THE POLICY INSTITUTE

KING'S College LONDON

Mistaken Britain

Wrongful convictions?

Misperceptions of crime among the UK public

Contact bobby.duffy@kcl.ac.uk

Faculty of Social Science and Public Policy

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Executive summary

This study explores how accurately the public understand the reality of crime, offending, policing and terrorism in England and Wales – and shows misperceptions are the norm, not the exception.

It forms part of Mistaken Britain, a research series from the Policy Institute at King's College London which examines how far public perceptions diverge from reality across a range of issues, with forthcoming companion studies on the supposed decline of London, immigration, race and equality, and the state of Britain.

Misperceptions about crime matter because crime is consistently among the public's top concerns and a defining battleground in current politics: if people's beliefs about crime are systematically wrong, so too are the assumptions underpinning the policies they support and the parties they back.

Misperceptions on this scale are not simply a matter of ignorance or a failure to keep up with the statistics. They arise from an interaction between how we think and what we're told: our minds are primed to notice and remember threat, so we over-weight vivid, negative and frightening information – a negativity bias that the media environment and social media both amplify.

Those tendencies are then filtered through political identity, with people reaching for the answer that fits the story their "side" tells about the country. The result is that crime misperceptions are patterned, not random – they cluster among particular groups and lean in particular directions, as the findings below show.

The following is based on results from **two nationally representative surveys of 1,797 and 2,164 UK adults aged 18+**, carried out by Policy Institute at King's College London with YouGov, between 23-27 March 2026.[1] Reality figures are generally for England and Wales rather than the UK, reflecting that crime, policing and justice are devolved and the official data is reported on that basis – though the figures are broadly consistent whether measured for England and Wales or the UK as a whole.

What the public get most wrong about crime

- **The public overestimate how many people are victims of crime.** Asked what share of the population in England and Wales personally experienced crime between 2024 and 2025, the public's median guess is 27% – almost three times the reality of 9.7%.
- **Crime is falling, but the public think it's rising.** Of five crime types tested, only shoplifting has actually risen since 2010 (up around 70%) – and the public gets that one right (84% say it increased). On every other measure, perception and reality point in opposite directions: 83% think mobile phone theft has risen when it has fallen by around 70%; majorities think domestic burglary (56%) and vehicle theft (62%) have risen when both have fallen by around 50%; and 37% think murder has risen when it is down around 20%.
- **The public wrongly assume most people convicted of homicide are from an ethnic minority.** In fact, 64% are white – but the public's median guess is just 45%. Conversely, they overestimate the ethnic-minority share, putting it at 55% when the reality is 35%.
- **Foreign nationals are assumed to be roughly double their true share of offenders.** The public's median guess is that foreign nationals make up 25% of the prison population (reality: 12%) and 30% of those cautioned for or convicted of sexual offences (reality: 15%) – around double the true proportion in both cases.
- **The public wrongly think police numbers have been cut.** Police officer numbers rose around 20% between 2018 and 2025, but two-thirds (63%) think they fell, and only 18% correctly say they rose at all.
- **People think others are more fearful than they actually are.** The public guess 60% of the population do not feel safe walking alone in their area after dark – significantly higher than the reality of 39%.

1. Total sample size was 1,797 adults for all questions, except for the question on the share of the public who personally experienced a crime between 2024 and 2025, where the sample comprised 2,164 adults.

Executive summary

- **Recency shapes the public's perception of terrorism deaths.** The 2000s and 2010s had the fewest terrorist deaths of any decade in the last 50 years – yet the public rank them second and third most deadly respectively. 27% correctly identify the 1970s as the deadliest – the top single option selected – but 56% wrongly pick a more recent decade.

Reform UK supporters stand out as most mistaken

Misperceptions about crime are not confined to one party, but there is a consistent gradient, with Reform supporters the clearest outliers.

- Reform supporters most underestimate the share of **people convicted of homicide who are white** (guess: 30%; reality: 64%), and most overestimate the share who are from **ethnic minorities** (guess: 70%; reality: 35%) – in both cases, wide of the mark by 10 points more than any other party.
- They most overestimate the share of those **cautioned for or convicted of sexual offences who are foreign nationals**, guessing it's 50% – far above Conservatives (30%), who have the second-highest guess, and more than three times the reality of 15%.
- They have an **inflated view of the risk of being a crime victim**, guessing 34% were victims in a year, against 25% among Conservatives and 20% among Labour, Lib Dem and Green supporters – all far above the 9.7% reality.
- Reform supporters guess 75% of the public **do not feel safe walking alone in their area after dark** –15 points higher than Conservatives (60%), who have the second-highest guess, and almost double the reality of 39%.
- On **police numbers** in England and Wales, majorities of all parties' supporters wrongly think they fell, but 74% of Reform supporters have this misperception, compared with 66% of Conservative and 63% of Labour supporters.

How misperceptions link to attitudes and policy preferences

Misperceptions track how fearful people feel, how much they trust institutions, and what they want done about crime.

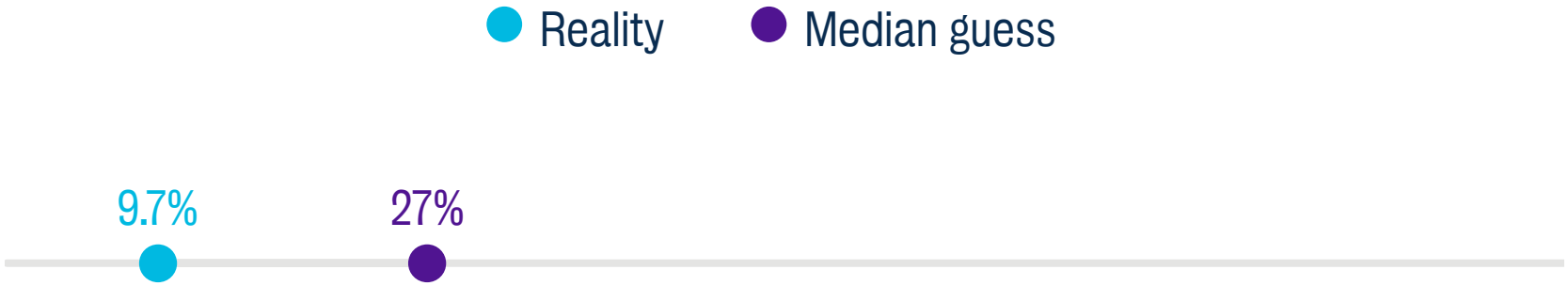
- **Misperceptions are related to perceptions of "two-tier justice".** A majority (52%) of the public think ethnic or religious minorities are sentenced differently for crimes, with slightly more saying they are treated more leniently (29%) than harshly (23%). However, this belief is significantly higher among the factually mistaken: among those who wrongly think minorities make up 80%+ of homicide convictions, 44% say minorities get lighter sentences, compared with 29% of the public overall.
- **Misperceptions connect to fear and distrust.** Among those who say their quality of life is highly affected by fear of crime, 59% wrongly think murder has risen in England and Wales, versus 22% among those who say fear of crime has little impact on them. And while 35% of the public overall say they have no confidence at all in the government to deal with crime nationally, this rises to 46% among those who wrongly believe police numbers have fallen by a fifth or greater, and to 48% among those who incorrectly think murder has risen.
- **There is a national vs local perception gap on crime:** 65% expect crime to rise across the country as a whole over the next three years, yet only 40% expect it to rise in their own area.
- **Mistaken beliefs are linked to more punitive policy demands.** Support for harsher sentences for immigrants rises to a majority (54%) among those who wrongly think foreign nationals make up half or more of the prison population – above the 35% of the public overall who back such a policy.

1. Misperceptions about crime

1.1. Crime rates

The public overestimate how many people personally experienced crime in England and Wales between 2024 and 2025, guessing almost three in 10 did, when in reality it's one in 10

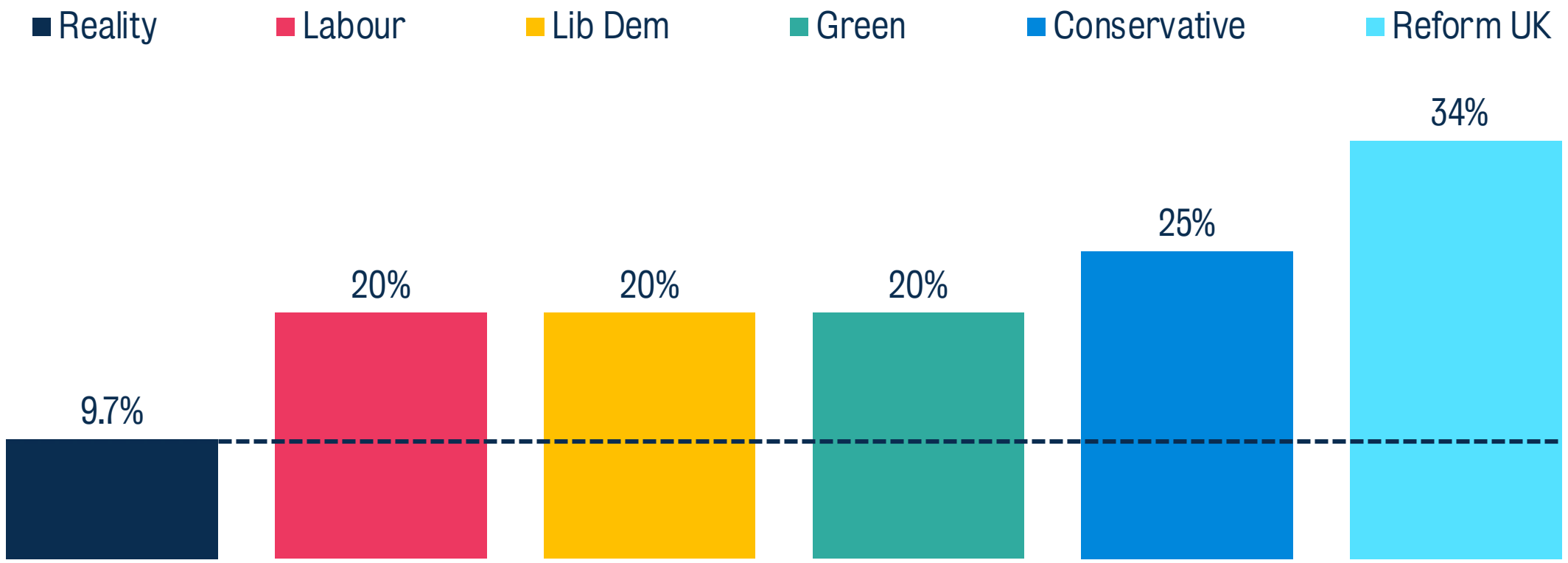
What percentage of people in England and Wales do you think personally experienced a crime in the year between October 2024 and September 2025? We're including all types of crime except fraud, cyber-crimes and murder



Base: 2,164 UK respondents aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026. Source for reality: Personal crime prevalence (CSEW open data table) - Office for National Statistics

Supporters of all major parties overestimate crime – but Reform UK supporters stand out, guessing one in three people (34%) were victims of crime in a one-year period

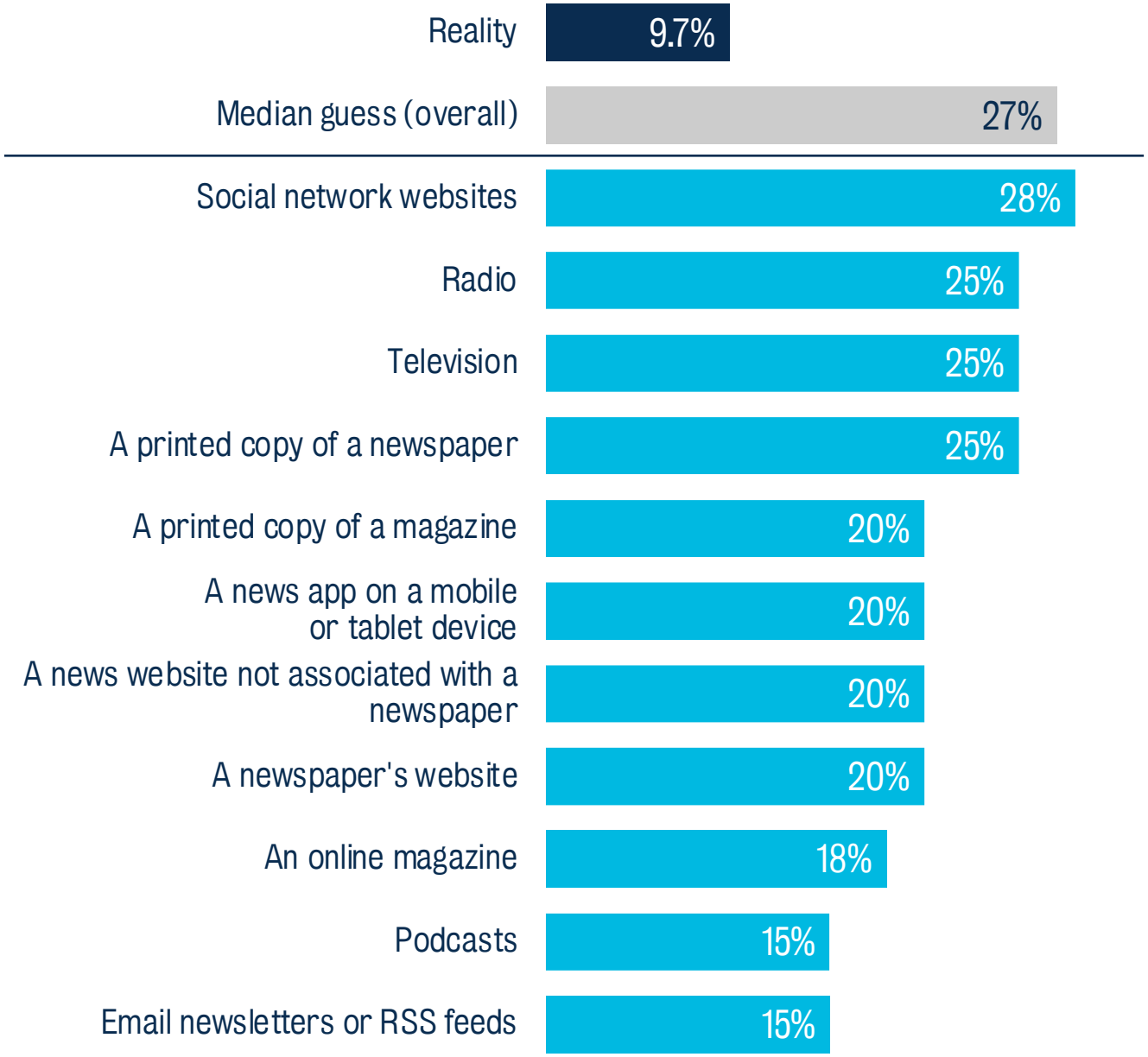
What percentage of people in **England and Wales** do you think personally experienced a crime in the year between October 2024 and September 2025? We're including all types of crime except fraud, cyber-crimes and murder



Base: 2,164 UK respondents aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026. Source for reality: Personal crime prevalence (CSEW open data table) - Office for National Statistics

Those who get their news from podcasts and email newsletters are most accurate at guessing the prevalence of crime

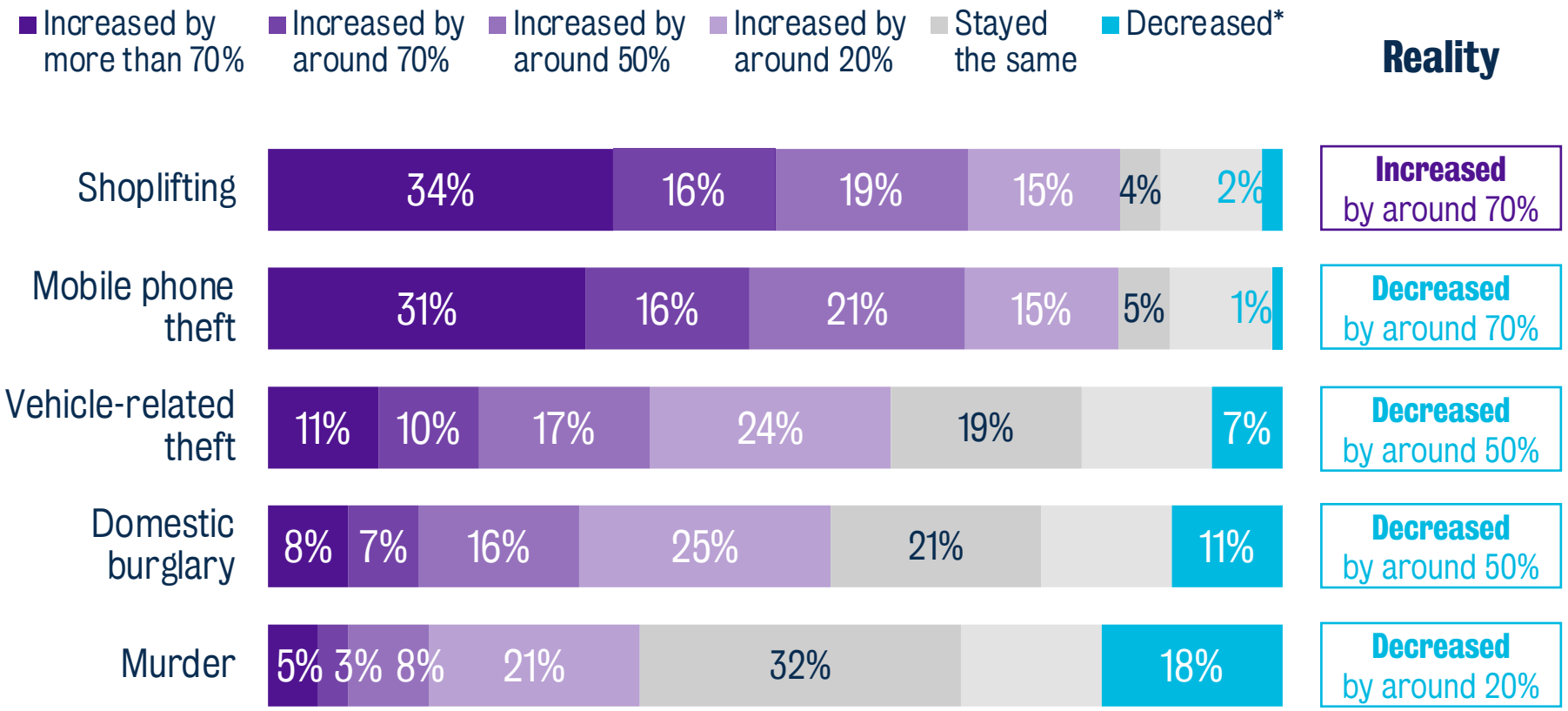
What percentage of people in **England and Wales** do you think personally experienced a crime in the year between October 2024 and September 2025? We're including all types of crime except fraud, cyber-crimes and murder



Base: 2,164 UK respondents aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026. Source for reality: Personal crime prevalence (CSEW open data table) - Office for National Statistics

Majorities believe murder, phone and vehicle theft, burglary and shoplifting have risen or stayed the same since 2010 – but in fact only shoplifting has increased

What do you think happened to rates of the following crimes between 2010 and 2025 in England and Wales?



*Full categories: Decreased by more than 70%, around 70%, around 50%, around 20%. Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026. Sources for realities: Mobile phone theft, Property crime tables (Table 13); Vehicle-related theft and burglary, CSEW (Fig. 6); Murder, Home Office; Shoplifting: ONS

Of the five crime types tested, only shoplifting has risen since 2010 – by around 70% – and the public gets this one right, with more than eight in 10 (84%) correctly saying it increased.

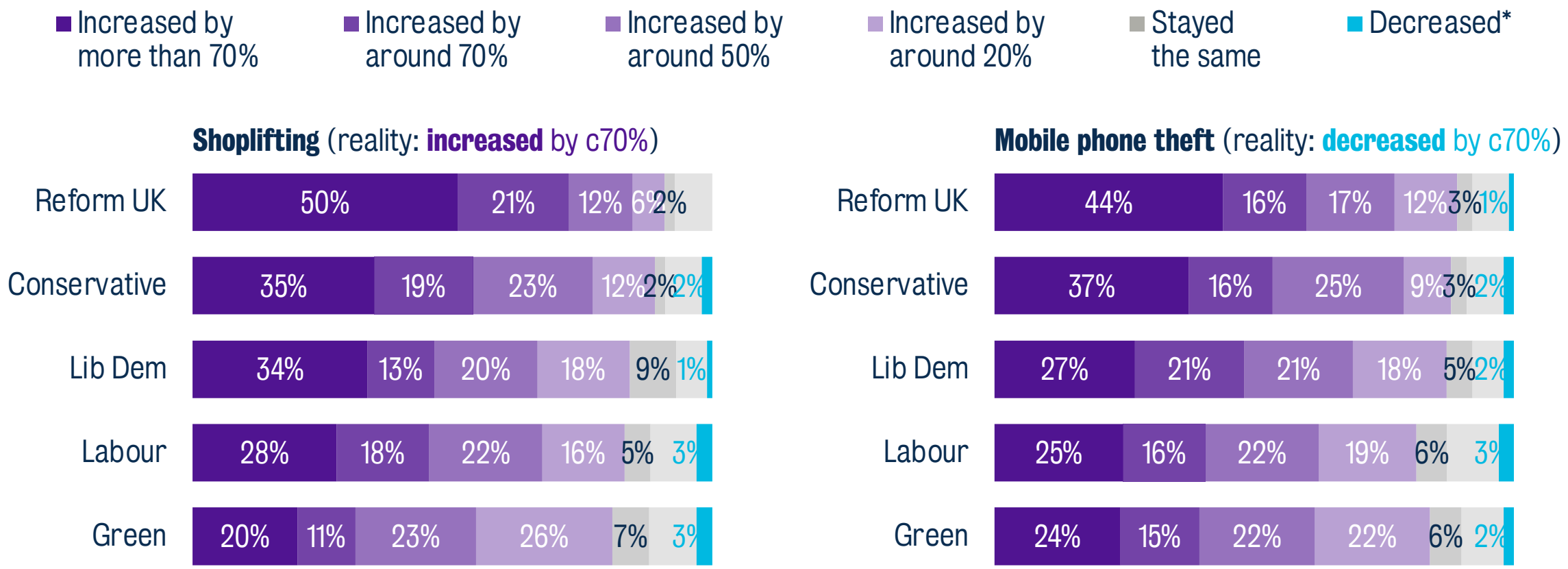
Everywhere else, perception and reality point in opposite directions. Mobile phone theft is the starkest case: 83% think it has increased, when it has in fact *fallen* by around 70%.

The same pattern holds for burglary and vehicle theft, both of which have fallen by around 50%. However, majorities believe they have risen – 56% for burglary, 62% for vehicle theft.

Murder comes closest to being accurately perceived, though still not correctly: 37% think it has increased, while 18% correctly say it has decreased – and a third (32%) say it has stayed the same.

Reform UK supporters are most likely to correctly estimate the scale of the increase in shoplifting – at the same time as being most wrong on what's happened to mobile phone thefts, which have declined significantly

What do you think happened to rates of the following crimes between 2010 and 2025 in England and Wales?



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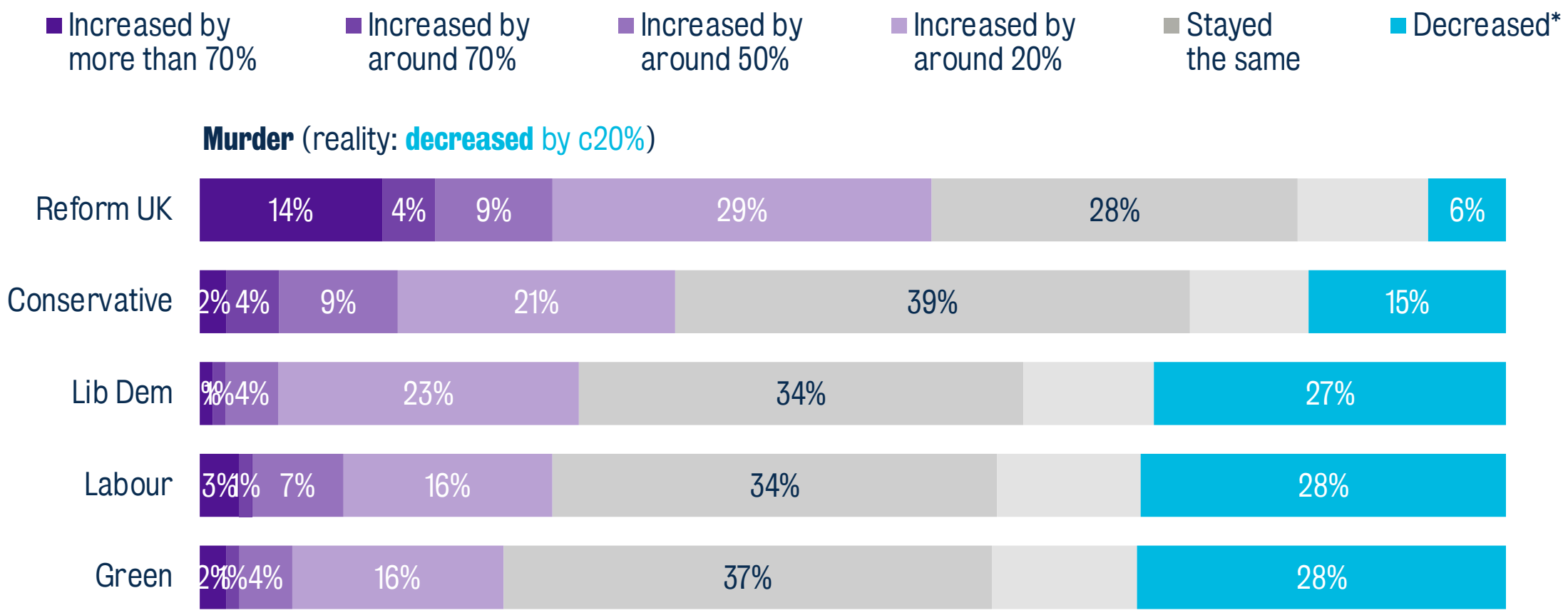
Murder is down 20% in the past 15 years, but Lib Dems, Conservatives and especially Reform supporters are more likely to think that it's risen than declined

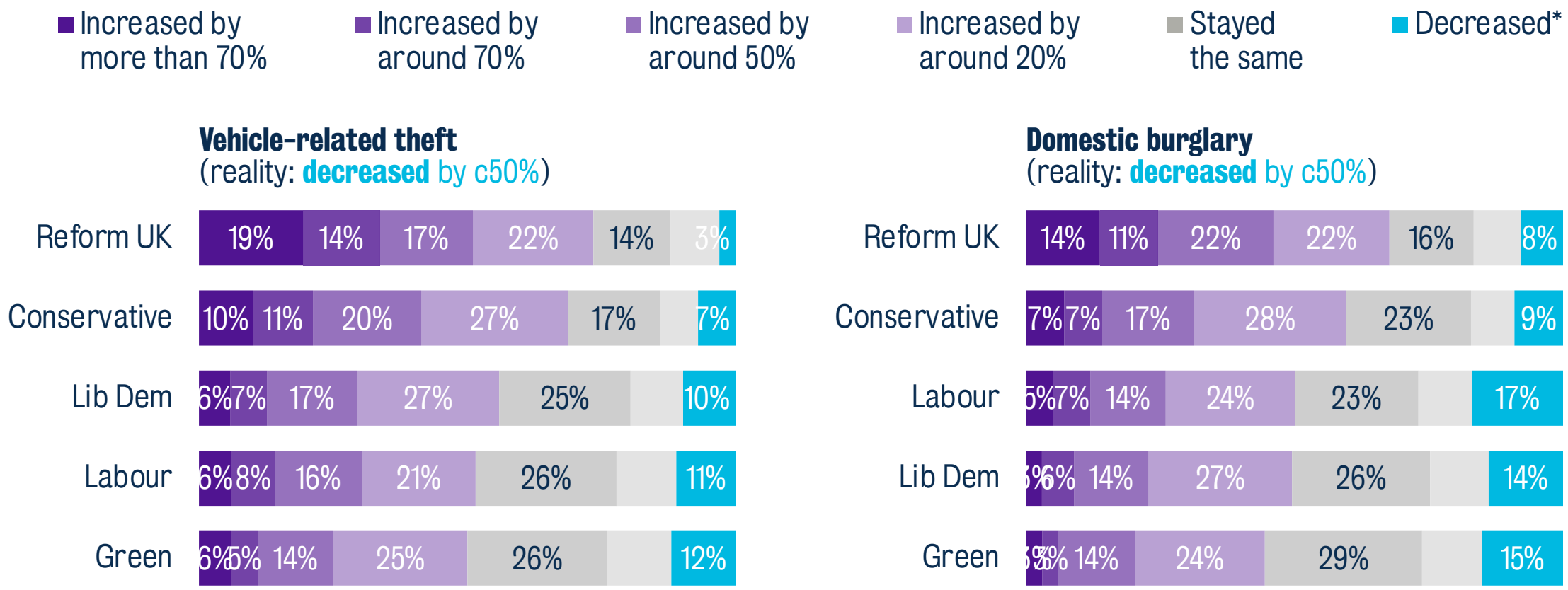
What do you think happened to rates of the following crimes between 2010 and 2025 in England and Wales?



*Full categories: Decreased by more than 70%, around 70%, around 50%, around 20%. Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026. Sources for realities: Mobile phone theft, Property crime tables (Table 13); Vehicle-related theft and burglary, CSEW (Fig. 6); Murder, Home Office; Shoplifting: ONS

Around half or more of all parties' supporters incorrectly guess vehicle-related theft and domestic burglary have increased, when both have actually fallen by around 50%

What do you think happened to rates of the following crimes between 2010 and 2025 in England and Wales?



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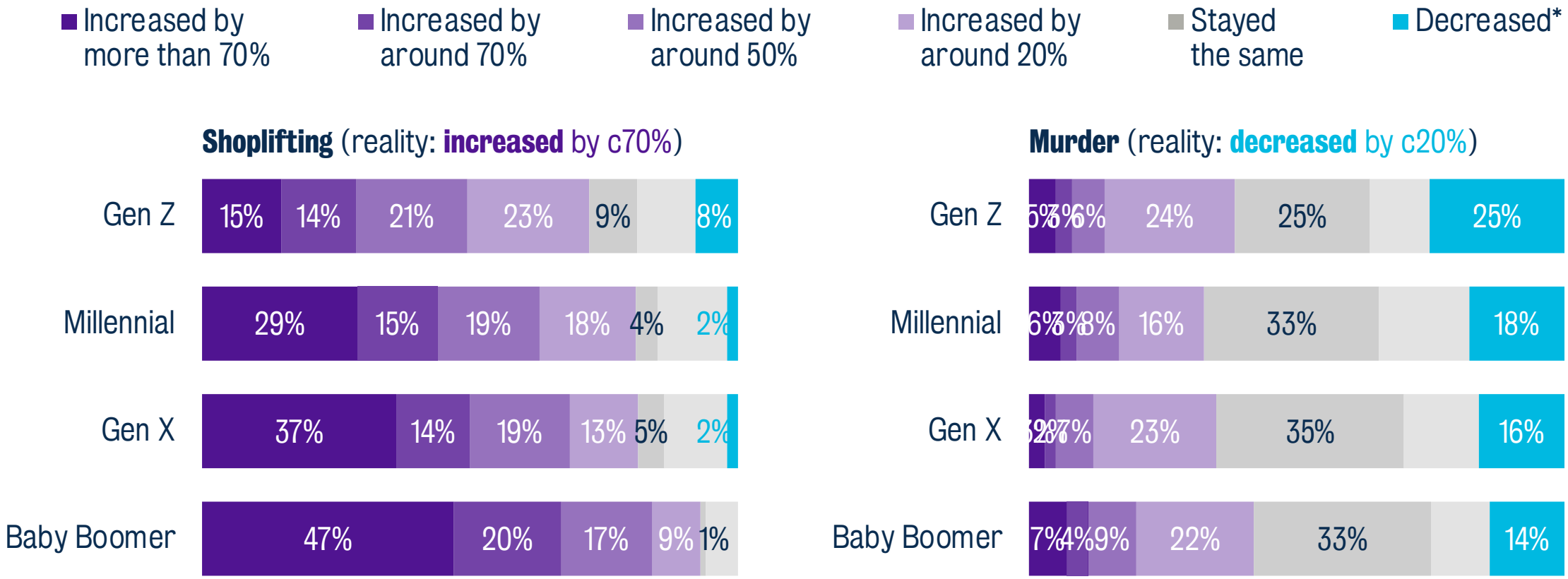
Baby Boomers are most accurate at guessing the scale of the increase in shoplifting, while Gen Z are most likely to correctly guess murder has declined (though a greater share still think it rose)

What do you think happened to rates of the following crimes between 2010 and 2025 in England and Wales?



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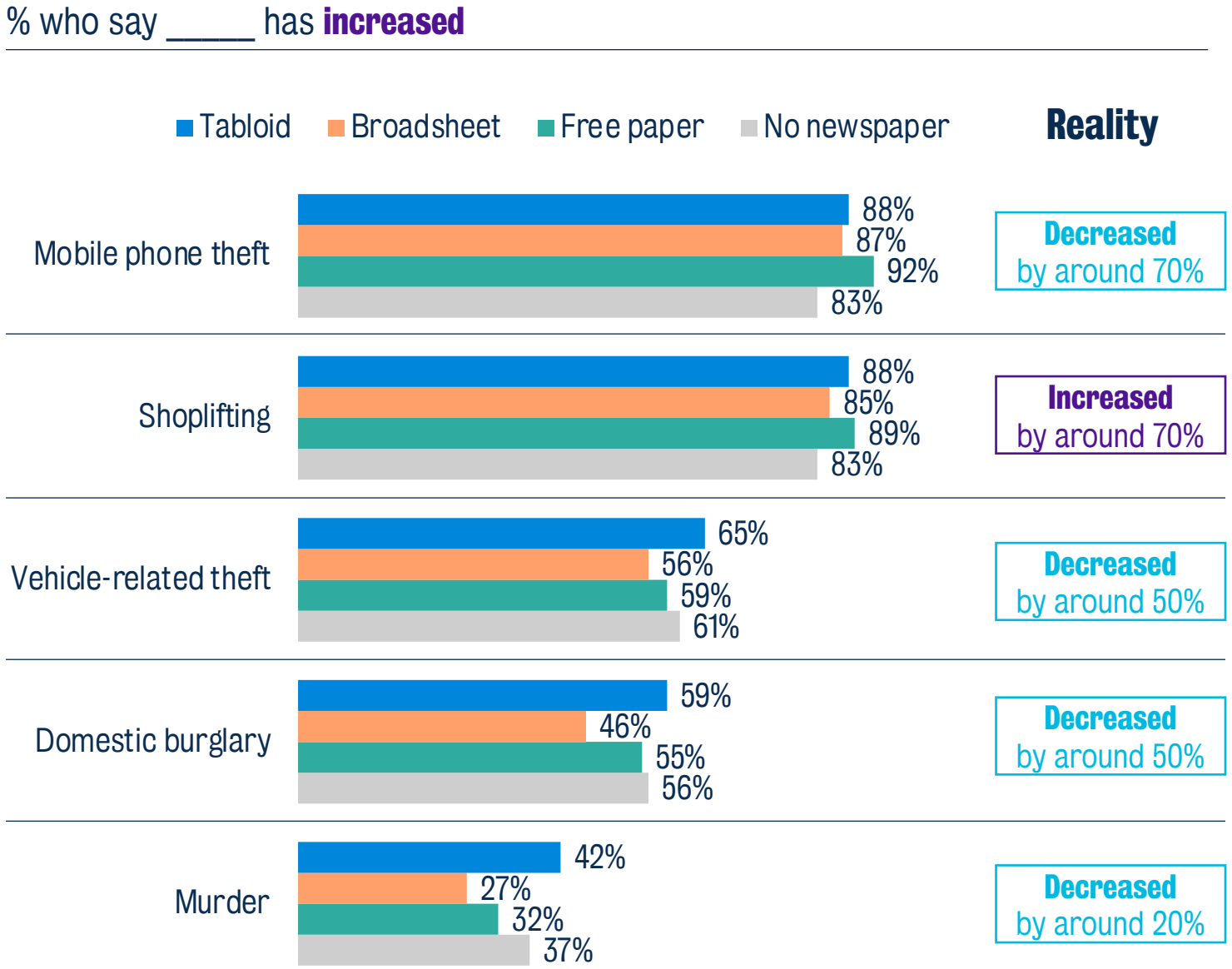
Broadsheet readers are less likely than tabloid readers to wrongly think murder and domestic burglary increased between 2010 and 2025 – but there is little difference in perceptions of how other crimes have changed

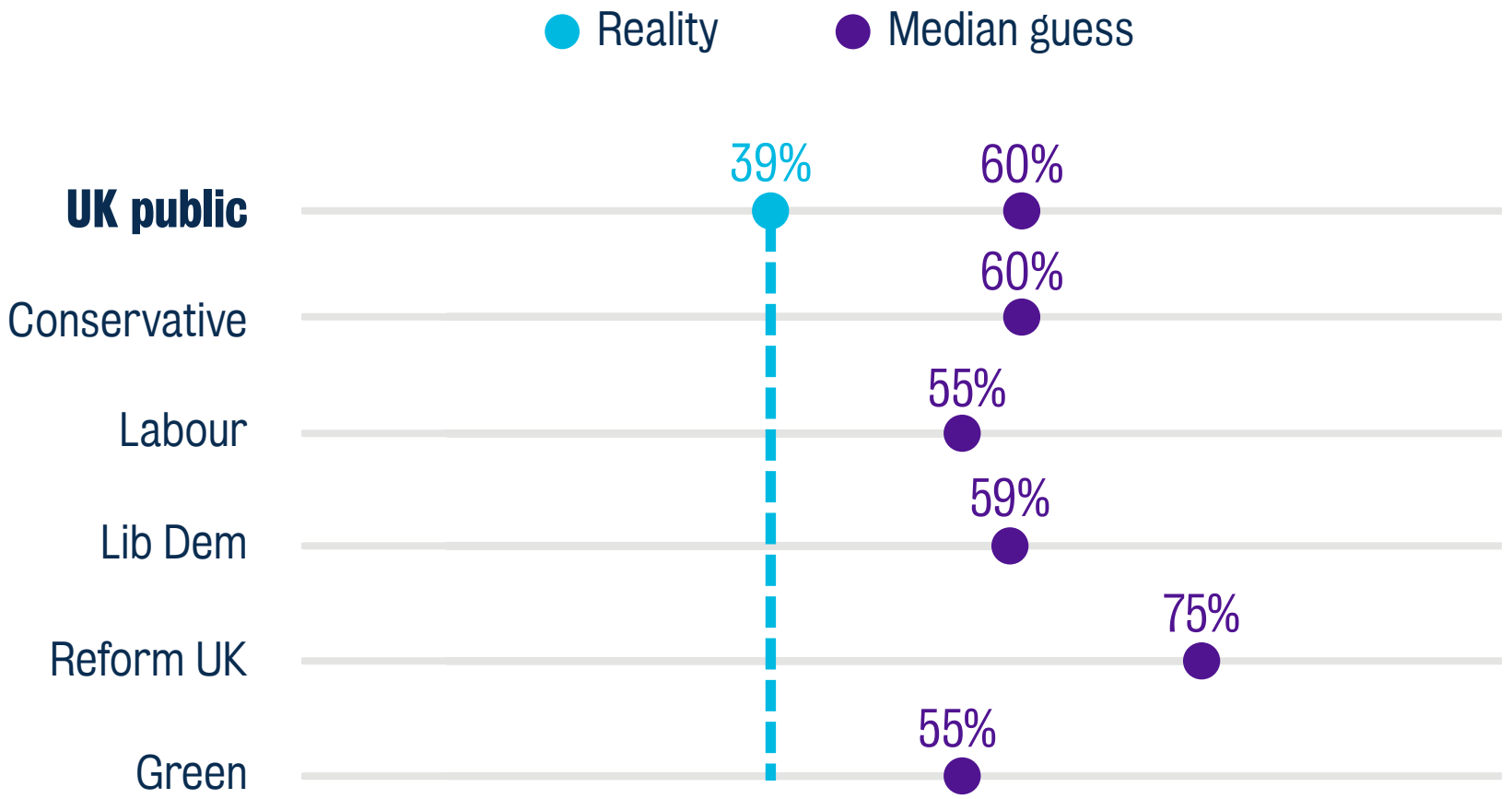
What do you think happened to rates of the following crimes between 2010 and 2025 in England and Wales?



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026. Tabloid (173): Daily Mail, Daily Express, The Sun, Daily Mirror, Daily Star, The People, Daily Record and their Sunday equivalents. Broadsheet (210): Financial Times, The Times, The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, The Observer, The Independent, i, City A.M. Free paper (118): Metro, London Evening Standard. No newspaper (1,422). Readers may fall into more than one category.

The public guess that 60% do not feel safe walking alone in their area after dark – significantly higher than the reality of 39%

What percentage of people in Great Britain do you think say they feel not very or not at all safe walking alone in their area after dark?



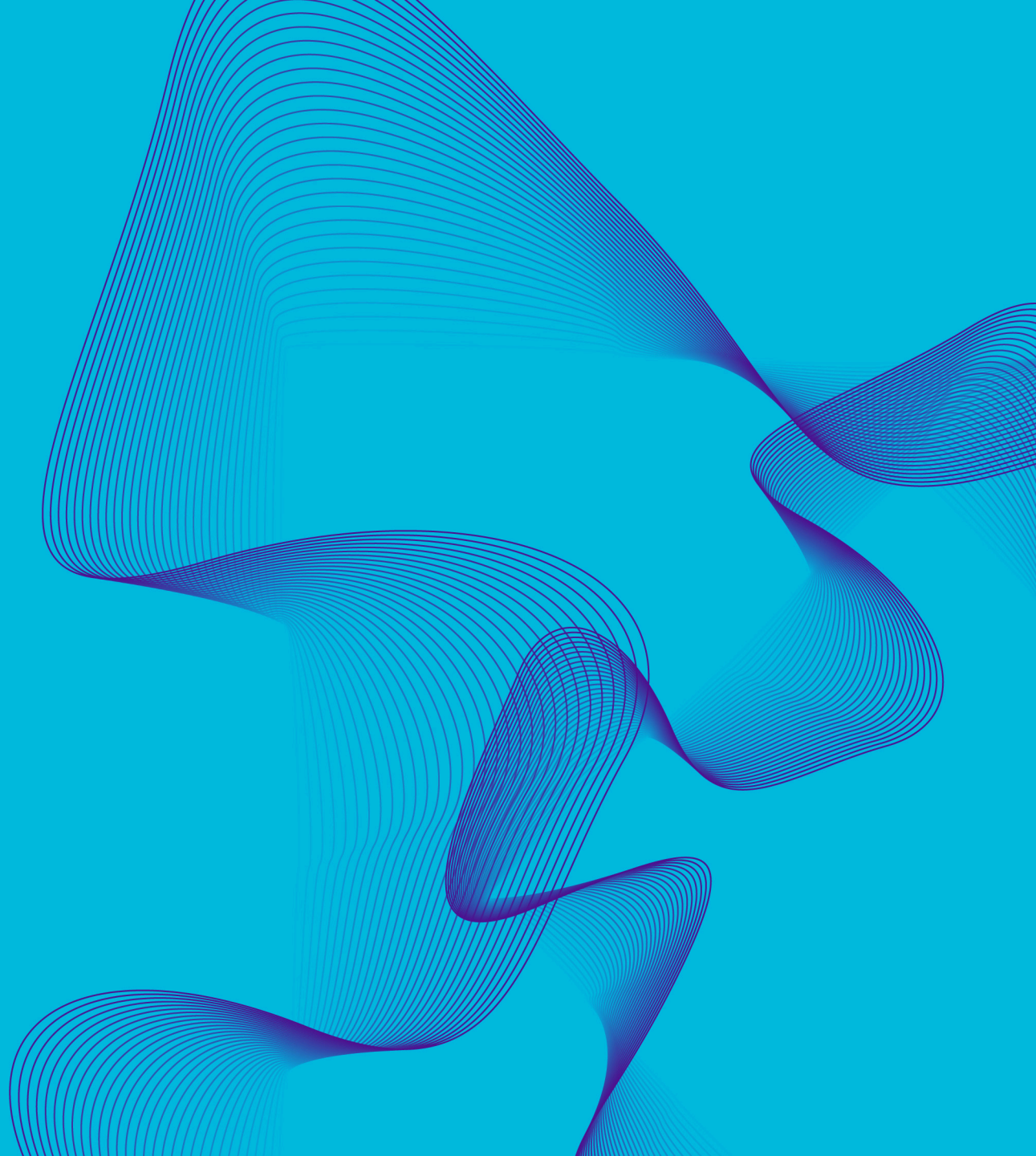
All parties' supporters significantly have an inflated view of the level of fear the public have about walking alone after dark, but Reform supporters overestimate the most.

Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

Mistaken Britain

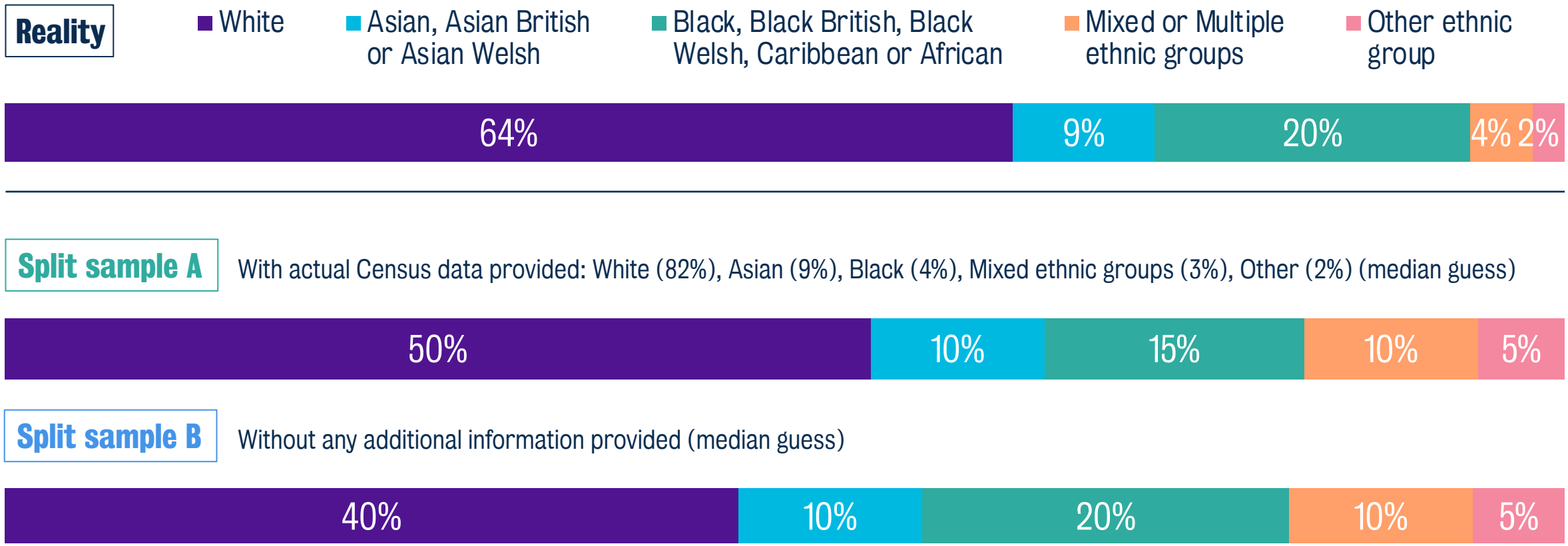
1. Misperceptions about crime

1.2. Offenders



64% of people convicted of homicide in England and Wales are white – but the public guess it's only 40%. They come closer to the reality when told what share of the overall population each ethnic group represents, though still underestimate by 14 points

Thinking about people convicted of homicide in England and Wales between April 2021 and March 2024, what percentage of all those convicted do you think came from the following ethnic categories? Please provide your best estimate for each group.

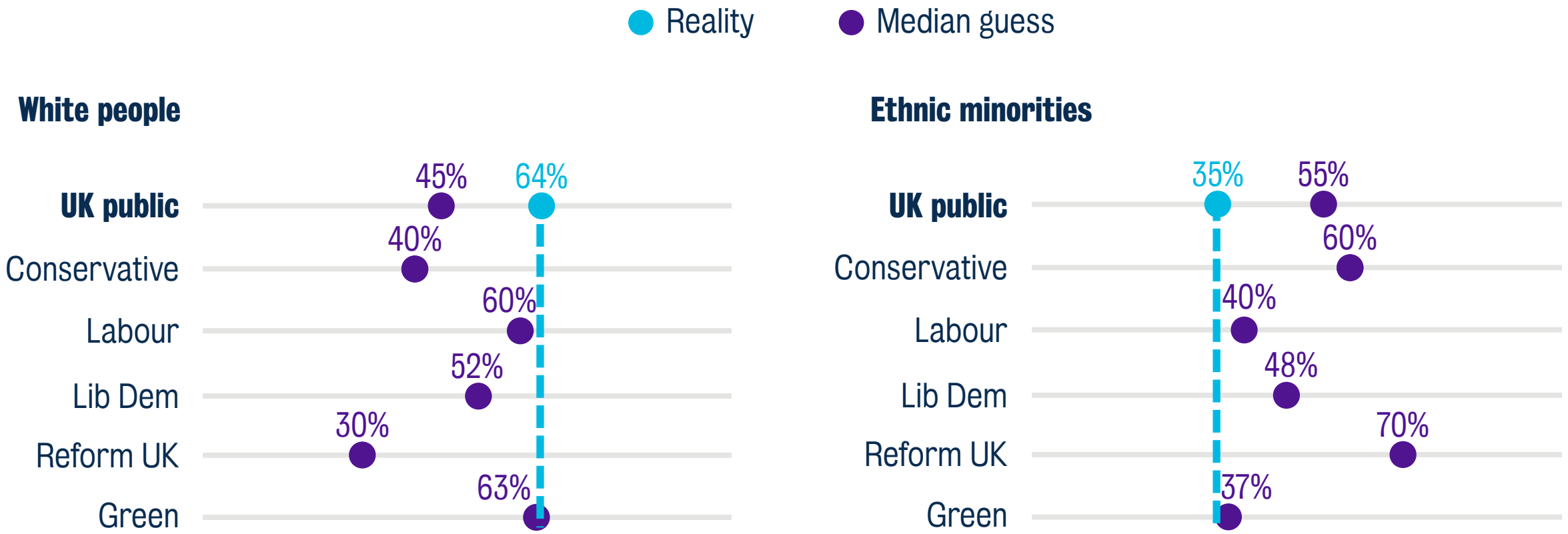


Base: 1,797 UK respondents (Split sample A: 878; Split sample B: 919) aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026. Source for reality: Office for National Statistics

Reform supporters hugely *under*estimate the share of people convicted of homicide who are white...

...and hugely *over*estimate the share who belong to other ethnic groups

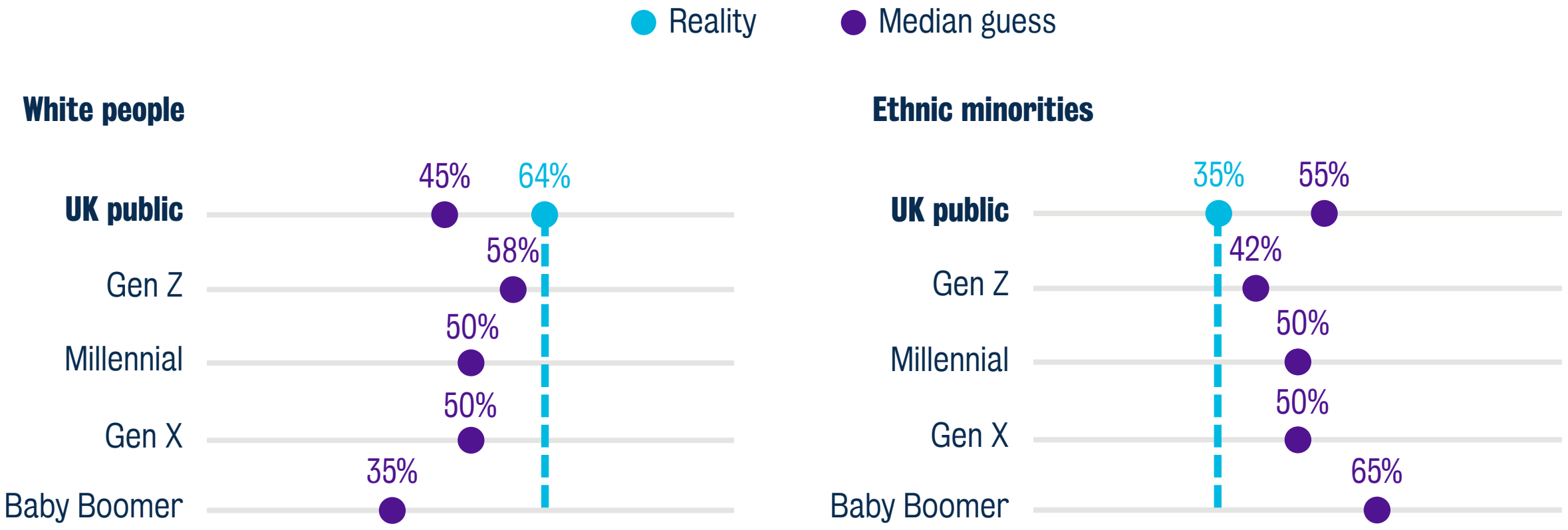
Thinking about people convicted of homicide in England and Wales between April 2021 and March 2024, what percentage of all those convicted do you think came from the following ethnic categories? Please provide your best estimate for each group.



Base: 1,797 UK respondents (Split sample A: 878; Split sample B: 919) aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026. Medians are combined figures across both sides of sample. Source for reality: Office for National Statistics

Baby Boomers most overestimate the share of those convicted of homicide who belong to an ethnic minority, and underestimate the share who are white – while Gen Z come closest to the reality on both

Thinking about people convicted of homicide in England and Wales between April 2021 and March 2024, what percentage of all those convicted do you think came from the following ethnic categories? Please provide your best estimate for each group.



Base: 1,797 UK respondents (Split sample A: 878; Split sample B: 919) aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026. Medians are combined figures across both sides of sample. Source for reality: Office for National Statistics

Foreign nationals make up 12% of the prison population of England and Wales, but the public guess the true figure is around double that

What percentage of the prison population in England and Wales do you think were foreign nationals as of 2025?

And foreign nationals make up 15% of those cautioned for or convicted of sexual offences – but again, the public guess the reality is twice that

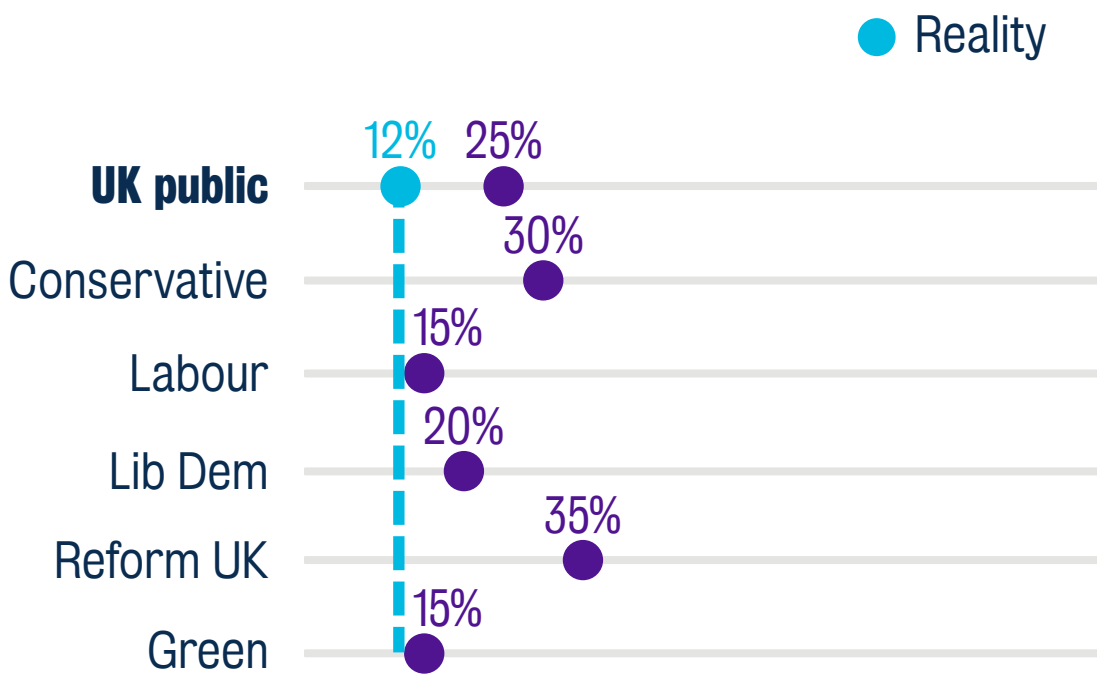
In the 10 years between 2013/14 and 2023/24, the annual number of sexual offences in England and Wales recorded by the police increased from 64,000 to 189,000. In 2024, what percentage of people cautioned for or convicted of sexual offences in England and Wales do you think were foreign nationals – that is, people who are not British citizens?

Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026. Source for realities: Migration Observatory

Reform UK supporters guess furthest from reality on both the share of foreign nationals in prison and among those cautioned for or convicted of sexual offences

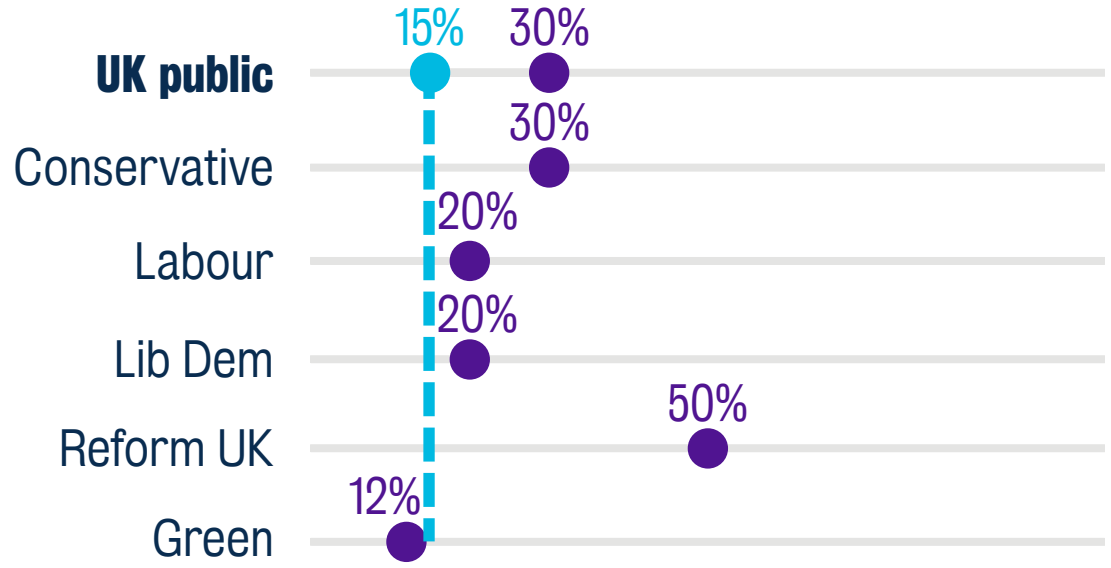
% of the prison population who are foreign nationals

What percentage of the prison population in England and Wales do you think were foreign nationals as of 2025?



% of those cautioned for or convicted of sexual offences who are foreign nationals

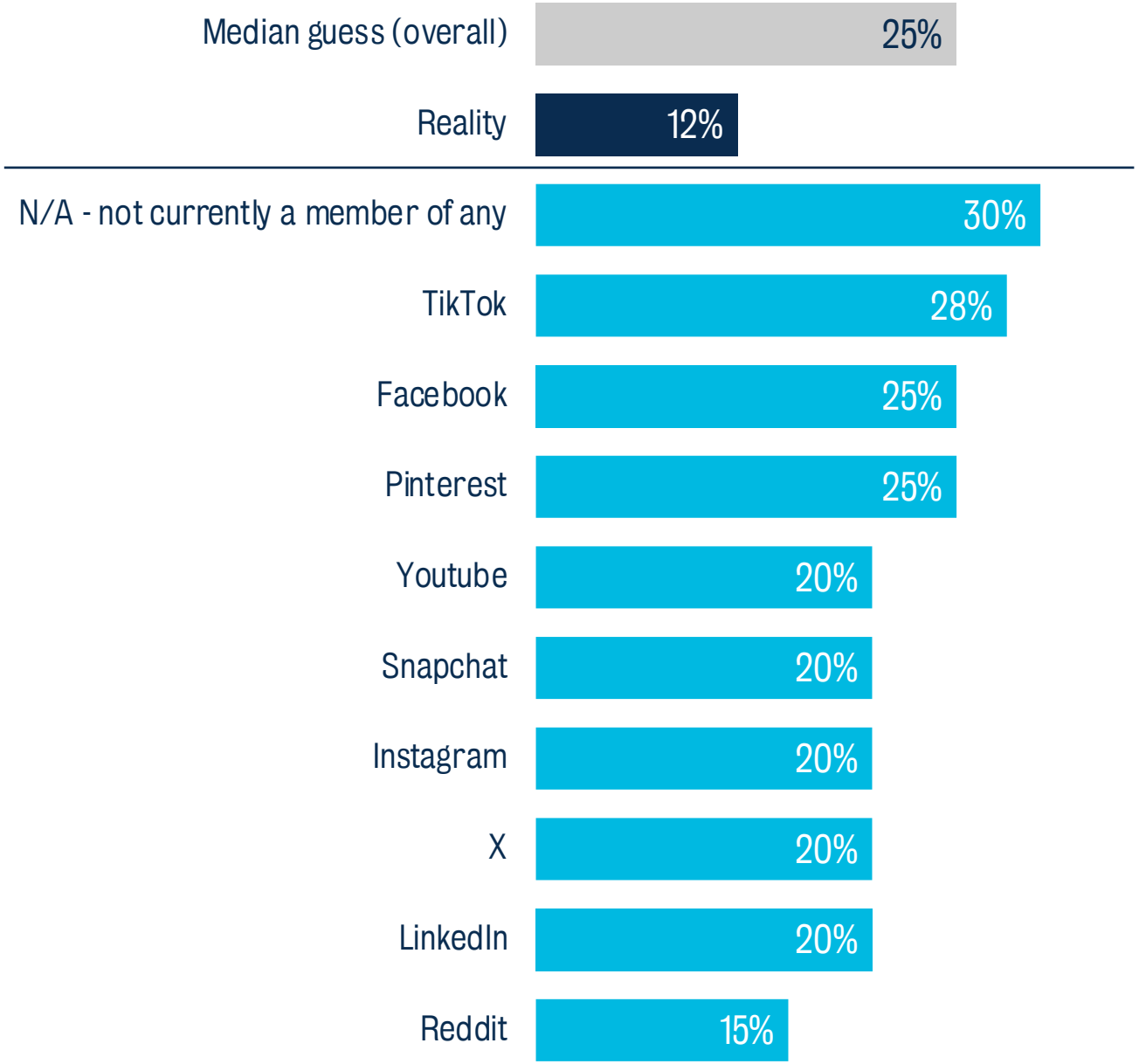
In the 10 years between 2013/14 and 2023/24, the annual number of sexual offences in England and Wales recorded by the police increased from 64,000 to 189,000. In 2024, what percentage of people cautioned for or convicted of sexual offences in England and Wales do you think were foreign nationals – that is, people who are not British citizens?



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026. Source for realities: Migration Observatory

Estimates of the foreign-national share of the prison population vary little between those who used different social media platforms in the past month – and those who say they're not a member of any platform are actually among the less accurate

What percentage of the prison population in England and Wales do you think were foreign nationals as of 2025?

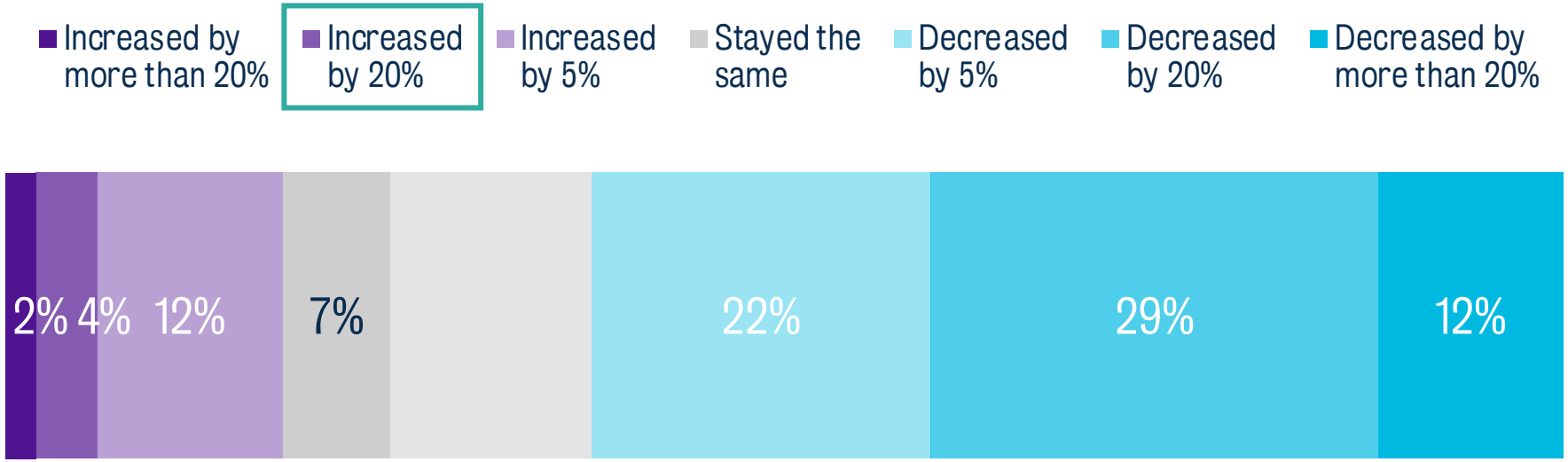


Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026. Source for reality: Migration Observatory

1.3. Policing

Police officer numbers in England and Wales rose by 20% between 2018 and 2025, but two-thirds (63%) of the public wrongly think they fell

What do you think happened to the number of police officers in England and Wales between 2018 and 2025?



Only one in five (18%) people correctly guess police numbers increased at all during this period, and even fewer (4%) select the true size of the increase.

However, this misperception should be viewed within the context of large contractions in police numbers from 2009 to 2018 – a trend which clearly still dominates the public's understanding of this issue. It then took until 2023 for the number of police to reach the same levels as 2010.

As of 2025, the number of police is about 2% higher than it was in 2010.

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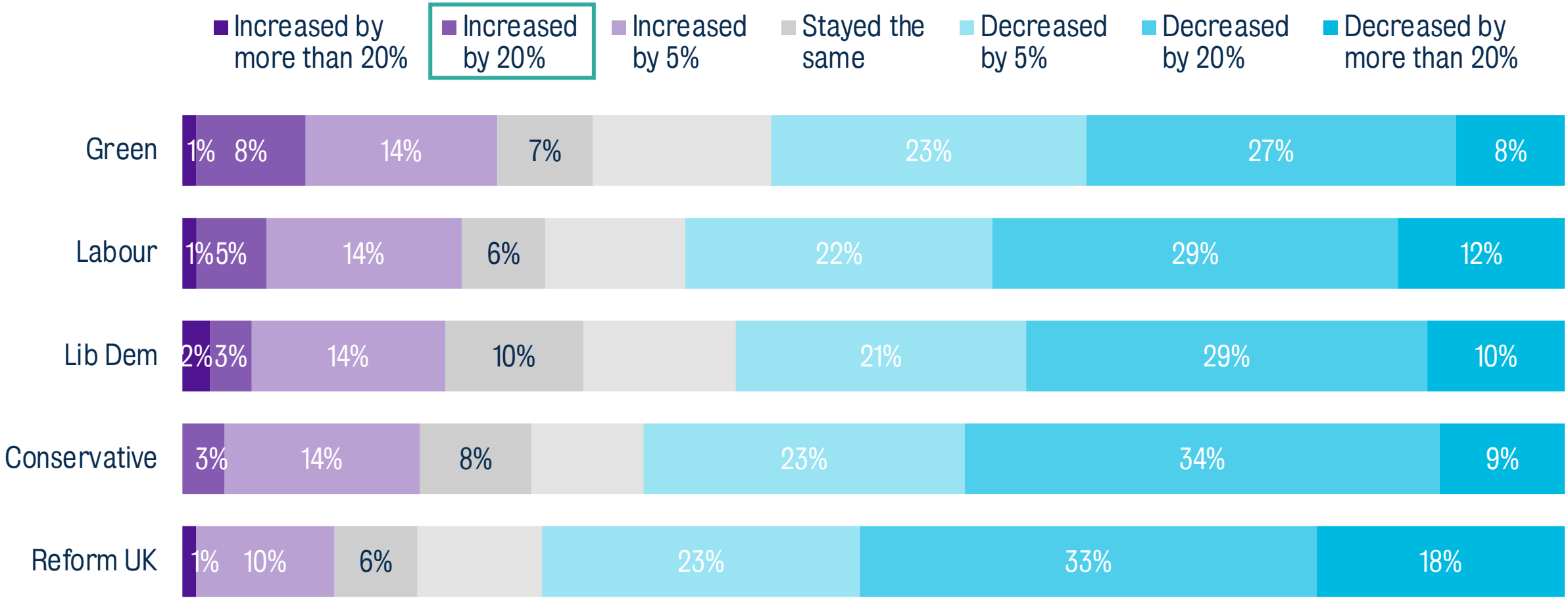
Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026. Source for reality: Institute for Government

Majorities of all parties' supporters think police numbers have decreased

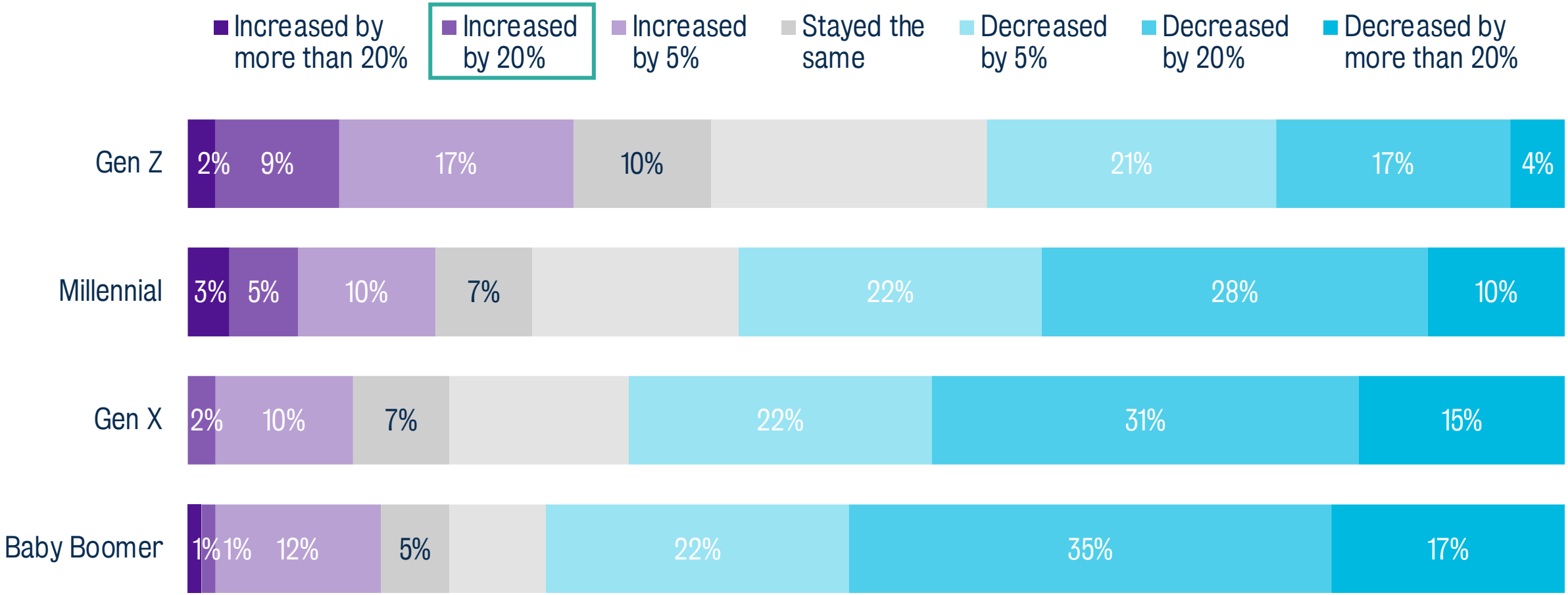
What do you think happened to the number of police officers in England and Wales between 2018 and 2025?



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026. Source for reality: Institute for Government

There is a steep age gradient to perceptions that police numbers have declined

What do you think happened to the number of police officers in England and Wales between 2018 and 2025?

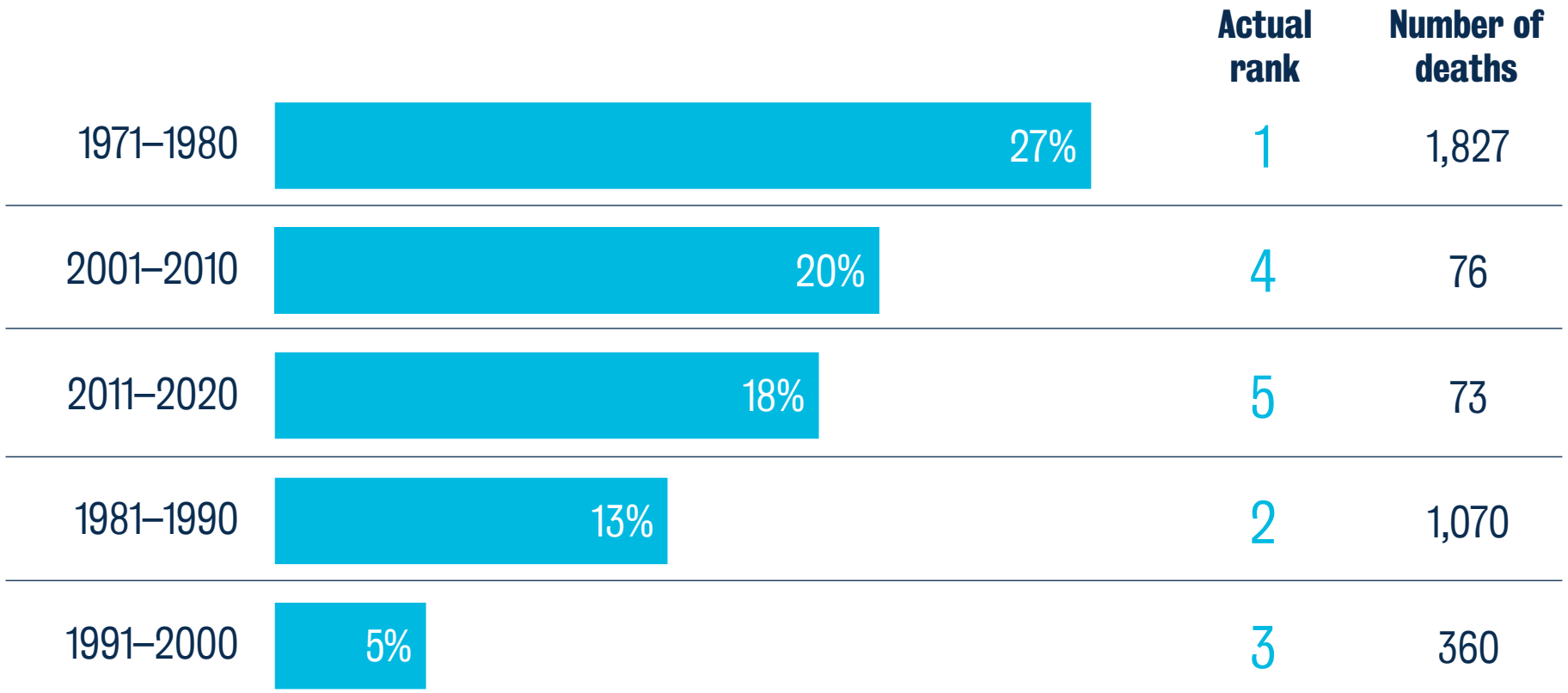


Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026. Source for reality: Institute for Government

1.4. Terrorism

The 2000s and 2010s had the fewest terrorism deaths of any decade in the last 50 years – yet the public rank them among the most deadly

Please rank the below 10-year periods in order of which you think had the highest number of deaths caused by terrorism in the UK. Rank the decade with highest number of deaths first and the decade with the lowest number last



27% of the public correctly guess 1971-1980 was the deadliest decade for UK terrorism, but far more – 55% – wrongly select a more recent decade.

*55% figure differs from combined chart values due to rounding

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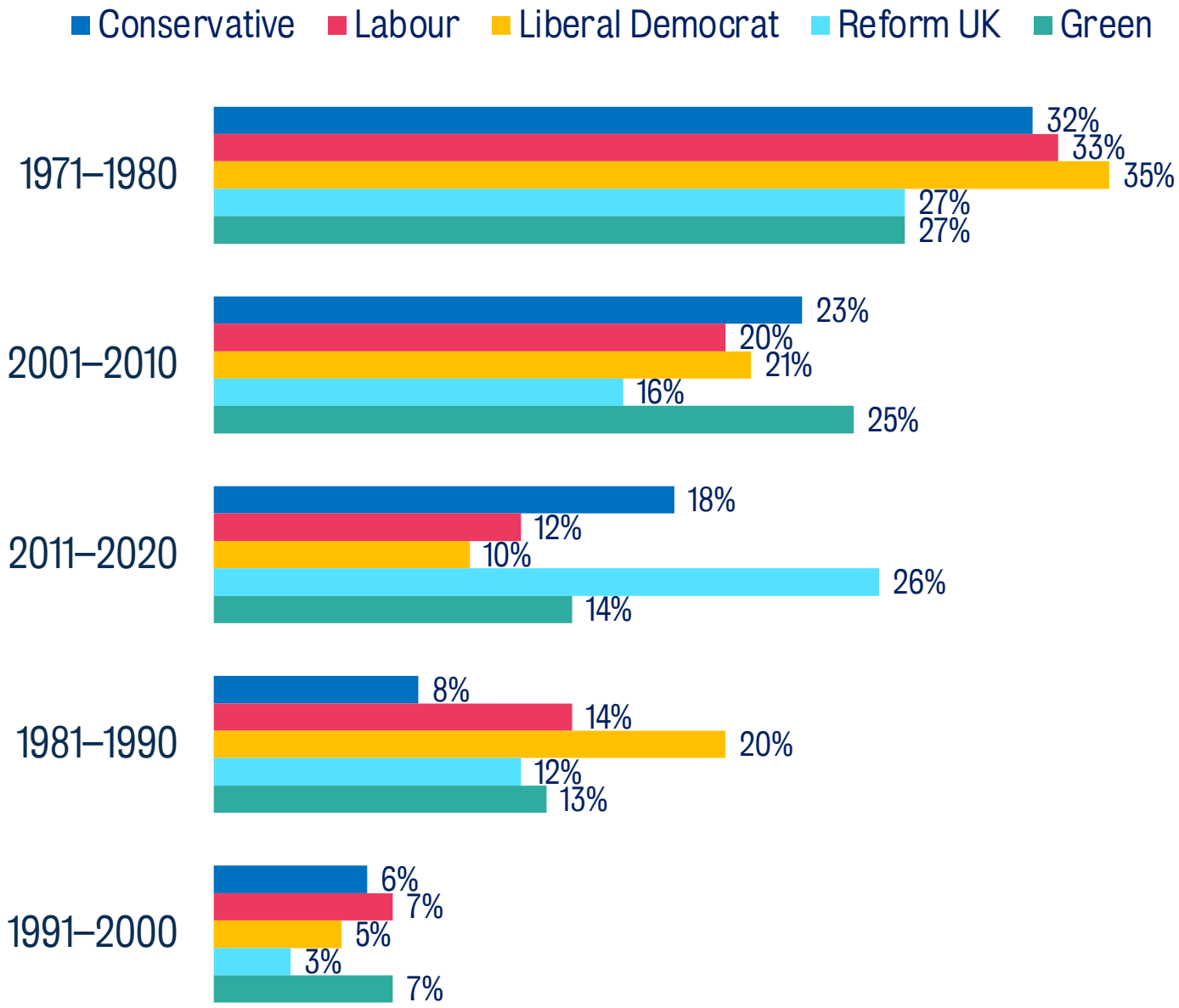
Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026. Source for reality: Global Terrorism Database

Across all parties, more supporters think a decade after 1971–80 was the UK's deadliest for terrorism than correctly identify the 70s as worst on this measure

Please rank the below 10-year periods in order of which you think had the highest number of deaths caused by terrorism in the UK. Rank the decade with highest number of deaths first and the decade with the lowest number last



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026. Source for reality: Global Terrorism Database

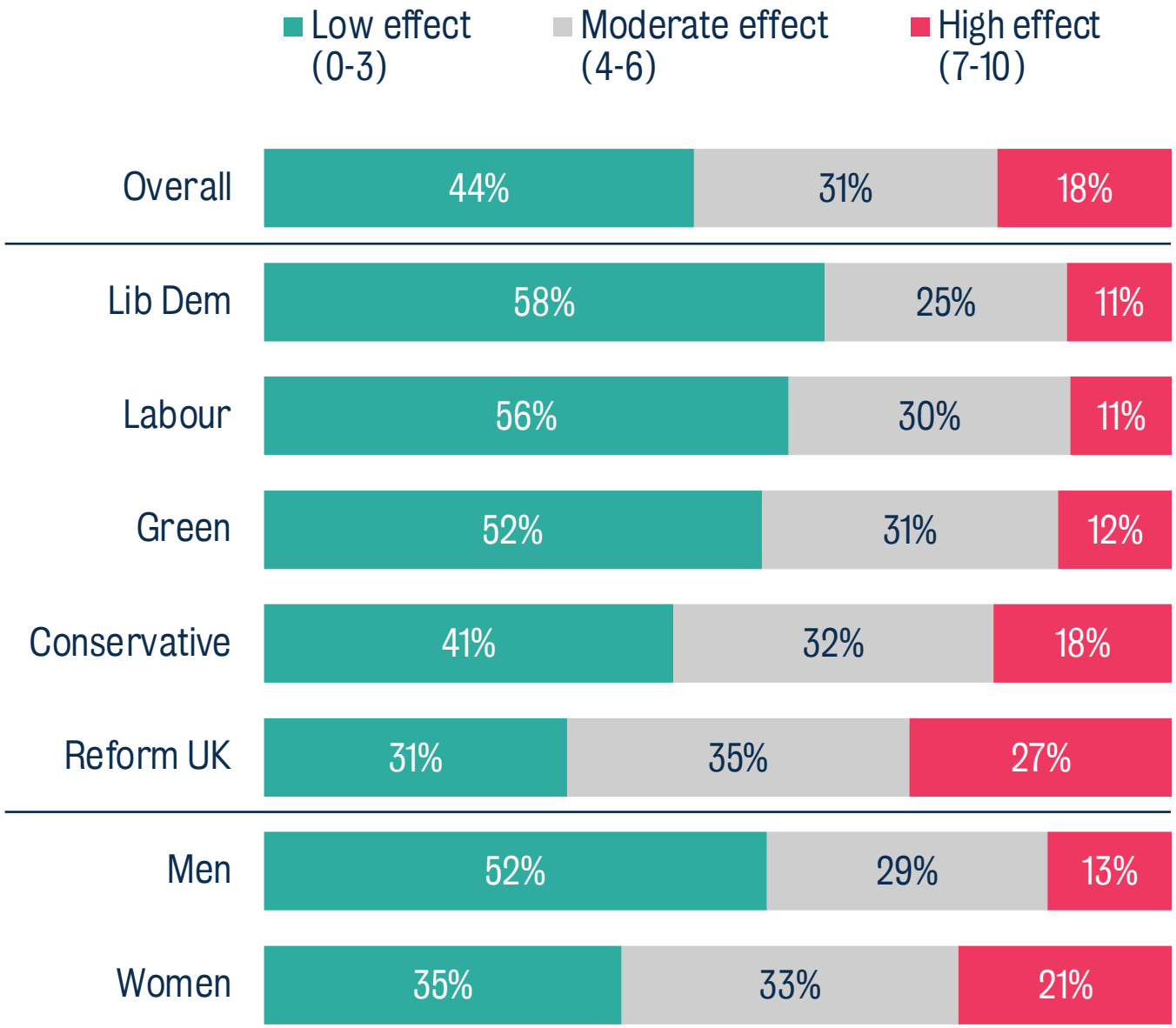
2. Attitudes towards crime

2.1. Fear of crime

One in five people say fear of crime has a high impact on their quality of life.

This rises to one in four Reform UK supporters, who are most likely to say fear of crime affects them to this extent

How much is your own quality of life affected by fear of crime on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is no effect and 10 is a total effect on your quality of life?



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

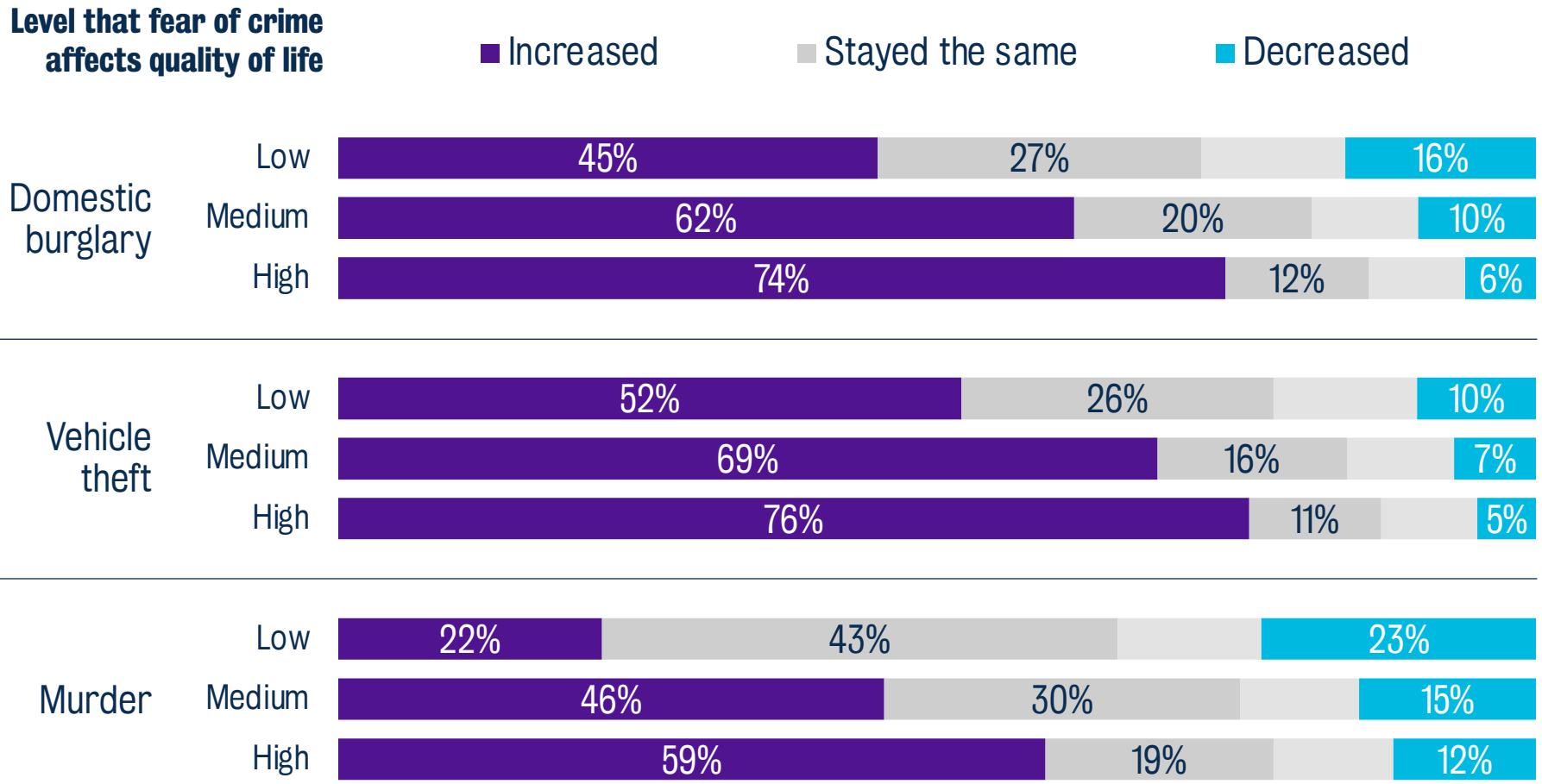
One in five people say fear of crime has a high impact on their quality of life

How much is your own quality of life affected by fear of crime on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is no effect and 10 is a total effect on your quality of life?

Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

Those whose quality of life is highly affected by fear of crime are far more likely to wrongly say crime has increased since 2010

What do you think happened to rates of the following crimes between 2010 and 2025 in England and Wales?



Those whose quality of life is highly affected by fear of crime are far more likely to wrongly say crime has increased since 2010.

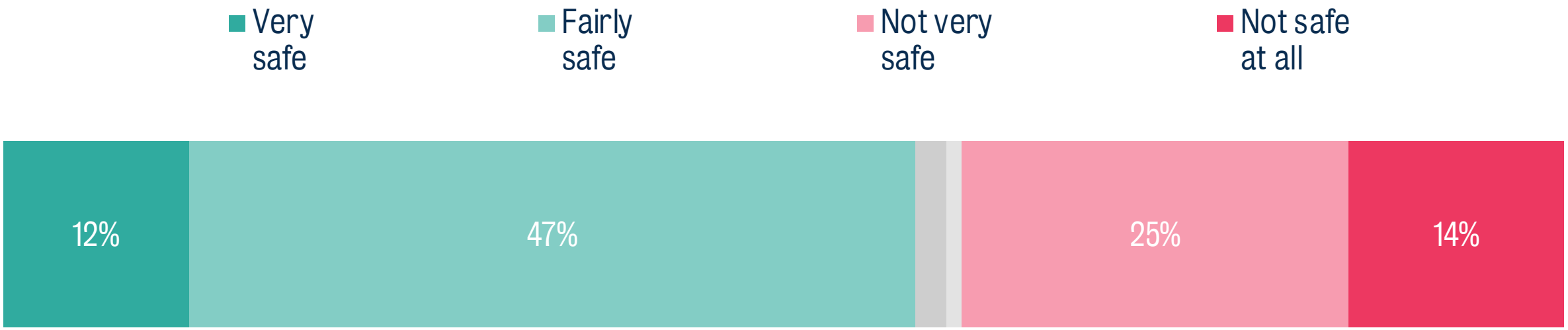
On murder, for example, 59% of the high-impact group say it has increased, compared with 22% of those in the low-impact group.

This is an association, not a demonstrated causal relationship – it isn't possible to say whether overestimating crime heightens its felt impact, or whether those already more affected by fear are more inclined to overestimate.

Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23-27 March 2026.
Source for realities: Phone theft, burglary and vehicle theft (ONS), murder (ONS), shoplifting (BBC)

Two in five (39%) of the public say they do not feel safe walking on the street after dark in their area, compared with three in five (59%) who do

Generally speaking, how safe or unsafe do you feel walking on the street after dark in your area?

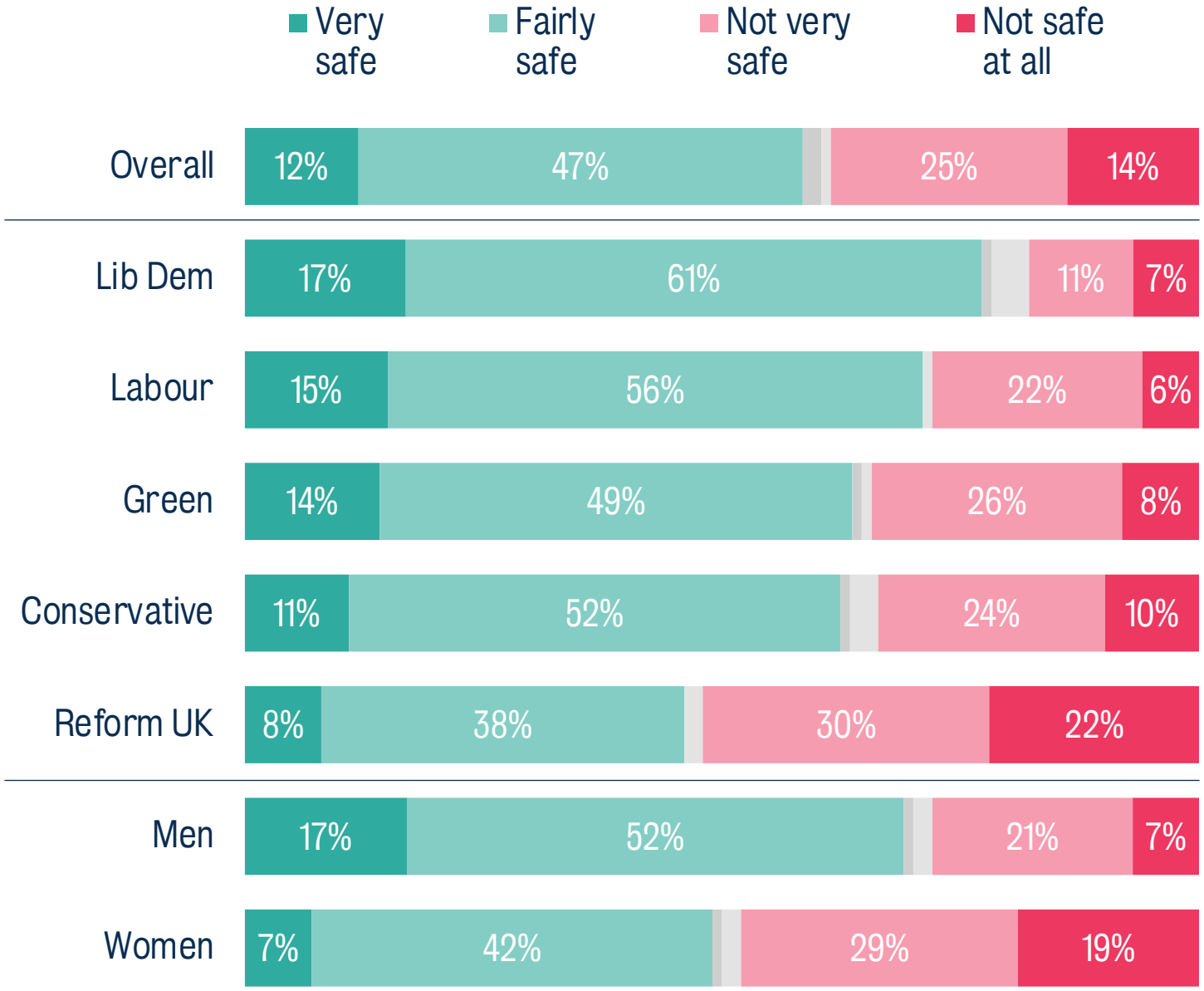


Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

Two in five (39%) of the public say they do not feel safe walking on the street after dark in their area, compared with three in five (59%) who do.

Reform supporters (52%) are most likely to feel unsafe when walking alone after dark, and women (48%) are more likely than men (28%) to say the same

Generally speaking, how safe or unsafe do you feel walking on the street after dark in your area?



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

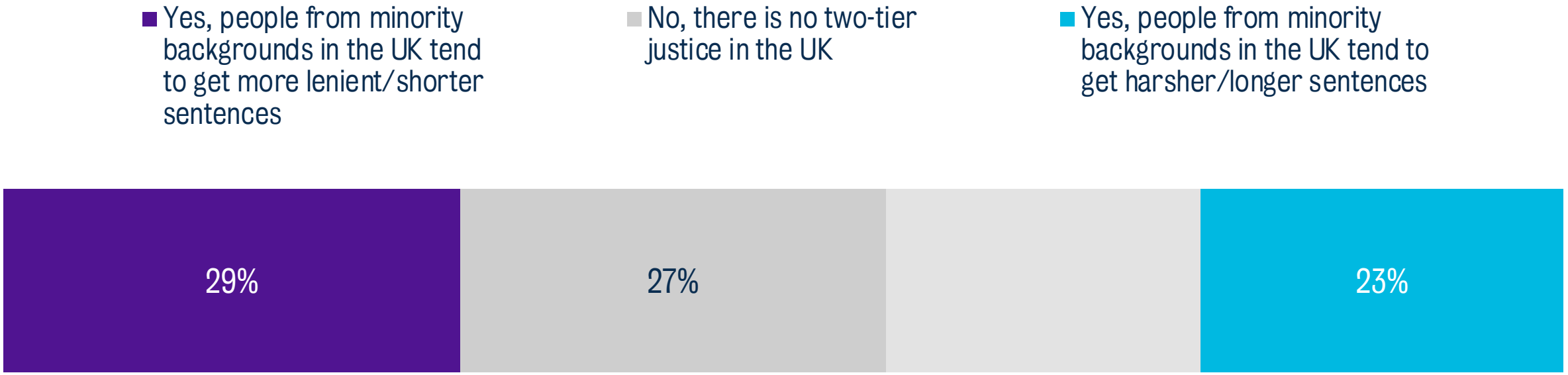
Mistaken Britain

2. Attitudes towards crime

2.2. Justice

A majority (52%) of the public think people from minority backgrounds receive different sentencing for similar crimes – with a slightly greater share saying they get *more lenient* (29%), rather than *harsher* (23%), sentences

Do you think there is a "two-tier" justice system in the UK, whereby people from different ethnic or religious minority backgrounds tend to get different sentences for similar crimes?

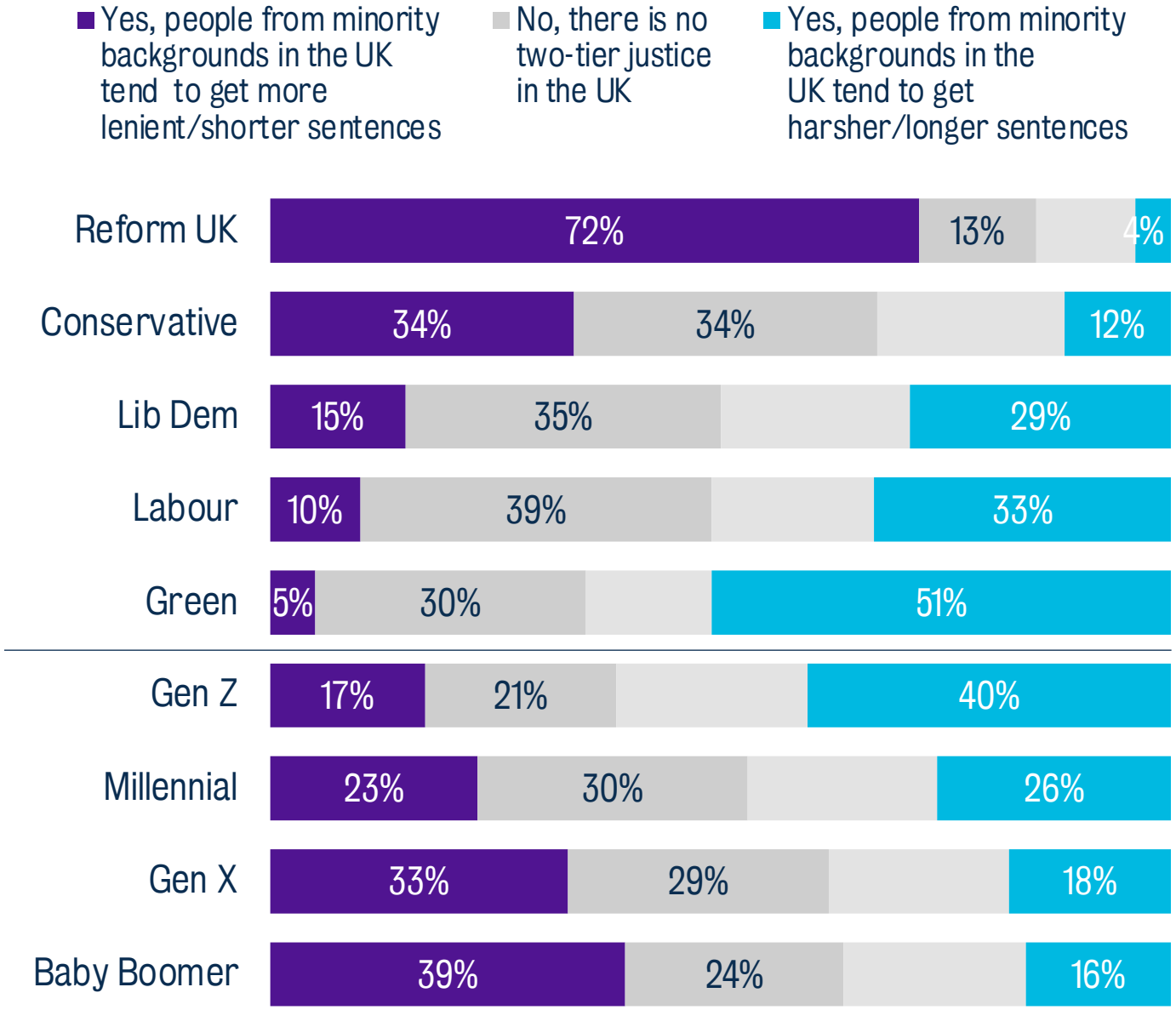


Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

Seven in 10 Reform UK supporters say those from minority backgrounds get lighter sentencing – while 51% of Green supporters think they get harsher sentences

Opinion varies by age too, with a tendency to see minorities as receiving preferential treatment highest among older generations

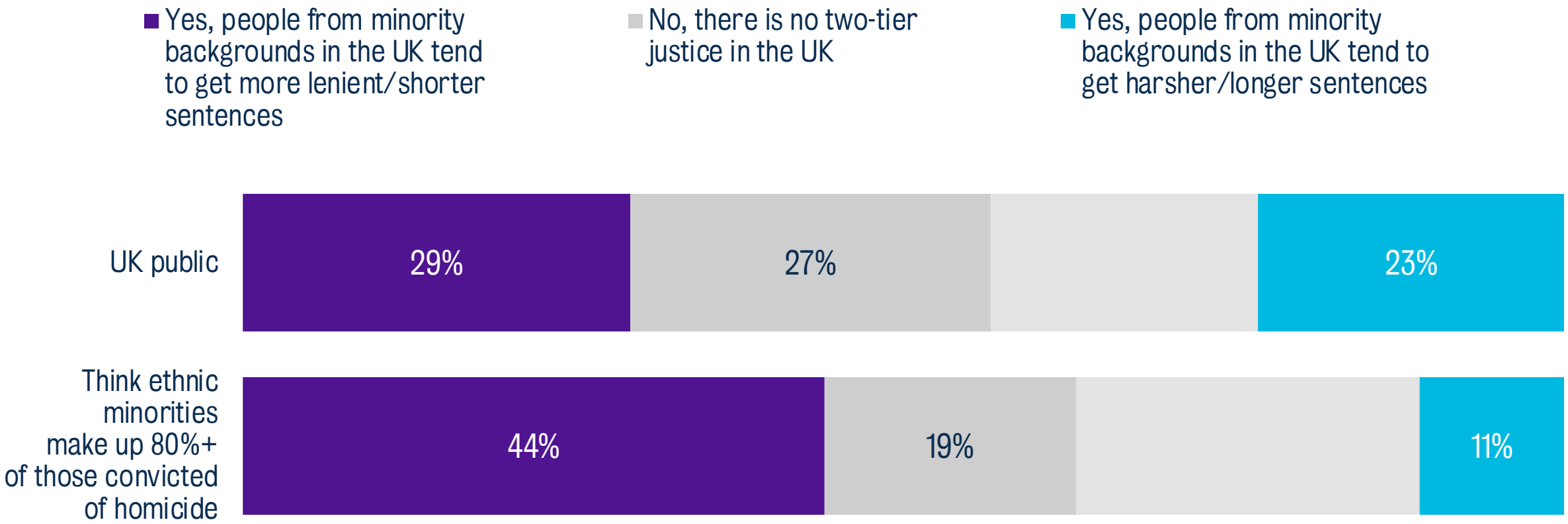
Do you think there is a "two-tier" justice system in the UK, whereby people from different ethnic or religious minority backgrounds tend to get different sentences for similar crimes?



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

Those who greatly overestimate the ethnic minority share of people convicted of homicide are notably more likely to believe minorities receive lighter sentences

Do you think there is a "two-tier" justice system in the UK, whereby people from different ethnic or religious minority backgrounds tend to get different sentences for similar crimes?

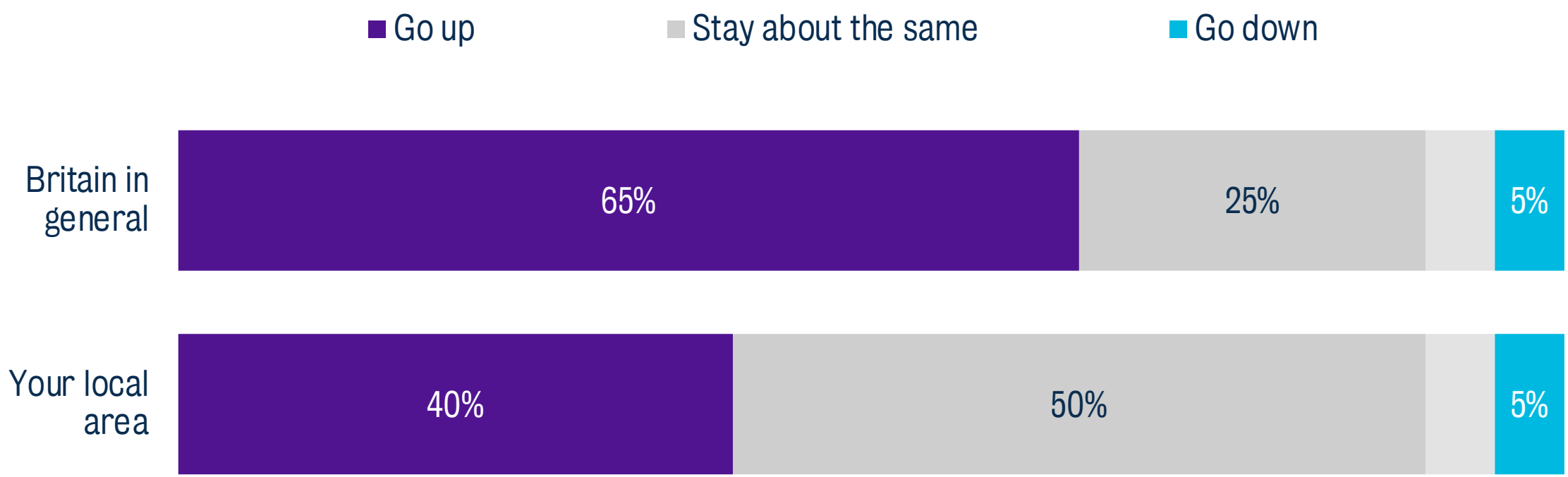


Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, including 403 who think ethnic minorities make up 80% of those convicted for homicide in England and Wales, 23–27 March 2026

2.3. Crime prevention

65% of people think crime will rise nationally in the next three years – while fewer (40%) expect it to rise in their local area

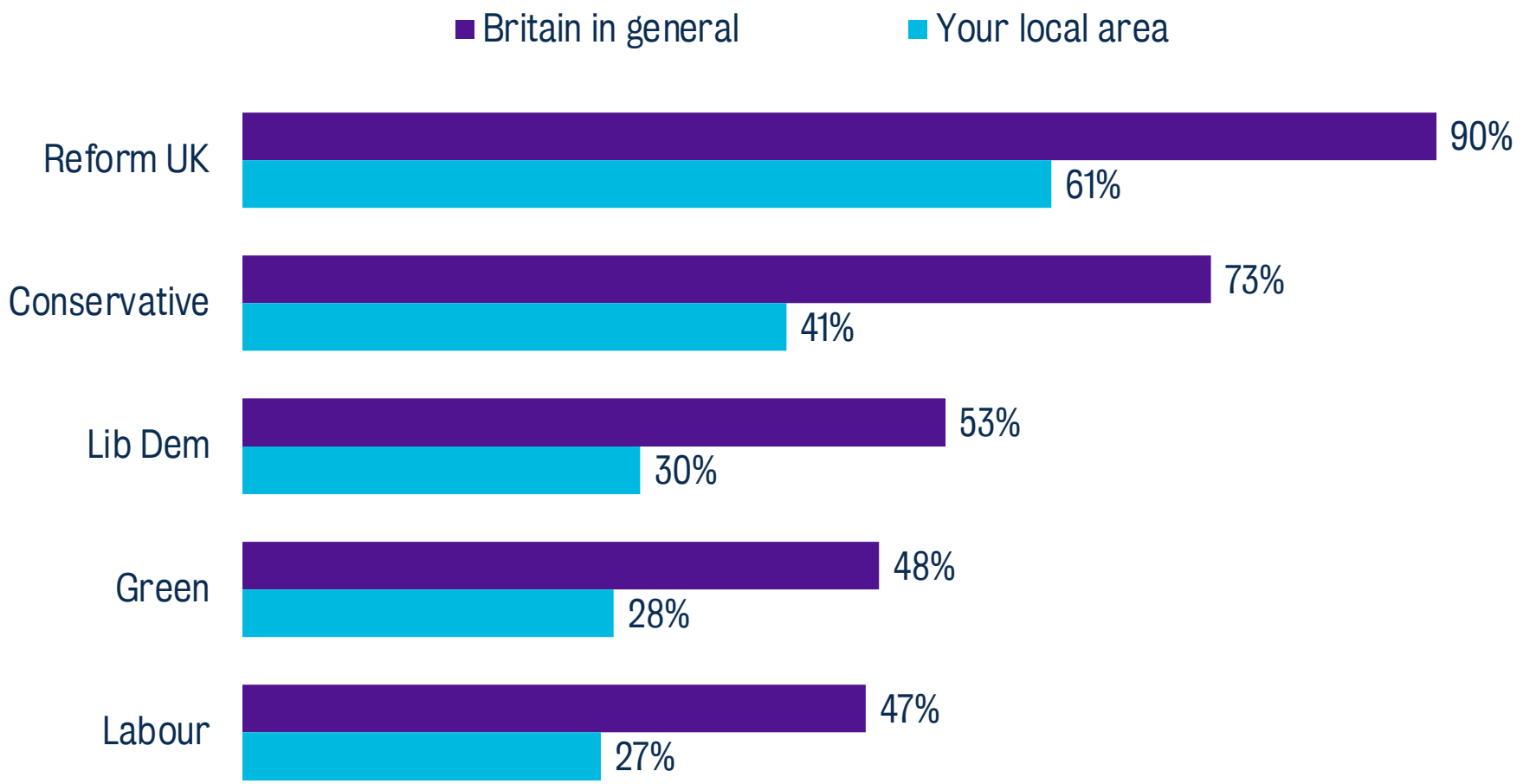
In the next three years, do you expect crime in the following to go up, go down, or stay about the same?



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

Supporters of all political parties are more likely to say crime will rise in Britain generally than rise in their local area

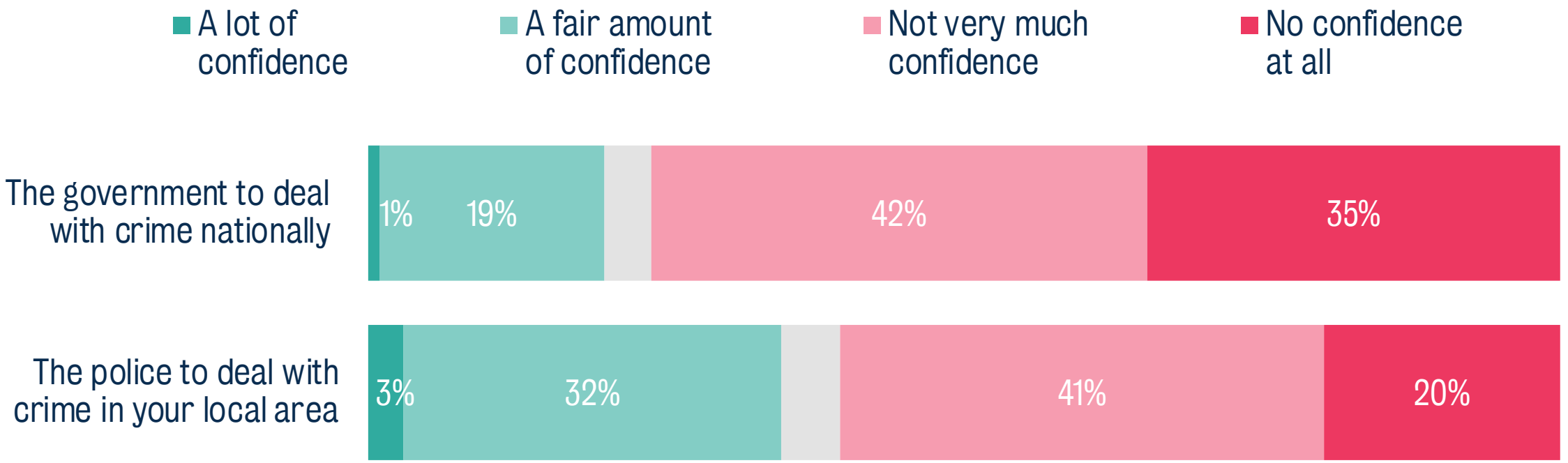
In the next three years, do you expect crime in the following to go up, go down, or stay about the same? **Go up**



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

The public have more confidence in the police (35%) to deal with crime locally than the government to deal with crime nationally (20%)

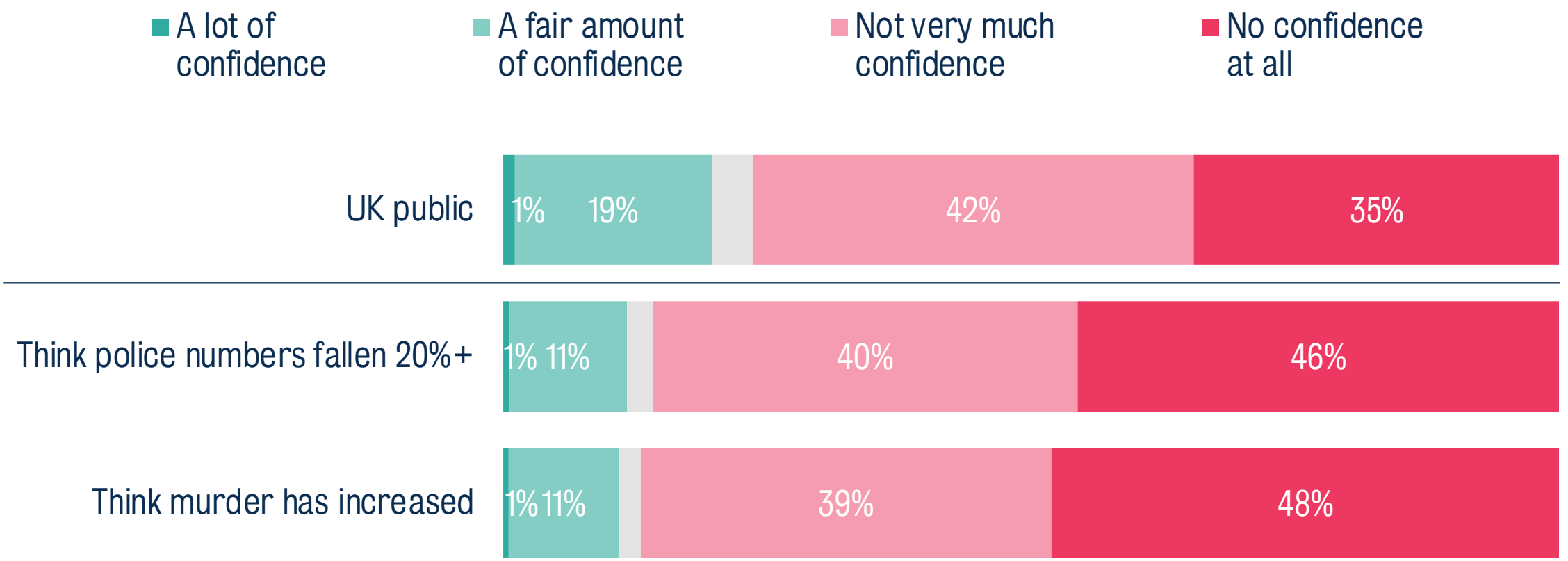
Generally speaking, how much confidence do you have in...?



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

Those who wrongly believe police numbers have fallen and murder has increased are more likely to say they *don't* have confidence in the government to tackle crime

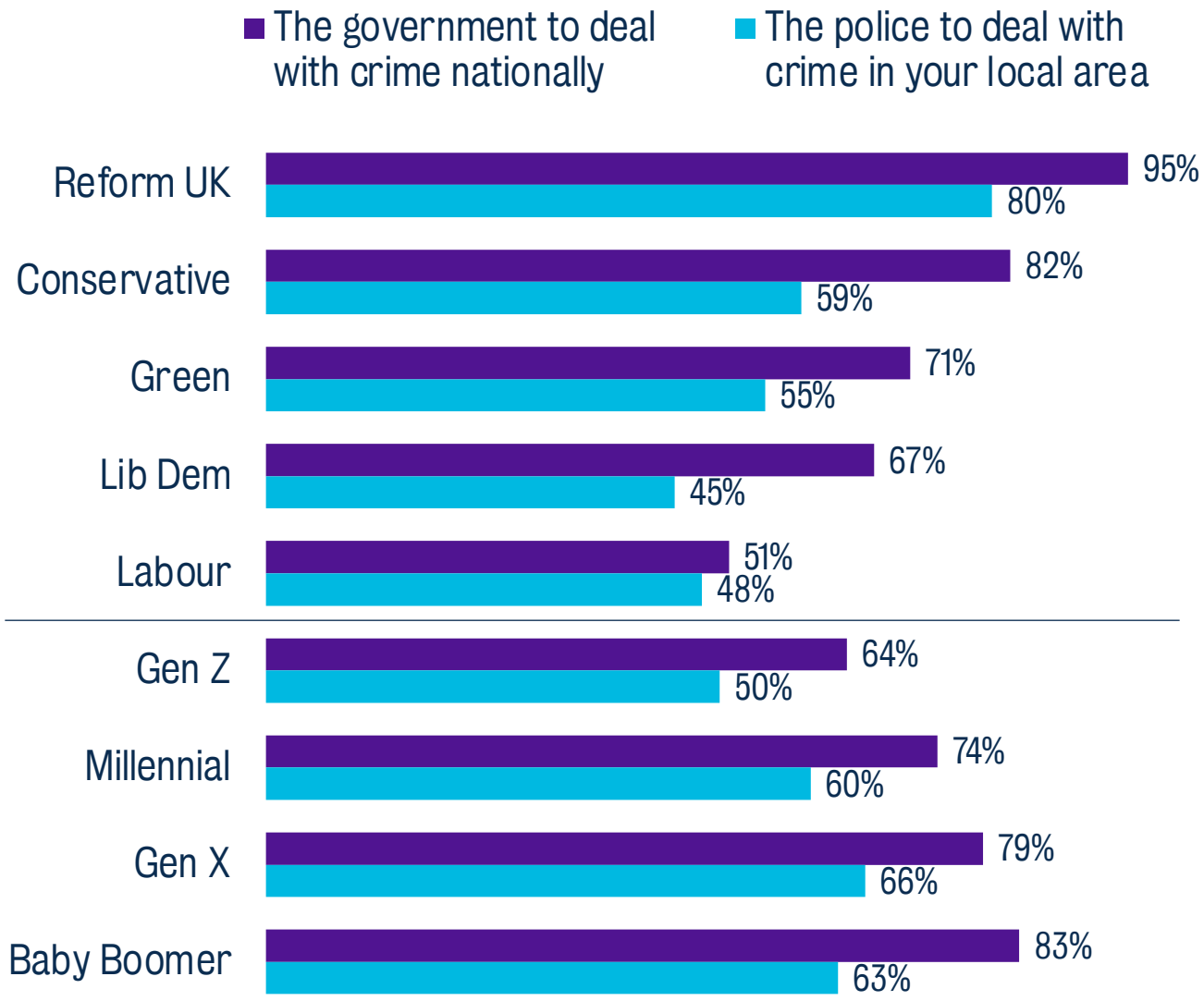
Generally speaking, how much confidence do you have in...? **The government to deal with crime nationally**



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, including 747 who think police numbers have fallen 20%+ and 643 who think murder has increased, 23–27 March 2026

Across all parties and generations, there is a greater lack of confidence in the government than the police to deal with crime, except among Labour supporters, whose confidence is virtually the same for both

Generally speaking, how much confidence do you have in...?

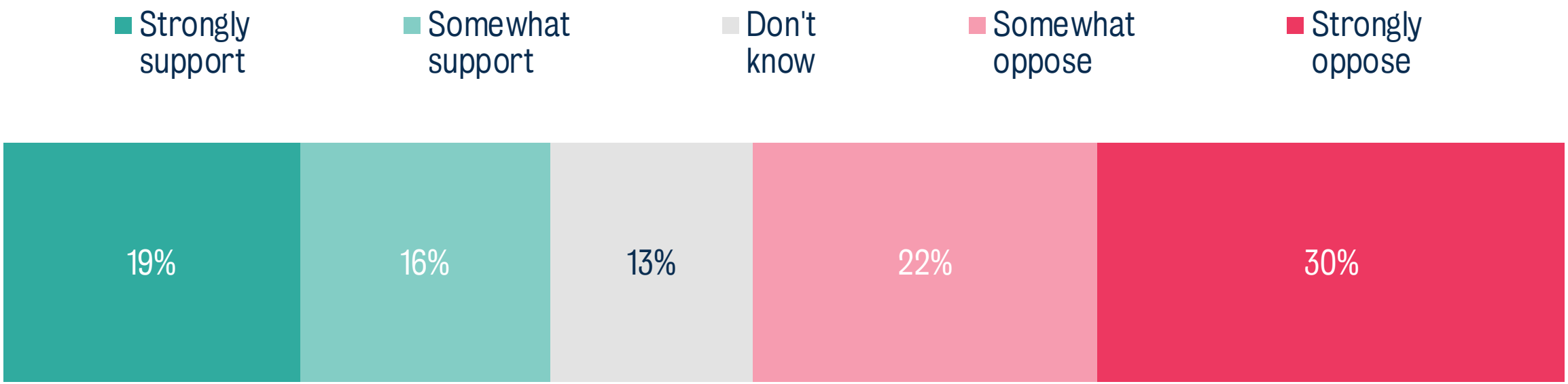


Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

3. Crime policy

By 52% to 35%, the public are more likely to oppose than support judges giving harsher sentences to immigrants convicted of crimes

Would you support or oppose judges giving a harsher sentence to an immigrant who is convicted of a crime in the UK, compared to someone born in the UK who commits the same crime?

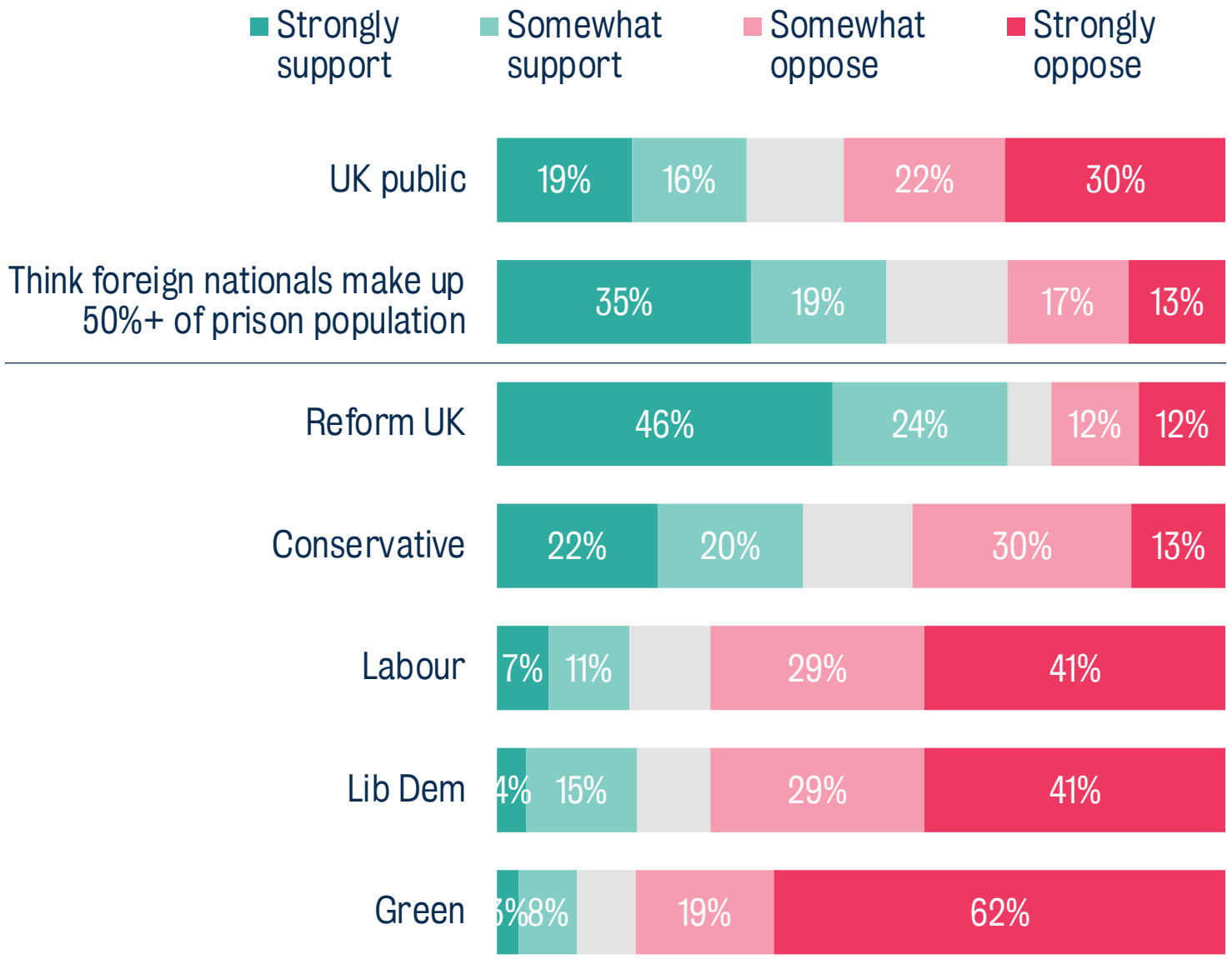


Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

Support for harsher sentences for immigrants rises to a majority (54%) among those who wrongly think foreign nationals make up half or more of the prison population (compared with the reality of 15%).

But this is still lower than support for the policy among those who back Reform UK (70%)

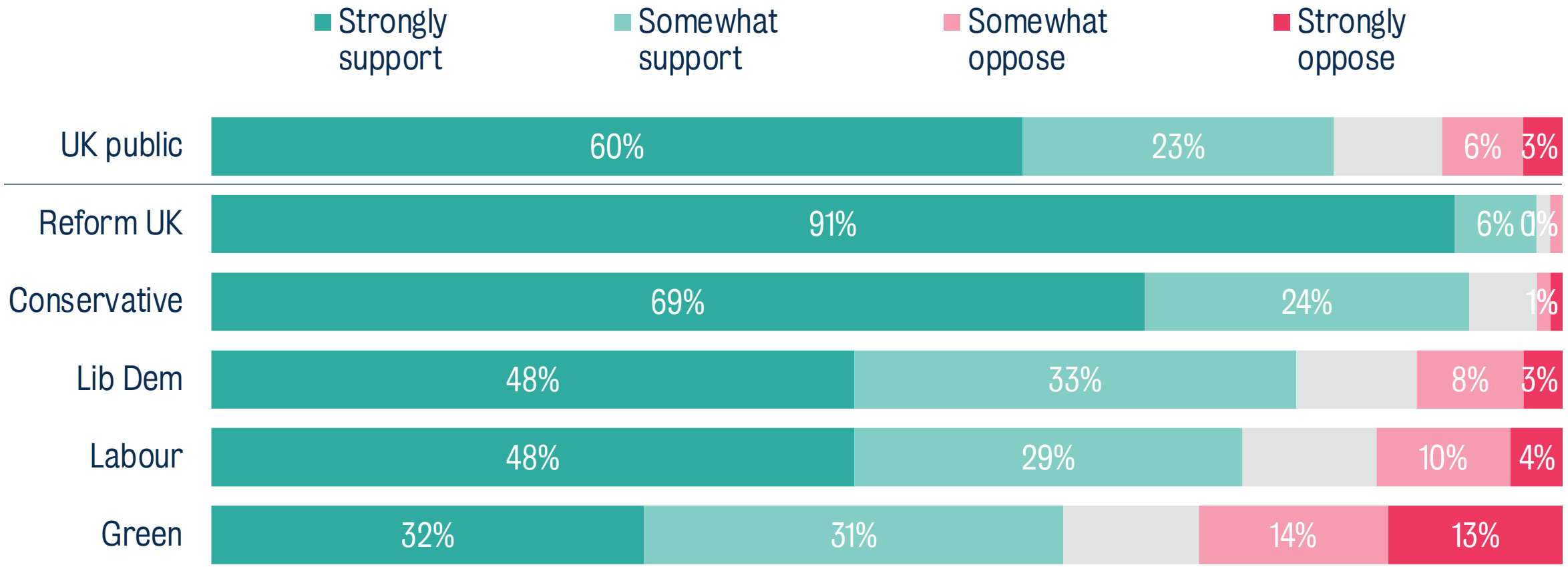
Would you support or oppose judges giving a harsher sentence to an immigrant who is convicted of a crime in the UK, compared to someone born in the UK who commits the same crime?



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, including 324 who think foreign nationals make up 50%+ of the prison population, 23–27 March 2026

A large majority – 83% – of the public support deporting migrants who have committed serious offences, rising to 97% of Reform UK supporters. Even among the Greens, who are least supportive of this policy, two-thirds (63%) are still in favour

And would you support or oppose all immigrants who are convicted of a serious or violent crime in the UK being deported back to their country of origin?



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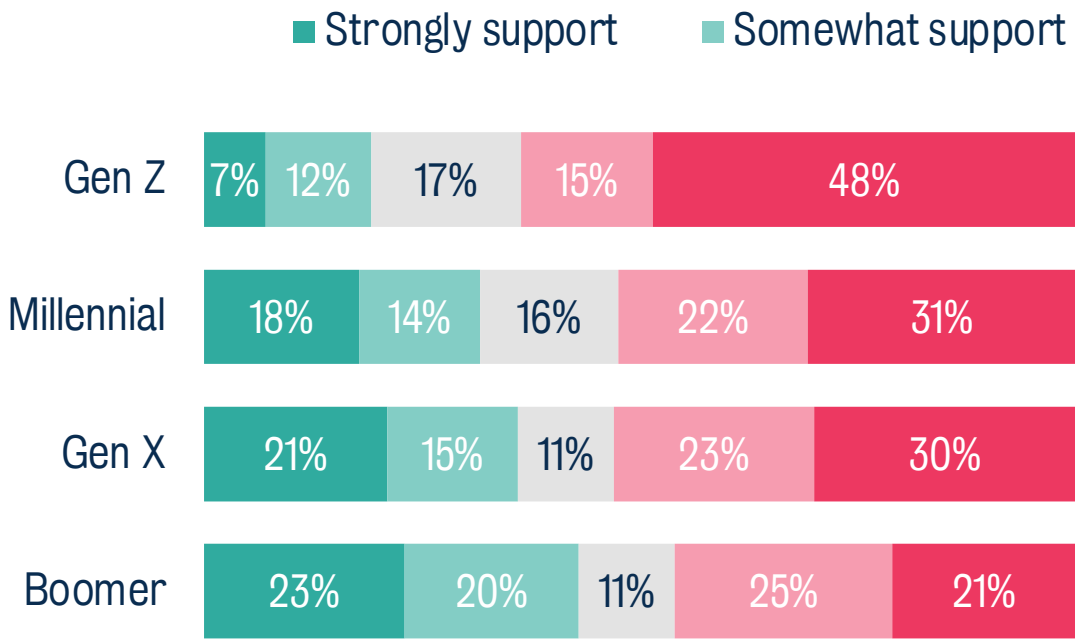
Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

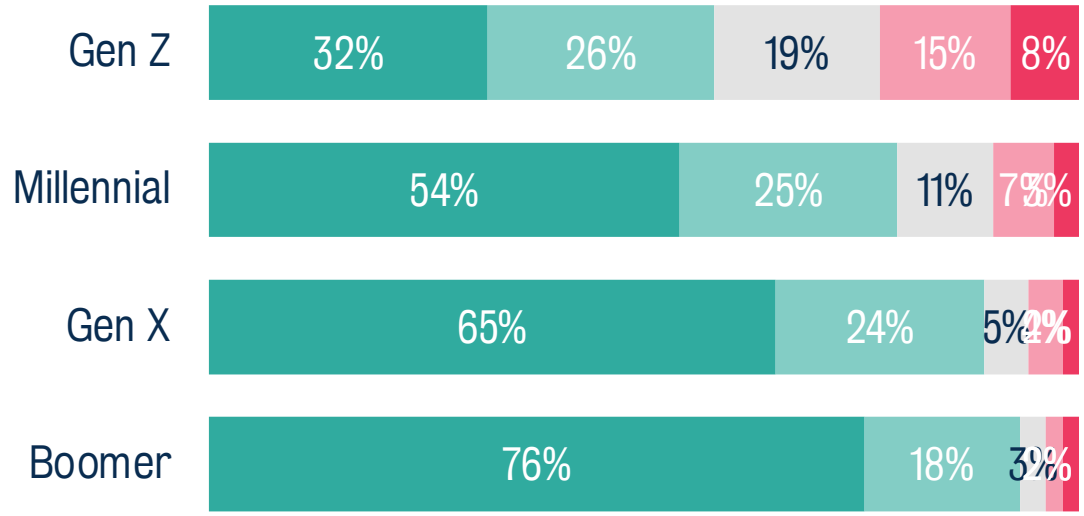
On harsher sentences for immigrants, Gen Z are much more opposed than other cohorts, with half *strongly* against such a policy

Would you support or oppose judges giving a harsher sentence to an immigrant who is convicted of a crime in the UK, compared to someone born in the UK who commits the same crime?



But on deporting immigrants who commit serious or violent crimes, most Gen Z (58%) are in favour, even if support is far lower compared with other generations

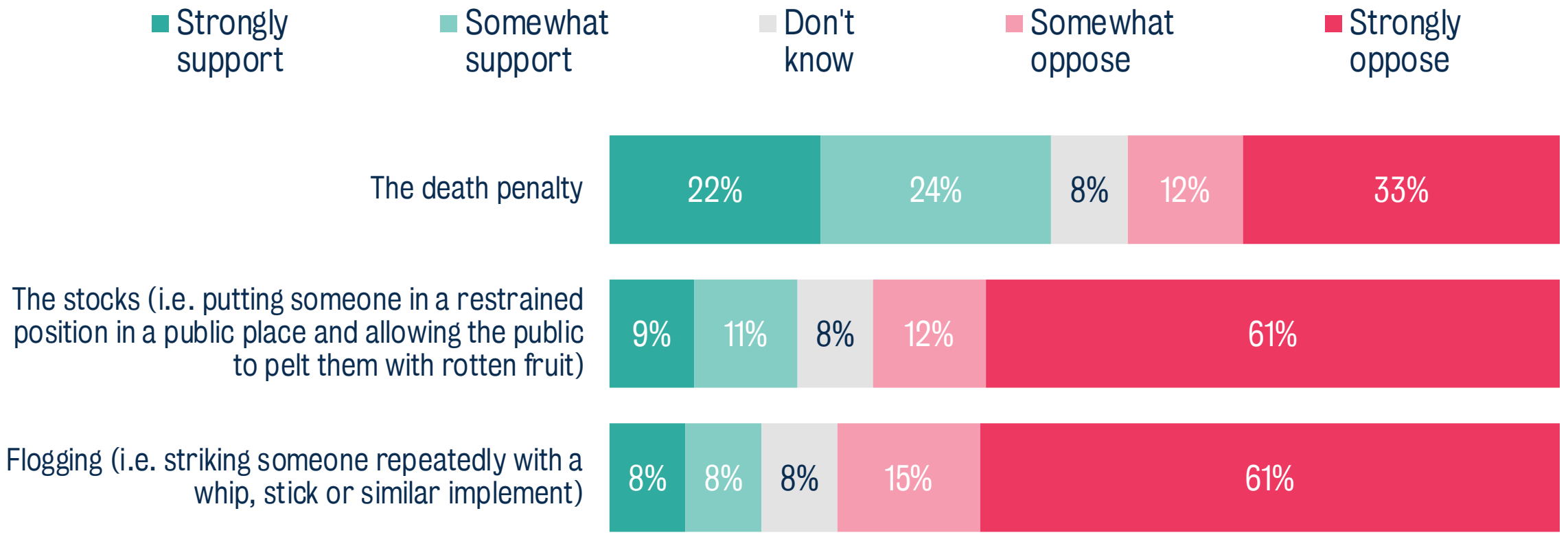
And would you support or oppose all immigrants who are convicted of a serious or violent crime in the UK being deported back to their country of origin?



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

The public are evenly split on whether the death penalty should be reintroduced, with 46% in favour vs 45% against – but most people do not want to see the return of other forms of punishment, such as the stocks (73% opposed) or flogging (76%)

Would you support or oppose reintroducing each of the following as a punishment in Britain for some crimes?

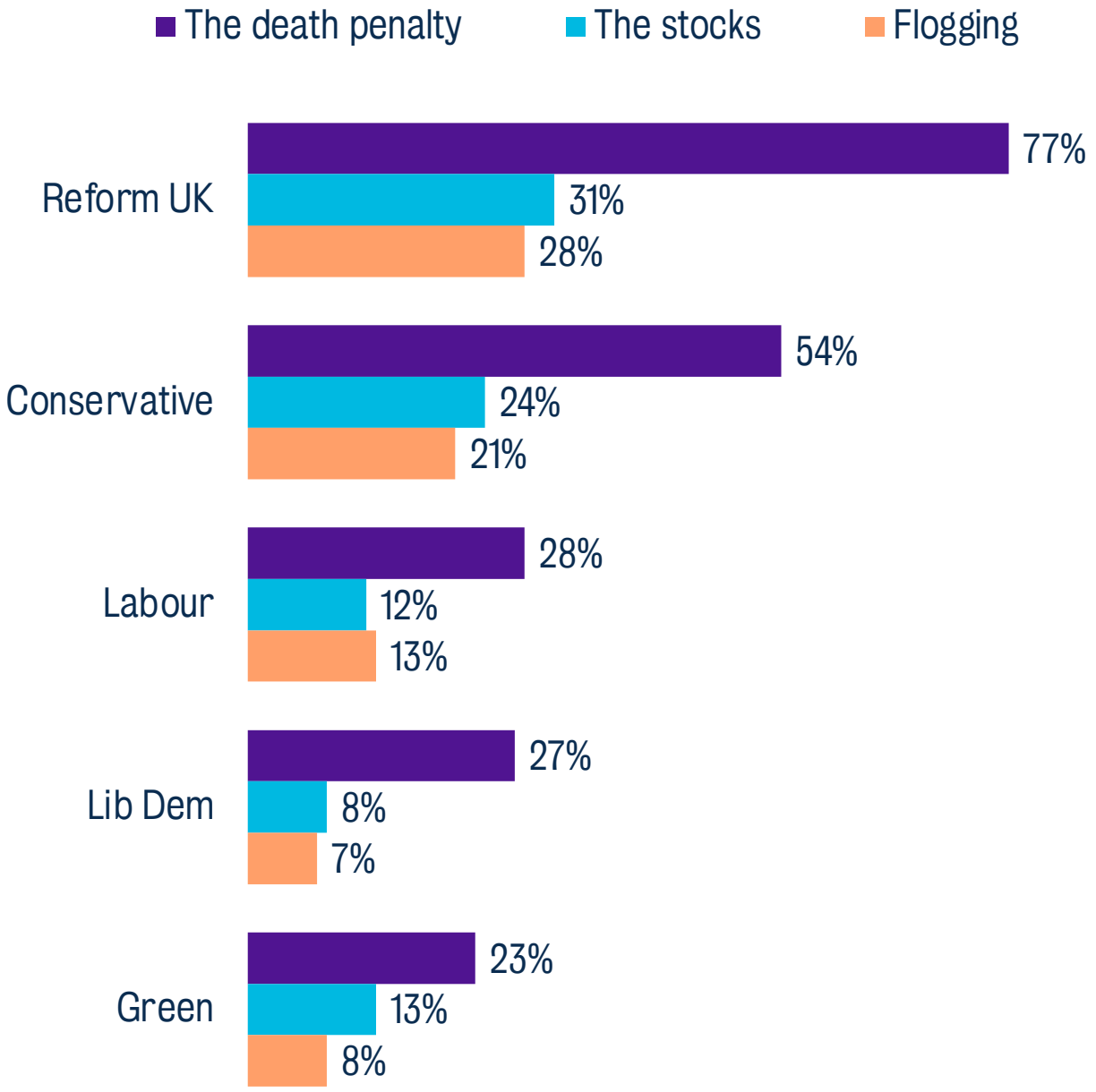


Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

Support for reintroducing corporal and capital punishment rises sharply from left to right along the political spectrum, peaking at more than three-quarters of Reform supporters who back the death penalty

Would you support or oppose reintroducing each of the following as a punishment in Britain for some crimes?

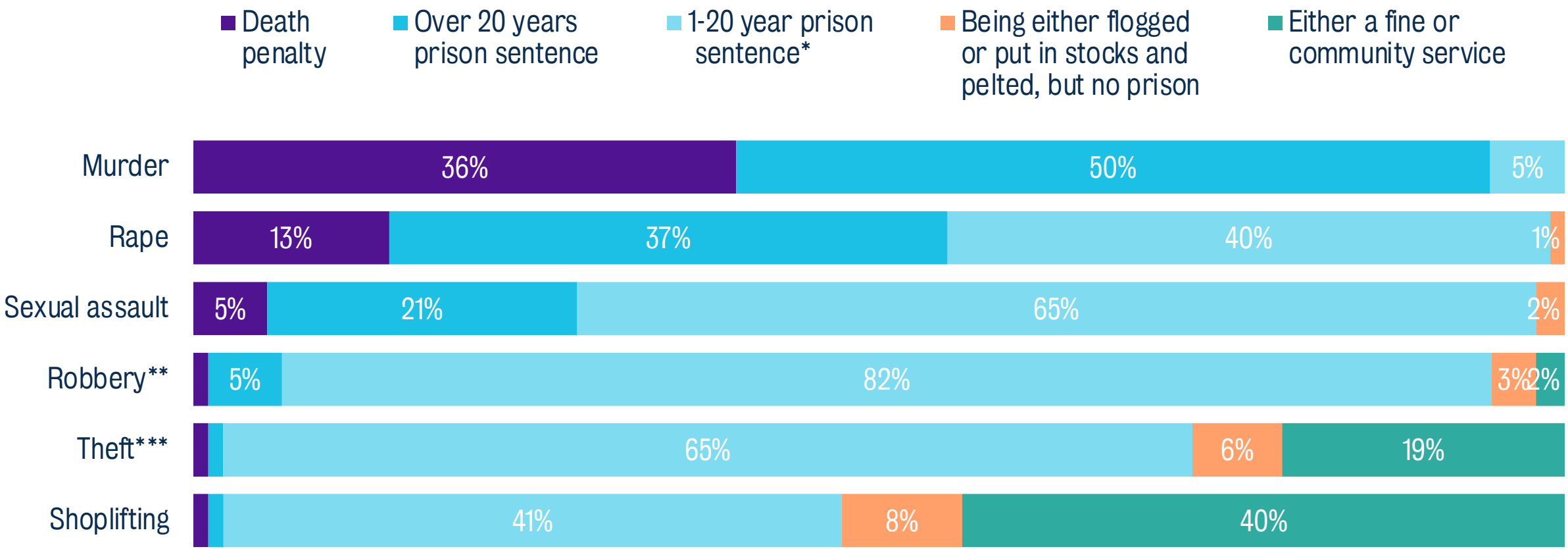
% who support



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026

A third of the public say the death penalty should be the typical punishment for murder, but most would prefer prison, which is by far the preferred response to other crimes, too – aside from shoplifting, where people are just as likely to favour a fine or community service

Which of the following, if any, do you think should be the typical punishment for someone convicted of each of these crimes?



Base: 1,797 UK respondents aged 18+, 23–27 March 2026. *Combined answers for prison sentence less than a year, 1-4 years, 5-9 years and 10-20 years. **stealing from a person using force or the threat of force. ***Taking someone's property but without the use or threat of force

Sources for realities

Sources for realities

Reality figures are drawn from the sources listed and were correct at the time of publication, but may be subject to later revision by those sources. Most refer to England and Wales rather than the whole UK, as crime and justice statistics are produced on that basis.

1.1. Crime rates

Personal crime prevalence

Personal crime prevalence (CSEW open data table) - Office for National Statistics, (Date superseded 23 April 2026). Year = 2025, Q = Q3, MeasuremantVar = totalb_p (Total CSEW Crime), CharacteristicVar = Total, Characteristic = Total, Sex = All people, Age = 16+

Mobile phone theft

Office for National Statistics, Property crime tables (Table 13)

Vehicle-related theft and burglary

Crime Survey of England and Wales bulletin YE December 2025. (Figure 6)

Murder

Home Office statistics, Homicide in England and Wales appendix tables, 2025 (Table 2)

Shoplifting

Crime in England and Wales: Appendix tables - Office for National Statistics, (Table A5a)'. Percentage change figures are authors' calculations

1.2. Offenders

Office for National Statistics, Homicide in England and Wales: year ending March 2024 (Table 33)

Migration Observatory, Migrant convictions and prison populations

1.3. Policing

Institute for Government, Figure CJS 2.6, "Police officers, 2006/07–2024/25". Percentage change is authors' calculation

1.4. Terrorism

START (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism). (2022). *Global Terrorism Database 1970 - 2020 [data file]*. https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd. (Figures based on authors' calculation)

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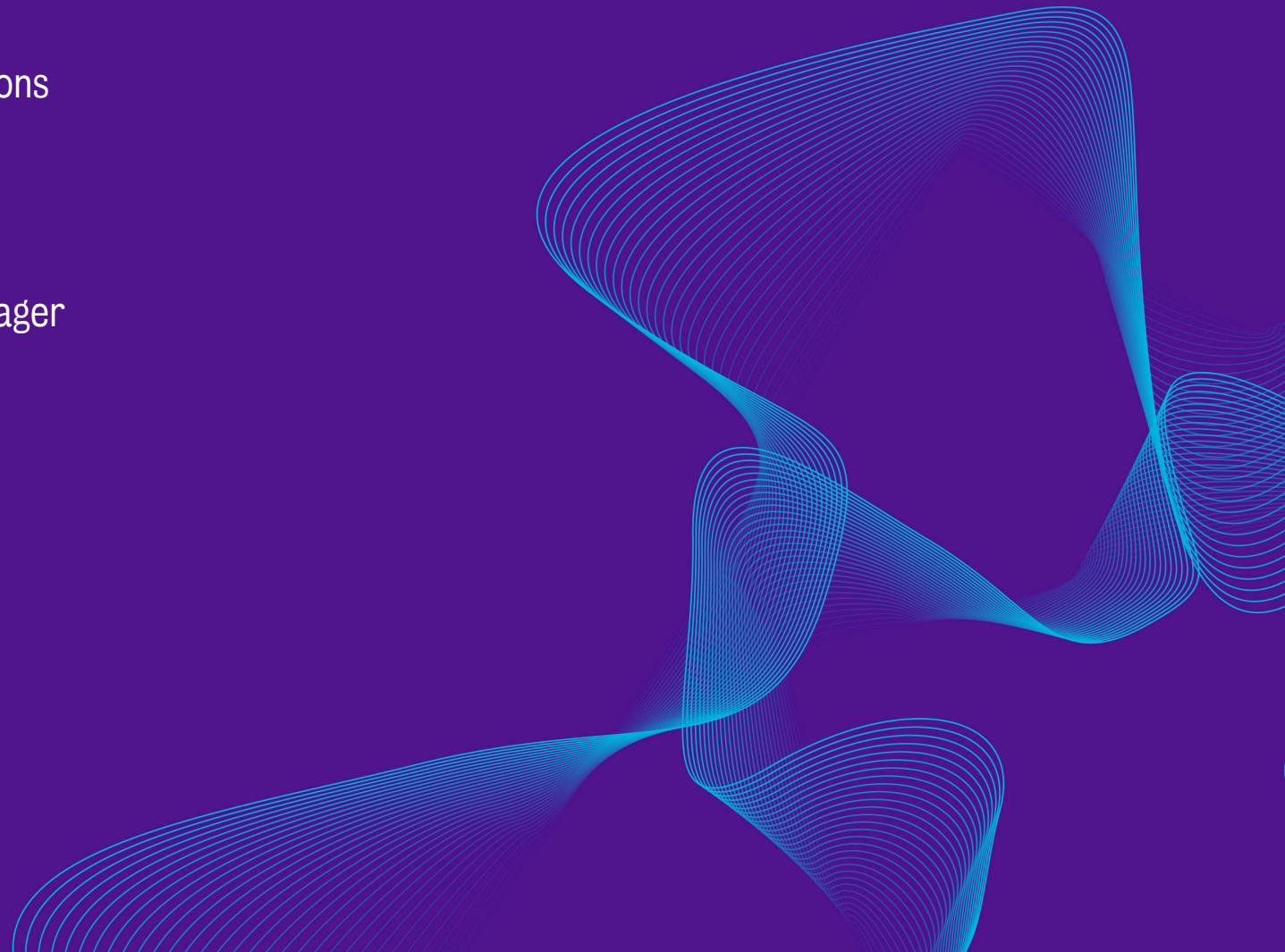
KING'S College LONDON

Professor Bobby Duffy
Director
The Policy Institute
King's College London
bobby.duffy@kcl.ac.uk

Dr Eliel Cohen
Research Fellow
The Policy Institute
King's College London

George May
Head of Communications
The Policy Institute
King's College London

Hugh McCann
Communications Manager
The Policy Institute
King's College London



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