

## **Whose time is it anyway? Factors associated with duration in police custody**

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Police detention; suspects; PACE codes of practice; legal advice; detention duration.

### **Summary**

This study is based on a statistical analysis of police custody records. We earlier examined the take-up of legal advice and now turn our attention to the time people spend in custody. We find that the average time people are detained in police custody seems to have risen over recent years and that a number of factors can impact on the length of detention, including differences between police stations. The expectations that PACE would restrict the length of time individuals are held in custody were not borne out by the data from the police stations included in this study.

### **Introduction**

In our statistical analysis of more than 30,000 police custody records we examined the take-up of legal advice and found that this had risen less than recent studies indicated. We also found substantial variation in request rates for legal advice between police stations.<sup>1</sup> The Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE) provides access to free and independent legal advice and it also seeks to regulate the length of time the police can hold people in custody. When detaining suspects for non-terrorist matters, for example, the police have up to 24 hours to charge or release them,<sup>2</sup> although further periods of detention can be authorised by the police, up to a maximum of 36 hours.<sup>3</sup> PACE also requires custody sergeants to deal with all persons

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<sup>1</sup> See P. Pleasence, V. Kemp and N. J. Balmer, "The Justice Lottery? Police Station Advice 25 Years on From PACE" [2011] Crim. L.R.3.

<sup>2</sup> PACE, S. 41(1).

<sup>3</sup> To extend detention beyond 24 hours requires a review to be conducted by an officer of superintendent rank or above (PACE, S. 42(1)). Thereafter, any further period of detention, up to a maximum of 96 hours, requires the authorisation of a magistrates' court (PACE, S. 43)).

in custody expeditiously, and to charge suspects as soon as there is sufficient evidence to do so.<sup>4</sup> In addition, PACE requires an inspector “diligently and expeditiously” to carry out regular reviews of the time a suspect is held in custody.<sup>5</sup>

Following implementation of PACE, a number of research studies sought to examine the impact its impact on the time people were spending in police custody.<sup>6</sup> While it seemed that PACE did have the desired effect of reducing detention times, at least initially, there were subsequent indications that the length of time people were being held increased.<sup>7</sup> However, the number and location of police stations studied varied between studies and, as Maguire cautiously observed in relation to his early findings,

‘anyone attempting to make some general statement about the effect of PACE on detention lengths is faced with a contradictory and confusing patchwork picture, complicated by widely differing arrest structures’.<sup>8</sup>

After providing a brief summary of the relevant research studies which have examined the length of time people are held in police custody our own findings are presented which are compared with those arising from previous studies and then discussed.

## **Background**

With the setting up of a Royal Commission into Criminal Procedure in 1978,<sup>9</sup> and the subsequent implementation of the PACE Act in January 1986, a number of research studies sought to examine the length of time people were spending in police custody and the potential impact of the new rules. However, the findings were equivocal mainly due to the lack of comparable and/or reliable data available both pre and post-PACE. Nevertheless, there were two studies undertaken post-PACE, the first by Maguire (1988) and the second by Bottomley et al., are helpful in identifying some of the factors found to influence variations in detention

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<sup>4</sup> See PACE Code C para. 1.1 and PACE s.37(1). With the CPS now involved in pre-charge decision-making, custody sergeants can detain suspects after having sufficient evidence to charge in order to seek charging advice from the CPS (Police and Justice Act 2006, 2.11).

<sup>5</sup> The first review is to be carried out not later than six hours after the detention was first authorised. The second review is to be undertaken not later than nine hours after the first review and subsequent reviews must be at intervals of no more than 12 hours (PACE, S. 40(3)(b)-(c)).

<sup>6</sup> See M. Maguire, ‘Effects of the PACE Provisions on Detention and Questioning’ (1988), 28(1) *British Journal of Criminology*, pp.19-43; B. Irving and I. McKenzie, *Police Interrogation: the effects of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984*. London: Police Foundation (1989), K. Bottomley, C. Coleman, D. Dixon, M. Gill and D. Wall, ‘The Detention of Suspects in Police Custody’ (1991), 31(4) *British Journal of Criminology*, pp. 347-364.

<sup>7</sup> See Bottomley et al. (1991) above fn. 6; D. Brown, *Detention at the Police Station under the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984*. London: HMSO (HORS 104:1989); C. Phillips and D. Brown, *Entry into the Criminal Justice System: A Survey of Police Arrests and their Outcomes*. London: HMSO (HORS 185:1998).

<sup>8</sup> Maguire, - see above fn. 6, p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure, *Report* (1989) Cm 8092.

duration.<sup>10</sup> The Home Office subsequently funded two large-scale studies which included analysis of the average length of time people were held in police custody. The first study was conducted by Brown in the late 1980s and the second by Phillips and Brown in the mid-1990s.<sup>11</sup> More recently, Skinns conducted a small-scale study of two police stations which included examining the average length of time detainees were held and the factors found to influence variations between the stations.<sup>12</sup> These studies also highlighted similar factors found to influence custody duration. Following the presentation of our findings, a comparison of the extant research is undertaken.

### ***This study***

This study involves a statistical analysis of detention duration based on around 25,000 police electronic custody records drawn from 44 police stations across four police force areas.<sup>13</sup> We fitted a statistical model to examine drivers of duration (hours) on the basis of the number of variables.<sup>14</sup> These include gender, age, ethnicity, whether or not an interpreter was involved, case outcome, time/day of the intervention, access to legal advice, the type and seriousness of the offence and the police station.<sup>15</sup> In addition to fitting each of the variables in Table A1 (shown in the statistical appendix below), as fixed effects, a time by day interaction was also included to explore whether this impacted on case duration. When presenting our findings, on a number of occasions both the predicted data, which is derived from the statistical models, and the raw data are shown. The predicted data is important because this allows the model to control for the influence of a range of other variables. For example, shorter duration in custody for young detainees may simply be a function of less serious offences for that age group and

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<sup>10</sup> Maguire (1988) and Bottomley et al. (1991), above, fn. 6 and see also D. Dixon, K. Bottomley, C. Coleman, M. Gill and D. Wall, 'Safeguarding the Rights of Suspects in Police Custody' (1990), 1 *Policing and Society*, pp. 115-140.

<sup>11</sup> Brown (1989) and Phillips and Brown (1998), above, fn. 7. The first study was based on 5,500 custody records drawn from 32 police stations and the second from 4,250 custody records drawn from 10 police stations.

<sup>12</sup> L. Skinns, 'Stop the clock? Predictors of detention without charge in police custody areas' (2009a), 10(3) *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, pp. 303-320.

<sup>13</sup> We had access to 30,921 custody records but it is only those records which relate to the first period of detention which were included in this analysis. This excludes the time suspects spend in custody if bailed to return back to the police station.

<sup>14</sup> A generalized linear model was fitted using STATA 11 to model duration of police station custody (hours) on the basis of a number of variables.

<sup>15</sup> These variables are illustrated in Table A1 which is included in the statistical appendix. It would have been helpful to explore other variables, such as the criminal antecedents, whether an 'appropriate adult' was involved or if there was a medical intervention on the length of detention but the data was either not available or could not be transferred electronically. It was also not possible from the electronic custody records to determine whether or not legal advice was received, although this information was retrieved manually from a sub-sample of cases (see Pleasence et al. (2011), above, fn. 1).

failing to control for this may underestimate the true impact of age on the length of time people are held in custody.<sup>16</sup>

All analyses have been restricted to the first detention period only because it is this period of time which other research studies have examined when considering the length of time people are held in custody. It is also the first period of detention which is likely to have the most impact on detainees, particularly if they have no warning of their arrest. The intervention can therefore be extremely stressful, particularly if people have no time to plan and to make alternative arrangements relating to child-care and/or work activities. Because of the pressure put upon suspects when detained in custody, a principal aim of PACE was to rule out the unnecessarily lengthy detention of suspects in custody which left them to “cool their heels” in the hope of obtaining a confession.<sup>17</sup>

## **Findings**

When examining the first detention period only, there were 24,922 custody records included in the analysis across 44 police stations.<sup>18</sup> The average length of detention for both suspects and other detainees was nine hours and 18 minutes, with a median of six hours and 36 minutes.<sup>19</sup> For suspects only, the mean duration was eight hours and 55 minutes (median = 6 hours and 20 minutes). If all detention periods were to be examined this would involve 30,690 detentions across 44 police stations with an average duration of seven hours and 48 minutes, with a median of four hours and 42 minutes.<sup>20</sup>

Figure 1 below shows the distribution of custody duration in relation to all detainees during the first detention period only.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Examining the raw and predicted figures in tandem, therefore, allows assessment of the actual observed difference in detention durations between groups (e.g. young vs. older detainees), as well as the extent to which these observed differences (in raw data) may be explained by the characteristics of particular factors (e.g. the seriousness of the offence, whether a solicitor was requested, demographics etc).

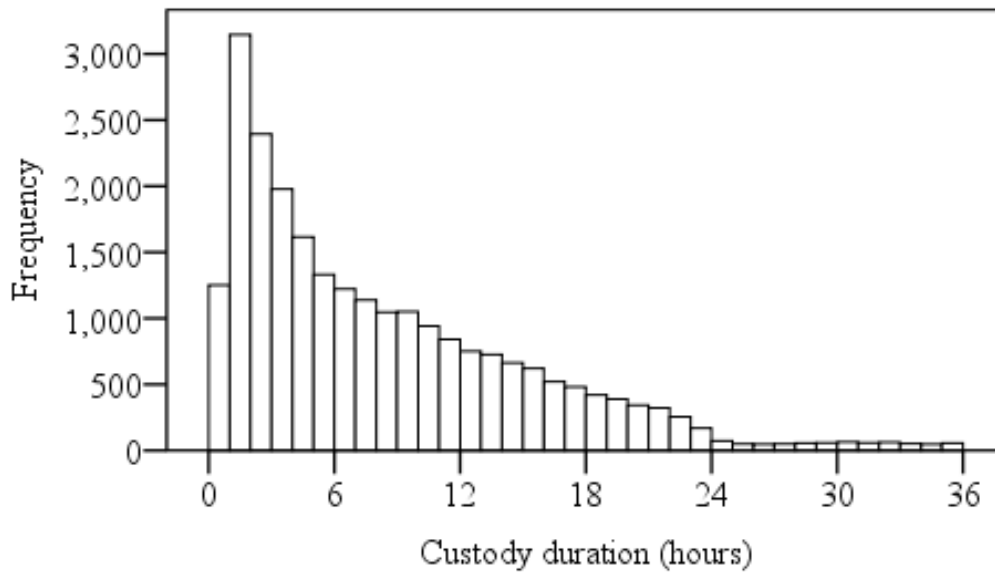
<sup>17</sup> See Maguire, footnote 6, page 24.

<sup>18</sup> Readers interested in analyses using all detention periods are invited to contact the authors.

<sup>19</sup> In addition to suspects other people can be detained by the police. As noted below, when considering the reason for detention as a factor impacting on the length of time people are held in custody these include those arrested on warrants and in breach of bail conditions as well as those being dealt with for immigration offences and those detained as a place of safety because of suspected mental health problems.

<sup>20</sup> Of 4,958 second detention periods (this is when suspects have been arrested and detained in custody but then released and bailed to return back to the police station on a second occasion), the mean duration was 1 hour and 21 minutes, with a median of 18 minutes. Of 810 third, fourth or fifth detention periods, the mean duration was 1 hour and 22 minutes, with a median of 18 minutes.

<sup>21</sup> The histogram goes up to 36 hours in order to make the distribution clear. There were 625 detentions (2.5%) with durations of 36 hours or more.



**Figure 1:** Histogram of custody duration (hours) for 24,922 first detentions across 44 police stations.

The distribution is seen to be highly skewed with over seventeen per cent of all detentions being under two hours.<sup>22</sup> When considering the potential impact of the detention reviews it was noted that 47 per cent of those detained were released within six hours, 34 per cent were released between six hours and just under 15 hours, and 14 per cent were released between 15 and 24 hours. Over five per cent of detainees were held in excess of 24 hours.<sup>23</sup>

***Requests for legal advice***

In cases where a solicitor was requested this was associated with a highly significant increase in the length of time detainees spend in custody. When examining the raw data, in cases where legal advice was requested, there was an increase in duration of just over four hours compared to those where a solicitor was not requested.<sup>24</sup> When controlling for other variables in the statistical model (see Table A1 shown in the statistical appendix below) this was seen to slightly reduce the impact, as requesting a solicitor was in part related to circumstances which would have resulted in longer durations in any event, such as the seriousness of the offence, though it remained highly significant. When compared to the raw data, an offence with an expected duration of seven hours and 36 minutes without a request for legal advice would be predicted

<sup>22</sup> 4,398 of 24,922 detainees, i.e. 17.6%.

<sup>23</sup> 1,301 of 24,922 detainees, i.e. 5.2%.

<sup>24</sup> The difference was 11 hours and 42 minutes where a solicitor was requested compared to 7 hours and 36 minutes in cases where it was declined.

to increase to ten hours and 18 minutes if a request was made, a difference of over two-and-a-half hours.

### ***Personal characteristics impacting on detention duration***

Examination of the raw data in relation to the time people spend in custody suggests marked differences depending on the personal characteristics of detainees. For example, there was a difference of almost two hours in the average length of time spent in custody between men and women. Men spent an average of nine hours and 36 minutes in custody, while the figure for women was seven hours and 42 minutes. However, having controlled for other variables listed above, this difference was found to be far smaller (though still significant), equating to females spending just over 30 minutes less time in custody when compared to males.

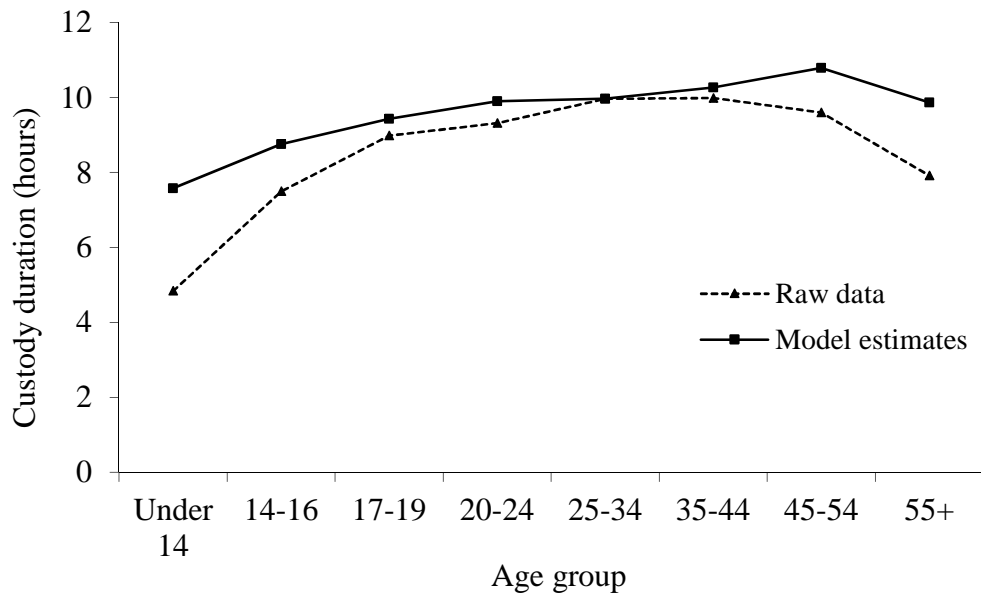
The age of detainees was found to have a significant impact on the length of time spent in custody. Figure 2 illustrates detention duration in hours by age group, using both raw data and estimates derived from the statistical model (see Table A2 in the statistical appendix). Controlling for other variables, such as the offence type and case outcome, there were fewer differences in detention duration across the age groups (particularly for the younger age groups), although, as illustrated in Figure 2, significant differences remained.<sup>25</sup> Compared to 25-34 year olds (the most frequent age group in the dataset), under 14 year olds, 14-16 and 17-19 year olds all showed a highly significant reduction in detention duration. Conversely, significant increases were observed compared to 25-34 year olds for 45-54 year olds. As noted below, however, there is a time and day effect in relation to juveniles, with longer detention durations observed at night time.

Examining the raw data suggested that there were differences in the length of time spent in custody based on the ethnicity of detainees, ranging from just under nine hours on average for white British detainees and increasing to as high as nineteen hours for a small number of Chinese detainees.<sup>26</sup> However, as shown in Figure 3 below, after controlling for other variables the differences were far more modest than the raw data would suggest, with only small differences in detention duration between ethnic groups.

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<sup>25</sup> For the estimated values in Figure 2 all other age groups are compared to the reference category (of 25-34 year olds) with a duration of just under ten hours (its mean value is in the raw data).

<sup>26</sup> The raw data suggested that the average time spent in custody was over ten hours for detainees who were 'mixed - white and Asian', 'mixed - white and black African', 'Asian - Bangladeshi' and 'white - Other', over eleven hours for 'Asian - Indian', 'white - Irish' and 'mixed - other', over twelve hours for 'black - African', over thirteen hours for 'Asian - other'.

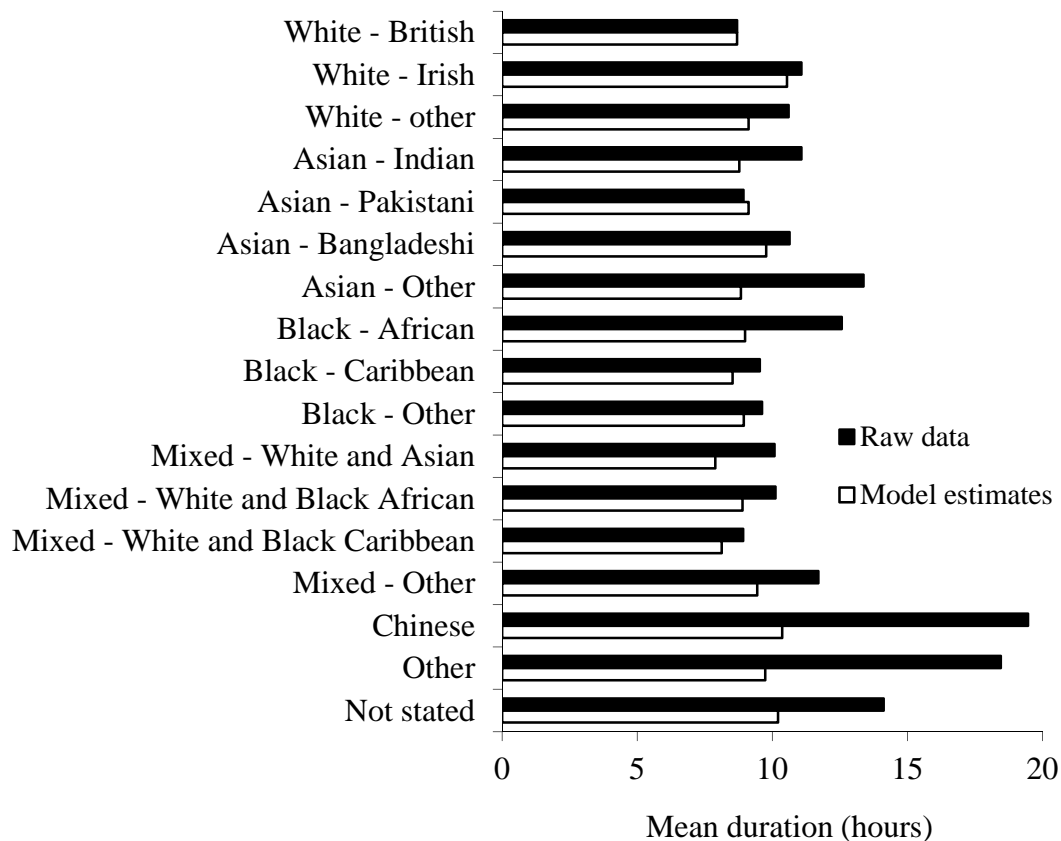


**Figure 2:** Mean custody duration by age group of detainee using raw data and estimates derived from the statistical model in Table A2.

Differences in the raw data were predominantly a consequence of the average length of detention increasing with the case characteristics for certain ethnic groups. For the small number of Chinese detainees, for example, they were disproportionately likely to request a solicitor, require an interpreter, be charged and detained for court and belong to the ‘non-PACE’ offence group<sup>27</sup> all of which are associated with increased duration. Nonetheless, having controlled for the variables shown in Table A1 below, there was still some evidence of significantly increased duration in custody for white Irish and white other, and a highly significant increase in duration where no ethnicity was stated compared to cases where this information was known.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> As noted below, non-PACE matters include immigration offences and those detained under Section 136 of the Mental Health Act.

<sup>28</sup> Compared to an average duration of 8 hours and 42 minutes for white British detainees, white Irish, white other and where no ethnicity was stated had an average duration of 10 hours and 30 minutes, 9 hours and six minutes and 10 hours and six minutes respectively.



**Figure 3:** Mean custody duration by ethnic group of detainee using raw data and estimates derived from the statistical model in Table A2.

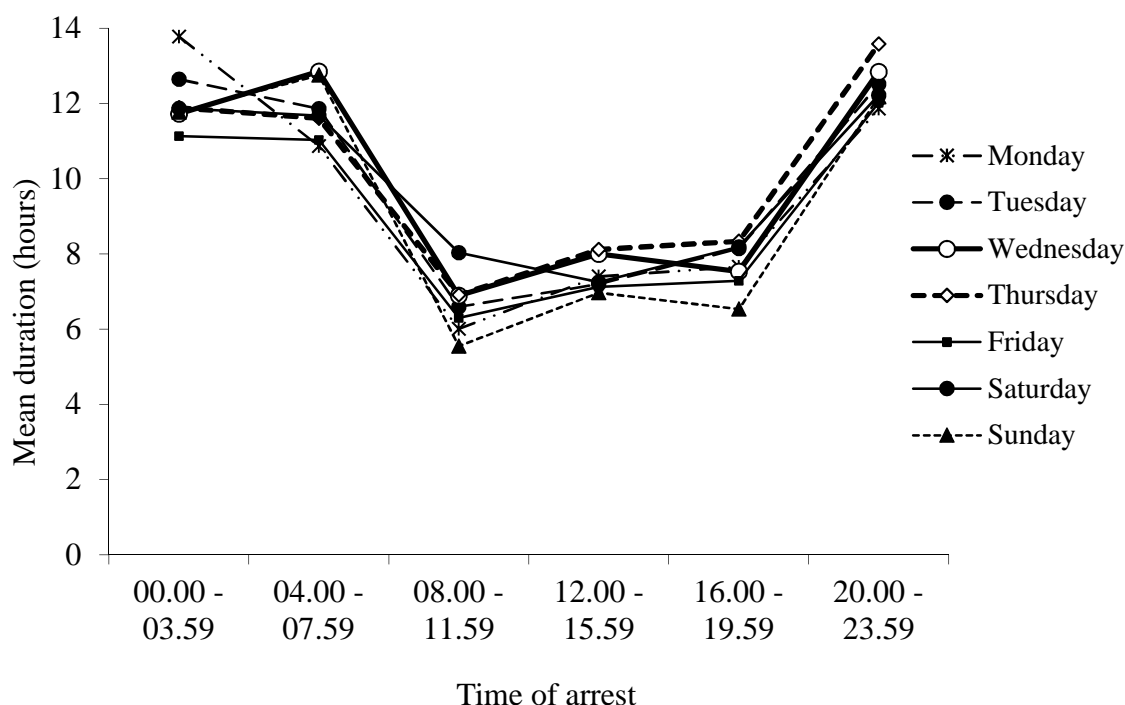
***The involvement of an interpreter***

The need for an interpreter was seen to be related to large and highly significant increases in the length of time people are held in custody. Examining the raw data highlights stark differences in custody duration with an average of seventeen hours and 30 minutes where an interpreter is required compared to nine hours and six minutes if not. While controlling for other variables helped to reduce the difference, it again remained highly significant. For example, an offence with an expected duration of nine hours and six minutes would be predicted to increase to twelve hours and 48 minutes if an interpreter was required. Differences in the observed data and modelled figures reflect the influence of other factors (which are controlled for by the model). For instance, a significant proportion of cases where an interpreter was required were in relation to ‘non-PACE’ matters where, as noted below, there can be very long delays.



### *Time of day, day of the week and their interaction*

The time at which detainees were taken into custody had a highly significant impact on the length of time they were held in custody, though the average length of time spent in detention was fairly consistent across days, and there was relatively little interaction between time and day. The average length of time spent in custody by the time and day when detained derived from the statistical model (see Table A2 shown in the statistical appendix below) is shown in Figure 4. As can be seen, having controlled for other variables, the average time spent in custody was far lower between the hours of 8 am and 8 pm, with substantially longer durations outside of these times.<sup>29</sup>



**Figure 4:** *Duration of custody on the basis of time and day of detention and there interaction, derived from the statistical model in Table A2.*

There was also seen to be an interaction in the average time spent in custody depending on age. Looking at the raw data, for example, those aged 16 years or younger who were brought into custody between the hours of 8 am and 8 pm spent on average three hours less in custody than those aged 17 years or older. In contrast, if this younger age group is brought into custody

<sup>29</sup> If the raw data is examined, without controlling for other variables, there is less difference in duration between day and night time. Those detained during a Saturday have a consistently longer duration than other days during the daytime, with a particularly large difference between eight o'clock in the morning and midday (11 hours and six minutes for a Saturday, compared to 5 hours and 54 minutes to 7 hours for other days).

between the hours of 8 pm and 8 am, they were on average spending around thirty minutes longer in detention than those aged 17 years and older. While controlling for other variables in the statistical model reduced the size of the interaction, it was still clearly present, with those aged 16 years or younger spending around 80 minutes less in custody during the day than older detainees, but marginally longer at night time.

### ***The reasons for detention***

There were differences in the length of time people spend in police custody depending on whether they were being dealt with as suspects or other detainees.<sup>30</sup> For those being dealt with as suspects, for instance, there was a mean duration of eight hours and 55 minutes compared to eighteen hours and 54 minutes for non-PACE matters. However, it was in relation to ‘immigration’ and ‘other’ offences where people were detained for the longest periods of time, at an average of twenty-five hours and 50 minutes and thirty hours and 16 minutes respectively.<sup>31</sup> For those detained under Section 136 of the Mental Health Act 1983 (as amended by the Mental Health Act 2007)) the average length of time spent in police custody was ten hours and 53 minutes.

, for instance, where there can be very long delays. Indeed, compared to a mean duration for all suspects and detainees of just over nine hours, those dealt with for non-PACE matters had a mean duration of eighteen hours and 54 minutes compared to PACE suspects who had a mean duration of eight hours and 55 minutes. In relation to those detainees dealt with for ‘administrative matters’, which includes breach of bail and those arrested on warrants, the average length of time spent in police custody was ten hours and 30 minutes.

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### ***The type and seriousness of the offence***

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<sup>30</sup> Within the sample of custody records, there were 22,322 suspects, 691 detainees were being dealt with for non-PACE matters and 2,078 for administrative matters. Mean duration for those detained for non-PACE and administrative matters was 12 hours and 36 minutes (median = 9 hours and 16 minutes).

<sup>31</sup> The ‘other’ category includes those detained for breaching an ASBO and being ‘absent without leave/deserter’. Also included in the ‘other’ category in one police force area are immigration case which have not been categorised as a separate matter.

There were a number of significant differences in the average time spent in custody across the offence type and based on the seriousness of the offence.<sup>32</sup> Table 1 is shown the average time people spend in custody based on the type and seriousness of the offence.<sup>33</sup> However, as identified with other variables, there were discrepancies found between the observed durations (using the raw data – see Table 1) and modelled durations for a number of offence types (see Table A2 in the statistical appendix). This was a result of certain offence types and the gravity scores (denoting the seriousness of the offences) differing in other regards. For example, when considering a small number of homicides, and when keeping the other variables static, this results in a predicted duration which is far less than that contained in the observed duration in custody. This is because homicide cases were also characterised by high proportions of suspects charged and detained for court, as well as high rates of requests for solicitors, both of which increase the length of time spent in custody.

**Table 1:** Mean duration (using raw data) by offence type and seriousness of the offence (gravity score).

<i>Offence type</i>	<i>Seriousness of the offence</i>							
	<i>1</i>		<i>2</i>		<i>3</i>		<i>4</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Homicide	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	26.5
Offences against the person	12	8.0	2630	7.5	2754	9.1	722	13.9
Sexual offences	-	-	155	6.1	187	8.2	409	10.1
Burglary	-	-	-	-	546	10.2	961	12.2
Robbery	-	-	-	-	-	-	476	13.6
Motor theft	-	-	236	9.5	81	9.6	81	12.3
Other theft and handling	-	-	3232	7.6	459	8.8	144	13.8
Fraud and forgery	-	-	49	5.3	340	9.1	60	9.0
Criminal damage	-	-	794	8.4	1064	7.8	74	15.6
Drugs offences	-	-	309	3.8	330	7.3	751	10.4
Public order offences	421	7.9	702	8.1	798	10.1	84	13.0
All other offences (excl. motoring)	736	9.2	161	8.9	171	9.8	231	9.3
Motoring offences	-	-	28	7.8	88	7.6	1507	7.3

<sup>32</sup> The seriousness of offence was based on a four point scale, derived from Youth Offender Case Disposal Gravity Factor System. A score of one is used for minor matters while a score of four is used to denote the most serious types of offences. Excluded offences were allocated to seriousness levels by analogy with included offences. Durations for gravity scores were derived from raw data rather than from the statistical model, though differences were comparable when using the model.

<sup>33</sup> For the purposes of our analysis, as used previously, the reason for arrest was grouped into 13 offence types and two other categories (administrative (i.e. bail/warrant) and ‘other’).

From the raw data there were differences noted in the length of time people spend in custody based more generally on the seriousness of the offence. For those being dealt with for the least serious offences, with a gravity score of one, for example, they spent on average eight hours and 42 minutes in custody compared to those being dealt with for the most serious offences, categorised with a gravity score of four, at ten hours and 52 minutes. An anomaly arises when comparing those being dealt with for the least serious offences (gravity score one), as they were found to have a longer average duration when compared to those being dealt with for slightly more serious matters (gravity score two), with an average of seven hours and 34 minutes spent in custody. It is likely that this discrepancy is due to the effects of alcohol and/or drugs when dealing with low-level offences such as being drunk and disorderly (included in ‘all other offences’) and minor Public Order Act Offences. For medium to serious type offences (gravity score of three) the average time suspects were detained in custody was eight hours and 58 minutes.

### ***The outcome of police detention***

The case outcome was found to have a highly significant impact on the average length of time people spend in custody, although this is of course closely linked to the type and seriousness of the offence. In cases where no further action was taken and those resulting in an out-of-court disposal,<sup>34</sup> for instance, there was a highly significant reduction in the length of time suspects spent in custody. In contrast, there were longer durations found for those ‘charged and bailed to court’ and a highly significant increase for those ‘charged and detained for court’. Controlling for other variables in the statistical model (see Table A2 below), when compared to seven hours and 36 minutes for the category of ‘no further action’, predicted durations ranged from six hours and 24 minutes and six hours and 48 minutes depending on the type of out-of-court disposal, eight hours and 24 minutes for those ‘charged and bailed’ to court and 25 hours for those ‘charged and detained’ for court.<sup>35</sup>

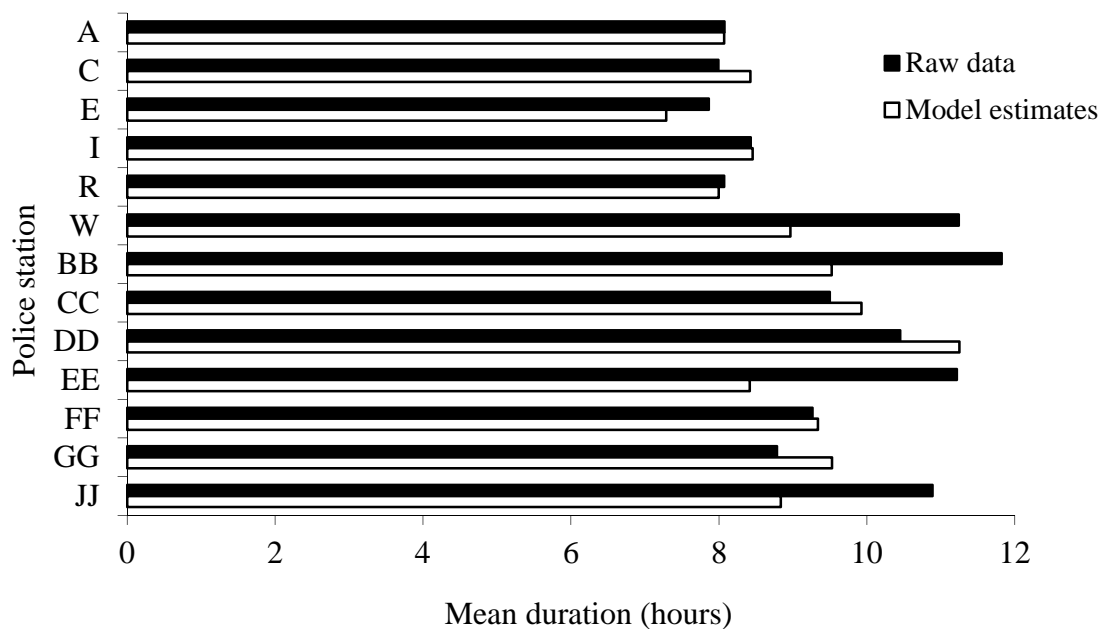
### ***The police station effect***

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<sup>34</sup> The out-of-court disposals include fixed penalty notices, simple cautions, reprimands, final warnings, conditional cautions and cannabis warnings.

<sup>35</sup> Based on the raw data, the average time suspects were held in custody was 7 hours and 36 minutes in cases where no further action was taken, 6 hours and 6 minutes for those receiving an out-of-court disposal, 7 hours and 42 minutes for those ‘charged and bailed for court’ and 24 hours and 24 minutes for those ‘charged and detained for court’.

Finally, having controlled for requests for legal advice, gender, age group, ethnicity (including whether an interpreter was involved), time and day effect, reasons for arrest, type and seriousness of the offence and case outcome (as noted in Table A2 in the statistical appendix below), there remained sizeable and highly significant variations in the average time people spent in custody depending on the police station involved. In some police stations the number of cases being dealt with meant that there were too few to allow meaningful conclusions to be drawn about such differences. However, when examining thirteen stations with a large number of cases, significant variations were revealed in the length of time people were held in custody.<sup>36</sup> Figure 5 below shows the average time people were held in police custody using both raw data and model estimates for these thirteen stations.



**Figure 5:** Mean custody duration for the thirteen police stations with the greatest number of observations in the dataset, using raw data and estimates derived from the statistical model in Table A2.

From the statistical model, compared to station ‘A’, a significant reduction in the average time people spent in custody was observed at station ‘E’, while significant increases were observed in stations ‘W’, ‘BB’, ‘CC’, ‘DD’, ‘FF’ and ‘GG’.<sup>37</sup> In terms of the average

<sup>36</sup> These 13 police stations dealt with a high volume of cases and were based in towns and cities with population sizes ranging from 32,000 to more than 100,000.

<sup>37</sup> Differences between raw data and model estimates (for example, for station ‘W’ or ‘BB’ indicated that increases in raw duration were actually predominantly a function of other factors (such as differences in request rates for legal advice). Differences between stations in model estimates account for other factors, and cannot be attributed to variations in other variables included in the model (see Table A2), such as in request rates.

length of time people spent in custody, a case taking eight hours and six minutes at police station 'A' (the mean in the raw data for this station) would be expected to spend seven hours and 18 minutes at police station 'E', nine hours and 54 minutes at station 'W', nine hours and 18 minutes at station 'FF', nine hours and 30 minutes at stations 'BB' and 'GG', nine hours and 54 minutes at station 'CC' and eleven hours and 12 minutes at station 'DD'. In the police stations identified with higher mean durations, this was generally seen to correlate to higher requests for legal advice.

### **A comparison of research findings**

When comparing our findings with the extant research, it seems that we have identified many of the factors previously found to impact on the average length of detention, although some additional ones have also been highlighted. It appears that people on average are now spending longer in police custody, eight hours and 55 minutes for those suspected of an offence compared to six hours and 40 minutes in Phillips and Brown's study.<sup>38</sup> However, it is not possible to compare the overall average detention duration because of differences in data collection methods. In the earlier studies, for example, researchers were interested to know whether PACE had the desired effect of keeping to a minimum the length of time people were held in custody without charge and so the end time noted was when they were charged or released by the police. We wanted to know the average time people were detained overall in police custody and so the time of their release from police custody was noted. It is in the category of those 'charged and detained' to court where there is a difference in the 'end times' recorded. In this category of cases Phillips and Brown found on average that people were being held for almost nine hours before charge,<sup>39</sup> whereas in our study we found that they were held in police custody on average for 25 hours<sup>40</sup>

#### *Case outcome*

The extent to which changes in the average time people spend in custody based on case outcomes can be compared if those 'charged and detained' are excluded. In Phillips and Brown's study, for example, those given an instant caution were found to be held for the shortest periods of time at around five hours, and slightly longer for those categorised as 'charged and bailed'. In cases where 'no further action' was taken suspects were held on

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<sup>38</sup> Phillips and Brown, see above fn. 7.

<sup>39</sup> Phillips and Brown, see above fn. 7, p. 110.

<sup>40</sup> It would have been useful to note the time people were charged but it was not possible to download this information electronically from the custody records.

average for just over six hours.<sup>41</sup> In our statistical model it was predicted that cases where instant cautions were imposed (which includes other out-of-court disposals) were detained for on average for six-and-a-half hours. Those ‘charged and bailed’ were detained for much longer, at around eight-and-a-half hours and those where no action was taken were also held for longer, at around seven hours and 30 minutes.

### *Police reviews of detention*

One factor previously noted, which was not seen in this study, was the effect of the PACE requirement for regular detention reviews to impact on the release times of suspects.<sup>42</sup> Studies undertaken post-PACE found these reviews to have had an effect by shifting the peak times of those charged or released.<sup>43</sup> While findings of earlier studies noted a clustering of release times around the detention reviews, observational research at that time found the reviews to be merely ‘administrative routine’, complying with the ‘letter’ rather than the ‘spirit’ of PACE.<sup>44</sup> It appears from our statistical analysis, as shown in Figure 1 above, and that undertaken by Skinnis,<sup>45</sup> that there is no clustering effect at the time of the detention reviews and instead detainees are seen to be released at multiple points throughout the detention period. The extent to which fewer people are now released within the first review period suggests that the inspectors’ reviews may have become a perfunctory exercise. In the custody of Bottomley et al., for example, around three-quarters (73%) of detainees were held for less than six hours<sup>46</sup> compared to less than half (47%) of those in our study.

### *Legal advice*

A key variable which research has found to impact on the length of time were held in custody has been whether or not legal advice was requested.<sup>47</sup> In the studies conducted post-PACE, some of the delays were due to the late arrival of the legal adviser at the police station, but this was before the 24-hour duty solicitor scheme was operational nationwide.<sup>48</sup> In Phillips and

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<sup>41</sup> Brown, see above fn. 7, p 110.

<sup>42</sup>For details of the reviews see PACE s.40(3)(b)-(c)).

<sup>43</sup> See Maguire (1988:26) fn. 6. Maguire concluded that PACE had helped to reduce the length of time people were held in custody for serious offences when the evidence was weak, but at the other end of the scale, cases involving minor and/or readily admitted offences were not being dealt with more quickly, and may even have slowed up in some cases. See also Bottomley et al. (1991), footnote 6.

<sup>44</sup> See Dixon et al. (1990), above fn. 12, pp. 131-2.

<sup>45</sup> Skinnis (2009a), footnote 12, page 310.

<sup>46</sup> Bottomley et al. - see above fn. 6, p. 350.

<sup>47</sup> See Maguire (1988) and Bottomley et al. (1991) above fn. 6 and Brown (1989) and Phillips and Brown, 1998), above fn. 7.

<sup>48</sup> See Maguire (1988) above fn. 6.

Brown's study, when there was a 24-hour scheme in operation throughout England and Wales, they found that those who requested legal advice were on average spending three hours and 30 minutes longer in police custody than those who did not.<sup>49</sup> In Skinns' more recent study she noted a difference in the average time people spent in custody depending on whether legal advice was requested or not to be four hours and 36 minutes.<sup>50</sup> While we had similar findings when examining the raw data (with a difference of just over four hours), when controlling for other variables, and particularly the seriousness of the offence,<sup>51</sup> we found a difference of two hours and 30 minutes. With evidence suggesting that some suspects will decline legal advice if they think that having a solicitor will increase their time spent in custody,<sup>52</sup> it is important to examine further what other factors might impact on duration in custody where legal advice is requested.

### *Personal characteristics*

The personal characteristics of detainees have also been found to impact on the average detention duration, with women being detained for shorter periods of time than males, but they were also noted to be committing less serious offences.<sup>53</sup> The age of those detained has also been seen to impact on the length of time people are held in police custody. However, while Bottomley et al. found that juveniles were generally detained for shorter periods of time than adults, this was seen to reduce from a difference of almost three hours in 1984 to just over one hour in 1987.<sup>54</sup> With PACE imposing a mandatory requirement for an appropriate adult to be in attendance when dealing with juvenile cases, it seems that an unintended consequence of this level of protection was to increase the length of detention of juveniles in cases where there were delays in getting an appropriate adult to the station.<sup>55</sup> When applying the 'time by day' interaction in our statistical model, while under 16 year olds were noted to spend less time in the police station than adults during the day, they were noted to spend marginally longer when arrested at night time. It is anticipated that this 'night-time effect' is due in part to the

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<sup>49</sup> Phillips and Brown - see above fn. 7, p. 110.

<sup>50</sup> L. Skinns, 'Let's get it over with'; early findings on the factors affecting detainees' access to custodial legal advice' (2009b), 19:1 *Policing and Society*, pp. 58-78, p. 64.

<sup>51</sup> It is known that those who are arrested for more serious offences, which take longer, are more likely to request a solicitor, see Pleasence et al. (2011), above, fn. 1, p. 11.

<sup>52</sup> It is known that those who are arrested for more serious offences, which take longer, are more likely to request a solicitor (Pleasence et. al., 2011, footnote 1). However, it was not possible to compare changes over time as different models of seriousness have been adopted.

<sup>53</sup> Bottomley et al. found females to spend around one-and-a-half hours less than males in police custody (see above, fn. 6, pp. 351-2).

<sup>54</sup> Bottomley et al. - see above, fn. 6, p. 352.

<sup>55</sup> See Maguire (1988), above, fn. 6, p. 27.



difficulties the police might have in arranging for an appropriate adult to arrive at the station late at night.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, this was Skinn's finding when she examined the overnight detention of children and young people.<sup>57</sup>

#### *Non-PACE matters*

It was in relation to non-PACE matters that detainees were on average held for the longest period of time at almost 19 hours. However, it was in relation to immigration and 'other' matters where there were to be found the longest delays. In relation to immigration cases, while it is anticipated that there can be long delays while waiting for officers to attend from the Immigration Service, for the detainees held over many hours the experience is likely to be extremely worrying. This is particularly so if they do not speak English and face the possibility of deportation and being separated from family and friends.<sup>58</sup>

In relation to those held in custody under s. 136 of the Mental Health Act, Docking et al. found that on average people were being detained for nine-and-a-half hours, compared to almost 11 hours in our study. They also noted that the availability of alternative places of safety was an important factor which led to wide variations between police stations in the time people were held in custody when detained under s.136.<sup>59</sup> The use of police custody as a place of safety has been criticised by Lord Bradley in a recent review of mental health provision in the criminal justice system, and instead he recommends that the police should have access to diversion and liaison schemes.<sup>60</sup> Those arrested on a warrant have been identified as spending longer in custody than suspects. In the study of Bottomley et al.,<sup>61</sup> the average period of detention of those arrested on warrant was nine hours and six minutes compared to ten hours and 30 minutes in our study, which also included those detained by the police for breaching their bail conditions.

#### *Police station effect*

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<sup>56</sup> It is anticipated that some parents are unable to attend at a police station late at night, particularly if they are looking after other children. Professional and voluntary appropriate adult schemes also tend not to operate late at night.

<sup>57</sup> See Skinn's *The overnight detention of children in police cells* (London: Howard League for Penal Reform) (2011).

<sup>58</sup> See Phillips and Brown (1998), above, fn. 7.

<sup>59</sup> See M. Docking, K. Grace and T. Bucke, *Police Custody as a Place of Safety: Examining the use of Section 136 of the Mental Health Act 1983*, IPCC Research and Statistics Series, Paper 11 (London: IPCC, 2008).

<sup>60</sup> See K. Bradley, *The Bradley Report: Lord Bradley's review of people with mental health problems or learning disabilities in the criminal justice system* (2009). London: Department of Health). In addition, see Kemp (2010:26) for a discussion of people with mental health problems being detained in police custody.

<sup>61</sup> Bottomley et al. (1991), footnote 6, pages 347, 351.

Previous research studies have also found differences in the location and/or size of the police station to impact on the average length of detention.<sup>62</sup> In Brown's comprehensive study, for instance, the average time people were spending in police custody prior to charge was seen to vary from just over three hours in one police station to just over eight hours in another.<sup>63</sup> In our study, as shown in Figure 5 above, the average length of time people were held in custody also varied among police stations. From the raw data, for example, the overall time people were held in custody ranged from just over seven hours in one police station to almost twelve hours in another.

## **Discussion**

Our findings suggest that the time detainees spend in the police station has increased over recent years. It remains a critical issue, therefore, to examine the extent to which PACE is effective in restricting the length of time the police hold suspects in custody. It seems from the findings in this study that the detention reviews carried out by police inspectors are no longer effective in encouraging the early release of suspects. Furthermore, while PACE requires the police to charge 'as soon as practicable' in cases where there is sufficient evidence to charge, there is noted to have been an increase in the average custody duration of over three hours for those 'charged and bailed'.<sup>64</sup>

A recent major change which will have an effect on the time taken to charge suspects has been the Statutory Charging Initiative, which brought the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) into pre-charge decision-making. Although this study has not examined the impact of this change on pre-charge decision-making, previous research suggests that the Initiative has led to delays and increased the length of time suspects are held in custody.<sup>65</sup> Despite the potential impact of the CPS on the pre-charge process, including delays in the length of time people are held in custody, there has been no empirical research study which has examined these changes. With the findings from this study suggesting that people are now being detained for longer by the police, this has implications not only for the liberty of detainees but there are also resource implications, particularly for the police.

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<sup>62</sup> See Maguire (1988); Irving and McKenzie (1989) and Bottomley et al. (1991), above fn. 6 and Brown (1989), above fn. 7.

<sup>63</sup> Brown - see above, fn. 7, p. 67.

<sup>64</sup> As noted above, rising from around five hours in the mid-1990s (Phillips and Brown, 1989) to 8 hours and 24 minutes in our study.

<sup>65</sup> See Kemp (2010), above fn. 55, pp 50-54.

More specifically, our findings make evident that a range of factors can impact significantly on the average time people are held in police custody. This raises concerns and highlights important policy issues. For example, the extent to which there are delays in cases where legal advice has been requested requires further exploration. Our analysis shows, after controlling for the seriousness of the offence and other factors, that there was a difference of around two-and-a-half hours in the average length of time suspects were held in custody depending on whether legal advice was requested or not. As delays can deter suspects from having legal advice it is important to examine what unobserved factors might increase the length of time people are held in custody.

Similarly, our findings concerning the length of time that juveniles are detained when arrested during the night-time has policy implications. It seems from research studies that such delays are due to difficulties the police can encounter when trying to get an appropriate adult to attend at the police station late at night. It is ironic that the requirement for an appropriate adult, which is intended to help protect vulnerable detainees, can have the unintended consequence of leading to an overnight detention of children. A possible solution in such cases, which requires further consideration, could be for the need for an appropriate adult to be waived if instead there was a mandatory requirement for a legal adviser to be involved.

Our findings that those detained under s.136 of the Mental Health Act spend an average of almost 11 hours in a police cell also raises concerns. A recent review by Lord Bradley recommended that alternative arrangements to police custody be used for those requiring a place of safety. However, this recommendation will depend on the availability of suitable alternative arrangements and the extent to which local diversion and liaison schemes are supported by mental health providers. In the meantime, for those suffering from mental ill-health the experience of being detained in police custody can be extremely frightening and intimidating. It is also extremely resource intensive for the police to detain such vulnerable people, particularly as they are likely to require constant supervision.

This empirical statistical study provides an important update on the average length of time people are held in police custody. It has helped to identify a number of factors found to impact on the length of detention, with variations found between police stations. With suspects sometimes spending long periods of time in police custody, this raises questions about the effectiveness of PACE in seeking to regulate police detention. There are also issues raised concerning non-PACE detainees, some of whom can be detained for very long periods of time.

Having found variations between police stations in our statistical analysis of police custody records, it has been informative to carry out a qualitative study of four large police

stations. In order to examine some of the unobserved factors which could influence delays and requests for legal advice the study included in-depth interviews with custody sergeants and observation of police custody suites. The findings suggest that a number of factors, such as police targets to increase detections and police attitudes towards the defence, could influence the take-up of legal advice. In addition, there was observed among detainees a common perception that solicitors were the main cause of delays, with some respondents acknowledging that such a perception could be reinforced by the police as they would sometimes use the threat of delays as a ploy to discourage a suspect from having a solicitor. The qualitative study also raises issues concerning access to legal advice, with legal advisers tending to be marginalised from the pre-charge process. These findings are to be presented in a series of journal articles, the first of which explores the relationship between delays and the take-up of legal advice in the four police stations.

### **Statistical Appendix – [not included in the Criminal Law Review Article]**

The variables included in the generalized linear model are illustrated in Table A1.

Table A1. Variables used to model duration of custody

Variable	Levels
Gender	Male, Female
Age group	Under 14, 14-16, 17-19, 20-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55+
Most serious disposal	Released/No further action, Reprimand/Simple caution, Final warning/Fixed penalty notice, Charged and bailed for court, Charged and detained for court
Time	00.00-03.59, 04.00-07.59, 08.00-11.59, 12.00-15.59, 16.00-19.59, 20.00-23.59
Day	Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday
Self-reported ethnicity	White – British, White – Irish, White – other, Asian – Indian, Asian – Pakistani, Asian – Bangladeshi, Asian – Other, Black – African, Black – Caribbean, Black – Other, Mixed - White and Asian, Mixed - White and Black African, Mixed - White and Black Caribbean, Mixed – Other, Chinese, Other, Not stated
Rights read?	No, Yes
Solicitor requested?	No, Yes
Interpreter required?	No, Yes

Offence/gravity score	Homicide – 4, Offences against the person – 1, Offences against the person – 2, Offences against the person – 3, Offences against the person – 4, Sexual offences – 2, Sexual offences – 3, Sexual offences – 4, Burglary – 3, Burglary – 4, Robbery – 4, Motor theft – 2, Motor theft – 3, Motor theft – 4, Other theft and handling – 2, Other theft and handling – 3, Other theft and handling – 4, Fraud and forgery – 2, Fraud and forgery – 3, Fraud and forgery – 4, Criminal damage – 2, Criminal damage – 3, Criminal damage – 4, Drugs offences – 2, Drugs offences – 3, Drugs offences – 4, Public order offences – 1, Public order offences – 2, Public order offences – 3, Public order offences – 4, All other offences (excluding motoring) – 1, All other offences (excluding motoring) – 2, All other offences (excluding motoring) – 3, All other offences (excluding motoring) – 4, Motoring offences – 2, Motoring offences – 3, Motoring offences – 4, Administrative (i.e. bail/warrant), Non-PACE
Police station	44 Stations

Table A2 below shows statistical output from the generalized linear model undertaken as part of this study. The generalized linear model is a generalisation of ordinary least squared regression.<sup>66</sup> It consists of three elements; a probability distribution from the exponential family, a linear predictor and a link function. The model used was a log-gamma model. The gamma distribution function was chosen since duration<sup>67</sup> can only take positive values and is highly skewed and this is reflected by the gamma distribution.<sup>68</sup> The linear predictor incorporates information about the independent variables into the model (i.e. see the variables presented in Tables A1 and A2). The link function provides the relationship between the linear predictor and the mean of the distribution function. The log link is commonly used for response data, such as duration in custody, which can take only positive values on the continuous scale.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>66</sup> See P. McCullagh and J. A. Nelder, *Generalized Linear Models*. London: Chapman and Hall (1989).

<sup>67</sup> As with cost data, e.g. J. Barber and S. Thompson, 'Multiple regression modelling of cost data: use of generalised linear models' (2004), 9(4) *Journal of Health Services Research and Policy*, pp.197-204 and M. Montez-Rath, C. L. Christiansen, S. L. Ettner, S. Loveland and A. K. Rosen, 'Performance of statistical models to compare mental health and substance abuse cost' (2006), 6(53) *BMC Medical Research Methodology*. Accessed at: <http://www.biomedcentral.com/1471-2288/6/53>.

<sup>68</sup> For example, see J. W. Hardin and H. M. Hilbe, *Generalized Linear Models and Extensions (2<sup>nd</sup> edition)* Texas: College Station, Stata Press (2007).

<sup>69</sup> Note, that this is not the same as log transforming the response variable (the traditional approach to this type of data prior to generalized linear models). Here, the log link exponentiates the linear predictor rather than log-transforming the response variable. This avoids difficulties of interpretation associated with log-transformed responses (e.g. see Hardin and Hilbe (2007), above, fn. 63). Another attractive, and potentially more appropriate modelling option would be to fit a gamma model with an identity link (identity-gamma model) as discussed in Barber and Thompson (2004), above fn. 62 and Hardin and Hilbe (2007), above fn. 63 with reference to duration data. Unfortunately, this model failed to converge in STATA.

Each explanatory variable has a reference category, to which other categories are compared. For example, in the case of ‘most serious disposal’, each disposal group is compared to ‘released/no further action’ (the reference category). Reference categories can be identified by the fact that they have an estimate of zero and no standard error in the output tables. Positive coefficients (Coef.) indicate an increase in duration of custody, compared to the reference category, while negative estimates indicate a decrease. The column next to the coefficient ( $e^{\text{Coef.}}$ ) exponentiates the coefficient and aids in interpretation. The exponentiated coefficient shows the proportion of the duration of the reference category that would be expected for each term in the model. For example, the exponentiated coefficient of 0.760 for those aged under 14 indicates that this group, controlling for other variables, had 0.760 of the duration of the 25-34 year old reference group. This is equivalent to a 24% reduction in duration. So for an offence with a custody duration of 8.6 hours for a 25-34 year old (which you might consider a representative duration for this group), the duration for an under 14 would be expected to be 6.5 hours (0.760 multiplied by 8.6 hours).

The p-value can be used to determine whether any indicated increase/decrease in duration is statistically significant (i.e. is likely/not likely to be the product of chance). P-values less than 0.05 are typically considered to indicate statistically significant findings. So, for example, the decrease in duration associated with ‘reprimand/simple caution’ when compared to ‘released/no further action’ would be considered highly significant.

**Table A2.** Generalized linear model (log-gamma model) of duration (hours) in custody.

Covariate	Level	Coef.	$e^{\text{Coef.}}$	SE	z	p
Constant		2.086	8.050	0.068	30.540	<0.001
Gender	Male	0.000	1.000	-		
	Female	-0.055	0.946	0.015	-3.680	<0.001
Age group	Under 14	-0.274	0.760	0.044	-6.250	<0.001
	14-16	-0.129	0.879	0.021	-6.020	<0.001
	17-19	-0.055	0.946	0.018	-3.060	0.002
	20-24	-0.007	0.993	0.017	-0.420	0.677
	25-34	0.000	1.000	-		
	35-44	0.029	1.030	0.017	1.690	0.092
	45-54	0.079	1.082	0.023	3.480	0.001
	55+	-0.010	0.990	0.032	-0.320	0.746
Most serious disposal	Released/No further action	0.000	1.000	-		
	Reprimand/Simple caution	-0.117	0.889	0.017	-6.820	<0.001
	Final warning/Fixed penalty notice	-0.165	0.848	0.029	-5.750	<0.001
	Charged and bailed for court	0.105	1.111	0.014	7.470	<0.001
	Charged and detained for court	1.192	3.292	0.020	58.300	<0.001

Time	00.00-03.59	0.000	1.000	-		
	04.00-07.59	-0.339	0.713	0.082	-4.120	<0.001
	08.00-11.59	-0.810	0.445	0.056	-14.570	<0.001
	12.00-15.59	-0.713	0.490	0.055	-13.050	<0.001
	16.00-19.59	-0.574	0.563	0.053	-10.900	<0.001
	20.00-23.59	-0.145	0.865	0.057	-2.540	0.011
Day	Monday	0.000	1.000	-		
	Tuesday	-0.062	0.940	0.058	-1.070	0.285
	Wednesday	-0.084	0.919	0.060	-1.400	0.163
	Thursday	-0.114	0.892	0.063	-1.810	0.070
	Friday	-0.111	0.895	0.058	-1.920	0.055
	Saturday	0.006	1.006	0.050	0.120	0.904
	Sunday	-0.013	0.987	0.049	-0.270	0.791
Time x Day	04.00-07.59 X Tuesday	0.092	1.097	0.110	0.840	0.403
	04.00-07.59 X Wednesday	0.231	1.259	0.112	2.060	0.039
	04.00-07.59 X Thursday	0.151	1.164	0.117	1.290	0.196
	04.00-07.59 X Friday	0.157	1.170	0.109	1.430	0.152
	04.00-07.59 X Saturday	0.225	1.252	0.101	2.240	0.025
	04.00-07.59 X Sunday	0.240	1.271	0.097	2.470	0.014
	08.00-11.59 X Tuesday	0.072	1.074	0.074	0.970	0.334
	08.00-11.59 X Wednesday	0.114	1.121	0.077	1.480	0.138
	08.00-11.59 X Thursday	0.147	1.159	0.079	1.850	0.064
	08.00-11.59 X Friday	0.129	1.138	0.076	1.690	0.091
	08.00-11.59 X Saturday	0.215	1.240	0.074	2.930	0.003
	08.00-11.59 X Sunday	-0.066	0.936	0.074	-0.890	0.372
	12.00-15.59 X Tuesday	0.106	1.111	0.073	1.440	0.151
	12.00-15.59 X Wednesday	0.141	1.151	0.076	1.860	0.063
	12.00-15.59 X Thursday	0.213	1.237	0.078	2.710	0.007
	12.00-15.59 X Friday	0.138	1.148	0.075	1.840	0.066
	12.00-15.59 X Saturday	0.131	1.140	0.070	1.860	0.062
	12.00-15.59 X Sunday	0.072	1.075	0.070	1.040	0.300
	16.00-19.59 X Tuesday	0.125	1.133	0.071	1.750	0.080
	16.00-19.59 X Wednesday	0.080	1.083	0.074	1.080	0.280
	16.00-19.59 X Thursday	0.143	1.154	0.077	1.870	0.062
	16.00-19.59 X Friday	0.132	1.141	0.073	1.800	0.072
	16.00-19.59 X Saturday	0.159	1.173	0.067	2.380	0.017
	16.00-19.59 X Sunday	-0.065	0.937	0.066	-0.980	0.325
	20.00-23.59 X Tuesday	0.080	1.083	0.078	1.020	0.305
	20.00-23.59 X Wednesday	0.085	1.089	0.080	1.060	0.288
	20.00-23.59 X Thursday	0.236	1.266	0.082	2.860	0.004
	20.00-23.59 X Friday	0.262	1.300	0.076	3.470	0.001
20.00-23.59 X Saturday	0.116	1.123	0.071	1.630	0.103	
20.00-23.59 X Sunday	0.049	1.050	0.072	0.690	0.493	
Self reported ethnicity	White - British	0.000	1.000	-		
	White - Irish	0.192	1.212	0.068	2.830	0.005
	White - other	0.047	1.048	0.023	2.040	0.042
	Asian - Indian	0.009	1.009	0.040	0.230	0.821
	Asian - Pakistani	0.047	1.048	0.053	0.880	0.381

	Asian - Bangladeshi	0.116	1.123	0.103	1.130	0.260
	Asian - Other	0.016	1.016	0.052	0.300	0.762
	Black - African	0.032	1.033	0.040	0.820	0.412
	Black - Caribbean	-0.021	0.980	0.037	-0.550	0.582
	Black - Other	0.027	1.028	0.050	0.550	0.585
	Mixed - White and Asian	-0.098	0.907	0.142	-0.690	0.492
	Mixed - White and Black African	0.023	1.023	0.097	0.230	0.816
	Mixed - White and Black Caribbean	-0.068	0.934	0.042	-1.630	0.102
	Mixed - Other	0.083	1.086	0.063	1.320	0.187
	Chinese	0.176	1.192	0.099	1.780	0.075
	Other	0.113	1.120	0.074	1.520	0.127
	Not stated	0.160	1.174	0.040	4.020	<0.001
Rights read?	No	0.000	1.000	-		
	Yes	-0.081	0.922	0.046	-1.750	0.080
Solicitor requested?	No	0.000	1.000	-		
	Yes	0.301	1.351	0.012	25.580	<0.001
Interpreter required?	No	0.000	1.000	-		
	Yes	0.343	1.409	0.038	9.130	<0.001
Offence	Other theft and handling - 2	0.000	1.000	-		
	Homicide - 4	0.556	1.744	0.144	3.870	<0.001
	Offences against the person - 1	0.579	1.784	0.302	1.920	0.055
	Offences against the person - 2	-0.004	0.996	0.022	-0.160	0.872
	Offences against the person - 3	0.095	1.100	0.022	4.320	<0.001
	Offences against the person - 4	0.308	1.360	0.034	8.940	<0.001
	Sexual offences - 2	-0.259	0.772	0.077	-3.380	0.001
	Sexual offences - 3	-0.004	0.996	0.064	-0.060	0.950
	Sexual offences - 4	0.291	1.337	0.048	6.070	<0.001
	Burglary - 3	0.266	1.305	0.039	6.780	<0.001
	Burglary - 4	0.381	1.464	0.031	12.390	<0.001
	Robbery - 4	0.509	1.663	0.042	12.170	<0.001
	Motor theft - 2	0.233	1.262	0.058	4.030	<0.001
	Motor theft - 3	0.079	1.083	0.094	0.850	0.396
	Motor theft - 4	0.303	1.354	0.098	3.080	0.002
	Other theft and handling - 3	0.157	1.170	0.041	3.860	<0.001
	Other theft and handling - 4	0.351	1.420	0.069	5.080	<0.001
	Fraud and forgery - 2	0.004	1.004	0.126	0.040	0.972
	Fraud and forgery - 3	0.066	1.068	0.050	1.330	0.183
	Fraud and forgery - 4	0.081	1.085	0.126	0.640	0.519
	Criminal damage - 2	0.025	1.026	0.032	0.790	0.429
	Criminal damage - 3	0.104	1.110	0.031	3.390	0.001
	Criminal damage - 4	0.309	1.362	0.098	3.140	0.002
	Drugs offences - 2	-0.439	0.645	0.049	-8.960	<0.001
	Drugs offences - 3	-0.027	0.973	0.047	-0.580	0.562
	Drugs offences - 4	0.175	1.192	0.035	4.980	<0.001
	Public order offences - 1	0.014	1.014	0.048	0.290	0.769
	Public order offences - 2	0.086	1.090	0.034	2.500	0.013
	Public order offences - 3	0.226	1.254	0.033	6.780	<0.001
	Public order offences - 4	0.176	1.192	0.090	1.950	0.052



	All other offences (excluding motoring) - 1	0.159	1.172	0.036	4.420	<0.001
	All other offences (excluding motoring) - 2	0.051	1.052	0.065	0.780	0.434
	All other offences (excluding motoring) - 3	0.129	1.137	0.069	1.860	0.062
	All other offences (excluding motoring) - 4	0.116	1.123	0.059	1.980	0.048
	Motoring offences - 2	0.071	1.073	0.162	0.440	0.663
	Motoring offences - 3	-0.238	0.788	0.087	-2.740	0.006
	Motoring offences - 4	-0.271	0.763	0.027	-9.930	<0.001
	Administrative (i.e. bail/warrant)	-0.217	0.805	0.044	-4.870	<0.001
	Non-PACE	0.572	1.772	0.046	12.320	<0.001
Police station	A	0.000	1.000	-		
	B	-0.058	0.943	0.034	-1.710	0.088
	C	0.043	1.044	0.028	1.540	0.124
	D	0.014	1.015	0.041	0.350	0.724
	E	-0.102	0.903	0.031	-3.290	0.001
	F	0.064	1.067	0.039	1.660	0.097
	G	0.003	1.003	0.043	0.080	0.938
	H	-0.054	0.947	0.053	-1.030	0.304
	I	0.047	1.048	0.042	1.110	0.266
	J	-1.177	0.308	0.330	-3.570	<0.001
	K	-0.882	0.414	0.301	-2.930	0.003
	L	-1.680	0.186	0.427	-3.930	<0.001
	M	-0.804	0.448	0.105	-7.630	<0.001
	N	-0.065	0.937	0.114	-0.570	0.569
	O	-0.764	0.466	0.162	-4.700	<0.001
	P	-0.934	0.393	0.191	-4.880	<0.001
	Q	0.022	1.022	0.050	0.430	0.666
	R	-0.009	0.991	0.042	-0.210	0.836
	S	-0.050	0.951	0.049	-1.030	0.303
	T	-0.934	0.393	0.192	-4.870	<0.001
	U	-1.120	0.326	0.261	-4.280	<0.001
	V	0.162	1.176	0.047	3.450	0.001
	W	0.105	1.111	0.043	2.440	0.015
	X	-0.833	0.435	0.152	-5.490	<0.001
	Y	0.016	1.016	0.043	0.380	0.701
	Z	0.040	1.041	0.044	0.920	0.360
	AA	0.322	1.380	0.027	11.940	<0.001
BB	0.166	1.180	0.033	4.960	<0.001	
CC	0.207	1.230	0.028	7.340	<0.001	
DD	0.332	1.394	0.031	10.570	<0.001	
EE	0.042	1.043	0.034	1.230	0.217	
FF	0.146	1.157	0.031	4.660	<0.001	
GG	0.166	1.181	0.040	4.130	<0.001	
HH	0.552	1.736	0.144	3.830	<0.001	
II	0.244	1.277	0.029	8.410	<0.001	
JJ	0.091	1.095	0.214	0.420	0.672	
KK	-0.201	0.818	0.134	-1.500	0.133	
LL	0.247	1.280	0.034	7.220	<0.001	
MM	0.316	1.371	0.033	9.510	<0.001	

	NN	-1.145	0.318	0.425	-2.690	0.007
	OO	-0.145	0.865	0.426	-0.340	0.734
	PP	0.333	1.395	0.330	1.010	0.313
	QQ	0.206	1.229	0.042	4.880	<0.001