

Prison Use: A Canadian and international Comparison

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In the powerful public debates on prison, Canada has been led to believe that it makes more use of imprisonment than any other country. We take issue with the grounds for this belief and will try to set the record straight by providing a short guide to comparative imprisonment rates.

We will see that Canada has a larger proportion of its population in prison on an average day than most European democracies of a similar size or level of industrialization and urbanization. It has a rate, however, of less than half the lowest estimates for the U.S.A. which does not even have a reliable estimate of the maximum number of persons in prison on any single day of a year. We will see that certain Scandinavian countries and Holland have proportionately many fewer people in prison. Perhaps equally importantly the proportions in prison in each province in Canada vary widely as in the States of Australia or U.S.A.

We will not try to decide between the explanations of why some countries appear to use prison more than others except to comment on the statistical and definitional problems that arise. We will, however, try to present a list of the more cogent explanations, to aid any person interested.

We were led to write this article out of surprise as to the misleading nature of many of the earlier discussions of comparative imprisonment rates. Hogarth (1971, p. 41), in what may otherwise be respected as a classic on sentencing produced clearly erroneous statistics to suggest that Canada used prisons at a rate of 20 per cent above that for the U.S.A. Blumstein and Cohen (1973) suggested that punishment remains at stable levels by examining only those imprisoned in State or Federal institutions thus ignoring nearly 160,000 persons held in local jails. In the same article they examined total imprisonment rates for Norway, thus implying a much smaller disparity than really exists between the two countries and found a stability that we will also question. We have been amazed by the number of respected researchers who have quoted these figures and conclusions without question and also by a number of other errors in the compilation of such statistics made by other authors.

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Many of these errors arose because the researcher - let alone his readers - were not clear on their definitions. As the dictum of caveat emptor must apply, we have set out below some definitions to look for, when discussing imprisonment rates. This semantic detour will also make the reader aware of the limits of our own assumptions.

In Canada are More Persons in Prison Than in Other Countries?

Prison³

A prison is usually thought to be a place "where persons are deprived of liberty on the grounds that they are believed to have committed a criminal offence". Importantly this means that a penitentiary (Canada), a borstal or detention centre (England), a correctional institution (Ontario) are all prisons. However, Blumstein and Cohen (1973) cut the prison population of the U.S.A. in half by using a definition of prison which omitted local jails - generally believed to be the most inhumane and antiquated part (National Jail Census 1970. Sparks 1971) of the criminal justice system and incidentally the one through which most people pass. A similar interpretation in Canada would result by considering only (ie penitentiary population, which would reduce our rate by one-third.

Our definition of prison would apply to the substance if not the form of mental hospitals. Indeed, Holland used until very recently legislation, whereby criminals who were thought to be insane were sentenced by a court to a mental hospital for a fixed period after they had been "punished" for a fixed period in a prison. Should one include mental hospitals? If so does one distinguish involuntary admission and those detained "voluntarily" under the threat of involuntary certification. Such semantics are central to our discussion as there may be more persons involuntarily held in mental hospitals in Canada than in prison as is the case in many other countries. Also, several authors have pointed to an inverse relationship between the number of people in prison and in mental hospitals (Biles, Penrose, Brenner).

Should one include juvenile institutions or special schools; how does one distinguish between a training school, an approved school or a residential treatment centre administered by a welfare agency. Will receiving children originally found delinquent under the Juvenile Delinquents Act? From 1968 to 1970 the number of juveniles involuntarily incarcerated in Canada dropped by 30.9 per cent. One of the principal reasons was the change in name and philosophy of schools in B.C. and Alberta. Some juveniles were moved to group homes and some to minimum security camps, but the major change was in administrative responsibility. While it is generally agreed that those are more humane and less bureaucratic, the juveniles are still detained.

Should one include those adults detained for a crime in a prison before trial? Approximately one-third in Denmark and one-half in Holland of persons held in prison are awaiting trial (Great Britain Expenditure Committee Report 1971). In several European countries periods of two or

³ The definition of prison used in this study is based on the definition used by Sparks (1971) in his study of the U.S. prison population. Sparks (1971) defined a prison as a place where persons are deprived of liberty on the grounds that they are believed to have committed a criminal offence. This definition includes penitentiaries, borstals, detention centres, and correctional institutions, but excludes local jails. Sparks (1971) found that using this definition reduced the U.S. prison population by 50%.

three years on pre-trial, or so-called preventive, detention are quite common. This in itself can be misleading as they may have been convicted in the court of first instance, but are awaiting courts of second instance. Apparently the court of second instance rarely changes the earlier decision so that the difference may be due at least partially to differences in the case with which appeals can and are made.

Another factor is the number of persons in prison for civil debt and the non-payment of fines.⁴ It is not always clear whether these two categories are included and they can account for a large proportion of the prison population.

In many States of the U.S.A. no statistics are kept routinely for local lock-ups where persons may be detained before trial or sentenced to terms of up to 30 days. However, recently (National Jail Census 1970, p. 1) it was found that 52 per cent of the "jail" population or 25 per cent of the total "prison" population in the U.S.A. were pre-trial detainees.

Most countries do not include police cells in their statistics as persons are thought to spend only 24 to 48 hours there. However, practice in some countries, and legislation in others, allows persons to be held for periods of often more than a week. The National Jail Census (1970) in the U.S.A. did not include drunk tanks. Again considering the number of persons arrested each day, these may make a significant difference to the total. Undoubtedly there is a need to carry out a census that includes police cells.

Person

A rate must reflect the number of persons in prison relative to the total number of persons within that jurisdiction or country but what is a person? Half the population is female, yet women are only infrequently arrested for "serious" offences, and therefore unlikely to be imprisoned. Of males many are children or outside the crime-prone age groups of say 15 to 40, thus unlikely to be arrested for crime. Taking into account only the most readily available demographic variables - age, sex and race, the population at risk can be markedly reduced. As Greenberg (1973) has suggested in addition, "including socio-economic factors, previously incarcerated offenders are only marginally more likely to be reincarcerated than others not previously convicted from the same walk of life". It is thus crucial to define what is meant by a person or a person at risk.

Another measure used is that of the number of beds or cells available. Unfortunately the definition of a bed is unclear. In a prison in the Ivory Coast, prisoners sleep on the ground as they would in their own home. In England, placing three men in a cell is a normal or at least not an abnormal practice. In Canada there is considerable flexibility in the number of places available for similar reasons, though most inmates live in single cells.

A person has the unique characteristic of being easily defined and therefore counted. In

⁴ [Illegible text]

addition, he is the person who undergoes the prison experience, which is usually why we ask the questions in the first place. Specifically:

- i) is person restricted to adults, if so at what age does a person become adult and does it include persons of both sexes? Just in Canada there are five provinces with the age for juvenile delinquency at under 16, there is one at 17 and three at 18. In 1972 the number of juveniles known to be incarcerated in training schools on one day was 1,877 or nearly 10 per cent of what we will later estimate as the total prison population of Canada.
- ii) does person mean both males and females?
- iii) does person mean all ages? Eighteen per cent of the Canadian population is under 10, effectively ineligible to go to a "prison". Generally this proportion does not vary between developed countries. However, developing countries tend to have much larger proportions of their population in younger age groups.

At the most basic level, the argument against imprisonment in official documents have emphasized the need to use alternatives such as probation, fines or absolute discharge for first offenders. England has recently extended its legislation for those under 21 to all first offenders so that they can only be sent to prison after all alternatives have been exhausted.

Prison is thus seen as a measure of last resort. Should a comparative study take this into account? Should we be comparing the proportion of persons in prison with previous convictions? A recent study (Walter 1974) not only confirmed that four out of five penitentiary inmates had previously been sentenced to imprisonment, but the majority of the other one in five had been previously arrested, some as juveniles. Once again the difficulty lies in the question as to what information is available.

Length of sentence

It is generally believed that the major decisions on the use of imprisonment are taken in the courts.

Let us assume now that we have decided on "persons", "prisons" and "population". How would we measure length of sentence to reflect on the use of prison? In jurisdictions within a definite sentencing structure, the problems are complicated enough.

- 1) Does one take the average of sentences given in court? If so, does one take aggregate sentence per person ignoring concurrent sentences but adding consecutive sentences?
- 2) What does one do about "dead" time or the period of time spent in "prison" before sentence?
- 3) What does one do about remission, which, whether legally defined as statutory or earned is acknowledged by most to be automatic and results in substantial reductions in time served?
- 4) What does one do about full and temporary parole?

The best way to manage this problem would be to compute the length of time served in prison. Most jurisdictions are hybrid between definite and indeterminate or indefinite. Typically there is some form of conditional release, ticket of leave or parole. In some jurisdictions, the sentence is largely statutorily determined and the parole authority decides the release date. It is grossly misleading in indeterminate jurisdictions to talk about the mean sentence as the average of the maximum terms, when with few or no exceptions, the parole authority releases men before even a third of this maximum sentence is served.

On the other hand the mean time served before release may be confusing, as a large proportion of the offenders may be reincarcerated during their period of conditional release without incurring a new sentence. In many jurisdictions including Canada, there is a provision for a period of living under conditions similar to those for parole. However, the mandatory parole starts after the normal release date from the institution. In these cases a "technical violation" can lead to an additional period of time in the institution. In Canada, the provisions for mandatory supervision result in an additional period of 25 per cent of the original time served before the start of mandatory supervision (Walter 1974).

In the case of both parole by application and mandatory parole, a new "criminal" offence may result in addition to the period for violation of the condition to a new sentence. Return to finish term (TFT) and with new term (WNT) have been shown to depend more on administrative characterization than on the characteristics of the offence or the offender (Takagi and Robison 1969). These authors have also pointed out the growing proportion of offenders in California, who are held as a result of the Adult Authority rather than decisions taken in a court as it would be known in Canada or England.

However, the criminal justice system is normally activated by a member of the public and only a small proportion of public crime reports ever reach the court. Also, as we will see, many persons are spending time in prison before the courts have ruled on a sentence, as a result of suspicion of a crime. Length of sentence and time served are thus unsatisfactory measures of the use of prison.

Crime

If we are considering the relative use of imprisonment, it might be better to allow for the rate of crime in each country. Indeed, some of the earlier comparisons in imprisonment rates used a measurement of crime. Unfortunately, despite the use of apparently similar legal terms, crime is notoriously difficult to define and so to measure.

It has been assumed that legal terms like indictable offence (Evans, 1973, Hogarth 1971), felony or crime mean the same in different jurisdictions. For instance, in England as in Canada, indictable refers to a definite group of supposedly more serious offences and some offences can be proceeded with either by indictment or summarily. Where the option lies with the prosecution, it is more than likely that the more serious offences, where a prison term is sought, are proceeded with

by indictment.

It is now well recognized (for instance Biderman 1967, National Crime Panel 1974), that only a proportion of occurrences that fulfil the legal definitions of serious (such as FBI crime index) crimes are reported to the police and further that by no means all of these are recorded as crime by the police. In addition only a small proportion of serious crimes recorded by police result in convictions of persons. There is every reason to suppose that these proportions will vary considerably from one jurisdiction to another and so negate inter-jurisdictional comparisons using "crime".

Rate of imprisonment

Assuming we know what we mean by "prison" and "persons" but are unable to use length of sentence or crime, we still have not decided what rate to use. ChrIStie (1963) was one of the first to calculate such rates. He used the number of persons in prison on a given day per 100,000 population. He was correctly quoted by Wilkins (1964). Hogarth (1967 and 1971) did not follow the same definitions and has continued an illusion of higher Canadian imprisonment rates than the facts warrant. Hogarth's rate is difficult to derive, but presumably is the number of persons admitted during a year, though he may have used the wrong denominator - population age 16 and over instead of total population.

Logically a rate includes a number of persons relative to another count of persons. Either of these counts may be (i) static, or (ii) flow. By static is meant the count on one day of persons in prison or persons in the population. By flow is meant the number of persons passing through - admitted or released. In Canada in 1971, there were 36 000 persons sentenced in an adult court to prison. This estimate may include some persons sentenced twice. Whereas, on any one day there were approximately 20 000, in prison.

We have discussed the semantic problems surrounding ideal comparisons. The next question is pragmatic. What is available? What is reliable? What is valid in the light of our discussion?

Most countries have information on prisoners in total including males and females, adults and juveniles, sentenced and those awaiting trial. Most countries have statistics on the total population. For both these items definitions can be applied uniformly across different jurisdictions. Unfortunately any further subdivision would require new research in individual countries. We have therefore had to abandon the ideal comparison even at the level of providing rates for males and females broken down by age group, degree of urbanization and by socioeconomic status - factors well known to be related to the rate of police-recorded crime. We have adopted a comparison using the total number of persons in prisons on an average day compared to the total population of the same country.

We feel that prison can be adequately defined in most countries as a place, where persons are deprived of liberty on the grounds they have committed a specified offence. We have excluded

mental hospitals and police lock-ups, but have included juvenile institutions and particularly jails. Our person is a human being in a developed country of any age, sex or race. Our rate is static as it looks at numbers in prison on one day or an average day, although we will make some comparisons over time. It does not define crime except to include all behaviour bringing a person into a prison rather than to a psychiatrist. Pretrial detention, length of the courts' sentence and parole decisions, affect the numbers in prison on one day and so are partially and implicitly taken into account.

Finally this information is usually, if not easily, available for several countries.

Indeed, in several instances figures were taken initially from a U.N. Study, but verified with the country itself. The Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section of the United Nations Secretariat initiated in 1972, a project to establish an annual census of prison population. The survey consisted of a simple summation of numbers in prison according to sex and whether the prisoner was convicted or awaiting trial. The data were collected on the basis of responses to a questionnaire which was sent to the national correspondents.

Comparative rates

Based on the statistics in Table A, Canada has approximately half the rate for U.S.A. of the number of persons in prison per head of the population on an average day. However Canada has a rate four times that of Holland. Although in 1965 this rate for the U.S.A. was 208.0 (President's Commission), its rate in 1970 was 200.0 slightly above that of Poland.

The Commonwealth countries of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and England and Wales have rates relatively close to each other, as do the Latin countries of France, Italy and Spain. However, the Scandinavian countries vary widely.

While we have provided a nominal remand rate in parentheses this should be treated with extreme caution, as it is not possible to derive a unique definition of remand, which is applicable to all jurisdictions. The statistics are included as they are meaningful in comparisons between certain jurisdictions, say, in the Commonwealth and within jurisdictions over time.

In Table B, the various countries, provinces and States have been grouped into four arbitrary categories. Quebec is usually believed to be a heavy user of prison. This comes from examining proportions of persons convicted who are sent to prison. However, by our definition, it has one of the lowest imprisonment rates in Canada — nearly 15 points below Ontario and 40 points below British Columbia. New Brunswick however, has a rate as high as Alberta and Saskatchewan. There are four States, including California, which have rates over two and one-half times that of Canada. There are also five States, three of which are close to Canada's South Eastern border, that have rates close to that of Quebec and nearly half that of Canada. There is thus a huge disparity within the U.S.A., that is almost as large as that within Canada or indeed Australia.

TABLE A

Selected Countries Ranked in Order of the Number of Persons in Prison per 100 000 persons in the Population for the most Recent Year Information was available

Rank	Country	Year	Imprisonment Rate Per 100,000 Population	(Remand Rate
				Per 100,000 Pop.) ⁶
I	U.S.A. ³	1970	406 531 / 203 200,000 = 200.0	
2	Poland ¹	1972	62 748 / 33 070 000 = 189.7	88.8
3	Australia ¹	1972	16 615 / 12 960 000 = 128.2	9.2
4	Finland ¹	1972	4 947 / 4 630 000 = 106.8	11
5	New Zealand ⁴	1972	2 643 / 2 850 000 = 92.7	—
6	Canada ¹	1972	19 668 / 21 850 000 = 90.0	11
7	England & Wales ⁵	1971	39 708 / 48 900 000 = 81.3	6.1
8	Denmark ²	1971	3 350 / 4 800 000 = 69.8	22
9	Sweden ²	1971	4 977 / 8 090 000 = 61.4	6.9
10	France ¹	1972	31 573 / 51 700 000 = 61.1	21.8
11	Italy ¹	1972	27 812 / 54 350 000 = 51.2	27.8
12	Japan ¹	1972	49 241 / 105 990 000 = 46.5	7.9
13	Spain ¹	1972	13 826 / 34 680 000 = 39.9	16.6
14	Norway ³	1971	1 432 / 3 870 000 = 37.1	13.7
15	Netherlands ²	1971	2 919 / 13 120 000 = 22.4	10.4

Sources:

1. UN Census of Prison Population (1972) Population as of December 1, 1972.
2. Great Britain Expenditure Committee Report (1971) Population as of January 1, 1971.
3. Estimated from total of State & Federal Institution, local jails and juvenile institutions. Sources: National Prisoners Statistics Bulletin, US Bureau of Prison #47 (1972); National Jail Census (1970) US Department of Justice; Children in Custody (1971) US Department of Justice. In 1965, the equivalent statistics were 404,049/194,240,000 = 208.0 (US "rack Force Report 1967).
4. Report of the Department of Justice, New Zealand (1973) Average daily population.
5. Home Office. Report on the work of the Prison Department (1971) Average daily population.
6. Remand rate is not restricted to those awaiting arraignment or their first trial. In some European jurisdictions such as Italy, this includes those awaiting a hearing in a court of

second instance.

TABLE B

Countries and Jurisdictions Grouped as to High, Medium or Low Rates of Persons in Prison Per Head of Population

Ranges	Countries	Canadian Provinces	Australian States	U.S.A
Extra High Over 250 / 100 000	—	Yukon and North West Territories	—	California, Florida, Georgia, Nevada
High 150-249 / 100 000	Poland, U.S.A.	—	—	19 States mainly in South and West, but including Texas, New York and Michigan
Meduim 75-149 / 100 000	Australian, Canada, England & Wales, Finland, New Zealand	Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, P.E.I., Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, B.C., Manitoba	N.S.W., Tasmania, South Australia, West Australia	20 States mainly in North and East, including Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania
Low 0-74 / 100 000	Denmark, France, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden	Quebec, Newfoundland	Queensland, Victoria	Connecticut, Hawaii, Massachusetts, North Dakota, Vermont

In Figure 1, the States in the U.S.A. have been plotted on a map. It is interesting to note the cluster of North Eastern States that have rates close to those of Quebec and Newfoundland. Given the sparsity of population in the territories any conclusion from similarities between them and the Southern States are tempting, but tenuous.

Trends in comparisons

One cannot use statistics for one year without realizing that there are substantial fluctuations in

rates over time. Some countries are surprisingly stable as Christie has shown for Norway; others vary irregularly as Finland. Several writers have used data on these rates over a number of years. Regrettably they do not all use the same definitions and so our comparison for Canada has had to be restricted to England and Wales, Norway, Finland and Canada. Similar trends but gross approximations are available for France and the U.S.A., but always omitting a crucial group such as juveniles or persons in local jails.

In Figure 2, we have compared trends over time for Canada, England and Wales, Finland and Norway. Norway follows a similar pattern to Sweden, which was therefore not included. The figure illustrates the lack of consistent pattern with major changes usually associated with societal dislocations such as the depression or wars. We will not attempt an interpretation ourselves. However, we should point out that these data appear to refute the hypothesis that the use of imprisonment remains constant over time.

In Figure 3, we have tried to provide the information in more detail for Canada. This table does not show the recent upsurge in the penitentiary population, which would have taken the Canadian rate over 100/100,000, but it does illustrate the substantial drop in the use of prisons at the provincial level in the last ten years. A downswing similar to the early 1930's and 1940's.

See Appendix A and Bibliography for sources.

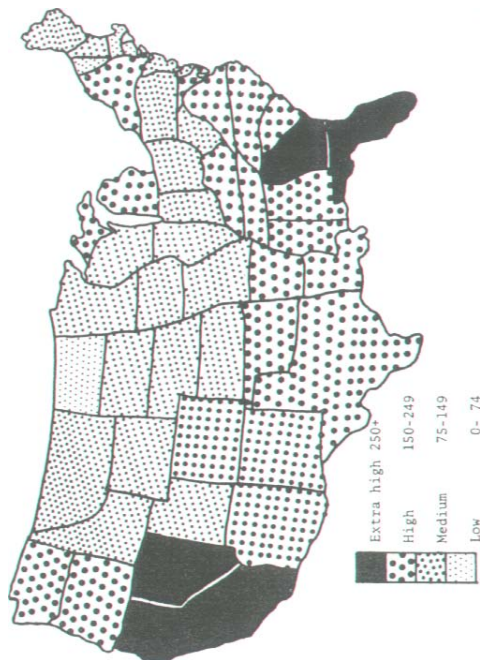


Figure 1. Imprisonment rates in the United States 1970. (Number of persons in prison per 100,000 population)

Figure 2. Number of persons in prison per 100,000 population in Canada, England and Wales, Finland and Norway (1920 to present).

Figure 3. Number of persons in prison per 100,000 population in Canada. (1920 to present) Trends in Provincial and Federal Institutions.



Explanations

Some take delight in drawing macro-sociological conclusions from data such as these. We would caution against an over theoretical stance, as some of the explanations appear simple. There are certain important constraints on trends in imprisonment rates. All the countries which we have chosen for the comparison have some sort of relatively identifiable institutions called prisons. They also have some sort of Criminal Code and probably other statutes more numerous than the Criminal Code which contain similar penal provisions. All these countries have been influenced by industrialization, money economies and bureaucratization. There is usually a limit to the number of persons who can be placed in the institution at one particular time although the point at which that limit is reached is relative and varies from one country to another. Institutions technically require a number of years to build, let alone be planned so that leaps downwards are much easier than sudden leaps upwards unless it is to return to a previous level of imprisonment.

We have had an opportunity to hear the views of some people from these countries on the rank order of imprisonment rates. The following are some of the factors which seem to be associated with the variations. Based on the information we have been able to collect or would have been able to collect within a short period of time, we would not be justified in going beyond our data to try and identify which of these are the more important explanations.

iv) Level of violence in the country

The work of Sellin and Wolfgang (1964) has emphasized in the United States that personal injury

is considered to be very much more serious than property loss in the way that the public assesses the seriousness of a crime. In most jurisdictions offences involving violence have not only higher maximums but the sentences given in court tend to be longer. It is therefore no surprise that those countries with higher murder rates (U.S.A. and Finland)⁵ and, therefore, presumably more violence tend to have more people in prison. The international comparisons carried out for the President's Commission on violence per 100,000, in the United States pointed out that the United States had more homicides per 100,000 of the population than Finland which had more than Canada which had more than England and Wales. This ranking is similar to the relative ranking on the use of imprisonment.

v) Status of alcohol and drugs in the jurisdiction

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice pointed to the large number of prisoners who were in U.S. prisons for public drunkenness and similar offences related to alcohol. In the low imprisonment rate countries, however, the way a country responds to drunken drivers is another factor that could be important.

vi) Attitudes to crime and criminal justice

Attitudes to crime and the criminal justice system are also important determinants. These include the attitudes of the public in determining whether they will report an offence and push for severe penalties. These must be contrasted with the quantitatively less important action of the police in deciding to arrest a person. the action of prosecutors and finally to the views of judges and parole boards. It is possible that the extent to which the country has been urbanized and therefore its levels of literacy and advanced education, may effect the level of imprisonment, through their effect on both crime and attitudes to crime.

vii) Alternatives to prison

Undoubtedly the alternatives to imprisonment, particularly availability of probation, have a significant impact on the number of people in prison. Another factor that must not be overlooked is preventive detention and bail provisions. Another group of explanations relates to the use of mental hospitals.

viii) War and amnesty

War may have an effect in two directions, (i) in increasing the prison population if a country is invaded by an outsider, or (ii) decreasing the prison population if the men are required in the army. Amnesty is a

⁵ The United States and Finland have the highest murder rates in the world. The United States has a murder rate of 10.5 per 100,000 population, and Finland has a murder rate of 1.5 per 100,000 population. The United Kingdom has a murder rate of 0.5 per 100,000 population, and Canada has a murder rate of 0.8 per 100,000 population.

more general way of controlling the prison population in certain countries. In Italy, from 1969 to 1970, there was a drop in the prison population from 34,509 to 22,117. This resulted from an amnesty. There are similar examples to this in France and Finland.

Conclusion

We have discussed some of the key elements in deciding what definitions to use to compare countries' or States' use of prison. We have compared static rates for recent years and examined some trends over time. We have found Canada with a rate of 93.3 persons in prison per 100,000 persons in the population to have a rate similar to that of other Commonwealth countries and northern rural U.S. States, but much higher than southern European or Scandinavian countries and much lower than Finland or the more populous U.S. States. We have listed a few of the more important explanations and challenged the reader and hopefully other researchers to think about these reasons.

The question still remains as to whether these variations are justified. The variations in number hide huge variations in conditions and costs. Given the little that systematic analysis has shown us about criminal justice dispositions, it is unlikely that these variations are associated with any extra protection, reduction in crime or indeed retributive relief for the public. It is also unlikely that these disparities are the result of equal consideration before the law. While the discretion to place a person in prison is human, it is not necessarily just or humane.

APPENDIX A

Comparative Rates for Canadian, Australian and U.S. Jurisdictions

(i) Comparative Rates for Provinces in Canada

Country/State	Year	Prison Population	Total Population	Rate Per 100 000 Population
Canada	1971	20 127	21 568 310	93.3
Newfoundland	1971	230	522 104	44.1
Nova Scotia	1971	604	788 960	76.5
New Brunswick	1971	704	634 557	110.9
Prince Edward Island	1971	110	111 641	98.2
Quebec	1971	4 520	6 027 764	75

Ontario	1971	6 933	7 703 106	90
Manitoba	1971	953	988 247	96.5
Saskatchewan	1971	1 007	926 242	108.7
Alberta	1971	1 739	1 627 874	106.8
British Columbia	1971	2,507	2 184 621	114.8
Yukon	1971	59	18 388	327.8
North West Territorie	1971	158	34 807	454.0

(ii) Comparative Rates for Australian States*

State	Year	Rate Per		
		Prison	Total	100 000
State	Year	Population	Population	Population
Western Australia	1970	1 440	1 001 000	143.9
South Australia	1970	921	1 178 000	78.2
Tasmania	1970	386	396 000	97.5
New South Wales,	1970	3 953	4 764 000	83
Victoria	1970	2 389	3 481 000	68.6
Queensland	1970	1 243	1 820 000	68.3

* All juvenile institutions are excluded

Source: Personal correspondence with David Biles.

iii) Comparative Rates for States in the U.S. (1970)

Rank	State	Imprisonment			
		Prison* Population	State Population	Rate/ 100,000 Population	
1	Nevada	1 445	488 738	295.5	
Extra	2	Florida	18 599	6 789 443	274
High	3	California	52 705	19 953 134	264.2

	4	Georgia	11 839	4 589 575	258
	5	S. Carolina	6 007	2 590 516	231.9
	6	Oklahoma	5 854	2 559 253	228.8
	7	Louisiana	8 235	3 643 180	226
	8	Texas	25 051	11 196 730	223.7
	9	Arizona	3 603	1 772 482	203.3
	10	Maryland	7 944	3 922 399	202.5
	11	Alabama	6 808	3 444 165	197.9
	12	Tennessee	6 890	3 924 164	175.6
	13	Virginia	8 064	4 648 494	173.5
High	14	Kentucky	5 542	3 219 311	172.2
	15	N. Carolina	8 549	5 082 059	168.2
	16	New Mexico	1 703	1 016 000	167.6
	17	Michigan	14 868	8 875 083	167.5
	18	New York	29 458	18 190 740	161.9
	19	Colorado	3 547	2 207 259	160.7
	20	Arkansas	3 044(est.)	1 923 295	158.5(est.)
	21	Oregon	3 287	2 091 385	157.2
	22	Mississippi	3 366	2 216 912	151.8
	23	Washington	5 141	3 409 169	150.8
	24	Ohio	15 105	10 652 017	141.8
	25	New Jersey	10 140	7 168 164	141.5
	26	Missouri	6 371	4 677 399	136.2
	27	Kansas	3 002	2 249 071	133.5
	28	Indiana	6 822	5 193 669	131.4
	29	Nebraska	1 824	1 483 791	122.9
	30	Wyoming	404	332 416	121.7
	31	Idaho	847	713 008	118.8
Medium	32	W. Virginia	2 032	1 744 237	116.5
	33	Wisconsin	4 951	4 417 933	112.1
	34	Pennsylvania	13 189	11 793 909	111.8
	35	Delaware	596	548 104	108.7
	36	Illinois	11 705	11 113 976	105.3

	37	S. Dakota	698	666 257	104.8
	38	Utah	1 013	1 059 273	95.7
	39	Montana	627	694 409	90.3
	40	Iowa	2 438	2 825 041	86.3
	41	Minnesota	3 061	3 805 069	80.4
	42	New Hampshire	577	737 681	78.2
	43	Maine	758	993 663	76.3
	44	Massachusetts	4 179	5 689 170	73.5
	45	Connecticut	1 568	3 032 217	51.7
Low	46	N. Dakota	305	617 761	49.3
	47	Hawaii	325	769 913	42.2
	48	Vermont	184	444 732	41.3

Rhode Island, Alaska. D.C. NOT INCLUDED

* Total of State and Federal Institutions and Local Jails, excluding juveniles.

Sources: National Prisoners Statistics Bulletin. U.S. Bureau of Prison # 47 (1972)

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APPENDIX B

Figure 2. Sources:

Canada

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Figure 3. Sources:

Same as Figure I on Canada

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