971	8	Camilleri, Giuseppe Maria	PN	38.88	Rizzo Naudi, John	PN	47.15
1971	9	Gatt, Lawrence	PN	58.93	Abela, Sammy	PN	68.17
1971	10	Camilleri, Angelo	MLP	43.48	Refalo, Carmel	PN	55.95
1976	1	Cremona, Danny	MLP	9.92	De Marco, Guido	PN	24.13
1976	2	Piscopo, Daniel	MLP	25.87	Saliba, Joseph	MLP	28.56
1976	2	Brincat, Joseph	MLP	8.64	Muscat, Josie	PN	58.39
1976	4	Farrugia, Jimmy	PN	48.28	Cassar Galea, Joseph F.	PN	49.73
1976	6	Camilleri, Gius. Maria	PN	51.27	Saliba, Philip	PN	69.82
1976	7	Buttigieg, John	MLP	42.84	Farrugia, Herman	PN	56.04
1976	11	Abela, Sammy (Salvatore)	PN	57.01	Xuereb, Paul	MLP	64.99
1976	12	Chetcuti Caruana, Paul	MLP	42.10	Agius, Calcidon	MLP	46.20
1981	1	Cremona, Danny	MLP	5.13	Delicata, Charles	PN	13.58
1981	2	Bartolo, Freddie	MLP	9.20	Saliba, Joseph	MLP	10.29
1981	2	Grima, Joseph (Joe)	MLP	7.03	Muscat, Josie (Joseph)	PN	74.32
1981	8	Fenech, Joseph	PN	21.15	Bonaci, Evelyn	MLP	47.03
1981	9	Falzon, Michael	PN	50.41	Rizzo Naudi, John	PN	64.20
1981	10	Tabone, Censu	PN	52.50	Vella, John	PN	58.71
1981	11	Micallef, Alfred	MLP	35.95	Portelli, Frank	PN	47.71
1981	13	Attard, Coronato	PN	51.70	Debattista, Carmel	MLP	53.48

1987	1	Grima, Joe	MLP	6.58	Farrugia, Herman	PN	35.31
1987	1	Brincat, Joseph	MLP	2.54	Mifsud Bonnici, Antoine	PN	15.53
1987	2	Mizzi, Joe	MLP	25.84	Borda, Manuel	PN	33.41
1987	3	Portelli, Alfred (Freddie	MLP	50.75	Vella, George	MLP	53.73
1987	5	Calleja, Reno	MLP	30.30	Pace, Bertu	MLP	38.89
1987	7	Mangion, Charles	MLP	13.35	Cuschieri, Louis	PN	24.32
1987	7	Debono Grech, Joe	MLP	4.88	Chircop, Joseph (Joe)	PN	15.85
1987	8	Gauchi Borda, Lino	PN	8.35	Sant, Alfred	MLP	16.80
1987	9	Brincat, Leo	MLP	48.84	Falzon, Michael	PN	52.90
1987	10	Brincat, Leo	MLP	33.06	Vella, John	PN	62.86
1992	1	Debono Grech, Joe	MLP	1.20	Farrugia, Jean Pierre	PN	7.34
1992	2	Grech, Edwin Saviour	MLP	12.78	Borda, Manuel	PN	64.62
1992	3	Portelli, Alfred (Freddie	MLP	40.20	Agius Muscat, Renato	PN	54.92
1992	5	Calleja, Reno	MLP	39.13	Dalli, John	MLP	39.83
1992	7	Buhagiar, Charles	MLP	31.35	Zammit, Ninu (Anthony)	PN	46.33
1992	8	Gauci Borda, Lino (Carmel	PN	19.31	Sant, Carmen	MLP	41.38
1992	9	Brincat, Leo	MLP	49.28	Vassallo, Adrian	MLP	50.94
1992	10	Bartolo, Evarist (Varist)	MLP	52.45	Rizzo Naudi, John	PN	54.14
1992	11	Gatt, Lawrence	PN	29.80	Gatt, George	MLP	61.10
1992	11	Falzon, Michael	PN	25.40	Deguara, Louis	PN	34.11
1996	1	Schembri Adami, Sandro	MLP	4.75	Farrugia, Jean Pierre	PN	44.27
1996	2	Agius, Christopher	MLP	31.20	Borda, Manuel	PN	56.04
1996	2	Grech, Edwin	MLP	14.15	Dalli, John	PN	46.44
1996	3	Dalli, Helena	MLP	35.90	Galea, Mario	PN	47.58
1996	4	Chircop, Karl	MLP	37.21	Mifsud, Joe	MLP	41.29
1996	6	Attard Montalto, John	MLP	55.01	Mifsud Bonnici, Antoine	PN	58.20
1996	7	Pullicino Orlando, Jeffre	PN	44.42	Gulia, Gavin	MLP	53.51
1996	8	Bonnici, Josef	PN	8.01	Delicata, Marselle	PN	8.97
1996	9	Vella, John	PN	44.66	Grech, Edwin	MLP	51.77
1996	11	Bonnici, Josef	PN	14.15	Micallef, Alfred	MLP	42.08
1996	13	Galea Pace, Victor	PN	36.86	Refalo, Louis	PN	46.92
1998	1	Herrera, Jose	MLP	6.83	Gatt, Austin	PN	42.08
1998	2	Law, Rita	MLP	25.40	Perici, Stephen	MLP	44.19
1998	3	Abela, Carmelo	MLP	27.75	Psaila Savona, Joseph	PN	63.14
1998	7	Attard Montalto, John	MLP	49.04	Pace, Albert	MLP	53.76
1998	8	Bonnici, Josef	PN	4.90	Fenech, Mark	PN	8.97
1998	11	Vassallo, Edwin	PN	22.91	Micallef, Freddie	MLP	29.93