the policefoundation
improving policing for the benefit of the public

Police and Crime Commissioners: Political support

Ahead of November's Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) elections, the Police Foundation has calculated the level of support for each political party in each police force area, based on the 2010 General Election results and using the 2010 British Election Study to estimate voters' second preferences (as PCC elections will use the supplementary vote system). In addition to this, given that the polls have changed considerably since the 2010 election, we have used opinion polling data from February 2012 to calculate the change in support for each party and its consequences. Given that the Liberal Democrats are not expected to put forward candidates in most areas, we have also calculated what support the remaining parties would have if this were to be the case.[1] While this analysis is not intended to be a prediction of who will win, we hope that it provides some interesting context to the forthcoming PCC elections. This work was carried out in March 2012.

What did we find?

- Based on the 2010 General Election results, and incorporating second preferences to replicate the supplementary vote system, the Conservatives would have the most support of the political parties in 27 police force areas, Labour would have the most support in 12 police force areas, and the Liberal Democrats would have the most support in two police force areas.[2]
- If the Liberal Democrats are excluded, the picture remains almost the same with the Conservatives having the most support in 28 police force areas and Labour having the most support in 13 police force areas.
- Based on opinion polling from February 2012, and again incorporating second preferences to replicate the supplementary vote system, the gap between the Conservatives and Labour would narrow considerably to 21 police force areas voting for a Conservative Commissioner and 20 a Labour Commissioner.
- If the Liberal Democrats are not included, then based on opinion polling from February 2012 the Conservatives would have the most support in 22 police force areas and Labour would have the most support in 15 police force areas. This excludes Wales where we are unable to calculate voting patterns as the necessary data is not available.

All the results are presented by police force area on Pages 3-11.

What don't we know?

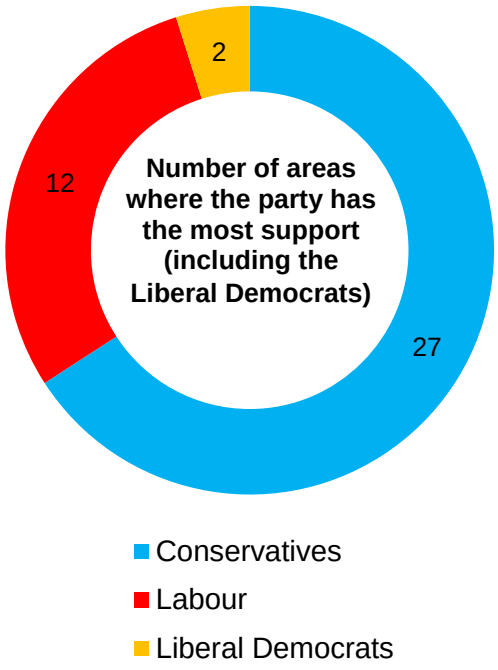
- This analysis does not take into account a number of factors that may have a bearing on the final outcomes. It only judges existing support for the national political parties and takes no account of any impact that independent candidates may have on the election. Furthermore, it takes no account of the way that parties are viewed on law and order specifically, which may affect their levels of support in these elections.
- The analysis does not take into account that these are single-issue elections for a local leader, not a general election. This may affect turnout while the electorate may vote differently in a locally-focused election. It also assumes that, when calculating the swing since 2010, the change will be the same nationally and that second preferences will not have changed in the meantime.
- Finally, the analysis assumes that all the parties that stood in the 2010 General Election will stand in all the PCC elections, other than where we have specifically removed the Liberal Democrats. When we know which parties are standing in each area, we will be able to update the information accordingly.

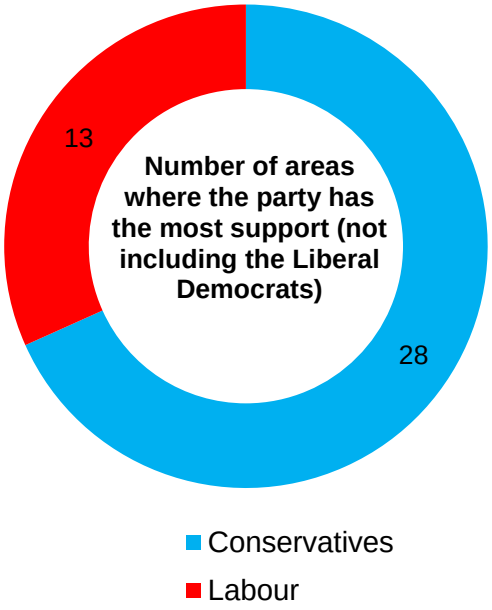
For more information, contact us at info@police-foundation.org.uk or on 020 7582 3744 or via Twitter at www.twitter.com/the_police_fdn.

[1] For details of the methodology used, please see http://www.police-foundation.org.uk/uploads/holding/projects/MethodologyforPCCsPoliticalsupport.pdf.
[2] There are 41 relevant police force areas as there will be no PCC for the Metropolitan Police or the City of London Police.

The 2010 General Election results

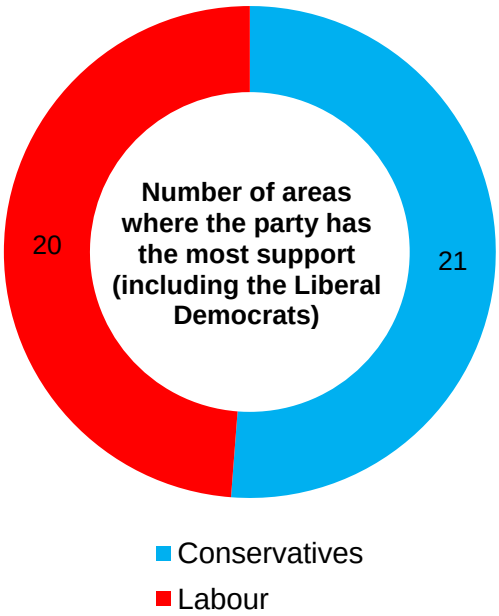
These two charts show how many areas each of the political parties had the most support in, incorporating second preferences, at the time of the 2010 General Election.

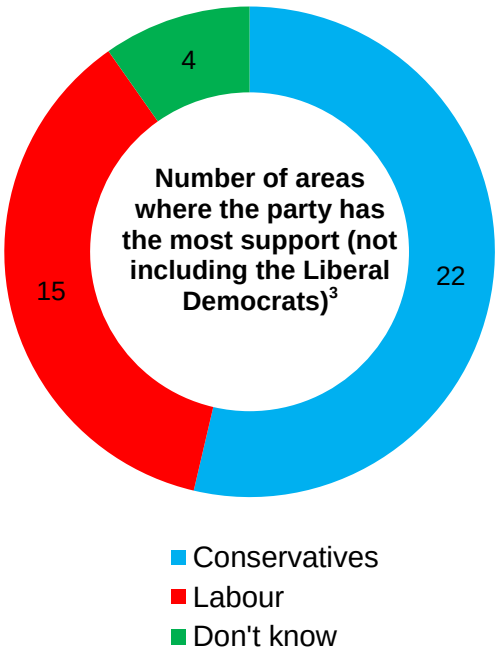




Recent opinion polling

These two charts show how many areas each of the political parties has the most support in, incorporating second preferences, based on opinion polling carried out in February 2012.

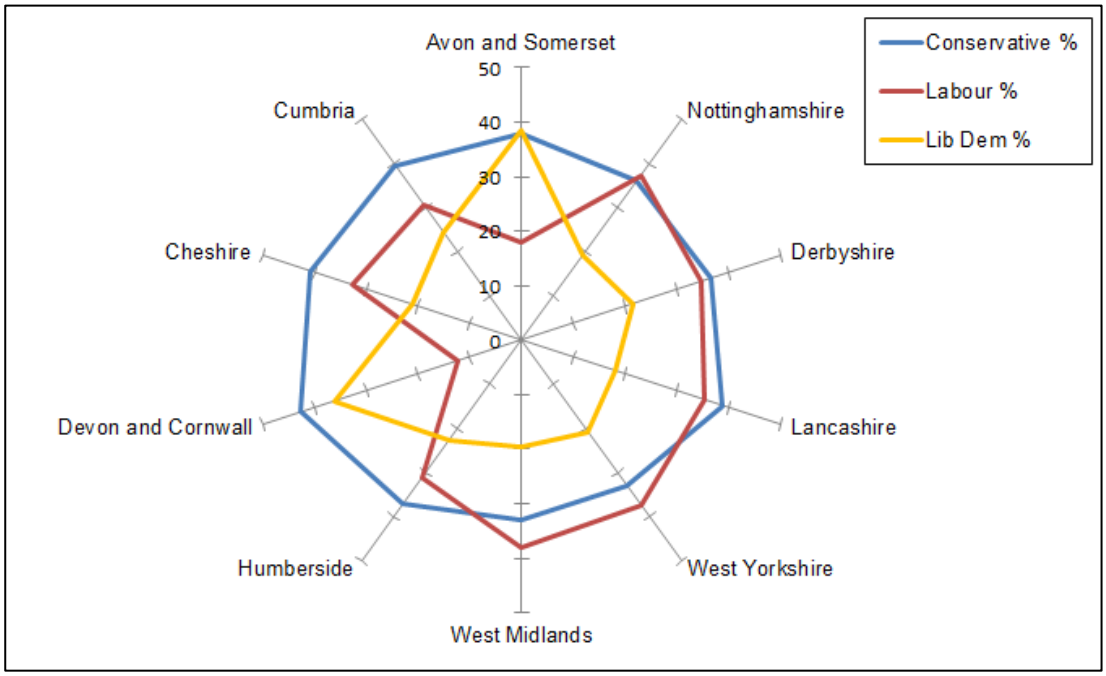




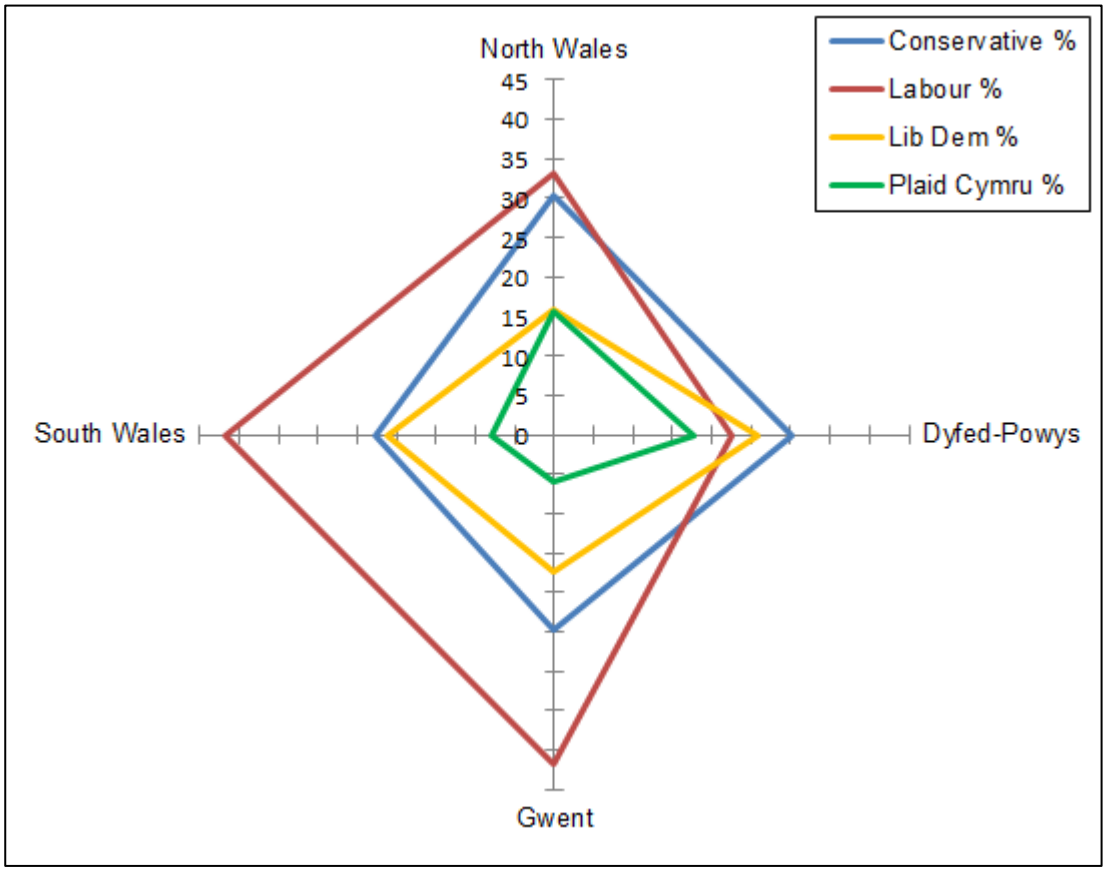
[3] We are not able to calculate who would have the most support in the four Welsh constituencies in this scenario, as the necessary data is not available.

Where might the elections be close?

This chart shows the support for the three main parties in the ten closest races in England, based on the 2010 General Election results (and not incorporating second preferences). The closer the lines representing the parties are on this chart, the smaller the difference was in the number of votes the parties received at the 2010 General Election.

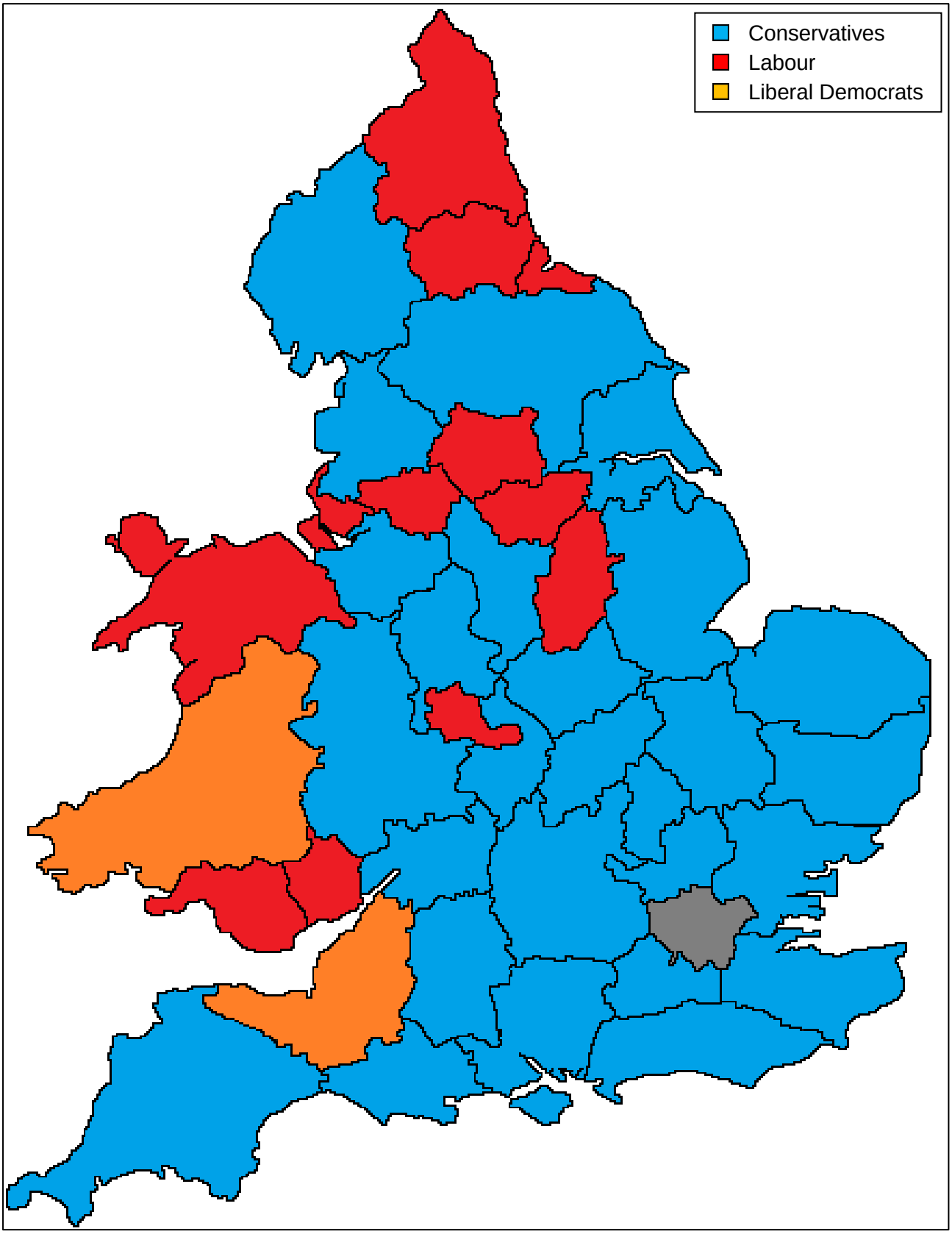


This chart shows the support for the four main parties in the four areas in Wales, based on the 2010 General Election results (and not incorporating second preferences).

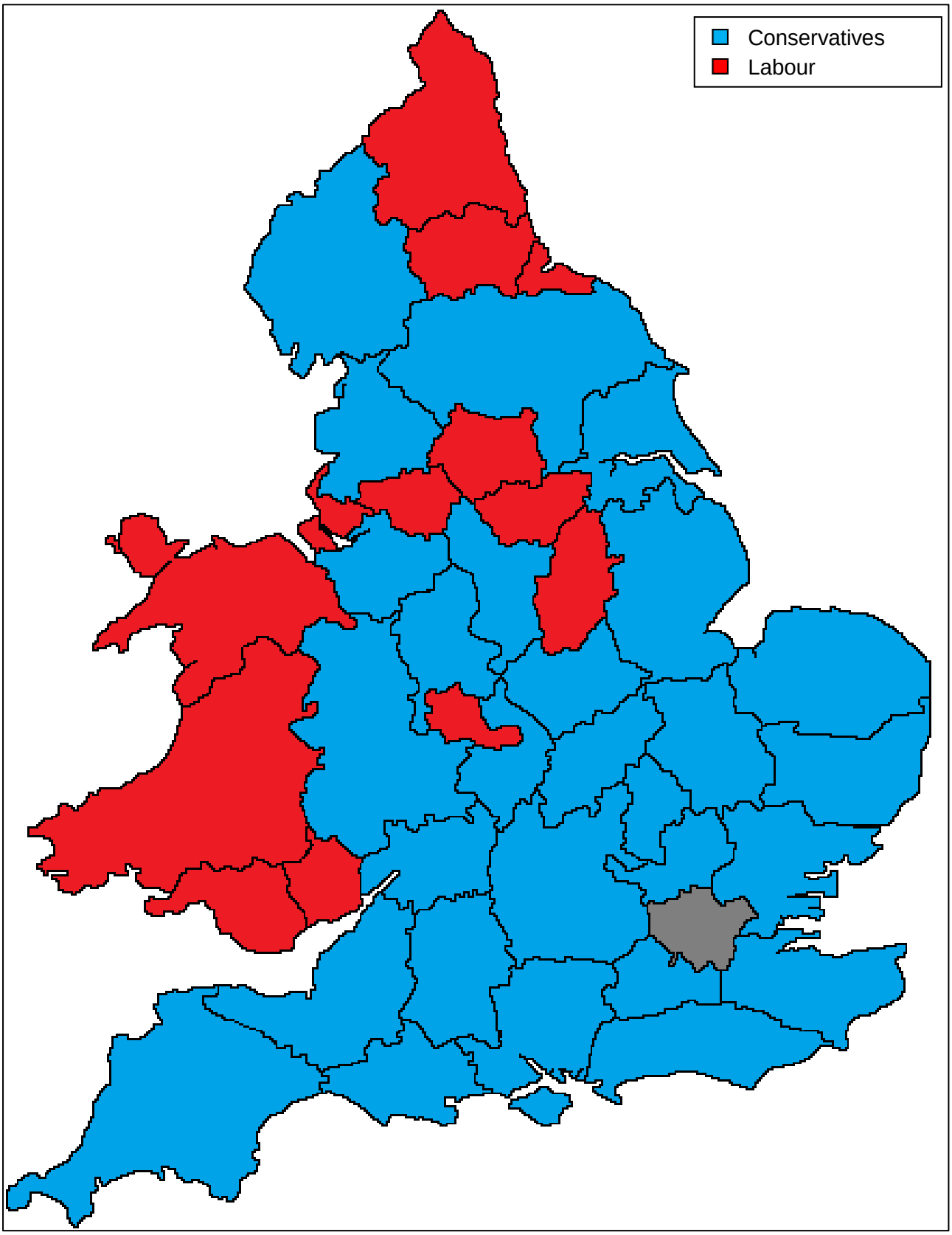


Who has the most support in each area?

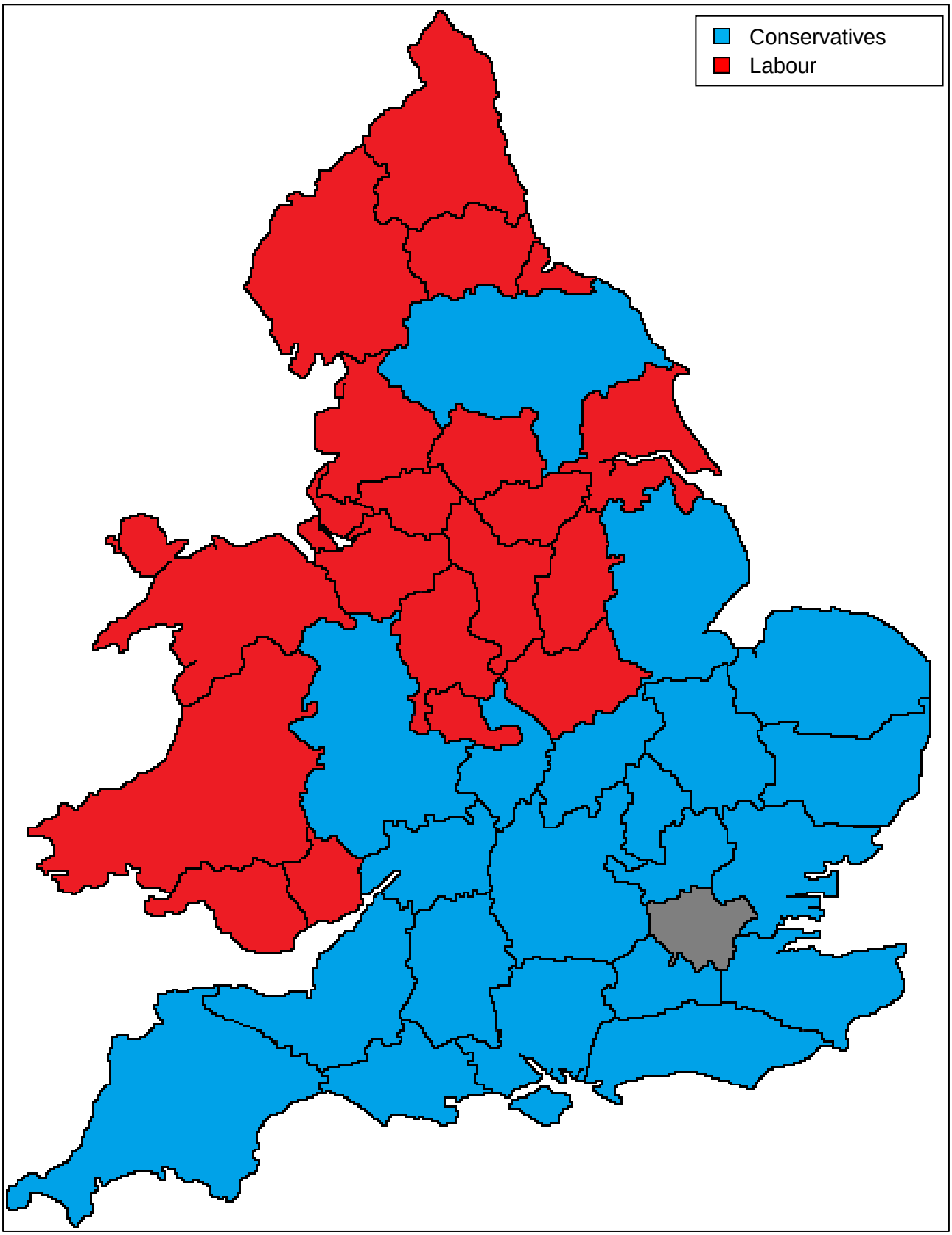
This map shows which party would have the most support in each area, based on the 2010 General Election results and using second preferences to replicate the supplementary voting system.



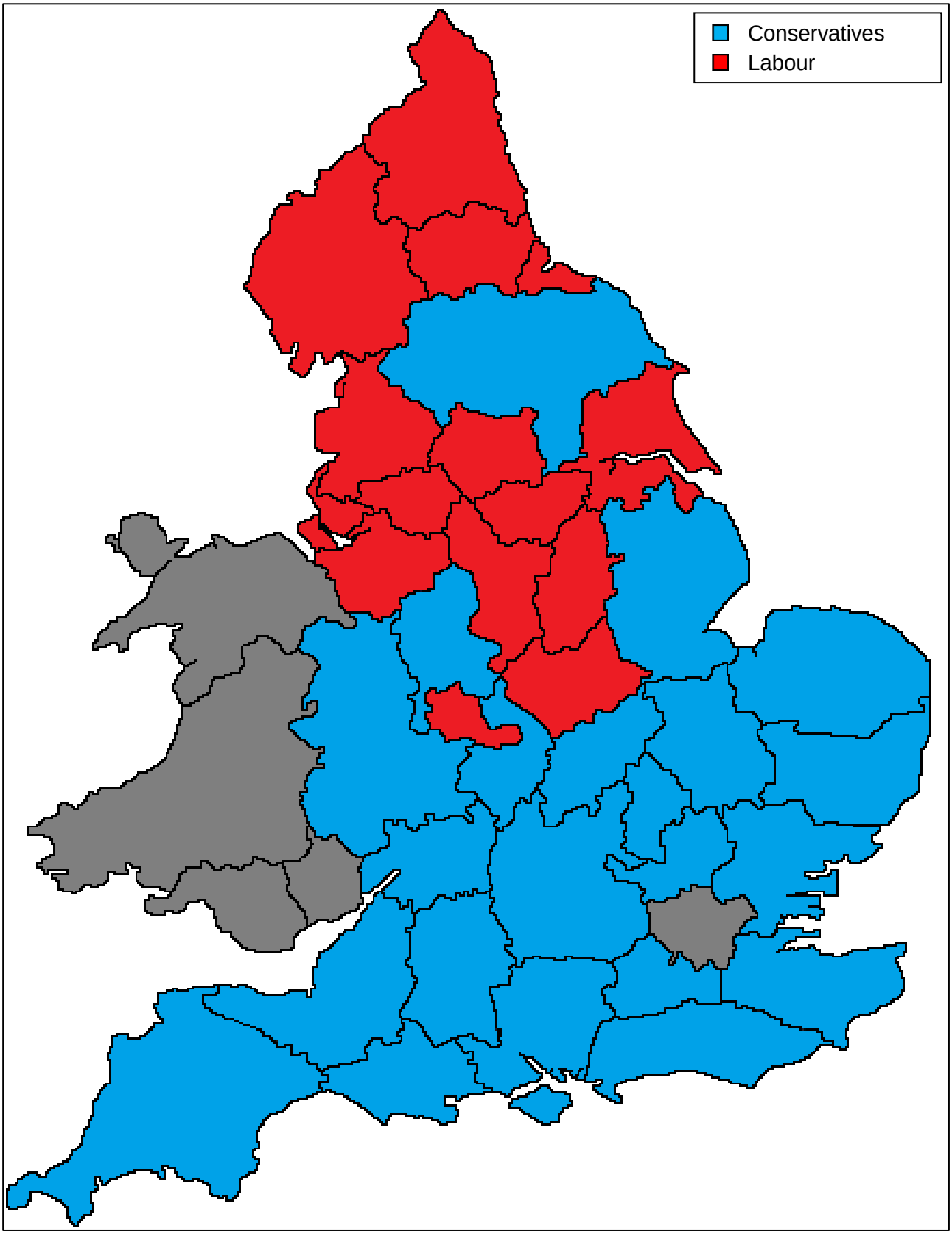
This map shows which party would have the most support in each area, based on the 2010 General Election results and using second preferences to replicate the supplementary voting system, but not including the Liberal Democrats.



This map shows which party would have the most support in each area, based on opinion polling from February 2012 and using second preferences to replicate the supplementary voting system.



This map shows which party would have the most support in each area, based on opinion polling from February 2012 and using second preferences to replicate the supplementary voting system but not including the Liberal Democrats.[4]



[4] We are not able to calculate who would have the most support in the four Welsh constituencies in this scenario, as the necessary data is not available

Snapshot of the main results

Police force area	Political party with the most support[5]			
	2010 General Election data	2010 data (not including Liberal Democrats)	February 2012 opinion polling data	Opinion polling data (no Liberal Democrats)[6]
Avon and Somerset	Lib Dems	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Bedfordshire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Cambridgeshire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Cheshire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Labour	Labour
Cleveland	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour
Cumbria	Conservatives	Conservatives	Labour	Labour
Derbyshire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Labour	Labour
Devon and Cornwall	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Dorset	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Durham	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour
Dyfed-Powys	Lib Dems	Labour	Labour	-
Essex	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Gloucestershire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Greater Manchester	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour
Gwent	Labour	Labour	Labour	-
Hampshire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Hertfordshire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Humberside	Conservatives	Conservatives	Labour	Labour
Kent	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Lancashire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Labour	Labour
Leicestershire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Labour	Labour
Lincolnshire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Merseyside	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour
Norfolk	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
North Wales	Labour	Labour	Labour	-
North Yorkshire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Northamptonshire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Northumbria	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour
Nottinghamshire	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour
South Wales	Labour	Labour	Labour	-
South Yorkshire	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour
Staffordshire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Labour	Conservatives
Suffolk	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Surrey	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Sussex	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Thames Valley	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
Warwickshire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
West Mercia	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives
West Midlands	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour
West Yorkshire	Labour	Labour	Labour	Labour
Wiltshire	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives	Conservatives

[5] Calculated incorporating second preferences, to replicate the supplementary vote system.
[6] We are not able to calculate who would have the most support in the Welsh constituencies in this scenario, as the necessary data is not available.

Results based on the 2010 General Election data

Police force area	% using the 'First Past the Post' system					% using the supplementary vote system[7]		Party with the most support
	Cons	Lab	Lib	Plaid Cymru	Other	SV 1	SV 2	
Avon and Somerset	37.85	17.97	38.40	-	5.78	41.45	52.08	Lib Dem
Bedfordshire	44.91	27.28	20.41	-	7.40	53.91	35.75	Cons
Cambridgeshire	45.30	16.31	29.19	-	9.21	49.13	41.43	Cons
Cheshire	40.84	32.53	21.21	-	5.42	47.46	41.77	Cons
Cleveland	27.81	40.10	21.50	-	10.59	37.14	52.51	Lab
Cumbria	39.49	30.82	24.35	-	5.35	47.17	41.45	Cons
Derbyshire	36.61	34.57	21.63	-	7.19	44.71	43.52	Cons
Devon and Cornwall	42.60	12.46	36.08	-	8.86	47.00	46.48	Cons
Dorset	48.32	12.17	32.81	-	6.70	52.40	42.43	Cons
Durham	21.39	45.27	24.07	-	9.28	47.19	37.23	Lab
Dyfed-Powys	30.04	22.61	25.90	17.73	3.72	34.37	42.30	Lib Dems
Essex	49.64	18.70	21.47	-	10.19	53.76	34.82	Cons
Gloucestershire	45.79	21.39	27.34	-	5.49	49.50	42.13	Cons
Greater Manchester	27.27	41.00	23.54	-	8.19	35.49	51.56	Lab
Gwent	24.63	41.79	17.50	5.89	10.18	28.96	53.57	Lab
Hampshire	49.60	14.72	30.08	-	5.60	53.17	41.33	Cons
Hertfordshire	50.51	19.02	24.08	-	6.38	53.80	37.36	Cons
Humberside	37.05	31.06	22.66	-	9.23	45.97	41.81	Cons
Kent	50.96	21.28	21.11	-	6.65	61.19	28.67	Cons
Lancashire	38.88	35.31	18.19	-	7.62	45.69	43.64	Cons
Leicestershire	41.21	28.07	22.95	-	7.77	49.84	37.56	Cons
Lincolnshire	46.06	20.94	21.80	-	11.20	51.54	36.11	Cons
Merseyside	21.10	52.29	20.84	-	5.77	27.96	61.44	Lab
Norfolk	43.12	18.96	27.77	-	10.15	47.45	42.47	Cons
North Wales	30.32	33.09	15.83	15.70	20.77	35.48	48.19	Lab
North Yorkshire	46.91	19.07	27.85	-	6.17	49.32	41.65	Cons
Northamptonshire	48.34	26.25	19.47	-	5.95	55.51	34.33	Cons
Northumbria	22.39	44.98	24.62	-	8.01	46.98	38.62	Lab
Nottinghamshire	35.99	37.10	19.26	-	7.65	43.54	45.17	Lab
South Wales	22.72	41.84	21.26	7.98	6.20	27.85	56.34	Lab
South Yorkshire	20.56	43.07	23.67	-	12.71	46.17	36.28	Lab
Staffordshire	41.72	31.22	18.00	-	9.06	49.63	38.76	Cons
Suffolk	46.17	21.34	24.06	-	8.44	50.42	39.61	Cons
Surrey	55.03	9.74	28.46	-	6.77	58.96	36.28	Cons
Sussex	46.53	16.57	27.76	-	9.14	50.66	41.72	Cons
Thames Valley	48.28	17.48	24.99	-	9.25	52.31	38.61	Cons
Warwickshire	45.83	27.72	20.54	-	5.91	52.90	35.97	Cons
West Mercia	46.25	18.60	24.67	-	10.48	50.02	37.53	Cons
West Midlands	32.97	37.96	19.53	-	9.54	40.73	46.00	Lab
West Yorkshire	32.91	37.48	20.74	-	8.86	40.87	47.31	Lab
Wiltshire	47.81	15.32	30.41	-	6.46	51.53	42.33	Cons

[7] The two parties with the highest percentage of votes in the area, plus redistributed second preference votes.

Results based on the 2010 General Election data, not including the Liberal Democrats

Police force area	% using the 'First Past the Post' system						% using the supplementary vote system		Party with the most support
	Cons	Lab	UKIP	Green	BNP	Other[8]	SV 1	SV 2	
Avon and Somerset	50.14	30.64	7.38	10.26	1.30	0.29	54.60	34.29	Cons
Bedfordshire	51.24	35.24	5.61	4.98	2.19	0.74	54.66	37.44	Cons
Cambridgeshire	54.34	27.69	7.78	7.94	0.47	1.77	58.47	30.74	Cons
Cheshire	46.14	41.22	5.18	5.21	0.71	1.54	49.00	43.27	Cons
Cleveland	33.62	51.50	6.24	2.36	4.35	2.14	37.63	53.33	Lab
Cumbria	45.58	40.80	5.09	5.94	2.26	0.33	48.92	43.17	Cons
Derbyshire	42.24	42.79	5.76	5.31	2.97	0.72	45.98	44.99	Cons
Devon and Cornwall	54.15	24.36	9.72	10.14	0.66	0.97	59.34	27.94	Cons
Dorset	58.82	23.00	9.20	8.34	0.30	0.34	63.50	26.03	Cons
Durham	27.89	58.02	5.23	2.65	4.51	1.95	31.58	59.66	Lab
Dyfed-Powys	33.93	35.04	4.58	3.24	4.66	18.30	37.94	44.68	Lab
Essex	56.29	27.07	6.10	5.47	3.16	1.91	60.25	29.55	Cons
Gloucestershire	52.89	31.78	6.91	7.44	0.27	0.43	55.86	34.57	Cons
Greater Manchester	33.16	50.65	6.13	5.81	3.22	1.03	36.57	53.22	Lab
Gwent	27.26	50.19	3.57	2.49	6.27	13.17	29.51	51.90	Lab
Hampshire	60.13	24.34	7.11	7.36	0.65	0.40	63.26	27.17	Cons
Hertfordshire	57.97	28.42	5.50	5.90	1.79	0.42	60.79	30.79	Cons
Humberside	43.62	40.81	6.11	5.27	3.38	0.82	47.01	43.26	Cons
Kent	58.35	28.04	6.08	5.64	1.27	0.62	61.16	30.36	Cons
Lancashire	43.43	42.77	6.03	4.58	2.25	0.94	46.40	44.92	Cons
Leicestershire	47.17	36.79	5.49	5.33	4.49	0.49	50.71	39.12	Cons
Lincolnshire	51.73	29.22	7.65	5.02	4.41	1.76	55.85	31.68	Cons
Merseyside	26.31	60.83	5.72	4.90	1.11	1.13	28.89	62.74	Lab
Norfolk	51.73	29.79	7.10	9.04	2.21	0.13	55.49	32.98	Cons
North Wales	32.69	40.68	3.46	1.78	4.41	18.38	35.98	48.84	Lab
North Yorkshire	54.98	31.05	4.65	6.55	2.14	0.63	58.70	33.36	Cons
Northamptonshire	53.40	33.65	5.16	5.10	2.21	0.30	57.23	35.66	Cons
Northumbria	29.04	58.03	4.19	3.30	4.83	0.86	32.94	59.75	Lab
Nottinghamshire	41.00	44.42	5.74	4.87	2.70	1.08	45.25	46.48	Lab
South Wales	25.91	52.04	3.85	2.97	5.44	11.19	28.52	57.21	Lab
South Yorkshire	27.42	53.24	6.39	5.34	6.03	1.58	31.67	55.88	Lab
Staffordshire	52.57	37.88	6.90	4.34	3.71	0.60	56.19	40.10	Cons
Suffolk	53.63	30.72	7.46	6.98	0.74	0.48	56.85	33.36	Cons
Surrey	64.99	18.85	8.07	6.84	0.62	0.64	68.34	21.51	Cons
Sussex	56.24	25.46	6.79	9.49	1.37	0.65	59.72	28.71	Cons
Thames Valley	57.03	25.48	6.79	7.00	0.95	2.76	60.11	28.07	Cons
Warwickshire	57.75	35.32	4.05	5.50	3.19	0.56	60.49	37.46	Cons
West Mercia	58.27	27.73	6.78	6.57	2.86	3.15	61.86	30.40	Cons
West Midlands	41.55	45.18	5.82	5.01	3.63	2.12	44.90	47.43	Lab
West Yorkshire	38.93	46.40	2.80	5.23	5.10	1.54	41.82	48.53	Lab
Wiltshire	57.54	25.36	7.36	8.31	0.86	0.57	60.92	28.33	Cons

[8] The required data is not available to redistribute the second preference votes of Liberal Democrat voters to parties in this column. This column includes Plaid Cymru in Wales.

Results based on February 2012 opinion polling data

Police force area	% using the 'First Past the Post' system					% using the supplementary vote system		Party with the most support
	Cons	Lab	Lib	Plaid Cymru	Other	SV 1	SV 2	
Avon and Somerset	35.56	31.87	26.53	-	6.04	45.87	41.60	Cons
Bedfordshire	42.62	41.18	8.54	-	7.66	47.60	45.47	Cons
Cambridgeshire	43.00	30.21	17.32	-	9.47	51.05	38.06	Cons
Cheshire	38.55	46.43	9.34	-	5.68	41.96	51.17	Lab
Cleveland	25.52	54.00	9.63	-	10.85	31.29	60.52	Lab
Cumbria	37.20	44.72	12.48	-	5.61	41.66	50.85	Lab
Derbyshire	34.32	48.47	9.76	-	7.45	39.00	53.30	Lab
Devon and Cornwall	40.31	26.36	24.21	-	9.12	51.11	35.50	Cons
Dorset	46.02	26.07	20.94	-	6.97	55.48	33.84	Cons
Durham	19.10	59.17	12.20	-	9.54	24.93	66.88	Lab
Dyfed-Powys	29.04	36.61	11.90	17.73	5.72	34.73	57.57	Lab
Essex	47.35	32.60	9.60	-	10.46	53.17	37.47	Cons
Gloucestershire	43.49	35.29	15.47	-	5.75	49.19	42.28	Cons
Greater Manchester	24.98	54.90	11.67	-	8.45	29.98	60.96	Lab
Gwent	23.63	55.79	3.50	5.89	15.30	25.45	62.54	Lab
Hampshire	47.31	28.62	18.21	-	5.86	55.96	35.37	Cons
Hertfordshire	48.22	32.92	12.21	-	6.65	54.00	38.62	Cons
Humberside	34.75	44.96	10.79	-	9.49	40.07	50.98	Lab
Kent	48.67	35.18	9.24	-	6.91	54.33	39.19	Cons
Lancashire	36.59	49.21	6.32	-	7.88	40.18	53.04	Lab
Leicestershire	38.91	41.97	11.08	-	8.04	44.13	47.34	Lab
Lincolnshire	43.77	34.84	9.93	-	11.46	49.82	39.98	Cons
Merseyside	18.81	66.19	8.97	-	6.04	22.45	70.84	Lab
Norfolk	40.82	32.86	15.90	-	10.41	48.80	40.67	Cons
North Wales	29.32	47.09	1.83	15.70	8.63	33.04	61.46	Lab
North Yorkshire	44.61	32.97	15.98	-	6.43	50.54	40.95	Cons
Northamptonshire	46.04	40.15	7.60	-	6.21	49.80	44.11	Cons
Northumbria	20.10	58.88	12.75	-	8.27	25.65	66.92	Lab
Nottinghamshire	33.70	51.00	7.39	-	7.92	37.83	54.95	Lab
South Wales	21.72	55.84	7.26	7.98	9.81	24.56	66.19	Lab
South Yorkshire	18.26	56.97	11.80	-	12.97	24.68	63.67	Lab
Staffordshire	39.43	45.12	6.13	-	9.32	43.97	48.66	Lab
Suffolk	43.88	35.24	12.19	-	8.70	50.49	41.15	Cons
Surrey	52.73	23.64	16.59	-	7.04	61.48	29.91	Cons
Sussex	44.24	30.47	15.89	-	9.40	52.52	37.21	Cons
Thames Valley	45.99	31.38	13.12	-	9.51	53.16	36.74	Cons
Warwickshire	43.54	41.62	8.67	-	6.17	47.24	45.87	Cons
West Mercia	43.96	32.50	12.80	-	10.74	49.65	38.50	Cons
West Midlands	30.68	51.86	7.66	-	9.81	35.07	55.90	Lab
West Yorkshire	30.62	51.38	8.87	-	9.12	34.97	56.49	Lab
Wiltshire	45.52	29.22	18.54	-	6.72	53.59	36.31	Cons

Results based on February 2012 opinion polling data, not including the Liberal Democrats[9]

Police force area	% using the 'First Past the Post' system						% using the supplementary vote system		Party with the most support
	Cons	Lab	UKIP	Green	BNP	Other[10]	SV 1	SV 2	
Avon and Somerset	44.05	40.62	5.29	9.51	0.73	0[11]	48.11	43.34	Cons
Bedfordshire	45.26	44.52	3.76	4.60	1.61	0.25	48.23	46.01	Cons
Cambridgeshire	48.37	36.96	5.94	7.56	0	1.28	52.32	39.14	Cons
Cheshire	40.88	50.26	2.98	4.70	0.13	1.05	43.02	51.59	Lab
Cleveland	28.12	59.11	4.39	3.16	3.66	1.66	31.86	60.48	Lab
Cumbria	40.32	49.83	2.89	5.43	1.69	0	42.94	51.50	Lab
Derbyshire	36.86	52.18	3.55	4.81	2.28	0.23	39.93	53.79	Lab
Devon and Cornwall	48.06	34.35	7.63	9.40	0.09	0.48	53.16	37.09	Cons
Dorset	52.73	32.98	7.12	7.60	0	0	57.26	35.21	Cons
Durham	22.39	65.63	3.38	3.45	3.81	1.46	25.67	67.04	Lab
Dyfed-Powys	30.83	42.32	-	-	-	17.73	-	-	-
Essex	50.32	36.34	4.26	5.08	2.58	1.42	53.88	38.08	Cons
Gloucestershire	47.51	41.17	4.71	6.93	0	0	50.65	43.10	Cons
Greater Manchester	27.90	59.68	3.93	5.31	2.65	0.54	31.33	61.47	Lab
Gwent	24.16	57.47	-	-	-	5.89	-	-	-
Hampshire	53.68	34.45	5.14	6.86	0	0	57.15	36.41	Cons
Hertfordshire	52.00	37.69	3.65	5.51	1.21	0	54.89	39.37	Cons
Humberside	37.88	49.60	4.50	5.00	2.68	0.33	41.60	51.35	Lab
Kent	51.90	38.14	4.12	5.13	0.57	0.14	54.81	39.68	Cons
Lancashire	38.17	51.80	3.83	4.07	1.67	0.45	41.13	53.18	Lab
Leicestershire	41.79	46.18	3.29	4.82	3.80	0.00	45.17	47.93	Lab
Lincolnshire	46.35	38.61	5.44	4.51	3.71	1.27	50.81	40.39	Cons
Merseyside	21.05	69.86	3.51	4.40	0.54	0.64	23.55	71.19	Lab
Norfolk	45.75	39.06	5.26	8.65	1.64	0	49.97	41.65	Cons
North Wales	29.59	47.96	-	-	-	15.70	-	-	-
North Yorkshire	49.25	39.84	3.04	6.28	1.45	0.14	51.97	41.71	Cons
Northamptonshire	48.02	43.04	2.95	4.59	1.52	0	50.53	44.48	Cons
Northumbria	23.54	65.64	2.34	4.10	4.14	0.37	26.44	67.19	Lab
Nottinghamshire	35.62	53.80	3.54	4.37	2.01	0.59	38.56	55.27	Lab
South Wales	22.81	59.32	-	-	-	7.98	-	-	-
South Yorkshire	21.69	62.04	4.78	5.07	5.34	1.09	26.32	64.08	Lab
Staffordshire	49.68	47.39	4.93	3.71	2.78	0.11	53.51	48.84	Cons
Suffolk	47.66	39.99	5.61	6.59	0.16	0	51.40	41.93	Cons
Surrey	58.54	28.95	6.10	6.33	0	0.15	62.45	30.83	Cons
Sussex	49.80	35.56	4.82	8.99	0.67	0.17	53.54	38.11	Cons
Thames Valley	50.58	35.58	4.83	6.49	0.26	2.27	53.93	37.47	Cons
Warwickshire	54.86	44.83	2.09	4.88	2.26	0.07	57.16	46.38	Cons
West Mercia	55.39	37.24	4.82	5.95	1.93	2.66	59.15	39.16	Cons
West Midlands	38.66	54.69	3.85	4.38	2.70	1.63	41.96	56.25	Lab
West Yorkshire	33.19	55.20	1.19	4.96	4.41	1.05	35.65	56.94	Lab
Wiltshire	51.45	35.34	5.27	7.57	0.29	0.08	55.16	37.52	Cons

[9] We are not able to calculate who would have the most support in the Welsh constituencies in this scenario, as the necessary data is not available.

[10] The required data is not available to redistribute the second preference votes of Liberal Democrat voters to parties in this column. This column includes Plaid Cymru in Wales.

[11] As a uniform swing has been applied across areas to inform this table, in some areas the vote for the BNP and for 'others' would appear to be less than zero. Where this occurs it has been changed to zero.