

## Determining Bellwether Provinces

Benito G Villavicencio

### ABSTRACT

The paper presents a concept to narrow down the coverage of a nationwide sample in political poll surveys in order to reduce costs. Based on official records of COMELEC, the coefficients of rank correlation of each province versus the region were computed from senatorial elections data over election years from 1946 to 1967. The province that can typify the region is selected on the basis of its having the highest average correlation coefficient with the region.

As a test of the predictive value of the selected provinces, the votes having been weighted by appropriate factors were aggregated with Greater Manila Area (GMA) data and the results were compared against the national totals. This was done for the Presidential, Vice-Presidential and Senatorial elections data.

Keywords: Bellwether; Coefficient of rank correlation

### 1. Introduction

In his book "Forecasting Presidential Elections" (Yale U Press, 1983), Stephen Rosenstone defines bellwether as a political unit whose vote in previous elections has closely paralleled the national vote, and therefore, it is thought, will predict how the rest of the country will go on election day.

A nationwide political poll survey has become very expensive, especially if a large sample size is used. Much has been given importance to a sample that has a wide geographic spread in order to insure an adequate coverage of the cross-section of the population under study. Considering the geography of our country, mobility of the field team from one point of the archipelago to another entails all means of transportation - land, sea, and air. It is not surprising that the field costs constitute the majority share of the total survey costs.

### 2. Methodology

This writer conducted a study to choose the provinces that can best typify the political picture of the nation. It appeared propitious to select one province from each region. The historical data used were the results in the twelve senatorial election years from 1946 to 1967 in which the provinces were grouped into 12 regions, the 13th being the Greater Manila Area (GMA).

One measure considered here is the coefficient of correlation between the ranks of the candidates between the provinces and their corresponding region. A correlation coefficient close to one (1) between the province and its region means that this province and the region as a whole have similar voting patterns. This means that the topnotcher candidates in said province are

expected to be the same group of topnotcher candidates in the region. On the other hand a coefficient close to zero (0) indicates a wide dissimilarity between the province voting pattern and the regions's.

The province with the highest average coefficient over the 12-year period is chosen as the sample province of the region. It must be noted that the provinces are those in existence during the period covered and therefore new aggrupations or newly created provinces are not considered.

The following are the provinces with the highest average coefficients of rank correlation in their respective regions:

Region	Province	Coefficients
Region 1	Ilocos N	0.96138
Region 2	Cagayan	0.95388
Region 3	N Ecija	0.93925
Region 4	Laguna	0.95304
Region 5	Albay	0.93071
Region 6	Iloilo	0.94708
Region 7	Cebu	0.95993
Region 8	Leyte	0.93899
Region 9	Zamboanga S	0.94155
Region 10	Misamis Or	0.96334
Region 11	Davao S	0.99550
Region 12	Cotabato	0.94648

Greater Manila (GMA) is composed of the following:

Manila	Navotas
Quezon C	San Juan
Pasay C	Mandaluyong
Caloocan	Makati
Malabon	Paranaque

### 3. The Results

As a test of the efficiency of the selected sample, the election results in these provinces and the whole GMA were aggregated and compared against the national total in each election year. Of course weighting factors have to be applied depending on the ratio of the voting population of the province to the voting population of the region.

Annex A shows the comparison between the COMELEC results and the projections from the sample for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential votes during the 6 Presidential election years:

Consider the winners in the Presidential and Vice-Presidential races. The differences in percentage points between the COMELEC report and the sample are as follows.

Year	President (%)	Vice-President (%)
1946	0.8	0.1
1949	2.6	1.3
1953	1.2	0.0
1957	0.4	1.2
1961	0.1	0.4
1965	2.2	4.4

Annex B shows the comparison during the 12 Senatorial election years. In 1947 2 losing candidates came out winners in the sample. In 1946, 1949, 1955, 1959 and 1965 only 1 loser appeared in the sample. The magic "8" per COMELEC report were similar to those in the sample during the election years 1951, 1953, 1957, 1961, 1963 and 1967.

Annexes C-1 and C-2 show the results for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential and the Senatorial candidates, respectively, separately for GMA and areas outside GMA. It is to be noted that no sample results are given for GMA since it is not the intention to represent the GMA by a bellwether.

#### 4. Concluding Remarks

The ideal set of sample provinces should be the one that will show the winning group of candidates consistently in every election year. Certainly it is wishful thinking that the results from the aggregation of the sample provinces will also show the winning group in their actual relative rankings per COMELEC report. But, as is true in all samples, that imperfection happens.

It can be argued that the dynamics of political activity may have radically changed. The factors that contributed to those correlation values during the period covered by the data may have changed, or that their relative intensities may have been altered during the elections thereafter. The discernible factor is the law limiting the length of the campaign period. At any rate, an approach to the problem of selecting bellwether provinces has been presented. It would be most welcome if further research can be made on election data covering the post-martial era.

Annex A  
Comparison of COMELEC and Bellwether Results  
For Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates

Item	COMELEC		BELLWETHER	
<b>PRESIDENTIAL</b>				
1946				
Roxas	1,332,597	51.3%	1,352,432	52.1%
Osmena	1,129,884	43.5%	1,120,664	43.2%
Moncado	8,534	0.3%	8,189	0.3%
1949				
Quirino	1,803,808	48.8%	1,708,693	46.2%
Laurel	1,318,320	35.6%	1,396,302	37.7%
Avelino	419,890	11.3%	430,051	11.6%
1953				
Magsaysay	2,887,524	66.7%	2,937,218	67.9%
Quirino	1,308,207	30.2%	1,283,030	29.7%
1957				
Garcia	2,072,257	40.6%	2,053,689	40.2%
Yulo	1,386,829	27.1%	1,389,162	27.2%
Manahan	1,049,420	20.5%	1,262,618	24.7%
Recto	429,226	8.4%	391,458	7.7%
Quirino	60,348	1.2%	53,842	1.1%
1961				
Macapagal	3,554,840	52.8%	3,564,835	52.9%
Garcia	2,903,006	43.1%	3,092,286	45.9%
1965				
Marcos	3,861,324	50.7%	4,155,640	53.9%
Macapagal	3,185,752	41.9%	2,795,570	36.3%
Manglapus	384,564	5.1%	461,657	6.0%
<b>VICE-PRESIDENTIAL</b>				
1946				
Quirino	1,161,415	44.7%	1,159,167	44.6%
Rodriguez	1,051,201	40.5%	1,076,447	41.5%
Salvador	5,930	0.2%	5,701	0.2%
1949				
Lopez	1,741,302	47.1%	1,696,206	45.8%
Briones	1,187,378	32.1%	1,195,906	32.3%
Francisco	444,510	12.0%	439,124	11.9%
1953				
Garcia	2,494,641	57.7%	2,496,240	57.7%
Yulo	1,473,839	34.1%	1,518,408	35.1%
1957				
Macapagal	2,189,197	42.9%	2,250,982	44.1%
Laurel	1,783,022	34.9%	1,717,111	33.6%
Araneta	375,090	7.3%	488,875	9.6%
Tanada	345,784	6.8%	320,525	6.3%
Fresto	10,494	0.2%	9,619	0.2%
1961				
Pelaez	2,394,400	35.5%	2,363,615	35.1%
Osmena	2,190,424	32.5%	2,332,820	34.6%
Puyat	1,787,987	26.5%	1,737,738	25.8%
1965				
Lopez	3,531,450	46.4%	3,914,011	50.8%
Roxas	3,504,826	46.1%	3,096,090	40.1%
Manahan	247,426	3.3%	287,214	3.7%

**Annex B**  
**Comparison of COMELEC and Bellwether Results**  
**For Senatorial Candidates**

		1946 ACT VOTERS		2,596,880	
		COMELEC		BELLWETHER	
1	Francisco-N	751,601	28.9%	1	Sotto-Pf* 805,813 31.0%
2	Sotto-Pf	731,668	28.2%	2	Francisco-N* 792,732 30.5%
3	Avelino-L	700,647	27.0%	3	Torres-L* 716,603 27.6%
4	Arranz-L	680,911	26.2%	4	Avelino-L* 709,490 27.3%
5	Torres-L	653,735	25.2%	5	Arranz-L* 688,984 26.5%
6	Cuenco-N	636,144	24.5%	6	Cuenco-N* 680,557 26.2%
7	Confesor-N	634,480	24.4%	7	Magalona-L 659,792 25.4%
8	Clarín-L	623,407	24.0%	8	Clarín-L* 655,408 25.2%

		1947 ACT VOTERS		3,265,893	
		COMELEC		BELLWETHER	
1	Madrigal-L	1,571,521	48.1%	1	Tanada-L* 1,743,275 53.4%
2	Tanada-L	1,567,068	48.0%	2	Madrigal-L* 1,720,025 52.7%
3	Pecson-L	1,563,963	47.9%	3	Pecson-L* 1,701,364 52.1%
4	Lopez-L	1,558,167	47.7%	4	Lopez-L* 1,674,551 51.3%
5	Osias-N	1,526,624	46.7%	5	David-L* 1,623,842 49.7%
6	David-L	1,495,981	45.8%	6	Lovina-L* 1,617,627 49.5%
7	Lovina-L	1,482,937	45.4%	7	Tan-L* 1,600,628 49.0%
8	Tan-L	1,474,513	45.1%	8	Osias-N* 1,504,429 46.1%

		1949 ACT VOTERS		3,699,778	
		COMELEC		BELLWETHER	
1	Paredes-L	1,756,898	47.5%	1	Abada-L* 2,039,868 55.1%
2	Abada-L	1,753,048	47.4%	2	Paredes-L* 2,035,274 55.0%
3	Sumulong-L	1,615,124	43.7%	3	Sumulong-L* 1,907,331 51.6%
4	Magalona-L	1,577,083	42.6%	4	Magalona-L* 1,840,166 49.7%
5	Cabili-L	1,575,075	42.6%	5	Peralta-L* 1,835,653 49.6%
6	Peralta-L	1,566,376	42.3%	6	Cabili-L* 1,830,554 49.5%
7	Montano-L	1,515,629	41.0%	7	De Vera-L* 1,768,894 47.8%
8	De Vera-L	1,486,158	40.2%	8	Montano-L* 1,767,988 47.8%

		1951 ACT VOTERS		4,391,109	
		COMELEC		BELLWETHER	
1	Laurel-N	2,143,452	48.8%	1	Laurel-N* 2,131,644 48.5%
2	Puyat-N	1,906,402	43.4%	2	Puyat-N* 1,905,045 43.4%
3	Briones-N	1,774,687	40.4%	3	Briones-N* 1,827,051 41.6%
4	Garcia-N	1,573,095	35.8%	4	Garcia-N* 1,597,832 36.4%
5	Delgado-N	1,534,176	34.9%	5	Primicias-N* 1,547,065 35.2%
6	Primicias-N	1,487,159	33.9%	6	Locsin-N* 1,546,759 35.2%
7	Locsin-N	1,452,577	33.1%	7	Delgado-N* 1,505,693 34.3%
8	Zulueta-N	1,395,095	31.8%	8	Bengzon-L 1,481,232 33.7%

\* Refers to winning candidate as per COMELEC report

## Annex B. (cont.)

		1953 ACT VOTERS		4,326,707			
COMELEC			BELLWETHER				
1	Lopez-Dp	2,273,115	52.5%	1	Lopez-Dp*	2,288,708	52.9%
2	Tanada-Cp	2,146,717	49.6%	2	Tanada-Cp*	2,279,774	52.7%
3	Rodriguez-N	2,041,824	47.2%	3	Rodriguez-N*	2,153,531	49.8%
4	Pelaez-N	2,010,128	46.5%	4	Pelaez-N*	2,056,267	47.5%
5	Cea-N	1,961,705	45.3%	5	Cea-N*	2,038,963	47.1%
6	Cuenco-N	1,858,247	42.9%	6	Mabanag-N*	1,903,822	44.0%
7	Mabanag-N	1,846,190	42.7%	7	Cuenco-N*	1,869,225	43.2%
8	Kangleon-Dp	1,521,012	35.2%	8	Kangleon-Dp*	1,539,703	35.6%

		1955 ACT VOTERS		5,036,924			
COMELEC			BELLWETHER				
1	Warns-N	2,568,259	50.8%	1	Warns-N*	2,614,855	51.7%
2	Sumulong-N	2,270,911	44.9%	2	Sumulong-N*	2,404,848	47.6%
3	Paredes-N	2,190,165	43.3%	3	Paredes-N*	2,299,604	45.5%
4	Rodrigo-N	2,149,251	42.5%	4	Sabido-N*	1,918,686	37.9%
5	Sabido-N	1,836,606	36.3%	5	Rodrigo-N*	1,882,700	37.2%
6	Recto-N	1,729,772	34.2%	6	Recto-N*	1,707,451	33.8%
7	Alonto-N	1,625,927	32.2%	7	Alonto-N*	1,647,030	32.6%
8	Rosales-N	1,610,590	31.8%	8	Rosales-N*	1,616,161	32.0%

		1957 ACT VOTERS		5,108,122			
COMELEC			BELLWETHER				
1	Puyat-N	2,189,919	42.9%	1	Puyat-N*	2,343,421	45.9%
2	Tolentino-N	1,982,708	38.8%	2	Tolentino-N*	2,093,014	41.0%
3	Balao-N	1,850,657	36.2%	3	Balao-N*	1,947,095	38.1%
4	De La Rosa-L	1,695,123	33.2%	4	De La Rosa-L*	1,794,259	35.1%
5	Ledesma-N	1,671,279	32.7%	5	Padilla-L*	1,728,036	33.8%
6	Padilla-L	1,636,195	32.0%	6	Ledesma-N*	1,711,675	33.5%
7	Lim-N	1,558,322	30.5%	7	Lim-N*	1,609,332	31.5%
8	Primicias-N	1,350,859	26.4%	8	Primicias-N*	1,446,625	28.3%

		1959 ACT VOTERS		6,536,060			
COMELEC			BELLWETHER				
1	Marcos-L	2,661,153	41.9%	1	Marcos-L*	3,779,575	59.5%
2	Magsaysay-N	2,457,218	38.7%	2	Magsaysay-N*	3,404,933	53.6%
3	Lopez-N	2,376,166	37.4%	3	Lopez-N*	3,137,753	49.4%
4	Fernandez-L	2,071,865	32.6%	4	Fernandez-L*	3,123,064	49.1%
5	Cuenco-N	2,042,842	32.1%	5	Tanada-Ncp*	2,993,610	47.1%
6	Rodriguez-N	2,037,682	32.1%	6	Cuenco-N*	2,841,783	44.7%
7	Tanada-Ncp	2,029,200	31.9%	7	Rodriguez-N*	2,835,489	44.6%
8	Almendras-N	1,855,186	29.2%	8	Almendras-N*	2,587,161	40.7%

\* Refers to winning candidate as per COMELEC report

## Annex B (cont..)

1961 ACT VOTERS				6,738,805			
COMELEC			BELLWETHER				
1	Manglapus-L	3,489,658	51.8%	1	Manglapus-L*	3,562,046	52.9%
2	Manahan-L	3,088,040	45.8%	2	Manahan-L*	3,102,934	46.0%
3	Sumulong-N	2,817,228	41.8%	3	Antonino-L*	2,815,636	41.8%
4	Rodrigo-L	2,710,304	40.2%	4	Rodrigo-L*	2,679,434	39.8%
5	Antonino-L	2,636,370	39.1%	5	Osias-L*	2,620,121	38.9%
6	Osias-L	2,634,783	39.1%	6	Katigbak-L*	2,605,309	38.7%
7	Katigbak-L	2,546,147	37.8%	7	Sumulong-N*	2,596,734	38.5%
8	Roy-N	2,443,110	36.3%	8	Roy-N*	2,398,922	35.6%

1963 ACT VOTERS				7,711,819			
COMELEC			BELLWETHER				
1	Roxas-L	3,623,390	47.0%	1	Tolentino-N*	3,721,971	48.3%
2	Tolentino-N	3,570,619	46.3%	2	Roxas-L*	3,703,890	48.0%
3	Diokno-N	3,422,828	44.4%	3	Diokno-N*	3,589,596	46.5%
4	Padilla-L	3,384,064	43.9%	4	Padilla-L*	3,485,162	45.2%
5	Puyat-N	3,024,995	39.2%	5	Puyat-N*	3,158,138	41.0%
6	Ziga-L	3,014,686	39.1%	6	Ziga-L*	3,094,219	40.1%
7	Ganzon-N	2,708,385	35.1%	7	Lim-N	2,785,565	36.1%
8	Liwag-L	2,704,222	35.1%	8	Peralta-N	2,737,348	35.5%

1965 ACT VOTERS				7,711,819			
COMELEC			BELLWETHER				
1	Salonga-L	3,629,834	47.1%	1	Salonga-L*	3,790,634	49.2%
2	Almendras-N	3,472,689	45.0%	2	Almendras-N*	3,558,893	46.1%
3	Magsaysay-N	3,463,159	44.9%	3	Magsaysay-N*	3,555,497	46.1%
4	Osmena-L	3,234,966	41.9%	4	Osmena-L*	3,458,887	44.9%
5	Kalaw-N	3,191,000	41.4%	5	Kalaw-N*	3,284,634	42.6%
6	Aytona-N	3,037,666	39.4%	6	Climaco-L	3,181,673	41.3%
7	Tanada-Ncp	3,014,618	39.1%	7	Tanada-Ncp*	3,161,892	41.0%
8	Lagumbay-N	2,972,525	38.5%	8	Castaneda-N	3,035,314	39.4%

1967 ACT VOTERS				7,597,019			
COMELEC			BELLWETHER				
1	Roy-N	4,116,549	54.2%	1	Aquino-L*	4,188,770	55.1%
2	Aquino-L	3,940,499	51.9%	2	Roy-N*	4,077,063	53.7%
3	Antonino-N	3,466,676	45.6%	3	Antonino-N*	3,442,254	45.3%
4	Laurel-N	3,459,870	45.5%	4	Pelaez-N*	3,245,360	42.7%
5	Perez-N	3,440,011	45.3%	5	Laurel-N*	3,219,707	42.4%
6	Pelaez-N	3,437,135	45.2%	6	Teves-N*	3,123,553	41.1%
7	Teves-N	3,393,951	44.7%	7	Benitez-N*	3,021,977	39.8%
8	Benitez-N	3,305,585	43.5%	8	Espinosa-N	2,909,659	38.3%

\* Refers to winning candidate as per COMELEC report

Annex C-1  
Comparison of COMELEC and Bellwether Results  
for Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates (GMA Excluded)

	COMELEC LESS GMA		BELLWETHER LESS GMA		COMELEC GMA
1946 Presidential					
1 Roxas	1,211,797	Roxas	1,231,632	Roxas	120,800
2 Osmena	1,077,892	Osmena	1,068,672	Osmena	51,992
3 Moncado	8,274	Moncado	7,929	Moncado	260
Vice-Presidential					
1 Quirino	1,068,609	Quirino	1,066,361	Quirino	92,806
2 Rodriguez	977,555	Rodrigue	1,002,801	Rodriguez	73,646
3 Salvador	5,689	Salvador	5,460	Salvador	241
1949 Presidential					
1 Quirino	1,721,919	Quirino	1,626,804	Quirino	135,328
2 Laurel	1,182,992	Laurel	1,260,974	Laurel	81,889
3 Avelino	368,644	Avelino	378,805	Avelino	51,246
Vice-Presidential					
1 Lopez	1,659,295	Lopez	1,614,199	Lopez	122,847
2 Briones	1,064,531	Briones	1,073,059	Briones	82,007
3 Francisco	387,355	Francisco	381,969	Francisco	57,155
1953 Presidential					
1 Magsaysay	2,579,048	Magsaysa	2,628,742	Magsaysay	308,476
2 Quirino	1,227,191	Quirino	1,202,014	Quirino	81,016
Vice-Presidential					
1 Garcia	2,393,653	Garcia	2,217,019	Garcia	100,988
2 Yulo	1,404,335	Yulo	1,414,068	Yulo	69,504
1957 Presidential					
1 Garcia	1,960,439	Garcia	1,941,871	Garcia	130,109
2 Yulo	1,256,720	Yulo	1,259,053	Yulo	111,818
3 Manahan	943,914	Manahan	1,157,112	Manahan	105,506
4 Recto	369,679	Recto	331,911	Recto	59,547
5 Quirino	54,667	Quirino	48,161	Quirino	5,681
Vice-Presidential					
1 Macapagal	1,943,461	Macapag	2,005,246	Macapagal	245,736
2 Laurel	1,702,329	Laurel	1,636,418	Laurel	80,693
3 Araneta	341,271	Araneta	455,056	Araneta	51,799
4 Tanada	293,985	Tanada	268,726	Tanada	33,819
5 Fresto	10,050	Fresto	9,175	Fresto	444
1961 Presidential					
1 Macapagal	3,236,668	Macapag	3,246,663	Macapagal	318,172
2 Garcia	2,677,036	Garcia	2,866,316	Garcia	225,970
Vice-Presidential					
1 Pelaez	2,165,209	Pelaez	2,134,424	Pelaez	238,473
2 Osmena	1,951,951	Osmena	2,094,347	Osmena	229,191
3 Puyat	1,709,402	Puyat	1,659,153	Puyat	78,585
1965 Presidential					
1 Marcos	3,497,670	Marcos	3,791,986	Marcos	363,654
2 Macapagal	2,965,767	Macapag	2,575,585	Macapagal	219,985
3 Manglapus	294,235	Manglap	371,328	Manglapus	90,329
Vice-Presidential					
1 Lopez	3,226,670	Lopez	3,509,231	Lopez	308,470
2 Roxas	3,196,356	Roxas	2,787,620	Roxas	304,780
3 Manahan	190,427	Manahan	230,215	Manahan	56,999



Annex C-2  
Comparison of COMELEC and Bellwether Results  
For Senatorial Candidates (GMA Excluded)

	COMELEC LESS GMA		BELLWETHER LESS GMA		COMELEC GMA	
1946						
1	Francisco-N	648,810	Confesor-N	651,281	Francisco-N	102,791
2	Sotto-Pf	640,950	Avelino-L	633,240	Avelino-L	96,754
3	Avelino-L	603,893	Sotto-Pf	629,895	Magsalin-L	95,935
4	Confesor-N	596,464	Arranz-L	627,648	Sotto-Pf	90,718
5	Arranz-L	591,920	Francisco-N	620,468	Arranz-L	88,991
6	Garcia-N	589,447	Vera-N	565,291	Magalona-L	84,644
7	Torres-L	569,115	Garcia-N	558,363	Torres-L	84,620
8	Mabanag-N	565,573	Diokno-N	555,420	Cuenco-N	83,354
1947						
1	Madrigal-L	1,499,526	Osias-N	1,512,570	Osias-N	116,499
2	Pecson-L	1,497,650	Rodriguez-N	1,317,643	Rodriguez-N	114,359
3	Lopez-L	1,490,295	Lopez-L	1,312,677	Serrano-N	88,990
4	Tanada-L	1,484,528	Madrigal-L	1,294,334	Barrera-N	88,729
5	David-L	1,430,621	Javier-N	1,270,730	Veloso-N	87,461
6	Tan-L	1,414,757	Pecson-L	1,258,881	Cabahug-N	86,029
7	Lovina-L	1,412,285	Tanada-L	1,252,259	Tanada-L	82,540
8	Osias-N	1,410,125	Tirona-L	1,231,253	Imperial-N	81,925
1949						
1	Abada-L	1,688,184	Paredes-L	1,584,659	Recto-N	120,060
2	Paredes-L	1,661,337	Abada-L	1,486,899	Mabanag-N	101,805
3	Sumulong-L	1,553,908	Sumulong-L	1,433,328	Veloso-N	98,104
4	Cabili-L	1,525,719	Cabili-L	1,395,313	Paredes-L	95,561
5	Peralta-L	1,523,023	Peralta-L	1,387,026	Legarda-N	93,637
6	Magalona-L	1,516,287	Recto-N	1,375,908	Hernaez-N	85,905
7	Montano-L	1,462,826	Magalona-L	1,373,882	Adduru-N	82,713
8	De Vera-L	1,447,174	Montano-L	1,272,901	Vera-N	77,195
1951						
1	Laurel-N	1,885,474	Laurel-N	1,988,894	Laurel-N	257,978
2	Puyat-N	1,662,346	Puyat-N	1,783,153	Puyat-N	244,056
3	Briones-N	1,547,133	Briones-N	1,644,803	Briones-N	227,554
4	Garcia-N	1,384,722	Garcia-N	1,420,150	Delgado-N	205,435
5	Delgado-N	1,328,741	Zulueta-N	1,384,972	Garcia-N	188,373
6	Primicias-N	1,306,460	Primicias-N	1,349,813	Primicias-N	180,699
7	Locsin-N	1,281,136	Locsin-N	1,270,857	Locsin-N	171,441
8	Zulueta-N	1,223,903	Delgado-N	1,270,413	Zulueta-N	171,192

## Annex C-2 (cont..)

	COMELEC LESS GMA		BELLWETHER LESS GMA		COMELEC GMA	
1953						
1	Lopez-Dp	1,972,502	Lopez-Dp	2,104,933	Lopez-Dp	300,613
2	Tanada-Cp	1,848,172	Rodriguez-N	1,861,290	Tanada-Cp	298,545
3	Rodriguez-N	1,754,868	Pelaez-N	1,823,370	Rodriguez-N	286,956
4	Pelaez-N	1,730,383	Tanada-Cp	1,783,600	Pelaez-N	279,745
5	Cea-N	1,689,062	Cea-N	1,763,664	Cea-N	272,643
6	Cuenco-N	1,615,303	Cuenco-N	1,671,147	Mabanag-N	246,667
7	Mabanag-N	1,599,523	Mabanag-N	1,629,726	Cuenco-N	242,944
8	Kangleon-Dp	1,337,042	Kangleon-Dp	1,326,455	Kangleon-Dp	183,970
1955						
1	Warns-N	2,289,916	Warns-N	2,453,568	Warns-N	278,343
2	Sumulong-N	2,006,211	Paredes-N	2,106,353	Sumulong-N	264,700
3	Paredes-N	1,969,488	Sumulong-N	2,068,903	Paredes-N	220,677
4	Rodrigo-N	1,931,240	Rodrigo-N	1,999,854	Rodrigo-N	218,011
5	Sabido-N	1,653,930	Sabido-N	1,809,493	Macapagal-L	207,761
6	Recto-N	1,561,448	Chioco-N	1,525,153	Sabido-N	182,676
7	Alonto-N	1,501,492	Rosales-N	1,496,673	Recto-N	168,324
8	Rosales-N	1,484,263	Alonto-N	1,475,044	Pecson-L	130,511
1957						
1	Puyat-N	2,013,601	Puyat-N	1,943,195	Tolentino-N	239,043
2	Tolentino-N	1,743,665	Tolentino-N	1,659,620	Padilla-L	233,024
3	Balao-N	1,676,163	Balao-N	1,586,976	Manglapus-Ppp	204,820
4	Ledesma-N	1,563,489	De La Rosa-L	1,482,035	De La Rosa-L	186,875
5	De La Rosa-L	1,508,248	Ledesma-N	1,475,538	Puyat-N	176,318
6	Lim-N	1,458,777	Padilla-L	1,418,860	Balao-N	174,494
7	Padilla-L	1,403,171	Lim-N	1,340,118	Fernandez-L	124,067
8	Locsin-N	1,278,637	Primicias-N	1,190,327	Pimentel-L	116,323
1959						
1	Marcos-L	2,333,674	Marcos-L	2,473,993	Marcos-L	327,479
2	Magsaysay-N	2,288,150	Magsaysay-N	2,217,543	Fernandez-L	277,047
3	Lopez-N	2,111,082	Lopez-N	1,987,618	Lopez-N	265,084
4	Rodriguez-N	1,845,112	Cuenco-N	1,871,808	Manglapus-Ppp	262,822
5	Tanada-Ncp	1,803,698	Rodriguez-N	1,725,109	Cuenco-N	258,749
6	Fernandez-L	1,794,818	Almendras-N	1,654,172	Pelaez-N	249,036
7	Cuenco-N	1,784,093	Tanada-Ncp	1,649,172	Tanada-Ncp	225,502
8	Almendras-N	1,718,309	Pelaez-N	1,633,330	Rodriguez-N	192,570

## Annex C-2 (cont..)

	COMELEC LESS GMA	BELLWETHER LESS GMA	COMELEC GMA
1961			
1	Manglapus-L 3,030,643	Manglapus-L 3,127,473	Manglapus-L 459,015
2	Manahan-L 2,730,664	Manahan-L 2,766,098	Manahan-L 357,376
3	Sumulong-N 2,661,739	Antonino-L 2,593,591	Rodrigo-L 350,316
4	Antonino-L 2,394,978	Sumulong-N 2,460,735	Osias-L 274,048
5	Osias-L 2,360,735	Katigbak-L 2,404,445	Climaco-L 244,969
6	Rodrigo-L 2,359,988	Osias-L 2,362,709	Antonino-L 241,392
7	Katigbak-L 2,327,531	Rodrigo-L 2,348,768	Roy-N 236,130
8	Roy-N 2,206,980	Roy-N 2,175,917	Ziga-L 226,867
1963			
1	Roxas-L 3,244,397	Tolentino-N 3,203,635	Tolentino-N 461,572
2	Tolentino-N 3,109,047	Roxas-L 3,142,941	Diokno-N 418,872
3	Padilla-L 3,033,158	Diokno-N 3,011,008	Roxas-L 378,993
4	Diokno-N 3,003,956	Padilla-L 2,925,445	Padilla-L 350,906
5	Ziga-L 2,772,629	Puyat-N 2,731,323	Puyat-N 340,729
6	Puyat-N 2,684,266	Ziga-L 2,694,776	Lim-N 322,541
7	Liwag-L 2,474,929	Liwag-L 2,577,429	Peralta-N 308,108
8	Ganzon-N 2,419,215	Ganzon-N 2,517,129	Ganzon-N 289,170
1965			
1	Salonga-L 3,239,171	Almendras-N 3,363,861	Salonga-L 390,663
2	Almendras-N 3,120,783	Magsaysay-N 3,342,066	Tanada-Ncp 387,096
3	Magsaysay-N 3,113,288	Lagumbay-N 3,113,520	Lagumbay-N 359,103
4	Osmena-L 2,943,324	Kalaw-N 3,002,587	Almendras-N 351,906
5	Kalaw-N 2,908,028	Salonga-L 2,996,090	Magsaysay-N 349,871
6	Aytona-N 2,709,782	Aytona-N 2,933,092	Aytona-N 327,884
7	Climaco-L 2,670,361	Tanada-Ncp 2,842,789	Castaneda-N 298,772
8	Tanada-Ncp 2,627,522	Castaneda-N 2,690,819	Climaco-L 298,597
1967			
1	Roy-N 3,691,461	Roy-N 3,822,265	Aquino-L 462,127
2	Aquino-L 3,478,372	Aquino-L 3,396,855	Roy-N 425,088
3	Laurel-N 3,168,125	Pelaez-N 3,389,839	Antonino-N 356,751
4	Perez-N 3,127,356	Perez-N 3,368,945	Rodrigo-L 320,486
5	Pelaez-N 3,117,508	Antonino-N 3,363,041	Pelaez-N 319,627
6	Antonino-N 3,109,925	Benitez-N 3,343,975	Teves-N 318,326
7	Teves-N 3,075,625	Teves-N 3,187,939	Perez-N 312,655
8	Benitez-N 3,019,454	Laurel-N 3,114,719	Laurel-N 291,745

