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**UNIVERSITY OF SUNDERLAND**

**The lived experiences of Police and  
Crime Commissioners in the early  
years of their tenure in England and  
Wales.**

*“How do Police and Crime Commissioners  
see their Leadership Role?”*

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A doctoral thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements of the University of Sunderland for the  
degree of Doctor of Business Administration

**September  
2017**

## **Acknowledgements:**

No study takes place in isolation. I am particularly grateful to Mr Ron Hogg, the Durham Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) who has been highly supportive of this work since its inception and has acted as a bridge and co-ordinator with not only his peers, but the Association of Police and Crime Commissioners and the Home Office.

Grateful thanks are also offered to the six Commissioners who agreed to participate in depth in the study, their Chief Executives, and staff who facilitated visits, meetings and observational opportunities. I am also grateful to the Chief Constables who have offered information and insights during the course of this study, in particular those of the Durham and Cleveland Constabularies.

Dr Daniel Turner of the Edinburgh based firm Quirkos has offered significant support and I have been pleased that he has found feedback from the project useful in terms of product development.

My thanks also extend to key University staff who supported this work and to my partner and family who have unswerving faith and support in what I do. Finally, thanks go to Jeanine Carpenter for what must have seemed like endless transcript typing and other administrative support on this journey.

## **Abstract:**

*The 41 Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) elected in 2012 are a recent addition to developing, informing and holding to account the police and their processes. Their key roles: to develop police plans; to hold Chief Constables to account; and to connect with communities, are controversial and they exist at the interface of a wide range of governmental and community systems. This has elicited a range of approaches and strategies as they attempt to execute their role in a strategic territory that is complex, diverse, rapidly changing and subject to unprecedented real terms resource reduction. Any attempt to research the leadership and other developmental needs of this group has to be predicated by a greater appreciation of this complex environment. This doctoral thesis attempts to make sense of the early years incumbency of the PCCs, by focusing on the lived experience of a cross section of them, drawing insights into the challenges they face and their support and developmental needs.*

*Thematic content analyses of semi-structured interview data reveal four key findings, which have serious implications for the leadership role of PCCs in the UK in a fast-changing, dynamic 21<sup>st</sup> Century policing and crime prevention environment. First, the data reveal that after a turbulent start born of rapid implementation, debates over democratic legitimacy and unprecedented media forces, PCCs would appear to access the public and influence local agendas far more than their predecessor governance structures. Second, PCCs organisationally separate, but nonetheless dyadic role with Chief Constables, appears mediated by their ultimate accountability to the electorate in the communities they serve. This appears to offer an opportunity for both greater police accountability suffused with support in ensuring that local policing occurs in a manner that balances the often competing needs of communities against an increasingly austere funding landscape. This austerity requires radical changes of practice and policies and new, often innovative and inclusive resource partnerships with the community. Third, early experiences of PCCs were in many cases avoidably turbulent and institutional, skills and other support needs of PCCs have yet to crystallise however insights still have been gained. Finally, PCCs are significant change agents within the organisational system they serve offering both a proto experience for proposed mayoral strategies being introduced by government and fuelling the debate about how mayoral structures will stand alongside PCCs. The debate about the inclusion of the public in law enforcement and their systemic inclusion as a collective actor within an organisational framework that encompasses large social fields, lends itself to increasing use of Distributed Leadership approaches by many PCCs.*

*The major limitations of this study include: the challenges involved in accessing elite posts; the rapidly changing politico-economic environment, coupled with changes in the nature of the post itself (its political uncertainty and potentially short lifespan by dint of the variant policies of political parties); participants in the study, were predominantly male and all from Labour, or Tory orientation; and the fact that opportunities to interview Independent PCCs did not present themselves as hoped which may have added an additional dimension to perceptions on the nature of democracy in the role. Thus, four potential areas for further research were identified. Firstly, there is a need to explore further the nature of the dyadic relationship that exists between PCCs and the Chief Constables. Secondly, the opportunities existing for PCCs to become total commissioners of all police services and crime and*



*disorder related activity needs further investigation. Thirdly, since the perceptions of public engagement in the study were very much that of the PCCs; opportunities exist to explore the public's experience of the PCC role. This could not only scope in issues such as inclusion, involvement and perceived accountability of the police but also could include whether the role has been able to re-establish trust between the public and police. Finally, the issue of accountability in public office and whether this is achieved by four-year election cycles or other governance methods requires critical investigation.*

**Word count 59,615**

## Contents:

<b>Acknowledgements.</b>	<b>Page 2</b>
<b>Abstract.</b>	<b>Page 3</b>
<b>Chapter One – Introduction.</b>	<b>Page 9</b>
1.1 Introduction.	
1.2 Background and Motivation to Study.	
1.3 Contribution to knowledge and practice.	
1.4 Summary of chapters and thesis synopsis.	
<b>Chapter Two - Literature Review.</b>	<b>Page 21</b>
2.1 Introduction.	
2.2 Conceptualisation of the data.	
2.3 The social and organisational history of policing.	
2.4 The police and power – generic supporting theories.	
2.5 The position of the police in modern government institutions.	
2.6 The changing roles and responsibilities of the Police and Crime Commissioner in England and Wales: <i>political, leadership and management dimensions.</i>	
2.7 Chapter Summary.	
<b>Chapter Three - Research Methodology.</b>	<b>Page 92</b>
3.1 Introduction.	
3.2 Reflexivity issues	
3.3 Recruitment and selection of participants for the study.	
3.4 The interview plan, and how it was executed within a specified time frame.	
3.5 Opportunities and constraints within the plan.	
3.6 Chapter Summary.	

## **Chapter Four - Data Analysis.**

**Page 129**

4.1 Introduction.

4.2 Word frequency analysis of interview transcripts and description of the relationship between the words used the six PCCs.

4.3 Identifying the relationships between the main research themes using Mindmanager 7 and Quirkos software.

4.4 Chapter Summary.

## **Chapter Five – Findings.**

**Page 144**

5.1 Introduction.

5.2 Political.

5.3 Stakeholder Involvement.

5.4 How PCCs define their leadership and management role, in terms of their motivation and previous experience.

5.5 Support needs.

5.6 Changes identified as a result of the PCC role.

5.7 Generic Quirks: The PCC as Incumbent/Challenger/Mediator.

5.8 Personal Factors: Motivations behind seeking the post.

5.9 Proto-Mayor issues.

## **Chapter Six – Conclusions and Recommendations.**

**Page 254**

6.1 Introduction.

6.2 The role of the PCC as an Office.

6.3 Implications of the findings.

6.4 Contribution to knowledge and practice.

6.5 Major limitations of the thesis and key areas for further research.

6.6 Researcher's reflections through the project.

6.7 Commercialisation of the project.

**References/Bibliography.** **Page 298**

**Appendixes:** **Page 330**

Appendix 1 – The social and organisational history in Britain. Page 330.

Appendix 2 - Information for participants and informed consent form.  
Page 338.

Appendix 3 - Word frequency analysis. Page 340.

Appendix 4 - Sub 8 recurrent word count from interviews. Page 353.

**List of Abbreviations:**

APCC - Association of Police and Crime Commissioners.

HO - Home Office.

PCC - Police and Crime Commissioner.

S1-6 - Anonymised identifiers for PCCs taking part in the survey.

HQ -.Refers to Police Headquarters of subject (S157).

**List of Figures:**

Figure 2.1 - Zonal analysis for literature reviews. Source: Pautasso 2013. Page 23.

Figure 2.2 - Mind map developing literature review. Page 24.

Figure 2.3 - Real terms reductions in government grants. Source: Allen and Dempsey 2016. Page 74.

Figure 3.1 – Balancing researching methods with paradigms. Source: Gray, adapted from Crotty. Page 93.

Figure 3.2 - Basic literature themes, developed in consultation. Page 109.

Figure 4.1 - Word cloud via Wordle Software. Page 131.

Figure 4.2 - Wordstat generated word continuum of all words based on. Page 132.

Figure 4.3 - Thematic content analysis of interview transcripts. Source: Mindmanager 7 by Mindjet. Page 137.

Figure 4.4 - Further content analysis using Quirkos Software. Source: Quirkos Software. Page 138.

Figure 4.5 - Logical Structuring of the Key Research Themes using Quirkos Software. Source: Quirkos. Page 139.

Figure 6.1 - Police and Crime Commissioner Election results 2016. Source: Policing Insight. Page 255.

Figure 6.2 - Value/Benefits in terms of commercialisation possibilities. Page 294.

Figure 6.3 - Photograph of Business Crime Conference, Durham, March 2016. Page 295.

Figure 6.4 - Attestor Pilot App. Page 297.

#### **List of Tables:**

Table 2.1 - Sir Robert Peel's Principles of Law Enforcement. Source: <https://www.durham.police.uk>. Page 29.

Table 2.2 - Graph of Government borrowing reduction 2009-2018. Page 73.

Table 2.3 - Police numbers 2003 to March 2016. Source: Allen and Dempsey 2016. Page 75.

Table 2.4 - Forecast funding shortfalls for constabularies, Source: APCC 2015. Page 77.

Table 3.1 - Table of ontological positions relating to leadership research. Developed from Alvesson and Spicer 2012. Page 95.

Table 3.2 - Interview question schedule. Pages 110-112.

Table 5.1 - Total public sector spending and receipts. Source: ONS, OBR. Page 212.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

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#### 1.1 Introduction:

October 2012 saw the election of the first Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) established under the terms of the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011. Even after four years in post they remain so new both functionally and constitutionally that there is little or no definitive study available on the leadership and development needs of a role that must reflect both the will of government and the balanced, representative views of the public whilst holding to account local police forces. This development underpins the main rationale for the key research question (RQ) of this doctoral thesis: *How do Police and Crime Commissioners see their leadership role?* This question, is predicated upon pioneering an understanding of a new political player designed to implement new levels of localism whilst addressing issues of confidence of police both publicly and politically. The PCC role was conceived of at a time when government has arguably never been more contemptuous of the force. As Blair (2011, p.42) puts it when talking to the build up to the inception of the PCCs, "the breakdown in police-government relations has no modern parallel". PCCs are therefore juxtaposed at the interface between systemic tensions between government, police and the public. The fact that the stakes for their success are high, provides the motivation for this doctoral thesis, which explores the lived experiences of PCCs in

the early years of their tenure, with specific focus on their leadership roles. The role itself creates new dynamics in terms of police governance and concomitant leadership skills and perspectives, and emerges as much through the experience of the incumbents as the application of any current management thinking, methods or science.

In order to address the strategic issues relating to how PCCs see their leadership role, it is important to acknowledge the fact that PCCs in England and Wales, have no direct parallel anywhere in the world and although they are non-operational in the context of actual delivery of police work, the boundary between operational and non-operational activity is in reality highly permeable (Turner, 2013). This can create an additional dynamic tension with Chief Constables which each PCC will need to address.

Given these factors and the newness of the PCC role itself, I therefore accept with pragmatic realism that research on PCCs will be pioneering in nature and given their low number and arguably politically elite status, will need to be understood from an experiential point of view as opposed to typical systems theories associated with management. Therefore, the specific research objectives (ROs) of this thesis in response to the key research question, are:

**RO1** – to better understand the critical factors influencing the development of PCCs in their first period of incumbency,

**RO2** – to develop a holistic framework on how to better support and develop PCCs to be more enabled to occupy this challenging role in the times ahead.

## **1.2 Background and Motivation to Study:**

Chapter 2 of the Home Office review of policing entitled *Policing in the 21st-Century* starts with the words "we want to empower the public – increasing local accountability but giving the public a direct say in how their streets are policed" (Home Office, 2010, 2.1). It proposes the most radical change in policing for half a century by the election of PCCs who will be held to account for how policing is delivered through their force. The Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act of 2011 embodied these new entities within legislation. At a time when the Home Office itself recognised confidence in policing in the UK was at crisis point, PCCs were developed to restore confidence and be accountable to the public through a process of election. Colloquially, PCCs have been described as "constitutional new-borns" although the original attribution of this title is unclear. The term would appear to encompass the nature of the post in its early days. Following their election in late 2012, PCCs are now a little over four years in age and within the constitutional metaphor offered, are still very much in their infancy.

Social field theories, such as those of Fligstein and McAdam (2012) suggest that new fields emerge to deal with vacant social spaces. This



would give a systemic account of the *raison d'être* behind emergence of these new system incumbents that are intended to provide a line of accountability to government and the populace whilst at the same time offering challenge to the policing system they hold to account. In a constitutional sense, PCCs would appear to occupy a unique political space. They are fewer in number than constituency MPs or local councillors. Their constituencies often encompass those of a number of MPs. They number 41 in total and as a group, they are not significantly larger than the constituent members of a government cabinet. The geographical boundaries in which they operate often exceed those of elected members of parliament, the purview of municipal authorities such as local authorities, local health services and many other local forms of public administration. As such, many PCCs occupy in a political continuum, a position not dissimilar to that of national politicians. Their role connects across a range of time-honoured systems that had been receiving decreasing public support.

Former police authorities were seen as almost sinecure accounting mechanisms, Chief Constables had, until the appointment of PCCs, wielded almost sole executive power within constabulary areas and the interrelationship between policing by consent was juxtaposed against increasing levels of state involvement historically. Furthermore, the unique relationship between the PCC and the office of Chief Constable as created by the 2011 Act, has changed the nature of police accountability at local level. The hitherto direct relationship of Chief

Constables to the Home Office is now subordinated to a locally accountable entity who can literally hire and fire with safeguards that have been the source of some concern. Whilst the Chief Constable remains the operational chief officer of a local force, a complex relationship of accountability and hierarchy exists with the office of the Police and Crime Commissioner (Brain, 2013).

The newness of the entity, its complex strategic and social interrelationship with government and community lends this post to being a dynamic opportunity for study. Few posts have generated such controversy in such a short time, commanded so much media attention or have polarised political views. Few radical changes of this magnitude have occurred at times of austerity. In addition, the post itself demands a range of skills that have as yet been little quantified. The combination of these factors make PCCs a fascinating and challenging area of exploration and one upon which many opportunities for research will exist in the future.

An examination of the writer's own motivations is important at this point. No behaviour occurs in isolation and similarly, research cannot be viewed or differentiated completely from the position of the researcher. James and Vinnicombe (2002) point to the inevitability of personal interests and perspectives, personal relationships to the data and personal characteristics contributing to how the researcher frames the

topics of study, collects data and the choice of strategy and design of the research process.

Any piece of research therefore needs to carefully identify the researchers own motivations behind the study undertaken. These can be multiple in nature and can include the importance and contribution to knowledge of the study itself, suffused with the situatedness of the researcher and her/his personal interests and preferences.

PCCs have emerged as a new role in the public eye that moves away from central control and typical hierarchical management. Their role, as framed in legislation, can give them incredible power over constabularies yet they occupy a virtual arm's-length position that is effectively, an oversight agency suffused with significant potential organisational overlap. In consequence, the role is complex, with emergent challenges that are likely to be novel. As such research into the experience of the PCCs could constitute a potentially fascinating study in relation to adaptive management techniques, potential contingency applications and the rapid development of both creative bricolage and management heuristics that would engage many interested in the fields of leadership, management, organisational development, politics and many other related phenomena.

Whilst it is certainly true others have taken a route to “commercialise” their DBA, a process which DBA courses often resonate with as part of the added value of the DBA program for those in business, this was not the writers’ intention when seeking a subject to study under the DBA. To both attempt to be objective and simultaneously open to new experience, there was some sense for the writer of moving away from undertaking studies that may have some direct commercial value and seeking to study something with the goal of research itself as the central driver. The subject matter was left “open” to present itself. There is an undoubted influence in this choice inspired by the experiential mode described by Cox and Theilgaard (1987), linking existential phenomenology to the *poiesis* of the music of the Aeolian Harp as a metaphor for “letting be” and appreciating what music forms as the wind touches the strings.

This was perhaps quite faithfully achieved, as the study itself was initially conceived over a casual cup of coffee with a newly elected PCC during a catch up between old colleagues out of touch for some years. The PCCs as a new entity, appeared to offer a rich opportunity for study of a new phenomenon upon which very little had been seen previously. PCCs within England and Wales, are atypical in their operation and function to post holding the title "Police Commissioner" elsewhere in the world. It became apparent that the role had some complicated leadership challenges and as it was in the early years, the traditional "norming and storming" phases, rich opportunities existed to

observe the PCCs as an emergent phenomenon of leadership, governance, accountability and arguably, electoral paradigms.

Within the writer's own reflexive processes and introspection, the newness of this role suffused with some fascination into the workings of the police borne of past professional experience whilst working within the health service were a personal draw to this material. Indeed, this was very much a fortuitous alternative as the initial project had featured around something much more intimately linked to the researcher's professional experience within the health service and his current provider role externally to the service namely, looking at factors relating to wastage and certain services within the NHS. Ironically, the frustration of this original choice of project has also perhaps offered some greater objectivity towards the selection of the area of study. Although fascinating, it was not a first choice until circumstances precluded the initial project of interest and the 'Aeolian mode' was once again resumed.

Moving to potential outcomes from this DBA study, the reality was that PCCs, whilst they stand as a fascinating management challenge, it was unclear at the outset as to the commercialisation potential of the study. What was apparent was that learning could be derived that could benefit a wide range of leaders in times to come but the manifestation was at the point of choice unclear. Decisions therefore made to pursue

the study on its intellectual merits alone, with any 'added value' benefits derived by the company, benefiting the students own practice within the company, being realisable *a posteriori* rather than constitute a primary motivation. The innate interest of the subject matter itself, its ground-breaking newness, the potential for multi-variant leadership styles and complex socio-political interfaces as the role unfolded, posited a fascinating challenge.

Chapter 6 outlines a narrative and graphic on the commercialisation aspects of the project at the time of presentation.

### **1.3 Contribution to knowledge and practice:**

Researching the early experiences of the PCCs offers a precious insight into the development of new political entities both at a national and a local level. The implementation challenges of PCCs, brought in within a very short timescale, throws light upon the balance that needs to be exist between central policy imperatives and practical managerial implementation. Governance of the police and the role of the PCC itself, raises issues around accountability within public office. PCCs as framed in the legislation, could bring radical changes to police governance and the relationship forces have with the public. Better understanding the nature of some of these changes, can throw light on other aspects of public administration.

Better understanding strategic movement of the locus of control from central to local approaches to manage governance and public resources offers valuable insights into wider aspects of locally-based public administration. Rogers and Gravelle (2013) assert that many studies have highlighted challenges inherent in accessing the police for the purposes of external research, rendering this opportunity to have insight via those charged with their governance, a potentially valuable one.

The PCCs appear to occupy a unique leadership position, well worthy of study. This is set in the context of their own organisations, their relationship with the public and their strategic influence upon the police whilst ensuring non-interference operationally. This produces a major challenge for the PCCs who are stewards of multiple, overlapping and complex systems, often presenting "wicked" problems in a managerial sense. Understanding the leadership approaches adopted and personal adaptations needed to traverse this difficult territory may offer insight into better leadership development and support for new PCCs and potentially for other roles that must manage similarly complex environments. Such learning may inform, for example, the new tranche of Metro Mayors proposed.

Finally, the use of qualitative approaches to explore a new role in an organisation traditionally subject to more quantitative, numeric practices, offers contrasting insights for policy makers and others.

#### **1.4 Summary of chapters and thesis synopsis:**

PCCs have evolved in a rapid way and as such, times are turbulent and changeable for them. Throughout this study, modifications have had to be undertaken to take account of the rapidly changing political and economic environment that they face. As the critical literature review in Chapter Two will show, it is rare that any newly conceived political entity has been subject to so much media focus in such a short time and political demands for its termination before even completing a first term of office. As such, it is quite possible that between writing this thesis and its presentation new and significant changes may occur.

Having already set the scene for the 'why' of the study, and explored the background to the creation of PCCs in the UK, the remaining part of the thesis is divided into the following five chapters:

**Chapter Two – Literature review:** the literature search for the study will encompass both existing literature relating specifically to PCCs and wider issues relating to current trends and concerns in relation to the police. This encompasses the related social, economic and historical contexts to police governance overall, which is an implicit part of the PCC role.

**Chapter Three – Research methodology:** the methodology section will outline the thinking, considerations and processes involved in developing the study and its execution.



**Chapter Four – Data analysis:** This section explores the data acquired and how it was developed and analysed.

**Chapter Five – Findings:** The substantial body of this thesis is given over to the findings, both drawn down from the literature review and from the study itself.

**Chapter Six – Conclusions and recommendations:** The final part of this thesis concludes the thesis and offers practical recommendations for practice. It also outlines personal thoughts and reflections on the issues the study raised about the PCC role, with some thoughts to the future. Commentary is also made on insights gained into their support and leadership development.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### Literature review

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#### **2.1 Introduction:**

This literature review chapter focuses significantly upon contemporary sources of which there are many, with eight to ten articles of news per day, for example generated by Google. Indeed, with the advent of endemic social media, the writer would argue that the Police and Crime Commissioners have been subject to more media influence than any new political entity in history. At times of fiscal privation in public services, there is a wealth of public commentary in the social media world that sees PCCs as the embodiment of resource wastage rather than bringing anything new to the police governance table. PCCs would appear inextricably linked to the history, culture and organisational processes associated with the delivery of the police service within the United Kingdom.

At the commencement of this study, the PCCs role was such a new entity that relatively little was written in an academic sense. There are notable exceptions, (e.g. Newburn, 2012; Rogers, 2013; Reiner, 2013) who actively specialise in police and law enforcement studies and view the genesis of the PCCs as part of an evolution in police governance processes.

The remaining part of the chapter is divided into five sections. The first section provides a review of the social and organisational history of policing in Britain. The second section examines the particular position of the police in modern government institutions. Section three reviews the changing roles and responsibilities of PCCs in England and Wales. In addition, it identifies the key leadership and management factors pertinent to the role of PCCs in the current political climate. The fourth section looks at policing reform in times of austerity. The final section provides a chapter summary and a link to the next chapter on research methodology for achieving research objectives RO1 and RO2 and answering research question RQ.

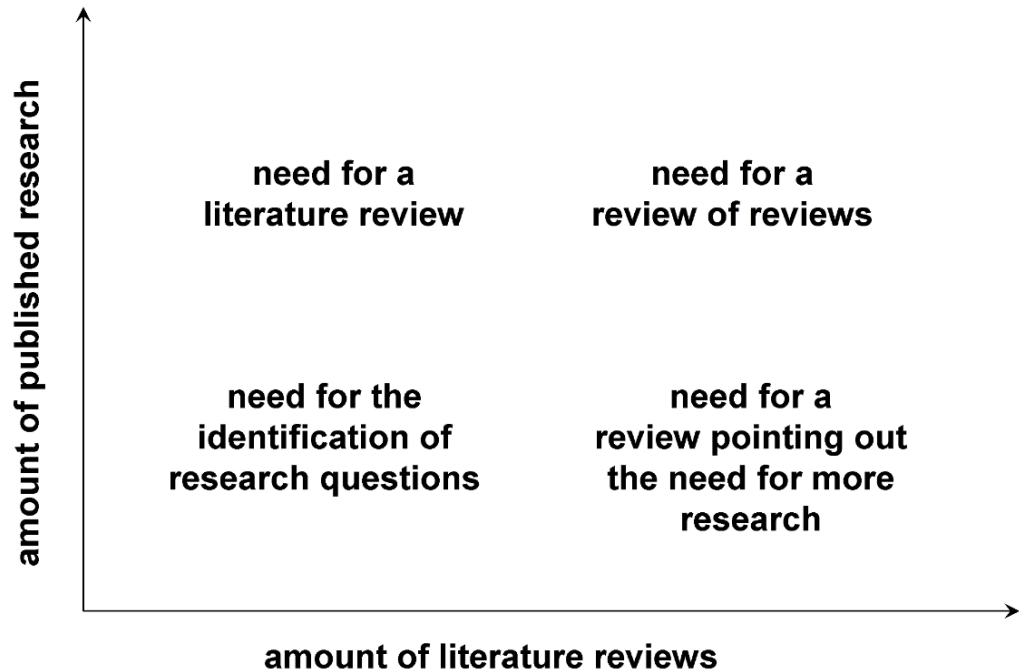
## **2.2 Conceptualisation of the data:**

Data conceptualisation in this context includes: the importance of the research, how the literature offers justification towards the approach undertaken and the identification of the balance of the literature and methods that appear most impactful within the field under study.

Early reading, in advance of framing the research question, offered an orientation towards the role of the PCC and an appreciation of the key issues the role may face. Pautasso's framework was helpful as the relative dearth of literature in the early days of the PCC role suggesting a review that was generative of the research question, possibly with pointers towards further research.

**Figure 2.1**

Zonal analysis for literature reviews.

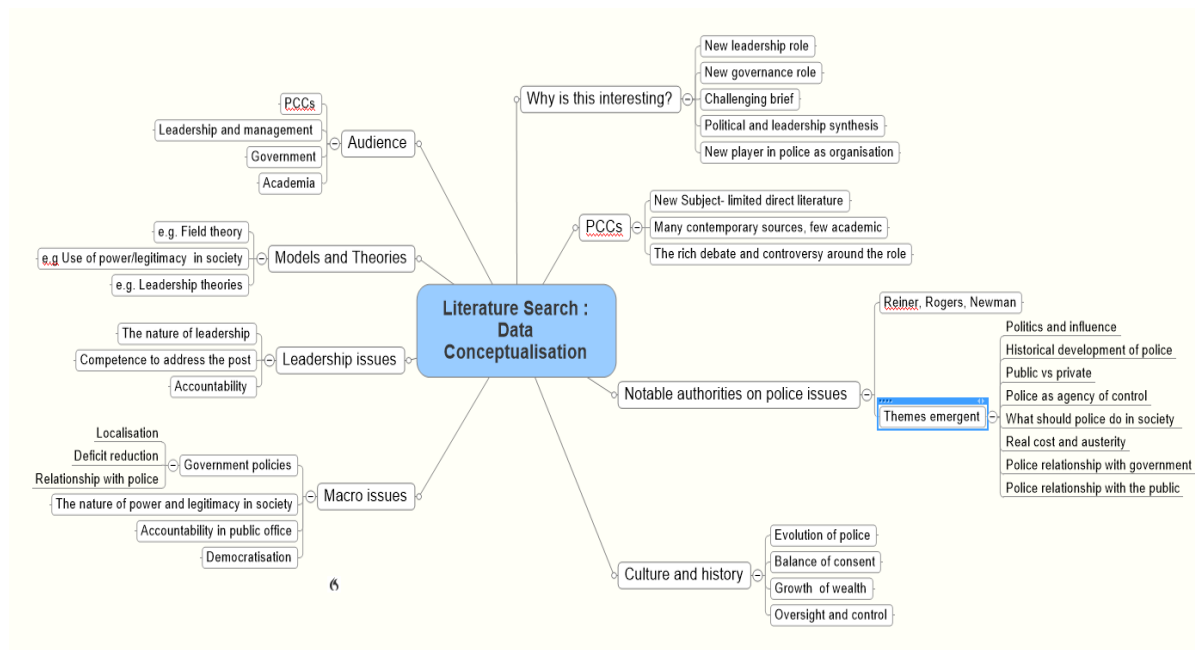


Source: Pautasso 2013

In common with other practices throughout this thesis, the literature search was developed through a mind map approach, the original version of which is represented overleaf in Figure 2.2.

**Figure 2.2**

Mind map developing literature review.



The key question predicated in the literature search is "why is this interesting?". The PCCs new leadership and governance role provides a challenging brief. Elected under a mandate that encourages greater citizen participation in political processes, the role is juxta positioned between the world of politics and a role of organisational leadership that is on the face of it both powerful and egalitarian. In addition, it is a new player in a complex hierarchical structure where the local interface in the past was the Chief Constable who had a direct relationship with the Home Secretary, being overseen by police authorities that had relatively limited powers.

The PCCs therefore entered as a new structural player into a complex organisational and political arena with a generalised leadership brief that had yet to crystallise in terms of how they may enact these roles. In the early sampling of literature, little was written about the PCCs directly in an academic sense. Equally, their bombardment from the media, appeared unprecedented vindicating both the newness of the role and the debate and controversy surrounding it.

Much of the academic literature available relates to the police. Police authorities were a governance structure, and PCCs effectively substitute for that structure. Early reading indicated a number of key, recurrent and sustained themes that had occurred in relation to the police. It became apparent that the history and culture of the police, along with the political dynamics and the relationship between the police, both with government and the wider community appeared to be key elements of how the police function in society. Equally, the PCC was also expected to create potentially fascinating power dynamics and leadership challenges in this new role.

The sheer volume of contemporary sources of critique around the role, were to notice. These were multi-layered and subject to so many modes of communication, interaction between players, variant worldview and centrality in politics, as to constitute a study in itself. However, the literature search was in part, predicated by the writer's

own situatedness around a desire to better understand the leadership experience and issues relating to this new post.

Equally, due to the newness of the post, the potential framing of a research question was necessarily broad as more detailed specifics, would logically evolve as knowledge around the post itself grew over a time. A foundation understanding the nature of the role and its enactment, would predicate many other potential pieces of research as discussed elsewhere in this document.

The literature search was also undertaken with some sense of a search for models and theories that might assist. The potential leadership styles and approaches that might relate to the role stood as an early line of enquiry. The issues of power and legitimacy in the execution of the role and indeed theories that may contribute to the understanding of how the role was brought into being, also featured in the early thoughts around the literature search.

Ultimately however, when one is addressing a literature search and its associated research, assessing the potential audience for the work is always important. PCCs potentially could find this work of great value, both offering up contrastive and reflective experience as well as possibly validating and challenging parts of their work, the structures that supported them and their developmental journeys. The work could lead to a greater understanding of leadership and management,

particularly in situations where high levels of democratic process featured. Governmental organisations, both departmental and quasi autonomous in nature, could find the findings useful. Equally, there is a wide community of academia particularly focusing around the police. This would also include the newly formed College of policing.

At the inception of this work, PCCs were a new entity and reflected current government ideologies of localism and a pragmatic response to accountability, as opposed to any clear theoretical underpinnings for their manifestation reflected in research. Much of the data available directly referring to the performance of their role was either descriptive or opinion based, based on information developed around the appointment and the wide diversity of contemporary sources of public opinion that were stimulated by their creation. The very fact that there was a significant amount of media and other attention through access sources from the public was also to notice. This, in itself could produce a rich source of narrative and commentary around the perceived value and importance of this new role.

Understanding the police itself was important, as the PCC primarily impacts upon the governance of and interfaces with the public upon local police services. The police present a long and rich social history which can inform, both contemporary issues within modern policing and the way they now must be overseen and governed.



As a key agency of law and order within any state, the police exercise particular power. Therefore, consideration of power in a social and organisational context needed to be undertaken in relation to the role, the police and wider society.

The research question is predicated upon gaining an improved understanding of how early PCCs would go about their new role. In consequence, some exploration of current leadership theories and processes therefore appeared important.

### **2.3 The social and organisational history of policing:**

The social history of the police in the United Kingdom is rich and complex. A more detailed précis of this history is reflected in appendix 1 of this document. As much of this information is historical, it will not be reviewed in detail here however, the historical context of the police, their inception, their developmental pathways are important considerations in understanding both the police as an institution and some of the circumstances contributing to the genesis of the PCCs. It is important to recognise the evolution of the police has historical antecedents going as far back to the Middle Ages. Common in these is the relationship between the public and the police involving elements of public volition and consent. This critical relationship between police and public (Lentz and Charies, 2007) and was embodied in the "Peelian" principles set out overleaf: -

**Table 2.1**  
 Sir Robert Peel's Principles of Law Enforcement  
 Source: [https://www.durham.police.uk/About-Us/Documents/Peels\\_Principles\\_Of\\_Law\\_Enforcement.pdf](https://www.durham.police.uk/About-Us/Documents/Peels_Principles_Of_Law_Enforcement.pdf)

Principles	
1	The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder.
2	The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police actions.
3	Police must secure the willing co-operation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public.
4	The degree of co-operation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionately to the necessity of the use of physical force.
5	Police seek and preserve public favour not by catering to public opinion but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to the law.
6	Police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient.
7	Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.
8	Police should always direct their action strictly towards their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary.
9	The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with it.

Reflecting these principles in action remains a key referential for the framing of police activity in society and the relationship it maintains with the public.

## 2.4 The police and power – generic supporting theories:

Much research around the police is focused upon the police as a “total” institution. As a social phenomenon however, there are general theories that may contribute to the understanding of the role of the police and the PCCs. In general with all institutions, power is something that is derived from legal, acquired technical, resource based, political and social factors. It therefore becomes important to consider some of the dominant theories as to how power manifests itself in society.

Power may be best expressed as the ability to influence others in terms of their beliefs, behaviours and held values. Cangemi (1992) describes it as “the individual’s capacity to move others, to entice others, to persuade and encourage others to attain specific goals or to engage in specific behaviour” (p.499). French and Raven (1959) refer to it as a “pervasive complex and frequently disguised” within society (p.151).

There are a diverse range of theories of power within society. Niccolo Machiavelli’s *The Prince*, written in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century saw power as its own means and goal rather than as a resource. Thomas Hobbes in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century saw society as embodied in a single unit of organisation adhering to uniformed principles as reflected in his work *Leviathan*.

Max Weber viewed power as connected within an inevitable link to bureaucracy, power being derived by normative authority and the prescription of rules.

Early theories of power involved the notion of equanimity for individuals to influence those with power within a given society however, a range of theories since have qualified this perspective. These include overt and covert power agendas, wherein the overt, maintains a consensus whilst covert and/or latent powers are exercised routinely or situationally, by ruling elites. Such theories include from the basic notions of Marxism through to more contemporary theories of power (e.g. Bachrach and Barats 1962).

Whilst it is impossible in this work to assess all theories of power, a number may be particularly relevant to the role of the PCC.

Traditionally, the police have frequently been viewed as an agency of social control and have, as such, been viewed by Marxist ideologies in terms of the enforcement of the interests of elites over the masses.

In a knowledge-based world, Michel Foucault's contribution to theories of power, particularly those that assume power and knowledge as ultimately interconnected, offers some relevance to the role of PCC and the police both from the point of view of maintaining consent, and through that consent, obtaining the necessary information and

intelligence sources in order to carry out their task (Gordon et al. 1980). Conversely the ability to exercise influence over the public, by the distribution of information, particularly to crime statistics, offers potential justification for the police as role function and authority within society.

Amongst the various theories and perspectives of social power, a helpful taxonomy was developed by French and Raven (1951). They describe power as existing in several forms or “bases”. These are described as follows, with a brief paraphrase description in brackets thereafter: expert power (the power of expert knowledge and skill), reward power (the ability to reward or empower), legitimate power (power delivered by democracy or normative power within the structure), referent power (the power to belong or rebel) and coercive power (the ability to punish nonconformity). French parted company with Raven on agreement over a further, sixth base of power, namely “information” power (relating to the ownership, retention and selective distribution of information). This latter information base has arguably growing relevance in an emergent, information and data driven society. Raven further qualifies his theorem to look at the power of interpersonal influence looking at how leaders in organisations approach implementing their power by deploying such strategies as persuasion, intimidation, emphasising “communality”, evidencing their legitimacy or inducing guilt and/or self-promotion (Raven 2008). Given the relative power base of the PCC and how the post is normatively defined in terms of its authority and legitimacy as well as its intimate relationships

within an organisation of law-enforcement, these “bases” of power” are a valuable contrast frame. Raven (2008) also explored the motivation for the choice of power bases citing, for example, McClelland’s 1975 work differentiating between the motivations of power, affiliation and achievement as potential determinants for how power bases are selected.

Raven also refers to the value of the invocation of the “power of third parties” (2008, p 15). Which may offer relevancy to the perceptual position of a leader having oversight of another leader and the panoptic nature of behavioural change through audience effect.

Whilst information and reward appear positively correlated with notions of consent, coercive power involves increased levels of surveillance, giving rise to potentially corrupt leadership processes (Kipnis 1976, as cited in Raven 2008, p.8). In a police context, surveillance could be seen to stand both as expressing information power and potentially coercive power. This may also be true of elements of governance.

Fuqua *et al.* (1971), refer to primary sources of power including: support systems, information, credibility, visibility, legitimacy, persuasiveness, charisma and the ability to set agendas. These are posited as individual sources of power that can be expressed generically, although they effectively contrast with other theorists, e.g. French and Raven’s positions of power that are more reflective of

power operated within a discrete system. Taken in common, despite considerable overlap, these approaches are to be judged as a collage of frames of reference within which to consider power sources and offer perhaps a basis for understanding some of the behaviours undertaken by modern leaders and may be applied to the newly emergent role of PCC.

Social power has also been juxtaposed with psychological factors, across an epistemological continuum comprising of four levels of analysis (Doise, 1986). The first two have a psychological focus on individual activity, the intrapersonal and interpersonal levels. The second two observe social processes wherein individuals identify with others on an intergroup level and at an ideological level looking at how people construct belief systems and social representations that confer and continue legitimacy or challenge in the social structure. A range of social psychological theories are juxtaposed across this continuum which consider the powerful and the powerless as actors and the complex interrelationships that occur. In assessing this continuum, Brauer and Bourhis (2006) outline the notion of personal power, expressed identity models that are less outcome focused and more process focused on the ability to control people's active contributions or inputs to endeavour. Group identity has the simultaneous effect of giving people power over collective and collaborative action in a far more impactful way than an individual could affect. In this context, personal power is expressed as an ability to control one's own

outcomes and not be controlled by others. At a meta-level within the continuum model these outcomes are often predicated from an ideological preference wherein dominant groups garner valued resources and subordinate groups receive a negative social evaluation with concomitantly reduced life chances.

Power expressed as a sense of belonging permeates through literature. Social identity theory is a collectivist perspective and was developed by Henri Tajfel and predicated on the notion that an individual's self-concept is primarily derived from the perceived membership of a range of relevant social groups. It again produces a continuum of the ranges from the interpersonal to the intergroup. In this context, social identity offers a method in which to better understand intergroup behaviour. A key premise of this theory is that individuals are innately motivated to achieve positive self-concepts or distinctiveness. Distinctiveness strategies can be utilised to allow individual expression in order to exploit permeable boundaries and social groupings to achieve individual mobility. Where such boundaries cannot be permeated, or are generally homogenous, individuals are likely to engage in social creativity behaviours affording an outlet for their positive distinctiveness without changing either the inter or intragroup dynamics. Finally, positive distinctiveness can manifest itself in the form of direct social competition providing for both favouritism with the "in group" and competition with external groupings. In this point, distinctiveness is achieved by being part of the collective endeavour or even a hero of



the cause. In the specific leadership context, such theories can throw light on notions such as group closure, defensive strategies, proactive strategies, organisational cliques, and the creation of compliance relationships based on their relative identity within the organisation or group therein (Tajfel, 1978).

These theories raise issues of direct relevance to the PCC in the context of their power base derived from democratic process, its organisational juxtaposition and its relationship with a wide range of stakeholders the role must impact upon. In planning and declaring priorities, whose interests are maintained? Are there, for example 'in groups' and does the role derive power from the leadership qualities of the individual or are these counterbalanced by organisational and societal forces? Such issues of Agency and Structure are often considered dialectical, rather than absolute in nature, existing in complex syntheses across multiple continua when explored.

## **2.5 The position of the police in modern government institutions:**

Bittner (1970), cited in Rogers (2013), reflects upon the position of the Police in modern government institutions as occupying a position of 'special interest', 'at once the best known and the least understood' (p.133). The police have undergone significant changes in their culture and values as the shift from traditional investigative expertise has moved to a new age of managerialism where "entrepreneurship" is regarded as a desired behavioural quality in police leaders (Smith,

2008), replacing leadership styles that hitherto followed an 'outdated militaristic model' (p. 213).

Several writers point to the risk aversion within the force that counters entrepreneurship. Keane and Bell (2013) suggest that the police remain reluctant to embrace change, with a police culture that exists "as a bond which drives resistance to outsiders" (p. 237). Alcott (2012) asserts that the police service is arguably the most successful public sector organisation in resisting reform, frustrating endeavours to effect change in preference to maintaining an outdated status quo. Some advocate that this resistance is not innate but borne of the inevitable result of the pace of change (Rowe, 2007). Furthermore, the impetus towards the police being run on a more business-like basis results in the police being drawn into the wider debate on the efficacy of public/private provision of public services with many arguing business models are not appropriate for many governmental organisations (Crank, 2003).

Keane and Bell (2013), argue that excessive attempts have been made to connect the police to the public under the errant mantle of generating public affection where a more realistic goal of gaining and retaining public respect is more tenable in the wake of a decline of the British public's esteem of the Police over the last 50 years. Police training now attempts to move away from hierarchical/authoritarian mind-sets and

encourages officers and staff to become reflexive practitioners in the wake of the findings embodied within Sir William McPhersons' report into the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1999 (Rowe, 2007). There have been several notable cases in recent years that suggest police governance is suspect. Most notably was the failure to prosecute with past complaints in the case of Jimmy Saville, the Stephen Lawrence case, Hillsborough and most recently the "Plebgate" scandal where confidence not only in the police but the Police Federation had been cast into doubt. This is amplified by the recent Royal Society of Arts independent report into the operation of the Police Federation suggesting (inter alia) the organisation lacked transparency. Recent news has also seen contestation of crime figures. Historically these have been coming down across the terms of successive governments. A debate, however, now rages about the accuracy of data gathered with potential information deficits, recording anomalies, changes in recording styles and the potential that crime itself may be going down as greater universal materialism ultimately results in less acquisitive crime. Additionally, a 'revert to mean' has been mentioned in some literature (Blair, 2011), as a potential statistical phenomenon in accounting for the apparent fall in crime. The debate is a fraught one, with politicians historically eager to take credit and ascribe reductions in crime to effectiveness of their policies.

Modern policing has always strived to be "apolitical", but the reality is that its history and relationship with government precludes that position. Its inception in 1829 via the Sir Robert Peel was brought about by a

concern over increasing crime and disorder in London. Its subsequent expansion into Manchester was met with local resistance initially due to concerns about control from the capital (Emsley, 1996). Whilst policing in the UK was developed in ways that fall short of the extension of the military, such as in the French Gendarmerie, any notion of police control by central government has met with historical resistance (Reiner, 2010). Originally, the upholding of the rule of law was seen as the central role of the police and a focus upon their crime primary task. Ideas of a police service that encompasses customer service and community engagement activities are comparatively modern developments (Smith, 2008). Hitherto, the police linked with mainly working class communities for the purpose of gaining information /intelligence seeking, whilst at the same time primarily offering protection to and upholding the interests of those who retain more power and wealth within society. This has seen gradual change as individual/human rights have been extended to all, although the true extent of this change remains a matter of debate (Bunyan 1977).

An ongoing debate has always existed about the role of the police. Without doubt, the social history of the police suggest policing has seen its growth concomitant with the acquisition of wealth and power following post-industrial forces. Rogers and Gravelle (2012) assert that policing inevitably creates “a power relationship between those policed and those who police” (p. 281). The rise of Marxist theory has also attributed the systemic containment of the proletariat by a bourgeois

regime which would necessarily need to have its forces of social control. In this, the police have often featured in a debate of whether they exist to empower the citizen or protect the interests of those in dominant positions within our society. Hegelian principles of societies brought together by liberal democratic ideas can only be maintained in their cohesion by powerful, authoritarian structures that ensure stability against the “divided self” (Smith, 1951). Further, law and its enforcement within these principles was in itself a celebration of the individual and evidence of individual agency as a state asserting “abstract rights”, corrected the actions of its individuals (Dyde, 1898, p. 63). Marx saw the market as dividing people with powerful and oppressive forces of state were required to prevent the society itself from disintegration. This will be achieved by entities such as the police, armed forces and indeed covert intelligence operations (e.g. Smith and Marshall, 2016; Bunyan, 1977). Social Field Theory, such as the Strategic Action Fields of Fligstein and McAdam (2012) and indeed related structural theories such as Actor-Network Theory, refer to dyadic approaches of key social players within systems being either those that maintain the system, through incumbent mediation roles, and those that provide some form of challenge to promote change.

Frequently, policing is seen as focusing upon those who are often in the greatest public view, this typically relates to the poor who are far more exposed publicly and do not have the luxury of maintaining "privacy" within the social spaces they occupy. Loader and Mulcahy

(2003) refer to policing as "directed mainly at the poor, the powerless and dispossessed. Police contacts tend to be the most frequent and adversarial with social groups that make routine use of social space" (p. 12). Reiner (2000) describes police activity as bearing "most heavily on the economically marginal elements in society" (p. 78), these most typically include young males, the homeless and those whose lives are predominately lived in public places.

The overall social history of the police indicates that political neutrality or independence in the police is at best ephemeral. As Reiner (2010, p. 305) puts it, "all relationships that have a power dimension are political. Policing is inherently and inescapably political in that sense". Rogers (2013), Sampson (2012) and Reiner (2010) offer comment and critique of the time honoured "tripartite" governance arrangements occurring between former police authorities, Chief Constables and the Home Office. They describe complex fields of activity and influence that go into the policing mix of offering service standardisation with local influence, whilst also creating a central vs local control dynamic with its attendant tensions and alliances.

In summary, since inception the social and political roles of the Police have been complex and evolving. As Rogers and Gravelle (2012, p. 42, 2013, p. 116) repeatedly reflect "policing does not exist in a social, political or economic vacuum". Equally Sampson (2012) points to

policing as 'an inherently political activity where the "convergence" of politics and policing in maturing societies is not only inexorable but also inevitable' (p. 2). Police roles traverse a continuum that encompasses the social services element of policing in providing support and helping communities, juxtaposed against the detection surveillance and punishment element of policing supporting the needs of a capitalist society. The notion of the public as the "customer" however, is a comparatively more recent concept that comes in the wake of the public's growing awareness of individual rights, diversity and other factors. This means that the community itself has an increasingly large role to play in the way it is policed. Irrespective of any cherished philosophical and political views of policing, 'the one fact remains is that it would be impossible for it to take place in its previous, current or future form without the tacit support of the community it polices' (Reiner, 2010, p. 310).

## **2.6 The changing roles and responsibilities of the Police and Crime Commissioner in England and Wales: *political, leadership and management dimensions:***

### **2.6.1 Political dimensions:**

Gash and Paun (2011) described the PCCs' role as "entirely new jobs and largely, without precedent" (p. 9). The Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011, explicitly requires that PCCs must:

- Secure effective and efficient police for their area;
- Not only appoint the Chief Constable but hold them to account for running the force and if necessary dismiss them;
- Set the police and crime objectives for their area through the development of Police and Crime Plans;
- Set the force budget and determine the level of precept to be levied locally (precept is that element of local taxation gathered alongside local authority community charges);
- Contribute to national and international policing capabilities (for example regional crime squads, work with SOCA, amongst others, as directed by the Home Secretary, bring together community safety and criminal justice partners;
- Ensure that local priorities are "joined up", this includes amending The Police Act 1996 (section 96) to ensure arrangements are made for obtaining the views of the community.

PCCs run an office independent to that of the constabulary. The reality is, however, that many are based in force headquarters. Several are also accommodated in offices within local councils. Wigmore (2014) describes the true extent of PCCs responsibilities, suggesting that their power is greater than any other elected politician in the UK with the possible exception of the Mayor of London. PCCs have the ability to



appoint staff including a deputy. A significant number of staff were previously employed by police authorities. A key appointment for many is that of the Deputy PCC. These appointees were subject to extreme media hostility and accusations in some cases of “cronyism” (e.g. Furness, 2012) as previous operational and political associations appeared to translate into appointments enjoying significant salaries for the public sector. This was not aided by the considerable powers the 2011 Act vests in the PCC which precludes the intervention of the Home Secretary in such appointments despite a number of them being described by Loveday (2012), as “suspect or overtly partisan in nature” (p. 269). PCCs remuneration varies typically between £65,000 and £100,000 per year in contrast to MPs who receive £60,070 (subject now to a recent uplift award). Police authority heads often earned up to £200,000 per year. Whilst this was intended to be a relevant and attractive level of remuneration to attract a wide skills mix, it is fair to say the early days of the PCC saw constant criticism of their remuneration in public blogs, a trend which continues, although diminished, to this day.

From a political lens, the notion of increased localism is not new and the centralism versus localism dynamic is a perennial pendulum swing in the social history of policing in the UK. As has been already mentioned in this chapter, the notion that the police are apolitical in their role and function within society is an argument long passed (Reiner, 2013; Emsley, 1996). There has always been a fear that

commissioners would be, by virtue of being supported by political parties, biased in their outlook “which would in turn cloud many realistic issues for the police” (Rogers & Gravelle, 2013, p. 119) with similar commentary from Home Affairs Select Committee (2010).

The Police Reform taskforce of 2007 raised the argument for directly elected commissioners arguing they would significantly enhance local accountability by creating “direct and transparent funding mechanisms between voters and Commissioners” (Davies, 2014, p. 9). The first elections for PCCs took place on 15<sup>th</sup> November 2012. Data collected by the Electoral Reform Society indicated that turnout was electorally low, some 15.1% although this was also the experience of a handful of by-elections twinned with the PCC election. This stands as one of the poorest ever turnouts in national elections in England and Wales. A total of 192 people stood at the PCC elections of which 35 (18.2%) were women. 52 of the candidates (27.1%) were independent, a comparatively high figure for national elections. Both Conservative and Labour parties offered candidates to every police area. The Liberal Democrats however, were less well represented with only 24 (12.5%) (Electoral Reform Society, 2013). This availability of independent candidates, appeared to match government aspirations of the role being open to all.

Little information was available that allowed candidates or indeed political parties seeking to select candidates to evaluate the qualities of

PCCs. Some cursory leafleting was available through the Home Office in terms of specific functions of the role. These were a number of basic flyers and this was augmented by information made available by the Home Office and titled "Police and Crime Commissioners – have you got what it takes?" (Home Office, 2011). This publication clearly states "women, people from ethnic minorities and disabled people are underrepresented in elected office" (p. 2). It goes on to allude that this was an opportunity to elect people from all walks of life. It is a moot point as to whether this ostensibly genuine attempt to encourage all comers to become involved in local policing through an electoral process is matched by the electoral realities. Women were heavily underrepresented in the election, only 16.2% of all candidates were women although, the Labour Party was the exception with 36.6% of its candidates being female (CFWD, 2013). Of those elected, only six (14.6%) were women and no non-white candidates were elected. Of those elected 16 (39%) were Conservative, 13 (32%) Labour, 11 (27%) Independent and 1 described as "other" (2%). 19.5% (8) of those successful had previously served as police officers and 26.8% (11) had had previous membership of police authorities. A total of 46.3% of successful candidates had experience in one or another of these roles. A further 34.1% had direct experience of the criminal justice system including eight with judicial or ministerial experience (CWFD, 2013). Mawby and Smith (2013) in examining this data concluded that even amongst the independent candidates elected, relevant experience was regarded as highly important. It becomes a moot point therefore as to

how the aspirations of the Home Office and government in relation to the role of PCC could meet their ambitions of democratic public access of any competent person to the role: “if you have a commitment to public service and the skills to be a good leader then this could be right for you. You could have experience in the private, voluntary public sector and come from any background” (Home Office 2011, p. 3). The impetus behind the creation of diversely experienced PCCs was to ensure that the strategic direction of policing within England and Wales was made subject to democratic accountability (Home Affairs Select Committee, 2014, p. 2). The results however, support the view that PCCs, at least in the first round were mainly drawn from candidates already strongly associated with policing from previous experience in a direct or relatable sense.

The arguments of potential or actual politicisation of the police are in many respects, similar for the PCCs. Politicians Alan Johnson and Charles Clarke issued a joint article in the February 2014 encapsulating Labour's fundamental opposition to the continuation of PCCs. This cited the summary dismissal of three Chief Constables in Avon and Somerset, Gwent and Lincolnshire, alluding to the cost and the perceived ineffectiveness of governance procedures for PCCs whilst also pointing to the absence of a clarified role for the post (The Guardian, 2014). Their stated position was that party politics need to be removed from the police service indicating that "the Police and Crime Commissioner should be abolished as an unhappy and unsatisfactory

interlude in the history of British policing" (Johnson and Clarke, 2014). Labour focused heavily upon the findings of the Stevens Report (2012) which advocated the abolition of the PCCs representing their position as "fundamentally flawed" and the governance of policing compromised. Labour advocated what had been policy since 2009 within the Labour Party, that localism was best reflected by the endowment of the powers to govern the police being vested in local authorities. Indeed, much of Labour Party policy traditionally supports the strengthening of localism by offering greater powers to local authorities. This was evidenced in the creation of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 which gives local authorities the lead in the creation and coordination of Community Safety Partnerships and the creation of Crime and Disorder Plans (Crime and Disorder Act 1998, Section 5). Ironically despite Johnson and Clarke's protestations advocating the removal of politics from policing, contradictions existed. For example, at a Commons select committee held on 14 January 2014 attended by Lord Stevens, academics from the University of Oxford and others, again reiterated the findings of the Stevens report and its negative view of PCCs. Lord Stevens was challenged by Keith Vaz and others within that committee in terms of the independence of the report. Most notably Lord Stevens was questioned on the probity of the independent enquiry website being built in such a way that it actively channelled cookies back to Labour Party Headquarters. (Commons Home Select Committee, January 2014). Ed Balls, as Shadow Chancellor, frequently argued that PCCs would introduce a political influence in policing that

had been avoided in the last 150 years (2012). The UKIP stance has been somewhat different. The UKIP leader, Nigel Farage is on record as accepting more pragmatically the presence of these positions and seeking to ensure UKIP's involvement where possible but was clear that "no-one asked for the new Police & Crime Commissioners, the Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition has forced them on us" (UKIP, 2012). The UKIP agenda itself promotes a none privatised police force and little tolerance of criminal and anti-social behaviour. Whilst adding both to the autonomy and accountability of the police by, for example, ending the Crown Prosecution Service, it nonetheless made a declaratory statement of the police and their role in society in the most unequivocal way as their manifesto goes on, "The Police work for us, not the Government or ACPO. They are here to help us keep our streets and our society safe, not control us or fulfil some national political agenda" (UKIP, 2012). The end of this last sentence stands as an interesting pre-suppositional statement and can be considered semantically "packed".

There are many examples of what are viewed as a deterioration between the police and government relations. Newburn (2011) indicates that, for example, the 2011 riots in London were allegorical of this dynamic tension. In addressing the operational independence of Chief Constables, Newburn also alludes very clearly to the inevitability of prime ministers and home secretaries freely offering views on the operational oversight and development of the police. Equally, however,

defending the right of Chief Constables to respond reasonably but not "slavishly". Given the historic relationships of Chief Constables with the Home Secretaries, wherein direct accountability was historically fostered, the balance of true independence of operational matters and potential organisational compliance relationships between Chief Constable and the Centre remains a complex dynamic, one into which the role of the PCC plays a potentially important, emergent and evolving contribution (Newburn, 2012). Whilst the governmental position over the last forty years may be that the operational independence of the police was unimpeachable politicians could nonetheless comment and influence on an informal basis. Increasingly, the managerial reforms and political priorities occurring across public sector since the early 1990's were beginning to find their way into policing standards a counter-argument to this dynamic.

Davies (2014) points to the growth of performance culture, assessments and the involvement of the Audit Commission and other monitoring approaches by government began to be perceived by Chief Constables as a potential challenge to their operational independence. Despite the fact that both Labour central policies and Labour led police authorities were pushing for greater democratic accountability inevitably, with the greater involvement of local authorities, the process appears to be of one where antagonism occurred between Chief Constables and the Conservative centre of government. In short managerialism, arguably masqueraded for, or at least was perceived

as, a form of control upon the autonomy of Chief Constables within their role. Internally, the Conservatives appeared to hold the perspective that the police had let them down, with crime rising through the 80s, well reported as failure in the press of the day. Two successive Home Secretaries, Kenneth Baker and Kenneth Clarke, both implied that the police were not serving government well, were failing to provide value for money and were generally underperforming (Loveday, 1997).

This tension appears to be a perennial one. Centralisation of the police itself in a sense comes from the very inception of the Met. Sir Robert Peel established a select committee to examine the rationalisation of Constables, Watchmen, Bow Street Runners, River Police and others into a single capital based force. A succession of legislative changes, select committees and other measures chequered what then followed, as well as war time measures culminating in the Police Act 1946 which merged 26 south coast forces to just six in the belief this would offer more effective operation in areas of the country identified as being at risk of invasion. Only two years after the inception of the 1964 Police Act, forced mergers were proposed which, despite resistance, ultimately resulted in the shrinking of the 127 remaining forces to the 43 that now remain (Gatfield-McGloin, 2006).



### **2.6.2 Leadership and management dimensions:**

*Leadership qualities, styles and challenges:*

When considering PCCs from a leadership point of view, one encounters the inevitable conundrum of the debate as to what is meant by the term “leadership”. It is certainly clear that as a “non-operational” entity the PCC is a complex and emergent role that must deal with the view and perceptions of the public and strategy and governance within the police. Police leadership styles have been traditionally top down, command based, deploying hierarchal leadership structures. The police must now account to PCCs who are new and quintessentially different to this position, encompassing elements of the leader as an elected servant and who demonstrates elements of socio-political stewardship.

Stewardship theory suggests leadership as a pro social, longer term approach of leadership producing benefits that carry beyond the individual and even their organisation. It involves an ongoing sense of duty and obligation that embodies a “covenantal relationship” (Hernandez, 2012). For the PCCs, this needs to be viewed in the social political context in which they operate. It can also be viewed in the context of PCCs at two levels. The perceived erosion of police/public trust and the effective covenant that is implicit wherein the PCC becomes a third-party governance mechanism and the PCCs own relationship with the communities they serve also embodies “covenantal” elements.

Taylor and Lyneham (2013) challenge contemporary assumptions of situation based Leader-Follower behaviour, seeing leadership as an emergent, enacted process from discrete systems, better suited to leadership being understood in the socio-political domain under a notion of stewardship. This position has, it seems, parallel notions of the “servant” leader. Whilst servant leaders would appear to reflect intrinsically held values, leadership in this context appears an emergent systemic factor that features interrelatedness that is inseparable from the social and economic processes and systems that articulate real world events. Leadership therefore is a respondent quality. Leadership in this context is seen to mimic art, requiring as it does compositional and interpretive elements in its production. One would postulate the notions of “mess” or “wickedness” frequently coined in literature begin to reflect post-modernist/post-structuralist perspectives upon the interpretation of leadership as a whole systems quality, as opposed to those derived purely either individual or structural factors.

Section 2 (5) of the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011 requires Chief Constables to exercise the power of direction and control conferred by the act in such a way to assist PCCs in the performance of their functions. The position creates a potentially powerful inter-relationship that effectively impacts upon the operational independence of the police, made more complex by the power relationship within this pairing extending to, in certain circumstances, the actual dismissal of Chief Constables. The relationship between the PCC and the Chief

Constable with the overlap between the operational and strategic overviews makes for, at the very least, a dyadic relationship in the taxonomy of shared leadership constellations. O'Toole *et al.* (2002) indicate the crucial requirement for co-leaders to learn to work together and the critical need for honesty, role clarity and a dialogue in relation to due credit and the exercise of power. Given the high moral impetus for probity within the police, it is almost inevitable that this dyad must factor in shared ethical base lines in order to ensure consistency and quality within the service delivery. Maguad and Krone (2009) indicate that there is an impetus for leaders to engage in "visible action" (p. 218), whilst expressed in the context of the singular leader, the writer would argue this prosocial modelling is essential for stability across the organisation. Detert *et al.* (2007) also point to the value of prosocial behaviour with key organisational players, simultaneously pointing to the value "managerial oversight" providing both an ethical compass to which followers are both modelled to and overseen.

The impetus for ethical leadership by both PCC and Chief Constable has arguably never been greater. This is not only from a policy concept, i.e. the growing need for accountability in the context of public service overall and the complex and damaged relationships between the government, police and the public, but also from a management perspective wherein ethical leadership practices tend to build confidence in organisations. As Rogers and Gravelle (2013) state of the police in general, "we expect them not only to enforce the laws of the

land but also to be of the highest standard” (p. 119). Brown and Trevino (2006) point to the importance of social learning theory influencing members of the organisation by powerful role modelling (p. 597). Applied to the context of the PCC and the Chief Constable this would place an impetus on both for ultimate transparency in their practices.

Yukl (2012), differentiates between task orientated and relationship orientated behaviours in leaders involving a continuum within these meta-categories of: organisational structure and consideration; production centrism; employee centrism; instrumental (e.g. goal orientated) and supportive approaches; and finally, the differentiation between performance and maintenance behaviours. Whilst both PCC and Chief Constable could be seen to overlap, it becomes apparent that the PCC role leans to leadership elements that are to the relational end of the spectrum as much as the Chief Constables are to the physical delivery end. Yet both of these players will require high levels of collaboration in times of emergency management as frequently occurs within the police as an “archetypal” emergency service.

Macintyre (2002, P. 371), indicates that both “intra and inter organisational coordination” is a critical factor in dealing with emergencies and longer recovery periods, such as is the case with serious incidents. Silvia and McGuire (2010), point to the critical importance of ensuring integral leadership behaviours across multi

active settings to both facilitate organisational change and collaboration between agencies. Hayes (2012) asserts, “working effectively with other sector bodies will be a crucial part of commissioner roles” (p. 27).

Additional to the response to emergencies in an operational police area, PCC and Chief Constable must take part in their unique roles and management of change that comes from disrupted and often chaotic processes within the policy arena of government. They both must seek to provide continuity for the organisation whilst attempting to create the necessary transformational elements to foster organisational change, whilst also addressing continued resource reduction. In this respect PCCs and their Chief Constables are involved in the management of uncertainty and the development of processes that take the agency forward in this apparent chaos. Taneja *et al.* (2013) point to disruptive and chaotic change in society, such as generated by austerity measures, as “paradigmatic chaos” where the management role is to develop structural stability for the organisation/system when its current state is difficult to predict due to the impact of external forces.

There is, therefore, an argument to see the relationship between PCC and Chief Constable as not only a dyadic relationship, but as Gronn (1999) describes as a “leadership couple”. Such leadership constellations require a division of labour that involves complex and interpersonal dynamics. Gronn observes that couples in a vertical line relationship occupy a relational space across an authority boundary

and the superior is “held accountable for both his/her and the subordinates work performance” (p. 52), a factor that cements an interdependent relationship that can foster either effective or inhibited exchanges. Inevitably, however, leader-follower reciprocity occurs in more effective working relationships in much the way that occurs between leaders and general organisational subordinates. The understanding of the precise mechanisms through which such constellations work effectively is currently under researched and tends to feature other aspects of public services (Baldwin *et al.*, 2011). This dynamic nonetheless renders the PCC and Chief Constable relationship of tantalising interest to researchers in the future.

In common with all senior politicians, PCCs appear to be subject to media forces acting upon them that offer both opportunities and threats to the role. The true impact of the PCC in an age of rapid and ubiquitous media cannot be understated. Indeed, it is arguable that PCCs have been subject to more media focus and “Mediatiation” in the short period of their conceptual and actual development than virtually any other public role that has gone before. This was never more true than at their inception. As Williamson (2012) states “most of the coverage of their coming has been rather negative.....and decisions will be based on populist on rather more rational calculations” (p. 21). Their coming into being was accompanied by an almost ubiquitous uptake of social media and electronic press that has been regarded as vital in terms of political change and the greater empowerment of

citizen's through interactive technology. The overthrow of former Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak, in 2012 for example, was preceded by text, social media and camera phone footage that defied and effectively by-passed the censure of state authorities at the time. The BBC contended that although in some parts of the world, more traditional media still has value, and modern technologies still are the purview of the relatively rich, social media did play an important part in terms of "circumventing the hidebound official media and started some kind of national debate" (Connolly, 2013).

There is ever increasing evidence of the PCCs being the subject of negatively biased press both preceding and during their first period of incumbency. As Loveday (2012, p. 270) indicates "... the negative assessment by the media of recent decision making by some PCCs may have crowded out some more interesting developments that have occurred...". Such examples include the effective dismissal of Chief Constables and reversal of policy by those who favour the acceleration of the privatisation agenda. PCCs, in common with politicians in general, now have to face a far more aggressive media world. They have, however, arguably come into being when the forces of ever more reactive media coalesced to maximum impact on the role, whereas it is arguable that longer standing political roles have had longer timelines to assimilate changes in media activity. Helms (2012) refers to the world being in a new media age. Whilst there are contrasting differences across many western democracies, there are nonetheless

similarities. Private commercial media tends to focus on “what it sells” (p. 652) and demonstrates a greater political independence. That independence however, is accompanied by market forces where stories embodying the sensational, shocking, corrupt or negative have more capital in the market space than those associated with innovation, achievement or are in other ways generally in a positive vein. As a consequence, there is now a greater exposure of public figures than occurred with more traditional types of media used to inform the public. This also has to be contrasted against the significantly expanded focus of media covering the personal lives of individuals, Helms, quoting Stanyer and Wring (2004, p. 653) indicates “it has been quite natural for much media coverage of public affairs to extend well into the private lives of public office holders”. Some citizens themselves have become much more enabled to activism through the use of social media and as a general rule people use different media more intensively, spending many more hours interacting with that media. The public have moved from simple recipients of information about those in public office to “actors” who actively seek and distribute information. The very nature of social media empowers individuals to publish their views and react to events that occur in the media, on such a mass basis that any opportunities for the subject to respond in terms of more information, debate, rebuttal or otherwise are effectively precluded. This means that media output is not only subject to the bias of the core publisher, but open to the views of a truly diverse public. Arguably the latter are more likely to comment when there are issues of relevance to themselves



ranging from injustice to perceptions of poor conduct in public office. Put simply, people are more likely to use such media to raise issues of relevance to their own lives and values than offer plaudits.

Thompson (2011) reinforces this, referring to politicians as being subject to “The New Visibility” with a concurrent concept of “Mediated Visibility”. This latter concept effectively was seen to start in mediaeval times where visibility was restricted to the courts of monarchs and other rulers and distributed to the people a simple coded message such as laws, edicts or proclamations. Media in this context is very much relating to the normative power of heads of state and their administrators. Technological improvements such as the printing press extend the reach of communication and its detail as well as accelerating its distribution (telephone being faster than post, for example). The different forms of media have therefore both temporal and spacial components to their use, spanning as they do, different media speeds, different information acquisition approaches by recipients and across vastly variant personal and geographical spaces.

The significance of this new visibility becomes particularly important in relation to the rapidly evolving and increasingly complex interrelationship that appears to exist between the members of the public with access to modern interactive media and those in political power. Just as in the case of the creation of print, new media massively

extends the contact between those in the political eye in a near paradigmatic way. Information technology and electronic communications effectively stretches social fields and gives the people within them a visibility arguably increasingly closer to face to face contact. Whilst this was true of print, electronic media takes this to a new level and whereas print took centuries to implement the technology and foster mass literacy, the advent of Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest and others have become endemic in western societies within the space of a decade. Thompson (2005) describes this as “despatialised simultaneity”, carrying so much more of the characteristics of the individual than the printed word. The internet has taken this so much further with the reach and immediacy never seen before. Whereas mass media such as the TV and Radio allowed for “nonreciprocal” forms of intimacy that had distance and inbuilt boundaries, the intimacy of the new media allows people to focus upon leader’s actions, utterances, mannerisms and non verbal styles. This allows a level of scrutiny normally confined to intimate personal relationships with an opportunity for commentary from the recipient without reciprocal levels of intimacy and disclosure. The result is that the modern leader/politician/celebrity/cause celebre is very much “on view”. Our increasingly information based society offers often intimate details of their personal and professional lives to be a matter of public access and interest. Given what may be coined as the “relational space” between those that are connecting with the public as being one of accountability as opposed to affinity, it is of little wonder in these

circumstances that modern PCC, in common with so many other political roles are now in a challenging position. They may experience unprecedented levels of personalisation, personal intrusion, vilification and calls for rapid changes of tenure, including resignation, restructuring or outright replacement.

PCCs as “constitutional new-borns” came into an interactive, critical social media world whilst simultaneously TV, Radio and newspaper, in their fight to compete in a crowded media market space, became more aggressive in style to maintain relevancy and sales. Equally Merry *et al.* (2011) suggest that demographic factors also act as a key variable in relation to public confidence relating to policing in general. Confidence appears to increase with increasing age. This factor might support the high impact of social media, for example, as this is predominately actively populated by the younger members.

This backdrop would appear to require the PCC to ensure effective media handling. The very nature of the leadership role itself requires communication with the public and in this climate, presents at once, an opportunity and a threat. Thompson (2011) regularly refers to Mediated Visibility being a “double edged Sword”. The uncontrollable nature of this visibility means that the ability to control information flows is limited for the individual. Although leaders may want to manage their media visibility by skilled media management, they are unable to ensure

complete control. Consequently, leaks, scandals, “gaffes”, faux pas, “bloopers”, parapraxes and many other media challenges can result. Sjostrom *et al.* (2015) suggest two contradictory rationales between media use to serve the public’s interest (and arguably the “public interest”) by sharing transparently details of organisational activity, balanced against considerations aimed at protecting the organisation itself. PCCs were vilified in the press for seeking to employ media agencies to support their work. At a time of austerity, when the salaries and administration costs of their operation were in vogue and key appointments were subject to allegations of cronyism, PCCs in many cases abandoned plans to recruit skilled players to handle their media visibility and relations. Many, instead sought to use the in house press officers of their Constabularies, a move which in itself creates a complex organisational enmeshment and the potential for conflict of interest between the Office of the PCC and the Constabulary it oversees. Despite attempts to show value for money, in times of austerity many of the public have little sympathy with what appears to be new tiers of public administration - “The whole idea of elected Police Commissioners was ill thought out and flawed from the start. ...Please bury this complete waste of time and money. Return policing matters to local authorities as before.” (Travis, 2014).

There are several cognitive and social factors that result in misinformation being prevalent and persistent in western societies

(Lewandowsky *et al.*, 2012). Psychological biases and social forces, such as those originating from ambiguous rumour, political interpretation, or selective perception borne of the vested concerns of the information holder, can contribute to this. This then can be exacerbated by media that achieves ever increasing distributive speed. There is evidence that for politicians both positive and negative accounts of events and/or individuals will result in negative responses as a result of correction, refutation or other attempts to discredit information by those affected (Cobb *et al.*, 2013), reflecting a phenomenon often termed “belief perseverance” (p. 307).

The case of the resignation of the Kent based Youth Police and Crime Commissioner, Paris Brown, showed a number of dimensions to this phenomena including a novel variation of “temporal” phenomena in the literature. Her tweets when aged around 14 did not age in cyberspace and discredited not only her appointment, but severely called into question the judgment of Anne Barnes, the Kent PCC around (*inter alia*): the concept for the role; the use of public money; managerial competence; and poor advice (e.g. Ensor, 2013).

A fascinating study demonstrating some of the impact of social media, was a study on Twitter undertaken by Jeffares (2012) which notes the variable activity in the run up to the election with significant Home Office and ministerial activity creating activity spiking. Exposure peaked

at as much as 6 million then dropped to 156k in the day after the PCC elections and was at zero by the 23rd November 2012.

Uhl-Bien *et al.* (2007) suggest that the primary function of leadership is to "align individual preferences with rational organisational goals" (p. 301). However, the locus of these preferences is not necessarily within the organisation as, "irrational social forces tend to the subvert formal goals of an institution" (p. 301). In the PCC context, however, the "irrational" social force may well be the will of the public wherein the organisational goals are formed through pluralistic processes of community engagement, rather than simple social and market forces that might exist in other organisational entities focused around, for example, business.

It becomes necessary to understand the effect leadership behaviours incumbent within the role. This is a new and emerging role, which has to be juxtaposed against concepts of leadership that transcend the simple bounded organisation to encompass multiple interacting social fields. Yukl (2012) refers to, "bewildering variety of behavioural constructs" (p. 66) when considering leadership behaviour and the myriad studies that have taken place which have suffered from framing difficulties. Leadership behaviour is subject to multiple taxonomies although few are focused upon what is described as "boundary spanning" behaviours and those that take place external to the

organisation in a more complex, knowledge driven world. These behaviours include networking, external monitoring and representing (ibid., p. 68). Yukl *et al.* (2002) attempted to produce a hierarchical taxonomy of leadership behaviour as framed between task/relations/change/externally oriented behaviour, juxtaposed with management themes such as charismatic, transformational, ethical transactional and other more dominant leadership construct. Ibarra and Hunter (2007) refer to the need for leaders to effectively traverse networks and incorporate them into the management task.

PCCs, by their nature must work across agencies, representing a pivotal public service that is central to the protection of citizens. The legislation that created them has implicit within it issues of governance, responding to the public, strategic planning and oversight, whilst the history of the police and the perceived deterioration of the relationship between the police and the public suggest sophisticated mediation and brokerage abilities as well as the potential to manage transformational change whilst maintaining probity and ethical boundaries. Their formal commissioning functions indicate a need to manage finances well, achieve value and to develop services imaginatively against a backdrop of shrinking resources. The ability to network and liaise with multiple stakeholders is inherent in the role, including the ability to recognise synergies within the power and resources inherent within the leadership structures of potential partnership organisations. This makes notions of shared leadership approaches almost a pre-requisite to effective working.

### **2.6.3 Management Issues: Accessing the public:**

A central plank of the 2011 legislation bringing PCCs into being is the establishment of effective working relationships with the communities receiving policing services. Keane and Bell (2013) advocate that the police “slipped steadily in the public’s esteem in the past fifty years” (p. 241), whilst simultaneously being “resistant to change” (p. 237). PCCs have been seen as a radical attempt to redress this. Public involvement in policing matters has always been complex. In common with much of public service, members of the public may only be motivated when a given service is of relevance to them and it is only at that point it surfaces within their awareness. In a Home Office study, Docking (2003) confirmed the public’s ongoing desire for police visibility and accessibility, in part borne from the perception that crime levels are high and feelings of lack of safety. The research also stated that the public felt they should have opportunities to express opinion, simultaneously indicating that apathy, disagreement over priorities and low expertise and confidence might compromise the effectiveness of public consultation.

Involving the public in Community Policing would appear to be a growing model, (Reiner, 2000). This originally was for activities such as security guards, door keepers, the private security industry and others, alongside a range of Neighbourhood Watch type activities. This reflects an increasing involvement of the citizen. Johnston (2003) indicates that



an alternative to “police led” approaches to Community Policing could be discerned, comprising the involvement of non-state partners, coordinated with state policing to provide a “dual system” (p. 187). The advent of PCCs would therefore take the involvement of the public to the next logical step. The involvement of neighbourhood wardens, community groups and associations, even “community forces” within the “operational side” of policing (Johnston, 2003, p. 190) is becoming mirrored by forums, consultation processes and other measures that allow the public to be involved in policy and strategy formation under the aegis of the PCC. This position adds to what can be regarded as a growing vision of what Johnston (2003) refers to as the “police extended family” relating to the governance of policing in the UK, reflecting a formalisation and synthesis of the pluralistic elements at large within society in relation to policing.

The community based focus of ensuring the work of PCCs, the police and indeed the centre is informed by the views of local citizens, accountability appears to be central to their relationship to the public. Rogers and Gravelle (2012) indicate that the single point access embodied in the PCCs role “will be favourable with the public as it may leave a sense of access and empowerment” (p. 45). A key issue for some of the candidates for PCC however and their relationship with the public relates to the possibility of political parties with extreme views entering their candidacy. Parties such as UKIP and more extreme parties such as BNP or the English defence league, have radical right

wing policies that may cause concern for the public and organisational turbulence for the police where the candidates are not capable of attaining political neutrality after obtaining office.

Brogden and Ellison (2012) offer a critique of the PCCs as representing a "cynical attempt at political populism" (p. 150), calling into question how a PCC can represent people within the framework of the concept of "localism", where for example, a PCC may represent some 3 million people, as in the case of, for example greater Manchester. This critique alludes to the reality of how representative PCCs can be anyway, given the diverse backgrounds, wide socio-economic status, multiculturalism and geographical location factors across the country and the large patches served by PCCs.

Davies (2013) indicates the post reflected an underlying set of principles adopted by the Conservatives: a commitment to greater localism; a refocus on crime fighting over other arguably "social functions" of the police; and most importantly the concept of a single figurehead to set priorities in relation to tackling crime. Theresa May, as Home Secretary when announcing the role in the run up to elections was clear that her view of the police was to primarily fight crime. In advocating for the role of PCC, she also clearly indicated the commitment to local empowerment: "the police must be accountable not to civil servants in Whitehall but to the communities they serve" (Home Office, 2011). To some extent this complements the view of

Gravelle and Rogers, (2011) "Public interest in the Police having been encouraged and developed has never been stronger, with the public in recent years having been exhorted to assist in the formulation of policing priorities" (p. 230) although it could be argued this view could be seen as countering the very low electoral turnouts for PCC elections.

The Home Affairs Committee Publication, "Police and Crime Commissioners: Progress to date", published December 2014, indicated that PCCs had made significant inroads in mobilising local communities through the creation of local Criminal Justice Boards. Equally, the government acknowledges that the Commissioners were increasingly using their influence to lobby central government in relation to national policy formation (p. 8). Without doubt, the newly elected PCCs had to "hit the ground running" as the 2011 legislation required them to deliver Police and Crime Plans as soon as possible. In real terms there was a Home Office expectation of delivery virtually within a month of appointment. This was a very high expectation indeed as even those well vested in police practice and process and an understanding of law enforcement issues, would be faced with a tight planning timescale. For the majority, this seems to have offered very little time for induction nor indeed, an opportunity for truly effective public engagement and consultation processes that weighed the highly diverse interests of the public. Indeed, the Government's response to the earlier, 16th report of the Home Affairs Select Committee entitled

“Police and Crime Commissioners: progress to date” dated December 2013 indicated that many of the early challenges and dilemmas faced by PCCs "could have been avoided given greater opportunity to find their feet before starting the job" (p. 3). The report goes on to recommend that for future elections a transitional period was permitted for new commissioners of one month between the election and the assumption of the actual office of PCC. Government have refuted this indicating that the circumstances of the first incumbents were unique in nature and unlikely to be replicated in the future.

In summary, PCCs would appear to need to demonstrate high levels of behavioural flexibility, link effectively with stakeholders, juxtapose this with their governance and oversight functions towards the police whilst being highly attentive to the views of the public. The locus of power and the general policy thrust towards both localism and partnership working and was engendered the need to synthesise skills of innovation, transformation and creativity with highly credible, ethical approaches that lend confidence to the processes they oversee, whilst exerting influence over those who hold power and resources elsewhere. The PCC model would appear anathema to traditional notions of “Heroic” leadership, and would appear instead to require a complex amalgam of skills, styles, experiences and values to meet both the pluralistic and inclusive ambitions of the post.

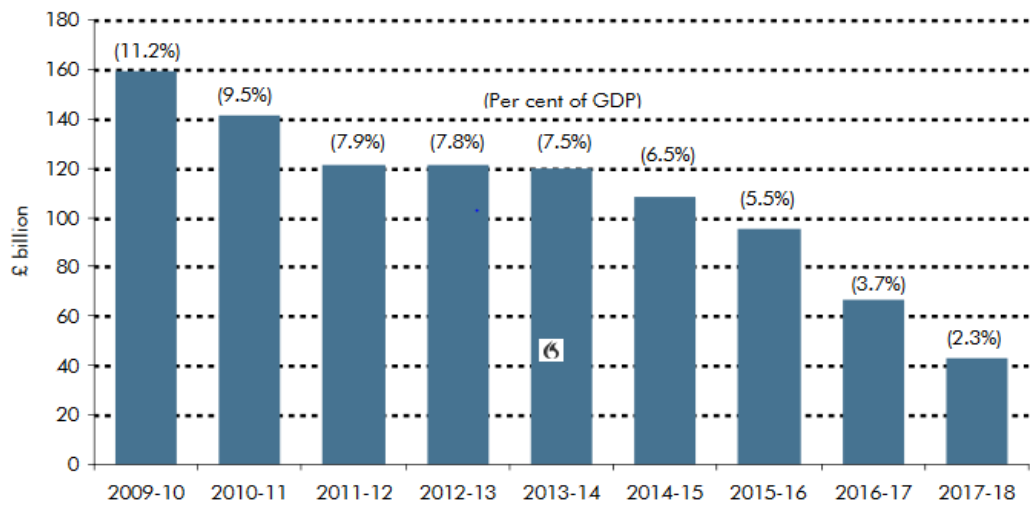
The acquisition of such skills is both complex and demanding and throws up immediate issues as to the requisite skills for PCCs and, if absent how these may be developed in post.

#### **2.6.4 Policing Reform in times of Austerity:**

This next section will consider some of the political and environmental factors in dominance at the time that the PCCs were developed. David Cameron's notions of "Big Society", built on a political ideology that has at its centre the empowerment of communities by devolved arrangements that put more power in the hands of people (e.g. gov.co.uk). This complements political perspectives of power being returned to the local level drawn from a belief that this provides effective decision-making and local accountability. It therefore follows that that local accountability gains expression through the commissioning of services and the use of resources at a local level whilst at the same time presiding over effective governance arrangements to hold bodies to account. Such factors, however, are inevitably overshadowed by issues of deficit reduction that has seen a real-time reduction in public service, reduced borrowing and structural deficit in the national finances.

**Table 2.2**

Graph of government borrowing reduction 2009-2018



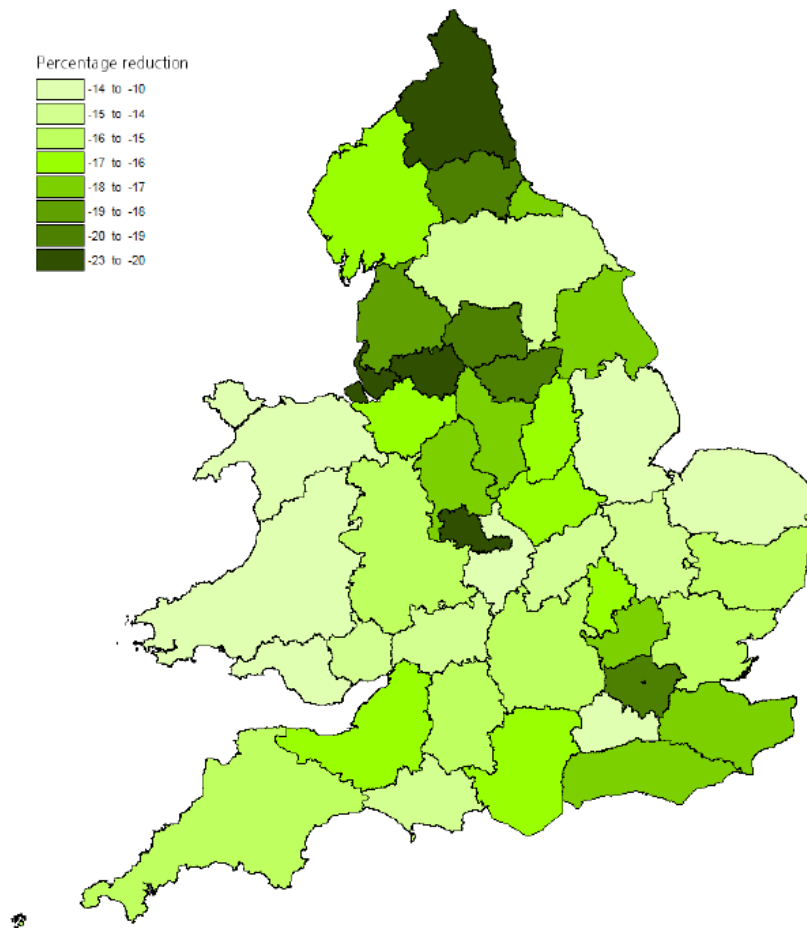
Source: OBR

There can be little doubt that PCCs face major financial challenges with real terms revenue declining and the increasing use of reserves to offset cuts in policing service. Additionally, real returns reductions in grants from Government and precepts reduction are having an impact nationally (see overleaf).

**Figure 2.3**

Real terms reduction in Government Grant and Council Tax precept  
2010/11 to 2015/16

Source: Allen and Dempsey, 2016, p. 19



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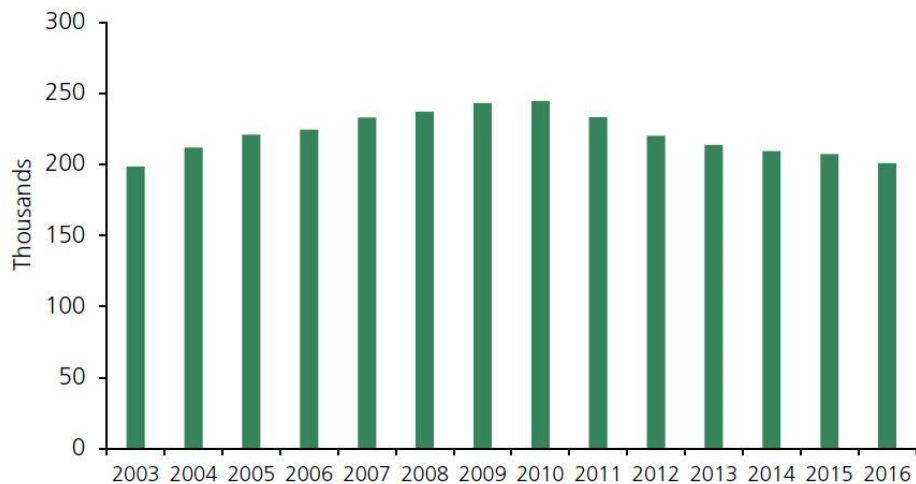
According to the Association of Police and Crime Commissioners (APCC) budgetary reserves held nationally in excess of two billion pounds will reduce via this offsetting process to 34% by 2019 (APCC, 2015). Even with this amelioration process real term forced reduction will amount to 17% more than current figures which already constitute the lowest number of police officers since 2002 (Home Office, 2013;

Millie, 2013). This amelioration process does nothing to assuage the underlying fiscal challenge anticipated by the end of the decade.

**Table 2.3**

Police Numbers 2003 to March 2016

Source: Allen and Dempsey, 2016, p3



In times of austerity, policing budgets are a challenge as 80% of the constituents are staff costs. This means that any savings inevitably impact on actual service personnel, a significant proportion of which are front line staff. Gravelle and Rogers (2013) assert that a whole range of studies have highlighted the challenges of accessing the police from an external research perspective to better illuminate effective criminological, organisational, commissioning and management practices. Research in itself is considered to be a likely victim of service economies given the immediate impact of cuts to the front line. This leads to a concomitant concern that “The police service may return to its former cultural enclaves resulting in the police service becoming



increasing parochial and narrow minded when developing long term policing strategies” (Gravelle and Rogers, 2011, p. 229).

Brogden and Ellison (2012) indicate that the scale rates for pay have historically been around 10 to 15% higher than most of other public sector workers (p. 25). This was buoyed up by Thatcherite support of the police wherein the officers received unprecedented pay increases, as much as 45% in that era. In reality, most forces will cite over 85% of their costs relate to salaries. The increased use of civilian staff to augment frontline services has been a feature of the last 20 years. In addition to this, the creation of Community Support Officers, to augment these functions have afforded a lower cost alternative to the more expensive option of a sworn Constable. In short, at a time when there is a return to the perennial debate around visible policing summed up by the term "Bobbies on the beat" frequently coined by politicians and adopted by many PCC candidates as part of their election manifesto (Rogers and Gravelle, 2014), the real cost of policing remains high and must meet the increasing demands nationally, transnationally and in cyberspace, domains that are less visible and apparent to the public.

**Table 2.4**

Forecast funding shortfalls for Constabularies  
Source: APCC 2015

	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19	2019/20
<b>Forecast shortfall</b>	£752m	£915m	£1050m	£1127m
<b>Planned use of reserves</b>	£303m	£188m	£136m	-
Shortfall after using reserves	<b>£449m</b>	<b>£727m</b>	<b>£914m</b>	<b>£1127m</b>

The weeks preceding the 2015 government spending review were fraught and a different role was experienced in terms of PCCs intervening at times of austerity. In the weeks preceding the spending review, six PCCs, of which five were Tory, were preparing a legal challenge against the government over the putative police settlement within the review. Another threatened to increase the local police precept by 15%, a measure ultra vires for the PCCs to do without recourse to local public referendum (Langston, 2015). Their arguments against further reductions included: the levels of cutback that had already been experienced; the growing threat of terrorism in the light of the Paris attacks; a general increase in terrorism alert status around the world; and the risk of certain offences being subject to bureaucratic processing as opposed to active intervention due to insufficient capacity (Seal, 2015). It is to note that the Home Office recanted by indications that the settlement formula was fundamentally flawed (Travis, 2015). It is equally to note that applying social field theory to

this phenomenon, system Incumbents, PCCs politically aligned to the government of the day, effectively became systems Challengers despite their political allegiances (Heffer, 2015). This is the first real “upwards” challenge that has occurred in the public arena and portends an interesting set of dynamics for the future relationship of the PCCs with the centre.

Hitherto unprecedented levels of cuts over a time series since 2002 may have resulted in a reduction of frontline uniform officers and a corresponding reduction in opportunities for community engagement (Rogers and Coliandris, 2015). This in turn has had an inevitable impact upon the relationship and perceived legitimacy of the police within the communities they serve. How that legitimacy is maintained, goes to the heart of notions of policing by consent in communities. The notion of democracy itself is focused upon an accountability by government, to citizens and policing in democratic (Bayley and Shearing, 2005). That said, many of these trends have been apparent historically and Jones and Newburn (2002) sagely warn of the importance to note carefully policing developments and caution against the tendency to overstate the novelty and the "Epochal nature" of emergent trends (p. 130).

Jones and Newburn (2002) also reflect upon the debate about the quintessential nature of policing and the market spaces it occupies. This debate ranges from functions or legal capacities through to their

sole monopoly as an organisation to exercise coercive force in ways legitimised by state law. Indeed, there is a wide perception of the actual monopoly that the police play alongside market interfaces. White and Gill (2013), when considering the so-called "transformation" thesis in relation to the market ratios that exist between private security operatives to the police, suggest that there is a key criterion within this ratio, namely when events create systemic shifts from perspectives of "public good to the logic of the market" (p. 74). Political rhetoric over a number of years has indicated that crime is coming down, whilst counterbalanced with the need for austerity measures, give rise to recurrent debates in police literature surrounding the dynamic forces this creates in relation to the use of civilian operatives, lesser qualified policing support operatives, privatisation and outsource approaches.

PCCs featured heavily in the press early in their incumbency amid fears of the post being a potential proto-commissioning model for privatisation suffused against cuts. The reality, however, is that more complex economic forces, political ideology, media perspective and other market driven considerations would appear to enter into the mix. Whilst Tory sympathies may lend themselves heavily towards the involvement of private enterprise as a *sine qua non*, right of party ideological perspective, such approaches have also been progressively adopted by Labour governments, including extensive contracting with organisations such as G4S and Serco, for example in relation to certain aspects of law enforcement, such as prisons, youth justice activities

(e.g. Hoang, 2015). PFI, the Private Finance Initiative, would also reflect this shift. Equally, a number of companies have seen commissions from some police forces to “contract out” elements of “back-office staff” to create economies (Sanghani *et al.*, 2013).

Rogers and Gravelle (2014) see another aspect of the police "transformation". This sets economic ideology aside from political ideology. They point to major global economic downturns, organisational changes and proposed reforms as constituting “pain” conditions leaving a police force attempting to assimilate the demand for greater accountability, efficiency and effectiveness. The argument is one of the inevitability of reform as the police must weigh alternative methods against increasing demands, reduced resources and public expectations. In this context, the public as "customer" is one that arguably becomes as potent as the notion of citizenry. Logically developed, this argument moves the notions of policing by consent and common citizenry to that of consumer satisfaction. This dynamic arguably builds up the tension between the political requirements of the police at the centre and notions in the community as to what constitutes good policing.

A factor that would appear significantly underrepresented in literature is the role of the public directly participating in law enforcement delivery and operational processes. Jones and Newburn (2002) point to the almost inevitability of public involvement in the policing role. Examples

include: the growth of social media; the ability for the public to for example, rescue and repatriate lost animals; record crime for evidential purposes through the use of portable technology and indeed, make commentary that would offer public reassurance This stands as a study in its own right, highly worthy of further research. David Cameron recently paid tribute to the member of the public who challenged a man who committed stabbings in the Laytonstone Underground Station in London, arguably making a wry social commentary that assuaged community fears and potential action with the statement "you ain't no Muslim bruv", a comment that went 'viral' on twitter as a reassertion of moderate views towards a multi faith society collectively facing concepts such as terrorism and jihad (Gayle, 2015). Theresa May in her 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2011 speech indicated her belief in people keen to understand community crime issues and citizens "desperately keen to play their part" (Home Office, 2011).

### **2.6.5 The "Big Society" and the ideology of Localism:**

The creation of PCCs was strongly associated with the whole range of "Big Society" initiatives fostering greater responsibility and ownership by the populace with the implication of greater local control. The Localism Act 2011 aimed at a level of decentralisation that aspired to return power to the people (Howard and Moore, 2011). The Act was seminal in that it empowered local authorities to undertake any activity other than those prohibited by law, thereby radically extending the level of 'permissive' powers that authorities could exercise. Local authorities

also became much more self-policing in the context of the conduct of its elected members. Most notably, local decision-making had inherently within it the abandonment of the development of regional strategies. Local authorities could raise their own taxation, exercise more discretion over business rate relief and allow local people new powers to save local facilities and services threatened with closure. The Act also clearly set out an agenda for the appointment of local Mayors, permitting mayoral referenda to be undertaken from May 2012. Legislation, enacted in the same year as the legislation which brought PCCs into being, however, received a considerable amount of local resistance. This included one of the four so-called, 'Vanguard' areas, Liverpool, which had elected a local Mayor indicating it could no longer continue to participate in the Vanguard experiment as the level of cuts being brought down by Government were such as to make their ability to reflect the legislation in any meaningful way redundant (Mason, 2011). The appetite by many communities was not in support of Mayors (Marlow, 2012). Of the mayoral referenda held across the country, eight areas voted against the proposition. Local city Mayors are expected to take on the role formerly occupied by council leaders, making the leadership function a direct by-product of the electoral process as opposed to internal selection of leaders. "Metro Mayors", are an extension of this, creating the notion of "city regions" which will have a Mayor in place. The so-called "Metro Mayors" will have wide sweeping powers, including the potential replacement of PCCs. This is a more complex picture than first meets the eye as many areas will not be

subject to “Metro Mayor” arrangements with no indication as to the alternative, other than the maintenance of the current PCC framework. The 2015 devolution bill is likely to become legislation during 2016. The price of devolution, as proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the acceptance of Metro Mayors. The legislation offers the scope for different mayoral models to evolve in different places. Carter (2015) suggests this allows a scope for a continuum of mayoral models ranging from executive style Mayors, not unlike the Mayor of London, to more "ceremonial" mantles with only limited executive powers. What is clear, however, is that the resources available to increased localism in this context are accompanied with progressive cuts as deficit reduction continues.

Early indications are, however, that compliance with the mayoral regime will result in ultimately less damaging settlements for the members of the combined local authorities involved. This issue creates dynamic and turbulent times for the role of PCCs. Their role may be replaced by the office of Mayor in some areas than not in others the specificity of function and relevant knowledge acquired by PCCs and the accountability of the PCC to the public on the specific issue of crime and disorder, will not necessarily be subsumed under voter motivations for a mayoral agenda. Equally, given the size of some of the proposed conurbations for the proposed Metro Mayors, some "city regions" will be enormous in terms of square mileage and the diversity of the



communities contained therein, creating a potential new form of democratic deficit.

Whilst localism can be argued to be a policy of empowerment, allowing greater control away from Whitehall, there are real dangers in such roles simply being allowed to ration at a local level, resources that are in a state of curtailment, with government taking on an increasing inspectorial role. Education policy has seen the massive growth of free schools and academies whilst central oversight and accountability is administered via OFSTED. The same could not be said to be true for PCCs and indeed, proposed Mayors. Former Chancellor Ed Balls criticised this aspect of localism in 2011 indicating that as the largest cuts to force budgets would come in 2012, the year of the PCCs election, “its clear ministers want to pass the buck to someone else” (Balls, 2015, p. 1).

There is some evidence to suggest that localism/devolution of political powers may in some situations court stronger links between government and politicians with the police. Scotland having maintained the primacy of Chief Constables' to central administrations. Scott (2011) suggests this is an indication of much more involvement in policing by political actors than hitherto. Paradoxically this creates greater control for the devolved Scottish Government in local affairs, allowing active policy influence in operational matters. A similar position appears true of the Netherlands (Jones and van Steden, 2013).

### **2.6.6 Commissioning:**

What is apparent is that public sector organisations are now facing unprecedented challenges where agents of change often have to face organisations that are “inertia ridden or politically protected” (Nutt and Backoff, 1993, p. 299). This transformation in the public sector has several features, including factors such as, *inter alia*, downsizing, requirements for increased entrepreneurship, fiscal restraint and media scrutiny. They also indicate several key propositions for effective organisational change including the observation that public sector organisations seeking transformation increasingly must call for cooperation amongst key stakeholders to get behind strategies and find resources collaboratively to support implementation.

The nomenclature, “Police and Crime Commissioner” would appear quite specific to the UK. As stated previously, commissioners focus upon non-operational aspects of policing, although the exact interface between operational and strategic is a complex one. Unlike models elsewhere in the world, for example Australia, the USA, New Zealand and many other nation states, the PCC is not the “top cop” normally associated with the title of Police Commissioner. Additionally, much study into Police Commissioners elsewhere have been focused upon their position as the head of the Law enforcement operation for the area they serve, e.g. Whitford and Burke (2012), Webber (1991). Sampson (2012) describes PCCs as unique, not only due to their role

in policing but also their position electorally. Indeed, the semantic involved in the title is indicative of a number of key public service notions. Commissioning in the public service context within the UK reflects directly to the commissioning of services, often through a formal procurement process. In this context, PCCs have not become formal procurers of police services but work in a dyadic way with the Chief Constable to agree plans for the disposition of force allocations as well as overseeing the money supply, for example, the police precept within the political process.

The role of the PCCs office as a procurement device for services within the purchaser–provider arrangements, that are incumbent elsewhere in UK public services, appears significantly underdeveloped. Little is written on police commissioning processes, however, commissioning in its truest sense appears to be evident from procurement activities within community groups, for example community safety projects and contributions to cross agency partnership working as evidenced in many of the Police and Crime Plans issued from PCC offices. (e. g. Cleveland Police and Crime Plan 2015/17, p. 6). Such funding in this true commissioning sense, would appear to be a small proportion of the overall policing budget, typically less than seven million pounds in budgets that typically exceed one hundred million. Interestingly, the Home Office as early as 2013 produced a number of framework documents in relation to commissioning, for example in relation to victim’s services, that more accord with the typical public service model

of procurement, extraction of value for money, reaching target and review (MOJ, 2013). This local commissioning in the community approach appears evident on many websites (e.g. The Sussex PCC website). It is a point of debate as to whether the term “Commissioner” actually constitutes a direct formal commissioning process with the police or simply one that holds Chief Constables to account for their public office.

There is some evidence that locally empowered commissioning can make a significant impact upon public confidence in policing services, which may throw some light on this selective focus and its associated commissioning probity structures from the centre. Merry *et al.* (2011, p. 123) indicates local focus on policing efforts is important in this respect suggesting, when considering issues of public confidence, “respondents will primarily focus on local rather than national initiatives and also rate neighbourhood policing and police treatment of local people as the most important drivers”.

There is a strong impetus towards outsourcing the activities of the police and concepts such as Payment By Results (PBR) are seen as being able to offer savings whilst accessing new resources without the burden of fixed costs when budgets are curtailed. Commissioners have an important role in this respect having as Rogers and Gravelle (2013) put it “the ultimate power to commission and decommission poorly

performing providers” (p. 118). In common with dyadic arrangements elsewhere in procurement there is some evidence to suggest 3<sup>rd</sup> party scrutiny of commissioning is an important role in delivering more yield from the procurement process (Adobor and McMullen, 2014).

Contemporary sources indicate some measure of cost savings are being effected with the oversight of the PCC, examples include the co-location of services and revised approaches to costly provision, such as PFI based buildings (Zdrojkowski, 2016).

#### **2.6.7 Governance:**

The Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011, outlines the arrangements of Police and Crime Panels. Local authority areas covered by these forces must establish Police and Crime Panels, often on a conjoined basis if the force operational area covers more than one authority. The panels are comprised of local nominated councillors and other co-opted members. A quorate Police and Crime Panel comprises of a minimum of ten "elected representatives" which can increase to a maximum of twenty members. Both unitary and district councils need to be represented on the panel and its political make up requires participants to have relevant skills and experience to ensure the panels functionality. Fifty-three thousand pounds per panel is provided from central government funds to support the panels' functions, which may be supplemented locally. Panels have the power to: agree or veto Chief Constable appointments and council tax precepts levels; scrutinise

local Police and Crime Plans and make recommendations which the PCC must heed; review the PCCs annual report; require reporting from the PCC; ensure appropriate reporting to the public; summon the PCC to respond to questions and; ensure interim arrangements if an incumbent PCC can no longer continue in post for whatever reason (Sections 28-31 of the 2011 Act). The performance management of the constabulary is not the purview of the Police and Crime Panel and is solely the responsibility of the PCC. There was early criticism that the panels indicated that they offered less robust governance capabilities than former police authority structures. Most notably, the early dismissal of a number of Chief Constables in Wales was controversial and called into question whether there were sufficient safeguards through the aegis of the Police and Crime Panels to effectively hold PCCs to account. In this respect, the panels power extends to requesting HMIC for a professional view when the PCC seeks to remove a Chief Constable. (BBC News, 2015). There remains an ongoing debate about whether such measures are sufficient as an oversight measure for PCCs (Chambers, 2014).

A Home Office development practice report "Involving the Public" (Home Office, 2003), explores the role of police authorities. The findings in general suggested that there was a public consensus about the lack of say in decisions about policing. Many had not heard of police authorities and those who had were substantially unaware of their role. The public in general were sceptical as to whether they were effective because of a poor public profile with little promotion. People

generally want better communication, information and opportunities to become involved in policing matters. The report also alluded to the possibility that public consultation might be compromised due to factors such as public apathy, disagreement between members of the public over priorities and a general absence of expertise and confidence within the field. Lacklustre responses from police authorities would also spike interest. The document generally attempted to encourage police authorities to develop a stronger set of links including “hard to hear” groups, enhance public communication and opportunities for alternative information delivery to the public.

## **2.7 Chapter Summary:**

In summary, this chapter has examined the PCCs coming into being against a political backdrop of the "Big Society" juxtaposing with localism and the need to cement stronger relationships with more empowered communities. This took place at a time of unprecedented real terms resource reduction, whilst also requiring effective governance and commissioning structures that needed to be more effective than predecessor arrangements. The term "Commissioner" would appear to need to be juxtaposed between the traditional public service role of procurement and governance suffused with an oversight role of a public organisation that requires a strategic, publicly empowering figurehead. Indeed, such are the semantics associated with the role of the PCC, that the value of adopting a research

methodology that lends itself to the true experience, rather than sometimes overlapping or even conflicting "normative" definitions of the position as embodied in the literature, may offer a rich insight into the quintessential nature of the role.

The new PCCs faced real challenges from the public, not only in the expectations of their own accountability, but in their contribution to addressing the eroded public confidence towards the police. PCCs are so recent that outside of their own national association, there appears to be few support mechanisms that could support the diverse skills and developmental demands that new incumbents must adapt from earlier experiences, hone in post, or part provide by delegation to skilled staff. An examination of how the new PCCs responded to the combined challenges of high accountability, resource privation, high expectation, inclusion, political pressure, and high media exposure, that would constitute in any management context "wicked" problem potential, may give valuable insights into their potentially unique experiences, learning and potential future support needs. Equally, the literature suggests that PCCs, effectively filled a socio-political space envisaged for the appointment of Mayors under abandoned earlier devolved government proposals. With the subsequent resurgence of devolution deals the government has made available, PCCs now offer potential proto-Mayor experiences from which many prospective insights might be gained.



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## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **Research Methodology**

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#### **3.1 Introduction:**

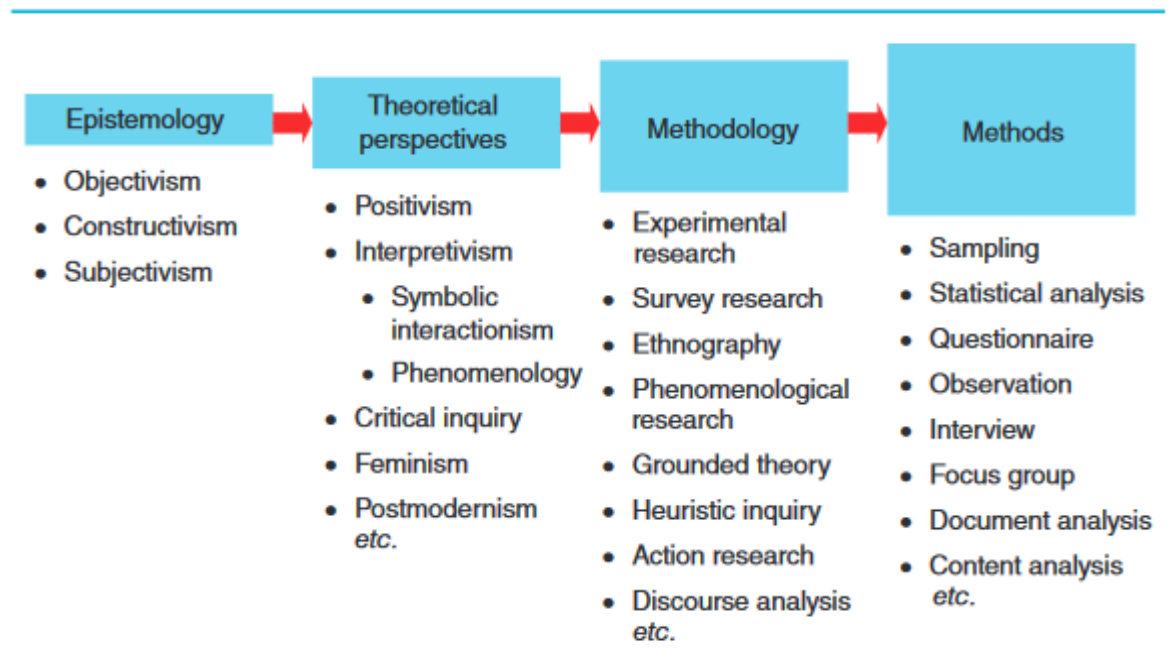
The literature search indicated relatively little has been written about the PCCs directly. Whilst there is much generalised theory available, for example theories of power, theories of leadership, organisational theories and myriad others, that could throw light upon some aspects of the role, in truth, very little truly communicated the process and experience of becoming a PCC and its unique position within society. It became apparent that any methodology had to encompass at these early stages of PCC evolution some elements of “depth” against a “breadth” of issues and phenomena that cross cut this new role. It was important to resist the natural tendency in these circumstances that any way was effectively the right way, given the relative dearth of research into the specifics of the role at the time.

Indeed, so much of the literature stood around contextualising the role rather than summarising the nature of its innate experience for those involved. It therefore became apparent early on that this was likely to be a qualitative piece of research. Nonetheless it was important to consider carefully the approach to be undertaken from a theoretical standpoint.

The relationship between the underlying epistemology in a piece of work, the theoretical perspectives methodology and methods undertaken, is critical to a robust valid piece of research. The following table developed by Gray (1998), adapted from Crotty (1998) reflects this:

**Figure 3.1**

Balancing researching methods with paradigms



Source: Gray, adapted from Crotty

The PCCs do not exist in social isolation and are social, political, legal and ideological constructs sitting amongst several other “nested” social phenomena. From an ontological point of view, studying this phenomenon therefore invariably requires one to consider social, legal, historical and other values that are constantly shifting and in a state of

dynamic flux. That said, the nature of the PCCs existing in a social world with dynamic interrelatedness suggested that a constructivist approach made considerable sense. The same considerations gave rise to the theoretical perspectives logically being interpretivist in nature given that their complex organisational interrelatedness and stakeholder dynamics reflected considerable amounts of potential symbolic interactionism. Equally, the complexity of the role and the potential limited number of candidates available for any in depth enquiry lent itself to phenomenological perspectives being appropriate. The newness of the post itself also gave rise to notions of “lived experience”, being arguably more important than developing erudite management concepts as to how the role should or could be undertaken. The power dynamics within the role clearly could have lent themselves to forms of more overt critical enquiry and whilst an understanding of how the power of the role as expressed and reflected in contemporary literature, such an analysis might offer a power based critique of the role more readily than throwing any understanding on the subtleties of how it is undertaken.

In the context of the PCC as a leader, there is a rampant debate as to the nature and indeed the very existence of leadership. Alvesson and Spicer, identify three key paradigmic approaches to Leadership study, summarised in the table overleaf:

**Table 3.1**

Table of ontological positions relating to leadership research.

<b>Ontological position:</b>	<b>Paradigmatic assumption:</b>	<b>Ethos:</b>	<b>Issues:</b>
Functionalist.	Leadership as individual qualities with an independent existence in the world.	Emphasis upon leadership types and taxonomies. Psychological and physical characteristics.	Focus upon individual. Identification of individuals as opposed to social fields and forces.
Interpretive.	Leadership as a socially constructed process.	Emphasis upon structures, social processes that identify or define activities as leadership.	Often acceptant of respondents' discourse on leadership. Can overlook issues of power and domination.
Critical.	Leadership as a power based activity.	Uses and abuses of power. Potential for suppression/ none-inclusion of certain members of society	Tendency to see leadership as an outcome of power and potentially negative. Can question the validity/existence of the concept.

Developed from Alvesson and Spicer 2012.

Alvesson and Spicer (2012) attempt to resolve the innate conflicts between these approaches by suggesting a “critical performative” approach to the study of leadership where collective deliberation features encouraging a discourse as to situations where leadership might be needed and the agency and form of that leadership. In the context of this work however, PCCs would benefit from an interpretive approach as it would work towards understanding the role in its wider social context. Whilst individual leadership attributes may feature within the study, these would need to be seen in this context. Equally, more critical approaches, would not appear indicated in what is a very early study of a new phenomenon. Traditional critical approaches may be

received antagonistically by the PCCs researched, who are already subject to significant public and political criticism. Therefore the critical performative reconciliation suggested by Alvesson and Spicer, whilst attractive, would involve a more expansive dialogic process than would have been possible given PCCs availability or the capacity of the study to countenance. More simply, the literature appeared to point to the need for a base line understanding of this new entity to be established which this work could usefully contribute to.

Originally, an action-based research process was considered. As mentioned elsewhere in this section, the possibility of action learning was mooted in early negotiation. However, it became apparent that pragmatically one to one activity was the only vehicle through which to access PCCs successfully, other approaches lending themselves less well to the limited time resource available to PCCs.

From that point, it became almost an inevitability that research interviews would be the best way capitalising on the limited availability of the PCCs, supplemented where possible by observational opportunities.

To gain greater understanding and address some of the issues posed from the literature review, a decision was made to conduct semi

structured interviews with the PCCs, aimed at eliciting their lived experience as this would potentially be the most productive method given the constraints explored above.

In many respects, the choice of research paradigms for this project was comparatively straightforward. We are dealing with the role that is at its core, a political construct that lies at the conjunction of social fields between government and the public. The very nature of the police itself is subject to massive interpretivism in relation to the police as an agency of social control, for example, and is an organisation that simultaneously offers elements of empowerment that are “unashamedly” male dominated (Brogden and Ellison, 2012). Its management, governance and leadership structures are complex juxtapositions between local and centralised politics. The territory in which the PCCs operate therefore is subtle, nuanced, and complex and viewed in a variety of different ways by stakeholders within society. As such an interpretivist or social constructivist stance therefore, seemed inevitable although there was a keenness to ensure that, as far as possible, quantitative secondary data could be attached to some of the qualitative findings to enhance validity and robustness for a professional audience wherever possible.

PCCs perform in a world of social constructs which inevitably stood as a strong signpost of the choice of research paradigms. To a certain extent, bringing together the diverse lived experiences of people with different professional and work backgrounds, different political

ideologies, different theories in relation to leadership, law enforcement and socio-political stewardship, has lent itself to the kind of "Crisis of Representation" as described by Schwandt (2007). Literally no work of interpretation can ever entirely capture the lived experience of others. Whilst positivism and the quantitative styles typically associated with it are often seen as *de rigueur* within the field of natural sciences, the same appears true of perspectives on business and management research although Saunders and Bezzina (2015) suggest that an increased focus on qualitative methodologies and "alternative perspectives" is a European variant (p. 3). They go on to explore the danger of misconceptions being installed within students where the academics have "limited fragmented ideas regarding methodology, indicating that the research practice ultimately delivered bears a relationship with the: epistemological; ontological and axiological "lenses" used by those drawing down the expertise of the academic, suggesting some academics were in danger of "appearing tribalistic" in terms of their own expertise" (Saunders and Bezzina, 2015, p. 12).

Similarly, given what appeared to be dwindling participation levels as the project went on, the interpretive stance adopted offered an increasing element of authenticity over an approach that simply offers the largest scale questionnaire or interview by number volume of participants on, for example, identified issues from a literature search, perceived experiences and needs, which would potentially yield data but possibly less detailed understanding. It was apparent that the

PCCs, irrespective of their management and leadership attributes, operated in such complex environments with unprecedented levels of media and public exposure that could result in to less intimate responses to a researcher, with the potential for "veneered" responses that would yield little light upon the true richness and complexity of the main task, which is to answer the key research question RQ (*How do PCCs see their leadership role?*). Focus had to be maintained on how to achieve the two research objectives: RO1 – to better understand the critical factors influencing the development of PCCs in their first period of incumbency, and RO2 – to develop a framework on how to better support and develop PCCs to be more enabled to occupy this challenging role in the times ahead.

It therefore, became apparent that any research approach, strategy and methods used, needed to be derived from constructivist or interpretivist paradigms and attempt to assess the essence of the experience of the individuals concerned. It also became apparent from the literature search that attempting to look at any aspect of the PCCs lived experience and gain inferences towards what might be for example, their future support needs, would not reduce simply to something like a repertory grid or matrix of necessary skills training or leadership development, to produce archetypal set of "core competencies", even though they have been attempts to hint at this by some (Gash and Paun, 2011).



The remaining part of the chapter is divided into four key sections. The first section describes the process of recruitment and selection of PCCs for the study. The second section presents the interview plan, and how it was executed within a specified time frame. In addition, it presents the set of pre-codes to be used for thematic content analysis of the interview transcripts. Section three discusses the issues of research ethics, reliability and generalisability and how they are resolved in this study. It also demonstrates how the interviews with PCCs were recorded and transcribed. In addition, it demonstrates the process of thematic content analysis using the selected codes. A summary of tools used in the overall process is also given. The final section provides a chapter summary and a link to the next chapter on the discussion of the findings of the studies.

### **3.2 Reflexivity issues:**

Within the methodology, a positional statement will be provided as the precursor to some of the writer's reflexive practice within the study. This attempts to establish not only his positionality in relation to the research, but offers some insights gained on the learning journey in a qualitative process. These insights will be presented as periodic vignette examples from some of the themes identified on the journey supported by extracts from the researcher's real-time personal learning records.

Jürgen Habermas (2015) described knowledge as never being devoid of interest and the important need to lay bare the structures and processes of enquiry to determine the meaning of and setting context, for statements that purport to display objectivity. Demonstration and analysing our situatedness to both subject and objects of research by expiring one's social and emotional positions in relation to research respondents is considered by many to be an important part of the reflexive process (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003). Addressing this in part may be reflected by a positional statement of the researcher which is made in the first person:

### **3.2.1 Positional Statement:**

I am a white middle-class middle age (late 50s) male who has a balance of experience across public service and the private sector. As a consultant, the analysis of organisational problems is something that is important to my business. As a mental health professional, I am sensitised to issues such as stress, the impact of personality and individual phenomenology in terms of perceiving processes both within self and within organisations. Politically I am slightly left of centre but this cannot be generalised and depends upon the policy cause. My voting patterns are based on what is right for the country suffused with an element of protest against local party monopolies whilst at the same time having been a Labour voter for much of my life. I value my personal independence and ability to challenge without any sense of

ideological or political belongingness or obligation to for example “tribes”, communities, customers or other social entities. I believe in high levels of organisational accountability to customers from whichever sector services are provided and do not believe in monopolistic markets. Whilst I believe there are some services that the state can legitimately provide in ways the market cannot, I nonetheless feel there are several state monopolies that would benefit from a mixed economy approach, yet to date I have never considered the police as one of them, when compared alongside, for example, a balance of private activity within the NHS. Whilst in my early readings on the police, I had never considered the role of potential privatisation and I realised that I had tacitly accepted that this would be the one state service that should be independent of the free market. That said, my view of the police in the past, when working in public service, was that of an often generously resourced, inefficient system that sometimes espouses notions of working in the community as an alternative to internal organisational efficiency, frequently legitimised by the public fear of crime.

Whilst I have worked with the police operationally in the past in various guises, including providing community services and strategic partnership/multi agency working, I believe I fail to identify or qualify as a “cultural insider” Gang and Scott, (2006) although, “culture” may be defined in many ways, for example that of public service wherein I have a career spanning over quarter of a century.

I am by occupation a trouble-shooter of problems in organisations. The solutions to these range from the psychological to the systemic/strategic. I am often fascinated by newly emergent patterns of leadership and some of the novel responses organisations craft to address leadership, structural and market force problems. My early thoughts on the prospect of studying the PCCs encompassed some of that latent interest as well as a genuine sense of intrigue as to how a new entity would unfold both organisationally and societally. My general view of government is that there is in general separation between ideology and the ability to project manage outcomes to fruition that are effective. Pressures to deliver are considerable within a five-year term of political office, consequently ideas often appear 'parachuted in', pilot projects are often validated and found to be "effective", legitimising full-scale implementation long before complete evaluation. Failure, despite the opportunity to revise and learn leading to real reform, is not tolerated well by an unforgiving public. Having spent most of my life in the North of England, access to power and the encountering of "glass ceilings" are not restricted to those with feminist ideologies as there are restrictions and limitations on many people to positions of power and influence within the community. Those of a modest position who have made good are pretty much the exceptions that stand as ironic validation of some the tacit rules in our society.

### **3.3 Recruitment and selection of participants for the study:**

Accessing PCCs is fraught with all of the inherent challenges of connecting with the busy and difficult to access. At the beginning of the study, PCCs were comparatively new to post and whilst receptive to many possibilities, these rapidly reduced during negotiation. Early contact with PCCs indicated that sixteen were available to participate in a study of this nature after documentation was sent through the Association of Police and Crime Commissioners (APCC). All PCCs were emailed initially by a peer PCC who was supportive of the project and this study was raised at one of the national meetings producing the initial volunteers. Some of these volunteers qualified their responses to simply being available for questionnaires or correspondence. The project was subject to a "reverse snowballing" effect as PCCs originally receptive to the project, began to shrink away from further overtures in its development as their own commitments began to increasingly command their time. The use of a peer PCC, to continue to internally advocate for the relevance of this project was invaluable and six PCCs made a firm commitment because of this endeavour.

The sample for this study was therefore taken from amongst the willing, almost an inevitability in the circumstances. This resulted in the sample being drawn from Labour and Conservative PCCs, with only one female. No independent PCC was identified who was prepared to participate in the study at the time interviews proceeded.

Early attempts to garner a balanced group in terms of political allegiance, gender and force/non-force experience, were frustrated by these factors. It became rapidly apparent that the availability of participants was very limited indeed and selection involved those willing to participate as opposed to any "representative ideal". It is a moot point as to whether this has significantly influenced the findings of the study. All ultimately involved were highly motivated and prepared to commit the time involved, even if, for one at least, interview time ultimately was curtailed due to operational matters.

### **3.4 The interview plan, and how it was executed within a specified time frame.**

#### **3.4.1. Preparation:**

Methodologically, interviews need to take account of a range of factors including epistemological and methodological concerns including reliability, replicability, validity, saturation and sampling, amongst others.

In the context of the number of interviews undertaken, consideration of these factors can range from one interview to many. Methodologically, little will be gained by reinforcing elements of "what" people do in role so much as an attempt to generate more "how's and whys" that PCCs understand, reflect, enact and interact within their roles (Baker and Edwards needs date). Flick, (quoted in Baker and Edwards p.27) also

observes that outside determinants involved in the determination of interview numbers are often more important than those determined from the inside, irrespective of the importance of the latter. Factors such as time and accessing people are critical in this respect. Whilst six out of forty one PCCs, would represent 15%, if one was to undertake some form of statistical calculation of representativeness, these issues are not as relevant in qualitative interviewing. Nonetheless six individuals being prepared to participate did represent the potential for offering depth, breadth and sufficient validity for the findings whilst simultaneously honouring the sensitive rules of confidentiality that may have provided a problem had a smaller number, or a single case study been used.

It became apparent that PCCs would only be available for one depth interview and so those involved were asked to be prepared to commit two to three hours to a single interview process. A set of interview questions, drawn from insights from the literature review was initially developed to explore:

- The Challenges of the role, in the context of leadership and incumbent roles;
- Mediatisation forces;
- Politicisation issues;
- Austerity issues;
- The management of change;
- Interfacing with the police, including the impact of police culture;

- Perspectives on governance;
- Issues of the involvement/engagement of stakeholders, chiefly the public.

This was further refined into an interview schedule (see Table 3.1, below) which had prompts for the interviewer over the rationale behind the questions involved as a dynamic aide memoir in the interview itself. This initial interview schedule was piloted with the PCC who had both offered to participate in the study and had acted as peer advocate with the PCCs. This allowed a real-time interview to occur whilst at the same time, working with a PCC who understood the nature and context of the study and could offer feedback on the interview process.

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*Researcher Vignette:*

*The journey has struck me that revision is more important than faithful first-time execution. Something that in a typical business world, would be seen as unforgivable, yet for the researcher it is de rigueur. Testing, piloting reiteration, and modification with qualification rather than simply ploughing on with "plan A" is critically important for research to be effective. It is also experienced by others as authentic:*

*"..I was quite transparent that they were the 1st to be interviewed and this was as much a test of the interview schedule as for the elicitation of their views. They were quite clearly understanding of this and I gained the impression thoroughly enjoyed their respective interviews."*

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### **3.4.2 Development interview questions:**

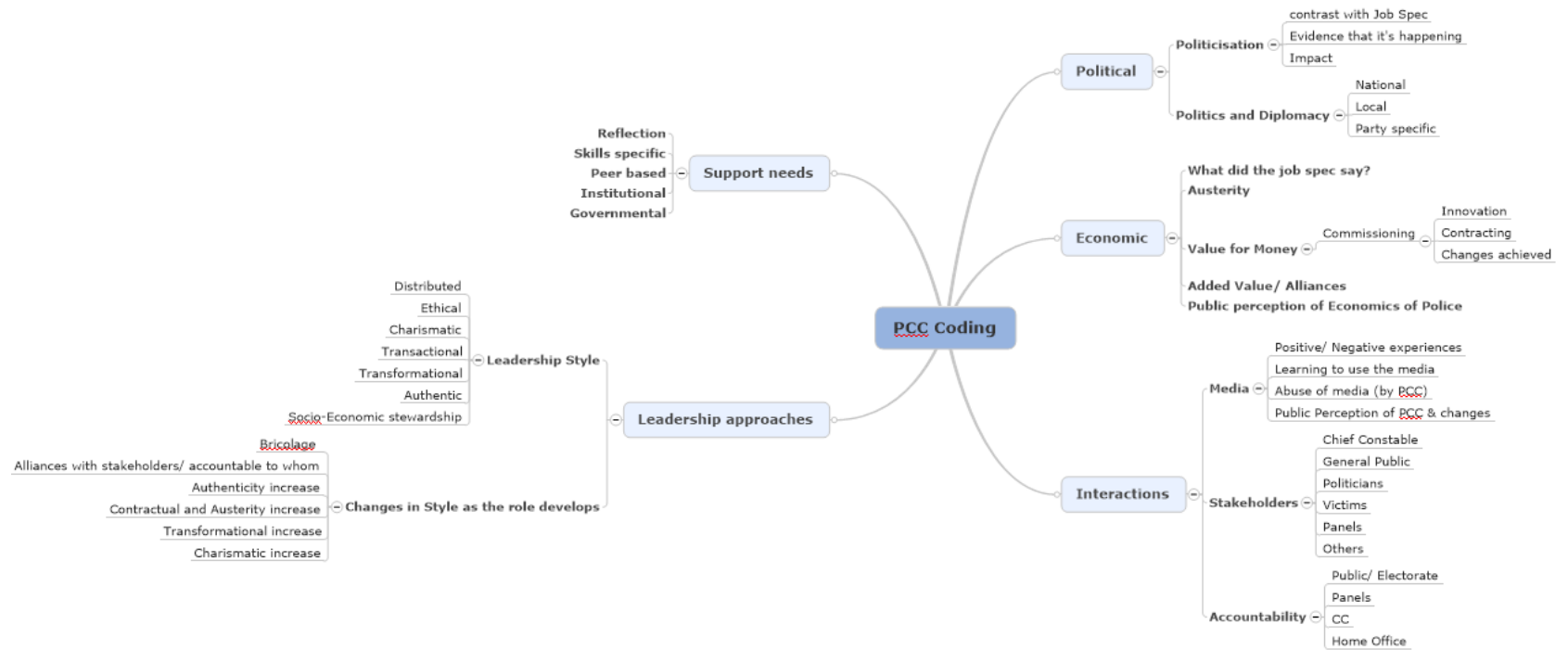
A basic open coding was developed around the themes identified in the literature search and modified iteratively in consultation with tutorial staff using Mindmanager 7 by Mindjet, the first iteration of which is set out in Figure 3.2, p. 109.

This resulted in a general framework of potential questions to elicit experiences in these areas:

- The personal experiences of the PCC, their successes and challenges;
- How they see the role;
- Their motivation and personal narratives that took them towards this office;
- The leadership qualities that they see incumbent within the role;
- How they connect with the public, including media issues;
- Their relationship with key stakeholders.

These questions, further refined, are set out in Table 3.2, p. 110-112.

**Figure 3.2**  
Basic literature themes, developed in consultation.



**Table 3.2**

**Interview Schedule for Police and Crime Commissioners**

<b>Question:</b>	<b>Prompts:</b>	<b>Underpinning:</b>
What is the job of a PCC?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How do you describe the role of the PCC and its relationship between stakeholders across organisations and the community?</li> <li>• Public service</li> </ul>	The basic premises of the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011 and how it translates into reality. Concepts of Policing by consent (Home Office. Qualification of the Crime and Disorder act
Personal biographical question next 'can you tell me how you came to be a PCC – what is your career story'?		As above Elicitation of personal stories
What were the main drivers that brought the role into being?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Central vs communal</li> <li>• Democratic deficits</li> <li>• Image of police</li> </ul>	Strategic Action Fields, Fligstein and McAdam Tory/labour political pressures. i.e. Matthew Davis 2013
What are the key early challenges for a PCC?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What would have helped?</li> <li>• You/Your colleagues</li> <li>• What did you need personally?</li> <li>• Identity formation</li> <li>• Vulnerability issues</li> <li>• Mediatiation</li> <li>• Anything else?</li> </ul>	Definition of role very “high level” initially. The dearth of written information on the role APCC leaflets for candidates. Policing in austerity (Brogden/ Reiner et al)
What kind of leader is a PCC, in your own view?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the essential qualities of the role?</li> <li>• What would better prepared?</li> </ul>	Leadership models. Awareness application models and mind-sets e.g.: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authentic</li> <li>• Charismatic</li> <li>• Heroic</li> <li>• Servant</li> <li>• Distributed</li> <li>• Dyadic constellation</li> <li>• Socio -political Stewardship</li> </ul> Issues also relate to political party affiliation; the experience of the incumbent (i.e. previous police officer, public private sector experience, political career. etc.)
What difference has	Them personally? Their role?	Self-evaluation. Phenomenological lens

the role made it made?	The public The centre	
How political is the role?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How does this reflect the perceived politicization of the police?</li> <li>• Do they agree it has become controversial?</li> <li>• Why has the role of the PC, in your view become so controversial?</li> <li>• Is the role truly egalitarian, or does political party affiliation help or hinder?</li> </ul>	<p>Politicization of the Police (Reiner, Loveday and others).</p> <p>Mediatization factors. Austerity Public participation "New Localism " Public confidence in Police (Levison Enquiry) Electoral Mandate issues (Gravelle and others)</p>
What situations have had you "punching the air" with pleasure? Conversely what has had you wanting to "cringe" ?	'tell me the story of your most challenging experience come here'? if not subsumed under responses to the primary q's	<p>Conversational predicates around polarity Critical incident method Narrative elicitation</p>
Do you think the police are more accountable? Since the inception of the PCC role ...	If so how do you see the police as more accountable	<p>Home Office policy New managerialism Greater public accountability Agents of social control? Reiner 2013</p>
How do you see your relationship with the public?	How do you balance this against central considerations)?	<p>Keane and Bell (2013) Affection versus Respect. Centralist control issues i.e. Emsley 1996</p>
How do you see the relationship between the PCC and CC?	Generally, (i.e. overarching comments) Personally (if willing) (i.e. specific to my experience)	
With the benefit hindsight, what would you have done differently?		Narrative elicitation
What do you most /least look forward to in your job		Narrative elicitation

<p>Could you comment upon your view of the training and development needs of a PCC</p>	<p>New incumbents Ongoing</p>	<p>Reflexive assessment of Development and support needs</p>
<p>What advice would you give to a person considering becoming a PCC?</p>		<p>"Third position" reflections (i.e. Self-viewing another viewing an third party)</p>
<p>Is there anything you have not had a chance to say thus far or anything you would like to ask me?</p>	<p>And what else....</p>	<p>Open frame questioning from a self-reflexive position</p>

The interview questions framed, reflect the prequel codes based on themes identified from the literature review that were to be used for the initial content analysis, although it was recognised that there would be grounded findings from the interview process resulting in emergent codes. For this reason, the use of CADQAS software seemed valuable to hold onto initial codes whilst evolving new ones in the thematic analysis to follow.

PCCs were interviewed over a six-month period, based on their availability and this required many renegotiations of interview during that time, with several cancellations occurring due to operational exigencies occurring for the PCCs.

Participants were emailed with full details of the proposed interview, list of questions to allow preparation and relevant agreement documentation (Appendix 1).

Participants were initially telephoned to make initial contact and to deal with any questions they may have of relevance to smooth the interview process. Each initial telephone call was documented as a field note. Each interview also resulted in the interviewer debriefing in writing.

### **3.5 Opportunities and constraints within the plan:**

Interviewing PCCs presents a number of challenges that are typically associated with those referred to as “elites”. Whilst there is no generally accepted definition of a social player who fits the term, Harvey (2011) suggests such people effectively occupy “important social networks, social capital and strategic positions within social structures” (p. 433). The term "elite" is not inappropriate for the PCC. Their somewhat unusual position within the political continuum has already been discussed. They have large territories and high demands. Pressures upon them have led them to have light infrastructures and in some cases, some PCCs have declined to appoint deputies or outsource services for fear of criticism of inappropriate use of public funds. Richards (1996, as quoted in Sabot, 1999) clearly is cognisant of the inaccessibility of elites who are "more conscious of their own importance" (p. 200). In this context, the interviewee is seen as having greater power than the interviewer. Sabot (1999) goes on to identify the political sensitivities of those whose disclosures to researchers could materially affect the outcome of elections and other high stake, image sensitive causes. Given the high levels of mediatisation and politicisation readily evident within the organisational landscape of the PCC, understandable sensitivities needed to be incorporated in any process for this group.

A key challenge in garnering the support of elites is whether they see the research as of value to themselves. In the political context, this may be for further propagation of appropriate messages that are in some way objectified. Neal (1995) identifies the issue of the power relationships that fundamentally exist between the interviewee and the interviewer. That power can allow respondents to both introduce themes that are of importance to them, and/or to occupy some form of normative power over the interviewer by dint of the resource offered and the perceived status of the interviewer. Equally the knowledge base of the interviewer is regarded as important in credibility terms, as “often elites might consciously or sub consciously challenge” (p. 434). In this context, the writer, presenting as an elder member of the business community, active within business bodies including the Institute of Directors and the Confederation of British Industry, undertaking a Doctorate in Business Administration and with a strong public/private track record of achievement, arguably created more potential interest and “buy in” than perhaps, a young undergraduate student seeking a BA, for example. It would appear there is a corollary to this, however, that some elites may more likely grant access to interviewers if the interviewer displays relative harmlessness to the interviewees’ position. Within this there also appears to be a gender dynamic suggesting that a female may be of a greater advantage in this respect although there are counter arguments that, in a world of gender politics, a female may not be perceived by some to be as credible as a



male researcher (Gerwitz & Ogsa, 1994, as cited in Walford, 2011, p. 3).

Sabot (1999) points to the use of semi structured interviews as being a valuable way to offer forms of containment within the power agenda that developed between interviewer and interviewee. Neal (1995) further observes the usage of semi structured interviews facilitates opportunities for the exploration of experience, personal stance and perception and also permits powerful respondents to develop themes within the process that they consider of personal importance whilst mediating the potential for the assertion of excessive power in the process.

Equally, constant time pressures and other factors in the interviewing of elites pose corresponding challenges of ensuring that the interviewer has amassed sufficient experience to understand many of the subtleties, nuances and perhaps even the vocabulary of those involved. Smith (2006) observes that elites generally are more difficult to penetrate for research purposes than other groups and are better equipped to ensure their own self-protection whilst influencing research results and their dissemination. Smith however, also presents a corollary view, that elites, despite their status and ability, can also see research interviews being in every sense as challenging as for the rest of the population, as their higher status, higher accountability and the concomitant higher consequences of their actions, may be brought into

sharp focus. Whatever the particular dynamic at large, Kenny (2012) importantly observes nonetheless that the affective component of such research contributes to the imbuing of particular forms of power within organisations.

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*Researcher Vignette:*

*Personal resourcefulness in the context of managing oneself in interview transcends just pure method and often requires simple personal management. Research often has to be achieved alongside other competing priorities, with limited resources and other factors which can make a massive impact on the ability to "be present" in the research process in a way that is authentic for those interviewed and so places premium upon what is likely to be elicited in the interview process. Extracts from notes below reflect this, perhaps as well as the importance of a scholar's own self-care:*

*"This is an unusual interview in that it took me a long time to get to my ease. I recognise in part that a very long drive and early start was part of that with a lot of motorway exasperation en route. This is not someone one can be late for, not that any interviewee can be someone one can be tardy with.*

*Hospitality was limited to a single cup of tea on arrival but the interview nonetheless was friendly and open. I took something away about managing my own personal resourcefulness in these interviews and will question carefully whether I will try and do this again without the benefit of an overnight stay et cetera.*

*In an ideal world, one or is not working for oneself, and some grant aid on budgets, might have facilitated a gentler route to interview for myself than the one I felt I had to choose. I had to balance cost and operational time, as I do with most things these days.*

*That does not always lead to good personal resourcefulness. Equally with ongoing serious illness, I had been unwell in the week beforehand and I felt this reflected in my energy and ability to respond in the interview to produce erudite subsequent questioning. This is a valuable learning for me, one that seems obvious until experienced and then has*

*all sorts of subtle layers to it about one's self management, "presence" and optimisation of conditions within interview."*

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Walford (2011) suggests that interviewing elites provides a number of interesting challenges. The familiarity of those socialised to expecting a listening audience may result in interviewees talking from their own script and not necessarily responding congruently to the questions put. Equally there is the argument that "interviews with the powerful are even more difficult to interpret than most" (p. 3). The nature of the power held by the individual may confront both researcher and research project with their own views that may be at odds with those being studied. Interviewing elites also goes with the inevitable challenge of ensuring anonymity is maintained, given the specificity of some of the roles and activities within the roles. PCCs are frequently in the public eye and a considerable amount of caution is needed to ensure any reporting does not match up with for example the plethora of social and other public media that may connect and identify individuals when considered alongside one another.

It was perhaps inevitable, that the style of interview chosen, reflected not only the interviewing of elites, but the reflexive nature of the practitioner involved. Way *et al.* (2015) make reference to the danger of interview processes wherein the interviewer is so focused upon the quest for knowledge that situations are overlooked where interview participants "recognise, reflect on and sometimes create spaces for change in their own viewpoints" (p. 1). They suggest that interviewers

can themselves, bring reflexivity processes to participants in the form of interview activities that probe, encourage participant reflection and posit alternative positions, summarised under the notion of "counterfactual, prompting" (ibid. p. 8).

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*Researcher Vignette:*

*Interviewing elites poses many challenges and has been already reflected in the text above. Their availability, image and status generation along with the systems and ideologies they represent, all impact upon how an interview proceeds and how interviewee can be made to feel safe in making disclosures. The subtleties of getting rapport and trust built in interviews with people in such positions is an important skill which the study offered an opportunity for the researcher to practice in but there are always limitations, as the following reflection identified:*

*“One gained the impression however, he was a consummate politician and widely experienced. Answers were open, honest and thought out. I gained the impression however that there was a very clear public persona beyond which he would not share. Of course, this is to be respected and could be a reflection of boundaries between public and personal that are themselves a consummate management skill.”*

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### **3.5.1. Interviews and data retention:**

Wherever possible to ensure researcher orientation and issue relevance as well as reduce logistical and cost impact, observational experiences were garnered on the same day as the interview. Only in one case was an observational experience not available due to time, distance and diarisation. On two occasions, observational experiences were arranged at a date that differed from the interview. Prior to interview, a telephone call was booked by way of introduction offering a chance for valuable early familiarisation and any questions PCCs had about the process to be addressed. Notes were dictated following these interviews to assist in reflection, modify arrangements and to collate any early insights as to the themes identified in interview and their fit with PCC views.

Interviews were digitally recorded, however, after the second interview unreliable recording equipment had to be abandoned and bricolage ensued in the form of the use of an iPad with a proprietary app wherein the recording data was held 'resident' within a password secured Ipad unit and not retained on a more vulnerable Cloud based platform. Transcription files were then generated by cable connection of the iPad to a Philips dictation machine, compatible with the transcription equipment and the researchers own office. Only the researcher and his PA were permitted access to these files and the subsequent transcripts. File destruction was meticulous to ensure superfluous

recordings were not misplaced or accessed by the unauthorised, reflecting the researchers company protocols on data held under ISO 9001 and as a concomitant part of the company registration under the Data Protection Act.

Although a period of two and if possible up to three hours was brokered, in two cases this time was exceeded as a result of breaks and additional inputs from other staff. In two cases interview times were shortened due to rapid changes in the PCCs diary. Interviews took place at the PCCs Offices on every occasion.

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*Researcher Vignette:*

*The concept of fractals has an ontological view of reality that says that all systems are nested. Ken Wilber focuses upon this in "A Brief History of Everything" when he talks about phenomena being at once "Holon's", yet these entire entities are transcended and included in other complete entities. This principle reflects the fact that part of the system, however small, can throw light upon the whole system and its operation just as even small, subtle behaviours, can be indicative of more systemic issues:*

*"...we started 30 minutes late, xxx believes we have half an hour less than had been negotiated and the observational meeting itself was 10 minutes late, led me to think that there were some issues around time management that xxx could benefit from some support on. I say this not by way of criticism but by way of drawing together evidence of what leadership and support needs might be much more observable in those interviewed rather than reported by them."*

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All six key interviews had a transcript created with the interviewer's questions and comments completely stripped out, allowing a word

analysis of the core responses from all six PCCs interviewed. Quirkos does not have a word count facility and as such, a copy of Wordstat 7.1.5 from Provalis Software was deployed wherein the responses of all six interviewees were uploaded. The use of this word analysis, whilst not essential per se, was predicated more by the possible need to offer some numeric indications to PCCs post research that their interview usage was perhaps objectifiable consistent with their stated intentions towards stakeholders, in particular the public, as opposed to a means to validate findings within the research. Provalis also provides some interesting graphical representations of words used in interview, offering both a possible sense check for the researchers own processes and possibly the basis of discussion during dissemination.

### **3.5.2 The issues of research ethics, reliability and generalisability and how they are resolved in this study:**

After a copy of an initial proposal document had been circulated via APCC and subsequently interested candidates agreeing to interview, a further copy of the list of questions was sent, along with an ethical consent, emailed in advance to each candidate (Appendix 1). This was revisited at the beginning of the interview session before recording began. Interviews did not commence until this was signed.

The importance of the relational space between interviewer and interviewee was very evident in generating the intimacy and level of disclosure to provide meaningful insights, as Kvale (2006) suggests

“Creating trust through a personal relationship here serves as a means to efficiently obtain a disclosure of the interview subjects’ world” (p. 482).

Clear ethical considerations had to be reflected upon in terms of the sensitive intimate information that may have been made available in interview and the need for this to be sufficiently well-managed as to maximise the potential for authentic responses. Equally, with a low sample size, only six, only one of which was female, anonymity was important. The literature search had already made it apparent how vulnerable PCCs were to mediatisation forces and information leaked by accident or design. Hence the development of anonymized identifier codes that are reflected in this document.

After consultation, University ethical permissions were not required outside of ordinary tutorial discussion. The interviewees were seasoned political players, accountable, substantially subject to Freedom of information act requests, subject to significant levels of scrutiny and were neither vulnerable nor without experience in fielding questions into the nature, role, function and integrity of their role.

Focus was therefore made upon the ensuring of a robust confidentiality agreement and the appropriate reassurances throughout the process to ensure that confidence was maintained in the process.



Having regard to the small size of the sample and the quite intimate nature of the interview, some of these quotes are necessarily redacted in terms of location or other key identifying factors to maintain anonymity within this work. A simple differentiation code was developed for each interviewee that allowed quotations cited here to be collectively associated with the interviewee whilst preserving anonymity.

A real challenge in the formation of this work was a recognition that a purely qualitative study, if it was to have any meaning to policymakers, PCCs and others, would need some of the qualitative elements of the findings translated into the cognitive dimensions of policymakers. These tend to be what might be best described as 'econometric' in nature, often disregarding the full nature of the richness and textured nuances of the narrative. There are some encouraging perceptions in academic circles that the deployment of narrative often influences policymakers in a subtle way. However, whilst the human-interest story can sensitise, the need for pragmatic, often quite simple strategies that must be juxtaposed against available resources and political imperatives can result in the triumph of more statistical based input that lends itself to "evidence based" approaches that are justifiable managerially over the qualitative aspects the research can bring to bear. It is one thing for a research methodology to look at the researchers own situated views in relation to the matter under research. Arguably, however, research that is around management and

leadership functions often requires a translation process that is appreciative of the situatedness, constraints, cognitive and conative structures of research recipients and reflexive in relation to the weltanschauungen of those in the world of policy and organisational praxis.

The researcher's own ability to be able to account for these biases and communicate findings that tap into the relevancy frames is therefore an essential function of the reflexive process wherein the researcher becomes effectively a mediator between the studied and key actors in the field in which they reside. Within the context of management research, there is a dynamic tension to ensure that the boundary between research and strategy/outcome is closely monitored from the positions of ethics and communication excellence.

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*Researcher Vignette:*

*The situatedness of the research can be highly relevant in relation to issues such as gender, both in the context of the culture of the organisation being investigated, as well as the gender of the interviewer/interviewee and the interactions that take place therein. Only one PCC within the study was female, no others having volunteered. Reflections that followed that interview were as follows:*

*“Another observation I made whilst there was the fact that in common with all organisations, there is an element of gendering. The Police are inevitably “gendered” male and here we have a female PCC. I am cognizant of mild criticisms by other male PCCs inside and outside the study I have seen in relation to XX. Equally the focus on yet another female PCC was arguably justified in the circumstances but one wonders if this is also a gender biased focus. Then there is my gender in the interview process. This is an easily dismissible dynamic in the*

*process of eliciting information, but I realise perhaps I have maintained the perspective of “equal opportunities in the past, but in reality it is far more subtle. In clinical work, I am sensitised to this as a supervision issue. In a research context, this is both an important supervision issue and one of reflexive practice”.*

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### **3.5.3 Summary of Tools used in the process:**

These may be subdivided into Physical and Analytical and do not include library facilities.

#### **Physical:**

Emails, document share, agreements, interview outlines, digital voice recorders, including iPad.

#### **Analytical:**

MindManager Version 7 from Mindjet – used for mind mapping both in the construction of themes emerging from the literature review and the refinement of codes emerging from initial assessment of interviews;

Quirkos software – used to provide qualitative data analysis within a CADQAS style approach;

QDA Miner from Provalis– used as a general restante for interviews to allow Wordstat software to interact;

Wordstat from Provalis – used to analyse word count, produced tables and comparative word graphic (Table 4.2, p. 52).

Wordle: a proprietary freeware package that allowed the generation of word clouds illustrated in this document (Table 4.1, p. 51).

### **3.6 Chapter Summary:**

In summary, themes identified in the literature search indicated the breadth and complexity of the PCCs role juxtaposed against the social history of the police, issues of politicisation, media impact, governance requirements and neoliberal developments within society that must both factor in both austerity and increasing localism. Ensuring access to what is effectively a political elite group, ensuring appropriate confidentiality and setting a climate for open disclosure, lent itself to a qualitative approach that is necessarily interpretivist. Given the breadth of factors and the subjective experiences these engender.

The literature search also produced many contemporary sources that indicated the complex, evolving environment PCCs work within which would form the definition of "wicked" management challenges. It was therefore important to have a methodology that had the flexibility of approach to both examine issues identified within the literature search and capture emergent themes encapsulated within the PCCs experience.

The use of qualitative analysis software is a bridge to draw together incremental iterations of codes appeared to be the best route to balance these factors recognising also, the findings may need econometric reduction from the pure qualitative in order to potentially influence policymakers in the future.

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## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Data Analysis**

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#### **4.1 Introduction:**

This chapter presents the results from the thematic content analyses of the semi-structured interviews involving six PCCs. It is important to note that the names of PCCs have been fully anonymised as explained in Chapter 3 – Research methodology. The procedure for the content analysis (using a predetermined set of codes emanating from the literature review in Chapter 2), has been described in detail in Chapter 3.

The remaining part of the chapter is divided into five sections. The first section presents the results from a word frequency analysis of the core responses from all six PCCs interviewed. This is followed by a brief description of the relationship between the words used by the six PCCs. The second section Mindmanager 7 to identify an association between the main research themes relating to how PCCs perceive their leadership and management roles. Further, more rigorous content analysis was carried out using Quirkos software to construct a Quirkos project.

Section three discusses the associations between the key themes and sub-themes and how they help achieve the research objectives (RO1, RO2), thereby answering the research question (RQ1). The final

section provides a chapter summary and a link to the next chapter on the discussion of findings.

#### **4.2 Word frequency analysis of interview transcripts and description of the relationship between the words used the six PCCs:**

Whilst the most frequently recurring references are explored in text below (p. 108), the full word frequency analysis of the six interviews is as shown in Appendix 2 (p. 287), due to its size. Word usage frequency varied from 505 incidences for 'police' (Line or Row 1) down to 9 incidences for 'coming'. Standard analysis defaults within Provalis were retained to strip out all words with syntactic functions (e.g. "a", "and", "the", etc.) to ease analysis. Wordstat Software normally defaults on incidences of 10 references or less, this was reset to 9 for added robustness. Words with incidences lower than 8 were discounted due the sheer volume of those involved.

A word cloud reflects this analysis graphically, Figure 4.1, p. 131, which is augmented by another view in Figure 4.2, p. 132.





Figure 4.2

Wordstat generated word continuum of all words based on frequency (barring syntactic pre-exclusions such as “and”/”a”, etc.):

Source: Provalis Wordstat Software

**POLICE** PEOPLE THING PCC CHIEF WORK TIME PUBLIC AUTHORITY SORT  
ROLE YEAR LOT MAKE SERVICE GOOD CONSTABLE LOCAL AREA BIT CRIME COMMUNITY FORCE INTEREST  
VIEW OFFICE PARTY JOB POLICING LABOUR DAY YORKSHIRE HAPPEN MEETING COUNCIL DECISION BIG TALK POLITICAL  
RUN PART GOVERNMENT OFFICER PROBLEM SET START DIFFICULT ISSUE DEAL MEMBER FACT ELECTION STAFF STUFF CALL NORTH  
HOLD UNDERSTAND INDIVIDUAL DELIVER ELECT MONTH RELATIONSHIP ABSOLUTELY CHANGE MEDIUM CHALLENGE LEVEL PLACE POWER  
TERM CASE GREAT MONEY POINT COUNTY FEEL MP COMMISSIONER ORGANISATION BRING KIND PERSON RESPONSIBILITY SUPPORT HOME STAND  
EXPERIENCE MOMENT SYSTEM CHAIR END FORWARD IMPORTANT INVOLVE LEAVE PAY PROCESS REAL WEEK BUSINESS COUNTRY MOVE PLAN SIT  
SUPPOSE TEAM WIN BOARD MIND DEVELOP HUGE NATIONAL POLICY UNDERSTANDING CLEAR COMMITTEE COUNCILLOR GROUP HIGH QUESTION  
BACKGROUND BASE CONCERN FAIRLY MEET NUMBER ACCOUNT APPROACH EARLY OPERATE WEST ABILITY CLEVELAND CONSERVATIVE LONG  
PROFESSIONAL REPORT SENIOR BUDGET DRIVE EXECUTIVE INTERVIEW LIFE MINISTER PRETTY SPEND TRUST WRONG DEPUTY INDEPENDENT KEY POSITION  
ACCOUNTABILITY COMPLETELY HEALTH SAFETY DIFFERENCE HARD LEADER REMEMBER SECRETARY WORLD AGO COMPLAINT DRUG VICTIM COMPANY FOCUS HAND  
LONDON SENSE SITUATION STRATEGIC TORY WORD COUPLE DEPARTMENT HEAD SCHOOL SPEAK TURN COST DIRECTION FIRE IDEA POLITICIAN ROUND SMALL  
STRUCTURE THAME ASPECT COLLEAGUE PREPARE SIDE SKILL SLIGHTLY CANDIDATE GOVERNANCE HALF MILLION POLITICS REASON REPRESENT RESOURCE  
TRAINING ULTIMATELY AGREE CAMPAIGN DIFFICULTY EXPECT FUNDING GENERAL HONEST LIVE MAYOR PANEL PARTNER PERSONAL PRIORITY RESEARCH TEN WRITE  
BEHALF BURGLARY CLOSE DERBYSHIRE DOOR GUESS LINE MAJOR OPEN OPPORTUNITY PAPER PROVIDE SPEED VALLEY VOTE ANSWER BAD BASICALLY BASIS  
CENTRAL DEGREE EDUCATION ENGAGE FAIR FULL LEADERSHIP OPINION STOP YOUNG AGENDA ASSOCIATION BUILDING CHILD CRITICAL DECIDE DIRECT FUNNILY  
FUTURE HOUR INTRODUCE PROPERLY RESULT STREET AWFUL CITY CONTROL COUNT FACE INSTANCE LARGE LEARN MANAGE MODEL NHS PERFORMANCE PUBLISH  
RANGE RISK TENSION TOP TOTALLY TWENTY ABUSE ACT AGENCY APPOINT COMMENT COMMISSION CONSEQUENCE CONVERSATION ELEMENT HUNDRED LEARNING LOCALLY  
MASSIVE OPERATIONAL REFLECT REGION STRAIGHT WOMAN BALANCE CABINET CAREFUL CRIMINAL EXEC EXPLAIN FIFTY HAPPY LOW MPH PRESS RAISE RESPECT RING RURAL SEEK  
SOCIAL ACTIVITY BUREAUCRACY COMPLETE CUT DIRECTLY DISCUSS DISCUSSION DOCUMENT EAST ENVIRONMENT FRONT JUSTICE KNOWLEDGE LEAD LISTEN MINUTE NEWSPAPER  
PAST PERIOD PICK REST REVIEW ROAD SAVE WORKS AMOUNT CATCH COLLABORATE COMMIT CONTACT COVER DEPEND ENGAGEMENT EVIDENCE FAMILY FANTASTIC FIGURE FILE  
FORM HOPE HOUSE LACK MATTER MORNING NEWS NIGHT PARTNERSHIP POPULATION RESPONSE SECTOR SHORT STATION STORY STRONG STUPID THOUSAND TRANSPARENT  
UNIVERSITY ACCOUNTABLE ANN BARNE BODY BROAD DELIVERY DEVELOPMENT EXTENT FAIL GENERALLY HELL IDEALLY IMPROVE INFLUENCE JOHN JULIA MANCHESTER MARK  
MENTAL POSITIVE POST POUND RADIO REALISE RID SCRUTINY SELECT STRATEGY STYLE TAX THIRTY TRUE WALK ADVICE BLOODY BUILD CHAIRMAN CONSTRAIN CONSULTATION  
COURT DETAIL DOMESTIC DROP EASY EFFECT EFFECTIVE EFFECTIVELY ENSURE EXPRESS FORMAL GROUND HISTORY HIT HUGELY INHERIT LETTER LOAD MAIN MENTION  
NECESSARILY NEIGHBOURHOOD OPPOSE ORDER PA PERSPECTIVE PHONE PIECE POSSIBLY POWERFUL PRIVATE PROGRESS REASONABLE REQUIRE SERVE SHOCK SHOW SIMILAR  
SIMPLE SOUTH SPACE STAGE STAKEHOLDER STANDARD SUCCESSFUL SURVEY SUSPECT TODAY TOWN WATCH ARMY BOOK BRIEFING BRILLIANT CAPABLE CARE CENTRE CHOICE  
CONFERENCE CULTURE DAILY DEBATE DERBY DURHAM DYNAMIC EXTREMELY FASCINATE FEELING FINANCE FORTY FREE HIGHLY HOUSEHOLD HR INCREASE LARGELY LINK MAN  
MANAGEMENT PARLIAMENT PLAY PRACTICE PREVIOUS RATE REDUCE RESPOND SACK SCALE SEXUAL SHAPE SIMPLY SIZE STRENGTH SUPPORTIVE TEND VULNERABLE WASTE WIDE  
ACTION AGE AIR ARGUE ARGUMENT ARTICLE ASSISTANT AUSTERITY BEAT BEHAVE BENEFIT BOY COMPARE CONSTRUCTIVE COP CORNER CORPORATE CREATE DAVID DEAD DEMAND

The most frequently recurring references from Appendix 2 - word frequency analysis, are set out below:

In Line/Row 1, as might be expected, "**Police**" would form the most frequent reference given the nature of the role and its key focus upon governance of local police forces. Equally, PCCs themselves are the subject matter of interview and so it was likely that they would have high levels of recurrence.

In Line 2, the use of "**People**" was second to that of "**Police**" (288/505 or 57%). However, when added to what might be viewed as other like references this changed. "**Public**" as the terms were used interchangeably throughout the interview, the total for references to, the public at large increases to 467 references. Add further the term "**Community**" to this and that total makes references to the public at large totalling 537 references (or 106% of the level of "**Police**" reference).

In Line 3 the term "**PCC**", was used almost universally used in interview by those seen as opposed to the term "**Police and Crime Commissioner**", as perhaps may be expected of a community of practice developing their own terminology. The term "**Commissioner**" being linked to the term "**Police**" on as few as 27 occasions across the interviews.

In Line 4, the references to "**Chief**" which was often but not always accompanied with the term constable, was fourth in terms of frequency and perhaps reflects the interface which is discussed throughout this document.

In Line 7, "**Time**" was mentioned a total of 176 times across the interviews and although this would be used colloquially as a temporal predicate to the sentence construction, time demands upon PCCs did feature significantly throughout the interview as a key resource and constraint.

In Lines 19 and 21, in terms of political references, "**Labour**" was mentioned 93 times with "**Party**" 92. "**Conservative**" was mentioned 23 times by contrast. In part this could be accounted for by the ratio of Labour to Conservative PCCs which was 2 to 1. Labour Party antipathy however, towards the role of PCC, nonetheless was a common item raised across the interviews.

Terms such as "**Accountability**"(28), "**Accountable**" (11) and "**Account**"(32) were totalled with 71 references in combination, the latter frequently embodied in the expression "held to account" or similar sentence structure. Also, the terms "**Government**" and "**Political**" featured 149 times in total, possibly reflecting the significant role of political influences. Interestingly, "**Media**" featured only on 48 occasions, despite the intense level of discussion and experience that

was shared during the interviews. This is possibly because references to the media typically took place in the context of other complex narratives and the media impact upon these. Equally there were references to specific media, such as a publication name or Internet based platform. References of “**Papers**” (11) “**Radio**” (11) and “**News**” (12) may also be seen to contribute to references to media issues although the latter term was used conversationally also.

Word counts, of themselves, always come with ‘health warnings’ of in-house jargon, the repeated themes of elites and selective interpretation bias, along with the potential for the terms to be “semantically packed (i.e. multiple meanings in terms of participant situatedness and connotation). Nonetheless, whilst absolute inferences cannot be directly made from this exercise alone, the process nonetheless may provide contrast when weighed with other information gained.

In summary, whilst there always needs to be caution on word counts, the PCCs predominate word usage relates to the public they serve primarily with references to the organisation they oversee as a secondary usage factor. References to the incumbent factors for the role such as policing and crime exceed such terms as “**political**”. The next section provides a more rigorous thematic analysis of the words used by relating them to the thesis’ key research themes/questions.

### **4.3 Identifying the relationships between the main research themes using Mindmanager 7 and Quirkos software:**

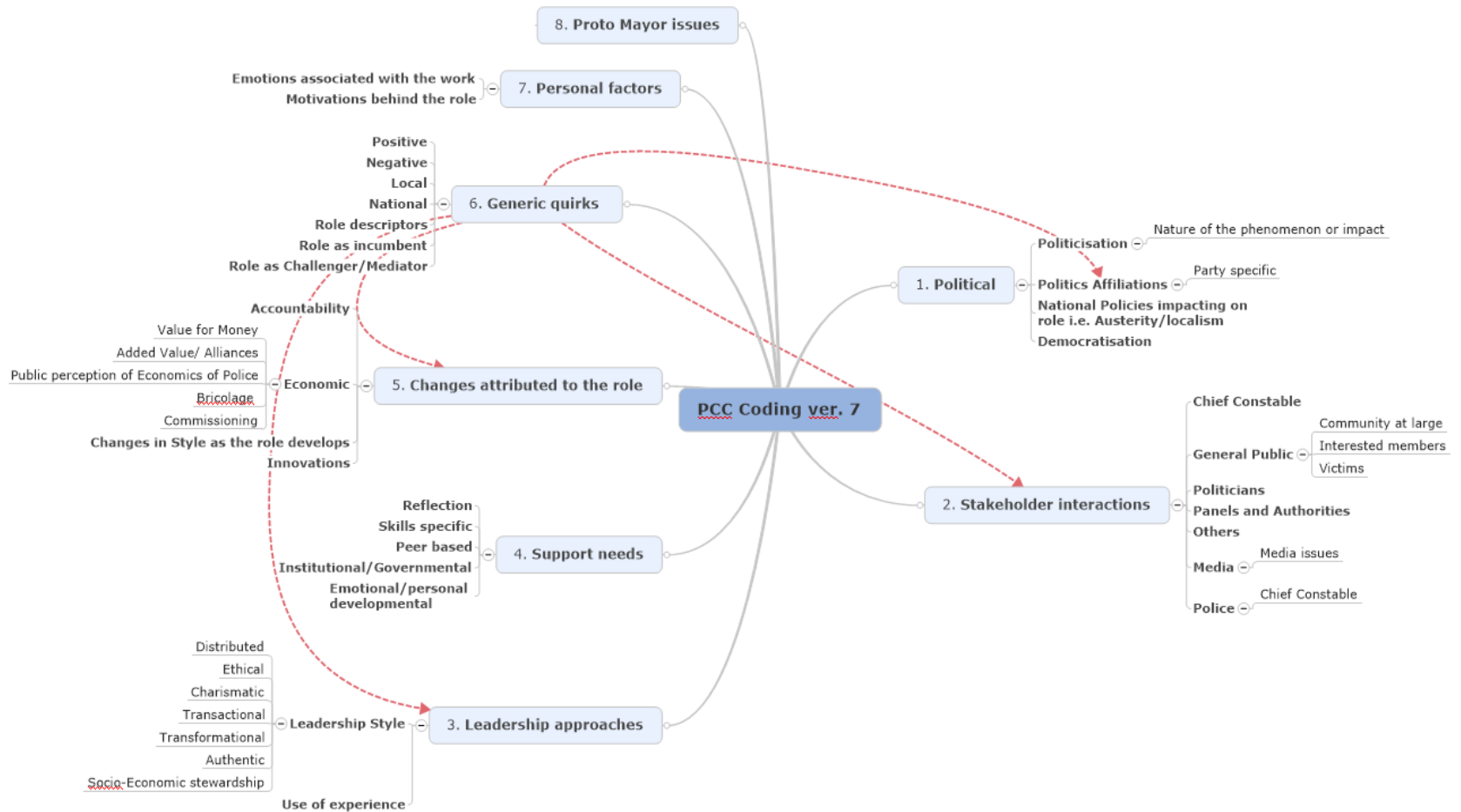
A basic open coding was developed around the themes identified in the literature search and modified iteratively in consultation with tutorial staff using Mindmanager 7 by Mindjet, the seventh iteration of which is set out in Figure 4.3 below:

This final iteration i.e. PCC Coding Mindmanager Version 7 in Figure 4.3, p.127, informed the decision to use Quirkos software to assist the data analysis and the experience of attempting to code initially under the open codes emanating from the initial literature review. From this a Quirkos project was constructed. Each section of the findings will detail the codes where relevant, however, a global overview is presented as within Quirkos in Figure 4.4, p.138. More logical structuring can be seen in the alternative tabulation view Quirkos generates as shown in Figure 4.5, p. 139, which was the key coding platform.

Figure 4.3

Thematic content analysis of interview transcripts

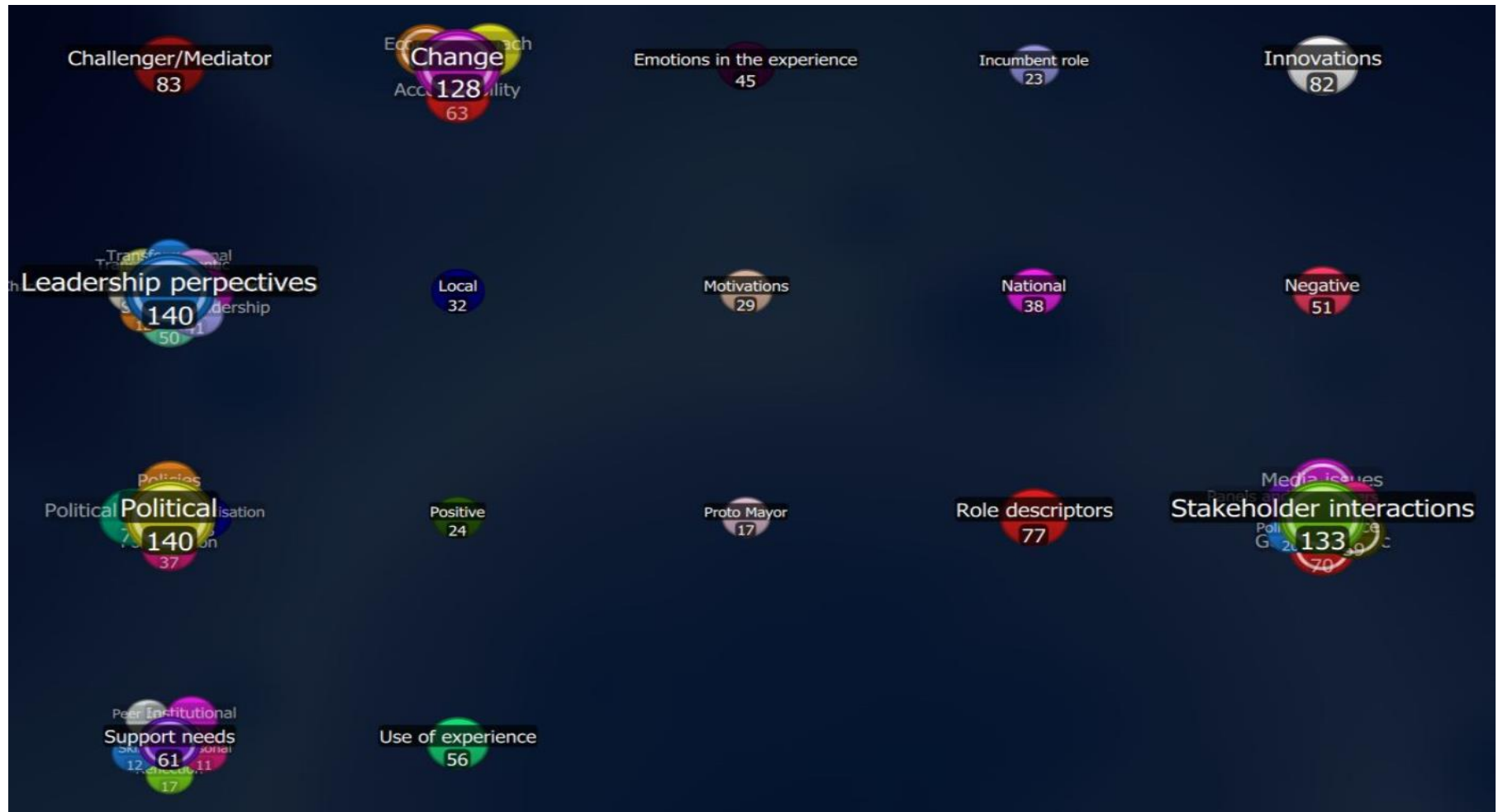
Source: Mindmanager 7 by Mindjet



**Figure 4.4**

Further content analysis using Quirkos Software

Source: Quirkos Software





**Figure 4.5**  
 Logical Structuring of the Key Research Themes using Quirkos Software  
 Source: Quirkos





A few codes proved less helpful in analysis, for example, 'local' and 'national' as only in a few instances was there significant clarity between the two as other factors overlapped these.

Figure 4.3 identifies eight (8) sub-themes linked to the how PCCs see their leadership and management role: (1) political; (2) stakeholder interactions; (3) leadership approaches; (4) support needs; (5) changes attributed to the role; (6) generic quirks; (7) personal factors; and (8) proto-Mayor issues. These associations are briefly described below and discussed in detail in the next chapter.

#### **(1) Political influences on PCCs role:**

The results reveal four (4) key factors impacting on the influence politics has on role of PCCs, namely, 'political affiliations (party specific)', 'politicisation (nature or impact)', 'national policies (austerity/localism) and 'democratisation'. It is also evident that 'generic quirks' are associated to 'political affiliations'.

#### **(2) Stakeholder interactions and the role of PCCs:**

The results reveal seven (7) key factors impacting on the influence of stakeholder interactions on the role of PCCs, namely, 'Chief constables', 'general public' e.g. the community, interested members, victims', 'politicians', 'panels and authorities', 'media', 'police' and

'others'. It is also evident that 'generic quirks' are associated to 'stakeholder interactions'.

### **(3) Leadership approaches and the role of PCCs:**

The results reveal a range of seven key management approaches undertaken. Both the literature and precursor discussions pointed to leadership approaches that included distributed, servant, socio-economic and authentic styles of leadership and ethical approaches. Charismatic/idiosyncratic/individual styles also feature and a distinction is made between transactional and transformational leadership behaviours attempting to encapsulate both the need for governance suffused with change. It was evident, that many leadership behaviours would not fit a clear taxonomy without overlap and a generic leadership behaviour quirk was identified.

### **(4) Support needs:**

The results suggest that five areas of support needs were evident. Again due to potential for overlap, generic quirk was developed with subsets. A 'Specific skills' code was developed to capture skills specific training and support needs that might be formally delivered however, as support needs around the development of leaders is multifarious, the support of peers and the support of organisations through what might be termed 'institutional' support was also evident. Finally, opportunities

for reflection and review along with specific emotional and personal support needs were also evident.

**(5) Changes attributed to the role:**

The results suggest that three key strands of change brought about by the role were apparent including accountability, economic changes and stylistic changes. Of economic changes five subsets were apparent including value for money, added value alliances, perceptions of economy, use of creative collage in relation to economic intervention and commissioning of services.

**(6) Generic quirks:**

The results indicated the need for several generic quirks to be developed during the data analysis. Positive and negative, national and local quirks were developed to attempt to juxtapose with other data, however, there was significant overlap as much of the data resulting in these polarities was of limited value. Two quirks were developed to the incumbent and challenger/mediator role. Additionally, the re-interview results demonstrated extensive use of experience.

**(7) Personal factors:**

Motivational and emotional dimension to the PCC experience features

in the results. The generic quirks would also develop around specific innovations as many named projects became apparent in the results, which also indicated many statements of role description and the use of previous experience in undertaking the role

**(8) Proto-Mayor issues:**

Finally, the results drew many parallels to proposed Mayoral initiatives.

**4.4 Chapter Summary:**

This chapter summarises the framework for the data analysis and the development of codes expressed as quirks within the software through which the information was gained both from the literature review and interviews.

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### Findings

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#### 5.1 Introduction:

This chapter discusses the key findings emanating from the data analysis in Chapter 4, by reference to the research question and in light of contemporary development in the leadership and management role of PCCs in England and Wales. It adopts an interpretivist understanding of the associations between the eight (8) sub-themes identified in the study: (1) political; (2) stakeholder interactions; (3) leadership approaches; (4) support needs; (5) changes attributed to the role; (6) generic quirks; (7) personal factors; and (8) proto mayor issues, to describe how PCCs in England and Wales see their leadership and management role in a fast-changing dynamic 21<sup>st</sup> Century policing and crime prevention environment.

The remaining part of the chapter is divided into five sections. The first section, discusses how PCCs define their leadership and management role, in terms of their motivation and previous experience. After a turbulent start born of rapid implementation, debates over democratic legitimacy and unprecedented media forces, PCCs would appear to access the public and influence local agendas far more than their predecessor governance structures. The second section, argues that PCCs organisationally separate, but nonetheless dyadic role with Chief Constables, appears mediated by their ultimate accountability to the electorate in the communities they serve. The third section reveals that

early experiences of PCCs were in many cases avoidably turbulent and institutional, skills and other support needs of PCCs have yet to crystallise, but insights still have been gained. The fourth section, posits that PCCs as significant change agents offer both a proto experience for proposed mayoral strategies being introduced by government. The final section provides a chapter summary and a link to the next chapter on the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

## **5.2 Political: Political affiliations:**

None of the PCCs interviewed, were politically "independent", being derived from either Labour or Conservative party affiliation. The extent of that affiliation varied significantly between those PCCs who were effectively career politicians and those who had been political in a personal change, such as retirement and/or developed emergent political connections across their career. In the case of one PCC who was previously a serving high-ranking police officer, politics of any connection had been precluded as a result of the ethical approaches adopted to a police career. In the case of this interviewee, retirement activity as a local councillor was being sought, as the PCC role began to foment in legislation. It is apparent, however, that many informal political connections can be and are developed by former serving police officers, derived from political exposure during their operational career.

Political connections featured heavily in many of the PCCs roots to

seeking election. A number had previous connection with police authorities and selected to seek election or were encouraged to seek election as the role of the PCC evolved. Reliance on a particular political affiliation was significant. Independent candidates were a minority post-election and there is some evidence to suggest that although PCCs are a post that anyone can occupy, the support and infrastructure of political parties are significant in improving a candidate's success. It is to notice, that the 2016 elections saw the elimination of all but three independent candidates who stood, in favour of those connected with political parties:

*"My election campaign team was basically senior councillors from four authorities and the MP office's and trade unions etc. so I had a readymade campaign team." S1*

The power and uniqueness of the PCC role was consistently perceived by all of those interviewed. They recognise that their role stands across a whole range of other political systems creating both geographical anomaly and relational complexity:

*"Councillors have ward responsibility for that particular locality and they may have a position of responsibility within the council for perhaps chairing a planning committee or a scrutiny committee or they could be serving on the cabinet of a council so they might have a defined area of responsibility and that's probably the limits of their power. A member of parliament has no responsibility in some respects in that they pick up the case work on behalf of individual constituents. They vote collectively to make laws and make decisions but again unless you are a member of the cabinet you don't have any executive responsibility." S2*

Equally as a recognition of their mandate being predicated on an

extremely low turnout during the original November 2012 elections this was frequently contrasted with other election turnouts and subject to contrastive analysis with other political roles:

*"I got 36,000 votes which is more than any MP in xxxxxxxx and I got a larger majority but I think if we look at what are the key traits in this I think that as a leader PCCS need to have a vision what it is they really want to be delivering." S3*

*"I still feel as though I got a mandate because I got 120,000 votes which is more than any other elected politician in this area, so you know there is some issues around the process of the election itself." S4*

*"The difficulty we have got with PCCs in terms of labour party is there's a tribal aspect to it. The Tories introduced it therefore we must be opposed to it." S5*

There was a distinct sense that PCCs had not been given due latitude on the national political front given the antipathy towards the post by in particular, the Labour Party. Whilst that position was almost universally held there was a belief that the PCCs had become caught up in macro-political arguments that somehow failed to acknowledge the true value of the role and what it has delivered. Those PCCs with labour affiliations in particular, felt a particular sense of "double bind" wherein the post was subject to the frustrations of being summarily judged, politically "endangered" and in danger of being lost in terms of its benefits. The post seen to be an exemplar of tensions between political parties who at a national level were seen to be at odds over the relative merits of austerity and anti-austerity strategies in relation to the economy:



*"That exposes the kind of worst aspects of the party. I will always be a Labour party member and it's a vehicle for social changes, it's done some fantastic things and we wouldn't have certain things without the Labour party but there are other aspects of it where I think this is kind of shallow and they are not being honest and objective." S6*

*"So for example was it last year's Labour party conference in Manchester when you know Ministers and MP'S get up and say of course we will do away with all these profligate PCCs what a waste of money etc, etc. in life, when you are there stood in the crowd if you like, listening to that. It is not a great feeling." S7*

A number of Labour PCCs produced an article for party consumption entitled "Letting in the Light", an anthology of thoughts and case studies about the efficacy of the role. Contributors to this publication were amongst those interviewed and it became apparent that this was an attempt to provide political advocacy for a role that was offering PCCs at the time considerable opportunity to effect change. There was, however, some evidence that Labour had also had to accommodate the role of the PCCs, given their inability to form government, it was unlikely their plans for alternatives would occur foreseeably.

*"I have to hand it to the Tories they have been very clever in the way their strategy around all this appears to be put into place and you know they have got the upper hand. You know you can't see that changing anytime soon." S8*

Although PCCs often relied heavily upon political affiliation and connection in relation to their own personal pathway to acquiring the role, it has become extremely apparent that almost all, in serving the brief that focuses upon the primacy of community, have had to adopt politically neutral stances to serve the population effectively. Whilst this is reminiscent of the position of MPs who must serve their entire

population with equanimity irrespective of party membership and/or vote attraction, the PCCs relationship with the community has many facets, which will be discussed further:

*"I never call myself a Labour PCC because I know that I probably have as much support from non – Labour voters as I have got from Labour voters. I am not intending to alienate anybody." S9*

### **5.2.1 Politicisation:**

The fact that the Police, as a service nationally is effectively a politicised service, was tacit across all interviews. The politicisation of the PCC role was evident by both diverging views in relation to its raison d'être across the political parties as has already been discussed. It was clear, however, that the sensitivity of the public in relation to perceived political interference was a concern amongst many. PCCs generally agreed about the deteriorating relationship between the police and the public and central political influences as having been corrosive over many years.

Nonetheless, the PCCs were very clear that their role was a political one, both as an active player in political arenas and the inevitability of the nature of the role itself:

*"You know dogs are crapping on the street there has got to be a policy decision taken whether we actually clear it up or not but the very definition if it is a policy decision it is political." S10*

That said, politics incumbent within the PCC role, were often perceived

around the geographical location of PCCs territories rather than the political divisions within them. PCCs in charge of large force areas, had to cope with large complex in-area political networks whilst at the same time, containing such population densities as to remain of major interest to government:

*"I think it is you know; it is one of the few things where there is more localism which is sort of a good cry these days. The PCCs that represent their area, they don't represent their political party and I said, I also said this it is quite interesting that almost the biggest political division ...is not between different parties it's between those running big police forces and those running small police forces". S11*

Just as politicisation looks at the nature of political influence within society, influences towards democratisation occupy effectively the same ideological stable. PCCs, as seen from some of the quotes already outlined above, gained considerably more mandate from the population than many comparable MPs or councillors within the political process.

The opportunity to bring politics down to a local level was generally held to be a good thing as it facilitated opportunity for local people to actively influence the policing agenda and create a stronger sense of local accountability.

*"At the heart of it all though is again this role of democratising policing and again that is where I think that as a PCC you have to be that honest broker in that democratisation." S12*

This "honest broker" approach, the quote above alludes to, is

particularly poignant. One key finding that comes from this study is that the overwhelming majority of PCCs despite their political allegiance, see their role as one that requires incumbents to be personally politically neutral to serve the communities in which they are based. This means taking to heart the needs of the community and counterbalancing those needs against government policies which are often at variance.

PCCs sense of accountability to the electorate appeared from the interviews to be "very correct". They accepted their tenure was very much about results, borne both from their commitment to the communities they served and the very tenuous nature of the role itself in the political environment of its early years. A focus upon the community was considered central to the success of the role. It encapsulated not only government localism focus but also reflected the need to address the early low uptake by the population on the role itself. As one PCC shared, large numbers of spoiled ballot papers reflected many people's ambivalence towards them.

The ability to effectively dismiss a PCC through the ballot box was seen as the primary accountability mechanism over and above any action of the Police and Crime Panels. Equally, the debate was evident in some of the interviews relating to whether deputy PCCs, where appointed, should also run on a "dual ticket" ensuring an extension of the democratic process to the deputy PCC, who would be expected to

assume the position in the event of the incumbent PCC being unable to continue in role, a situation that has occurred on a couple of occasions, such as when PCC Shaun Wright resigned and the unfortunate death of another PCC. This has not as yet received central support.

Allegations of cronyism around key appointments within the PCC office, most notably the deputy and chief executive, were seen by some PCCs as potentially assuaged by these measures although also created the inevitable issues of "joint ticketing" complicating the choice of candidates who seek election as a pre-established management couple/dyad.

One might argue that the very ambivalence towards the role from the political classes and the public alike set a premium upon PCCs being highly effective with a strong focus upon increasing their visibility to the public at large. Indeed, this dynamic tension appears to have been in part the imperative behind a significant amount of innovation as PCCs sought to make their mark on the landscape. They did not enjoy cross-party consensus, were viewed by some as another layer of administration at times of austerity by a questioning, media savvy public, and had to provide governance to a police force that has historically been resistant to change.

### 5.3 Stakeholder Involvement:

Several codes were developed to attempt to encompass the wide stakeholder interface the PCC must maintain which are as follows:

- General Stakeholder interaction with subsets of:
  - The general public, with additional subsets of:
    - Communities – Specific groups or geographical locations;
    - Interested parties - Those with a specific cause/concerns;
    - Victims – Those subject to criminal or anti-social victimisation.
  - Politicians - Those with an elected right to interface with the PCC;
  - Panels and Authorities - Originally to include Police and Crime Panels solely but predecessor structures were referred to frequently as to require inclusion;
  - Others – Parties who did not logically fit other categories, e.g. Civil servants;
  - Media Issues - relationships with the media in their broadest form;
    - Media Influence - Experience wherein the media was seen as a direct influence/consideration as a social player;
  - Representatives of Local Authorities etc.;
  - Police - All police interaction other than the Chief Constable with the subset:
    - Chief Constable

### 5.3.1 The Public, Communities and Victims:

By far the greatest level of stakeholder intervention was with the general public at large. Coding was set up to try and differentiate the public from the “at large” population with those that might feature within specific "communities". Whilst elements of the interviews did have specific focus on certain key communities on a case-by-case basis where referring to particular innovations or geographically focused initiatives, or issues, PCCs colloquial handling of the terms “Communities” and the “General Public” were virtually synonymous in every other respect:

*"I think that the core at the heart of it is that engagement with the community." S13*

As stated, virtually without exception, PCCs saw themselves as a critical interface between the police and the community. The case of larger PCC areas, that interface was in some cases effected more by staff than by the PCC in person due to the large population, geographical size and sheer numbers of organisations and overlapping systems in the areas described. Nonetheless with PCCs, whatever the subtleties of delivery, there was a real sense of seeing the public as central to everything they did. Perhaps more subtly, they saw themselves as a crucial conduit of public concerns and experiences with the local serving force which in many cases, was seen as a powerful entity by the public. The PCC office could allow people to be more effectively heard:

*"it is about being that broker between the individual or the small community group and the power house that is the police service." S14*

The centrality of the role of the PCC has led to extensive levels of public consultation. In many cases, one gained a sense that the PCCs felt they were arguably interfacing far more intensely with the public than others involved in local politics. It became apparent that the "apolitical" nature of the PCCs interest, described earlier, was seen as key to successful engagement. Although politicians need to be represent all, in reality, voting patterns are often around tribal/investigate associational boundaries or traditional party allegiances in any given area. The purview of the PCCs however, was to become known by the public and better understood for the role they provided. One gains the sense, from all the interviews, that this gave an added impetus for the PCCs to penetrate the consciousness of localities as well as demonstrate the particular added value their role and function offered:

*"I have done over 240 community meetings since I have been elected no MP or councillor has done anywhere near that.....my diary, my expenses, my forward plan, my day to day activities are all documented so I would argue that there is no one more accessible or accountable than I am." S15*

Although this is developed in a further section, it is worthy of note here that PCCs were generally fairly critical of former police authorities, even if they had previously served upon them, particularly in the context of Authorities' inability to link with the public and in any way be responsive or accountable thereto.



PCCs generally felt that public centred services were absolutely critical. There was an acknowledgement that sometimes the police have to be involved in areas that are not immediately apparent to the public which means that decisions often have to be made that are counterintuitive to the public will. Several examples were given. Cybercrime, drugs operations and others are areas into which the public only has a limited view of complex networks and chains that require a multiplicity of detection and investigative approaches which are often not seen by the public. This would render the public unable to necessarily have a full appreciation of how their perceived priority would be weighed against these more covert ones. Nonetheless, involving the public, shaping services around their needs and at least involving them effectively in the decision-making process, accepting that ultimately strategic decisions needed to be made, were central. Indeed, they were so central, as to effectively make the public an active player in the determination of police priorities:

*"Do we provide the right services, are the services shaped around the needs of the public rather than the organisations so for me that is what it is all about." S16*

Equally holding the police to account on the public's behalf and acknowledging the relationship with taxpayers as the ultimate payees of law enforcement services was also apparent across all interviews in some measure:

*"I am going to hold the Chief Constable to account I am doing it on behalf of the public and bringing the public's voice into that discussion. I am looking at the use of money on behalf of the public." S17*

Many PCCs, had a particular focus on the vulnerable in communities. This reflected the targeting of limited resources to greatest need and also a recognition that those vulnerable people within the community are often less proactive or in some cases, positively disenfranchised from being in a position to inform processes that could result in police related services better impacting upon their lot. In many interviews, the term vulnerable and victims were almost synonymous and used interchangeably:

*"ensuring that really the individual the vulnerable individuals within our communities and the broader community feelings are effectively represented and given some real, if you wish, meaning." S18*

It was also recognised that the police is not an insensitive organisation that are non-responsive to the public, However, sometimes the role of the PCC is to support the police in refocusing and re-prioritising on things that are ecological to the needs of the community against central demands and imperatives that have perhaps clouded the local forces ability to respond.

In this respect, the PCC has a role in establishing priorities not only in terms of the competing demands coming from communities, but the competing demands from macro systems, such as government that place a heavy demand upon time and resources:

*"There is still a way to go with it but, so there, but also a, just a, you see the police want to provide a good service to victims that is one of the reasons why they want to be police officers to catch bad guys and protect people but the sort of realities of the day job get in the way."*  
S19

Perceptions of victims in a "here and now" sense was striking in one particular interview when relating to issues of historical sexual abuse. This phenomenon was focused upon because it raised a range of issues in relation to: the role and function of the police; the historical nature of justice; the appropriate use of limited resources; perceptions in terms of victims; the possibility of few legal remedies being available. This might derive from the: none capture; corruption; loss/non-availability of evidence over time; or the decease of alleged perpetrators. Historical sexual abuse is a major concern for PCCs as on the one hand, there is the dichotomy of responding to the public and victims, for the failure to give victims credence in the past over the voices of the powerful. On the other hand, this must be contrasted against the need for sufficient evidence to achieve justice through conviction. In an age of, what the author would coin as, "person centred" policing, where individual rights are increasingly paramount, the opening and reinvestigation of historic cases may ultimately lead to justice but it is very clear such measures command disproportionately high levels of resources when set against the likelihood of police investigations producing convictions and sanction. The multiple arrests of the comedian Freddie Starr as part of "Operation Yewtree", where no further action was taken and his documentary appearances indicating the impact of the process upon him, perhaps is an exemplar of this

(e.g. Bloom, 2014). The recent accusation of Cliff Richard wherein there was insufficient evidence to prosecute after a year of enquiry is another. In a time of resource privation, some PCCs have informally commented upon the appropriateness of the deployment of resources in such cases. Yet this resource deployment is not completely without results as in the cases of the convictions of publicist Max Clifford and entertainer Rolf Harris. Most particularly, a single PCC identified concerns around investigations into historic sexual abuse where the alleged perpetrators were no longer living precluding the possibility of any conviction and questioning the value of justice delivered in this posthumous way and its benefit to victims:

*"I am for more interested in the victims who are recent victims, who are victims today that it is still going on than I am about a victim fifty years ago who was victimised by somebody who has long gone dead. We simply haven't got the bloody time to do this sort of thing." S20*

PCCs indicated their offices deal with many persistent members of the public who allege they have been victimised in some way or have received poor service. In some cases, this was a genuine sense of injustice and/or a failure by the police to recognise them as unique individuals wherein the response they received somehow failed to satisfy their needs. In others, however, they tacitly acknowledge there is some psychopathology evident in some of the members of the public concerned who can be extremely persistent, often quite threatening, often potentially litigious and that the PCC office gives an outlet for this. Respecting and understanding the needs of victims is particularly

important for PCCs, however, there is a recognition that victim status is a very subjective position:

*"there is some genuine victims but I think you have got to be careful about a culture of victimisation and we have got to make sure you know that they are the genuine victims and that they will benefit..." S21*

It was acknowledged by all that victims do require an opportunity to be far more empowered than hitherto and a number of efforts were made by PCCs to ensure better engagement and to allow victims who had felt disempowered to be able to come forward and have their issues dealt with. Indeed, in some cases where crime statistics were in the ascendancy since PCCs came to office, it would appear that this phenomenon came about not because of an increase in crime in real terms, but the preparedness of victims to come forward:

*"the help for victims' website which I have established given the number of vulnerable victims that have come forward." S22*

A distinction would appear to exist between the notion of the *de facto* victim and those who perceive themselves as victimised. Few definitions were available amongst PCCs to differentiate, and an overall sense of respect for the public at large and tolerance for idiosyncrasies tended to feature instead. Nonetheless, there were some people who would take their long-standing issues of dissatisfaction and vent these towards PCCs. In this respect, the PCC offered dual function of emotional discharge and containment of people with a particular vulnerability and attempting to resolve their issue, even if ultimately, they could not give the form of resolution some individuals seek:

*"we attract a relatively small number of embittered oppositionists whose problems are either historical or we can't solve and it's frustrating that they can't see that." S23*

A key part of the PCC role appears to be converting the narrative of the public which is often emotional, idiosyncratic and value laden, into a language that an action driven police force, with its focus upon targets, outcomes and matters that create operational thresholds, (such as evidence to prosecute, successful prosecution and conviction or crime reduction), can reconcile. In this respect, the PCC acted less as a mediator, in the sense of dealing with different sides in a conflict or power based relationship, but more as an interpreter. What was clear, was that this is not a one-way conduit and in sharing and objectifying the operational realities and difficulties the police were under with the public was as important as sharing with police the public's perspective:

*"you go to the public get their views feed it back into the force, challenge the force and beyond that, looking into the Criminal Justice system you know are the needs of the public taken into consideration to a witness or a victim when they go to court the way that they are treated by different agencies." S24*

*"as a PCC you are the link between the public population and the police service. I think it is really important to maintain that." S25*

Further, in addressing a rural crime problem, a truly concrete public issue raised in some areas:

*"A lot of it was education because they would never bloody mark their vehicles and they couldn't remember what their harrow looked like or you know that plough looked like or that quad bike you know." S26*

Surveying and objectifying the views of the public was very important to many PCCs. At least half of those interviewed demonstrated the use of active research methods, some of which were formally commissioned and will be dealt with in greater depth under the 'Innovations' section later in this chapter. In trying to weigh the competing demands of the public, this approach to objectification seems to be a valuable aid to planning and often allowed PCCs to trawl opinion from groups that were difficult to reach for a whole range of reasons, for example young people:

*"We conduct "over to you" surveys which are on street surveys with people every year. Last year we spoke to about 3,500 adults and about 3,000 young people, so it is quantity and good quality data we get from that and from that we may look and review the Police and Crime Plan." S27*

Weighing up community needs against finite resources seems to be a constant challenge for Chief Constables. Each force attempts to deal with austerity measures by prioritising in various ways, which can often lead to considerable levels of review at a local level. For example, one PCC continued to prioritise household burglaries at a time when many forces, for example, Leicestershire, were simply allocating a crime number for insurance purposes and undertaking no form of investigation. (e.g. Barrett, 2015). This example reflects the crux of the evaluative process that needs to be taken in terms of the perception of crime and the perception of community safety which can often vary between the police and the public. The PCC involved brought a fairly pragmatic perspective to the problem for the local force:

*"the more time you spend on your burglaries, so you get fewer- it is a virtuous circle which gives you far more time to deal with the other problems. If you let burglary get out of control you have had it and the idea you know only saying a laptop, we only have, but is it devastating people don't ever get over a household burglary they are frightened for years afterwards and if they are old you know the rest of their lives. We only get probably six million, seven million burglary attempts today it is very low, you probably get two thousand million in fraud and cybercrime, that is the difference of scale but you have got to keep household burglaries at a low rate, no doubt about it and if you don't then the whole community starts, you know other crime." S28*

In this example, the local force was encouraged to resist the trend to simply reduce household burglary to an administrative matter recognising the more insidious implications within the community, victim impact and addressing concerns linked to implicit theories around wider crime causation. It opened a dialogue with which the PCC was able to achieve consensus with the local force.

PCCs demonstrated an ability to engage with the specific needs of subgroups within communities, whether these were for example, youth issues within a specific geographical community, (such as village speeding concerns) or a specific issue across a wider community, for example, rural crime. What seems interesting is the dialogue that was generated between the public and the police which often created systems of brokerage and an opportunity to incorporate thinking into the planning process that did not previously exist in any previous structures.



PCCs acknowledged however, that often the public's view of the police and crime is a situational one. They are activated by victim status, individual cause or collective and emergent community concern. The public's natural state in relation to crime and disorder is one of limited engagement until activated. There was clear evidence through the interviews of the PCCs, of periodically having to take on quite powerful community frustrations for example, when local police stations were being closed the dialogue that they seemed to foster appeared to offer an empowerment for communities that allowed expressions of concern and a genuine recognition of the value of weighing the views and debates carefully before final decisions were made. This process of engaging the public, whilst not necessarily giving them directly that which they wish, at least seemed to allow for better consultation than could be achieved directly with the police or under previous governance structures. This contributed to, in the experience of the PCCs generally, confidence building for the public both in terms of the credibility of the police force and indeed, the office of the PCC itself:

*"you have to be that honest broker." S29*

*"you are the link between the public population and the police service. I think it is really important to maintain that." S30*

### **5.3.2 Politicians and others:**

PCCs have extensive regular liaison with Councillors, Members of Parliament and many of the organisations that cross connect with

police activity. This includes local authorities, the health service and other emergency services. These interactions are seen as important but secondary to the primacy of connecting with the public and expressing the views of the community via the PCC Police and Crime Plans and the ongoing dialogue that is fostered between police community and the PCC office as a triumvirate.

Nonetheless many of the interactions with the public frequently involve local councillors, MPs and others in joint activity. In larger PCC areas, it is fair to say that not only are these local representatives valuable strategic allies, they are also a valuable source of additional feedback.

*"If you have got nineteen councils with all those councillors if they can't get an opinion over to you that represents the public I would be very surprised." S31*

This feedback often appears to be tempered with a perception that councillors, chief executives and others have an arguably more limited familiarity of the areas they serve in relation to the specifics of policing than the PCCs by virtue of the latter's very specific mandate. There is little evidence from the interviews, that the PCCs experience party political allegiances as inhibitory to their liaison with politicians and local organisations. More likely, where problems occur there is a "history" or political rivalry that existed between the players in the past that needs to be addressed relationally with the individuals concerned:

*"I was with the leader of the xxxxx Council yesterday. He wanted my job and I beat him for the nomination." S32*

One gained an impression that some PCCs, typically as experienced players, held a perception of often having to deal with skills deficits amongst many other organisations in terms of collaborative working. Additionally, the nature of the turnover of those organisations was such that there was rarely an opportunity for true political stability whereby negotiations and agreements could progress sustainably. PCCs in their first term, were producing not only change in the early years of their incumbency, but also providing an element of continuity strategically for the police service relating to other organisations at a time when the myriad of interacting organisations would often have a significant turnover of players. Most of these were not necessarily by dint of political process, changes of local party dominance or similar, but seemed to be more to do with the simple turnover of staff and elected representatives in the areas they served.

An understandable frustration that became apparent within PCC interviews was the fact that they had received widespread criticism from both low electoral turnout and comparatively low public cognizance of their role or indeed existence. This view, several contended, had to be contrasted with the comments of many who indicated that in certain areas, councillors, chief officers, and MPs were relatively unknown to the public yet this did not seem an issue. One gained the distinct impression that PCCs were fighting for community acceptance and approval at a time when the relative anonymity of

many other elected officials was a tacit factor in the community consciousness.

### **5.3.3 Police and Crime Panels and Authorities:**

A conspicuous finding in this research was how little mention was made of Police and Crime Panels. They were mentioned as part of the governance structure relating to the PCCs, however, it became palpably apparent that their role and function had not crystallised sufficiently for them to have enjoyed significant cognizance as a way of holding the PCCs to account. Earlier criticisms of PCCs over the dismissal of Chief Constables and recent proposed reform of PCCs, both point to the need for a stronger role for Police and Crime Panels. One gained the impression that there is respect for the Police and Crime Panel system, however, PCCs perceive their ultimate accountability to the public, which is consistent with their mandated focus upon the citizen in terms of engagement and ensuring the public and appropriate subsections of it are ascribed legitimate stakeholder status within planning and commissioning arrangements. One also gained the impression, as one PCC described, "the buck stops with me" (S5), and that sense of individual accountability with concomitant authority legitimised through elections, was felt very strong indeed:

*"I actually think that the most accountability comes on a day to day basis from the fact that you have got your head above the parapet. So there is a lot of chunter about the Police and Crime Panels and all of the rest of it but actually the scrutiny and the accountability comes*

*because you are a public person and you have to account for your behaviour and decisions." S33*

*"I am held to account by the Police and Crime Panel but their powers of oversight are quite limited, probably predominantly to budget setting the Police and Crime plan, the annual report and senior appointments but with all of those they can only veto on appointments." S34*

That said, PCCs would sometimes use Police and Crime Panel membership for informal soundings as well as formal matters:

*"But again, there is other people, there are key people in the Police and Crime Panel again across the party divide I can have a quick chat about things." S35*

Equally, there was evidence of Police and Crime Panels being able to hold a PCC to account. One PCC speculated that the risk of providing attendance allowances in addition to simple expense reimbursement to panel members, often created extra alacrity in their execution of task:

*"we have got the Police and Crime panel and again that is like, similar to the select committee and what we see on TV where you are going in essentially on your own with maybe one or two people around you and then you have got this huge committee and you know you do feel like a Spanish inquisition and still does at times..... they doubly feel the need to justify themselves and yes there has been some quite tense Police and Crime panel meetings at times." S36*

It is fair to say that all of the PCCs took their current profile with the public as being very much a "quantum leap", when compared with the public profile of the former police authorities:

*"I am upfront and hopefully better known than the police authorities so people will come to me with individual concerns which I can then represent their views with the force." S37*

The composition and concomitant representativeness of the police authorities, received little, if any support from any PCC interviewed.

Instead, some contrasted their experiences of having been associated with police authorities or having served upon them in the past:

*"I have to report the full council be questioned by members of the council and members of the public about what I am doing on this organisation but there is 8 people here who after this briefing will go home and have their tea and that's the end of this. So, there is 9 of us who are publicly accountable and there is eight of us who have no accountability what's so ever. I was slightly bemused by it as I would be persecuted by my colleagues about this that and the other and the rest of them where we have to go and play golf or whatever." S38*

Equally, a significant number of PCCs acquired staff from police authorities. As mentioned elsewhere, the need to modernise practices and address mind-sets were key early challenges for virtually all of the PCCs interviewed as they had to deal with the legacy of police authority practice:

*"They would basically be report writers, now they are working with me in developing services engaging with partners." S39*

*"PCC was vastly different from the police authority the staff I inherited were police authority staff. To be fair to them they operated within a particular mind set because that was the mind-set they had always been asked to operate in." S40*

There was a general feeling across PCCs that police authorities had become anachronistic, unrepresentative, bureaucratic, audit based with elements of their membership being completely unaccountable to the public they served. Equally, flashpoints and relational tensions with the police and the police authorities had been substantially unaddressed,

something that at least one PCC interviewed identified as a key challenge on coming into office:

*"the police authority was very much an inward looking body, costly, overly bureaucratic whereas what I needed to do was have thinkers within the team who could actually look at projecting an outward face developing the strategy that was going to engage to be innovative, to deliver solutions rather than just deliver papers that would talk about problems rather than deliver solutions." S41*

*"I also think that there was a recognition that police authorities had failed and that the governance structure was not working." S42*

*"the relationship between the police authority and the Chief Constable and his team which was broken before I got here." S43*

*"But first of all on that point the cost of my office like for like is 100k less than from the police authority. Ok and I can still demonstrate that if you look to the bottom line now it would be more but that is because of the additional work that we do compared to the police authority, such as commissioning victims' services." S44*

*"when I went on to the police authority you know we would have these meetings once a month with an agenda about two inches thick which you would wade through. The entire thing was in acronyms and you know people talked in acronyms and so by the time you looked it up at the back of the page or found on the back of the paper or wherever it had been noted what it meant you had moved on a page and half and you lost the thread completely." S45*

In summary, in many cases, it is fair to say that direct or indirect police authority experience, gave PCCs a frame of contrast against which to calibrate the dynamism, interaction and relational flexibility with the public that the inception of role of the PCC was intended to create. Panels are seen very much as consultative, offering variable levels of challenge to those interviewed.

#### **5.3.4 The Police:**

Overwhelmingly day-to-day interactions with police officers seemed to take place via the PCC staff. This did not preclude PCCs having contact with force officers, especially senior ones involved in consultation processes. Nonetheless, respect for non-interference into operational matters appears to ensure that the primary level of contact with the police was overwhelmingly between the PCC and Chief Constable. This of course did not preclude opportunities to interface with force officers for observational and other experiences although, some PCCs did not avail themselves of this. One in particular, held the belief that they were a creature primarily of strategy and were very respectful of the operational/strategic divide between the role of the Chief Constable and the office of the PCC.

PCCs saw themselves as central players to the re-establishment and/or improvement of trust between the police and the wider community. In this sense, the PCCs role in the relational dynamic focuses upon an organisational entity occupying a social field within society around the creation of safety and the enforcement of laws, as opposed to any individual cause. Nonetheless, PCCs are aware of how this holistic organisational meta-goal can transpire to issues on the ground and virtually all interviewed were aware of the dangers of getting this wrong in terms of social fragmentation, risk to individuals and the maintenance of policing by consent:



*"basic trust was broken down and its coming back to me to the fundamental Peelian principles of you know, the public are the police, the police are the public and its coming back." S46*

Many PCC offices had caseworkers and the interviewer had an opportunity to meet some of these and talk through their experiences. Whilst caseworker intervention of this nature from the PCC office would constitute a potential research project in its own right, what was clear from discussion with PCC staff was that caseworkers appeared to offer a valuable oversight/mediation function with the police, allowing an opportunity for aggrieved members of the public to have their issues revisited in a way that was both respectful of individual concerns whilst bringing an understanding of force operation to bear in relation to the citizens experience. Informally, many PCCs and their staff have indicated this casework service could well mitigate the number of formal complaints that ultimately are levelled towards the police and themselves. This could be seen arguably to constitute a form of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) thereby avoiding protracted escalation through more formal processes that usually involved high costs both emotionally and administratively.

Amongst the plethora of proposed developments for the future of the PCC is the possibility of PCC offices undertaking a police complaints function. It remains to be seen how this function, which could take the PCCs current strategic role to a position of providing critique for operational matters on a case-by-case basis, will have a concomitant

effect upon the relational dynamic between PCCs, Chief Constables and the officers within the forces they command.

### **5.3.5 PCCs and Chief Constables:**

The PCCs ability to effectively dismiss a Chief Constable was raised directly or indirectly in all interviews either as an incumbent role descriptor or as position where active challenge had to be made. Several personal experiences were cited, as were anecdotal accounts relating to other incumbents. In some cases, they saw this ability as reflective of the overall power of the PCC as incumbents to assert their, in other cases, as actively reflecting an unhelpful focus on their power in the early years which prejudiced several early relationships between Chief Constable and PCC. Certainly PCCs picked up the legacy of a fairly negative campaign mounted by Chief Constables alleging politicisation of the police. (e.g. Shaw, 2013.)

Interestingly this tension appears to have prompted the relatively newly formed National Police Chiefs Council to issue a press release stating:

"It is important to recognise that while there have been some well publicised disagreements between Chief Constables and Police and Crime Commissioners, the evidence to date is that most relationships are constructive and professional", (National Police Chiefs Council, 2013).

These dynamics at a national level were felt locally also:

*"it was a highly successful campaign and the government just did not get its act together in counter acting that narrative and I don't think*

*they, I think it took them by surprise and the legacy of that I hear in public meetings every time I have one." S47*

All PCCs understood the difference between operational interference within the police in the active day-to-day delivery of service to the public and the policies, strategies, accountability, resource partnerships and other factors that are an integral part of the PCC function that can directly or indirectly impact on operational matters.

Both PCCs and the senior operational officers spoken to as part of this research are clear, however, that the strict operational – strategic divide is often a blurred one, one that requires constant negotiation and can be a potential source of inherent tension.

*"if we want police chiefs who are operationally independent they must be able to express their views without fear and it would be interesting if he came up with a view that I didn't particularly support but that's when you have a conversation behind closed doors and as long as it is operationally sound I can't interfere with that and I wouldn't interfere with that." S48*

It became apparent from all interviews that the relationship with the Chief Constable was the single most important relationship that a PCC had to engender within his or her role outside of that of the more generalised relationship with the public at large. It was clear from interviews that sometimes public expectations could potentially look to the PCCs to be far more interventionist than legislation enabled them to be:

*"It's an important relationship, it's probably the most important relationship. It has got to be based on mutual respect, it's got to be*

*challenging not in an aggressive way but in an intellectual way I suppose and it's got to be mutually supportive as well." S49*

*"..operational direction lies quite correctly with the Chief Constable and the PCCS power is not as part of the organisation it is to one side of the organisation the power derives from legislation, the power derives from the accountability process and through public mandate, however people care to view that public mandate." S50*

Early PCC relationships with Chief Constables were often fraught and the now defunct Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) were active and vocal in their concerns around the creation of the PCC role, as mentioned earlier. This did not set the climate for universally harmonious working relationships. Though suspension for malfeasance in office of Chief Constable occurred with two of the PCCs interviewed, relationships with subsequent incumbents and indeed the remaining interviewees' relationships with their incumbent chiefs in general have been, on balance, a productive experience wherein the Chief Constable is seen as a key ally and an integral part of the process of delivery. Implementation of the role of the PCC office was quickly introduced and some PCCs have commented upon the avoidable turbulence generated being unhelpful in the establishment of effective working relationships.

*"part of the issue with relations with the Chief Constable was that the mantra being given out at the time. Hire, fire, all this sort of stuff. Whereas really anyone worth the salt would see that Chief Constable is a strategic ally in the frame on behalf of communities and failure to see that is going to lead you into problems." S51*

Harmonious working relationships with the Chief Constables needs to be critically balanced with appropriate professional distancing. This

took some time in some cases to effect. Indeed, there were examples in interview where many PCCs felt under informed by their Chief Constables, without key information flows and the ability to gauge and contemporise concerns made by the public or the media without the information available to Chief Constables. It would appear this his dissemination of information (or lack thereof), clearly includes, but transcends the simple accounting of a Chief Constable to a PCC:

*"it's got to be mutually beneficial and I think it is." S52*

*"I always see him twice a week and it's a tremendous advantage for me to be able to go in and talk about something that is happening in a particular location which I understand and know about and that puts me very much on an equal footing." S53*

*"This morning's newspapers you see there is hundreds of sex offenders gone missing. There is an email on the Chiefs inbox now, what's the position locally?" S54*

At least three of the PCCs interviewed were involved in the appointment of Chief Constables within their first terms. Indications in interviews hinted at the potential of these appointments deliberately taking in account issues such as compatibility and an ability to work with the appointing PCC as being important criterion to be weighed alongside the other competencies needed for a Chief Constable. In common with direct entry from other professions now common in police, PCCs were faced with the same dilemma the police frequently face in relation to appointments that traditionally involved serving police officers with an incremental history and others who perhaps skipped a

tier or two of experience to instead bring along, for example, business skills:

*"I went back out to advert again and the first time I nearly got four applicants and the second time I got eight applicants because they realised that I was serious about you know finding someone that wasn't just going to be a bit of a deputy." S55*

It also became apparent during interviewing that PCCs and Chief Constables often form agreed structures whereby other officers can account to them mutually. This allowed for a dynamic interactive dialogue with other senior officers in the organisation who are, through these structures, not insulated from the PCC by an excessively exclusive relationship with the Chief Constable. To this extent, there is evidence of PCC and Chief Constable in some cases truly forming formal dyadic management relationships and initiating structures that reflect their mutual accountability and shared leadership role:

*"I think it is important for people to be able to see the workings of the police more and if it is just the PCC opposite the Chief Constable they are not seeing that, so at my corporate performance board we have the Chief Constable, the Deputy Chief Constable, the assistant Chief Constable and all of the heads of departments and they have to answer to myself and the Chief." S56*

*"you know two days ago it was on the agenda that I want to see all the superintendents. It is not a problem, is it, Chief Constable? "No, of course not." S57*

This is further amplified in the background knowledge base a PCC can bring to the role which can contrast with others who possess a relatively limited knowledge base of police matters, but bring other skills into the dyadic relationship that evolves with their chief:

*"I think there is a brief from the public that you have to understand policing. I mean I had a very limited understanding of policing but I had a whole range of other skills that meant that I could do the job and it's the Chief Constable who is running the police force not you." S58*

An interesting dynamic which emerged during interviewing, were those occasions where the dyadic relationship between PCC and Chief Constable actually strengthened the Chief Constables' legitimacy. Excessive focus on Chief Constable accountability has perhaps overshadowed the opportunity for a strong relationship between Chief Constable and PCC to be facilitative. In several of the interviews, the strong relationship between PCC and Chief Constable enabled and supported the latter to take a more controversial stance than would otherwise be the norm for a serving police officer, who is usually required to be apolitical in nature. Equally, monitoring the relational space that exists in the dyads and the inherent power relationship with the PCC in primacy, remains another key dynamic ensuring that influence and collaboration does not degenerate into either "upward management" or collusion. All PCCs interviewed were very aware that they saw the accountability for policing and safety in their area as something that they were ultimately responsible for ensuring:

*"So there are times when he clearly tries to manage me but that's nothing, I expect that and I generally know when he is doing it." S59*

*"I equate it with that this is a medium to large size company which I am the Executive Chairman and the Chief Constable is the Chief Executive." S60*

Without doubt, all PCCs clearly recognised the tripartite accountability involving the public wherein, the Chief Constable was responsible to the PCC and the PCC was ultimately responsible to the electorate.

As an organisational dynamic, this was consistently evident across all interviews. Harmonious relationships with Chief Constables were sought where ever possible. Collaboration and the development of systems for getting the job done mutually within the management dyad they formed, was fostered without prejudice to the accountability framework within which both were required to enact.

In summary, PCCs have to engender multiple stakeholder relationships across the community with a wide range of individuals, organisations and organisational representatives. This has led to some complex collaborations, given that organisations such as local authorities were not necessarily coterminous with the area covered by a given PCCs remit. A considerable amount of PCC time was given to managing these interfaces, often supported by an assistant PCC or devolved across the staff of the PCC office.

Police interactions at a strategic and planning level predominated with the Chief Constable although this did not preclude others. This was a necessarily complex dynamic, affording great opportunities for collaboration and dyadic working. There were, however, notable cases wherein conflict had occurred and a few wherein the power of the PCC had to be visited upon the Chief Constable, causing understandable



organisational tension which could be felt across the stakeholder network.

What was completely apparent was the central value and importance placed on interactions with the public at large, attempting to reflect the needs of communities and individuals with a whole range of formal and informal measures to foster this interface effectively. This would appear not only to reflect the "normative" definition of the role, but underpinned and reflected the core values of the PCCs interviewed.

### **5.3.6 The Media:**

Two codes were developed to examine the role of the media as identified in the literature search;

- Media issues – where media matters featured in any context, with a subset;
- Media influence – where the media became a primary consideration for PCCs in ways that needed careful consideration and due to potential or actual media pressures.

It is a reasonable assertion that of the “stakeholder relationships” the PCC must encounter, media relationships will almost be as dominant an issue as those with the public. Many specific comments have had to be avoided in the quotations here or redacted as they would uniquely identify the individuals concerned. Nonetheless, the very volume of commentary offered by PCCs on issues of the media, would constitute

a study in its own right and reflects the high importance of the media within the work of the PCC.

It is entirely reasonable to say that many PCCs experienced a “baptism of fire” in relation to media matters, particularly in the first year. The now notorious Kent PCC documentary on Channel 4 (see earlier references) was cited on many occasions by several of the PCCs interviewed as an exemplar of what can go wrong with a naive and uninformed approach to the media:

*"Had she listened to the advice she could have presented that whole thing differently and turned that around in a very much more positive encounter but because she didn't do that, really like that "onion", what are all these different layers? "I didn't know you were going to ask me that", well you could anticipate that kind of question." S61*

*"When you have got the media around you, you got something called 'antennae' which pops and before you put that into gear, you put your brain into gear and your ears into gear first." S62*

Equally the repeated media inexperience of some PCCs was seen by all those interviewed as very unhelpful. This was viewed as feeding into a generally negative view of the PCC particularly in its earliest days:

*"I think you know having the Sunday Mail having a go was a cringe moment. I wasn't amused to wake up with a complete story packed full of lies on Sunday morning - and it was." S63*

*"The national media have still got it in for us to a certain extent I think and we have got a way to go to prove ourselves with the national media. I think it is getting better but you still see medias in the Telegraph and the Times saying how useless we are all." S64*

*"I think when the job first came in I think editors of newspaper, noticeably, notably, funnily enough the Sunday Mail and the Times I think they were given a remit to 'have a go' at PCCS and they proceeded to do so in the first six months or eight months of the PCCS." S65*

*"well publicised errors of judgement have done that because of the lack of experience and the lack of understanding of you know how the role could or should work so they have learnt on the job which I think has been one of the factors which has caused some of the difficulties for the PCC role because in some ways if I was to be a little bit precious I would say we have never been given a fair chance really there has always been a high level of media scrutiny there has been a degree of scepticism and there has been a degree of intolerance which I think isn't shared by any other elected individual." S66*

Several PCCs interviewed were already fairly comfortable with the media and understanding of both the benefits and risks of engaging with the press. Most, however, indicated that the ubiquitous use of social media had peaked co-incidentally at the time of the inception of the PCCs and this had brought a new dimension to the rapid dissemination of information where the commentary and views expressed often had a negative confirmation bias that did not assist PCCs in their early days.

*"I have had some quite malicious people following me and making some accusations which are totally without foundation but when they do it, it is very hard to rebut because of the nature of social media and the way the media operate as well." S67*

*"Yes, Yes. I think they have gone for and to some extent individuals I mentioned early about learning on the job to some extent if individuals have been self-indulgent one or two have they have paid the price." S68*

However, setting this into a wider context, it would appear that there have been, "in the round" more gains than losses:

*"there is only a very small minority who have made errors of judgement and have been very well publicised errors of judgement." S69*

Although not explicit in the interviews, one gained the impression that experienced PCCs held the view that they are part of a continuum comprising of the inexperienced making mistakes, suffused with elements of concerns about guilt by association with these people, making their job more difficult. This came alongside a recognition that the media is an unpredictable entity to handle even for the very skilled and can produce unintended results and consequences. The media was therefore held with a healthy respect by PCCs and was an active consideration when addressing the dissemination of information. The more "media savvy", for the want of a better expression, PCCs genuinely saw engagement with the press as an opportunity:

*"I have learned .....to be very open with the media and therefore rarely will I ever turn down a media interview hence in Florida, Tenerife, Spain etc. and that has paid dividends because not only is it about engaging with the media it's about ensuring you have got the profile raised.....Because of my approach I think and because of the kind of guy I think I am I have had plenty of support from the media throughout and they have worked for the good rather than the bad." S70*

PCCs did not generalise over their experiences with the press, recognising that they had both allies and detractors. Allies typically were relationships developed over time at a local level, with local press outlets which allow PCCs to give positive or at least balanced news stories evidencing their work. There was a tacit recognition that such local news agencies often required stories and with the contraction of so much of the press, active reporting had changed dynamically to

information retrieval and recycling through a range of news outlets. All of the PCCs interviewed therefore had developed some very good relationships where possible with the press and took a proactive approach to advising them of innovations, key meetings, human interest stories that were positive and informative. In one case, the first quote below, the PCC involved immediately tried to deal with press negativity by completely “outing” issues and confronting unchallenged press misinformation:

*"Yes there was very much a negative media but interestingly that soon changed because the minute they begin to see you a someone who is willing to engage, you are an outlet, you are another individual seeking to inform opinion and to shape delivery with this service area." S71*

PCCs inevitably dealt with the media in relation to the police matters, as much as the role and functions of the PCC office and had to anticipate and work with the local force in relation to its media image:

*"publish a report and you can see it in the public domain and when the (newspaper) had been highly critical of the police force and the police authority around the way they had behaved and I just completely opened the book with the (newspaper) I gave them the report, I had a proper conversation with them in that document." S72*

*"the media is such a significant factor in policing and in the work we are doing. We devote specific attention to that." S73*

There was for virtually all PCCs, an absolute recognition of the centrality of effective media handling:

*"the ability to react quickly and have the right relationships with journalists and media is absolutely critical as well I think, well it certainly is here. So that would be certainly strong advice. And I guess it is establishing that credibility and building those relationships and I have*

*done no end of interviews with BBC, Radio, TV all the major outlets, I have done a lot of it." S74*

Generally, PCCs antipathy towards the press involved the national media which continued with an element of investigative reporting that sells news by sensationalism far more than consensus. One of the PCCs interviewed had to take High Court action with a paper in order to deal with misinformation at a national level, happily reporting success in the endeavour. Many recognise that journalists often use the mechanism of the Freedom of Information Act to gain information typically around themes that are about corruption or misuse of public office:

*"a Labour Councillor said you have rather a low profile and I said well you know the only way to get a high profile is to do something really stupid and then everybody knows exactly who you are but if it is all going rather well and smoothly it is not news for a newspaper." S75*

*" that's the xxxx for you, they will always try and do that, they will try and sell papers by being salacious." S76*

*"I think there has been a steady journey down market by them both and its driven by sensationalism to some degree. That's part of the frustration, I have known there is a lot of good work going on and we struggle to get that out and get those messages across sometimes. So I suppose there is just the general scepticism of the media and I think standards of journalism have fallen.....I think that a good investigative journalist these days just puts an FOI in. That's not journalism. "How much did you spend last year on hospitality?" S77*

PCCs also experienced situations where communications with third parties were sometimes unhelpfully shared with the press for tactical purposes, be that disputes or employment matters:

*"emailed all the members of the xxxxxxxxxxxx saying that I was getting rid of him and that played out in the press which I wasn't bothered about because I was prepared for that." S78*

PCCs were very clear about the need to have highly experienced, competent support in relation to media matters. Even the most media oriented PCC, recognised that at their strategic level, the understanding, cognizance and comfort in dealing with the media is not the same as managing a full press operation. In the latter, messages are crafted, considered carefully, time is spent with media outlets framing the message and trust based. Time intensive relationships that can be built with media members are capitalised upon. While some PCCs attempted to undertake this, as did some of the staff, most were cognisant of the value of a specific resource person in the PCC office to specialise in this. Austerity measures and a general antipathy towards the cost of PCC administration by the public appear to have militated against the employment of press agencies, or even, an in-house member of staff, necessitating some PCCs to use other means to cope. Strategies have ranged from the use of in-house skills of other PCC operatives through to accessing the media professionals employed within the local Constabulary. It was tacit in interview and in some of the precursor conversations to interview, that this latter option was less than ideal. The arrangement was adequate when there was a consensus between PCC and Constabulary, less so when that constabulary or individuals therein are being held to account.

*"it has got better; we have got a new head of communications but she is completely swamped." S79*

*"spending hours upon hours crafting media statements or can we say this, can we say that the minefield of police regulations." S80*

*"...to pay £2,000 on a training course for a PCC you now you would be on the front pages of the local newspaper as a waste of money." S81*

*"Sorry what I didn't say earlier, having a good media officer is absolutely crucial." S82*

There was some evidence that, depending upon political orientation, PCCs received variable forms of support from the press depending upon the publications own political affiliations:

*"...the traditional problem that labour politicians have with the press which is not always owned by people who are sympathetic to the Labour party so we have got, I think we get a bit of a rough ride from the Gazette." S83*

Equally, the culture of feelings and perceptions was one that was not lost upon PCCs recognising these often include the key issues. For example, the dismissal of Chief Constables, did in most cases, involve concerns of substance but it was frequently the style and approach of the PCC that featured in the press (e.g. Whitehead, 2013):

*"This week I think or was it last week we had the HSBC in front of the House of Commons Committee with Margaret Hodge challenging them, now you have people complaining she was being rude to them. You have got people who have filtered away millions of pounds in avoiding tax, there is all sorts of cooperate concerns and sins and evils and what have you. They have virtually got away with it and yet somebody has a go at them and somebody complains they are being rude to them." S84*

Most frustrating for PCCs appeared to be situations involving the media that called their integrity into account or were highly personalised. One PCC was particularly frustrated after a constabulary appointment where the implication was there was attraction to the candidate concerned.



Equally, PCCs are pursued personally by the media on their conduct in office with all the alacrity that the press use with MPs:

*"..they have been trolling my expenses and trying to dig something up on those and the best thing that they could come up with is why you are spending £23,000 being a member of the APCC. Which I thought was quite amusing and then "why are did you spent £230 on a train ticket to go and meet xxxx" because he didn't confirm the meeting until the last minute and I had to buy a full fare ticket.....So generally speaking I am relaxed about my relationships with the media. I do get upset I think when I feel actually they have done me a bit of an injustice and you do have to have a bit of a thick skin." S85*

The emotional robustness referred to in the above quote, appeared to be common in all PCCs although each one would recognise their own particular learning curve in this respect, some borne of past experiences, some within the post itself. Even to the most media savvy PCC coming to post, the intensity of media attention upon the PCC role appears to have been unique, focused, constant and spanned many dimensions of interest. The currently rapid, easy dissemination of news through media distribution networks and social media itself appeared to only further intensify the experience:

*"did an interview with radio (local station) Let's get it out of the way, within an hour I was on Radio Four on their Headline news." S86*

*"The article was a very balanced affair but they are subbed in Wales so the sub-editor had put the headline on in Wales and it completely led a misleading article so I wrote to the paper and said look come on your story was fair but your headline was entirely misleading." S87*

There was considerable evidence of the PCCs attempting to use media productively, some examples have been given above. Some PCCs

have written specifically for the press in order to try and lobby opinion at a national level, examples include drugs policy and rural crime:

*"I wrote on wildlife crime that was produced solely for intent for the Labour front bench to see what we are actually doing for them hopefully to persuade them the value for what we are doing as well." S88*

One of the above quotes reflects an episode of the pre-appointment personal life of the PCC concerned being seized by the media and calling into question suitability for appointment. One PCC indicated that similar experiences were visited upon Sean Wright, the PCC whose career abruptly ended by resignation due to alleged failures of duty of care while serving as a councillor in Rotherham after the exposure of historic child sexual abuse in the Rotherham area (e.g. BBC News, 2014).

Media interest involves the reputations and media life of not only the PCCs as incumbents, but their entire staff. The past histories of a number of appointees have been subject to scrutiny. In some cases, this has included allegations of favouritism if perhaps, someone has missed a promotional "rung" in the traditional ladder of promotion to get the right appointee into post. It has also resulted in the past histories of individuals embodied within social media coming to the fore. The most celebrated of which was the Young People's Police and Crime Commissioner post appointed by the Essex PCC. This 17-year-old woman when aged 14 had been making arguably racist and other inappropriate comments upon Facebook. After much defence by the

appointing PCC a media storm escalated, which ultimately resulted in the young woman concerned resigning. (BBC News, 2013). It is in this and other respects, the PCCs interviewed recognise that however skilled they become in dealing with the media, it is very much a two-edged sword. In this case a positive, proactive measure to involve youth in crime planning, degenerated into the exposure of a young person's early life and attitudes. Past actions no longer become buried over time as with hard copy news, but remain accessible in cyberspace indefinitely:

*" ... would I have checked someone's social media history? In all honesty no. I would do now but I wouldn't have done then and I think in fairness she couldn't have foreseen that." S89*

It is apparent, that being wary of how the media will pick up on a situation, is a major concern for PCCs, who maintain a high level of vigilance towards this. There are many examples of the media actively imposing their own moral valuing system upon PCCs, which would constitute a mediatisation force. Two mildly humorous examples offered by PCCs suffice to exemplify in this aspect:

*"Talking about salaries for PCCS it's a jibe we get all the time and newspaper comments but at the time the presenter that day said am I going to give any of my salary to charity? .....I said to him, he is an old socialist really, he is a bit of an old hippy. I said "do you give any of yours to charity? Then why should I?" S90*

*"I mean was it Little John in the Daily Mail, he ended every article saying "and Saville is still dead" which you know, he hasn't been resurrected from the dead...." S91*

PCCs were also very sensitive to the real dangers of distortion or bias:

*"The Times is a rotten newspaper these days, they had a report there was something like forty five outstanding complaints against PCCS or something this is you know how disgraceful this was, well I have about three outstanding complaints about , against me but they all go back fifteen or twenty years, you know and because I refused to hold a few Constables to account they left years ago, they complain about me and so it is logged as a complaint and when we have looked at these whatever it was forty complaints or something only about two were actually anything to do with the PCCS at all..." S92*

In conclusion, PCCs generally indicated that relationships with the media had improved from the very early days of their election to office.

At a local level particularly, the PCC office constitutes a source of useful information that the media could assimilate, placing a premium upon fostering better relationships. Equally the media had some impact in terms of generating opportunities for community consultation.

Notwithstanding this, one could describe PCCs view of the media generally as something to be viewed with constant vigilance and a healthy caution as outcomes are not always consistent with intentions in their media liaisons.

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*Researcher Vignette:*

*Sometimes a research journey produces unintended experiences, sometimes unwelcome and sometimes reducing challenges from times past one would rather not revivify. Maintaining objectivity whilst under challenge, whether that is a DBA viva or, as in this case television, is an important part of credible presentation as a researcher. Indeed, it is this ability to receive challenge, alternative frames of reference, new data, etc, contribute, not to any sense of failure, so much as a journey on the route to greater knowledge which at its extremes represents a continuum between increased awareness for self to completely new paradigms in knowledge:*

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*“... this resulted in me winding up on the Sunday Politics Show alongside a peer of the realm and a xxxxx MP. It was my first experience of live television for a long time. Firstly, I had to get over my aversion to the past. Given the malice that I experienced when I was in xxxxxxxxxx. Appearing in any form of mass media is something I do with personal caution. Secondly, I had to be aware that I needed to be a researcher here, not a business leader, consultant, etc coming out with an erudite view on a situation but I have to start to weigh the evidence. In truth, despite a vested interest in the PCC project continuing at least as long as I can get my DBA completed, I actually genuinely do believe that what we are seeing is the manipulation by political will of a new phenomenon that is far from crystalline nor is it particularly evolved. Its proposed summary conclusion by some suggest alternative expressions of power in society and accompanying ideologies that have their own “lives” irrespective of any actual merits of the role. Here we have it, the politicisation debate surrounding the police truly over, not concluded from literature at this point, but from my own lived experience in entering the fray, accompanied by the consummate need to maintain my own independence, however unpopular that may make me at times with one of more “communities of practice”.*”

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#### **5.4. How PCCs define their leadership and management role, in terms of their motivation and previous experience:**

Virtually all PCCs started their interviews with what would be the "normative" definition of their role as described by the 2011 Crime and Social Responsibility Act and subsequent guidance. In this respect, this was very much a descriptive "map" but not necessarily the true territory of the nature of the role as experienced by individuals.

PCCs produced narratives in interview that increasingly focused on the interface between the community and the police. Trawling community views seemed to be central to the role of every PCC interviewed and whilst this was done in different ways and community feedback was

weighed up in different perspectives, that centrality of function was palpably apparent and came across with such passion in many cases, that this was simply not a party line rhetorical statement by a politician, but something that was heartfelt:

*"...at the heart of it is that engagement with the community that sets the scene." S93*

*"it is about being the public's direct line of accountability into policing. From a public's perspective" S94*

Connecting to the public involved a whole range of skills and perspectives seen as necessary to achieve the function. Balancing the power of the role as a mediating force between the police and the public was evident in some cases with terms such as advocacy and negotiation featuring in interviews. The mediation role was further enhanced by PCCs general thrust towards the role being impartial in the dialogue facilitated between police and community. More subtly, it communicated that the PCCs were perhaps in a position to connect more with the community as a primary resource in that negotiation as opposed to a police perspective on service:

*"The community weren't expecting this proactivity so again it's trying to persuade people about what you are about, what you wanted from them and how they as I have said previously how they could engage with you." S95*

*"It is about ensuring that really the individual the vulnerable individuals within our communities and the broader community feelings are effectively represented and given some real, if you wish, meaning and have an outlet which can actually ensure that what they want to be delivered is delivered on their behalf." S96*

*"My reason for being is to represent the public and put the public at the heart of policing." S97*

Weighing the different, not infrequently competing feedback drawn from highly diverse communities with multivariate needs and converting this to the development of strategy is something that will be discussed in stakeholder relationships. However, what was clear from virtually all of those interviewed was the role of the PCC office was to provide an outlet and opportunity for expression by the community about the kind of policing and crime and disorder issues they were experiencing. The role itself was viewed as powerful and capable of commanding that level of required dialogue of the force which not only held the force accountable to the public, but allowed priorities to be identified and agreed, fostering understanding both at a community and force level. Both tacit and explicit with this was the sense that the post had been created to deal with a progressive corrosion of the relationship between the police and the public:

*"The PCC has to take on board the views of the community and from there you then begin to develop the strategic direction of which you want to set the pace which is really I guess the hierarchy of priorities in that order, its community, then selling that strategic direction for the force." S98*

Accountability for the spending of public money was integral in the PCCs perception of the role but this was viewed within the specific context of delivering effectiveness and efficiency for this expenditure, suffused with the generation of new ideas.

PCCs saw their offices as an opportunity to develop local expressions of national policy and to translate things that came from the centre into

something meaningful at a local level. In many cases, this was seen as a mitigation of the impact of government and/or austerity measures.

Protection of the vulnerable and ensuring finite resources were prioritised to those in greatest need whilst facilitating the public to a better understanding of decisions made seemed to be a central role for all of those involved. In some cases, that brokerage and negotiation took place through the staff with PCC oversight, as was the inevitability in areas where the PCC catchment was a large one:

*"It's a position of responsible public responsibility and direct public responsibility. In my case for over half a million people in terms of representing their interests in terms of helping to ensure that we keep them and the xxxxxx area safe." S99*

*"What we have to do with policing is to ensure that officers and staff are deployed to where the needs are greatest." S100*

PCCs are highly respectful of the operational/policy split between the force and the police and recognise occasionally, the public do not make that distinction and sometimes see them as the operational head of the force.

The role itself, was on occasion described as a "figurehead", in essence, something that attempted to create an operational/policy differentiation but at the same time, could add to public confusion wherein some have been disappointment at the PCCs limited scope for interventions in operational matters. Some members of the public had expectations of the role itself being at the pinnacle of operational



matters and when it was found not to be so, PCCs have been regarded by some as another layer of bureaucracy that was seen as ineffective when operational remedies to community crime issues were being sought. PCCs felt there was a considerable distance still to travel in relation to significant numbers of members of the public fully appreciating their role and were making consistent efforts to connect with communities and reach out. There was a tacit acceptance that this process would take some time to achieve.

PCCs are very clear about the power of their role. This was evident in discussions about the dynamics in relation to Chief Constables' appointments and dismissals, for example. However, some comments, mostly off microphone, were made about the concerns of the dangers that could ensue were the post to become occupied by someone of insufficient skill or extreme political view. In the case of two PCCs, this extended to the risk of PCC appointments from right-wing groups, including the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP):

*"this is an extremely powerful role and in the wrong hands it could cause havoc." S101*

A theme constantly raised in relation to the community was that of trust. Trust had a multiple dynamic in this context: trust in the office of the PCC; trust in the nature of safety within the community; and trust in the relationship between the police and the community, which most were clear they were enhancing since coming into role. In order to generate

trust, being transparent in all aspects of the PCCs role and function and encouraging that from other stakeholders was frequently referred to:

*"I am completely transparent so unless I am sitting in a covert police premise I will put exactly where I am going and what I am doing and people can see that." S102*

*"...transparency is fundamental to the role and the police are not a naturally transparent organisation and so it is by definition challenging." S103*

Work to bring organisations together and cement the interfaces between the public and public facing organisations was frequently referred to by all the PCCs interviewed:

*"..it has the potential and ability this role to be a key strategic player in the criminal justice, community safety sphere that if utilised correctly is very significant." S104*

In summary therefore, all PCCs interviewed saw their role as an essential interface between community and police with community accountability as the primary driver. The building of trust and the use of openhanded measures of transparency, consultation, brokerage and mediation roles were central to their function.

#### **5.4.1. Leadership Approaches:**

An attempt was made to identify different leadership aspects that may be displayed by PCCs given the nature and newness of the role. These included:

- Distributed Leadership – leadership style of shared leadership where authority moves dynamically around an organisation;
- Ethical leadership – where focus upon ethical principles and conscience based considerations feature;
- Charismatic/idiosyncratic/individual styles of leadership – where leadership is ego-based, focused upon individual will and style;
- Transactional – management leadership in a functional and non-transformational sense;
- Transformational – where the style of leadership produces significant emergent growth and change within the organisation;
- Authentic – where honesty and transparency in the transaction is critical;
- Socio-Economic Stewardship – balancing results against probity and the public purse;

- Servant leadership – where the leader literally is a servant and facilitator of processes within and without the organisation.

Any attempt to try and identify different leadership strands proved difficult in coding as the reality is this was an interpretation of activity described or a viewpoint undertaken in relation to a specific cause. In practice, PCCs often displayed overlapping leadership traits and indeed there were occasions where the leadership approaches adopted could be argued to cross cut several, if not all of the above descriptions.

*"There are occasions where you are someone who seeks a consensus to move in a particular direction and seeks to within a frame work or a parameter get the people who need to be involved to a particular place and be willing to discuss and compromise and so on in order to get there. There are other occasions where I think the PCC has to take a lead and has to say this is what we are going to do this is where we are going and I want you to follow me and then there are occasions where we have to work with other colleagues at a similar level and try moving the agenda forward." S105*

Whilst all of these leadership traits are evident in the PCCs interviewed, aspects of leadership behaviour that could be described as distributed, seemed to be the greatest in number. This was, not surprisingly, closely followed by behaviours that could be construed as servant and socio-political steward:

*"Commitment. Understanding. Focus. Tactful diplomacy I suppose. Knowledge and experience." S106*

One gained the impression that it is a function that underpins the efficient running of the police service and its effective response to citizens whilst at the same time obtaining citizen views. If one was to

consider the public at large, specific communities and victims as a conjoined social field which is legitimate so to do, then the locus of leadership could also arguably partially lie within that group, given its role in the formation of Police and Crime Plans, rendering the PCCs function to have wide substantive elements of a Distributed Leadership model. Unlike other studies, for example, Gronn (2008), Distributed Leadership has been predominantly identified within educational and health environments and the complex hierarchies and structures that exist within these services. Woods et al. (2004) describe "variability is in dualities" across the extant literature relating to Distributed Leadership, indicating that conceptually, this approach "attracts a range of meanings and is associated with a variety of practices" (p.439). Particular focus is taken on the duality of structure and agency which is reflected in much of the literature currently on offer.

There is an argument to say that the PCCs operate in an environment wherein shared leadership and power are the norm. Much of their work exists at the level of complex partnership approaches wherein the locus of control can vary enormously. Equally, another perspective would see these models as used to create transformational opportunities within the organisations served in this case, traversing the office of the PCC, the Constabulary, local partnership agencies and to a certain extent, government itself.

*"the partnership, which basically has stakeholders from across the local communities and criminal justice, fire and rescue, health, Community Safety partnerships, so yes there is myriad different partnerships at the moment." S107*

The service ethic appears very strong amongst the PCC's participating and that commitment is very much towards the public as a service recipient both of the services of the PCC office and the police service the office oversees.

Any more detailed analysis of the leadership styles as deployed by PCCs would in itself form an interesting and in-depth study for the future however, PCCs own experiences on leadership styles, offer valuable insight into their experience:

*"we are the lead local body and police force and that has certainly been a, you can't avoid the puns I am afraid, a journey." S108*

*"there is a strong case for not only integration of the neighbourhood level around sort of work, particularly local authority colleagues that sort of multi-agency neighbourhood teams or neighbour policing working in a joint tasking model with neighbourhoods." S109*

*"mutual respect that's the dividend you reap through your approach and I think if they see you as somebody who is basically doing this for the right reasons and is trying to get the right outcomes and is committed and is hardworking, will stand up and be counted and is out there as much as they are then I think they respect that. You have to build that and earn that and once you have got that you will get more in response at every level." S110*

*"we don't have any "power" over them but we do have responsibilities around the efficiency and effectiveness of local justice and then you have got a whole range of other partners and stakeholders that you work with on a daily basis trying to improve services and responses to the public." S111*

*"Connecting with people there, they get the opportunity to talk to you and give you sort of direct questions and issues like that." S112*

There were many examples of the recognition of the function of teams. Teamwork and the maintenance of staff engagement was very evident, even when this involved vigorous encouragement of former police authority staff to embrace change:

*"That lot in there they talk, they'll even have a joke and a laugh but they do the work and they will do what I want them to do and it is a really good atmosphere. You can't do this job on your own you have got to have people behind you like that.... So you get the best out of each individual person. Does that make sense?" S113*

Processes that engaged and where necessary garnered the support and power of others, were also very evident:

*"I have no power over this just consultation at the moment but I will have a voice and I use the local press, you use your local MP'S." S114*

Balancing time and endeavour on a local basis, with the possible strategic advantages of regional and national collaborations, quite possibly taking the lead in these, received a mixed response from PCCs. Some preferred to concentrate their efforts locally, whilst others could see the strategic advantage and possessed the relevant experience to work on a national field, sought to foster wider developments:

*"I probably don't sit on as many national boards and things as probably, you know, as someone who is running one much smaller than I do but I probably don't have the time to do that." S115*

Honesty and transparency were consistent features across the practices of all PCCs in their leadership styles. As has been discussed elsewhere, they recognise the need to foster public trust through transparency measures. Equally, interviews suggested that there was something else at play, a deep integrity in the majority of PCCs seen, that was not about change for its own sake or bringing challenge to demonstrate the power of the office. It appeared to be something more quintessentially about an individual leader's definition of integrity:

*"I think it is a question about being honest and you know you can't not say things that are true." S116*

In this respect, ethical approaches appeared to feature in the tendency of many PCCs, not only to attempt to foster detente, develop partnerships, but ultimately grasp the nettle with the use of the normative power of the post when they felt necessary. In terms of the use of this power, the mediation mechanisms of accountability to the electorate and the role of the Police and Crime Panels both feature here. In the case of the latter, it felt more advisory in the majority of cases and only one PCC indicated that they felt that the Police and Crime Panel would offer significant challenge to them in this respect. The methods by which PCCs engage the Police and Crime Panels, develop the arguments and make their case, often with heavy use of research and public opinion, appear highly persuasive.

Some PCCs adopted a clientele perspective namely that the public and the police were effectively part of a portfolio of clients:



*"XXXXXX Police clearly are a client but for obvious reasons they are the main client because of policing and the business of policing but they don't I am not sure whether they get it or whether they don't want to get it." S117*

Ultimately a key role of the PCC is to sift competing needs, establish priorities and provide for these in the most cost-effective way possible.

There is a tendency to select for the most vulnerable, however, in doing so, considerable forces must be addressed as people's world views on need differ in the wide networks that PCCs traverse. Such judgements are not arbitrary, but often informed by the acquisition of data routinely provided from agencies supplemented by that which is commissioned for specific purposes:

*"So you have got, I will also add another complexity to it which is the data and intelligence from the police so part of the issue is a lot of the public don't really understand policing." S118*

In summary, it is clear a wide synthesis of leadership approaches are employed by PCCs that are often situational to the organisational relationship the PCC has with players involved, their role is both challenging and enabling and there is little to suggest a "one style fits all approach".

#### **5.5. Support needs:**

Without prejudice to early discussions about the issues of equanimity of access to the possibility of election as PCC, the role in its purest sense

has an opportunity for virtually anyone to seek election. PCCs would appear to predominantly come from three key routes: former serving police officers; those involved in national or local politics; and people with experiences of other workplace settings, chiefly the business community. Although each particular route has skills and insights that can be generalised and drawn into the role, it is likely that all incumbents would have some of the support needs enabling them to become fit for the role.

A generic code of support needs was so coded into five key areas:

- Reflection – i.e. opportunities to reflect, receive facilitated or other support that allow for reflexivity in role;
- Specific skills – where training or other assistance could support incumbents in role;
- Peer-based activities – opportunities to share with others, either fellow PCCs or with other third parties that might assist;
- Institutional support – where the support was led by organisational systems, be they local or national;
- Personal – where some form of support is unique to the individual and not subsumed under the above applied.

PCCs responses were a mixture of personally identified areas of need suffused with some hypothecated areas seen as important for all PCCs. This generated a combination of sometimes uniquely personal responses with some quite generalised insights into areas that perhaps all PCCs should receive help and support in.

Whilst all the PCCs interviewed indicated that opportunities for reflection were valuable, the opportunity of facilitating these using a paid third party, such as formal coaching or mentoring, was something typically that budgets could not countenance. Even if this were possible, there was a natural caution by PCCs to avoid incurring any costs that could be subject to criticism or challenged by the public or indeed would ultimately add to the costs of the PCC operation. The recognition of reflective practices, aside from this resource issue, were seen as necessarily time intensive when time was palpably as valuable a commodity as was the effective stewardship of public funds. Interestingly, a number of interviewees commented either on the value of the research interview itself as something that created a reflexive process, or the need at some point for this to be undertaken:

*"No, thank you very much. I don't often sit down, I guess this is the first interview really that I have had the opportunity to sort of let some things in that way." S119*

*"I would be willing to do that what I wouldn't be willing to do is devote lots of time to it. I think at some point in the future if there was to be a PCC mentoring event I would be happy to be part of it but it would have to be a one off." S120*

This research initially proposed to use action learning set methods to garner the necessary information for the study while simultaneously offering PCCs the chance to reflect on their practice dynamically. Despite considerable willingness and enthusiasm that followed the proposal, attempts to convene such a meeting were frustrated by the time, logistical and managerial demands of the PCCs involved. Four of the six PCCs interviewed commented post interview that they had found the interview process an opportunity to reflect upon their practice, their experiences to date and the actions and decisions they had taken, indicating it to be a useful practice. Many indicated having some political or occupational confidants that they had acquired from previous political or other work affiliations who in part contributed to informal mentoring.

Specific skills identified as needed for the role included areas such as negotiation, as well as orientation training that will be discussed under the institutional support factor. The cost factor again featured large in the minds of many. Indeed, these factors were so powerful, that the interviewer gained the impression that there were times that there was comparatively little formal self-development envisaged within the role as the cost of perceived accountability during times of austerity outweighed any benefits, the latter of which were rarely amortised:

*"There is all sorts of interesting leadership courses that you could go on that I think PCCS would hugely benefit but the public wont stump up the cost." S121*

*"To pay £2,000 on a training course for a PCC you now you would be on the front pages of the local newspaper as a waste of money." S122*

*"Some PCCS I think need media training, I mean I have had media training in the past ..... I had to pay for it myself." S123*

Many PCCs simply adapted their skills and knowledge to be able to effectively "hit the ground running" in the early days of their career even when they perhaps found there was a shortfall. Many admitted to completing their own skill set in a virtual way by the recruitment of staff that created a comprehensive team skill set. This may result in teams that are specifically skilled around the skill set of their PCC and such teams may have to evolve in the future should the incumbent and their corresponding skill set change:

*"What would have helped me would have been a bit more time to reflect because the schedule really was Election Day was the Thursday, Friday the results. There was supposed to be a programme which ran through Saturday, Sunday through to Wednesday with the police authority as the hand over pack and then you were up and running by the Thursday on your own." S124*

*"I would have wanted to get a handle on commissioning much more effectively from the outset." S125*

Some identified complex "meta skills" such as those around ethics, conduct in office and effective connecting with stakeholders:

*"Also, I think and a number of PCCS have found themselves falling short of this in a way on understanding the ethics of being a PCC." S126*

*"I think it depends on your background because you have got so many PCCS with different backgrounds but I think there needs to be some sort of basic introduction to governance." S127*

Without doubt, however delivered, peer-based support was seen as a significant input. The opportunity to talk with colleagues in the political and service arena and the support of specific peers, with whom one had a time-honoured relationship, appeared invaluable to the majority of the PCCs interviewed. What was apparent was the peer relationship that existed between the PCC and their deputy and/or Chief Executive who were considered critical supports to the PCC in role. One PCC indicated that one of these incumbents effectively provided political advice and support in a highly independent way and was, as such, a valuable mentor, albeit that person was an integral part of the staff contingent. The impression is that this is not a unique relationship. One gets the impression that in many PCC offices, camaraderie generated whilst facing externally hostile forces can produce a level of peer support in addition to any formal staff role that is invaluable in a position that, some PCCs will admit, has relatively few peers with the potential for great isolation. To a certain extent, their tenuousness in role politically only served to add to this. On rare occasions where PCCs could assemble as peers, much seemed to be gained:

*"when we come together sometimes it is like a group therapy session because leaving the party politics aside we are sharing things, linking, how sometimes our world is so linked and so similar with some of the things we are facing, you know we all go through that sort of ups and downs and sharing those." S128*

Institutional support was arguably one of the biggest areas of support need identified by the PCCs. The APCC (Association of Police and Crime Commissioners) is a quasi-autonomous, non-governmental

organisation brought together to support PCCs and to provide a collective feedback mechanism to government. The bringing together of PCCs was not only an opportunity to develop peer-based activities but also allowed an opportunity for PCCs to have some interchange in terms of current issues, interpretation of policies, best practice and offers an element of central support.

As a general feeling, institutions could offer support by the provision of induction courses for newly incoming PCCs to orientate themselves around, for example: the police service; governance practices; how to work with Chief Constables; and performance management.

Other forms of institutionalised support identified were more to do with the process of the centre. Almost to a person, PCCs referred to the speed of having to prepare Police and Crime Plans following their initial election. Whilst all were confident that this is likely to be a unique experience and plans that are durable will be in place at the time of subsequent elections, the imperative to deliver within an extremely tight timescale hampered many PCCs in undertaking the necessarily detailed orientation of the role before having to produce plans. It is a moot point as to whether this intensity of early experience created some of the tense dynamics between some PCCs and Chief Constables in the early days resulting in Chief Constable suspensions and negative reportage on the power of the PCC.

Personal needs vary. Some recognise the different learning speeds of PCCs in their orientation to role, which in some cases required several annual planning cycles in order for them to become fully conversant with the subtleties of the role, organisational functions and networks. Relationships are forged over time and in some cases, conflicts addressed. Equally as an organisation overseeing the police, it was important to maintain high credibility whilst at the same time undertaking a sharp learning curve:

*"I think the officers have got to accept that you aren't going to take everything in, it's just not possible the human brain can't do that. You know when I said two or three years to really immerse yourself in the role, some people might think well I can do it in two or three months."*  
S129

Often support for PCCs comes, as it does for many, from home, extended family and friends. For a PCC however, this inevitably raises additional challenges in terms of ethics and probity which means that such relationships needed to be well trusted and tested. When such situations did occur, they offered a valuable alternative contrast perspective from someone whose life and work was often totally unrelated to the role:

*"Sometimes when I have got something that I want to chew over I will often talk it through with my dad."* S130

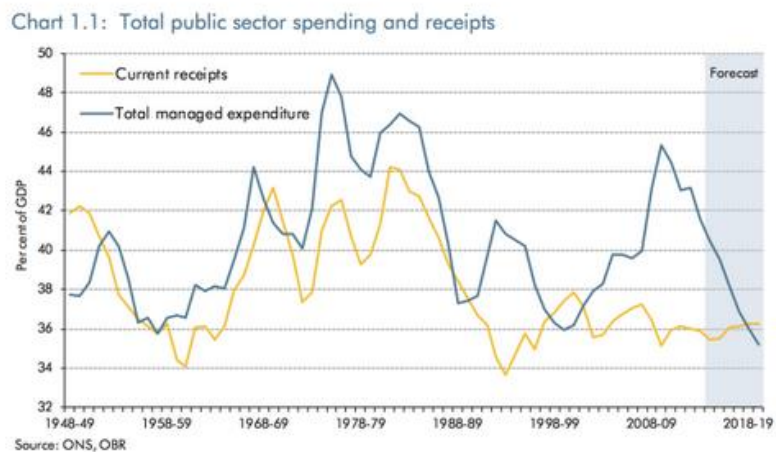
Without doubt, the PCCs elected in 2012 came with wide experiences and multiple skills gained from other roles. It is possible, however, that future post holders could be a political neonate and although there are current discussions about the support needs of PCCs going forward,



these have yet to be in anyway formalised. PCCs can self-elect training and have the budgets to deploy to obtain this or other support services such as coaching or formal mentoring. Budgets and public perceptions, however, have precluded this being considered as a viable option by many and so peer-based approaches suffused with some institutional support constituted the substantive support for PCCs in their early days. Continued, historically unprecedented levels of cuts in public services rendering public service expenditure as a proportion of GDP at a similar level to that of government spending in the 1930s, will be a consistent downward pressure upon PCCs actively seeking to formally skill up with elective programs of training and support that meet their unique needs.

**Table 5.1**

Total public sector spend and receipts Source ONS, OBR



Several PCCs interviewed suggested that the ending of the coalition, with a consolidated and reinforced role by virtue of the increased Conservative majority in the 2015 general election with a reasonable

majority, created the likelihood of their continuance to at least a further term. It does not remain highly foreseeable that the tailored support and development for PCCs coming into role will be a high priority either for a government, yet to resolve the fiscal deficit as exemplified in Table 1.1 above or for individual PCCs managing shrinking budgets.

In summary, whilst the first cohort of PCCs came into office as experienced players inevitably some will have areas of particular skills deficit and support needs, both practical and emotional within role. To a certain extent, these can be provided for from within the staff contingent they manage, but sources of support and mentoring that are truly person centred, are often informally sought.

There is a general reluctance to gain skills through training courses and other purchased activity that may incur public disapproval at times of austerity.

Real threats exist in the relative lack support for lesser experienced PCCs who are seen as both important colleagues but also potential liabilities should their skills in media handling, ethics, and credible management practices be deficient.

PCCs are universal in their need for post holders to be media aware although the outsourcing of media support again is subject to the fiscal pressures mentioned above.

## 5.6 Changes identified as a result of the PCC role:

This area was examined under a number of different coding notes drawn from the first interview undertaken as a template.

- Change – all forms of change identified comments thereon;
- Accountability – improved responsiveness to stakeholders, transparency or situations that are being held to account;
- Economic generic code relating to fiscal matters subdivided into:
  - Value for money opportunities;
  - Added value alliances;
  - Perceptions;
- Use of bricolage techniques – for creative economic response;
- Commissioning issues – Overall changes of approach adopted by the PCC in the light of experience.

The key area within which all PCCs feel they have created true change would appear to be in closer linking community needs to the development of plans that inform the police service locally and ensure best use of resources. A primary focus was ensuring that finite resources were delivered to where there were areas of greatest need, recognising resource limitations and indeed cognisant of the austerity measures that were enacted by government towards deficit reduction:

*"efficient effective police service is all intertwined with what it is we require from our community to ensure that we have best use of police resources that police resources are actually getting if you wish, the grease to the squeak." S131*

Additionally, although much of the PCCs role was that of challenging approaches, that very challenge has brought about an incumbent role in terms of the inherently more interactive, dynamic approach to governance, even accepting there is a considerable way to go before the police are fully accountable to the public. Within this lies a tacit recognition not only of the future of public services being more accountable, but also the likelihood of austerity measures for some time ahead:

*"think hopefully what has helped is the fact that I was well known before the election within the police, or relatively well known and in that sense there has been stability around governance." S132*

*"I think that accountability has been sharpened, is it where it should be? Is it ideal? No because it is constrained by resources within my office but I think it has significantly improved." S133*

PCCs also see themselves as more active agents in national roles acknowledging the Chief Constables are rather more restricted in this. This has brought an opportunity not only the for enablement of Chief Constables but also for relaying the interests and concerns of areas at a national level.

*"And a great smile went across most of their faces, they said thank God somebody has told us to get on with it." S134*

*"keep the xxxxx area safe and of representing the interests of the xxxxx area in terms of community safety both to other organisations locally at a regional level and a national level." S135*

Although public participation began at a relatively low level, all PCCs acknowledged that it was significantly higher than any interactions Police authorities had previously sought to achieve and that the office

of PCC offers a place for the public to go that previously did not exist. There is a recognition that the public at large are not easily encouraged into participating in police matters and are often only motivated when it is relevant to them personally. This to some extent explains why victims and community groups often have a disproportionate presence in PCC activity and present, as they do, a logical point of interface with the PCC from the community. Even for the public in general, PCCs differ with the perception of voter engagement being low. Whilst in some cases, voter turnout in 2012 was as low as 10%, some PCCs argue that this is significantly more people voting in relation to someone to provide the strategic governance of the police force than the totality of those members of the public that interacted with police authorities in the past.

PCCs have brought an element of localism to the areas they served. Whilst there have been idiosyncrasies, by and large, these have involved PCCs collaborative activity and has produced cross boundary collaboration. In some instances, these involve resource partnerships such as the sharing of helicopter services, serious crime activity and similar. Simultaneously, they have had to adopt flexible approaches in localities, reflecting perceptions of local need. PCCs generally would not see their implementation of plans as idiosyncratic in this respect but as representing the necessary diversity of approach in areas that have different needs, different populations, different cultures, variable

ethnicity and a myriad of other considerations that would support the proponents of localism as the most effective form of service provision:

*"if you look across the country you will see 41 different interactions of Police and Crime Commissioners even in the (region) we not we don't operate the same ..... We have great similarities but we don't operate the same way." S136*

PCCs have extensively had to revise processes to ensure that accountability mechanisms are streamlined and responsive. In many cases this has involved removing many structures that were historical in nature, often reducing accountability processes to one or a very limited number of fora in which accountability is maintained and more importantly, progress reviewed:

*"So, it is eleven committee meetings in one month, we now have one meeting a month with decision making all the bureaucracy is taken out of it, yes you have got the SGB papers there you will see there is decision making bits in that, there is performance reports where I hold the force to account – one meeting." S137*

Equally, they have had to model efficiency and effectiveness in their own operations to other agencies:

*"I still don't think it is perfect by a long way but I find the sort of things, you go to somewhere the other end of area and you only have one meeting which there is no point you going there for one meeting." S138*

In terms of economics, in addition to cross border activity that produces services such as outlined above, it has been important to communicate with the public just how spending decisions are made. Individual PCC transparency and expenses have been evident in all cases and in certain exceptional cases meticulously so, down to the last penny.

Equally, the provision of information to the public on how the police spend its resources and the dilemmas faced at times of cuts, have allowed for a better informed public. PCCs have increasingly taken to representing this information to the public in a way that is simple, and attempts to be commensurate with the information needs of people who do not necessarily work in strategic and overtly financial arenas. The impression gained is that the information provided is offered neither paternalistically, nor with any element of "dumbing down", but aims to inform and encourage debate. PCCs interviewed were absolutely clear on their empowerment role of individual citizens and that information should be understandable and public centred, utilising effective communication media that the public can easily access. All of those interviewed were making considerable efforts to try and achieve this:

*"the infographics. That's a very clear way of showing spend." S139*

*"we have on the same day something called the Cooperate Performance and Scrutiny Board, which is the formal scrutiny mechanism and that is live streamed so people can and we do it from here in xxxxxxx and people can dial in and watch the meeting or they could come to the meeting if they wanted to." S140*

It is to notice that in two PCC areas, public consultation indicated that people would have been prepared to have a substantial increase in police precept, cognizant of the central government restrictions that were pending. It is perhaps rare that the public would be prepared to volunteer to pay more in the circumstances and perhaps reflects the level of engagement achieved by the PCC in the area concerned. As

one PCC indicated, rather than burden the public further, they intended to use reserve funds rather than altering the police precept:

*"But you know I have to ask the public what their view is so we went out and asked the public through our police channels and through my channels so in other words people who were engaged with the service. 68% of people said they would be prepared to pay have a 2% increase. So my thought was ..... is it because those people are engaging the service and therefore they are prepared to pay?" S141*

Examples of resource partnerships that might also legitimately appear in the "Innovation" section of this work, have been evident.

Opportunities for PCCs to pool funds with other agencies in a collaborative process are seen to have produced not only creative responses within communities, but also fiscally imaginative partnerships that have generated resources against a backdrop of funding privation. These have allowed the development of projects that would not have otherwise occurred. In many cases, such examples cited, required the PCC to be the first to make a firm commitment creating a simplicity of process that allowed other partners to be moved to action by the impetus. Equally, this "light touch" of approach which understands the financial governance and probity issues of partners, also features a respect for operational freedom and permits people and organisations to take a lead on behalf of the PCC, factors that in combination appear to have been key in catalysing local action. The corollary for PCCs, however, is creating a firm line on the accountability of leads to deliver whilst offering support:

*"I got the county on board and the city then came on board and we jointly funded productions of Xxxx Xxxx, a very hard hitting play taken*



*from real case studies of how a young girl is groomed and then abused and trafficked. You can hear the gasps from the kids in the audience when they watch it but really good stuff. Costs just over £500 a show which is peanuts for a school. Schools now come and say can you put it on for me and no you pay for it, you have got the budget mate, head teacher-you get on with it." S142*

*"I have just said right this is what I want you to deliver, here's the money, and this is how you will be held to account you decided how you are going to deliver." S143*

PCCs have used some innovative approaches to the proceeds of crime, often using these as hypothecated funding for community projects:

*"the money that they need to train the volunteers comes off the levies off the back of vans. So it's funding from the vans so it doesn't cost us any money either." S144*

The quote above also evidences considerable use of creative bricolage both financially and in terms of mobilising local community resources to enable innovation to occur.

PCCs recognise the value of closer working with other organisations. At the time of writing, PCCs possibly taking on the oversight of Fire and Rescue services, is a centre stage issue under negotiation. Even before Home Office guidance was issued upon this, many PCCs had already recognised the value of measures such as co-location as a significant way of saving funds. One PCC shared that in that force area, Fire and Rescue calls were exactly one tenth of those to the police where the police switchboard had the capacity to take on most of that demand anyway with a net saving of £700,000. In this respect, the role of the PCC has in some respects an element of the flair of business

development managers often seen in industry. One gained the impression that the autonomy and ability to take executive decisions, seed corn resource partnerships struggling with austerity measures, creates the impetus for organisations to think differently and participate. Two PCCs informally, have indicated that they felt that the absence of austerity measures would not have provided the stimulus for organisations to begin to merge functions more effectively. This often appears to require some initial challenge by the PCC and holding to account of some, for past practice and a re-evaluation of spending patterns by partners:

*"under the police authorities the local councils were just granted money and they could do what they wanted with it. I didn't feel that was accountable enough and had put some accountability into that process and the local council don't like it." S145*

PCC Commissioning is relatively in its infancy. Some PCCs saw commissioning as simply the administration of former Crime and Disorder Partnership monies routed from central government. Seeing the police as a commissioned organisation, namely working on a pure purchaser/provider split as has occurred for example in the National Health Service is to many, also in the early stages of debate. To what extent a formal purchaser-provider split would be helpful to the PCCs is a moot point for some. It would certainly render the review of police performance more accountable to the PCC office and the Police and Crime Plan might constitute a service specification. Some fear, however, over prescription by service specification that may interfere with operational aspects of the police which by their nature need to be

reactive, flexible and dynamic. It is something which Chief Constables might also be resistant to:

*"that is something that needs to change and I don't think the force are quite, well they obviously haven't or they didn't want to let go of that what they perceive as their, their domain and well you know the Chiefs, the hierarchal nature of the police force, you know." S146*

### **5.6.1 Changes introduced by PCCs:**

The general impetus behind the PCCs was to produce more flexible dynamic ways of doing business. PCCs shared that the need to be responsive to the public has within it inherent social pressures and drivers of action. The public do not like delay, they dislike bureaucracy and need to see results. They are acutely aware of public service being drawn from taxation and to that extent have consumer demands. For PCCs, this required a dynamism of approach that would inevitably bring changes:

*"to get that mind set to change was the key challenge from my perspective and it wasn't really easy to do and took longer than I would have liked but we had to make this break from the old local Government that brought up the past to something much more dynamic and fleet of foot." S147*

PCCs often rely on research to develop an evidence base to identify need and support arguments for change. Talking to PCCs, there is a noticeable difference between the research which is around perceptions and local need, and simple data acquisition, which has in the past often resulted in an excessively target based approach with the police:

*"we have now two graduate interns in the office who do research who actually do environmental scanning for me who write interesting papers based on the research they do etc. so it's a different feel to the office as opposed to people who are just there to prepare papers." S148*

The above example is particularly poignant. Not only is research being used to inform the strategic oversight of the PCC office, it is using interns from a local university, at once creating career opportunities whilst ensuring research is done in a cost-effective way. Other PCCs have commissioned research through specialist agencies within a commissioned specification. However it is done, PCCs are actively using and garnering research to inform their activity and to objectify information received from the public. The writer had an opportunity to sit in with a meeting of one research company and the PCC chairing. It was palpably apparent that the thrust of the research was evidencing need in the area, as opposed to a police initiative to respond to that need. The distinction was profound in that the research was not about the case for the continuation of the current services, so much as re-evaluating local needs and the best way of responding. This critical difference is to notice and reflects, not only the informed use of research to inform management and governance processes, but also the considerable skill and objectivity that some PCCs strive for and the experience they bring to the role.

The collective recognition of technology being at the forefront of effective policing was not lost upon any of the PCCs interviewed. With this is also a recognition that new forms of specialism in policing will

evolve in the times ahead. Several of the PCCs understood that the notion of the police beat Bobby, was not something that necessarily generated public confidence and safety that it once did, as issues such as fraud and cybercrime were referred to in several interviews as key future challenges. PCCs recognise increasingly that law enforcement, crime prevention and addressing fear of crime in the future may have as much in common with young millennial code writers as it does with the physical presence of the "bobby on the beat". This is especially true, given the increasing statistics around victimisation in the community decreasing whilst in cyberspace there is a significant net increase (City of London, 2015).

*"The technology is moving far, if technology hadn't moved we would be really oppressed today and we have just about kept on an even keel because of technology." S149*

The section cannot do full justice to the level of organisational and personal change PCCs indicate that they feel they have set in motion. A general "feel" of the whole process, however, is one of the injection of dynamism with expectation. Even the most traditionally oriented PCC interviewed, reflected this and saw it as an integral part of the brief.

### **5.6.2 Innovations:**

During the data analysis it became apparent it was important that innovations were captured somehow. This was a single code which evolved during the data analysis process as the earlier "change" coding

seemed to feature strategic and process innovations, and it was felt a code was needed to capture some specific examples in action of projects or processes where innovative practices and projects have come about under the aegis of the PCC stewardship. There were a number and these encapsulated all the creativity, dynamism, brokerage and leadership elements that are evidenced under other sections.

Some of these matters have already been mentioned. For example, the creation of research interns or the use of bespoke research to produce evidence bases and inform action. Improved responses to Mental Health issues have also been mentioned elsewhere.

Specific research which has been used to objectify and be accountable for decisions as a way of demonstrating fairness in office, was clearly an advantage. However, one gained the impression that one of the primary motivations was to provide data to inform and refine management decision making and resource allocation far more than for the purposes of defensive strategies with stakeholders.

At many levels, the community has been enabled and actively involved in contributing to community safety measures. For example, in one PCC area, the issue of speeding was so vexed, and resources so limited, that enabling local communities to issue an informal police challenge to miscreants proved highly effective. This project was funded through hypothecated funds garnered from speeding fines

generated as part of police activity. Whilst this project had no formal sanctions to level against miscreants, the sense of community disapproval was visited upon them through the process, something thought to be highly persuasive. This particular project evidences in part how the public can be more effectively utilised in terms of their contribution to community safety than many organisations are cognisant of. It is also cognisant of an age of austerity where creative, bricolage based approaches need to be adopted of necessity to produce results:

*"Well it is great, people love it, we have a waiting list as long as your arm. We have got about 70 areas wanting to do it. You know whether or not it will be sustained or whether there will be a rush of enthusiasm for a bit but in other areas its working really, really well and the police have not taken it seriously." S150*

*"I have set up something called the "Save the Communities" fund which I made a big thing when I stood for election on the Proceeds of Crime Act and the funding that, or the funding that doesn't come back locally that goes into the Treasury." S151*

Several PCCs have actively used their public links to foster greater interest and uptake in members of the public volunteering as special constables. This could be in part due to direct encouragement of members of the public having contact with the PCC, perhaps in a way that may not have occurred with senior police officers, as well as PCCs proactive approaches to employers and business communities, supporting employee involvement in such activities.

A significant number of PCCs have introduced electronic consultation methods. These include the use of blogs, online forums and other

methods of connecting with the public in a real-time interactive way. There is a recognition that these methods offer not only authentic feedback, but also reduce the insulation between officialdom and the public. The use of such media to further enhance transparency of approach and information flows to the public is also evident:

*"we publish all the rationale for the decisions, some Police and Crime Commissioners don't publish the rationale and they have to be made public after 48 hours of being signed." S152*

One PCC, in supporting his Chief Constable has become particularly outspoken on certain national policies, opening the debate in relation to issue decriminalisation in favour of more community based options. Even amongst those interviewed there was clear dissonance on these matters. This particular issue evidences, not only the potential strength of a combined approach between PCC and Chief Constable to promote change, but also the peer debate that ensued which strongly indicates that PCCs, whilst sharing best practice, have very diverse views and there is perhaps little danger of "group-thinking" as a community of practice.

In contrast, consensus would appear to universally exist towards the issue of domestic violence, responses to which increasingly features in Police and Crime Plans. There is a clear impetus on the police to actively intervene in such crime at a far greater level, whilst developing messages to the public of its unacceptability as well as supporting the commissioning of far more victim sensitive support services. Whilst to



some extent, this is a national drive, local PCCs are establishing this as a key priority that appears to be maintaining the operational focus of the police.

Opportunities to recognise individuals and the community and celebrate their contribution have been championed by some PCCs:

*"I introduced the Community Safety Award scheme because I know how you feel when you have helped somebody and they say thank you, you feel really good but it happens so rarely." S153*

Equally, responding to the public on perceived priorities has resulted in real resource growth in certain areas of activity:

*"A good example of that would be the increase in road safety camera vans which we doubled from three to six and we did a big survey with the public and we got about two and a half thousand responses around their views of road safety." S154*

Most of the PCCs interviewed had introduced a caseworker-type role to look at areas of public concern in relation to the police and their conduct:

*"I have a full time case worker in my office whose job it is at the moment is essentially to mediate between the public and the police." S155*

Services to victims have been universally focused upon as key commissioning priorities from the limited resources available to many PCCs. This has also included the reworking of many services that were not necessarily meeting public need:

*"I felt that there was an opportunity to provide a much better service to victims. I did a victim needs assessment, a piece of research that understands what the public expectations of services were and to try and identify the gaps between expectation of service provision, we identified a whole range of gaps." S156*

In addition to widespread measures to improve service to victims, and close oversight and attention to issues of historic sex abuse, a number of services have been commissioned to support victims:

*"the sexual assault referrals centre established in xxxxxxx eventually was fantastic because it has, that has been a legacy issue and it has failed, there is a long history to it but just getting that in place....and also the help for victims' website which I have established given the number of vulnerable victims that have come forward." S157*

Without prejudice to future management structures, shared resources, including premises, are now a reality with other services in some areas:

*"So it is a joint HQ, I mean our HQ building we are on a campus here but the main buildings are the old concrete and glass one across there which is starting to crumble and fall down so we had to rebuild. Well we didn't, we could have chucked millions of pounds into that and watched that sort of deteriorate. The fire service are in a similar situation there HQ building, they are sat on some valuable land in xxxxx, so we came together and we are building that jointly." S158*

Costs of governance have reduced. Most PCCs interviewed indicate that their administration was significantly less in cost than the police authority they replaced:

*"But first of all on that point the cost of my office like for like is 100k less than from the police authority." S159*

Areas that would have hitherto received a reduced priority have been revisited in Police and Crime Plans, for example rural crime initiatives:

*"Wildlife crime I have very much put on the agenda in xxxxxx, it was in my manifesto." S160*

Several initiatives have involved the public in addressing the conduct of the police. These not only include caseworkers, already mentioned, but also structural processes to support this work including mediation:

*"Well we have a complaints procedure and I set up a complaints ethics and integrity independent panel of people which is you know, I think it has about ten or twelve people who are members of it and they come from the general public and they go through police complaints." S161*

There is an active take-up of the greater use of technology for offender management and crime reduction.

In Summary PCCs would appear to have produced a welter of new initiatives and innovations in their early years. Whilst one could not say that innovation would not have come by other routes, PCCs own experience is that this has come as a result of a community centric focus that would not have otherwise existed but for the powers within the role and the challenge and synergy generation they have been able to bring to local systems. They point to activity that has generated highly productive resource partnerships that would not have been achieved under past structures.

## 5.7 Generic Quirks -The PCC as Incumbent /Challenger/Mediator:

Although more effective governance and accountability is often associated with systems and the application of rules and principles, this would appear to be much more dynamically interpreted by PCCs. Indeed, attempting to map the difference between the incumbency role so attributed to police authorities without dynamism and innovative change contributed to this coding being selected.

Broadly speaking, the coding here was also developed from concepts drawn from Fligstein and McAdam (2012) notions of the Challenger/Incumbent role within emergent social fields or “Strategic Action Fields”, supplemented by the helpful additional role of Mediator, as developed in Actor-Network Theory is as follows:

- **Incumbency** – this reflects activities that relate to the normative definition of the role in relation to governance, oversight and ensuring probity. Conservative actions that relate to the continuity of the post and the systems it administers:  
*"I will go to my local council scrutiny meetings; I am quite happy to update them." S162*
- **Challenger/Mediator** – this reflects active and dynamic change catalysed as a result of the role that brings about new or radically changed: systems; working practices; problematisation approaches and mind-sets. Mediation in this sense, does not suggest a formal process

so much as the role of an intermediary to bring change with two or more other players who would simply not otherwise coalesce:

*"I waited just to see if someone would take the initiative and I came and said right this is the last time we have one of these meetings, pardon?"*

S163

Attempts were made to code action orientated areas of the PCCs interviews in ways that reflected these divisions. A simple numeric examination of the incidence of these distinctions is not always helpful. Challenger/Mediator actions are often complex in nature, and so can result, for example, in a narrative description that is long and complex, when compared to the more descriptive narrative of defined Incumbent roles that can simply be itemised in some cases, sentence by sentence. Equally Incumbent roles are often tacit and understated whereas the challenger role by its nature, can often comprise of exciting narratives that one would want to feature. With these caveats, however, it is to notice that PCCs references to the role of Challenger/Mediator outnumbered Incumbent references by a factor of approximately four.

The PCCs interviewed would appear to view Incumbent aspects of their role as forming part of a system of political process which needs to be transparent and open in ways that will foster public confidence, respecting the rights of the public and attempting to renew the bond between police and public. Simultaneously with this are notions of

financial probity, efficiency and effectiveness and a respect for the rule of law. Of course, the exact position each individual PCCs is an analogue along an Incumbent - Challenger/Mediator continuum and would situationally vary in its exact position, but broadly this appeared to be the case. It has to be said, that the two PCCs that demonstrated the greatest incumbency values (or the least challenger values), were those that had the shortest interviews, suggesting that the ability to talk in greater depth on the subject, methodologically requires more time to generate the necessary ease of process and dialogue, which fortunately the other PCCs involved were able to offer:

*"Yes you have got to have a process, you have got to have a process you have to have an audit trail but just get on and do it." S164*

It becomes apparent, however, the role of the PCC is felt to be fundamentally bringing change to systems in order to achieve the Incumbent goals and to foster a dynamic, interactive dialogue with an increasingly engaged public. Equally, the relative power of the PCC, allows it to be a powerful player, not only in relation to the police and public, but also a whole range of other community-based organisations. The PCC can often garner support and be a focus for activity that hitherto did not exist.

A clear example of this is the issue of mentally disordered offenders. The researcher had an opportunity not only to discuss this matter with some PCCs in depth, but also witness meetings in one PCC area where the PCC skilfully chaired a complex multiagency forum to

address the problem of people with a mental disorder in police cells. For the police, it was a simple position: people were being inappropriately held by default in police cells as there was insufficient community-based mental health services to accommodate them elsewhere. The net result was effectively a systemic resource burden shift from the NHS to the police service. This had become a national issue for PCCs at the time with something like 40% of all cell space being taken up by people with mental health needs as a result of this position. PCCs had collectively placed pressure upon the Home Secretary who, in liaison with the Department of Health, enabled a fund to be identified against which PCC areas could bid to generate service alternatives. At the local level, some PCCs coordinated the bid, often having to ensure service provision occurred across areas that encompassed many NHS Clinical Commissioning Groups (CCGs), diverse voluntary sectors and policing that needed to respond to an urban/rural mix of demand, police station infrastructure and other resources. It was clear that the opportunity for PCC offices to be the lead agency on this, ensured both the responsiveness from the police and clear accountability with CCG's, where, by virtue of their sheer number, opportunities for diffusion, lack of consensus, slipped timescales and potential inertia, may have existed. Supported by central government, PCCs were encouraged to develop Crisis Care Concordat's between key agencies to address the issue. Whilst centrally supported, the pivotal role of the PCC at the local level made a huge difference in speedily addressing an issue that has been

apparent for at least two decades (e.g. Sir John Reeds Report into Mentally Disordered Offenders, 1992). The net result has been a 55% reduction of people held in the cells of the mental health problem since 2011/12 and a 34% further reduction since 2013/14. (Department of Health, 2015).

PCCs generally appear to work collaboratively although frequently see their roles as bringing challenge to conventional wisdom. There is a recognition, that organisational change can be quite slow yet their role of Challenger in simply bringing an alternative view or fostering a dialogue, appeared to be evident with all of those interviewed. PCCs see themselves very much as change agents balancing a sense of continuity in terms of the good offices and effective work of local policing and community consultation with the progressive, where assumptions are frequently challenged. Not infrequently, PCCs use of action-based research and other research methods, in some cases commissioned independently of PCC offices to produce information to inform a debate on issues:

*"when I take away half their police officers and you know they will not be amused and they will say well can't you cut the back office. Well you know we have this extraordinary view in life that all we require of police is people wandering around on the Beat, well nobody commits a crime in front of a Policeman wandering down the road and all the detection and you know the clever stuff is all done in the back office." S165*

*"it is also this ability as I say to act in that very freed up way, it's about taking actions whereby yes you can challenge you can be controversial, you can't divorce yourself from responsibility but you can win over a changed opinion which I think is quite incredible." S166*



In some cases, PCCs redefined roles that were not necessarily a legal requirement of the police, but nonetheless contributed to the community at large or augmented roles that other organisations without 24/7 capabilities could not undertake:

*"They have got no powers of entry, legally there is nothing they can do but it doesn't stop the cops going knocking on the door." S167*

The unique position of the PCC as an observer of interactions between police, public and other agencies, is often a valuable one. It is reminiscent of the notion of "perceptual positions" used in such management consultancies as Neuro-Linguistic Programming and therapeutic interventions such as Gestalt. The PCC is effectively in a "meta-position" capable of fostering debate between players:

*"Sometimes its screamingly obvious, blindingly obvious questions that need asking and that I think just having a sharp mind and good common sense." S168*

Whilst there is much about the nature of the PCC role that is about probity, responsibility and credible stewardship in a public office, there is a tacit recognition by the PCC of the need to bring change within, not only the police as an organisation, but the agencies, community groups and commissioned services that the police interface with.

This is also juxtaposed with a new and much closer relationship with the public at large. The inherent power of the role, is seen by many

PCCs as an opportunity for facilitation and challenge, whilst at the same time using that power to enable communities.

### **5.8 Personal Factors: Motivations behind seeking the post:**

The motivations for PCCs seeking election varied widely. Many have had experience in community safety partnerships, police authority service or have been councillors with some other briefs. Unlike the relatively frequent criticisms of the Westminster elite as having little experience outside of politics, PCCs often had pre-political experiences well away from public life. Past work experience of some of those interviewed included roles as police officer, a stonemason, an electrician, accountancy, a steelworker and a PR consultant. Most were in seniority, and for at least half of those interviewed, the role of PCC was effectively a role that was penultimate to retirement. One PCC, had actually taken professional retirement and sought to become a councillor when the opportunity to become a PCC became available.

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#### *Researcher Vignette:*

*McClelland talks about affiliation as part of a triad of power, achievement and affiliation motivations within people. Within affiliation, identification and in some cases admiration can feature. During the process of this study, I found myself forming a growing respect for the sheer challenge that many of the PCCs were taking on in the various ways they were addressing the task based on their experiences and own personal resources. It was apparent that the job was a tough task, such challenges and circumstances often promoting compassion within me and the danger of selective bias. Whilst this study had set out not to do a more searching critical analysis of the PCC so much as to*

*understand them ab initio, there is still a danger of quite natural factors such as admiration creeping in. Especially given that the PCCs had backgrounds outside of formal politics that arguably made them more identifiable with in terms of my own career track or even just being a member of the public. Conversely however, these very factors may have been conducive to their ability to better connect with the public and for the public to identify better with the PCC in role:*

*“These people have not had political careers before they had other activities. When there is criticism of the Westminster elite where the precursor to a political career is simply to leave university and be a political researcher, which happens frequently, one could argue a refreshing piece of democracy is at work here. Admiration and/or respect however, must give way to impartiality and the ability to retain critical reasoning and the conflict/consensus models of society are useful broad polarities to calibrate between.”*

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In common with several PCCs around the country, some of those interviewed were initially ideologically opposed to the concept of PCC. Some have real fear that in the wrong hands this role was one of significant power. Nonetheless, they ultimately overcame their ideological concern and self-selected themselves either as the solution to that dilemma or, were encouraged to run for office:

*"So I had to be persuaded my initial instinct were not because I wasn't supportive of the idea of PCCS particularly and as I say I had also taken on other responsibilities but I was persuaded to do it and I did it and the rest is history I suppose." S169*

*"when the PCC bits came in it seemed natural that I sort the Labour selection and I was successful." S170*

*"I said I don't want to be the Police Commissioner and he said do you know what the best person to be the Police Commissioner is the person who doesn't want to do it and I thought about it and I reflected on that and actually that is what swung it for me." S171*

Others were motivated in part by direct experience from other roles where they felt ultimately being a PCC could make a difference:

*"it was a charity I won't say where it was where I interviewed some girls who were aged between 12-16 who were being groomed and this was before all the grooming scandals hit the press and their testimonials were profoundly moving and I did my report and everybody said that they knew this was happening and nobody was prepared to do anything about it." S172*

Some, within sight of their retirement were clearly looking for alternatives to use their lifelong acquired skills and saw the role as attractive, when suffused with their career and life experience:

*"I mean I could have retired but I would have been bored out of my brains I think probably." S173*

*"The reason for deciding to stand was because of all that experience over a long period of time locally, regionally and nationally and offering up that experience really even though during the passage of legislation I did speak against it." S174*

*"It popped up. The PCC role popped up after I retired." S175*

These comments in many ways are not entirely surprising. The speed of implementation of the office of PCC was considerable and delivered at a pace that placed a premium on opportunistic responses, as opposed to long-term reflection and deliberation as a career move.

Four PCCs felt the role was intensely local and was about providing service at a local level. Equally there was recognition that several PCCs took part in national work and there were also assets to the stock of PCCs in office. Equally there was collaborative activity between

neighbouring PCC areas that redefined local in the context of resource sharing, joint planning, intelligence collaboration and similar. There was, however, cognizance that some people with experience working at a national level, may not necessarily find the local role of PCC one of particular attraction:

*"but it just struck me the other day how all the former MP's and ministers have all become involved in the national scene if you like which is obviously where they have spent many years of their lives already so its natural I suppose that they would gravitate towards that."*  
S176

What is apparent from all the PCCs interviewed, was that talents amassed across a lifetime of experience, were finding meaningful outlet for those concerned within their PCC role. All PCCs interviewed had strong perspectives about the centrality of community and its personal meaning to them and it would be fair to observe that whilst both meaning and personal ambition featured in some of the motivational 'mix' for PCCs, it was palpable in all that a process of empowerment of people was an important value, irrespective of political persuasion.

The desire to protect the vulnerable, including victims and individuals less able to speak out against injustice was consistently evident across all interviews, balanced with, in most cases a realism that achieving this was an imperfect science at best. What was apparent in interviews was the level of personal passion displayed for the post even by the most restrained of players. There was a real sense that the PCC role was a purposeful one and one that could bring real change into people's lives.

In summary, whilst there were multiple personal motivations for seeking post, PCCs appear imbued with strongly held values about community involvement and the empowerment of people, irrespective of the means by which this was achieved. For all of those interviewed it was apparent the creation of the role of PCC had become an important vehicle for personal expression of this.

### **5.8.1 Emotions experienced in role:**

There is little doubt, both from the literature and those interviewed, that the role of PCC is a demanding one. The emotional experiences of some PPCs were quite circumspect initially, however, almost all interviewed 'opened up' in interview to share some of the experiences that had that affected them at an emotional level. The interaction between emotion, narratives and action is important in leadership behaviour in complex situations (Rees *et al.*, 2013). Due to the intensity of emotions involved in some cases and to avoid potentially identifying interviewees, this section has been written in a necessarily "high-level" manner and attempts to communicate a flavour of the emotional experiences of those in post. Equally, some of the findings listed here are not just derived from interview but from comments made to the researcher during the initial communication process.

During interviews it was evident the PCCs of both Labour and Tory persuasion were frustrated at their tenuous existence in the early days.

Rapid uptake of the role, low public awareness and the constant challenge of both seeking the public's view whilst attempting to explain their role and function was a palpable source of frustration. Equally, whilst doing this and attempting to make the work effective, a number complained of the political battle that was going on about their future as being a source of great discomfort. This was without prejudice to the implementation of a post that was new, senior, highly accountable and innately demanding.

*“we have always felt a bit unwanted, you know what I mean within the party. I have always been a very strong Labour Party person and I found that probably the hardest bit to sort of reconcile.” S177*

The stress of the position was not always evident from the literal but was communicated nonverbally and with voice tonality at certain points in several interviews. Due to the pressures of the post and family commitments one interviewee indicated that a clear decision had been made not to seek re-election.

Work-life balance featured in a number of interviews. Many looked forward to their work each day and felt that it added meaning and context in their working lives. Equally, some raised the challenges of work-life balance and strategies they had to undertake to reduce stress in their lives.

*“I genuinely enjoy coming to work, in fact the worst bit is going home sometimes. I think sometimes you get into things and you just realise there is a work/life balance issue there.” S178*

*“the impact on your family as well because social media now is so intrusive and you know I get it, it goes with the territory and all that and we know it does but when it happens to you it is not a good place to be.” S179*

Additional issues relating to the media will be addressed in another section. However, emotions in relation to the media ranged from the positive and upbeat through to the downright offended, one PCC having to undertake High Court action to defend his/her interests.

Constant background stress of the post was apparent from the high levels of transparency and accountability the post sought to achieve. One PCC, for example felt the need to share every item of expenditure, even those under the prescribed disclosure threshold of £50 or above. This and other tactics were in many cases not only espoused the values of transparency in post, but effectively compromised the potential for any criticism or mischief to be made by those who can be critical:

*“There are ... forces of negativity which make it difficult to deliver....that leads to a kind of feeling at times powerless, powerlessness in ability to deliver and a key aspect of the job that is a matter of frustration to me.” S180*

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*Researcher Vignette:*

*It is apparent that there is a balance that has to be struck between a consistent robust protocol that is technically credible and builds confidence with interviewees and the danger of being over doctrinaire in one's approach. The importance of listening in a person-centred approach to what unfolds is critical:*

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*“Truncating the questions was a particular challenge and I felt it difficult to do that although I tried to compress questions together wherever possible. Even in the earlier questions, which I thought we could forego, stopping short of the expanded, volunteered narrative of why xxxx became a PCC in favour of more “here and now” concerns, would have lost the wealth of the discussion.”*

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Many PCCs inherited former police authority staff. This proved to be a mixed blessing. It gave an operational readiness that appointments processes and the management of redundancies for example, would have militated against, given the short timescales for producing Police and Crime Plans. This equally meant that PCCs had to effectively work with staff that were acculturated to the audit based styles of former police authorities than the more publicly accountable, proactive interventionist styles that were an inherent part of the PCCs raison d'être. This resulted in the challenges of having to ultimately remove certain staff whose attitudes simply were not appropriate. Typically, these related to more senior incumbents in the old police authority structures and so were limited in number. Nonetheless, PCCs referred to the challenges of attempting to bring staff into more productive, less constrained orientations towards their work.

The nature of working with the police itself was seen as stressful in many cases. Some found subtle resistances towards their role an inherent conflict. The intensive 'results focus' of the police often

seemed to lack process and reflection and was not calculated in some cases to take the public along with them:

*“My frustrations are more with partners; police service are very much “can do”.” S181*

Suspending a Chief Constable was seen as a highly stressful experience. Far from it being, as the media have suggested in some cases, an assertion of power within the role, this was seen as a highly stressful event and one of absolute last resort for all those who raised it in interview:

*“Most people don’t understand the sort of pressures that that brings.” S182*

*“Are you going to suspend the Chief Constable are aren’t you? You know and there is no getting away from that, you are the person that is going to make that decision.” S183*

Maintaining appropriate interpersonal barriers with the police and Chief Constables, particularly in terms of social life, appeared to be a challenge for some. Furthermore, some made reference to what they saw as the completely inappropriate boundary relationships of one of their colleagues that featured in a Channel 4 documentary early in the first incumbency period of PCCs that ranged from inappropriate to causing “cringes”. It was certainly not the model the PCCs wish to have in the public domain in relation to the appropriate relational spaces that should exist. The majority of the PCCs interviewed felt it necessary to ensure that appropriate professional distance was maintained from the police force and Chief Constables precluding social activity unless this

was somehow convened in the community via a third-party and was relevant to the respective organisations roles:

*“So, you have a sort of, for example you know we have our office party he has his office party. We would never have a joint office party or anything like that.” S184*

PCCs often referred to various forms of frustration, not only in terms of restricted thinking as mentioned above, but also in terms of organisational inertia and change. Frequently, networks were so wide in the community, that relationships and strategies were painstakingly forged only to find the incumbents of other organisations moved on, resulting in the concomitant reworking and re-negotiating strategies and activity as new players took the place of existing ones. Frustration also featured in relation to the multiple communication channels and often blocks in communication that occurred across organisations and communities. It also featured in relation to funding limitations and the constant pressures to make economies.

Another common emotion palpable in interview was that of excitement. This was frequently referred to in terms of reviewing their successes in engaging with the community, innovation in terms of service delivery amendments and proactive actions stimulated by the PCC office in general:

*“he said that eighteen months ago I wrote five things on the back of an envelope and now they are happening and that’s the biggest buzz of all.” S185*

*“there is that sort of stuff which is so, so exciting its ability to take on new ideas, develop new responses and in many ways the complaining about constraints and external factors they are mainly around funding but what you can do is only really constrained by your own imagination and your willingness or otherwise to listen to others.” S186*

In summary, PCCs occupy roles that are emotionally demanding in multifarious ways. The emotional experience of the PCC can range from excitement and elation through to anxiety and self-doubt. Both public and government have little sympathy, it would seem, towards the negative emotions of PCCs who must be seen, in common with the police, to be robust and reliable. Sources of emotional support garnered by PCCs are often informal either from staff, peer affiliation, or family member, each one having its own boundary dynamic and ethical considerations to traverse.

### **5.8.2 Use of previous experience:**

PCCs, as has been mentioned under the motivational section in this document, were keen to capitalise upon skills and experiences gained in past roles. For many, this was a bringing together of a multiplicity of skills and insights gained from their past:

*"I have done in the past in an executive role, yes you are a leader but you also have the ability to deliver. You have that really hands on if you want the ability to go out and say a direct order – I want this to happen and you make sure that it happens." S187*

*"...then I moved up into Financial Management and got involved in financial management issues studied for a qualification became a finance officer." S188*

*"I had worked in industry briefly and I had worked with an enterprise agency and I had an interest in economic development that was my other interest really was economic development. I had that background and experience." S189*

*"I had worked with the police at various levels at local beat office right up to Chief Constable. I'd give extremely useful background experience which meant that for me the transition for PCC was a fairly smooth." S190*

*"I have got a, my whole background really was at a senior level working with organisations to develop a strategic approach to their reputation and things like recruitment and a whole range of other things." S191*

Some of the reservations about former police officers being PCCs as has been mentioned in one of the sections:

*"I don't think ex-police officers should have been allowed to stand, I don't think they should have been allowed to stand. I think they are too close to the police service and certainly they shouldn't have been allowed to stand in the areas in which they served because you have to challenge and I can see, I can see how different the ex-police officers are in the way they approach the role." S192*

The general view was clear that strategic and other skills, are considered as more important in the role as police experience and the relevant operational, cultural and local knowledge can be gained later:

*"...understanding the culture of organisations that's what my job was about before. So I would go into an organisation, I would do an assessment of that organisations culture, its strengths and weaknesses and then I would develop a plan for that organisation. You don't have to understand policing to be able to do that effectively." S193*

Military experience, business experience and experience of working overseas also featured significantly with some of the PCCs interviewed:

*"I joined the Army at seventeen. I ran a platoon of soldiers on active service at the age of nineteen. I spent you know quite a long time in the*

*Army about twenty years, just over and then went into business you know I ended up running quite a well-known company nationally, internationally-all over the world." S194*

The experiences of the PCCs appeared so diverse, there was no one common thread that could be identified running through them with the exception of service on police authorities or as councillors at some point. The military, the trades, from the police, from business juxtaposed with national and in a number of cases, international experience. What is clear, is that PCCs are drawn from a broad church of pre-political experience. However, there are some common factors as they enter structures that ultimately make them receptive to the role of PCC.

For future cohorts, it is likely that PCCs may simply be attracted to the role as direct entrants, without necessarily any form of direct political antecedence. Given the 2015 election results however, significantly fewer independents were elected and it is a moot point as to whether connection to political parties will provide the necessary lobbying, campaigning, socialisation and support to the role.

### **5.9 Proto-Mayor issues:**

This single code evolved to try to encapsulate emergent discussion from interview regarding the creation of Metro Mayors as part of local devolution settlements by government.

As mentioned in the literature search, PCCs were introduced after the government had a brief encounter with the notion of Mayors and devolved government for which it seemed the electorate have little appetite e.g. Clark (2012). Since the inception of PCCs, the election of Mayors has now been re-introduced, some of whom may ultimately subsume the role of PCC within their function. Recent indicators are this is a matter for local determination. In many negotiations, the central devolution of resources for local populations, comes at the price of accepting the mayoral model e.g. Johnstone (2015).

On this basis, it is apparent that the role of Mayor may impact intimately upon the work to date of the PCCs and there may be insights that the PCCs can offer in relation to the mayoral model which will become far more ubiquitous than it ever has been within UK politics. It also naturally emerged in interviews.

Most PCCs were not defensive about the prospect of a Mayor assimilating their function. They did, however, raise strategic, managerial and democratic concerns about the fact that the Mayor's office, with an unelected officer possibly overseeing the arrangements, would not have the direct accountability to the public that the PCC would offer. Equally, PCCs have had to adopt an increasingly politically neutral stance and although this will be incumbent upon Mayors, the crosswinds of multiple political systems Mayors will have to traverse are likely to be far more turbulent than even PCCs must negotiate which was of concern.

PCCs had variable, often strong views about the relevant background for a PCC. For example, one PCC, who was a previously serving senior police officer indicated that the prior knowledge of the police, was invaluable in her/his early years' orientation towards the role and enabled her/him to make swift advances. Others felt strongly that PCCs were best recruited away from the police force on the basis this would avoid any potential enmeshments from past professional relationships, any socialisation and/or implicit organisational compliance relationships that had been developed within the individual. This would steer the PCC clear of any opportunity for allegations of collusion. What all PCCs did say, however, was that the need to become very familiar with the local police force, its deployment, culture, history, practices and styles of senior officers, was crucial. Add to this how these factors interact with the communities they serve and the detailed knowledge of government and legislation that specifically impacted on the police was of itself suggestive of a highly specialised role. Given this, it was felt generally that a Mayor was unlikely to be able to assume this role personally. Equally, were this role delegated to someone within a Mayor's office, it was unlikely that this person would have the direct accountability with the public on policing and community safety matters that the PCCs currently are required to maintain. PCCs felt generally, their direct electoral accountability to the public was in many ways the secret of how they were mandated to act with the police, credible in the eyes of the community and effective in their work. Most saw the advent of Mayors as being a potential enhancement of



local democratisation at the macro level, assuming their relationship with local authorities was clear but detrimental in terms of democratisation in the specific area of policing:

*"The Mayor will be, if it is introduced a directly elected person, albeit elected on a range of issues not just policing, so I do understand the model and probably would support the transfer of PCC powers into that model but not into an indirect body, sorry an indirectly elected body, like a combined authority which I think would probably now be a step backwards." S195*

Three interviewees raised concerns about the lack of coterminosity between Mayors and the police forces as currently configured. The configuration of Mayor positions, would not of themselves, be suitable configurations for force restructures and this will inevitably lead to overlapping of activity. Whilst cognisant of the impact of a Mayor in a "city - force" area, such as Manchester this was seen as potentially problematic for larger areas that might subsume more than one force. For the North-East of England for example, where mayoral elections will be held in 2017, three PCCs currently cover the three forces that make up the North-East. It was considered that it will be unlikely that either a Mayor, a mayoral official, or even a single PCC, could give the specificity of attention to a patch that size to be able to fulfil the current PCC role effectively:

*"I mean I think you know a central urban one, you know there are you know, I can see where the Government is coming from but I think again and I actually said this to the Prime Minister I said I don't think this has been thought through at all because what it does do is it means one single political party ends up running all our major cities." S196*

Some hinted that a strategy of combining forces, subsuming PCC roles within mayoral offices typically may have the PCC potentially becoming less connected to the public and much more of a functionary within a larger macro political structure than currently conceived. PCC concerns about a return to greater party political influence were also evident under the Mayoral model.

Clearly new Mayors will be a key new player in many areas and one which the PCCs would readily engage with possessing as they are likely to, within a wider brief, some of the catalysing impetus around resource partnerships that PCCs themselves have. Some could see clear potential in this, provided the problems of overlapping geography and political priorities could be effectively addressed.

PCCs hinted in some cases, that their role as PCC was not the end point in their career. It did become apparent from interview that some PCCs had become prime candidates for mayoral roles:

*"I mean the PCC of Manchester as you know is now becoming the Mayor of Manchester with a budget of several billion." S197*

Chapter six that follows will draw together many of the findings with some conclusions and recommendations, along with researchers' reflections on the study.

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## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **Conclusions and Recommendations – including personal reflections.**

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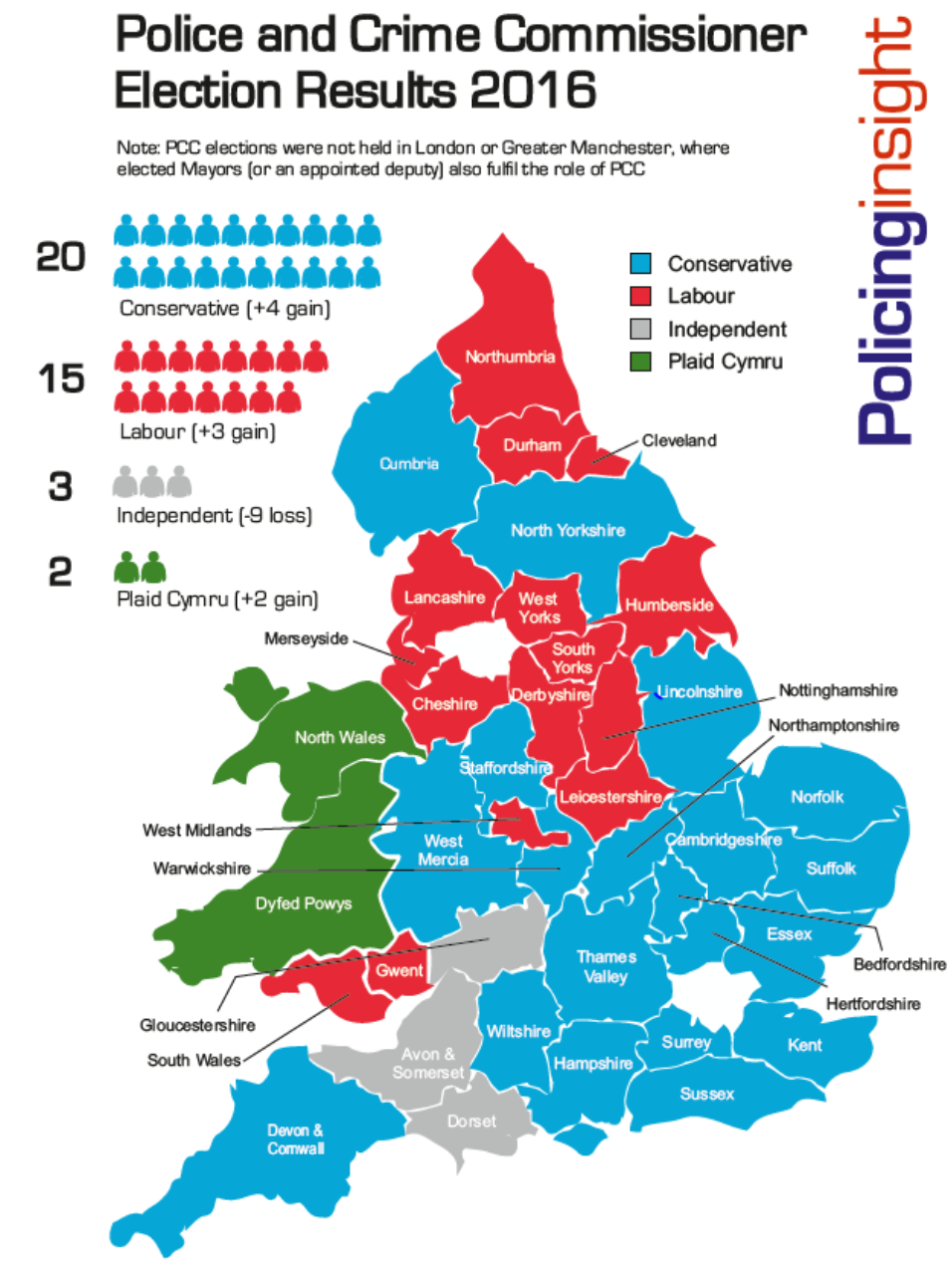
#### **6.1 Introduction:**

This chapter attempts to distil information that has been developed from this research and posits some conclusions and recommendations. It needs to be acknowledged that the world of the PCC is changing rapidly and some of the points of discussion may be overtaken by events at the time of delivery. At the time of the research, a second PCC election has been held wherein the results themselves could raise many discussions in relation to access to democracy and democratic deficit. This chapter brings together some potential recommendations for new PCC incumbents and as offers a personal reflection upon the process as the writer examines their own subjectivity within a reflexive process.

The second tranche of PCC elections were held in May 2015 and in many areas were linked to local council elections. This was to increase the likelihood of footfall and avoid the dark November night and single issue turnout expectation of the 2012 elections. Information from COPACC, and news reports suggest that turnout exceeded 50% in a number of areas. As shown in Figure 6.1 overleaf, the results saw a swing to the two main political parties at the cost of independent candidates. Conservatives gained four (+4) seats, Labour three (+3) and Plaid Cymru their first two (+2) seats. Correspondingly,

Independents retained only three seats (-9) and these were geographically connected, forming a band across Gloucestershire, Avon and Somerset and Dorset. Apart from South Wales and Gwent, the majority of Labour seats were in the Midlands and North, with Tory seats clustered around the South East.

Figure 6.1



Source: Policing Insight- [www.policinginsight.com](http://www.policinginsight.com)

A wide range of factors impinge on these results. Higher turnout could be linked to spring as opposed to winter voting, and combining the poll with other elections. That said, areas that had PCC elections on a stand-alone basis, also experienced higher turnout. Additionally, one might speculate that just as PCCs attempt to be "apolitical" there are periodic swings of public opinion that result in either nationalistic or left and right polarities. An increased Tory majority, coupled with increased membership of the Labour Party in the wake of Jeremy Corbyn's ascension to leadership are coincident occurrences within the last year. Equally, a growth of increased nationalism, both pre-and post the Scottish independence referendum has seen a constant corresponding debate within Wales and a strengthening of Plaid Cymru's position there. It is to notice, that whilst many PCCs, would as far as possible, try to be politically neutral, linkages to the electoral process, may generate political associations within the minds of the electorate, especially at times when independence, nationalism and membership of the European Union are generating yes/no debates and simple polarities of choice for the plebiscite. Equally a gradual increase of awareness in the role itself could be involved. The Electoral Reform Commission identified that the lack of awareness of the post and those standing accounted for some 37% of voters not tuning out in the 2012 elections (Electoral Reform Commission, 2013, p.7). Against this backdrop the next section discusses the notion of the role of the PCC as an office.

## **6.2 The role of the PCC as an Office:**

The role of the PCC as an office that any suitable person may occupy is under question as the recent polls suggest. Despite this ideal, election to office may be far less likely when there is no access to the kind of infrastructure, campaign knowledge and activism available within established political parties that has been demonstrated in all interviewed. Whilst the study did not have the opportunity to examine this in relation to independent PCCs, and this might constitute an area for further research, one might speculate considerable resource and networks would be required to campaign viably. This point was conceded informally by two PCCs. The PCC role arguably runs the real risk of an ideology failing to translate into an electoral reality, lending power to current systems dominated by the political classes, more than the wider community. Ultimately a current safeguard in this is the democratic process wherein voters decide, a factor that is becoming more unpredictable in the wake of Brexit and the growth of the Left in Labour.

In the context of the exercise of power, whilst there is an ideological debate on where the PCCs stand in relation to a consensus/conflict model of society, PCCs would appear to have at their disposal all of the forms of social power suggested by French and Raven. Their oversight, public engagement and commissioning processes, suffused with electoral legitimacy offer many opportunities for reward, coercive

compliance relationships, alliances based on affiliation or rejection, use of expertise and the management of information and attendant problem definition in communication.

### **6.2.1 PCCs and the tacit acceptance of their independence:**

PCCs indicated there is a tacit acceptance of their independence by many of their political connections. It remains to be seen how this can ultimately be mediated given the power struggles apparent within the key political parties at present. In particular, unprecedented issues of democratic deficit are occurring in the two major parties, in the case of the Tories, polarities are evident with the far right over Brexit, and within Labour, the innate contradiction of a leader popular to those members of the public who have joined the Labour party, yet unsupported by the Parliamentary Labour Party. In a future where PCCs candidature predominates from these parties and in the reduction or even absence of independent candidates, it is foreseeable that protest votes for political parties may ensnare the PCCs and in such an exclusive environment anyway, “virtual whips” may apply to PCCs.

What is apparent however, is in common with many forms of public office, the misuse of power always lies in latent form. PCCs interviewed seem to rely on their self-mediation, collegiate and ultimately electoral accountability, as much as the aegis of the Police and Crime panels.

Whether these safeguards are sufficient is an area of future study but the potential for the use and abuse of power by the PCC and the efficacy of the external mediation mechanisms remains unclear. Arguably these should be kept under constant review in order to dynamically balance the freedom and autonomy of the PCC to bring challenge to the organisations it oversees whilst maintaining accountability for the inappropriate use of such powers.

### **6.2.2 PCCs and the proposed Metro Mayors:**

Virtually all PCCs that were part of this study were clear to advocate their independence towards the community, disavowing and in some cases declaring clear boundaries with their host political party. This is a potentially important orientation that may contribute to other offices based on local control, such as Metro Mayors.

The PCC has echoes of the proposed Metro Mayors and learning about the support, apolitical orientation of the PCC and other democratic factors is apparent in relation to the Mayors. A key contrast however is that Mayors must interface with Local Authorities, in the case of multiple councils, via combined authorities who are often resistant to such power vested in one person. Without the complete power vested in the PCC to challenge and in some cases dismiss, it is unlikely Metro Mayors will be able to traverse complex systems with authority and the ability to generate consensus. It is to note that the requirement to



appointment of Mayors has been separated from recent legislation from proposed devolution deals because of these very tensions (Robb, 2016). Equally, another dynamic is the potential for Mayors offices to subsume the role of PCC within their function. Although local agreement is required for this, it is possible where such measures exist, a reduction in local levels of democracy will occur in relation to crime and disorder issues and the public's relationship with the police, should a Mayor be the only electorally accountable incumbent. Such an arrangement has the potential to distort the very intention of improved police accountability by closer links to the electorate.

### **6.2.3 PCCs and their governance role:**

Whilst the PCCs embody an attempt at improvement of local democracy and public inclusion, their key governance, in reverting to the electorate every four years, has overshadowed the potential governance role and concomitant empowerment of Police and Crime Panels to more effectively challenge the actions of a PCC within term.

The PCC would appear to bring more accountability to the police with the particular dynamic that exists between the PCC and Chief Constables, creating in some cases an effective management dyad that is helpful and evolving, in others a system of unprecedented local challenge. They have changed the old "tri-partite" relationship of accountability that saw a local audit role for police authorities and a

distant, yet direct connection to Home Secretaries, neither of which could appreciate on a dynamic level, the conduct of a Chief Constable. In addition to the local presence of the PCC, the public are now inextricably involved in this equation as the PCC is ultimately held to account by the people, not ministers. "The greatest mistake a new police chief can make is to assume that he or she now "runs" the organisation" (Schafer *et al.*, 2012, p. 236). Adding that future policing is inextricably linked with the ascription of duties the police "either adopt or are assigned by the public" (*ibid*, p. 39).

PCCs appear to hold a potentially powerful mediation role between the public and the police that is without precedent. This role allows for local communities to have their priorities weighed alongside those determined by the police and allow for a synthesis of innovations and balanced priority to occur. Extending this role to handling police complaints may further reassure the public but nonetheless may have a significant effect on the dynamics between the PCC office and constabularies and therefore will need careful implementation.

#### **6.2.4 PCCs as Change Agents:**

PCCs would appear to have change agent qualities. Whilst in part this is a *sine qua none* of times of austerity and Brogden and Ellison (2012) are clear that austerity over service stands as the key driver of change from a central perspective, their presence would appear to offer an opportunity facilitate challenge to conventional wisdom and practice.

Whilst this relates to some extent to their power and strategic role, it also relates to the level of influence incumbent within the role and the multiplicity of experiences they bring to police from many walks of life other than simply police experience. Despite the polarities of view over the relative advantages of a PCC with a police background over those from other fields, there is clear evidence of sharing of thinking between peers. It is foreseeable that the synthesis of experiences may offer a homogeneity in the skill mix and the PCC group, often facilitated by APCC, may effectively constitute an opportunity for sharing and the cross fertilisation of ideas and evolution of innovation.

### **6.3 Implications of the findings:**

From the findings in this thesis we can see that a significant innovation would appear to have come about from the PCC roles discussed above. The impetus for this has come through shared and/or pooled resource partnerships, placing a premium upon bringing people together to share resources at times of austerity and deficit reduction, including the mobilisation of the community. However, the PCCs have seen themselves as the key facilitators and catalysts of the synergistic energies required to affect such partnerships, ensuring inclusion and innovation occur simultaneously. As a model, they perhaps reflect one method to address the “silo trap” referred to by Sorenson and Torfing (2015, p. 145) which can be a bar to public sector collaboration, calling

on novel methods of governance in public services to enhance creativity, innovation and synergy.

### **6.3.1 Coping with stress:**

The role of PCCs is one of high stress, this was clearly referred to by several interviewed both in interview and informally. It has a range of support needs that may range from being skills specific such as adept and informed handling of the media through to an understanding of complex systems, an ability to plan, manage finance, consult, support and challenge. Organisational supports such as APCC and the Home Office are significant in the assistance of new incumbents, as is the informal peer group activity offered through various activities and fora. The ability to expend to seek requisite training, external coaching, mentoring, advice and consultancy appears hampered by the risk of public criticism at times of deficit reduction. This can make the PCC dependent upon such support from within his/her own team for the most part, rendering truly person-centred development plans that are unique to a PCCs developmental and support needs unlikely.

### **6.3.2 A move towards greater formalised involvement –**

#### **Distributed Leadership:**

PCCs are extending powers gradually to include greater formalised involvement in other emergency services. This has major implications

for the management of change, together with opportunities for major service improvements and innovations that may not have had the impetus in the absence of deficit reduction. Such change management, however, involves a span of the PCC leadership role being wide, multi faced, nuanced and politically sensitive. The role already is often delivered by way of Distributed Leadership approaches that have many potential key strengths in exploiting talent, skill and local will, whilst ensuring progress occurs. More research is indicated in this respect, namely the nature of Distributed Leadership itself and its application in complex multi-agency settings, wherein there are overlapping, interacting social fields and power structures including the public themselves, as a collective exerting considerable social field power. Harris (2008) and Lakomski (2008) indicate that in common with many leadership conceptual approaches, a true definition of Distributed Leadership is problematic.

Distributed Leadership is often associated and can overlap with related concepts including notions of "shared", "collective", "collaborative", "emergent" and additional concepts such as "co-leadership" and even democratic leadership processes. Much of the Distributed Leadership literature, e.g. Bolden (2011), Grant (2000), Lakomski (2008) examined leadership in the context of primarily intra-organisational structuring. Its use in terms of extra/multiple organisational networks is less distinct although the principles espoused, would appear durable. Taken into a wider arena, that of the democratic, members of the public as actors in

a social network, would equally be appropriate to consider as part of the "expertise", opinion or reciprocal influence available within the network. In this respect also, however, the literature is underdeveloped. Distributed Leadership as a meta-concept nonetheless would appear to be a valuable perceptual framework upon which to examine leadership processes in complex and evolving networks which encompass the organisational, the communal and the political. Current literature however, would appear to view Distributed Leadership as a social field process with the predominant bias towards its description primarily intra-organisationally. McBeath *et al.* (2004) and others, suggest that Distributed Leadership can be both formally created and naturally emergent within organisations and networks. Placed in a community context, such informal emergence of Distributed Leadership networks could of themselves, be the basis of social movements formed at inter-organisational/community levels.

Much of the literature surrounding Distributed Leadership refers to the interplay of structure and agency, reflecting analytical dualism wherein both notions are analytically separable but can only be considered in synthesis (Woods *et al.* 2004). In this context structure reflects the organisational and social environment exerting power and shaping situations to deliver both empowerment and constraint. The context of agency refers more directly to the actions of the players involved requiring individual actors to act reflexively towards the social context in which they find themselves or the collective. It becomes very apparent

that the PCC's have a number of structural factors that espouse partnership processes. Arguably one of these would appear to be austerity, where there is a natural pull towards the pooling of resources and the breaking down of time-honoured group and organisational processes. Equally however, the agential flair of individual PCC's in working within these processes would appear to have been borne out by many of the experiences shared by PCC's in interview. Gronn (2002) views Distributed Leadership as emergent from a group network of individuals involved in concerted action. Whilst a considerable preponderance of views on Distributed Leadership points to the institutional context within which it occurs, what is fundamental, may be that the coordination and collaboration skills fostered interpersonally by key players may foster the levels of trust and sharing of expertise offering a spontaneity to the process. Woods *et al.* (2004) refers to this as "fluid leadership" (p. 447). One can speculate that whilst agency structure surrounding the PCC's actively fosters notions of partnership, shared sovereignty, shared resources and the need to access multiple levels of expertise, the creation of interpersonal environments that are conducive to the creation of more fluidic processes may well be down to the personality and managerial maturity of PCC's. Put more simply, PCCs skilled in empowering and enabling stakeholders and leading collaboratively rather than, for example, heroically, effectively oils the wheels of the structural arrangements in place around the role. One would speculate therefore the formalising of knowledge patterns in relation to the training and support of PCC's around constellations of

Distributed Leadership and complex, emerging organisational and social structures might form a valuable part of PCC induction.

The approach, however, is a useful conceptual lens through which to view an important part of the PCC role. PCCs would appear to be looked to by the public to occupy a traditional “Heroic” leader position in the context of “righting” wrongs, ensuring accountability and preventing injustice. Equally, they are looked to for the development of inclusive leadership models that offer real empowerment within communities that are now somewhat jaded by politics in general. Such opportunities may extend to a level of empowerment, inclusion and community commissioning that sees distributed approaches promoting community innovation of the type described by Thorpe *et al.* (2008) as “Leaderful Communities”.

### **6.3.3 PCCs and Mediatiation:**

Media power and influence is a major consideration by all PCCs. Universally this matter was one of the most dominant recurrent themes of all interviews and much of the literature points to a considerable criticism in their early days (e.g. web based Google Alerts). Support systems and training for this function would appear to be crucial if views are to be balanced critically in the judgment of PCCs and not unduly influenced by those with disproportionate presence/activity in the media.



Chadwick (2013) suggest that politics is increasingly defined by organizations, groups, and individuals who are best able to blend traditional and newer media “logics”, in what is termed a “hybrid” collection of media systems. Equally, new media itself is considered to be an extension of power interests by many. The overtly facilitative and benign face of internet access intended for all is shaped by multinational providers of services such as Facebook, where opinion, lifestyle and data cease to be in the ownership of the citizen and are owned by the provider who commoditises this data. Within this domain, conflict, notoriety, controversy and attention grabbing narratives have greater capital than perhaps the celebration of acceptable practice in public service.

PCCs came into being at a time when mediatisation forces were at an unprecedented level of ubiquity within the community, particularly the public's own ability to react across social media and similar. The social history of the police has been chequered with examples of focus upon the fear of crime and the breakdown of social cohesion a prime public concern irrespective of the reality of crime levels. Emsley (1996) indicated in the formation of the early police forces, the fear of crime was the "principal spur" (p. 42) behind developments. This included a propensity to riot. Equally, however, the overuse of force and public power is anathema to a diverse, pluralistic society. Such principles have been well established for the use of the military, and all but the most extreme of civil emergencies. Therefore, it correspondingly

follows that these monopolistic power of a state organisation, such as police, should become subject to greater scrutiny and public commentary in a less authoritarian based, more diverse- post-modernist world that seeks to ensure rights to all, often offering challenge to those with significant power within society. In this respect, for example, we see arguably the growth of domestic violence and other strategies that address feminist and human rights agendas that would never have previously been centre stage (O'Malley, 2005).

Former police authorities appear to have been accountable only in the context of probity and retrospective accountability. PCCs are tasked to oversee the very formation of policy and strategy as expressed by the will of the community. The extent to which this is achieved, is something that only time will tell. However, the PCC model would appear to have a range of advantages over the previous structures in the context of connecting with an informed, rights-based public. Managerially, this would appear to contribute to more effective, community centred policies that should allow for local need. Constitutionally, it arguably enables members of the public to have a greater interface in the formation of local police policy, than was achieved hitherto.

#### **6.4 Contribution to knowledge and practice:**

Researching the early experiences of the PCCs offers a critical insight into the development of new political entities both at a national and local level. The findings in this thesis suggest that PCCs require a singular level of personal commitment to what is a complex, emerging and often turbulent role. PCCs bring a level of scrutiny to the police that has a level of transparency that would not have been achieved by the antecedent governance structures. Accountability to the public, suffused with what has often been described as the "critical friend" (e.g. Lister 2013, p. 24) function of the Police and Crime Panels have been subject to criticism in terms of being adequate mechanisms of accountability for a PCC. However, given that the role and function of the PCC is the accountability of a constabulary and within that, holding the Chief Constable to account, much has been achieved. The debate upon governance levels of PCCs will continue, as arguably it should, as the role consolidates itself, assuming it will be politically allowed to do so.

Political uncertainty has followed the PCCs in their early days, as one of the few political incumbents to have been conceived of, implemented, and subject to a debate on abolition, within the typical timeline of a government term. Had the Tory majority not been achieved in the 2015 election, it is likely that the fate of this role could have been very different indeed. The sensitivities, and uncertainties in

relation to this, affected all PCCs, many who saw a potentially very short period of tenure.

PCCs have come into being at a time when mediatisation influences, the public's own access to real-time commentary within the mass media opportunities of social media appear to serve to promote a new role in the context of its perceived additional burden to the public purse, a collective concern, as opposed to those who had fallen out of trust with the police, arguably a selective concern. This has perhaps meant that the effectiveness of the PCCs, has only been perceived by a portion of the public with the majority seeing very little of the richer picture of the PCCs involvement in holding the police to account on behalf of communities.

It is to note that PCCs have been likened to proto-Mayor models (Pickles, 2016). Their implementation would appear to have been a substitute for earlier proposed devolved structures by the Tory government over which the public have little appetite. One can only speculate that their successful implementation, despite turbulence, may have been influential in government seeking to develop the mayoral model, in many cases tied in with devolved powers such as we have seen in the "Northern Powerhouse" proposals of the last Tory Chancellor. The mayoral model itself has the opportunity, by local negotiation, to supersede PCCs. There is a real danger that this move would genericise the accountability of a specific public service critical to

public trust and arguably social cohesion. From the complexity and sophistication of function of the PCCs, it is hard to see this role replicated easily within a Mayoral office whilst retaining the level of accountability and responsiveness to the public it currently does. Equally it is hard to see a Mayoral office necessarily providing the additional public confidence to specifically rebuild trust between police and public that was a primary driver behind the inception of the role of the PCC.

Constitutionally, it is theoretically possible for anyone to become a PCC. The practical reality, however, is that without the infrastructure and support of a political party or considerable other financial resources, this goal may be hard to achieve, even in the political paradigm of the "protest vote". The 2015 elections left the country with only a handful of Independent PCCs, with all the remaining selections devolving on political parties, chiefly Labour and Conservative. Sophisticated skills are required to be a PCC; political knowledge; the ability to rapidly understand the complex organisation and appreciate its culture, history and conventions to name but a few. Those with requisite skills will find difficulty accessing office, however without the infrastructure, networks and resources to achieve this, even though actual spending on PCC campaigning is typically well below the prescribed limits. Further work needs to be undertaken as to whether these voting patterns ultimately are because the PCC is viewed by the electorate as a party-political process with typical party political associations at work. Policy decisions by government as to whether the

arrangements as they stand are democratically adequate for inclusiveness within a policy of localism, would also appear to need review over time.

PCCs are usually mature, managerially experienced, politically aware, astute individuals irrespective of their experiences. Those interviewed displayed a considerable amount of what might be best described as "Phronesis" (e.g. Shotter and Tsoukas, 2014), described as "savvy knowing" which deploys 'felt sense' aspects of judgement. Although we can glean from the press that this is not universal it may yet be a critical factor in the success or otherwise of a PCC.

Whilst reflexivity would appear to be important in the context of the PCCs and their practice, the opportunity for reflection and growth has already been mentioned as an unanticipated personal benefit for some involved in the interview process. Reflexivity however, also has an important part to play in the context of the PCCs linkages with the communities they serve.

Cooke and Kothari (2001) refer to the potential for new tyranny involved in participatory developments. Reflexivity is held as a vital skill for those involved in participatory activity. This could be particularly true of the PCCs. Whilst the notion of localism is for many desirable and seen as advantageous, maintaining accountability at local level, the participatory styles adopted by those seeking to garner opinion,

mandate or power from the wider community are imbued with innate dangers. Empowerment for others, the authenticity of motivations, actual behaviours and even the language involved can hide managerial desire for effectiveness and suggest a "quasi-religious" association between the rhetoric of participation in actual practice. Micro level interventions "obscure and indeed sustain, broader macro level inequalities and injustice" (P.14).

Within this is a message for the value of reflexivity as a practice for all involved in participatory approaches and ergo the PCCs. For Cooke and Kothari, reflexivity needs to extend beyond the narrow confines of epistemological awareness to an understanding that participatory developments may, by their nature be potentially tyrannical and should be discontinued should it be found to be so. Reflexivity therefore, is incumbent upon the PCCs to not simply obtain public opinion, but to ensure its true authenticity with a further process as to how diverging views in diverging communities can be balanced and interests fairly represented within a pluralist/egalitarian framework.

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*Researcher Vignette:*

*The world truly shifts in relation to our interactions within it. Any possibility that the social world can be viewed objectively in a positive sense receded completely from this piece of work. Reflexivity in this context becomes important placing emphasis not only upon what is viewed, but the very quality and nature of the lens through which something is viewed. Equally, researchers and researched, interact with one another in a reciprocal process and so both become changed. In many cases this can be invaluable for all concerned and touches on*

*the notion of researcher/researched dyad being within the constellation of a "research partnership", a social system in its own right. Comments picked up in interview following a telephone introduction with a PCC yielded the following insight:*

*"In a brief discussion between the role, and its mediating effect between the public and the police, xxxxx picked up on the researcher's use of the term mediation. He had not considered it in this context before but found it a useful term to describe the activity he had been undertaking. This is an important point as this demonstrates a researcher's impact on a process that evolves thinking. It is just a semantic in this instance, but nonetheless is evidence of the interactive process that occurs between interviewer and interviewee that actually brings change, however small, to the interviewee.*

*Reflexivity it occurs to me is often a process of posing questions and allowing people to enter the iterative process. It encompasses a form of Socratic enquiry.*

*Evert Gummesson in his book qualitative methods and management research describes the interaction between pre-understanding and understanding in the iterative process. Whilst this is true of the researcher, it demonstrates to me that it also occurs in mirror image with the researched.*

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Equally, findings suggest little evidence of age differentiation of need between citizens despite the reality that young people are more likely to be victims of crime. Various studies over a sustained time series (e.g. Home Office 2006, ONS 2013) suggest victimisation affects between a quarter and one third of young people with many experiences remaining unreported. In terms of representation, the potential for the needs of this group appear under addressed. For example, 8% of 16-24 year old experienced violent crime compared with just 0.2% of those aged 75+. Ironically, the PCC who attempted to appoint a youth PCC fell afoul of public ridicule for poor judgement over the appointments



process, yet the move stood as one of the few tangible strategies in the early days to address the need of this none enfranchised, relatively powerless sector of the population. Subsequent appointment was unsuccessful, the merits of the strategy being overshadowed, it would seem by the impact of the implementation faux pas. One could speculate a major challenge stands ahead for PCCs however independent, of their core political affiliations in balancing the needs of the young against the voting elder population, something mainstream politics deliberately targets due to their relative economic power and greater tendency to exercise voting rights. Internationally, young people are increasingly become the victims of Cybercrime (e.g. Oksanen and Keipi 2013) which includes fraud, bullying, sexual exploitation and grooming behaviours. With the increased risk of corporate cyber-attack now averaging four million pounds loss per episode (Ford, 2015) and the endeavours to address international terrorism how these interests are represented is a significant challenge for PCCs.

Many see the role of the PCC as an opportunity for them to consolidate and continue to serve in maturity from a lifetime of gained experience, others still see the role of the PCC as a long-term role, or one that constitutes another experience on a career track. Whatever the backgrounds or motivations, it is apparent that new PCCs benefit from the institutional support of organisations such as APCC. More formal APCC training for PCCs, is apparently under discussion and this would be welcomed. PCCs come from a wide variety of backgrounds and

induction training, mentoring and indeed ongoing coaching support would be important not only in terms of their orientation and maturation in role, but may also offer them external support that is objective and uniquely person-centred to their individual development and support needs. Institutional support from the centre and at the local level, including Police and Crime Panels for appropriate expenditures to allow this developmental track to continue, is important as PCCs often employ "ways and means", low or no cost ways of achieving training and support, if it is to happen at all in their current defensive stance to address public perceptions of financial waste.

The PCC is a unique political construct. Fewer in number than MPs, with arguably power close to that of cabinet ministers, they are seen by the public in many ways as the primary head of the police operation at a local level, even though operationally that is not true and organisationally they administer their role within discrete structures. They work in a complex dynamic having to balance wide and diverse stakeholder interests within the communities they serve and focus these upon the local police service to try to achieve a congruent response that is fair and equitable locally, whilst balancing national policy considerations. Their role has generated many innovations in times of austerity that have arguably resulted in improved services and the greater involvement of the public both in policy development and local services. Whilst their primary role is in traversing and representing entire communities, a parallel role is in holding the Constabulary and

the Chief Constable to account. The role of the PCC with the Chief Constable is the fundamental dyad that forms part of the critical success factor of the role. The PCCs role with the remainder of the constabulary would appear to be symbolic in nature. The overwhelming interactions of the PCC with the Chief Constable and perhaps a handful of senior officers, despite there being significant presence with local force officers on walkabouts, observational visits and similar connecting/promoting/ orientation activities. The PCC-Chief Constable role suffused with the multiple stakeholder networking arrangements that PCC undertakes places a premium upon Distributed Leadership styles where the locus of power is not with the PCC, the post offering instead, an organisational catalysis and fomentation role around which heterarchical systems can coalesce to realise synergies. Within that heterarchy is the role of the public itself, often providing thought leadership through expressed need or the local identification of issues that would hitherto be out of awareness to those administering public service. The role of the PCC therefore, offers much learning in relation to Distributed Leadership approaches of which past studies have typically predominated within the education and healthcare fields. Equally, as this approach is the inverse of more traditional "heroic" styles of leadership, support needs are evident for the induction and support of PCCs who may have little experience of such approaches.

The PCCs offer a rich environment in which to look at the strategic direction of a key service, central to the public's sense of safety and social cohesion. They are an active experiment in altered forms of

democracy and whilst there is considerable evidence of improvements in public awareness, imaginative innovation and better holding to account of the police, they have barely entered a second term of incumbency. The first four-year term was foreshortened by six months to coincide with the 2015 national elections. The PCCs therefore offer many opportunities for further study on a longitudinal basis in the context of police governance, models of localism, political accountability, citizen empowerment and leadership development, each one offering significant opportunities for further study and research. The PCC model is far from perfect, but it represents a significant step forward to its predecessor structures. It is, nonetheless, a highly evolving role, as we see other emergency services potentially coming under the remit of the PCC whilst the Mayoral debate offers further challenges. It is a rich source of future research opportunities as it evolves and matures.

As far as one can be aware, this is one of the earliest initiated studies of the experience of PCCs. As such it has inevitably covered only some of the breadth of the role, observed its emergence and can perhaps only offer a foretaste of the many issues the role and political ideology that created it generates, in a manner similar to early cartography giving way to satellite mapping.

## **6.5 Major limitations of the thesis and key areas for further research:**

The lived experience of PCCs suggests that it is a role not assumed lightly, but offers a foil for the skills and ambition of multi-experienced members of the community to serve or continue to serve the public in a very specific and accountable way. The managerial maturity of those interviewed in this study was extremely high and this was suffused with clear commitment and passion for the role and the principles that underpin it. Levels of normative power imbued within the post appear to have been used to involve communities, spark innovation, bring change, build confidence, share power and, where necessary, bring challenge. Further research is required into how such empowered roles can bring real social change as well as the appropriate levels of governance that deal with the safeguards needed in the exercise of this great power in ways that govern rather than inhibit.

The implementation challenges of PCCs, brought in within a very short timescale, throw light upon the balance that needs to exist between central policy imperatives and practical managerial implementation. Governance of the police and the role of the PCC itself, raises issues around accountability within public office. PCCs as framed in the legislation, could bring radical changes to police governance and the relationship forces have with the public. Better understanding of the nature of some of these changes, can throw light on other aspects of public administration.

Similarly, improved understanding of strategic movement of the locus of control from central to local approaches to manage governance and public resources may offer valuable insights into wider aspects of locally-based public administration. Gravelle and Rogers (2013) assert many studies have highlighted challenges inherent in accessing the police for the purposes of external research, rendering the opportunity to have insight via those charged with their governance, a potentially valuable one.

The PCCs appear to occupy a unique leadership position, well worthy of study. This is set in the context of their own organisations, their relationship with the public and their strategic influence upon the police whilst ensuring non-interference operationally. This produces a major challenge for the PCCs who are stewards of multiple, overlapping and complex systems, often presenting "wicked" problems in a managerial sense. Understanding the leadership approaches adopted and personal adaptations needed to traverse this difficult territory may offer insight into better leadership development and support for new PCCs and potentially for other roles that must manage similarly complex environments. Such learning may inform, for example, the new tranche of Metro Mayors proposed.

Finally, although the study found the use of qualitative approaches appropriate in exploring the leadership role of PCCs, the adoption of quantitative methods has the potential of offering contrasting insights

for policy makers and others. In addition, the growth of mediatisation forces as a social player in politics and indeed, in police and law enforcement agencies, provide an opportunity for further research.

## **6.6 Researcher's reflections through the project:**

This section, although it is not as exhaustive as the process itself, hopes to give a flavour of some of the researcher's self-reflection within the project.

### **6.6.1 The experience working with PCCs - as a manager and leader:**

Working with PCCs was also an interesting challenge as a manager and leader. To a certain extent, these posts represent what might have been an end point for me had my career in public service continued. I could certainly see that ten years on from my departure in public service, as the PCC role came into line, this was something I might have considered although once again, I would question whether my northern heritage, modest background and lack of political affiliation (the latter perhaps being the most important in the context of what I found in the study) would have yielded a positive result for me. It was therefore fascinating to work with people who were at the pinnacle of a public service career over a decade after I had chosen a different route. A route I am fully content with, but nonetheless, the natural tendency

for humans to make comparisons leads to deep thought when looking at alternative routes in what might have been my own quantum continuum.

Within this is the issue of identity of manager and leader, and I was very aware of reflecting upon how I would have addressed certain issues that came up in the process of interviews and effecting comparisons. Whilst some of this might have been a simple evolutionary psychology based comparison of self and other, there was another factor, which is the approach to just who I am as a leader and how democratic, inclusive, participative or charismatic and directive I am in all of this.

I openly admit to some sense of frustration at the none availability of PCCs and the difficulty in agreeing a set of methods with them. An initial high level of acceptance and interest waned as a significant number of people who wanted to participate in the study, became embroiled in the evolving detail of their new roles. One had the feeling of very much a “turn the page and it has gone” phenomena occurring with interested candidates. This led me to have to balance understanding against frustrations of senior people being as good as their word and strategically insightful enough to see that emergent roles are complex, frequently can get more complex, and the need to be cautious before volunteering too readily for things. For me it was about



what is often colloquially referred to in public service as “management maturity” and I think my expectations were high.

### **6.6.2 Researcher experience during the study - as a learner and researcher:**

A considerable amount of reflexivity work was undertaken under the separate work of DBA 502 pursuant to the researcher’s course of study within the DBA journey. This considered in more detail the writer's experiences and very detailed personal narratives. As such, only selected elements of the processes are reflected here and developed as the effluxion of time offers opportunities for reiterative eddies in the researchers own internal process.

Ibarra (2004) focuses particularly on the formation of working identity as a complex, formative process that is multi-layered in nature. The acquisition of working identity is, in this context, not just about the field of work, but identity as a "working" artefact of self in a modern world which is far from a straightforward process, fraught with non-linear experiences with the opportunity to "try on" multiple potential presentations of self in the process of becoming. Identity is shifting, ephemeral, subject to multiple forces and experiences but inexorable. One’s past identity is more tangibly coherent than the emergent one. It is the paradox that exists between the concrete and the abstract, the extant and the becoming. Ibarra summarises this in relation to the vividness of the old self and the possible selves existing "as fantasies

or that are grounded only in fleeting encounters with people who captured our imagination and much fuzzier, fragile, unformed" (p. 64).

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*Researcher Vignette:*

*Managing identities: Herminia Ibarra refers to an individual possessing multiple identities. It was very important not to treat this piece of work as another consultancy with an output eagerly awaited by a customer, of itself introducing bias and of itself being something I sought to get away from on my scholarly journey. That said, old habits can die hard and we are, as Woodsmall (1998) puts it, "meaning making machines" as the following extract suggests:*

*"I think I also got a sense that unstructured interviewing is an art rather than a science. It requires one to suspend the consultant inside and genuinely listen. On many occasions I found myself having to restrain myself to apply knowledge and understanding to develop an argument or theme in the interview and just simply choose to listen instead. It became important that the elicitation of the truth was greater than the obtaining of all dialogue possible.... The importance of open and semi or fully Socratic questioning, became palpably apparent. The other thing that struck me about the interviews was that we had prepared a fairly comprehensive schedule of questions based on themes around the literature search. I believe all of those themes were relevant still, however it amounted to a lot of questions and 2 to 3 hours was barely enough to get through them. I also recognise that in many cases the questions have elements of overlap..."*

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Therefore, on the research journey, the ipseitic path of becoming a scholar who in the DBA context retains strong practitioner focus needs to be balanced with the strong existential quality of Dasein. More literally, given that many existentialist terms in German do not fully translate to English, the difference between being and being an agent within the world. Throughout the entire DBA process, a dynamic

balance has existed between living in two worlds. The requirements of business and enterprise, competitive advantage, time-limited and often technologically driven market spaces and the slightly more cloistered, academic world, where things are less certain and the nature of knowledge itself has an innate value irrespective sometimes of how it is translated into action in a social or economic sense. The DBA's positioning would appear as somewhere between the praxis of the MBA and the episteme of the PhD. This can often offer a unique viewpoint into both worlds but also leaves one open to the dynamic tensions of both in terms of reconciling one's identity, values and sense of what constitutes the performative more than complete immersion in a single culture. Communities of practice offer both affiliation and support. This reflects some of the social identity work identified earlier by, for example, the work of Henri Tajfel which is predicated on the notion that an individual's self-concept is a primary desire derived from the perceived membership of a range of relevant social groups.

Kram *et al.* (2012) helpfully point to a blend of personal and social identities that comprise an individual's professional identity. In considering a researcher's own impact on the process of this research, it is important to establish "who one is", given the inevitable act of even being a simple passive observer in a research journey, brings something to the process that invariably changes it. Just as the outcome of the fate of Schrödinger's cat is predicated by the presence of the observer rather than what occurs in the box. Kram and his

colleagues allude to the notion of the individual being inevitably in possession of multiple identities, as opposed to a single one, a helpful deconstruction, whilst hinting simultaneously at the notion of "identity integration" (P305). Identity and learning in this context are however, never fixed destinations so much as dynamically changing waypoints on a journey, that themselves move with time and reflexive iteration.

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*Researcher vignette – openness to critique by peers.*

*This vignette was developed post viva, when some amendments were requested to this thesis.*

*"The viva was the first true challenge of my work. Up to this point everything had been incredibly consensual. It has to be said the concept of belonging to a "community of practice" has been somewhat compromised over the learning experience by virtue of there only ever having been two students on this DBA course over the five-year period, subsequent recruitment being shelved and there being a massive churn of tutorial staff. I vacillated internally between the need to get an outcome and the learning opportunity that was inherent in receiving a critique of my work. It also involved balancing a natural need to defend the work and the desired outcome from the work against the natural tendency to become personally defensive when those with greater knowledge than oneself in the field puts one to the test. It strikes me that the way of the social outcast or the paradigm shifter can be one in the same sometimes. I think there is something here about understanding that working within the learning community is very much about helping one another through challenge. It is about an innate interest in the pursuit of knowledge per se as opposed to any attempts to undermine, embarrass or reduce people, which is often a natural set of emotions that occur when people are under intense critique. The mind-set needs to be adopted of constructive enquiry into the truth, recognising that it is a direction of travel rather than an end in itself, given that we occupy an ontologically uncertain universe and as a community we both support and create systemic tension to maintain that endeavour. I find myself peculiarly frustrated and yet pleased with having been challenged and have no inhibition in admitting to this. Of course, this is a somewhat idyllic view when one recognises one has to*

*use wisdom at times when the inevitability of human ego gets in the way both of those offering the critique and the critiqued. This would appear to be a particularly important part of reflexivity. What I do know is the importance of exposing one's work to criticism, comment and amendment as soon as possible which requires a dynamic community of practice for that exposure."*

*Reflections from the viva are that the preparation is critical. It was apparent that the reflexivity aspects of my particular course were not factored into the briefing for the panel in the viva and had already been substantially dealt with under another work. Nonetheless, this underpins the importance of meticulous preparation for the presentation of one's academic work and the preparedness to "stop the train" driven by others if need be in order to ensure clarification.*

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Throughout the study, the need has been apparent to balance industry needs for credible, robust management style information, with immersion in the qualitative side of experience. A balance needed to be struck between something academically adequate yet produced agendas that were capable of implementation. Lived experience types of qualitative research do not necessarily lend themselves to such a reductionist approach.

Working with lived experience offers a depth and quality or in true Van Manen style, "richness and thickness" to a situation that otherwise would have a more anodyne description. For the researcher in a management context, there is a challenge about translating this back to the business community in a world that is happy to accept narratives but ultimately makes strategic decisions based on econometric based data. This made for a real challenge in terms of the potential impact of

the work going forward. It was in this respect, that the issues of process around this newly democratised post and the experiences as it permeated across structures local, regional and national, were a critical interest. In this respect, the reflection of the PCC as a substitution for the policy of appointing mayors was an interesting one, given that the policy framework accelerated around the appointment of mayors within a matter of a year or so after the inception of the PCC. In this respect, it becomes apparent that the usefulness of this work may be prospective in terms of the experience of Mayors at a local level. Whilst those Mayors may ultimately have different power bases to that of the PCC, the notion of localism, democratisation and the personal experience that generates within the individual, become the essence to which this work may help better illuminate.

This is important as any research needs to be read in the context of the researcher. Fletcher (1999) as quoted in Partington (2002, p.87) rightly alludes to the fact that those involved in research irrespective of the exhaustive list of the studies, offer only one frame of view on the story "amongst many that could be told". This is further developed in the concept of the reader joining the process of understanding as a partner within the frame of reference in which the material is presented.

James and Vinnicombe (2002, p. 96) interestingly links researcher bias to elements that are represented within the Myers-Briggs MBTI inventory. This is an interesting analysis. As an ENFP (Extrovert,

Intuiter, Feeler, Perceiver, although only borderline on the Extravert), So much of the writer's professional career has been involved in social work and other activities that very much reflect the ENFP preference and has resulted in a mind-set that started the study with a direct desire to counterbalance this and work in more positivistic forms and undertake data analysis in depth.

An original aspiration and hope was that the study of leadership and development needs of PCCs would permit such a reductionist approach. The literature search, however, quickly made it apparent that the project would be dealing with organisational constructs that were complex, emerging and over which there was no apparent consensus on the appropriateness of the role and the requisite skills and qualities required of the PCC as a leader.

The project was therefore approached with some element of baseline familiarity with the police and a cognitive understanding of some of the changes proposed in police governance by the creation of PCCS. Its selection was prompted in the months following their appointment, after a meeting with a newly appointed a PCC, wherein the complex management and leadership challenge engendered by the role became not only apparent, but something of interest and worthy of further study.

### **6.6.3 Post DBA activities - Business and organisational matters:**

Inevitably, a research journey within a DBA context brings the researcher to look at his other business of origin and consider what changes the experience has brought to the business or practitioners practice within it. Things that will be implemented post-doctorate include:

- Ensuring all promotional material within the organisation is research-based wherever possible. Currently, social proof and populism are a big part of the current marketing endeavour, in common with the activity of many companies. The greater inclusion and citation of research in marketing reflects not only the inherent company expertise, but also signals within the brand, that the organisation is a committed learning organisation.
- Maintaining ongoing subscription to a university library will continue irrespective of the researchers own postdoctoral activities and a budget line developed for this.
- Greater encouragement of client companies to explore the innate value of KTPs (Knowledge Transfer Partnerships) or similar.
- A consolidation period within the business to allow for the researcher's absence from many other developmental and maintenance activities for a quinquennia must be undertaken as essential accreditations, et cetera will need to be revisited. This also offers a "closure" period in the context of the researchers own identity development before considering any next academic steps.



- Dialogue between the company and the University in terms of future working will be fostered.
- As a small firm, more opportunities for internal sharing amongst staff and associates, celebrating a greater appreciation of the value of the community of practice, in particular, the reflexive aspects. These are in part, the essence of the company practice anyway, however, the research journey has given an added dimension to this.
- Consideration will be given to the company initiating its own research around its customers utilising some of the insights that have been gained from the research journey.

These points are simply reflective suggestions at this point, as a key reflexive part of the process of evaluating one's learning is closure of the learning process. In psychotherapeutic terms, closure allows adjustment and re-incorporation of identity, something Ibarra (2004), also hints at, as work identities evolve.

### **6.7 Commercialisation of the Project:**

*“Small opportunities are often the beginning of great enterprises”.*

*Demosthenes*

As has been said in the motivations for this work, commercialisation was not a central focus. In the context of the praxis based ethos of the

DBA however, translating research into outcomes that are visited within the business world remains important.

Commercialisation as a concept, does not necessarily need be about the accepted wisdom of translation into wealth and growth generation, but may have many aspects of community interest and offer expressions of corporate and social responsibility within business life.

Within that framework, there are three key elements to the commercialisation of this work. A summary of the developments is represented in the graphic outline overleaf:

Figure 6.2

Value/Benefits in terms of commercialisation possibilities:



The first development is the dissemination of findings to PCCs. This is under negotiation to occur during 2017 using the same dissemination of routes that the original research was based upon. Early indications

suggest this work has prompted reflection among some PCCs on their support needs and how they may manifest themselves in the work itself. This has elements of validation which PCCs may find meaningful in their challenging role. Exploration on dissemination to the press will run in parallel with those discussions. Early findings were shared with the in-house researcher at the Association of Police and Crime Commissioners and that dialogue may continue.

The second developmental area is that the research has stimulated synergies at a local level. The research has brought the writer into contact with two of the three PCCs in the North-East and with the writer's connection to the Institute of Directors, the first north-east Crime in Business conference, was sponsored by all three North-East PCCs.

**Figure 6.3**

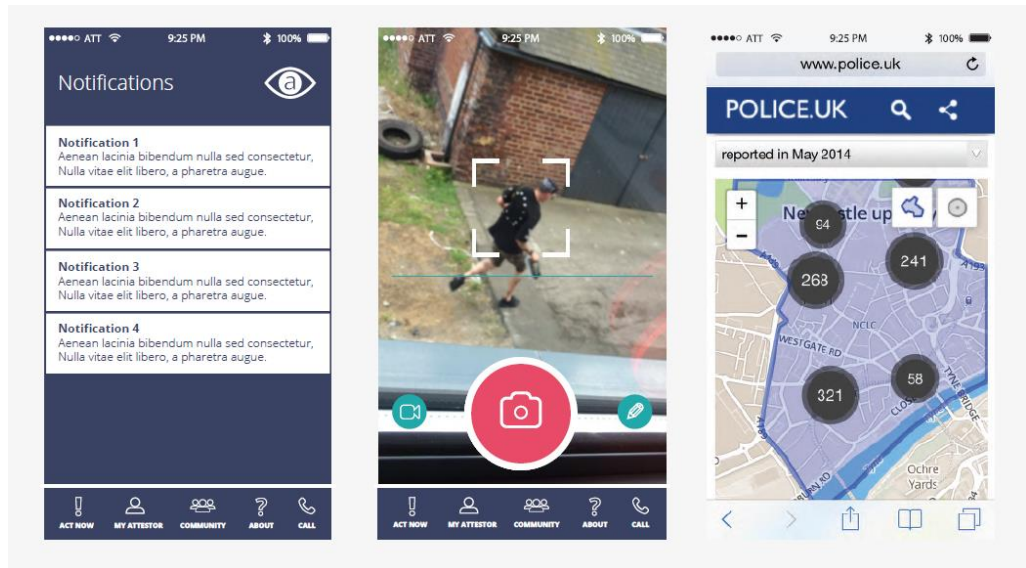
**The three North East PCCs and NE IoD Chair Graham Robb, with the researcher, at the Business Crime Conference, Durham, March 2016 with the Business Crime Compact.**



From this, IOD is the first North-East organisation to sign a business compact agreeing to collaborate with all three police areas around cybercrime and the reduction of business crime. Equally, businesses were asked to consider their role in supporting staff who may be subject to domestic violence or workplace bullying. A North-East working group on crime in business is to be established with IoD participation. The Asian Business Network have also agreed to participate in this.

A proposal has been made to all three PCCs for a new app based citizen's empowerment initiative. Innovation funding, is a possible source of support to this initiative which generates better evidence collection around personal and business crime, public order and serious incidents as well as opportunities for app users to directly connect with PCCs. The full commercialisation of this arrangement has yet to be established but the intention is to make this free to the initiator PCC areas with commercial rights should national rollout be achieved.

**Figure 6.4**  
**Attestor PilotApp**



A specialist coaching programme is under development. The researchers company, Gedanken Limited, is a significant player in the coaching and mentoring field within the North-East. A gap in the market appears to exist for those people who are incumbents of highly specialist, developmental and incremental roles that are not fully formed at the time of their inception. The “Phronesis” program, which is currently under development within the company, will incorporate adapted psychometrics focusing on instinctive behaviours and emotional intelligence currently used by the company and will be subject to a marketing drive from the spring of 2017. This research has therefore allowed the company to identify an underdeveloped niche that harmonises with the company's core values and forms the basis for targeted marketing.

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## Appendixes:

### Appendix 1

#### **The social and organisational history of policing in Britain developed from literature review:**

To understand modern policing and the emergence and current role of PCCs it becomes necessary to appreciate something of the social and organisational history of policing in Britain. Prior to 1829 when Sir Robert Peel created the first formal police forces that have evolved into the current modern law enforcement agencies as we know them, a system of ensuring the enforcement of the "Kings peace" was the collective responsibility of each settlement. This had existed for at least 600 years and some theorists (Bunyan, 1977; Emsley, 1996) contend that with the Industrial Revolution and the increasing rise of capitalism the system became eroded. The term "constable" goes back to Norman times where it was the practice of each township to appoint one of its citizens to be responsible for this role (Sagui, 2014). The term "hue and cry" now a colloquialism relates to a typical form of offender apprehension in which townsfolk raise their concerns about offenders, a practice superseded by the issuing of a magistrate's warrant (Bunyan, 1977, p. 59). The pre-1829 period was dominated by two key statutes. Firstly, the Statute of Winchester 1285 made provision for the appointment of Watchman to aid the Constable of a town. The concept of the Nightwatch is well-established, indeed a comedic version of the Nightwatch appears within Shakespeare's *Much ado about nothing* featuring the malapropism prone volunteer constable, Dogberry. The same act also required citizens to assist constables where required, a

practice that continues to be reflected in modern statute, common law and case law today (e.g. McBain, 2015, p. 78, Halsbury's Laws of England, 2013 and section 89(1) of the Police Act 1996 which addresses assaults on persons assisting police officers). The Justice of the Peace Act 1361 formalised the practice of knights and other members of the aristocracy charged with keeping the peace and were appointed by the Crown. Their powers extended across the 16th century as they maintained their original brief. In the years that followed, with the growth of industrialisation and mechanisation, the migration of people to urban centres and the overall growth of population, increased crime became much more focused in growing urban, as opposed to rural epicentres, in particular, London (Taylor, 1997). This created the natural impetus to generate more formalised police forces with extended powers beyond that of the simple constable aided by the watch system.

The drive towards the evolution of the police appears chequered with crime and disorder phenomena that were part of an emerging industrial society. Patrick Colquhoun's revision of the police in London City, tacitly accepted endemic crime within the London ports where contracts were routinely given to workers with the tacit assumption of their working for little or no money but with a licence to plunder from cargo in lieu of wages (Bunyan, 1977, p. 60). By the late 1820s, however, the city of London with a population of around 1.5 million, was policed by a total contingent of 450 constables and some 4000 watchmen (Bunyan, 1977, p. 51). An emerging class of wealthy London citizens sought



security for their property both domestic and commercial and in their everyday lives on the streets. The issue of both public order and crime was then, and to a greater extent remains the purview of the police. The impetus for reform, however, was very clearly vested in London as opposed to elsewhere.

1829 saw Peel's Police Act set the provision for a new Metropolitan force in London. It is this seminal change that has resulted in "the Met" still being regarded as exceptional amongst forces across the country. The legislation was proposed by Sir Robert Peel the then Home Secretary with considerable support from powerful allies including the Duke of Wellington (Bunyan, 1977, p. 62). Muir (2013), however, points to the Duke's (who was then Prime Minister) preparedness to use the military to exert control on the populous. This possibly throws light on an alternative *raison d'être* contributing to the aegis for a civil police force (p. 474). Without doubt, there appears tensions between the two men privately (p. 487). The new force employed the key strategy of visible policing to ensure the presence of constables, affectionately known as "Peelers" who patrolled regularly, often taking their operational direction from magistrates. The impetus was very much on the apprehension of criminals in the sprawling capital. The immediate apprehension was a critical operational point to ensure conviction in a world of low information, low technology, limited record-keeping, labour market volatility and itinerant and chaotic lifestyles of many of the lower classes. Implicit within the new policing remit was the concept of "Peelian" principles v. These are set out in Table 2.1, below, and no

apology is made for their full rendition here as they are implicit to past and current debates relating to police governance and oversight.

**Table 2.1**  
 Sir Robert Peel's Principles of Law Enforcement  
 Source: [https://www.durham.police.uk/About-Us/Documents/Peels\\_Principles\\_Of\\_Law\\_Enforcement.pdf](https://www.durham.police.uk/About-Us/Documents/Peels_Principles_Of_Law_Enforcement.pdf)

Principles	
1	The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder.
2	The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police actions.
3	Police must secure the willing co-operation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public.
4	The degree of co-operation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionately to the necessity of the use of physical force.
5	Police seek and preserve public favour not by catering to public opinion but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to the law.
6	Police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient.
7	Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.
8	Police should always direct their action strictly towards their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary.
9	The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with it.

It is from these principles that the core notion of "policing by consent" has been developed. This remains a key point of philosophical debate throughout the history of the police as various proponents have argued its role in terms of police confidence, transparency, the protection of

selective class interest, its use as an agency of social control and other debates.

The Municipal Corporations Act 1835 attempted to extend policing to the provinces, calling upon borough councils in cities to appoint watch committees who would be responsible for the maintenance of local police forces. The decision for observing this law was maintained at the local level and local councils, reluctant to bear the costs, were slow to take this up (Bunyan, 1977, p. 64). 1839 saw the County Police Act rushed through Parliament, as a measure to combat the fears of the Chartist movement. Counties could form police forces but again, this remained a permissive not a compulsory obligation of local authorities who were only made to recruit police forces following the County and Borough Police Act of 1856 resulting in the creation of 259 separate forces four years later. Governance was provided for these forces at a local level with justices of the peace playing a large part, something they would historically continue to do within government structures until the creation of PCCs (Newburn, 2012).

Governance within these early forces, including the Met, was difficult as many recruits to the police force were themselves illiterate, coming from the same social class that they were intended to control. These problems also wrought difficulties evidentially and in the maintenance of the incidence of criminal activity. Bunyan (1977) speculates also that the phasing out of transportation as part of the stabilisation of the colonies and their inherent value to the country would result in

hardened criminals serving their sentences at home and being released into society, requiring an effective police system to be available nationally. That said, these early systems were generally uncooperative, there was evidence of little inter-force liaison and organisational continuity was under threat due to the massive turnover of staff.

The period 1870 to 1920 saw consolidation of these police forces as greater connection with the population, particularly the working class, standards of literacy and processes and procedures improved (Bunyan, 1977, p. 66; Morris, 2014, p. 135). In combination, these processes gave rise to a change in practice that allowed 'after the event' detection to be undertaken resulting in the formation of one of the first criminal investigation departments anywhere in the world, at Scotland Yard. Interestingly, the office of High Sheriff, the key office of law enforcement governance since Norman times, persisted throughout as it does today. From 1700 onwards however, the office of High Sheriff displayed increasing operational and governance capabilities, including, in common with local constables, the ability to raise the "hue and cry" as well as drafting citizens to pursue felons from the 'posse comitatus', identifying volunteers and militiamen from large swathes of the able-bodied community (Beckett, 1985).

In the intervening period until the Royal Commission on the Police convened in 1960, provincial forces spent much of their time modelling and emulating the work of the Metropolitan Police force - which stood

as a key organisational model. Forces combined and amalgamated (Taylor, 1997) and from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century until the Police Act 1964, (which resulted from the 1960 Royal Commission) the number of police forces dwindled from 239 to 179. With the inception of the Police Act 1964, 49 forces remained, only six more than exist today (Bunyan, 1977, p. 70). This legislation was seminal in that it established the “tripartite” relationship between Chief Constable, Home Secretary and governance structures known as police authorities. These authorities were established in the 1960’s and endured until the inception of the PCCs and their associated structures in 2012. Police authorities were given the remit to secure safe, efficient policing for a constabulary area. Authorities were comprised of local authority elected members, magistrates and community representatives. These bodies were seen as lacking in accountability to the community by both the Conservative and Liberal democratic parties and need for radical reform was reflected in the parties’ respective 2010 manifestos (The Conservative Party, 2010). The Conservatives preferred the model of an Elected PCC, whilst the Liberal Democrats advocated member elections to authority boards, instead of the time honoured practice of simple co-optation of councillors, magistrates and others. Implicit within these proposals was the sense that none elected police authorities were little known by the public and failed to ensure that, beyond basic fiscal issues, the police and in particular, Chief Constables were held to account. Reiner (2010) effectively commenting that police authorities ‘pay the piper but never name the tune’ (p. 210). Ultimately Police and

Crime Panels were conceived as a compromise between the Tories and Liberals in coalition (Lister, 2013), aimed at holding the PCC to account at a local level between elections (Reiner, 2013).

## Appendix 2

### University of Sunderland, Faculty of Business and Law

#### Information for Participants and Informed Consent Form

Title of Study	Support and development needs of Police and Crime Commissioners
Name of Researcher(s)	David Cliff Dr Trish Bryans- Supervisor
Address for correspondence	University of Sunderland The Reg Vardy Centre St Peter's Campus St Peter's Way Sunderland SR6 0DD
Telephone	0191 5153069
E-mail	<a href="mailto:david@gedanken.co.uk">david@gedanken.co.uk</a> <a href="mailto:Trish.bryans@sunderland.ac.uk">Trish.bryans@sunderland.ac.uk</a>
What is the research about?	The research aims to explore the lived experience of a group of police and crime commissioners undertaking the first term of incumbency in this new role. Substantially qualitative in nature, the research seeks to gain greater understanding and insight into the evolving role and its emergent development and support needs. The study is being conducted by David Cliff as part of his Doctor of Business Administration program with the University.
What will participants be expected to do?	Participants will be subject to a semi-structured interview spanning approximately 2 to 3 hours. Participants are also being asked to offer an observational experience for the researcher ideally, before the interview takes place. A proposal to produce a national focus group of approximately 5 to 6 PCCs has met with logistical and diary challenges. However, it is

	still hoped that one or two meetings may be convened towards the end of the study
Will it be anonymous?  Is it confidential?	Information obtained will be confidential (i.e. will not be passed to others) and anonymous (i.e. individuals and organizations will not be identified, unless specific consent is obtained). All data will be securely stored until the end of the project when it will be confidentially shredded or otherwise securely destroyed. Interviews will be recorded and transcribed. Access to this material be limited to the researcher, approved office staff, the course supervisor and, any nominee of the University assessment panel who would wish to inspect the data to ensure academic rigour.
What will happen next?	If you request it, you will be sent a copy of the transcript of the interview. You can comment on it or add to it or amend it if you choose. Data obtained through this research may be reproduced and published in various forms related to the nature of the research as it is detailed above. It will not be used for purposes other than those outlined above without your permission.
What if I change my mind?	Participation is entirely voluntary and participants may withdraw at any time.

*By signing this consent form, you are indicating that you fully understand the above information and agree to participate in this study on the basis of it. Please keep one copy of this form for your own records.*

Participant's signature:

Date:

**Researcher's signature:**

**Date:**



## Appendix 3

Word frequency analysis.  
Source: Provalis/Wordstat word count Software

WORD	FREQUENCY	% SHOWN	% TOTAL	NO. CASES	% CASES
POLICE	505	3.44%	0.63%	6	100.00%
PEOPLE	288	1.96%	0.36%	6	100.00%
PCC	243	1.66%	0.30%	6	100.00%
CHIEF	213	1.45%	0.27%	6	100.00%
THINGS	183	1.25%	0.23%	6	100.00%
PUBLIC	179	1.22%	0.22%	6	100.00%
TIME	176	1.20%	0.22%	6	100.00%
ROLE	139	0.95%	0.17%	6	100.00%
SORT	137	0.93%	0.17%	6	100.00%
GOOD	128	0.87%	0.16%	6	100.00%
LOT	123	0.84%	0.15%	6	100.00%
WORK	122	0.83%	0.15%	6	100.00%
AUTHORITY	121	0.83%	0.15%	6	100.00%
LOCAL	117	0.80%	0.15%	6	100.00%
BIT	108	0.74%	0.13%	6	100.00%
CRIME	106	0.72%	0.13%	6	100.00%
CONSTABLE	105	0.72%	0.13%	6	100.00%
POLICING	94	0.64%	0.12%	6	100.00%
LABOUR	93	0.63%	0.12%	6	100.00%
YEARS	92	0.63%	0.11%	6	100.00%
PARTY	91	0.62%	0.11%	6	100.00%
SERVICE	90	0.61%	0.11%	6	100.00%
JOB	89	0.61%	0.11%	6	100.00%
OFFICE	87	0.59%	0.11%	6	100.00%
GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION (REDACTED FOR ANOMINITY)	87	0.59%	0.11%	4	66.67%
MAKE	82	0.56%	0.10%	6	100.00%
POLITICAL	78	0.53%	0.10%	6	100.00%
THING	76	0.52%	0.09%	6	100.00%
GOVERNMENT	71	0.48%	0.09%	6	100.00%
COMMUNITY	70	0.48%	0.09%	5	83.33%
FORCE	66	0.45%	0.08%	6	100.00%
PART	66	0.45%	0.08%	6	100.00%
DIFFICULT	65	0.44%	0.08%	6	100.00%
DAY	64	0.44%	0.08%	6	100.00%
AREA	63	0.43%	0.08%	6	100.00%
COUNCIL	60	0.41%	0.07%	6	100.00%
SET	59	0.40%	0.07%	6	100.00%
INTERESTING	59	0.40%	0.07%	5	83.33%

YEAR	55	0.38%	0.07%	6	100.00%
STAFF	54	0.37%	0.07%	5	83.33%
FACT	53	0.36%	0.07%	6	100.00%
AREAS	53	0.36%	0.07%	6	100.00%
NORTH	53	0.36%	0.07%	5	83.33%
VIEW	52	0.35%	0.06%	6	100.00%
STUFF	52	0.35%	0.06%	6	100.00%
BIG	51	0.35%	0.06%	5	83.33%
UNDERSTAND	50	0.34%	0.06%	6	100.00%
WORKING	50	0.34%	0.06%	5	83.33%
ABSOLUTELY	49	0.33%	0.06%	6	100.00%
MEETING	49	0.33%	0.06%	6	100.00%
ELECTED	48	0.33%	0.06%	6	100.00%
MEDIA	48	0.33%	0.06%	6	100.00%
THOUGHT	48	0.33%	0.06%	5	83.33%
PROBLEM	48	0.33%	0.06%	5	83.33%
MONEY	47	0.32%	0.06%	6	100.00%
OFFICERS	47	0.32%	0.06%	5	83.33%
COUNTY	46	0.31%	0.06%	6	100.00%
VIEWS	46	0.31%	0.06%	5	83.33%
COMING	45	0.31%	0.06%	6	100.00%
LEVEL	44	0.30%	0.05%	6	100.00%
POINT	44	0.30%	0.05%	6	100.00%
AUTHORITIES	43	0.29%	0.05%	6	100.00%
PERSON	43	0.29%	0.05%	6	100.00%
HOME	42	0.29%	0.05%	6	100.00%
PLACE	42	0.29%	0.05%	6	100.00%
DECISIONS	42	0.29%	0.05%	6	100.00%
DECISION	42	0.29%	0.05%	6	100.00%
TALKING	41	0.28%	0.05%	6	100.00%
HAPPENED	41	0.28%	0.05%	6	100.00%
ELECTION	40	0.27%	0.05%	6	100.00%
MP	40	0.27%	0.05%	6	100.00%
IMPORTANT	40	0.27%	0.05%	6	100.00%
REAL	40	0.27%	0.05%	6	100.00%
MOMENT	40	0.27%	0.05%	6	100.00%
FORWARD	40	0.27%	0.05%	6	100.00%
ISSUES	40	0.27%	0.05%	6	100.00%
KIND	40	0.27%	0.05%	5	83.33%
SERVICES	39	0.27%	0.05%	6	100.00%
WORKED	39	0.27%	0.05%	6	100.00%
CASE	39	0.27%	0.05%	6	100.00%
RELATIONSHIP	39	0.27%	0.05%	6	100.00%
COUNTRY	39	0.27%	0.05%	5	83.33%

MAKING	38	0.26%	0.05%	6	100.00%
SUPPOSE	38	0.26%	0.05%	5	83.33%
BUSINESS	37	0.25%	0.05%	6	100.00%
POWER	37	0.25%	0.05%	6	100.00%
TERMS	37	0.25%	0.05%	6	100.00%
FORCES	37	0.25%	0.05%	6	100.00%
DELIVER	37	0.25%	0.05%	4	66.67%
MEETINGS	36	0.25%	0.04%	6	100.00%
PLAN	36	0.25%	0.04%	6	100.00%
NATIONAL	36	0.25%	0.04%	6	100.00%
UNDERSTANDING	36	0.25%	0.04%	5	83.33%
HUGE	36	0.25%	0.04%	3	50.00%
INDIVIDUAL	35	0.24%	0.04%	6	100.00%
COMMUNITIES	35	0.24%	0.04%	5	83.33%
INVOLVED	35	0.24%	0.04%	5	83.33%
MONTHS	34	0.23%	0.04%	6	100.00%
TEAM	34	0.23%	0.04%	6	100.00%
SUPPORT	34	0.23%	0.04%	6	100.00%
FAIRLY	34	0.23%	0.04%	6	100.00%
MIND	34	0.23%	0.04%	6	100.00%
CLEAR	34	0.23%	0.04%	6	100.00%
GREAT	33	0.23%	0.04%	6	100.00%
PROCESS	33	0.23%	0.04%	6	100.00%
SYSTEM	33	0.23%	0.04%	5	83.33%
DEAL	33	0.23%	0.04%	5	83.33%
RUN	33	0.23%	0.04%	3	50.00%
WEST	33	0.23%	0.04%	3	50.00%
BOARD	32	0.22%	0.04%	6	100.00%
KNEW	32	0.22%	0.04%	6	100.00%
ACCOUNT	32	0.22%	0.04%	6	100.00%
POLICY	32	0.22%	0.04%	5	83.33%
CLEVELAND	32	0.22%	0.04%	3	50.00%
BACKGROUND	31	0.21%	0.04%	5	83.33%
SENIOR	31	0.21%	0.04%	5	83.33%
NUMBER	31	0.21%	0.04%	5	83.33%
APPROACH	31	0.21%	0.04%	4	66.67%
EXPERIENCE	30	0.20%	0.04%	6	100.00%
WRONG	30	0.20%	0.04%	6	100.00%
FEEL	30	0.20%	0.04%	6	100.00%
PRETTY	30	0.20%	0.04%	6	100.00%
END	30	0.20%	0.04%	5	83.33%
LEFT	29	0.20%	0.04%	6	100.00%
MEMBER	29	0.20%	0.04%	6	100.00%
ABILITY	29	0.20%	0.04%	6	100.00%

TRUST	29	0.20%	0.04%	5	83.33%
WEEK	29	0.20%	0.04%	5	83.33%
ORGANISATION	29	0.20%	0.04%	5	83.33%
COMMITTEE	29	0.20%	0.04%	5	83.33%
TALK	29	0.20%	0.04%	5	83.33%
RUNNING	29	0.20%	0.04%	5	83.33%
KEY	29	0.20%	0.04%	4	66.67%
SAFETY	28	0.19%	0.03%	6	100.00%
WANTED	28	0.19%	0.03%	6	100.00%
CHAIR	28	0.19%	0.03%	6	100.00%
DEPUTY	28	0.19%	0.03%	6	100.00%
HEALTH	28	0.19%	0.03%	6	100.00%
MEMBERS	28	0.19%	0.03%	6	100.00%
RESPONSIBILITY	28	0.19%	0.03%	6	100.00%
PROFESSIONAL	28	0.19%	0.03%	5	83.33%
START	28	0.19%	0.03%	5	83.33%
ACCOUNTABILITY	28	0.19%	0.03%	4	66.67%
COMPLETELY	28	0.19%	0.03%	3	50.00%
STARTED	27	0.18%	0.03%	6	100.00%
CHANGE	27	0.18%	0.03%	6	100.00%
COMMISSIONER	27	0.18%	0.03%	5	83.33%
WORLD	27	0.18%	0.03%	5	83.33%
REMEMBER	27	0.18%	0.03%	5	83.33%
TIMES	26	0.18%	0.03%	6	100.00%
LONG	26	0.18%	0.03%	6	100.00%
EXECUTIVE	26	0.18%	0.03%	5	83.33%
AGO	26	0.18%	0.03%	5	83.33%
OFFICER	25	0.17%	0.03%	6	100.00%
DAYS	25	0.17%	0.03%	6	100.00%
LONDON	25	0.17%	0.03%	6	100.00%
LIFE	25	0.17%	0.03%	6	100.00%
OPERATE	25	0.17%	0.03%	6	100.00%
SECRETARY	25	0.17%	0.03%	5	83.33%
SENSE	25	0.17%	0.03%	5	83.33%
STRATEGIC	25	0.17%	0.03%	5	83.33%
BASED	25	0.17%	0.03%	5	83.33%
HAPPEN	24	0.16%	0.03%	6	100.00%
CALLED	24	0.16%	0.03%	6	100.00%
SITUATION	24	0.16%	0.03%	6	100.00%
POSITION	24	0.16%	0.03%	6	100.00%
PROBLEMS	24	0.16%	0.03%	6	100.00%
ISSUE	24	0.16%	0.03%	6	100.00%
COUNCILS	24	0.16%	0.03%	5	83.33%
ROUND	23	0.16%	0.03%	6	100.00%

HIGH	23	0.16%	0.03%	6	100.00%
COUPLE	23	0.16%	0.03%	6	100.00%
CALL	23	0.16%	0.03%	6	100.00%
DIFFERENCE	23	0.16%	0.03%	6	100.00%
CONSERVATIVE	23	0.16%	0.03%	5	83.33%
THINKING	23	0.16%	0.03%	5	83.33%
THAMES	23	0.16%	0.03%	2	33.33%
COMPANY	22	0.15%	0.03%	6	100.00%
BUDGET	22	0.15%	0.03%	6	100.00%
REPORT	22	0.15%	0.03%	6	100.00%
STAND	22	0.15%	0.03%	6	100.00%
CONSTABLES	22	0.15%	0.03%	6	100.00%
DIRECTION	22	0.15%	0.03%	5	83.33%
SLIGHTLY	22	0.15%	0.03%	5	83.33%
CHALLENGE	22	0.15%	0.03%	4	66.67%
SIT	21	0.14%	0.03%	6	100.00%
BROUGHT	21	0.14%	0.03%	6	100.00%
SIDE	21	0.14%	0.03%	6	100.00%
HARD	21	0.14%	0.03%	6	100.00%
MEET	21	0.14%	0.03%	6	100.00%
DEPARTMENT	21	0.14%	0.03%	6	100.00%
POLITICS	21	0.14%	0.03%	6	100.00%
HALF	21	0.14%	0.03%	5	83.33%
PAID	21	0.14%	0.03%	5	83.33%
TRAINING	21	0.14%	0.03%	5	83.33%
LOOKED	21	0.14%	0.03%	5	83.33%
HOLD	21	0.14%	0.03%	5	83.33%
HAPPENING	21	0.14%	0.03%	5	83.33%
INTEREST	21	0.14%	0.03%	5	83.33%
GOVERNANCE	21	0.14%	0.03%	5	83.33%
ULTIMATELY	21	0.14%	0.03%	4	66.67%
COLLEAGUES	21	0.14%	0.03%	4	66.67%
COUNCILLOR	20	0.14%	0.02%	6	100.00%
PERSONAL	20	0.14%	0.02%	6	100.00%
INTERVIEW	20	0.14%	0.02%	6	100.00%
WORD	20	0.14%	0.02%	6	100.00%
FUNDING	20	0.14%	0.02%	5	83.33%
HONEST	20	0.14%	0.02%	5	83.33%
TEN	20	0.14%	0.02%	5	83.33%
RESEARCH	20	0.14%	0.02%	4	66.67%
QUESTION	19	0.13%	0.02%	6	100.00%
HELD	19	0.13%	0.02%	6	100.00%
HEAD	19	0.13%	0.02%	6	100.00%
GENERAL	19	0.13%	0.02%	6	100.00%

MAYOR	19	0.13%	0.02%	6	100.00%
VICTIMS	19	0.13%	0.02%	6	100.00%
EARLY	19	0.13%	0.02%	6	100.00%
FIRE	19	0.13%	0.02%	6	100.00%
MILLION	19	0.13%	0.02%	5	83.33%
DEALING	19	0.13%	0.02%	5	83.33%
BEHALF	19	0.13%	0.02%	5	83.33%
ASKED	19	0.13%	0.02%	5	83.33%
GROUP	19	0.13%	0.02%	5	83.33%
MAJOR	19	0.13%	0.02%	4	66.67%
VALLEY	19	0.13%	0.02%	4	66.67%
DERBYSHIRE	19	0.13%	0.02%	1	16.67%
BASICALLY	18	0.12%	0.02%	6	100.00%
FULL	18	0.12%	0.02%	6	100.00%
FAIR	18	0.12%	0.02%	6	100.00%
PAY	18	0.12%	0.02%	6	100.00%
SMALL	18	0.12%	0.02%	6	100.00%
LEADERSHIP	18	0.12%	0.02%	5	83.33%
COMMISSIONERS	18	0.12%	0.02%	5	83.33%
BASIS	18	0.12%	0.02%	5	83.33%
PARTNERS	18	0.12%	0.02%	4	66.67%
EDUCATION	18	0.12%	0.02%	4	66.67%
HAND	18	0.12%	0.02%	4	66.67%
CENTRAL	18	0.12%	0.02%	4	66.67%
DRIVE	18	0.12%	0.02%	4	66.67%
PREPARED	18	0.12%	0.02%	4	66.67%
DEGREE	18	0.12%	0.02%	3	50.00%
DRUGS	18	0.12%	0.02%	3	50.00%
RESOURCES	18	0.12%	0.02%	3	50.00%
GUESS	18	0.12%	0.02%	2	33.33%
MOVE	17	0.12%	0.02%	6	100.00%
PANEL	17	0.12%	0.02%	6	100.00%
FUTURE	17	0.12%	0.02%	6	100.00%
INDEPENDENT	17	0.12%	0.02%	5	83.33%
NEEDED	17	0.12%	0.02%	5	83.33%
PROPERLY	17	0.12%	0.02%	5	83.33%
CRITICAL	17	0.12%	0.02%	5	83.33%
FUNNILY	17	0.12%	0.02%	3	50.00%
GROUPS	16	0.11%	0.02%	6	100.00%
SKILLS	16	0.11%	0.02%	6	100.00%
DIRECT	16	0.11%	0.02%	6	100.00%
TOP	16	0.11%	0.02%	5	83.33%
CANDIDATE	16	0.11%	0.02%	5	83.33%
PERFORMANCE	16	0.11%	0.02%	5	83.33%

SPEND	16	0.11%	0.02%	5	83.33%
LEADER	16	0.11%	0.02%	5	83.33%
INDIVIDUALS	16	0.11%	0.02%	5	83.33%
IDEA	16	0.11%	0.02%	5	83.33%
CHANGED	16	0.11%	0.02%	5	83.33%
RANGE	16	0.11%	0.02%	4	66.67%
TOTALLY	16	0.11%	0.02%	4	66.67%
YOUNG	16	0.11%	0.02%	4	66.67%
OPEN	16	0.11%	0.02%	4	66.67%
AWFUL	16	0.11%	0.02%	4	66.67%
MODEL	16	0.11%	0.02%	4	66.67%
MONTH	16	0.11%	0.02%	4	66.67%
SCHOOL	16	0.11%	0.02%	4	66.67%
TWENTY	16	0.11%	0.02%	3	50.00%
NHS	16	0.11%	0.02%	2	33.33%
LEARNING	15	0.10%	0.02%	6	100.00%
COUNCILLORS	15	0.10%	0.02%	6	100.00%
LOCALLY	15	0.10%	0.02%	6	100.00%
STRAIGHT	15	0.10%	0.02%	6	100.00%
MINISTER	15	0.10%	0.02%	6	100.00%
MINISTERS	15	0.10%	0.02%	5	83.33%
PRIORITIES	15	0.10%	0.02%	5	83.33%
ORGANISATIONS	15	0.10%	0.02%	5	83.33%
RESPONSIBILITIES	15	0.10%	0.02%	5	83.33%
AGREE	15	0.10%	0.02%	5	83.33%
AGENDA	15	0.10%	0.02%	5	83.33%
COMPLAINTS	15	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
MASSIVE	15	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
OPERATIONAL	15	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
COST	15	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
ELECTIONS	15	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
BIGGEST	15	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
FOCUS	15	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
DEVELOP	15	0.10%	0.02%	3	50.00%
CAMPAIGN	15	0.10%	0.02%	3	50.00%
TORY	15	0.10%	0.02%	3	50.00%
INSTANCE	15	0.10%	0.02%	2	33.33%
BURGLARY	15	0.10%	0.02%	1	16.67%
SORTS	14	0.10%	0.02%	6	100.00%
RESULT	14	0.10%	0.02%	6	100.00%
ANSWER	14	0.10%	0.02%	5	83.33%
EARLIER	14	0.10%	0.02%	5	83.33%
FELT	14	0.10%	0.02%	5	83.33%
LIVE	14	0.10%	0.02%	5	83.33%

SOCIAL	14	0.10%	0.02%	5	83.33%
MEANS	14	0.10%	0.02%	5	83.33%
BIGGER	14	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
REPRESENT	14	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
CONTROL	14	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
CABINET	14	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
PUTTING	14	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
QUESTIONS	14	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
EXEC	14	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
SPENT	14	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
DIFFICULTY	14	0.10%	0.02%	4	66.67%
REGION	14	0.10%	0.02%	3	50.00%
OPINION	14	0.10%	0.02%	3	50.00%
CAREFUL	14	0.10%	0.02%	3	50.00%
RURAL	14	0.10%	0.02%	3	50.00%
CHALLENGING	14	0.10%	0.02%	3	50.00%
FIFTY	14	0.10%	0.02%	2	33.33%
MPH	14	0.10%	0.02%	1	16.67%
COUNT	13	0.09%	0.02%	6	100.00%
PERIOD	13	0.09%	0.02%	6	100.00%
MOVED	13	0.09%	0.02%	6	100.00%
OPPORTUNITY	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
PAST	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
RISK	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
MET	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
REASONS	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
BAD	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
TAKING	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
HAPPY	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
FRONT	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
BRING	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
LARGE	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
STREET	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
CONCERN	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
TURN	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
ELEMENT	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
DIRECTLY	13	0.09%	0.02%	5	83.33%
DEVELOPED	13	0.09%	0.02%	4	66.67%
BUREAUCRACY	13	0.09%	0.02%	4	66.67%
DOOR	13	0.09%	0.02%	4	66.67%
EAST	13	0.09%	0.02%	4	66.67%
PRESS	13	0.09%	0.02%	4	66.67%
STOOD	13	0.09%	0.02%	4	66.67%
ENVIRONMENT	13	0.09%	0.02%	4	66.67%



WORKS	13	0.09%	0.02%	4	66.67%
REST	13	0.09%	0.02%	4	66.67%
REVIEW	13	0.09%	0.02%	4	66.67%
JUSTICE	13	0.09%	0.02%	4	66.67%
KNOWLEDGE	13	0.09%	0.02%	4	66.67%
CITY	13	0.09%	0.02%	4	66.67%
ALLOWED	13	0.09%	0.02%	3	50.00%
WAYS	13	0.09%	0.02%	3	50.00%
COMPLETE	13	0.09%	0.02%	3	50.00%
FORM	12	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
MORNING	12	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
AMOUNT	12	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
SHORT	12	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
FANTASTIC	12	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
LINE	12	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
NIGHT	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
SPEEDING	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
RESPECT	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
INDEPENDENTS	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
HOUSE	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ASPECT	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
NEWS	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ROAD	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
CRIMINAL	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ABUSE	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
TRANSPARENT	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
MAKES	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
STUPID	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
DECIDED	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
POLITICIANS	12	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
EVIDENCE	12	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
HUNDRED	12	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SECTOR	12	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
POPULATION	12	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
GREATER	12	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
MANCHESTER	11	0.08%	0.01%	6	100.00%
STRONG	11	0.08%	0.01%	6	100.00%
POUNDS	11	0.08%	0.01%	6	100.00%
MATTER	11	0.08%	0.01%	6	100.00%
HOLDING	11	0.08%	0.01%	6	100.00%
TRUE	11	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
LEADERS	11	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
BODY	11	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
PAPERS	11	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%

ACCOUNTABLE	11	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
RELATIONSHIPS	11	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
THIRTY	11	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
ASSOCIATION	11	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
CLOSE	11	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
CHILDREN	11	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
BARNES	11	0.08%	0.01%	5	83.33%
JOHN	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
EXPLAIN	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
EXTENT	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
DOCUMENT	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
PROVIDE	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
JULIA	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
LACK	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
POLITICIAN	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
WEEKS	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
MENTAL	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
STARTING	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
RID	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
TERM	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ANN	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
RAISE	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
RADIO	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
UNIVERSITY	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
EXPECT	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
LOTS	11	0.08%	0.01%	4	66.67%
CONCERNS	11	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
BUILDING	11	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SCRUTINY	11	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
COMPLAINT	11	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
HOPE	11	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
HELL	11	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
ENGAGEMENT	11	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
DEVELOPMENT	11	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
POWERS	11	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
GENERALLY	11	0.08%	0.01%	3	50.00%
IDEALLY	11	0.08%	0.01%	2	33.33%
EXPERIENCED	10	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
TOLD	10	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
ACT	10	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
SIMILAR	10	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
NECESSARILY	10	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
ADVICE	10	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
EFFECTIVELY	10	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%

LOAD	10	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
APPOINT	10	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
EFFECTIVE	10	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
PRIVATE	10	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
HISTORY	10	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
FAMILY	10	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
MARK	10	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
SOUTH	10	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
INTRODUCED	10	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
STOP	10	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
EASY	10	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
SUSPECT	10	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
DOMESTIC	10	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
SPACE	10	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
MAIN	10	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
REASONABLE	10	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
SAVE	10	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
HUGELY	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
HOUR	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
TORIES	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
BLOODY	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
TENSIONS	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
STRUCTURE	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
POSSIBLY	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
STAKEHOLDERS	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
FORMAL	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
WOMAN	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CONTACT	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CONCERNED	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SUCCESSFUL	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
PA	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
STRUCTURES	10	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
ASPECTS	10	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
POWERFUL	10	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
TODAY	10	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
CONSEQUENCE	10	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
CHAIRMAN	10	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
ENGAGE	10	0.07%	0.01%	1	16.67%
FILE	9	0.06%	0.01%	6	100.00%
BALANCE	9	0.06%	0.01%	6	100.00%
COMMISSIONING	9	0.06%	0.01%	6	100.00%
SPEAK	9	0.06%	0.01%	5	83.33%
STAGE	9	0.06%	0.01%	5	83.33%
PARLIAMENT	9	0.06%	0.01%	5	83.33%

CONFERENCE	9	0.06%	0.01%	5	83.33%
BRILLIANT	9	0.06%	0.01%	5	83.33%
NEIGHBOURHOOD	9	0.06%	0.01%	5	83.33%
ROLES	9	0.06%	0.01%	5	83.33%
LEAVE	9	0.06%	0.01%	5	83.33%
CAUGHT	9	0.06%	0.01%	5	83.33%
SUPPORTIVE	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
SAT	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
EFFECT	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
INHERITED	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
INTERESTED	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
LEAD	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
CARE	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
DAILY	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
LETTER	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
STORY	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
CONSERVATIVES	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
MANAGEMENT	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
MEANT	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
STYLE	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
CULTURE	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
STANDARDS	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
PHONE	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
FORTY	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
NEWSPAPER	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
CHOICE	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
DISCUSSED	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
SIMPLE	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
STRATEGY	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ORDER	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
EXTREMELY	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
MOVING	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
CHALLENGES	9	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
VULNERABLE	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
POSITIVE	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
PREVIOUS	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
BROAD	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SEXUAL	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
INTERESTS	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
LARGELY	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
DYNAMIC	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
COMMENTS	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SIMPLY	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
DURHAM	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%

LOW	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
FASCINATING	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
DELIVERING	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
HIGHLY	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
OFFICES	9	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
PUBLISH	9	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SIZE	9	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
PROGRESS	9	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
DERBY	9	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
THOUSAND	9	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
DELIVERY	9	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
CAPABLE	9	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
HR	9	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SCALE	9	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
ARMY	9	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
HOUSEHOLD	9	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
CONSTRAINED	9	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%

## Appendix 4

### Sub 8 recurrence word count from interviews:

WORD	FREQUENCY	% SHOWN	% TOTAL	NO. CASES	% CASES
BASE	8	0.05%	0.01%	5	83.33%
TRANSITION	8	0.05%	0.01%	5	83.33%
TAX	8	0.05%	0.01%	5	83.33%
CUT	8	0.05%	0.01%	5	83.33%
QUICKLY	8	0.05%	0.01%	5	83.33%
AIR	8	0.05%	0.01%	5	83.33%
COVER	8	0.05%	0.01%	5	83.33%
HELPED	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
LEARNT	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
GROUND	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
PAPER	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
RING	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
RESPONSE	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
BUDGETS	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
DEVELOPING	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
SCHOOLS	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
FINE	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
BITS	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
SETTING	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
RAN	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
DEALT	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
PERSONALLY	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
DAVID	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
HIGHEST	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
VERA	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
INDEPENDENCE	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
CONSULTATION	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
INFLUENCE	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
PARTNERSHIP	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
PERSPECTIVE	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
PARTS	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
BEAT	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
MENTIONED	8	0.05%	0.01%	4	66.67%
SUDDENLY	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
STATION	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CONVERSATION	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
AGENCY	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SYSTEMS	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
VAST	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
COLLABORATE	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%

DEPENDS	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
VOTED	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
FORUM	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
ARTICLE	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
POST	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CASES	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
RON	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
RATE	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
WIN	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
RECOGNITION	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
TEND	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
REFLECT	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
AUSTERITY	8	0.05%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CONSTRUCTIVE	8	0.05%	0.01%	2	33.33%
DRUG	8	0.05%	0.01%	2	33.33%
MAIL	8	0.05%	0.01%	2	33.33%
CORNER	8	0.05%	0.01%	2	33.33%
RUNS	8	0.05%	0.01%	2	33.33%
DEAD	8	0.05%	0.01%	1	16.67%
CORPORATE	8	0.05%	0.01%	1	16.67%
ACTIVITY	8	0.05%	0.01%	1	16.67%
MAN	7	0.09%	0.01%	3	50.00%
INDUCTION	7	0.09%	0.01%	3	50.00%
BASIC	7	0.09%	0.01%	3	50.00%
FAILED	7	0.09%	0.01%	3	50.00%
MINUTE	7	0.09%	0.01%	3	50.00%
JOURNEY	7	0.09%	0.01%	3	50.00%
TICKET	7	0.09%	0.01%	3	50.00%
LEGAL	7	0.09%	0.01%	3	50.00%
COURT	7	0.09%	0.01%	3	50.00%
NINETEEN	7	0.09%	0.01%	2	33.33%
ACCESSIBLE	7	0.09%	0.01%	2	33.33%
JUDGEMENT	7	0.09%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SHAPE	7	0.09%	0.01%	2	33.33%
TELEVISION	7	0.09%	0.01%	2	33.33%
COMMITTED	7	0.09%	0.01%	2	33.33%
CONVERSATIONS	7	0.09%	0.01%	2	33.33%
CSE	7	0.09%	0.01%	1	16.67%
SCARBOROUGH	7	0.09%	0.01%	1	16.67%
MIDDLESBROUGH	7	0.09%	0.01%	1	16.67%
SHAUN	7	0.09%	0.01%	1	16.67%
BEHAVE	7	0.09%	0.01%	1	16.67%
ALAN	6	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
PLACES	6	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%

THERESA	6	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
TURNED	6	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
WON	6	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
GAVE	6	0.07%	0.01%	5	83.33%
PIECES	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
COMMITTEES	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
CHANGING	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ACCEPT	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
CHILD	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
NATIONALLY	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
DUTY	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
NOVEMBER	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
WHATSOEVER	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
COOPERATE	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
GIVING	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ARRANGEMENTS	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ELECTORAL	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
UNIT	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
REPORTS	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
REALISED	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
PRIME	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
EXCELLENT	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ARGUMENT	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
RETIRED	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
COMPLEXITIES	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
VOTES	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ENGAGING	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ENERGY	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
VIOLENCE	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
BRIEFING	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
MANAGED	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
SELECTED	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
TALKED	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
RESPONSIBLE	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
HANDS	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
CLOSELY	6	0.07%	0.01%	4	66.67%
CAREER	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SOLVE	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SOUND	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SPECIFIC	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
PROSECUTION	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
TWELVE	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
MILES	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
ARGUE	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%



WASTE	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
STEP	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
DISCUSSIONS	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
OPPORTUNITIES	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
LITERALLY	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
PRE	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
UPSET	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
EFFICIENT	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
REGIONAL	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
LISTEN	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
DECENT	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
LINES	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
LIGHT	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
WANTING	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SEAN	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
BUREAUCRATIC	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
ODD	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CROWN	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
FUND	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
UNITARY	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
COSTS	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
MINUTES	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
WHILST	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
STRENGTHS	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
NOISE	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
TENSION	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
FOCUSED	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
HEAR	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
COMMON	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
HIT	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
WEBSITE	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
POTENTIAL	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
PICK	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
LEARN	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
FIFTEEN	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
REPRESENTATIVE	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
MPS	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
TOWNS	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
INNOVATION	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
INTRODUCE	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
ENSURE	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
PARTLY	6	0.07%	0.01%	3	50.00%
FUNDAMENTAL	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
PUBLICS	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%

EXCITING	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
PROCESSES	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SKILL	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SUNDAY	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
BUILDINGS	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
CHARLES	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
CLARKE	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
THURSDAY	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
COURSES	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
BRADFORD	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
DIFFERENTLY	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
DIFFICULTIES	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
DOORS	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
DOUBT	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
EASILY	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
USELESS	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
EXAMPLES	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
VASTLY	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
EXPRESS	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SEEK	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
BBC	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SCOTLAND	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
RULES	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
HEADLINE	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
REGIME	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
REDUCE	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
IPCC	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
KIDS	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
ASSOCIATIONS	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
ASSISTANT	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
OCCASIONS	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
WATCH	6	0.07%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SALARIES	6	0.07%	0.01%	1	16.67%
SURVEYS	6	0.07%	0.01%	1	16.67%
RECRUITMENT	6	0.07%	0.01%	1	16.67%
PREVIOUSLY	6	0.07%	0.01%	1	16.67%
CONVICTION	6	0.07%	0.01%	1	16.67%
RIDICULOUS	6	0.07%	0.01%	1	16.67%
YORK	6	0.07%	0.01%	1	16.67%
FIRSTLY	6	0.07%	0.01%	1	16.67%
KNOWING	5	0.06%	0.01%	5	83.33%
JOINED	5	0.06%	0.01%	5	83.33%
WALKING	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
PARTIES	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%

SHARING	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
JOINT	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
REFLECTED	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
JOBS	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
COMMENT	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
COMMISSION	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
BUILT	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ACCESS	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
COMPARED	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
DESCRIBE	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
GUY	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
REALISE	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
PICKED	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
EVENTS	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
LOST	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ACTIONS	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
RESPOND	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
ACTIVE	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
BENEFIT	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
OPPOSED	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
DOUBLE	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
EXPECTED	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
TYPE	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
PROGRAMME	5	0.06%	0.01%	4	66.67%
EVENTUALLY	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CHAired	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
UNFAIR	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
PRECEPT	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
MULTI	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
FORTUNATE	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
PLAY	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SUPPORTED	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
TELEPHONE	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CONFIDENT	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
DEMANDS	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
PROJECT	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
POLITICISATION	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
LISTENING	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
BUILD	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
DEPTH	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
THINKS	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CIRCUMSTANCES	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
AFRAID	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
FACILITATE	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%

AGE	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CONTINUE	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
FRUSTRATIONS	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
LONGER	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
BOARDS	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SERVING	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
ABSOLUTE	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
POTENTIALLY	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
ONGOING	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
DISCHARGE	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
INTEGRITY	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
ROUTE	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
METROPOLITAN	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
AVERAGE	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
PRIORITY	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
OPTION	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
YVETTE	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
INNOVATIVE	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
REFORM	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CLOSED	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CANDIDATES	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CLOCK	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
VICE	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SPEAKING	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
TRADE	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
INSPECTOR	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CAR	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
LORD	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
SHOW	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CONSEQUENCES	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
WIDER	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
BEHAVIOUR	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
CAREFULLY	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
DOG	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
HEART	5	0.06%	0.01%	3	50.00%
PRACTICE	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SIMON	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
DISGRACEFUL	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SATISFYING	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
GRIP	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
JOINTLY	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
LOCALISM	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
WORTH	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
HOSPITAL	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%

DELIBERATELY	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
CONCEPT	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
CONTROVERSIAL	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
APCC	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
RECRUIT	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
WORDS	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
UNFORTUNATE	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
COUNTER	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
ORGANISED	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
WOMEN	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
INTERNET	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
COPS	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SCENE	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
EXTRAORDINARY	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
PACE	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
APPRENTICESHIP	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
PARISH	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
MARKETING	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
YOUTH	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
EMAIL	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
RANDOM	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
FIGURE	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
LIVES	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
STATUTORY	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
DIVIDE	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
LOWEST	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
HARROGATE	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
CONSIDERATION	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
MAGISTRATES	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
ONION	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
STUDENT	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
EQUALLY	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
LEEDS	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
DEVOLUTION	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SEEKING	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SKILLED	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
ENTIRE	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
INCREASE	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
FOURTEEN	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
JACK	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
AWARENESS	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
ESSENTIALLY	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
PROVIDED	5	0.06%	0.01%	2	33.33%
SOLUTIONS	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%

TRANSPARENCY	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
SHOCKING	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
TECHNOLOGY	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
MANIFESTO	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
PROPER	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
ACTIVITIES	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
BAKEWELL	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
COMMANDERS	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
LITERATURE	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
IMAGINE	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
HAMPSHIRE	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
TIM	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
SMALLER	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
CANNABIS	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
AFTERNOON	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
RELAXED	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
HUGH	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
JUDGE	5	0.06%	0.01%	1	16.67%
HIGHER	4	0.05%	0.00%	4	66.67%
DECIDE	4	0.05%	0.00%	4	66.67%
INFORMAL	4	0.05%	0.00%	4	66.67%
CAUSED	4	0.05%	0.00%	4	66.67%
DATE	4	0.05%	0.00%	4	66.67%
STOPPED	4	0.05%	0.00%	4	66.67%
APPLY	4	0.05%	0.00%	4	66.67%
QUICK	4	0.05%	0.00%	4	66.67%
FREE	4	0.05%	0.00%	4	66.67%
MAINTAIN	4	0.05%	0.00%	4	66.67%
BOOK	4	0.05%	0.00%	4	66.67%
BEGINNING	4	0.05%	0.00%	4	66.67%
BOTTOM	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
READ	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
FUNNY	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CHAT	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
EXPENSES	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
DRIVER	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
ALCOHOL	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
EXPECTING	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
ILL	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CELL	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
ASSUME	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SPENDING	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
UNIONS	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
COOPER	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%

REPRESENTED	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
MESSAGE	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SIR	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
NORTHERN	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
POSITIONS	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
REQUIRED	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
ETHICS	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
TEAMS	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
PERSUADE	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
JONES	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SURPRISED	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
INTERESTINGLY	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CURRENT	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
DISTRICT	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
BROKEN	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
STEVENS	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
TURNING	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
TRADITIONAL	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
EMPLOYED	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SUPPORTING	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
DIFFERENCES	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CREATE	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SETS	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
TELLING	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
DIARY	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CONFIDENCE	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
INTERVIEWS	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SERVE	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
WRITTEN	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
INCLUDING	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
LIMITS	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SENSITIVE	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
WORKERS	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
COMPLAINING	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
MANDATE	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SELECT	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
WRIGHT	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
LINCOLNSHIRE	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
MOVEMENT	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
DEFINITION	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CHARACTER	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
INITIALLY	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
VOLUNTARY	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
WIDE	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%

JUDGMENT	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
GRADE	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
WHITE	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
BUSY	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
DRIVEN	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
BUY	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
ECONOMIC	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
ACTING	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
OPINIONS	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
DOMAIN	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
LIVED	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
FOCUSSED	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
LAY	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
AGREED	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
GOD	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
TOWN	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
BLACK	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
DISTRICTS	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
INTRODUCTION	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
COMFORTABLE	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
COALITION	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
INCREASED	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
REGARD	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
FAST	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
LEVELS	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
HEAVILY	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
AHEAD	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CHAIRING	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
RIDE	4	0.05%	0.00%	3	50.00%
PATCH	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PREVENT	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OFFENCES	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PIECE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
APPALLING	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PLANNING	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INTERACTION	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
NOTICE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CLEAN	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CUTS	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EMAILS	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DANGER	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HARDER	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COMMERCIAL	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INTERFERE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%



THORNTON	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PRIMARY	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
POLICIES	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
THIRTEEN	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STATIONS	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PORTFOLIO	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RESPONSES	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EXTERNAL	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CIRCLE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
AGREEMENT	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EFFORT	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DOCUMENTARY	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LAUNCHED	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RANG	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REGULARLY	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SHUT	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PREPARE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OBVIOUS	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EXPLOITATION	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MUSLIM	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
NOMINATION	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PRINCIPLES	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FACILITIES	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HELPFUL	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INTELLIGENT	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
METRO	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STAFFING	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MURDER	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REQUIRE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INTERVIEWED	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EXECUTIVES	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PARTNERSHIPS	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
VOICE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DROMEY	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CHARITY	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SUBJECT	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DEFINE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INCREDIBLY	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ENSURING	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SUBTLE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DUAL	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MEASURE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BLAME	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BOOKS	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%

SACK	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DELIVERED	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
UNION	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DAVE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
KEITH	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HATE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
KENT	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PAGE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FAMILIAR	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EARTH	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PICTURE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TINY	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TEACHER	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FRIEND	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TRIAGE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STREETS	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FUNCTIONS	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FEEDBACK	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CURVE	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FACTORS	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SCEPTICISM	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
UTTERLY	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OUTWARD	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OPERATIONALLY	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
KEVIN	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LIBERAL	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
NEWSPAPERS	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
GUARDIAN	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OPERATED	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MUTUAL	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
UK	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ENJOY	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SURVEY	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PRACTICES	4	0.05%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MILITARY	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CASTLEFORD	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PCT	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KEYNES	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TABLE	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TV	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PANAMA	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEMOCRATISATION	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RUGBY	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OFFENDING	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%

AMAZING	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACPO	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CAMPAIGNING	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OPERATES	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FINANCIAL	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TERRORISM	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXCITED	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ORDE	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VANS	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WORTHWHILE	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MANAGER	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BUNCH	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BURGLARIES	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FIRING	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OXFORD	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FREEING	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WARY	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FUNCTION	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RUBBISH	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LINK	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DETECTION	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEGLIGENCE	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEAR	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MILTON	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WILDLIFE	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRIMES	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HQ	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIALOGUE	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SOLELY	4	0.05%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HEALTHY	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
PERSONALITY	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
JUSTIFY	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
APPARENTLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
WISE	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
PARK	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
INEVITABLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SPEECH	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
REMIT	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
HILLSBOROUGH	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
HEADS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
KNOCKING	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
JOURNALIST	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
LETTING	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
VALUABLE	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%

PLEASED	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
INVESTIGATION	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
STOPS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
FALL	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
FINISH	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CORE	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
IMMEDIATELY	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
STRANGE	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
APPLIED	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
HUNDREDS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
PASSED	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
ANALYSIS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
ARM	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
COLLECTIVELY	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
Dictated	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
FAIL	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
LIB	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
VIRTUALLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
PRESSURE	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CYNICAL	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SOLUTION	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
VILLAGE	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CORRECTLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CROSS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
AFFORD	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
DISCREET	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
PANELS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
FACTS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
PUBLICALLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
THOUSANDS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
STRENGTH	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CONDITIONS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
RELATIONS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
IRELAND	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
BOROUGH	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
LARGER	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
WARM	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
HONESTLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
OPENLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
STRUCTURED	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
POT	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
RECENTLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
PRISON	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CALLING	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%

STUCK	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
REPLACED	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
OVERT	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
CONSIDERED	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SIGNIFICANT	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SEPARATE	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
GIRLS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
WARD	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
PATH	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
PROVIDING	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
DEPARTMENTS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
UNABLE	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
PRINCIPAL	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
AMERICAN	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
PERSONALITIES	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
LINKS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
EYES	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
DROPPED	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
TREMENDOUS	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
COMPREHENSIVE	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
REMOVED	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SIMILARITIES	3	0.04%	0.00%	3	50.00%
SHEER	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SHOCK	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MERSEYSIDE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STRUGGLED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MONDAY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FINGER	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DIRECTOR	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FORMALLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SUBSEQUENTLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MOTORISTS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PISSED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CALLS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LEAFLET	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PRECIOUS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DETAIL	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SOPHISTICATED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STORIES	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PROPORTION	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MAD	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PURELY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LAYER	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LEGACY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%

OPENED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RELATION	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WORKER	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STATUS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RISKS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REALITY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HEADQUARTERS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SATISFACTORY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
GRAB	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RESPONDING	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DANGEROUS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EXTRA	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REFERENDUM	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SCHEME	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TELEGRAPH	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ACHIEVE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RESULTS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
GENUINE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SCEPTICAL	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SECURITY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
NATURE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
QUICKER	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WORST	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PROFESSIONALS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CUSTODY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MECHANISMS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PREPARATION	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SCENARIO	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ENGLAND	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PUSHING	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STRUGGLE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FRIENDS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SURPRISE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HUMAN	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CULTURAL	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WEB	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DETAILS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COMMITMENT	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BALANCED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DEVICES	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MANAGING	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
GRANT	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PRESIDENT	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PROGRESSIVE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%

CRITICISM	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PRESSURES	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LAWYERS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HITTING	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LAWS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WATCHING	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RICH	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FRUSTRATING	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ONLINE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LAPTOP	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SCRUTINISE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DISMISS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CREATED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CLEVER	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EMBARRASSING	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WORRY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LEGALISATION	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LATEST	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
NICK	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BREAK	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ALIGN	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FAN	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EFFICIENCY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FENCE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ANTHONY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
APPLICANTS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RESCUE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ORGANISE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HELICOPTERS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ALTERNATIVE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EXIST	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COP	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DRIVERS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SHIFT	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SAFE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DROP	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HEATH	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
AMBULANCE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MIDDLE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ASSESSMENT	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WALK	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PLAYED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COPPINGER	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%

CATCH	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REQUIREMENTS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PROBATION	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DETAILED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
QUARTER	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BRIEFINGS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PEOPLES	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TAKES	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
AUDIENCE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
APPOINTED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COURTS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HAT	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TALKS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FRAME	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
JACKIE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
JOURNALISM	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COLLABORATIVE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CENTRALISED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
VOTE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PLAYERS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
NUMBERS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BACKGROUNDS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
VISITING	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
AGGRESSIVE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CAMERON	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BALLOT	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CAMBRIDGE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INDIVIDUALLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BARRIERS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BARRY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
IMPLEMENTED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DISCUSS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RECEIVED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BATTLE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PRICE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CREDIBILITY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
IRONY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TOUCH	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SHADOW	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CHAIRS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CHARITIES	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TAXES	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MINORITY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PARLIAMENTARY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%



LAW	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MINOR	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INDUSTRY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BENEFICIAL	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ABUSED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OPENING	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ABILITIES	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CHALLENGED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CONSULT	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CONSTRAINTS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REMOVE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
KATY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COMPLICATED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CIVIL	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CHANCE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BOLLOCKS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BORIS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PACK	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
POPULAR	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LIMITED	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SUPER	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DON	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CHANNELS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BOUNDARIES	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BRAIN	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BUCK	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
UNACCEPTABLE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INITIAL	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CONSIDERABLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PUTS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SIXTY	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CONSENSUS	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RATIONAL	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RANK	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REFER	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
NOTION	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ESSENTIAL	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OPPOSE	3	0.04%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FREEZE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESOURCE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OVERSIGHT	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ESTABLISHED	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PERSUADED	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PERFORMING	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%

IMPOSSIBLE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TEESSIDE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WING	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SACKED	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNISON	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRANDING	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OXFORDSHIRE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUMMIT	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GREGG	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REDACTED	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEALERS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INVESTIGATE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VARIETY	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FILES	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENDS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ISABEL	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MA	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FORMAT	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VOLUNTEERS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LUCK	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WAGE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REPUTATION	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POOR	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PUBLICISED	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PUBLISHING	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CORRUPTS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUFFERED	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INSIGHT	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEEPLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SORTED	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRECEDENTS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADVISOR	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KINDS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MUTUALLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTSET	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPOKE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WILTSHIRE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INITIATIVE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUMS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTEGRATED	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REGIONALLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DROPPING	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%

ERRORS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AFFECT	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADVANTAGE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTENT	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRAITS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TESTING	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHELSEA	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ABOLISHED	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRAIN	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STATE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HEROIN	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPENSIVE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACRONYMS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OPERATIVE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CITIES	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BME	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PORT	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STAY	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHOPPING	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLARK	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THEORY	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SARAH	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BENEFITS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RECOGNISE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACTUAL	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEGIN	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HINDSIGHT	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLIENTS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PARTISAN	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IDEAL	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FIREARMS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FITS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HIRING	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADVOCACY	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MISSION	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ABSURD	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COLLABORATING	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RACIAL	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMMUNICATIONS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMMUNICATION	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STREAM	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ATTITUDE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WAKE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POLICEMAN	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%

COMMONS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LEAGUE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STEADY	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ELEVEN	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KSI	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRESENCE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MAGAZINE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PETITION	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUSSEX	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EFFICIENTLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOTHERED	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KICK	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TACTFUL	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VOTERS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTRAGEOUS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GEAR	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REPLACE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MEDIATE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CALLERS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EQUATE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MIX	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HARDWORKING	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SMOOTHLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLEEP	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONCISE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ECONOMY	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRAUD	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPANIES	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POSTS	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMBINE	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BROADLY	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHEER	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COCK	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRAVEN	3	0.04%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COMBINED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COMMAND	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ADDRESSED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DEVOLVED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
THRUST	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STRATEGIES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HOLDERS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COMPARE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PUNCH	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%

DETERMINED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HOLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LEAVING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LEARNED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PRESUME	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
QUESTIONED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TIPPING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PREVAIL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PATHS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DISASTER	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DETECT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MISS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ASSISTANTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
QUEUE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HISTORICAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FOREFRONT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
JOKE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REVOLUTION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INCLUDES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OFFICIALS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ADVANTAGES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OFFERED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INCLUDE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DESIRE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OOH	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STUFFED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
THICK	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BALANCING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COLLECTIVE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DEPENDING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DEPEND	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COMMITTING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MACHINERY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DENNIS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MONTHLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FIT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WEDNESDAY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MINIMUM	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LLOYD	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SWAY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
KNOCK	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
APPEARS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WEEKEND	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TRACK	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%

PREFER	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TRACTION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PREDOMINANTLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WRITING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CREDIBLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TRADING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ADVERT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HIDE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HIRE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STICK	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MINDED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DODGY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INFLUENCING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TOMORROW	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MILLIONS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CHIP	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OBJECTION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
POLITICISED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DOORSTEP	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DORSET	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REGULAR	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DEMAND	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OFFEND	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DEM	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SATISFACTION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TEA	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
THATCHER	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HELPING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MIXED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COMPULSORY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COMPUTER	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STAKE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TRANSFER	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COMMUNICATE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DRAW	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STAFFORDSHIRE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CHECK	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TEARS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DRILL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RINGING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OPPOSING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OPPOSITE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SUBSTANCE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PRIORITISE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%

CORRECT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MOUNTED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FAITH	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PARALLEL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LADY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PERSUASION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OPTIONS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INAPPROPRIATE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PERSUASIVE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HEAVY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MID	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TERRITORY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DUTIES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DEFINED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FACILITATING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TERRIBLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TREASURY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
GRANTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LEGITIMACY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SPLIT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PRIOR	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EARS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DEFIANTLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MULLIGAN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BONUS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RAISED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
QUALITY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HEARD	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CENTRALLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
QUID	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RIDING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DEEP	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TRICKS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
METAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PROBLEMATIC	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ADVANCE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
QUIET	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CAUSING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SIGNIFICANTLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TRAIL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
KILLED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ORIGINALLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HOT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RETAIN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%

ADDITIONAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EFFORTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TROUBLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WOKEN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SUFFOLK	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EIGHTEEN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CARRY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ELECTING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SPECIFICALLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ALLUDED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OUTCOMES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HAVOC	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MERGING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ELEMENTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TRUTH	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
YEAH	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INSISTED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EXCLUDED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TUESDAY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SPARE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SITE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
QUALIFIED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REPORTERS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CAPACITY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MENTORING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REFUSE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WIFE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EMERGE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MENTION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SUGGEST	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WORSE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MARSHAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ANGLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EMPLOY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CONSCIOUS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PLANS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OFFERING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SOMETHINGS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SOMERSET	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LIAISON	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ROOM	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CANCER	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TWITTER	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CAMPUS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%



RELUCTANT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SOLICITOR	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TENSE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DINNER	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PRODUCED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WEAR	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ROTHERHAM	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ROUGH	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
IMPROVED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DIED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WILLINGNESS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HARDEST	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SUITED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LIES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ADD	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DEALS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ENGAGED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HODGE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WORRIED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CONDUCT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
THREAT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
THREAD	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COMMIT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
AFFAIRS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HANDLING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OUTSPOKEN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WOOL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SMART	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INTELLIGENCE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ENORMOUSLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DAUGHTER	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BUSINESSMAN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BUSINESSES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OVERCOME	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OVERLAP	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INTEGRATIONS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
IMPRESSION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RARE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
APPOINTING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
UNDERNEATH	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
APPOINTMENT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
GAME	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
GAIN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%

GUYS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RARELY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RULE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WONT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TEMPORARY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ENGINEERING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SLICK	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EQUIVALENT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
QC	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MATURE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TELLS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SLATED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
IMPORTANTLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ESSENCE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DAMAGING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
NARROW	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CONFUSION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LOSE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
POORLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ESTABLISHING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FINDING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
KEEN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
UNIFORM	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CONNECTION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PURSUE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OWNED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OWNER	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EUROPEAN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SKIN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
NORMAN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
IMPORTANCE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
GROWN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
GROWING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FUNDED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BRIEFED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
UNIQUE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SATURDAY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CONSIDERABLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SIXTH	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SIXTEEN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INVOLVES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EXACT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REPORTED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PROJECTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%

SITS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SACKING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PCSO	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EXCEPTIONS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FEELINGS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BRAND	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CONSTITUENCIES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FRANKLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CUP	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MARKET	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SAD	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
APPROACHED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SADLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SINGLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FAVOURS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MARGARET	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BOYS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MARCH	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REDUCED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ADOPTED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BOURNE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
GROOMED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EXPECTATION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EXPECTATIONS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CONSTITUENCY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
NOTES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INTERNS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TECHNIQUES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FULLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EFFECTIVENESS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REMEDY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PCCS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HUMBER	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
UNLIKE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PURPOSES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HUMBERSIDE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SIGNED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
HUMPS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FRUSTRATION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
AIM	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PURPOSE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PHYSICAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COUNTED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STRUCK	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%

WAKEFIELD	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
JUNIOR	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PAGES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SIFT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PHILOSOPHY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
POSITIVES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COUNSELLOR	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EXTREME	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
EYE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
JUNE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INTERVIEWING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
NOTE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ATTEMPTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FOOTBALLERS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FACES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CRUCIAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
JOT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
UPDATE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ANNUAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MANDATION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
GELLED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TARGET	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
UPS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CHANNEL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
JOURNALISTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
MACHINE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
URBAN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FRIDAY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SHOWING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FORGET	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FREQUENTLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BLANK	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
NECK	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FALLING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INVENTED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SCHEMES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BILLION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FAMILIES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BILLINGS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BILL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COORDINATE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SHOP	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
VALUES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RADICAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%

TACKLING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PERCEIVE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ATTRACT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
VARY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PARENTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LIVERPOOL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SHEET	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SAVED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ARGUMENTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CONSUMED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ANSWERING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SHAPED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FREAKS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ANALYSE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PROPOSALS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
BEMUSED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REALITIES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
AH	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LUCKY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FEELS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COVERAGE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SENTENCES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
GOVERNING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
JUDGED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SHARE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
VISIT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
VISION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
COVERED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
INVOLVING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RESOLVE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SCENES	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SETTLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SELL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FIGHT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PATHETIC	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
DEMOCRACY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
QUOTE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PATROL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PROVIDERS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FINGERS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
WEEKLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
OFFER	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RETAINED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
AGENDAS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%

ADDRESS	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
RESERVE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
TANK	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SEVENTEEN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FOREMOST	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PARTNER	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
CLOSING	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
AGENT	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PROTECTION	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PERFECTLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
IDEOLOGY	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
REBUILD	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
VITAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
ACCEPTANCE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
SETTLED	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
FORESEE	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
STEPHEN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
PROVEN	2	0.02%	0.00%	2	33.33%
LIBERALS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IDENTIFIED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPOSES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PERIMETERS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRIEFLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOUTH	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPRESSING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NUMEROUS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESPECTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VEG	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SORTING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALBEIT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FIFTIES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REORGANISE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REDCAR	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TOUGH	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTRACT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KICKING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LAUGH	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RETIRING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROVE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RICHEST	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEND	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRICELESS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STYLES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADVISORS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%

IMPARTIALITY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TOBACCO	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IDENTITY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLASSIC	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CREATIVE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESILIENT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MADGWICK	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GLOSSOP	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MINEFIELD	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CREDIT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IAN	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INFERIOR	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TA	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WAG	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FEWER	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRINGED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROPOSING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRISIS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HORSE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LEGALISE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
APA	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADDITIONS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MALLON	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEUROCACY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
YAY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STABILITY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FALSE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OPTIMIST	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HMRC	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEFLECT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SECRETARIES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BLUNT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADMINISTRATORS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DWELL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COUNSELLORS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TREATED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRIBAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MANIFEST	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JUSTIFIED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRAVITATE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRUSTRATED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WAKING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPOSE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
QUALITIES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%

INTERPERSONAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PURSE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WALKED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LEAKED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POINTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTLET	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DESIGNING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FUNDAMENTALLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CANVASSING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WANDERING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PEAK	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ESSEX	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENORMOUS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RUDE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GAINING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JOHNSON	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GAPS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASSERTIVE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PUBLICITY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WITNESSES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
READY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PAYMENTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEARCH	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WARINESS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AUSTRALIA	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JACQUI	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PULLED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VOTING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WITHDRAWN	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VOCAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VISIBILITY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEEKS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ARMS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SELBY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FORMULA	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEAUTIFUL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SELLING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GILMORE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SENDING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BELIEF	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BELIZE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCENARIOS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RECOGNISED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%



VAZ	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FIRM	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LIVING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PERSPECTIVES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UPSETS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SGB	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROTECT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SAVILLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PALLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHAMBLES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNREASONABLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GOSH	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOUGHT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNIVERSALLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GPS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FEDERATION	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
APPRENTICE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FEAR	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MALIGNING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRADUATE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BROADER	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRAMMAR	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MANAGERIAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MANAGERS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FACILITY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNDERWAY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PINT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FABULOUS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LISTENED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNCOMFORTABLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTSTANDING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRAVITATED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPRESSED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MANNER	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GREATEST	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SALARY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTCOME	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPLOIT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPLAINING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPERTISE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SIGNS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REGIONALISED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MANTRA	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%

PROMOTED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GROSS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHATS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHEAPER	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHRIST	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHRISTMAS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRADITIONALLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MASS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MATE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MATERIAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RELATES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ETHIC	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLIENT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GUILFORD	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLASH	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RELEASE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENVY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLIGHTEST	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INCREDIBLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THROWN	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMBINATION	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMMITMENTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INCOMING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENTHUSIASM	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENTERPRISE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HANDLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROFESSIONALLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SMILE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LAID	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NUISANCE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONDITION	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SOCIALLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENFORCEMENTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENFORCEMENT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NOUNCE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENFORCE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENDURING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENDLESSLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSPIRACY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENDLESS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTEXT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MEMORANDUM	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENABLER	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MEN	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%

EMPOWERING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POSE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMPLOYEES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
QUALIFICATIONS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CORRECTNESS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COSTING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SOUNDING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REQUIRES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROCEEDS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MERGER	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPECIALISTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LAUGHTER	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEIGHBOUR	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ICT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MESS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRINGE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EDWARD	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EDUCATED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUSPEND	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HUNGERFORD	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRONIES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANNOUNCEMENT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRISONS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CULTURALISM	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DARLINGTON	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPOILT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LEGALLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACTION	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AMERICA	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEFAULT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HELICOPTER	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STAGGERING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DELIVERABLES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DELIVERIES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PREDICT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HORNS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOUBLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AMUSED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOCTOR	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DNA	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HIERARCHY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STAYED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIVERSITY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MINES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%

MINING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MISLEADING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RICHNESS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MINSTER	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANALOGY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ORACLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JOIN	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MISCONDUCT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STICKING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRAVEL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASSEMBLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISASTROUS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STOCKTON	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INHERENTLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPLIANCE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIG	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANTICIPATE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEVOTE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASHBOURNE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRESENTER	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
READING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSULTATIONS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ORE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INJUSTICE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRINGS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ATTENTION	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REPRESENTING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOPAC	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LEADS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DERIVES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRIPS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BURGLARS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPETING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BURNLEY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VULNERABILITIES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CIRCULARS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ARRIVE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ILLEGAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VISIBLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WEAKNESSES	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOSPITALITY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOSPITALS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INEFFECTUAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VIDEO	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%

MUM	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEBBIE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MUSLIMS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CARVE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VICIOUS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ZURICH	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLERKS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VETO	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RECEPTION	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BESPOKE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BELATEDLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TOTAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NAY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTDOORS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BENCH	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLOUGH	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRYAN	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OBJECTIVE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONDITIONAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INVESTIGATED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RAPIDLY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
QUIXOTE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HYPOCRISY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COCAINE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRIMINALS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CAPABILITY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REFUSAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TICK	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NORMAL	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JULY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTINUUM	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UPFRONT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNWISE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CABLE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TAGGING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANSWERS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SYMPATHETIC	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BONNIE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THIRDS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TEST	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PICKING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NIGHTMARE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%

UNNECESSARY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BT	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NOTTINGHAM	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BROKER	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
YOUNGER	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TENOR	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COOPERATIVE	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNITS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WASTING	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POPPED	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RAY	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTINUOUS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BROADBAND	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
APPOINTMENTS	2	0.02%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HONESTY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOVECOTES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DERAILED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EIGHTIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DELVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DETERIORATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIAGNOSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CREATIVES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTRACTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTRACTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRAM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CYBER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CROPPER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IDEOLOGICAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ILLNESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENGINE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENHANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPUTERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENGAGEMENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENFORCEABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INCIDENCES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INCIDENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMPATHISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMBALANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMERGING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPENSATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

COVERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENTITLED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENTREPRENEURIAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENTRY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRAP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENVELOPE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENVIRONMENTAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CREDON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CREEDON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRIMINALISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALTERED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRITERIA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ESCORT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLUB	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRUMBLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EAT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DYNAMISM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ESTATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANNOUNCED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DATABASE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEFAULTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOZEN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INERTIA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HELPS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EVENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHUNTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INFLAMING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEREK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALDI	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DETAILING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DETAINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXCUSE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXERCISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHARTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HIV	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISSATISFACTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISHONEST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHANCES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHANCELLOR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPERIENCES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHICANING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHOPPED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CCTV	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EVOLVING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

INNOVATIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CASH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CARVED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INSECURITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ETHICAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPLOSIVES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLOTHES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CAPTIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CAPITOL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INDICATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COHORTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INCUMBENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CANDIDATURE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CANCERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COLUMNS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPRESSION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BUST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXTERNALISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BURNS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPETENCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPLEXITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRASP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BUGGARED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BUDDIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AIRPORT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTENDANT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONCRETE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANTIQUATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPROVEMENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BROWN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPRESSIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FARES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSISTENCY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HARGREAVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPLIED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALLIED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTERNALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HARRIS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANTENNAE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FEET	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FEMALE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOSOM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMBARKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%



BOOTHAM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOOT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FIDDLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRACK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AGREEING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOMBS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOLLOCKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRAZY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HAZY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BLURRED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HEADED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GMB	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTRUSIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BLOCKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FILTERED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INVESTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BICESTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EDITORS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ECHO	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FLOODS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BERMUDA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FOGGY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRUTCHES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AFFORDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FOOTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CUSTODIAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEHAVED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CYCLISTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HUDDERSFIELD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GHANAIAN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HEAT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANNOUNCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GEOGRAPHICALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DRINK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BANK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AGEING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOWNS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRENCH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEMERITS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GENERATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEMS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AVERSE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GENDER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRIENDLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

AUGUST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRIGHTENED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DESTINY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRUSTRATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ATTENDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GAZETTE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANALYTICAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEVON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASSESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AFRO	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASSERTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISCIPLINE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GAGING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISCRETION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASHFORD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JOINING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JOANNE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JOANNA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JIBE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JAUNDICED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JANUARY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JACKET	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ISSUED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ISOBEL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IRRATIONAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INVOLVEMENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INVOLVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INVESTIGATIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INVESTIGATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JUDICIAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JUICY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTRODUCING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTERVIEWER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTERVENTIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTERVENTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTERTWINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JUVENILE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTERNALISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTERNAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTERACTIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTENDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTENDANTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KELLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTEND	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

INTELLECT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTEGRATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INSULAR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INSTRUCTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INSTITUTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INSTIGATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INSTANCES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADDITIONALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KILL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADULTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INJURE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INHERENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INFLUENCED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KISSES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INEVITABILITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KNEES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INEFFICIENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KNOCKED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INDIAN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KNOTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INCREASINGLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INCLINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LACKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LAD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INBOX	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INADVERTENTLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INADEQUATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPROVING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LANDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LANDOWNERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LANDSCAPE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADVERSITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPLEMENTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPENETRABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADVERTISED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LASTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IFY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LATIMER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IDENTIFY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADVERTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ICED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IAIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HYPOCRITICALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

HUSBAND	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HURRY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HURLEY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HUNG	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LAYDEN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOUSING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOSTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOSTILE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOSKINS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HORNSBY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOPING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOPELESSLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOPELESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOOF	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LEAFLETS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HONDURAN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOLIDAY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOLDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOGG	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HMIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HMI	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HITS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HINT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HILL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HIGHWAYS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADVOCATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LEGALISED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HEATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADDICTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HEARTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HEARING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HEADLINES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LESSON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LETTERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HAUNT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HATTON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HATS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HARTLEPOOL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HARROW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LIABILITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HARRIET	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HARNESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HARMED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

HARMAN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LIBERTY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HAPPIER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HANGING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HANG	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HANDSOME	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HANDLED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HANDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HAMPTON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GUILTY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GUESSING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GUARANTEE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRUDGES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRIPS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GREW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GREENHALGH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GREASE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRB	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRATEFUL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRASS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRASPED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRANTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRAND	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRADUATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRADUAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GOLD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LIVID	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GLORIFICATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GLOBAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOATHED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOBBIED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOBBYING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GEOGRAPHICAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GENERIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOCATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GENERALS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOCK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GEARED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOGIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GATHER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GASPS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GAMES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACUTE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

FUSS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACUMEN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FULFILLED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOUDEST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRONTLINE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRINGES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOVED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOWERED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FREED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOYAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FOUNDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FORTUNATELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FORGOTTEN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FOOTPRINTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LUDACRIS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AGES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FOI	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LUNCH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FLUTTERING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MACDONALD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FLIRTATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FLEET	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FIONA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FINISHED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FINANCES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MADNESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FILTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FILM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FILL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FIGHTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MAINTAINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FIELDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MAINTENANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MAKER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FEEDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FEED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MALIGNED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FAVOURABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FATHER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FARMING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACTIVELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

FANCY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FALLOUT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FAIRNESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FAILURE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FAILING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FACTORIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FACTOR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AIRCRAFT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MANGER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXTRAORDINARILY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MANIFESTATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXTENSIVELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MANIPULATIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AKIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MANOEUVRE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MANSLAUGHTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPANDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXISTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXISTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXETER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MARGIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MARIJUANA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXCLUSIVELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXCEPTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MARKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALIENATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MARQUEE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EVIDENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EVERYDAY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MARTYN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EVENINGS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EUROPE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EURO	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ETHOS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MATERNITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MATTERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MATTHEW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ERRING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EQUAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MAXIMUM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MAYORAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MAYORS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MCKENZIE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

MEANING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENSHRINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENQUIRY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENJOYED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MEDIAS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENGLISH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MEDIATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MEDIOCRE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MEDIUM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MEGABYTE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENCOURAGING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENCOUNTERED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMPTY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MEND	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MENTALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMERGENCY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMBASSY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMBARRASSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MERGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMBARKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ELEVATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ELEMENTARY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MERITS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EGO	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EFFECTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MESSAGES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MESSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EDITORIAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EDITOR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EDGED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
METHODOLOGIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
METHODOLOGY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
METHODS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EASTERN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALTOGETHER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EARN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MICK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DUG	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DUBIOUS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DTI	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DRY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%



DROPS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DRIVES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MIGHTY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DRAMATICALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MILEAGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOWNSIDES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOWNSIDE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MILIBAND	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MILITARIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AMPLIFIERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOGS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOGGY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOCUMENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOCUMENTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIVISIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIVIDENDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIVERSIONARY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISTINCT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISTANCES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MINISTRY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISPROPORTIONALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISPROPORTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISPATCH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AMUSING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACQUIRE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANALOGUE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISCUSSING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISCRIMINATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MISBEHAVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISCOURTESY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISCIPLINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MISREPORTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISCERNIBLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISAPPOINTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISAPPEARED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISADVANTAGED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISABILITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIRECTIONLESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIPLOMACY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MISUNDERSTOOD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIGITAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIFFERENTIAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

MOANING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOBILE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DETROIT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MODERN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MODEST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOLESTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOMENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DESTROYS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DESTROYED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MONOLITHIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DESPAIR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DESK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOPPY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MORAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEPUTIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEPLOYED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOTIVATIONAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOTOR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEMOGRAPHICS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEMOCRATISING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEMOCRATIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEMOCRAT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOUNT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOUNTAIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DELAYED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEFUNCT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEFTLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEFINITE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEFICIT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEFENDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANGER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MULTIPLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEDICATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DECLARATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DECIDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DECEMBER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEBATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEBATES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANNE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEBACLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEADLINES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NAIVETY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NAMES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NARRATIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

DAFT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CYNICALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACCURATELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NATURALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CUTTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NAVIGATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CURTAINS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CSI	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANNOYING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEARER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NECESSITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CROSSES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEEDLES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRITICISED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEGATIVES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEGATIVITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CREW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEGOTIATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEGOTIATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CREATIVITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEIGHBOURHOODS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CREATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CREAMING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEUTRAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRASS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRASH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRAPPING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEWTON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NICE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NICELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NICHE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COVERT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NIGHTCLUB	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANNUALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COUPLED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COSTLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COPY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COORDINATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NOMINATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTROVERSY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTROLLING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTRIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NORFOLK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NORMA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

CONTINUING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTINUES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTAINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSULTATIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSULTANT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSTRAIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSTITUTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSTITUTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSTITUENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSISTENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NOTICEABLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONJUNCTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONFLICT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONFIRMS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONFIDENTIALITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONFIDENCES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NUANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONDEMN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NUDGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONCORDE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONCORDAT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONCEIVABLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NURSE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPREHENSIVELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPLIMENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPLIED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OBJECTIVELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPLEX	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPLAINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANTONY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OCCASIONAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OCCASIONALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPARISON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPACT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANXIOUS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMMITTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMBINING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OFFENCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COLLABORATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COLD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OFFENDERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COHERENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

COGNISANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CODE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLUE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OFFICIAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLOUD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OILED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLOSURES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLOSET	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLOSES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLOCKED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLIP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLEAVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLEANING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLASSICS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLAIMED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHURCH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ABOLITION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHUCKED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHRISTOPHER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OPERATOR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
APPLAUSE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OPPONENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHEMICALS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHECKPOINT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHECKED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHEAP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHAUFFEURS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHASING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OPPOSITIONISTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHARTERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHARTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
APPLICATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHARGER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHARGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHAP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ORDERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ORDINARY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CERVICAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CENTRED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CENTRALISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CELEBRITIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ORGANISER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CCGS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

CATCHMENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OSTENSIBLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OTLEY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CARS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CARRIER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CARIBBEAN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTGOING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTLANDISH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CAPITALISED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CANON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
APPOINTEES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTNUMBERED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTRAGED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CAMPAIGNED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CALM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CACHED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BUYING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BUTTON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTWEIGH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BUSES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BURNT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OVERLOOK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BURGLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BURDEN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OVERSEE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OVERSEEING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRUSTWORTH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRUSH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ABDICATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BROTHER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRITISH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRIT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRINGS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRIGHTEST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRIEFS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOXES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOUND	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOTHER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ABBREVIATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOROUGHS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BORED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PACKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PADDY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

BOOMING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOO	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BONUSES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BONKERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PALPABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PAMPHLET	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PAN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BLUFFED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ARENA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ARGUED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PANS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BLINKERED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BLIND	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BLESSING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BIZARRE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BIRMINGHAM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BIOGRAPHY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BIKE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BICYCLISTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PARDON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BETTY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PARIS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BELONGED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEHAVIOURS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PARKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ARISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEGINNINGS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEEFS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEEF	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BECKETT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEARS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BAT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BASING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ARRANGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ARRANGEMENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PASSION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BANG	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BACKWARDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AYCLIFFE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AWARDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AVOID	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PATRONAGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PAUL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ATTORNEY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

ATTITUDES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ATTENDER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ARROGANT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASSETS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASSET	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PDR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PEACE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASSASSINATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PEANUTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PEELIAN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PENDLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PENNY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PENULTIMATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PAYMENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PAYING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PERCEIVED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PERCEPTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PERFECT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PASSAGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PARTAKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PARKINSON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PERMEATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PERMITTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PERSECUTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PARAPET	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PARAMETERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PARAMETER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PARALYSIS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PARALLELS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PARAGRAPH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PAR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PERVERSE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PANIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PHA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PHILOSOPHICALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PHILOSOPHIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PAIRINGS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PHONED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PHOTOCOPIERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PACKED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PACIFEROUS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OWED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OVERWHELMING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%



OVERWHELMED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OVERTURE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OVERTLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PILLS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PILOTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OVERREACHED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OVERLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PISSING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PIVOTAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PLANKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PLANNED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTLYING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OUTLETS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PLATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PLATFORM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PLATOON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PLATT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ORIGINAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ORIENTATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PLAYER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ORGANISATIONAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PLAYING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PLEAS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OPPRESSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PLENTY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PLOUGH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PNC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POCKET	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PODGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POINTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OCTOBER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OCCURRED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OCCUPY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POLITENESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POLITIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OBLITERATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
OBJECTIVES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POLITICISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NUTCASES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PONDER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POOL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NUCLEAR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

POORER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NOTICES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NOTICED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POPS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NOTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NOTABLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NORTHUMBRIA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PORTFOLIOS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PORTRAYED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NONETHELESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POSITIONED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NOISES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NINETY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POSSESSION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POSSIBILITIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POSSIBILITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POSTAGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POSTERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEWSWORTHY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEWSLETTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POTATO	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NEP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POTTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POWERFULLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POWERLESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
POWERLESSNESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PPU	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRACTICAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRACTICALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NAÏVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
NAVY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRAISED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRAISER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRATT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRAYER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRAYING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MYRIAD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MURKY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MURDERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRECEPTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MRS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRECURSOR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

PREDETERMINE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOULDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOTORWAYS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PREJUDICES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PREMISES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOTHER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MORTGAGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PREREQUISITE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRESCOTT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRESCRIPTIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MOMENTUM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRESENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRESENTATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRESENTATIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRESENTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MODEMS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRESENTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRESERVATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MISUSE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRESSING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MISUNDERSTANDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MISTAKES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MISTAKE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MISSING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MISSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PREVENTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PREVENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MIRACLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MINUTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MINORITIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRIMARILY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MINERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MINDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MILLIONAIRE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRINCIPALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRINCIPLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MILEAGES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRINTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MILE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRIORITISATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MIDTERM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MIDNIGHT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MIDDLESEX	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

PRISONERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MICHAEL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRO	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROACTIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROACTIVITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
METHOD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MESSES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROCEDURE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROCEDURES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROCEEDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MERGED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROCESSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MERE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROCURED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRODUCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MELTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRODUCER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRODUCING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRODUCTIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PRODUCTIVELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROFESSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MEDDLING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MECHANISM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MEASURES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROFITABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROFLIGATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROFOUND	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROFOUNDLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROGRAM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MAVERICK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROGRAMMES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROGRESSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROGRESSION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MASTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROHIBITIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MARSHALLED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROJECTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MARMITE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROMISES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROMOTE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MAPPING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROMOTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROMPTLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

PRONOUNCEMENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROOF	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MANGERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROponents	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MANDATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROPORTIONATELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MALICIOUS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MAKEUP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROSECUTE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MAINTAINING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROSTITUTES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MAIDENHEAD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROTECTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
MADDENING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROTECTIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROTOCOL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LUKE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LUDICROUS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROVERBIAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LUCKIER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LPA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOYALTY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROVING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PROVISION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PSYCHOTIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PUB	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOUSY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOUDLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PUBLICIST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOUD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOTTERY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOSS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PUBLISHER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOGGED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PULL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOCATIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PULLING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LOCALITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PUNCHING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PUNS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PUPIL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
PURCHASING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LITIGATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

LIQUID	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LINKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LINKED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LINING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LINCOLN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LIMIT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
QUAD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
QUALIFICATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LGC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LEVIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
QUALIFY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
QUALITATIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LENGTH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LEIGH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
QUANTITATIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
QUANTITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LEAN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
QUARTERLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LEADING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LAZY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LAYOUT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LAYERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LAYERING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LAYERED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
QUIETLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LAWRENCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LAUNCHING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
QUOTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RACE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RACERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LARGESCALE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LANE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RADICALISED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RAFT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RAIDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
LAMMY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RAISING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RALLIED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RAMIFICATIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RAMMING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KNEE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RANDOMLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

KIRSTY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KIRK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RANKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KICKED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KENNETH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KENNEDY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RATES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KEEPING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
KEEL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REACHING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REACT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REACTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REACTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REACTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REACTIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JIG	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
READILY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JEWS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JEREMY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
READYMADE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REALISATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JANE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JAN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JAMES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
JAKE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REAP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ITERATIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ITEMS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REBUT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RECEIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IRRESPONSIBLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RECENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IPPR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IPC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RECEPTIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RECKON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INVISIBLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INVESTIGATIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RECONCILE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RECORDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RECREATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INVALUABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RECRUITED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RECRUITING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

INTRANSIGENCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTOLERANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTIMIDATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REDEFINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REDEFINING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REDISTRIBUTE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REDO	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTERNATIONALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTERNATIONAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REDUCING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REDUNDANCY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REECE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTERFERING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REFERENCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTENSE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REFERRALS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REFERRED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REFERRING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REFINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INTELLECTUAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REFLECTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REFLECTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REFLECTIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REFLECTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INSTITUTIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REFORMER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INSTITUTE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INSTINCT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REFUSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REFUSES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INSIDE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REGENERATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INQUISITION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REGIMENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INNOCENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REGIONALISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INJECT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INHERIT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REGIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INFORM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INFORCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REGULATIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REIGN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REINS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%



RELATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RELATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INEFFECTIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INDUSTRIAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INDULGENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INDIRECTLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INDIRECT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RELIABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RELIEF	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INDECISION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REMAINING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REMAINS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INCORRECT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REMIND	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INCIDENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REMOTE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REMOTELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INCHES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
INCAPABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REMOVING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RENEWED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REORDERED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REORGANISATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPROVES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPROVEMENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPRISON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REPLACEMENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPLIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REPORTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPLICATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPLICATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REPRESENTATIVES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPLEMENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMPINGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REPRESENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMMIGRANTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMMERSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMMERSE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REQUIREMENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMAGINATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IMAGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ILLUSTRATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

RESEARCHER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IFINITUM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESIDENCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESIDENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESIGNED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
IDEALISTIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESISTANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESISTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESOLUTELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HYPOCRITICAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESOLVED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESOLVING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESONATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESORT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HUMANE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HUGS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HUDDLES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESPONDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HUB	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HSBC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOVER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESTORATIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESTRICTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESTRICTIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RESURRECTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HORROR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HORRIBLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HORNSEY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RETIREMENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HORDES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RETRACTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RETRIEVER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REVAMPING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REVEAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REVERBERATES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REVISED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HOMEWORK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REVOLUTIONISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REVOLVING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REWARDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
REWRITE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RHETORIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RHINOCEROS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

RIBBON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HIPPY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RICHARD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HINDU	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HIND	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HILLS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RIDGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RIDICULE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HIERARCHAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HEREFORDSHIRE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HERALD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RIGHTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HEELS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RIOTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RIOTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RIPLEY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RISIBLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HEADING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RIVER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROADS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROARING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROBUST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROCHDALE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROCK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROCKY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROLLER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROLLERCOASTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HARPER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROOMS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROOT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROTATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HARM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROTTEN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HAREWOOD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROUGHLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROUNDABOUTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HANGER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROWDY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROWS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ROYAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RSPB	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HALL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

HALIFAX	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
HABIT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GUT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GUNS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RUMBLES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RUMMAGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RUSH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
RUSSADON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GROWTH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GROW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GROVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GROUNDNS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GROUNDDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GROOMING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SAFEGUARDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SAKE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SALACIOUS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GREEN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GREATLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SALISBURY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SALMON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SALT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SALUBRIOUS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SAMPLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SANCTIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SANDHURST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SANDRA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SANDWICH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SARA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRADES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GRA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GOVERNMENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GORGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GORDON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GOODNESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GOLF	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SAVING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCANDALS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCANNING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCAPEGOAT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GLEANED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GLASSHOUGHTON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GLASS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GIRL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

GHASTLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCEPTIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GESTURE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GEOGRAPHY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCHEDULE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCHEMATA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GENUINELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GENTLEMAN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCIENCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCOPE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCORE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCORING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
GEEKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCOTTISH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCRAMBLED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCRAP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCRATCH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCREAMINGLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCREENING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SCRUM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FUN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEAMLESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRUITION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FROZEN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEASON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEASONED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEAT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SECONDARY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRIDGES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRESH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SECURED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FREEDOM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEDUCED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRANCHISES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEEKERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FRACTURE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FOWL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEIZED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FOUNDATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FOSTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FORTUNE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SELECTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FORREST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

SELFISHLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FOREVER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FORESEEN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FORESEEABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FORD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SENSATIONALISM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FOOTPRINT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SENSITIVITIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FOOTBALL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FOOT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEPARATELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEPT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SERIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FLORIDA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SERVED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FLOATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SESSION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FLEXIBILITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SETTINGS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FLAW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FISH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SETTLEMENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEVENS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FINANCIALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEVENTY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEVERANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEWEL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SEX	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FILLS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FILLED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHALLOW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHALLOWNESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FIERCELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHAME	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHAMEFULLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FETTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FESTIVAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FENCED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHARED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FELL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHARP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHARPENED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHARPER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHARPLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

FEAT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FEARS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FAYRES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FAVOURITE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHENANIGANS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FAULTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FATHERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHOCKED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FASTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHOCKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHOES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FARE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FANTASTICALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHOUTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHOVELLED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FALLEN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHOWED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FAINT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHOWN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHOWS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHRINKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHRIVENHAM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
FACEBOOK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SHY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SIDES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXTERNALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SIGN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SIGNAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SIGNALLED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SIGNATURES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPLOITED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPLICIT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPLAINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPERT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SILLIEST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SILLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXPANDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SIMILARLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXISTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SIMPLER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SIMPLIFIED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXERT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXERCISES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SINGULARLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

SINKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SINS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXCLUSIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXCHANGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SITES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXCAVATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EXAGGERATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SITUATIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EVOLVED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EVILS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EVIDENTLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SIZEABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SKEGNESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SKELETON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SKELETONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EVENING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EVALUATIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EVALUATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SKINNERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SKIPPED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SKIPTON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SKY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLAG	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ESSENTIALS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLASHING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ESCAPE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLAVERY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ERM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EQUATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLIGHT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENVISIONED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLIMMER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLIP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLOG	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLOT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLOUGH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLOW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLOWS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SLUDGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENQUIRIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENJOYING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SMASHING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENHANCED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SMITH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%



SMOKED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SMOOTH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENGAGERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SOCIALIST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENFRANCHISES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SOFT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SOLDIERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SOLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENCOUNTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENCOMPASSES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENABLING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENABLED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ENABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SOMEDAY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMPOWERED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMPOWER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMPLOYS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMPHASIS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMPEROR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SOUGHT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SOUL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SOULMATES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMBITTERED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMBEDDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SOURCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SOURCES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPAIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPANISH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMASCULATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EMAILED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPECIALISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPECIALISED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ELECTRICIAN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ELECTRICALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ELECTIONEERING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPECIFICATIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPECK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPECTRUM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EGG	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPEECHES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EDWIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPELL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPELT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPENDER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

EDINBURGH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPHERE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPIRITS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPITE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPITTAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPITTLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPLIF	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
EAR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPLITTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DYNAMICALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DWELLING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DUMPED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPONSOR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPONTANEOUS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPORTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPRING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SPRINGS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SQUEAK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STABILISED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DREAM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DREADFUL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DRAWN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STAGES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DRAINING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DRAFTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STALL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STAMP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STANDALONE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STANDARD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOWNING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STANSFELD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STARTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DOUBLED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STATEMENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STATEMENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STATES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIVORCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STATUE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIVISIONAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIVISION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STAUNCHLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIVIDEND	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIVERT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

STAYING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISTINCTIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STEAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STEALING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STEALS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STEALTH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STEEL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STEMS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISORDER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISLIKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STEPHENS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STEPHENSON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STEPPING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STEPS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISCOVERY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STEWARD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISCLOSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISCIPLINES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STICKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STIGMA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STINK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STIRRED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STOCKPORT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DISAGREEMENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STOKE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STONEMASON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIRECTIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STOPPING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIRECTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIPLOMATIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRAIGHTENED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRAIT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRANDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIFFUSE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRATA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRATEGICALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIARIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DIAGNOSIS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STREAMED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STREAMING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEVELOPMENTAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEVASTATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRENGTHENED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DETRIMENTAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

STRESSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRETCH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRIKES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRINGENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DESTROY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRIP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRONGER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STRONGLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DESIGNED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DESIGN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DESERVED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DESERVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DESCRIPTOR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DESCRIBES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STUDENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STUDIED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STUDIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEPRIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
STUMP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DENIED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUBBED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUBCOMMITTEE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUBDIVIDE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEMOGRAPHIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUBJECTIVITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUBJECTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUBMISSION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUBOPTIMAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEMANDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUBSIDISING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DELAYS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUBSTANTIAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUBSTANTIALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUBSTITUTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUBSUMED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEFINING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUBLTLER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUCCEDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEFENCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUCCESSSES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUCKED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DECRIMINALISED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DECRIMINALISATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

SUFFICIENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DECISIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUGAR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DECENTRALISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUGGESTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUGGESTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUGGESTIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUITABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DEATH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUITS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DCLG	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DAVIS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DARE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUNDERLAND	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
DAD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUPERFICIAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUPERINTENDENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CYCLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUPPORTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUPPORTERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CUSTOM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUPPOSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SURGERIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CUPBOARD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CUFF	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SURPRISES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SURROUNDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SURVEILLANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRUDE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CROWD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SURVIVAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SURVIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SURVIVES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRITICISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUSPENDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRIMINALITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUSTAINABILITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUSTAINABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SUSTAINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SWAINS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SWAMPED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SWATHES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

CREATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SWEAT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SWEEP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SWIFT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SWING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SWINGS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SWISS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SWORE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SWUNG	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CRAFTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SYMPTOMATIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SYNERGY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SYSTEMATIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
SYSTEMIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COVERING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COVERDALE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TABLETS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COUNTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TACT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CORRELATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TAG	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COPE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TAILS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COOPERATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONVOLUTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONVICTIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TALL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TANGENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTROLLED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TAR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTRIBUTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TARGETS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TASK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TASKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TASKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTEMPLATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TAXI	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTACTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONTACTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TEACHERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TEACHING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSTRUCTION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSTRAINT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TEASDALE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

TECH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TECHNICALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSTITUENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TECHNOLOGIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONSTABULARY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TEENAGER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TEES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONNECTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TEETH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TELE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONFUSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONFRONTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONFRONTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONFRONT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONFLICTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TELLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TELSTRA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONFIRM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TENDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TENERIFE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONDUIT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONDENSING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONDEMNATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TENURE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TERMINUS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TERRAIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONCILIATORY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONCENTRATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONCEIVED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TERRY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CONCEAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TESTIMONIALS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPROMISING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPROMISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THEATRE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THEFT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THEME	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THEMES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THEORIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPLAINS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THERAPY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPLAIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

COMPETENTLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THINKERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPARTMENTALISE D	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THIRDLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPARING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMPARATIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THORNABY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMMUNICATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THOUGHTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMMISSIONED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMMENTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COMMANDER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THREATENS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
THROATS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COLOUR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COLLEGER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COLLEAGUE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COLLEAGERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COLLAPSE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TICKETS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TICKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TICKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TIED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TIER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COGITATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TIMING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COASTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
COAST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLYDE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TOKEN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TOLERANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLOUT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TONE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TONI	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TONY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TOOTHLESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TOPIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TORTUOUS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLINICAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLIFF	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TOUCHED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLEARING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%



TOUR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TOURNAMENTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLASS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLASH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLARITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRACKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CLAIM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CITED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CIRCUMSTANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CIRCULATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHURNING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRAFFICKED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRAFFICKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRAFFORD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRAGEDY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRAGICALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHOOSE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRAILS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHEW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRAINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHECKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRAM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHECKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRANSFERABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRANSFERRED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRANSFORM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHAUFFEUR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRANSPARENTLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRANSPIRE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRANSPORT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRANSPOSITION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHARISMATIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRAVELLED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRAVELLERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TREACLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TREAD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TREASURER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHAMPIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CHAMELEON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CFO	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CEPTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CENTRIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRIBUTE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

TRICK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRICKLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CEASES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRICKY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRIGGERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRIP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CATERED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRIUMPHED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TROLLING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TROT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CART	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TROUBLESOME	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRUSTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CARL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TRUTHS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CAPTAIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TURBINE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TURBULENCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CAPABILITIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CAP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
URNS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CANE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CANDOUR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TWIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TWISTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CANADA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TYING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CAMERA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
TYPICAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UCAT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
CAKE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UKIP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BYSTANDER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BUZZ	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNANIMOUSLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNBLEMISHED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNBUNDLING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNCERTAINTIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BUS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNDERHILL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNDERMINE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNDERMINED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNDERMINES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

BULL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNDERSTANDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNDERSTOOD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BUDD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNDERWHELMED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNDERWRITING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNDO	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNDOUBTEDLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BROTHEL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BROKERED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNHELPFUL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRITAIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNIFYING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNINFORMED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNINTELLIGENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNINTENDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRICKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BREATHALYSERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BREATHALYSE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRAVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRAMALL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BRAINS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNITED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOWLS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNITY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOUNCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNIVERSITIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNKNOWN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BORROWED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNNECESSARILY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BORN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNOPPOSED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNPLEASANTLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNPOPULAR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNPROFITABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOOKED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNREFORMED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNTHINKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNTOWARD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNUSUAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UNWANTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOBBIES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOB	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BOAT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

UPHELD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UPPER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BLOW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BLOOMING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BLOOD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UPTAKE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UPWARDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BLINDINGLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
USAGE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BLEW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UTILISED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
UTTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BITTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VACATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VACUUM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BILLIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VALUED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BIDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BID	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VARIANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VARIED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BIAS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEUOCRACY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VARYING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BETTISON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BERRY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BERKSHIRE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VEHICLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VEHICLES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VENEER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VERSA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VERSION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VESTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEDFORDSHIRE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VETTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VIABLE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEARING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BEAN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BCC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VICTIMISATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VICTIMISED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BASICS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BARONESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

BAR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VIOLET	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BANGED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VIRTUOUS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BANBURY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BALLOTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BAIRD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BAIL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BAHAMA	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BACKYARD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VITALLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BACKING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
BABY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VOLATILE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AWKWARD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
VOLUNTEERED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AWARDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AWARD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AWAKE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AVON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AVOIDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AVOIDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WADE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WADING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AUTOMATIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AUSTIN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WAGED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WAGES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WAIT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WAITED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WAITING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ATTEND	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ATTACK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ATMOSPHERE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASYLUM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASTONISHING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASSUMING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASSIST	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WALKS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WALL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WALLOP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WALLS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ASSAULT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WANNABES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

ASKEW	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WAR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ARTICULATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WARDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ARRIVING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ARRAY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WARPED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WARRANT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WARWICKSHIRE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ARGUING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WASH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ARGUABLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WASTED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
APPROVAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
APPRECIATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WATCHED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
APPOINTEE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WATER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WEAK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
APPEALED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
APPARENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANYTIME	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANYMORE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WEDDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANXIETY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WEEDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANTISOCIAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WEEKENDS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANTI	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WEIGH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WEIGHT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WELLBEING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WESTMINSTER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WHAMMY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANNOTATED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WHEREWITHAL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WHICHEVER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANDY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ANDERTONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WHITEHALL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WHITNEY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WHOOSH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WICKHAM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AMBASSADOR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

WIDELY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WIDEN	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALLOWANCES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALLOWANCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALLOCATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WILLIAMSON	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALLEGED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALLAY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WINDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ALIGNED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WINGER	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WINGING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WINGS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WINS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WIRE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WISDOM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AGGRIEVED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WISHING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WITHDRAWING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AGED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WITNESS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AFRIYIE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WOEFULLY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AFFAIR	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
AEROPLANES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADVOCATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WONDERFUL	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADVISE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WOO	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WOOD	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WOODS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADVENTURE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WORDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADRIFT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADMINISTRATION	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADJACENT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WORKINGS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADDING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADDICTIVE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WORRYING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADDED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADAPT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ADAM	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%

WORTHY	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WPP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WRAP	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WRAPPED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WRATH	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACTIVATE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACTIONED	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
WRITERS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACQUIESCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACHIEVING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACCUSATIONS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
XXX	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACCOUNTS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACCOUNTING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACCOUNTANT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACCOMMODATING	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ACADEMIC	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ABSENCE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
YOUTHS	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ABJECT	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ZONE	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ZONES	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%
ABACK	1	0.01%	0.00%	1	16.67%