

Leigh, Andrew

Working Paper

Estimating Long-Run Incarceration Rates for Australia, Canada, England & Wales, New Zealand and the United States

CESifo Working Paper, No. 8156

Provided in Cooperation with:

Ifo Institute – Leibniz Institute for Economic Research at the University of Munich

Suggested Citation: Leigh, Andrew (2020) : Estimating Long-Run Incarceration Rates for Australia, Canada, England & Wales, New Zealand and the United States, CESifo Working Paper, No. 8156, Center for Economic Studies and Ifo Institute (CESifo), Munich

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/216552>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.

Estimating Long-Run Incarceration Rates for Australia, Canada, England & Wales, New Zealand and the United States

Andrew Leigh

Impressum:

CESifo Working Papers

ISSN 2364-1428 (electronic version)

Publisher and distributor: Munich Society for the Promotion of Economic Research - CESifo GmbH

The international platform of Ludwigs-Maximilians University's Center for Economic Studies and the ifo Institute

Poschingerstr. 5, 81679 Munich, Germany

Telephone +49 (0)89 2180-2740, Telefax +49 (0)89 2180-17845, email office@cesifo.de

Editor: Clemens Fuest

<https://www.cesifo.org/en/wp>

An electronic version of the paper may be downloaded

- from the SSRN website: www.SSRN.com
- from the RePEc website: www.RePEc.org
- from the CESifo website: <https://www.cesifo.org/en/wp>

Estimating Long-Run Incarceration Rates for Australia, Canada, England & Wales, New Zealand and the United States

Abstract

Compiling data from dozens of archival sources, I compile the most extensive series to date of the long-run imprisonment rate for five English-speaking nations: Australia, Canada, England and Wales, New Zealand and the United States. These series are constructed as a share of adults rather than the entire population, and I discuss why the latter can be misleading. In the late-nineteenth century, Australia had the highest incarceration rate of these nations. Today, the United States has the highest rate. With the exception of Canada, incarceration rates have risen markedly since the mid-1980s. These new series are made available in full, to allow other researchers to explore the consequences and causes of incarceration.

JEL-Codes: I300, K140, N300.

Keywords: prison, jail, incarceration, crime.

*Andrew Leigh
Parliament of Australia
Parliament House
Australia - 2600, Canberra, ACT
andrew.leigh.mp@aph.gov.au*

My thanks to Glyn Davis, Michael de Looper, Anthony Doob, Mark Finnane, Arie Freiberg, Jeremy Gans, Adam Graycar, Richard Harding, Boyd Hunter, John Paget, Rick Sarre, Hilde Tubex, Don Weatherburn and Bruce Western for comments on earlier drafts; and to Saul Eslake and Bruce Western for inspiring this research. All errors are mine.

1. Introduction

International comparisons of incarceration rates are often limited to just a few decades. Moreover, most historical series are based on the incarceration rate as a share of the total population, which can bias the estimates in populations with a large share of children. Drawing on multiple historical records, I estimate long-run incarceration rates for five English-speaking countries: Australia, Canada, New Zealand, England & Wales, and the United States. For each nation, these new series cover a longer timespan than those that have previously been compiled.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Section 2 outlines the incarceration rate series, using the preferred population denominator of the adult population. Section 3 shows the series using the total population as the denominator, and discusses some of the ways such a series may be misleading. The final section concludes with a discussion of how these series might be used by empirical researchers.

2. Estimating Long Run Incarceration Rates as a Share of the Adult Population

There are several approaches to estimating incarceration rates. For example, the World Prison Brief uses prisoners as a share of the total population, while the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe estimates imprisonment as a share of the population aged 15 and over. Societal approaches to the incarceration of minors has also changed, with 16 and 17 year-olds being incarcerated in adult prisons more commonly in the past.¹ To take a standardised approach over time, I use as a population denominator the population aged 18 and over. This also matches the standard approach used by most national statistical agencies when calculating modern-day incarceration rates.²

All figures presented in this paper include people who are held in prison because they have been convicted and sentenced, plus those who are held in prison on remand awaiting trial (because they have been denied or unable to post bail). Prisoner statistics do not include convicted persons outside the prison system, subject to monitoring devices such as ankle bracelets.³ Nor do the prisoner statistics in this paper include those people who have been released from prison on parole, before the expiry of their full sentence.

The incarceration rate series cover Australia from 1860, Canada from 1867, England and Wales from 1860, New Zealand from 1881 and the United States from 1850. I opt to focus on England and Wales rather than the entire United Kingdom due to data limitations for the early part of the series. Full details on the derivation of all series are set out in the Appendix. Appendix Tables A3 to A7 contain the underlying data (prisoners, adult population and total population) used to construct the incarceration rates.

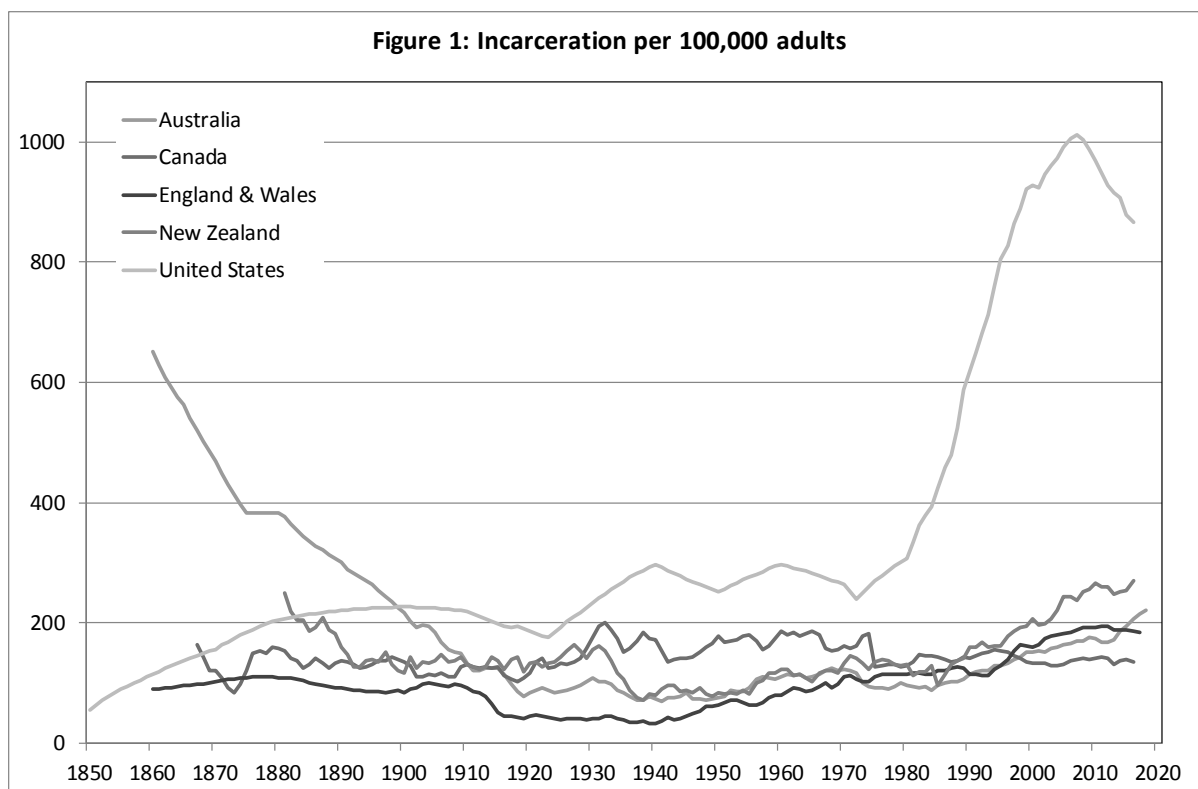


Figure 1 shows the incarceration rate per 100,000 adults (the full data are set out in Appendix Table A1). At the start of the series, the stand-out figure is Australia’s high incarceration rate. In 1860, the first year of the Australian series, 650 out of 100,000 adults were in prison. This is more than five times the imprisonment rate in England and Wales or the United States in that year. A significant cause is the policy of penal transportation, which saw around 160,000 convicts shipped from Britain to Australia over the period 1788 to 1868.

In the late-1800s, Australia completed its transition from a penal colony to a settler society. High immigration rates (partly due to the gold rushes) saw the adult population almost quadruple from 1860 to 1900. By the end of World War I, Australia’s incarceration rate was the second-lowest among these English-speaking countries. A similar drop in incarceration from the late-nineteenth century to the early-twentieth century can also be seen in New Zealand (which was not settled as a penal colony). By contrast, the United States saw a rise in imprisonment over the same period.

By the mid-twentieth century, Canada and the United States had the highest incarceration rates of the five nations. Both saw a marked drop in the incarceration rates during the course of World War II (in contrast to the other three countries, where incarceration was higher in 1945 than in 1939).

In the post-war decades, incarceration rates in Canada and the United States have diverged sharply. Canada now has an incarceration rate that is one-fifth lower than it had in the 1950s. By contrast, the United States incarceration rate in the most recent year is three times the average rate in the 1950s.⁴ Little of this difference appears to be due to crime rates – instead, it reflects different choices of punitive policies in the two nations (see eg Webster and Doob

2007; Travis, Western and Redburn 2014; Clear and Frost 2014). Notably, Webster and Doob (2018) argue that Americans are significantly more likely than Canadians to believe that prisons reduce crime.

The extraordinary increase in the United States prison population over the past generation saw that country imprison more than 1 percent of its adults in the years 2006 to 2008, becoming what Christie (2004, 93) called ‘the world champion’ of incarceration. The impact of imprisonment fell disproportionately on low-educated African-Americans. In 2008, one-third of young African American men who dropped out of high school were imprisoned (Western and Pettit 2010).

Since this figure is a snapshot of a single point in time, the cumulative risk of incarceration is higher still. Among African American men born between 1975 and 1979, 27 percent had served time in prison by their mid-30s. This figure rises to 68 percent among African-American men who did not complete high school. As Western and Pettit noted in 2010, ‘Prison time has become a normal life event for African American men who have dropped out of high school’. An extensive literature discusses the over-representation of African Americans in prisons (see eg Alexander 2010; Warde 2013).

While the United States incarceration rate remains among the highest in the world, it has fallen considerably in the past decade, from 1,011 prisoners per 100,000 adults in 2007 to 866 prisoners per 100,000 adults in 2016. This represents a decline of 14 percent from the peak rate of incarceration in the United States, although that country’s imprisonment rate still remains considerably higher than its historical average. Among the factors that have driven the recent fall in the US incarceration rate are budgetary pressures, shifting public attitudes, and declining crime rates (Phelps and Pager 2016; Frost and Clear 2018). Non-government organisations including Pew Charitable Trusts, Right on Crime and the Council on Criminal Justice have also played an important role. Among the key reforms implemented by states are the abolition of some mandatory minimum sentences, greater diversion of drug offenders into rehabilitation programs, and the development of early release programs (see Pew Charitable Trusts 2018 for more details).

Australia and New Zealand have undergone a steady increase in imprisonment since the 1980s. A similar pattern can be seen in England and Wales, though with a slight moderation from 2012 to 2017. In these nations, tighter bail laws, longer sentences, and more effective policing practices are among the factors that have led to the rise in incarceration over the past generation (see eg Leigh 2020 on Australia, Gluckman 2018 on New Zealand, and House of Commons 2019 on the United Kingdom).

The magnitude of these changes has been substantial. Since 1985, the incarceration rate has risen by 130 percent in Australia, 52 percent in England and Wales, 181 percent in New Zealand, and 104 percent in the United States. The exception is Canada, where the incarceration rate has fallen by 5 percent since 1985. Put another way, the typical adult in Australia or the United States is over twice as likely to be imprisoned as in the mid-1980s,

while the typical New Zealander is almost three times as likely to be in prison as in the mid-1980s.

In some cases, the most recent rates in Figure 1 represent new records. The 2018 incarceration rate in Australia (221 prisoners per 100,000 adults) is the highest since 1899. The 2017 incarceration rate in New Zealand (271 prisoners per 100,000 adults) is the highest in that country’s history. The incarceration rate in England & Wales peaked at 195 prisoners per 100,000 adults in 2012, a higher rate than at any time in the past 160 years.

To see the relationship between incarceration rates across these five nations, I estimate the full set of pairwise correlations. These range from a strong negative correlation between Australia and Canada (-0.33) to a strong positive correlation between England & Wales and the United States (0.79). Interestingly, there is essentially no correlation between incarceration rates in the neighbouring countries of Canada and the United States (-0.01), but a strong positive correlation in incarceration rates between Australia and New Zealand (0.54). This suggests that criminal justice policies in Australia and New Zealand have much more in common than criminal justice policies in Canada and the United States.

	Australia	Canada	England & Wales	New Zealand	United States
Australia	1				
Canada	-0.33*	1			
England & Wales	0.19	-0.21	1		
New Zealand	0.54*	-0.31*	0.77*	1	
United States	-0.25*	-0.01	0.79*	0.69*	1

* Denotes statistical significance at the 1 percent level.

3. Problems with Using a Total Population Denominator

For historical analyses, it has often been common to use the total population – rather than the adult population – as the denominator when calculating incarceration rates. It is therefore useful to see where such an analysis diverges from the rates shown in Figure 1.

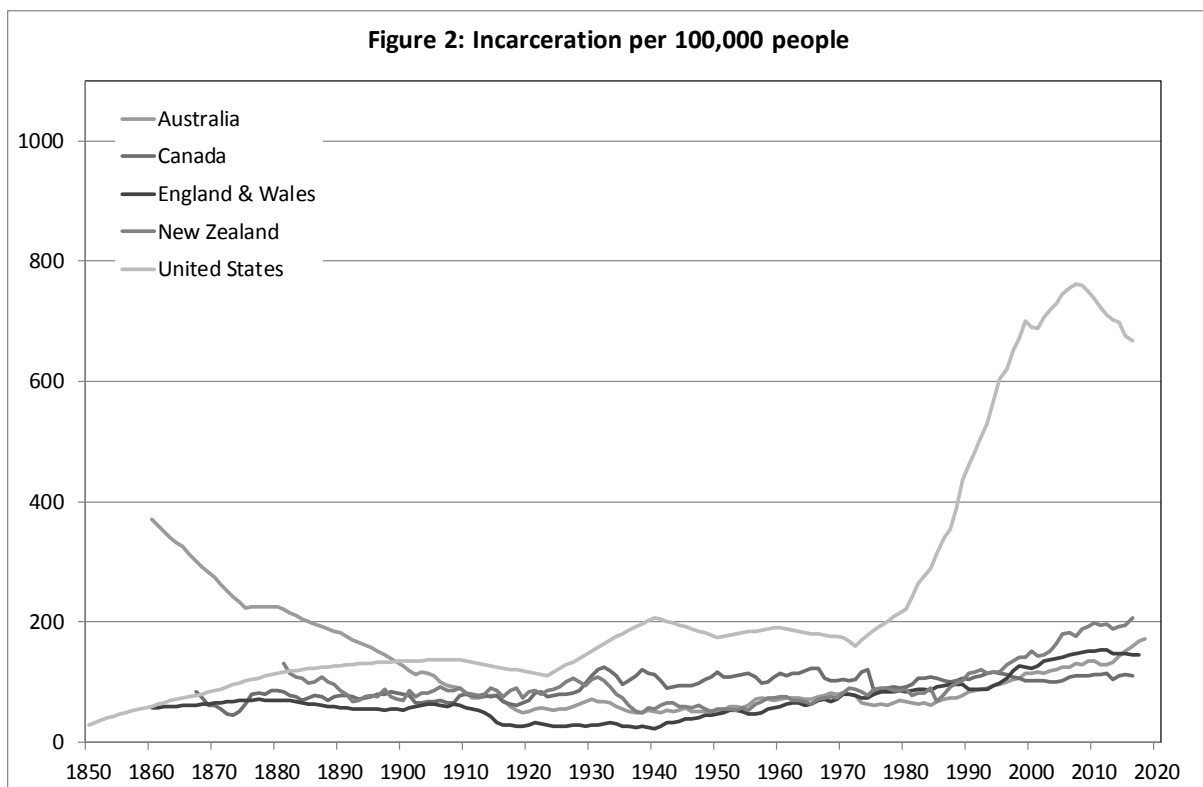
Figure 2 shows the rates using the total population as the denominator (the full data are set out in Appendix Table A2). Across all five nations, the share of minors in the population steadily declines across the period (with the exception of the post-war baby boom). Consequently, including minors in the population denominator understates the fall in incarceration during the first two decades of the twentieth century, and overstates the rise in incarceration in the late-twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

The baby boom also acts to distort the true picture of incarceration rates. Across all five nations, the incarceration rate as a share of the adult population rose from 1945 to 1960. However, because the baby boom substantially increased the number of minors in the

population, this increase is much less visible when incarceration rates are measured as a share of the total population. Given that there are relatively few children in prison, I take the view that the population denominator presents a distorted view, and that the ‘right’ way to measure incarceration is as a share of the adult population.

In the immediate post-war era, the problem can be seen most clearly for the United States, where the incarceration rate as a share of adults rose from 273 prisoners per 100,000 adults in 1945 to 298 prisoners per 100,000 adults in 1960. However, using the full population as the denominator, this rise in incarceration is wiped out by the baby boom, with the United States incarceration rate as a share of the total population remaining stable at 192 per 100,000 persons in both 1945 and 1960.

Using a full population denominator also affects cross-country comparisons. For example, in 1867, the rate using an adult denominator is almost twice the rate as with a population denominator for Canada, but closer to 50 percent higher for England and Wales. Similarly, in 1965, the rate using an adult denominator is about 60 percent higher in New Zealand, but only about 40 percent higher in England and Wales.



4. Conclusion

In Australia, England and Wales, New Zealand and the United States, the rise in incarceration rates over the past generation has led to a rising research interest in imprisonment. Given that many categories of crime have fallen in these nations, scholars are naturally asking whether it might be possible to protect community safety through less punitive policies. In this regard,

the example of Canada stands as a useful counterpoint, from which other English-speaking countries might learn. There may also be lessons from the recent drop in incarceration that has occurred in the United States, though there is a long way to go before the ‘champion of incarceration’ relinquishes its title.

With 770 country-year observations, the dataset produced in this study allows researchers to explore the factors behind changes in incarceration rates. For example, to what extent are imprisonment rates a function of demographics or economic growth? Do electoral shifts at the national level explain changes in incarceration? How much do changes in home ownership, education, unemployment and inequality shape imprisonment? Is there evidence that new philosophies of incarceration and rehabilitation flow from one English-speaking countries to another?

In addition, it is possible to use these data to study the consequences of incarceration. Do changes in imprisonment affect population health, poverty, productivity or adherence to radical politics? What impact do incarceration rates have on property crime and violent crime? What impact does incarceration have on how much government spends on other social programs? Better understanding these factors is critical to developing a fuller picture of how incarceration fits into the policy landscape. Ultimately, careful research and policy experimentation can lead us towards societies with less crime *and* less punishment.

Appendix

Australian Incarceration Rates

The number of Australians aged 18 and over is only available annually since 1971. Prior to that, the exact population aged 18 and over is available for census years 1901, 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954 and 1966. For 1921 onwards, total population is available at an annual basis. This is multiplied by the share of the population that are 18 and over, which is interpolated linearly between census years. For non-census years prior to 1921, the population aged 18 and over is simply interpolated between census years.

Prior to Federation, the number of prisoners is available at 5-yearly intervals for most colonies from 1860 to 1900 (the omissions are Tasmania for 1860 to 1865, and Western Australia for 1860 to 1870). Colonial populations are available from colonial censuses, carried out in 1861, 1870 or 1871, 1881 and 1891. The age distribution from those censuses is reported in 5-year age bands. I calculate total adult populations from these figures using the assumption that two-fifths of those in the 15-19 age band are aged 18-19. Some colonies report part of the population total as age 'unspecified'. I add these in to the total in proportion to the ratio of the adult population to the total population. For example, suppose that for the population whose age is known, 60 percent are aged 18 and over, and there are also 10,000 people whose age is unknown. In that example, I would add an additional 6000 people to the estimate of the adult population.

This population estimate is then linearly interpolated between census years. The total incarceration rate is simply the sum of the total prison population divided by the total adult population (for colonies reporting imprisonment numbers). This figure is linearly interpolated for intervening years.

Nineteenth century prison statistics are drawn from Vamplew (1987, Table CJ 116-129). Imprisonment figures are then from Mukherjee (1981, Table G1) for 1900-1976, from Biles (1984, average June figures) for 1977-81, from Carcach and Grant (1999, Table 1) for 1982-1989, from Australian Bureau of Statistics (2001, Table 14) for 1990-1997, from Australian Bureau of Statistics (2008, Table 1) for 1998-2007, and from Australian Bureau of Statistics (2018, Table 2) for 2008-2018.

Canadian Incarceration Rates

Population figures from 1971 onwards are from Statistics Canada, Population estimates on July 1st, by age and sex (Table 17-10-0005-01). Population figure for 1867 to 1970 are from Statistics Canada, Historical Statistics of Canada, Population, by age and sex, census dates, 1851 to 1976 (Table A78-93).

From 1867 to 1970, age breakdowns are only available in census years, and then only in five-year age bands. For census years, I therefore calculate the population aged 18 and over on the assumption that two-fifths of those aged 15-19 are aged 18-19. This allows me to estimate the share of the population that are aged 18 and over. I interpolate this figure between censuses,

and then multiply it by the total population (which is available on an annual basis) to arrive at an estimate of the adult population in all years.

Imprisonment data for Canada from 1978 to 2016 are the sum of the average counts of adults in provincial and territorial prisons (Table 35-10-0154-01, formerly CANSIM 251-0005), and average counts of offenders in federal prisons (table 35-10-0155-01, formerly CANSIM 251-0006). I use the 'actual-in count' figure in both instances. Counts are reported for fiscal years that run from April 1 to March 31, so I attribute figures to the starting year (eg. 1978/79 is attributed to 1978).

From 1960 to 1975, I use total imprisonment figures reported in the World Prison Brief (www.prisonstudies.org/country/canada). For 1916 to 1956, I use the estimate of prisoners in all penal institutions, as reported in Historical Statistics of Canada, Table Z198-201. From 1867 to 1915, I use the estimate of the number of people held in federal penitentiaries. This is an incomplete measure of all prisoners. During the decade 1916 to 1925, the number of prisoners in penitentiaries is one-third of the total prison population, so I scale up the estimate of federal prisoners by a factor of three to arrive at the total prison population from 1867 to 1915.

English and Welsh Incarceration Rates

In the interests of producing a reliable long-run series, I focus on England and Wales, rather than the United Kingdom as a whole. For England and Wales, consistent imprisonment rates are available from 1900 onwards. For 1860 to 1929, I supplement this with a series derived from conviction rates.

From 1860 to 1910, I do not have separate estimates of the population aged 18 and over. I therefore assume that the ratio of the adult population to the total population in those years is the same as it was in 1911 and 1912 (0.64). For 1911 to 1920, and from 1923 to 1960, I have population estimates in five-year age bands. I calculate the population aged 18 and over on the assumption that two-fifths of those aged 15-19 are aged 18-19. For 1921 and 1922, I assume that the ratio of the adult population to the total population is the same as it was in 1920 and 1923 (0.67).

Imprisonment data for England and Wales are sourced from Office of National Statistics (2018, Table A1.2) from 1900 to 2017. Prior to 1900, I draw on Sutherland (1934, Table A), who reports the average number of people sentenced to convict and local prisons in England and Wales from around 1860 to 1930. In 1902 and 1907, when I have both these inflow figures and the Office of National Statistics' estimates of the stock of prisoners, I find that the flow figures are 8.9 times the stock figures. I therefore scale down Sutherland's estimates of prison inflows per 100,000 people by 8.9 to produce an estimate of the prison stock per 100,000 people from 1860 to 1899. To arrive at an estimate of the number of prisoners per 100,000 adults, I simply multiply this by the ratio of the total population to the adult population. In Table A5, pre-1900 prisoner numbers for England and Wales are italicised to reflect the fact that they are constructed from inflow data.

New Zealand Incarceration Rates

Population figures for 1881 to 1925 are as reported in the New Zealand Official Year Books for 1893 to 1928. I use the ‘total estimated population’ figure, which includes Maori. Estimates for 1882 to 1885, and 1887 to 1890, are interpolated. Where possible, I use December 31 counts, since this most closely matches the New Zealand imprisonment data.

Population figures for 1926 onwards are as reported by Statistics New Zealand. The population total from 1926 to 1990 is the ‘de facto population’, which includes all people present in New Zealand and counted by the census (or as estimated between census years). From 1991 onwards, Statistics New Zealand report the estimated resident population, which is based on the census usually resident population count, updated for residents missed or counted more than once by the census (net census undercount); residents temporarily overseas on census night; and births, deaths, and net migration between census night and the date of the estimate. I use population counts for 31 December, since this most closely matches the New Zealand imprisonment data.

From 1936 onwards, Statistics New Zealand reports the number of persons aged 18 and over. Prior to that year, the only age breakdown is for the non-Maori population, and is not available in all years. I therefore calculate the share of the non-Maori population that is aged 18 and over (where necessary, assuming that two-fifths of those aged 15-19 are aged 18-19), and interpolate this share for intervening years. I then multiply the total population figure (which includes Maori) by the interpolated share figure. Although one might be concerned that the Maori population are on average considerably younger than the non-Maori population, the share figure is not markedly different when Maori are excluded. Specifically, in 1916, the share of the population aged 18 and over is 62 percent (excluding Maori), while in 1936, the share of the population aged 18 and over is 68 percent (including Maori). This matches the steady rise in the over-18 share that had occurred from 1896 (when the figure was 57 percent) to 1916.

Imprisonment statistics are persons in prison as at 31 December. These figures are sourced from the New Zealand Official Year Books for 1893 to 2011, and the Ministry of Justice’s Justice Sector Forecast publications in recent years. The figure for 1896 is interpolated.

United States Incarceration Rates

The Population Division of the US Census Bureau reports historical population figures back to 1790. National population data for the years 1900 to 1949 exclude the population residing in Alaska and Hawaii. National population data for the years 1940 to 1979 cover the resident population plus Armed Forces overseas. National population data for all other years cover only the resident population.

For 1870, and for 1900 onwards, the Census Bureau provides an estimate of the population aged 18 and over. For Census years 1850, 1860, 1880 and 1890, I have estimates of the

population aged 15 and over, and the population aged 20 and over. I combine these figures, using the assumption that two-fifths of those aged 15-19 are aged 18-19.

Population data are annual from 1900 onwards. For prior years, I linearly interpolate between the decennial census population counts.

Imprisonment figures from 1850 to 1978 are drawn from Cahalan (1986, Table 8.1). I use the total of those reported present in correctional facilities (juvenile facilities excluded). The figures include persons incarcerated in state and federal prisons and reformatories, jails and other local facilities, but exclude people confined in military prisons and mental hospitals. From 1910 to 1933, the report excludes unsentenced prisoners, so I take the figures for sentenced adult prisoners in those years, and scale them up by the ratio of all adult prisoners to sentenced adult prisoners in the prior two years of 1880 and 1890 (1.13). In 1940, the report does not separately exclude juveniles, so I take the figure for all inmates in that year, and scale it down by the ratio of adult prisoners to all prisoners in the following two years of 1950 and 1960 (0.86).

Imprisonment figures from 1980 to 2016 are drawn from Bureau of Justice Statistics (2018). The incarcerated population sums those held in local jails and in state and federal prisons, and does not include people on probation or parole.

Table A1: Incarceration rate per 100,000 adults					
Year	Australia	Canada	England & Wales	New Zealand	United States
1850					55.9
1851					63.7
1852					71.0
1853					77.7
1854					84.0
1855					89.9
1856					95.4
1857					100.5
1858					105.4
1859					110.0
1860	650.5		89.5		114.3
1861	628.5		90.7		119.5
1862	609.1		91.9		124.5
1863	591.7		93.1		129.2
1864	576.3		94.3		133.7
1865	562.4		95.6		138.0
1866	540.4		96.8		142.1
1867	520.2	164.2	98.0		146.0
1868	501.9	143.1	99.6		149.7
1869	485.0	121.6	101.1		153.3
1870	469.6	121.1	102.7		156.8
1871	449.5	108.6	104.2		163.1
1872	431.0	92.8	105.7		169.1
1873	413.7	84.9	106.9		174.7
1874	397.8	99.3	108.0		180.0
1875	382.7	121.6	109.1		184.9
1876	382.9	150.4	110.3		189.6
1877	383.0	152.9	111.4		194.0
1878	383.1	150.3	110.8		198.2
1879	383.2	159.2	110.3		202.2
1880	383.3	157.5	109.7		206.0
1881	377.5	154.8	109.2	249.7	207.9
1882	365.7	140.9	108.6	220.3	209.7
1883	355.0	136.8	106.2	205.9	211.5
1884	345.1	125.4	103.8	205.0	213.1
1885	336.0	132.2	101.4	186.4	214.6
1886	328.1	140.6	99.0	192.2	216.1
1887	320.8	133.8	96.6	208.2	217.5
1888	314.0	124.4	95.0	189.3	218.8
1889	307.7	133.8	93.3	183.3	220.0
1890	301.7	137.9	91.6	159.6	221.2
1891	290.0	135.5	90.0	148.7	222.0
1892	283.1	131.4	88.3	126.6	222.7
1893	276.5	126.0	87.6	127.9	223.4
1894	270.1	127.4	87.0	137.2	224.1
1895	263.8	131.3	86.4	139.9	224.7
1896	254.1	138.0	85.7	134.8	225.3
1897	244.6	138.4	85.1	152.6	225.9
1898	235.4	142.7	86.6	130.8	226.4
1899	226.5	140.5	88.1	121.0	227.0
1900	217.8	136.2	84.7	118.0	227.5
1901	203.2	130.0	91.2	142.9	227.1
1902	193.2	111.3	92.4	124.9	226.5
1903	196.8	111.0	97.8	136.2	226.1
1904	194.0	114.0	99.8	133.4	225.5
1905	184.4	113.6	99.2	138.4	224.5
1906	168.3	117.3	96.1	146.8	223.6

Table A1: Incarceration rate per 100,000 adults					
Year	Australia	Canada	England & Wales	New Zealand	United States
1907	156.4	110.0	94.5	136.3	222.9
1908	152.5	110.0	98.9	136.8	221.9
1909	149.7	127.8	97.3	144.1	220.8
1910	134.3	130.5	91.5	131.0	219.4
1911	120.2	126.6	86.0	126.4	215.3
1912	121.1	125.7	83.6	123.0	211.3
1913	124.3	126.8	77.7	127.5	206.7
1914	125.6	125.1	66.4	144.3	202.2
1915	125.7	127.5	50.8	137.7	198.9
1916	114.2	112.4	46.4	123.6	195.6
1917	97.7	105.8	45.2	139.5	192.9
1918	86.8	102.0	43.1	143.0	194.3
1919	77.7	108.5	42.2	119.3	190.1
1920	83.5	116.5	44.6	133.6	185.8
1921	89.3	136.2	48.3	134.7	182.0
1922	92.0	141.3	46.3	126.8	179.3
1923	88.3	125.5	43.1	133.7	175.6
1924	84.8	128.2	40.9	136.0	184.2
1925	86.7	133.0	39.6	143.8	193.3
1926	87.8	131.2	40.5	154.1	202.0
1927	92.6	134.5	41.2	163.2	210.2
1928	97.2	141.1	40.4	153.8	218.2
1929	103.5	157.8	39.1	142.0	226.1
1930	108.8	176.9	40.4	156.8	233.2
1931	102.9	193.9	41.1	163.1	241.1
1932	102.4	200.9	44.6	153.8	248.8
1933	98.6	188.4	44.9	138.3	256.3
1934	89.4	174.3	42.0	117.1	262.9
1935	83.3	152.1	38.3	107.7	269.4
1936	77.4	158.2	35.6	88.8	275.8
1937	71.8	170.6	35.1	76.0	282.1
1938	73.0	184.9	36.6	72.4	287.9
1939	77.7	174.3	33.8	82.1	293.4
1940	74.4	172.5	32.1	79.7	298.1
1941	70.7	154.0	37.5	91.2	292.7
1942	76.4	135.4	44.3	95.8	287.6
1943	75.3	139.3	40.2	96.8	282.6
1944	78.2	142.2	40.4	87.2	277.9
1945	83.3	142.5	45.8	87.9	273.5
1946	74.3	144.2	49.1	84.7	269.5
1947	74.2	151.5	53.0	92.1	265.3
1948	73.0	160.2	60.9	81.9	261.0
1949	74.7	165.8	61.0	78.1	256.6
1950	76.4	178.9	62.9	84.4	252.0
1951	78.5	167.6	67.1	82.6	257.1
1952	88.2	169.3	72.8	83.8	262.3
1953	87.0	171.5	72.4	82.5	267.5
1954	86.7	177.7	68.6	89.4	272.3
1955	92.8	180.9	64.5	83.2	277.0
1956	106.6	170.8	63.3	99.7	281.5
1957	111.7	156.3	68.5	105.6	285.8
1958	109.6	162.3	76.7	116.1	290.4
1959	107.1	174.0	80.1	118.0	294.4
1960	110.3	187.1	81.0	122.1	297.9
1961	115.3	180.7	86.5	122.5	294.4
1962	113.2	184.6	91.8	113.5	291.7
1963	114.9	179.2	90.9	114.4	289.2

Year	Australia	Canada	England & Wales	New Zealand	United States
1964	109.7	183.0	86.6	109.1	286.8
1965	110.5	185.6	88.1	103.5	282.3
1966	115.9	181.3	95.1	116.8	278.5
1967	121.1	158.0	100.0	120.6	274.8
1968	124.4	154.2	92.4	121.6	271.4
1969	121.8	155.7	98.4	117.3	268.0
1970	124.0	161.1	110.6	132.6	264.1
1971	122.0	158.1	111.9	144.8	252.1
1972	117.3	161.2	107.6	141.4	240.4
1973	99.7	178.4	103.0	134.0	250.8
1974	94.2	182.1	103.1	123.7	260.7
1975	93.2	128.1	111.0	136.1	269.9
1976	93.4	129.3	115.1	138.7	278.6
1977	90.8	130.5	114.9	138.4	287.0
1978	95.0	131.8	115.0	132.3	295.0
1979	100.1	128.0	115.4	130.0	301.1
1980	96.3	129.0	114.8	130.5	307.8
1981	94.7	134.9	116.9	113.2	334.9
1982	92.0	147.7	117.4	119.1	362.7
1983	93.7	145.4	115.9	119.4	378.1
1984	87.6	146.7	114.6	130.2	393.9
1985	96.3	143.5	121.4	96.5	424.5
1986	100.1	138.9	122.1	114.4	459.8
1987	103.3	135.4	125.7	130.7	479.1
1988	102.9	137.4	126.2	136.8	524.4
1989	105.8	142.8	124.6	142.5	588.4
1990	114.4	140.9	115.0	160.8	619.6
1991	118.2	146.3	114.2	160.6	649.5
1992	120.6	149.3	113.7	167.7	681.6
1993	121.6	152.6	113.1	159.8	711.9
1994	128.3	155.1	123.3	161.2	759.2
1995	130.3	153.4	129.1	162.4	805.6
1996	134.1	151.2	139.8	179.2	826.6
1997	139.1	144.8	154.0	187.0	864.3
1998	143.1	141.8	163.9	193.1	888.0
1999	152.8	136.0	161.7	194.9	922.5
2000	151.9	133.9	160.3	207.3	927.3
2001	154.8	133.0	163.5	196.3	924.6
2002	152.8	132.6	173.4	198.7	947.0
2003	157.7	129.0	177.7	206.2	961.5
2004	159.6	128.8	180.4	220.9	973.4
2005	165.0	132.3	181.7	243.8	991.2
2006	165.2	138.3	185.1	244.5	1004.6
2007	170.9	140.4	188.3	237.8	1010.7
2008	169.5	141.2	192.0	252.7	1004.5
2009	175.8	139.8	192.7	256.5	987.7
2010	175.0	141.1	193.5	265.9	968.9
2011	168.8	142.6	194.5	260.4	947.5
2012	167.3	142.5	194.6	260.4	928.6
2013	172.0	130.5	188.0	248.6	915.9
2014	185.9	138.5	188.8	252.9	908.0
2015	195.8	139.0	187.9	254.3	878.2
2016	207.2	136.3	185.7	271.2	865.8
2017	215.8		185.2		
2018	221.2				

Table A2: Incarceration rate per 100,000 people					
Year	Australia	Canada	England & Wales	New Zealand	United States
1850					29.0
1851					33.2
1852					37.1
1853					40.7
1854					44.1
1855					47.3
1856					50.3
1857					53.1
1858					55.8
1859					58.3
1860	371.1		57.1		60.7
1861	359.7		57.9		63.7
1862	349.6		58.7		66.5
1863	340.5		59.5		69.2
1864	332.5		60.2		71.8
1865	325.2		61.0		74.3
1866	313.0		61.8		76.7
1867	301.9	84.2	62.6		79.0
1868	291.7	73.6	63.6		81.2
1869	282.3	62.7	64.6		83.3
1870	273.7	62.6	65.5		85.3
1871	262.3	56.3	66.5		89.1
1872	251.8	48.3	67.5		92.6
1873	242.0	44.5	68.2		96.0
1874	232.9	52.3	69.0		99.2
1875	224.3	64.3	69.7		102.2
1876	224.6	80.0	70.4		105.0
1877	224.8	81.8	71.1		107.7
1878	225.1	80.8	70.8		110.3
1879	225.3	86.0	70.4		112.7
1880	225.5	85.5	70.0		115.1
1881	222.2	84.5	69.7	130.7	116.7
1882	216.1	77.3	69.3	115.4	118.2
1883	210.6	75.4	67.8	107.8	119.6
1884	205.4	69.5	66.3	107.4	121.0
1885	200.5	73.5	64.8	97.7	122.3
1886	196.4	78.6	63.2	100.8	123.5
1887	192.5	75.2	61.7	109.7	124.7
1888	188.9	70.2	60.6	100.2	125.9
1889	185.5	75.8	59.6	97.5	127.0
1890	182.3	78.5	58.5	85.3	128.0
1891	175.6	77.5	57.4	79.9	128.9
1892	170.8	75.4	56.4	68.7	129.8
1893	166.2	72.6	56.0	70.3	130.6
1894	161.8	73.7	55.5	76.2	131.4
1895	157.5	76.2	55.1	78.6	132.2
1896	151.2	80.5	54.7	76.5	132.9
1897	145.1	81.0	54.3	87.7	133.7
1898	139.2	83.8	55.3	76.0	134.4
1899	133.6	82.8	56.3	71.1	135.0
1900	128.1	80.6	54.1	70.1	135.7
1901	119.2	77.2	58.2	85.8	136.0
1902	113.8	66.3	59.0	75.6	136.1
1903	116.5	66.4	62.5	83.2	136.4
1904	115.4	68.4	63.7	82.1	136.6
1905	110.2	68.3	63.3	85.9	136.6
1906	101.0	70.8	61.4	92.0	136.7

Year	Australia	Canada	England & Wales	New Zealand	United States
1907	94.4	66.6	60.3	85.6	136.8
1908	92.4	66.8	63.2	86.1	136.7
1909	91.1	77.9	62.2	91.0	136.5
1910	82.1	79.8	58.4	82.9	136.2
1911	73.9	77.6	54.8	80.3	133.9
1912	74.6	76.9	53.5	77.7	131.6
1913	76.6	77.4	49.9	80.1	128.9
1914	77.6	76.3	42.8	90.2	126.3
1915	77.8	77.6	32.1	85.6	124.3
1916	70.8	68.2	29.0	76.5	122.4
1917	60.7	64.1	28.2	86.8	120.7
1918	54.0	61.7	27.0	89.4	120.6
1919	48.4	65.5	26.3	75.0	119.0
1920	52.2	70.2	29.3	84.4	116.7
1921	55.9	81.8	32.1	85.5	114.3
1922	57.9	85.2	30.8	80.9	112.6
1923	55.9	76.0	29.0	85.7	110.5
1924	53.9	77.9	27.7	87.7	116.3
1925	55.5	81.2	27.0	93.1	122.4
1926	56.5	80.3	27.8	100.4	128.4
1927	59.9	82.6	28.5	106.8	134.2
1928	63.2	87.0	28.1	101.1	140.0
1929	67.7	97.7	27.4	93.9	146.0
1930	71.5	109.9	28.5	104.1	151.7
1931	68.0	120.9	29.2	108.8	157.8
1932	68.0	126.1	31.8	103.1	164.0
1933	65.9	119.0	32.2	93.2	170.2
1934	59.9	110.8	30.2	79.3	175.9
1935	56.0	97.3	27.8	73.3	181.4
1936	52.2	101.9	26.0	60.7	186.9
1937	48.6	110.5	25.7	52.1	192.4
1938	49.5	120.5	26.9	49.9	197.5
1939	52.9	114.3	24.9	56.9	202.5
1940	50.8	113.8	23.5	54.8	207.0
1941	48.4	102.2	27.5	62.2	204.4
1942	52.5	89.7	32.4	65.0	201.5
1943	51.9	92.1	33.8	65.6	198.1
1944	54.1	93.9	34.2	59.2	195.0
1945	57.8	93.9	38.8	60.2	192.3
1946	51.7	94.8	38.7	57.9	189.7
1947	51.8	99.4	40.8	62.6	185.4
1948	50.7	104.9	45.7	55.3	181.6
1949	51.6	108.4	45.6	52.4	177.9
1950	52.6	116.8	46.7	56.2	173.7
1951	53.7	109.2	49.7	54.6	176.1
1952	60.1	109.6	53.9	55.0	178.3
1953	58.9	110.4	53.5	53.7	180.4
1954	58.4	113.6	50.6	57.7	182.3
1955	62.2	115.0	47.6	53.3	184.0
1956	71.1	107.9	46.6	63.5	185.6
1957	74.1	98.1	50.3	66.9	187.0
1958	72.3	101.3	56.3	73.2	188.5
1959	70.3	108.0	58.7	74.0	190.0
1960	72.0	115.4	59.2	76.1	191.5
1961	74.8	110.8	62.8	75.8	189.0
1962	73.5	115.5	66.6	70.0	186.7
1963	74.6	114.4	65.8	70.3	184.6

Year	Australia	Canada	England & Wales	New Zealand	United States
1964	71.2	119.0	62.5	67.1	182.7
1965	71.8	123.1	63.8	63.9	181.0
1966	75.3	122.4	69.0	72.4	179.5
1967	79.0	105.8	72.5	74.8	178.1
1968	81.3	102.3	66.9	75.5	176.9
1969	79.9	102.3	71.1	73.0	175.7
1970	81.6	104.8	79.8	82.9	174.2
1971	80.6	101.9	80.8	90.8	167.3
1972	77.6	105.0	77.7	89.1	160.9
1973	66.2	117.7	74.4	84.9	169.4
1974	62.9	121.5	74.5	78.9	177.8
1975	62.5	86.5	80.5	87.5	186.0
1976	63.0	88.2	83.8	89.9	194.0
1977	61.7	90.0	84.1	90.3	201.7
1978	65.0	91.8	84.5	87.3	209.2
1979	69.1	90.2	85.3	86.7	215.3
1980	66.9	91.8	85.2	88.2	221.6
1981	66.2	97.0	87.3	77.1	242.7
1982	64.7	107.2	88.2	81.9	264.4
1983	66.2	106.4	87.6	82.7	276.9
1984	62.2	107.9	87.1	90.8	289.5
1985	68.7	106.0	92.7	67.7	312.8
1986	71.8	103.0	93.5	80.7	339.4
1987	74.5	100.7	96.6	92.9	354.4
1988	74.5	102.5	97.3	97.8	388.7
1989	77.1	106.9	96.2	102.4	437.1
1990	83.8	105.5	89.0	116.0	460.5
1991	86.9	109.6	88.3	116.0	483.4
1992	89.0	111.8	87.9	121.5	507.9
1993	90.0	114.4	87.4	115.9	531.1
1994	95.2	116.4	95.1	117.0	567.2
1995	96.8	115.4	99.4	117.9	603.3
1996	99.8	113.9	107.5	130.2	620.7
1997	103.8	109.4	118.5	136.0	651.1
1998	107.0	107.4	126.3	140.7	671.7
1999	114.5	103.5	124.7	142.2	700.6
2000	114.1	102.2	123.9	151.4	689.5
2001	116.5	102.5	126.6	143.7	688.8
2002	115.4	102.6	134.6	145.8	706.9
2003	119.4	100.3	138.2	151.9	719.2
2004	121.3	100.5	140.5	163.1	729.7
2005	125.7	103.5	141.8	180.6	744.6
2006	126.1	108.6	144.8	181.6	756.3
2007	130.7	110.7	147.5	177.0	762.3
2008	130.0	111.7	150.6	188.5	759.7
2009	135.1	110.9	151.3	191.8	749.0
2010	134.8	112.3	152.1	199.2	736.8
2011	130.3	113.8	153.0	195.5	722.8
2012	129.2	114.1	153.2	195.9	710.6
2013	133.1	104.8	147.9	187.8	702.8
2014	143.9	111.5	148.6	192.0	698.3
2015	151.7	112.0	147.9	193.9	676.8
2016	160.6	109.9	146.2	207.5	668.6
2017	167.5		145.8		
2018	171.9				

Table A3: Australia Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1860	3,565	548,053	960,743	650.5	371.1
1861	3,675	584,743	1,021,646	628.5	359.7
1862	3,785	621,433	1,082,549	609.1	349.6
1863	3,894	658,124	1,143,452	591.7	340.5
1864	4,004	694,814	1,204,355	576.3	332.5
1865	4,114	731,504	1,265,259	562.4	325.2
1866	4,151	768,194	1,326,162	540.4	313.0
1867	4,187	804,885	1,387,065	520.2	301.9
1868	4,224	841,575	1,447,968	501.9	291.7
1869	4,260	878,265	1,508,871	485.0	282.3
1870	4,297	914,956	1,569,774	469.6	273.7
1871	4,278	951,646	1,630,678	449.5	262.3
1872	4,260	988,336	1,691,581	431.0	251.8
1873	4,241	1,025,027	1,752,484	413.7	242.0
1874	4,223	1,061,717	1,813,387	397.8	232.9
1875	4,204	1,098,407	1,874,290	382.7	224.3
1876	4,346	1,135,098	1,935,193	382.9	224.6
1877	4,488	1,171,788	1,996,096	383.0	224.8
1878	4,630	1,208,478	2,057,000	383.1	225.1
1879	4,772	1,245,169	2,117,903	383.2	225.3
1880	4,914	1,281,859	2,178,806	383.3	225.5
1881	4,977	1,318,549	2,239,709	377.5	222.2
1882	5,040	1,378,102	2,331,838	365.7	216.1
1883	5,104	1,437,654	2,423,967	355.0	210.6
1884	5,167	1,497,207	2,516,097	345.1	205.4
1885	5,230	1,556,760	2,608,226	336.0	200.5
1886	5,303	1,616,312	2,700,355	328.1	196.4
1887	5,376	1,675,865	2,792,484	320.8	192.5
1888	5,450	1,735,418	2,884,613	314.0	188.9
1889	5,523	1,794,970	2,976,743	307.7	185.5
1890	5,596	1,854,523	3,068,872	301.7	182.3
1891	5,550	1,914,075	3,161,001	290.0	175.6
1892	5,504	1,944,025	3,222,308	283.1	170.8
1893	5,458	1,973,974	3,283,615	276.5	166.2
1894	5,412	2,003,923	3,344,922	270.1	161.8
1895	5,366	2,033,872	3,406,229	263.8	157.5
1896	5,244	2,063,822	3,467,537	254.1	151.2
1897	5,122	2,093,771	3,528,844	244.6	145.1
1898	4,999	2,123,720	3,590,151	235.4	139.2
1899	4,877	2,153,669	3,651,458	226.5	133.6
1900	4,755	2,183,619	3,712,765	217.8	128.1
1901	4,499	2,213,568	3,774,072	203.2	119.2
1902	4,374	2,264,212	3,842,165	193.2	113.8
1903	4,557	2,315,234	3,910,259	196.8	116.5
1904	4,592	2,366,637	3,978,352	194.0	115.4
1905	4,459	2,418,418	4,046,445	184.4	110.2

Table A3: Australia Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1906	4,157	2,470,579	4,114,539	168.3	101.0
1907	3,947	2,523,120	4,182,632	156.4	94.4
1908	3,928	2,576,040	4,250,725	152.5	92.4
1909	3,935	2,629,340	4,318,818	149.7	91.1
1910	3,603	2,683,019	4,386,912	134.3	82.1
1911	3,291	2,737,077	4,455,005	120.2	73.9
1912	3,396	2,803,614	4,555,015	121.1	74.6
1913	3,567	2,870,374	4,655,024	124.3	76.6
1914	3,688	2,937,358	4,755,034	125.6	77.6
1915	3,777	3,004,566	4,855,043	125.7	77.8
1916	3,508	3,071,997	4,955,053	114.2	70.8
1917	3,068	3,139,652	5,055,062	97.7	60.7
1918	2,783	3,207,530	5,155,072	86.8	54.0
1919	2,545	3,275,632	5,255,081	77.7	48.4
1920	2,793	3,343,958	5,355,091	83.5	52.2
1921	3,047	3,412,507	5,455,100	89.3	55.9
1922	3,224	3,503,962	5,569,900	92.0	57.9
1923	3,180	3,601,730	5,693,400	88.3	55.9
1924	3,135	3,696,743	5,811,200	84.8	53.9
1925	3,295	3,799,112	5,939,200	86.7	55.5
1926	3,420	3,895,372	6,056,300	87.8	56.5
1927	3,702	3,998,343	6,182,500	92.6	59.9
1928	3,983	4,097,978	6,302,200	97.2	63.2
1929	4,327	4,180,151	6,393,900	103.5	67.7
1930	4,620	4,247,919	6,462,700	108.8	71.5
1931	4,438	4,312,868	6,526,500	102.9	68.0
1932	4,474	4,369,298	6,576,800	102.4	68.0
1933	4,366	4,427,886	6,629,800	98.6	65.9
1934	3,998	4,474,153	6,677,400	89.4	59.9
1935	3,767	4,521,433	6,726,200	83.3	56.0
1936	3,538	4,571,217	6,778,400	77.4	52.2
1937	3,321	4,624,611	6,835,600	71.8	48.6
1938	3,417	4,682,189	6,898,600	73.0	49.5
1939	3,688	4,744,262	6,967,800	77.7	52.9
1940	3,578	4,808,342	7,039,500	74.4	50.8
1941	3,444	4,871,842	7,109,900	70.7	48.4
1942	3,772	4,935,923	7,180,700	76.4	52.5
1943	3,758	4,988,864	7,234,900	75.3	51.9
1944	3,956	5,056,289	7,309,700	78.2	54.1
1945	4,271	5,129,035	7,391,700	83.3	57.8
1946	3,859	5,196,150	7,465,100	74.3	51.7
1947	3,928	5,292,141	7,579,400	74.2	51.8
1948	3,908	5,355,908	7,708,700	73.0	50.7
1949	4,084	5,467,248	7,908,100	74.7	51.6
1950	4,300	5,626,196	8,178,700	76.4	52.6
1951	4,523	5,764,391	8,421,700	78.5	53.7

Table A3: Australia Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1952	5,189	5,881,709	8,636,500	88.2	60.1
1953	5,196	5,973,156	8,815,300	87.0	58.9
1954	5,252	6,058,250	8,986,500	86.7	58.4
1955	5,725	6,169,004	9,199,700	92.8	62.2
1956	6,701	6,286,633	9,425,500	106.6	71.1
1957	7,143	6,395,279	9,640,200	111.7	74.1
1958	7,116	6,494,139	9,842,400	109.6	72.3
1959	7,068	6,599,293	10,056,400	107.1	70.3
1960	7,394	6,705,914	10,275,000	110.3	72.0
1961	7,862	6,820,445	10,508,200	115.3	74.8
1962	7,865	6,946,908	10,700,500	113.2	73.5
1963	8,138	7,082,586	10,906,900	114.9	74.6
1964	7,922	7,223,718	11,121,600	109.7	71.2
1965	8,139	7,367,905	11,340,900	110.5	71.8
1966	8,736	7,537,697	11,599,498	115.9	75.3
1967	9,319	7,692,464	11,799,078	121.1	79.0
1968	9,768	7,854,604	12,008,635	124.4	81.3
1969	9,802	8,047,048	12,263,014	121.8	79.9
1970	10,208	8,233,961	12,507,349	124.0	81.6
1971	10,532	8,630,339	13,067,265	122.0	80.6
1972	10,329	8,803,201	13,303,664	117.3	77.6
1973	8,939	8,968,318	13,504,538	99.7	66.2
1974	8,626	9,158,363	13,722,571	94.2	62.9
1975	8,683	9,317,464	13,892,995	93.2	62.5
1976	8,840	9,469,726	14,033,083	93.4	63.0
1977	8,751	9,641,501	14,192,234	90.8	61.7
1978	9,333	9,824,614	14,359,255	95.0	65.0
1979	10,024	10,010,719	14,515,729	100.1	69.1
1980	9,828	10,210,180	14,695,356	96.3	66.9
1981	9,880	10,435,446	14,923,260	94.7	66.2
1982	9,826	10,682,612	15,184,247	92.0	64.7
1983	10,196	10,882,815	15,393,472	93.7	66.2
1984	9,694	11,066,283	15,579,391	87.6	62.2
1985	10,844	11,265,963	15,788,312	96.3	68.7
1986	11,497	11,486,396	16,018,350	100.1	71.8
1987	12,113	11,722,511	16,263,874	103.3	74.5
1988	12,321	11,974,741	16,532,164	102.9	74.5
1989	12,965	12,253,914	16,814,416	105.8	77.1
1990	14,305	12,502,001	17,065,128	114.4	83.8
1991	15,021	12,711,312	17,284,036	118.2	86.9
1992	15,559	12,897,064	17,478,635	120.6	89.0
1993	15,866	13,048,816	17,634,808	121.6	90.0
1994	16,944	13,204,530	17,805,468	128.3	95.2
1995	17,428	13,378,157	18,004,882	130.3	96.8
1996	18,193	13,569,119	18,224,767	134.1	99.8
1997	19,128	13,748,769	18,423,037	139.1	103.8

Table A3: Australia Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1998	19,906	13,914,981	18,607,584	143.1	107.0
1999	21,538	14,098,070	18,812,264	152.8	114.5
2000	21,714	14,291,402	19,028,802	151.9	114.1
2001	22,458	14,511,122	19,274,701	154.8	116.5
2002	22,492	14,720,941	19,495,210	152.8	115.4
2003	23,555	14,940,121	19,720,737	157.7	119.4
2004	24,171	15,145,745	19,932,722	159.6	121.3
2005	25,353	15,368,716	20,176,844	165.0	125.7
2006	25,790	15,610,374	20,450,966	165.2	126.1
2007	27,224	15,928,808	20,827,622	170.9	130.7
2008	27,619	16,292,675	21,249,199	169.5	130.0
2009	29,315	16,677,226	21,691,653	175.8	135.1
2010	29,700	16,972,406	22,031,750	175.0	134.8
2011	29,107	17,245,436	22,340,024	168.8	130.3
2012	29,380	17,566,216	22,733,465	167.3	129.2
2013	30,773	17,891,718	23,128,129	172.0	133.1
2014	33,789	18,177,484	23,475,686	185.9	143.9
2015	36,134	18,455,136	23,815,995	195.8	151.7
2016	38,845	18,751,964	24,190,907	207.2	160.6
2017	41,202	19,094,732	24,601,860	215.8	167.5
2018	42,974	19,423,704	24,992,369	221.2	171.9

Table A4: Canada Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1867	2,916	1,775,763	3,463,000	164.2	84.2
1868	2,583	1,804,996	3,511,000	143.1	73.6
1869	2,235	1,837,448	3,565,000	121.6	62.7
1870	2,268	1,873,143	3,625,000	121.1	62.6
1871	2,076	1,911,200	3,689,257	108.6	56.3
1872	1,815	1,955,222	3,754,000	92.8	48.3
1873	1,701	2,003,405	3,826,000	84.9	44.5
1874	2,037	2,050,410	3,895,000	99.3	52.3
1875	2,544	2,092,509	3,954,000	121.6	64.3
1876	3,207	2,132,810	4,009,000	150.4	80.0
1877	3,324	2,173,418	4,064,000	152.9	81.8
1878	3,330	2,214,870	4,120,000	150.3	80.8
1879	3,600	2,261,498	4,185,000	159.2	86.0
1880	3,639	2,311,206	4,255,000	157.5	85.5
1881	3,654	2,361,200	4,324,810	154.8	84.5
1882	3,381	2,399,973	4,375,000	140.9	77.3
1883	3,339	2,441,657	4,430,000	136.8	75.4
1884	3,117	2,484,735	4,487,000	125.4	69.5
1885	3,336	2,524,215	4,537,000	132.2	73.5
1886	3,600	2,560,042	4,580,000	140.6	78.6
1887	3,477	2,597,777	4,626,000	133.8	75.2
1888	3,282	2,639,136	4,678,000	124.4	70.2
1889	3,585	2,680,199	4,729,000	133.8	75.8
1890	3,753	2,720,957	4,779,000	137.9	78.5
1891	3,747	2,764,400	4,833,239	135.5	77.5
1892	3,684	2,803,556	4,883,000	131.4	75.4
1893	3,582	2,841,915	4,931,000	126.0	72.6
1894	3,669	2,880,484	4,979,000	127.4	73.7
1895	3,831	2,918,683	5,026,000	131.3	76.2
1896	4,083	2,957,671	5,074,000	138.0	80.5
1897	4,149	2,996,869	5,122,000	138.4	81.0
1898	4,338	3,039,213	5,175,000	142.7	83.8
1899	4,335	3,085,917	5,235,000	140.5	82.8
1900	4,272	3,136,433	5,301,000	136.2	80.6
1901	4,146	3,189,800	5,371,315	130.0	77.2
1902	3,642	3,273,382	5,494,000	111.3	66.3
1903	3,750	3,377,955	5,651,000	111.0	66.4
1904	3,984	3,494,536	5,827,000	114.0	68.4
1905	4,101	3,611,202	6,002,000	113.6	68.3
1906	4,317	3,680,262	6,097,000	117.3	70.8
1907	4,269	3,882,312	6,411,000	110.0	66.6
1908	4,428	4,024,836	6,625,000	110.0	66.8
1909	5,295	4,144,427	6,800,000	127.8	77.9
1910	5,577	4,272,649	6,988,000	130.5	79.8
1911	5,595	4,420,400	7,206,643	126.6	77.6
1912	5,685	4,523,061	7,389,000	125.7	76.9

Table A4: Canada Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1913	5,910	4,662,314	7,632,000	126.8	77.4
1914	6,009	4,803,401	7,879,000	125.1	76.3
1915	6,192	4,855,655	7,981,000	127.5	77.6
1916	5,459	4,857,868	8,001,000	112.4	68.2
1917	5,168	4,883,662	8,060,000	105.8	64.1
1918	5,026	4,926,845	8,148,000	102.0	61.7
1919	5,442	5,015,065	8,311,000	108.5	65.5
1920	6,004	5,152,259	8,556,000	116.5	70.2
1921	7,191	5,281,000	8,787,949	136.2	81.8
1922	7,601	5,380,056	8,919,000	141.3	85.2
1923	6,849	5,455,458	9,010,000	125.5	76.0
1924	7,126	5,556,801	9,143,000	128.2	77.9
1925	7,543	5,669,730	9,294,000	133.0	81.2
1926	7,593	5,787,020	9,451,000	131.2	80.3
1927	7,964	5,922,848	9,637,000	134.5	82.6
1928	8,561	6,066,925	9,835,000	141.1	87.0
1929	9,796	6,209,427	10,029,000	157.8	97.7
1930	11,223	6,343,492	10,208,000	176.9	109.9
1931	12,549	6,472,000	10,376,786	193.9	120.9
1932	13,255	6,597,129	10,510,000	200.9	126.1
1933	12,657	6,716,871	10,633,000	188.4	119.0
1934	11,899	6,828,062	10,741,000	174.3	110.8
1935	10,550	6,937,558	10,845,000	152.1	97.3
1936	11,154	7,048,530	10,950,000	158.2	101.9
1937	12,208	7,153,865	11,045,000	170.6	110.5
1938	13,438	7,267,780	11,152,000	184.9	120.5
1939	12,874	7,387,797	11,267,000	174.3	114.3
1940	12,951	7,508,075	11,381,000	172.5	113.8
1941	11,763	7,637,000	11,506,655	154.0	102.2
1942	10,451	7,720,410	11,654,000	135.4	89.7
1943	10,862	7,799,262	11,795,000	139.3	92.1
1944	11,212	7,884,365	11,946,000	142.2	93.9
1945	11,334	7,952,626	12,072,000	142.5	93.9
1946	11,651	8,082,384	12,292,000	144.2	94.8
1947	12,481	8,237,195	12,551,000	151.5	99.4
1948	13,454	8,399,883	12,823,000	160.2	104.9
1949	14,573	8,792,047	13,447,000	165.8	108.4
1950	16,012	8,948,389	13,712,000	178.9	116.8
1951	15,295	9,125,200	14,009,429	167.6	109.2
1952	15,846	9,360,918	14,459,000	169.3	109.6
1953	16,383	9,552,179	14,845,000	171.5	110.4
1954	17,369	9,776,204	15,287,000	177.7	113.6
1955	18,048	9,977,034	15,698,000	180.9	115.0
1956	17,352	10,156,800	16,080,791	170.8	107.9
1957	16,299	10,430,560	16,610,000	156.3	98.1
1958	17,310	10,663,499	17,080,000	162.3	101.3

Table A4: Canada Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1959	18,885	10,851,429	17,483,000	174.0	108.0
1960	20,628	11,026,551	17,870,000	187.1	115.4
1961	20,214	11,187,200	18,238,000	180.7	110.8
1962	21,468	11,629,675	18,583,000	184.6	115.5
1963	21,657	12,082,638	18,931,000	179.2	114.4
1964	22,965	12,552,054	19,291,000	183.0	119.0
1965	24,179	13,025,773	19,644,000	185.6	123.1
1966	22,332	12,320,200	18,238,247	181.3	122.4
1967	21,555	13,639,048	20,378,000	158.0	105.8
1968	21,171	13,726,640	20,701,000	154.2	102.3
1969	21,480	13,795,111	21,001,000	155.7	102.3
1970	22,329	13,857,252	21,297,000	161.1	104.8
1971	22,374	14,153,541	21,962,032	158.1	101.9
1972	23,337	14,477,239	22,218,463	161.2	105.0
1973	26,469	14,833,071	22,491,777	178.4	117.7
1974	27,717	15,223,581	22,807,969	182.1	121.5
1975	20,009	15,614,408	23,143,275	128.1	86.5
1976	20,676	15,987,546	23,449,808	129.3	88.2
1977	21,342	16,350,680	23,725,843	130.5	90.0
1978	22,009	16,698,573	23,963,203	131.8	91.8
1979	21,828	17,054,292	24,201,544	128.0	90.2
1980	22,502	17,446,148	24,515,667	129.0	91.8
1981	24,064	17,841,492	24,819,915	134.9	97.0
1982	26,924	18,222,912	25,116,942	147.7	107.2
1983	26,980	18,552,510	25,366,451	145.4	106.4
1984	27,633	18,839,400	25,607,053	146.7	107.9
1985	27,392	19,093,456	25,842,116	143.5	106.0
1986	26,893	19,357,384	26,100,278	138.9	103.0
1987	26,634	19,673,060	26,446,601	135.4	100.7
1988	27,466	19,988,512	26,791,747	137.4	102.5
1989	29,150	20,413,192	27,276,781	142.8	106.9
1990	29,224	20,737,256	27,691,138	140.9	105.5
1991	30,723	20,999,258	28,037,420	146.3	109.6
1992	31,709	21,243,332	28,371,264	149.3	111.8
1993	32,804	21,500,164	28,684,764	152.6	114.4
1994	33,760	21,766,930	29,000,663	155.1	116.4
1995	33,806	22,031,088	29,302,311	153.4	115.4
1996	33,722	22,299,798	29,610,218	151.2	113.9
1997	32,715	22,588,490	29,905,948	144.8	109.4
1998	32,391	22,846,348	30,155,173	141.8	107.4
1999	31,451	23,120,958	30,401,286	136.0	103.5
2000	31,366	23,420,822	30,685,730	133.9	102.2
2001	31,787	23,898,020	31,020,596	133.0	102.5
2002	32,181	24,261,226	31,358,418	132.6	102.6
2003	31,722	24,588,232	31,641,630	129.0	100.3
2004	32,094	24,914,874	31,938,004	128.8	100.5

Table A4: Canada Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
2005	33,376	25,235,656	32,242,364	132.3	103.5
2006	35,369	25,571,284	32,570,505	138.3	108.6
2007	36,391	25,912,044	32,887,928	140.4	110.7
2008	37,133	26,289,752	33,245,773	141.2	111.7
2009	37,302	26,681,840	33,628,571	139.8	110.9
2010	38,195	27,061,042	34,005,274	141.1	112.3
2011	39,080	27,401,648	34,342,780	142.6	113.8
2012	39,655	27,821,284	34,750,545	142.5	114.1
2013	36,845	28,229,600	35,152,370	130.5	104.8
2014	39,623	28,612,758	35,535,348	138.5	111.5
2015	40,147	28,891,718	35,832,513	139.0	112.0
2016	39,873	29,263,804	36,264,604	136.3	109.9

Table A5: England & Wales Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1860	11,367	12,707,491	19,902,713	89.5	57.1
1861	11,648	12,845,786	20,119,314	90.7	57.9
1862	11,952	13,006,491	20,371,013	91.9	58.7
1863	12,263	13,169,203	20,625,855	93.1	59.5
1864	12,579	13,333,952	20,883,889	94.3	60.2
1865	12,902	13,500,763	21,145,151	95.6	61.0
1866	13,230	13,669,662	21,409,684	96.8	61.8
1867	13,565	13,840,673	21,677,525	98.0	62.6
1868	13,952	14,013,821	21,948,713	99.6	63.6
1869	14,346	14,189,139	22,223,299	101.1	64.6
1870	14,748	14,366,648	22,501,316	102.7	65.5
1871	15,161	14,549,987	22,788,466	104.2	66.5
1872	15,595	14,746,661	23,096,500	105.7	67.5
1873	15,974	14,945,931	23,408,600	106.9	68.2
1874	16,360	15,147,818	23,724,800	108.0	69.0
1875	16,754	15,352,515	24,045,400	109.1	69.7
1876	17,156	15,559,957	24,370,300	110.3	70.4
1877	17,566	15,770,145	24,699,500	111.4	71.1
1878	17,714	15,983,270	25,033,300	110.8	70.8
1879	17,862	16,199,204	25,371,500	110.3	70.4
1880	18,012	16,418,075	25,714,300	109.7	70.0
1881	18,152	16,629,922	26,046,100	109.2	69.7
1882	18,259	16,814,316	26,334,900	108.6	69.3
1883	18,055	17,000,752	26,626,900	106.2	67.8
1884	17,845	17,189,295	26,922,200	103.8	66.3
1885	17,628	17,379,881	27,220,700	101.4	64.8
1886	17,404	17,572,575	27,522,500	99.0	63.2
1887	17,172	17,767,439	27,827,700	96.6	61.7
1888	17,062	17,964,474	28,136,300	95.0	60.6
1889	16,948	18,163,616	28,448,200	93.3	59.6
1890	16,829	18,365,057	28,763,700	91.6	58.5
1891	16,706	18,570,711	29,085,800	90.0	57.4
1892	16,585	18,784,985	29,421,400	88.3	56.4
1893	16,654	19,001,685	29,760,800	87.6	56.0
1894	16,723	19,220,939	30,104,200	87.0	55.5
1895	16,790	19,442,684	30,451,500	86.4	55.1
1896	16,858	19,667,046	30,802,900	85.7	54.7
1897	16,924	19,893,898	31,158,200	85.1	54.3
1898	17,429	20,123,431	31,517,700	86.6	55.3
1899	17,943	20,355,647	31,881,400	88.1	56.3
1900	17,435	20,590,480	32,249,200	84.7	54.1
1901	18,980	20,822,120	32,612,000	91.2	58.2
1902	19,437	21,038,501	32,950,900	92.4	59.0
1903	20,795	21,257,117	33,293,300	97.8	62.5
1904	21,428	21,478,031	33,639,300	99.8	63.7
1905	21,525	21,701,180	33,988,800	99.2	63.3

Table A5: England & Wales Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1906	21,074	21,926,691	34,342,000	96.1	61.4
1907	20,926	22,154,565	34,698,900	94.5	60.3
1908	22,146	22,384,801	35,059,500	98.9	63.2
1909	22,018	22,617,399	35,423,800	97.3	62.2
1910	20,904	22,852,424	35,791,900	91.5	58.4
1911	19,797	23,023,600	36,136,000	86.0	54.8
1912	19,442	23,242,600	36,327,000	83.6	53.5
1913	18,236	23,473,600	36,574,000	77.7	49.9
1914	15,808	23,811,800	36,967,000	66.4	42.8
1915	11,311	22,255,200	35,284,000	50.8	32.1
1916	10,058	21,694,000	34,642,000	46.4	29.0
1917	9,660	21,374,400	34,197,000	45.2	28.2
1918	9,199	21,361,600	34,024,000	43.1	27.0
1919	9,683	22,930,200	36,800,000	42.2	26.3
1920	11,000	24,654,400	37,524,000	44.6	29.3
1921	12,179	25,230,270	37,932,000	48.3	32.1
1922	11,766	25,411,854	38,205,000	46.3	30.8
1923	11,148	25,878,640	38,449,000	43.1	29.0
1924	10,750	26,274,980	38,795,000	40.9	27.7
1925	10,509	26,546,580	38,935,000	39.6	27.0
1926	10,860	26,840,640	39,114,000	40.5	27.8
1927	11,179	27,143,640	39,286,000	41.2	28.5
1928	11,109	27,483,560	39,483,000	40.4	28.1
1929	10,861	27,769,480	39,600,000	39.1	27.4
1930	11,346	28,105,020	39,801,000	40.4	28.5
1931	11,676	28,388,960	39,988,000	41.1	29.2
1932	12,803	28,711,460	40,201,000	44.6	31.8
1933	12,986	28,929,440	40,350,000	44.9	32.2
1934	12,238	29,159,060	40,467,000	42.0	30.2
1935	11,306	29,524,180	40,645,000	38.3	27.8
1936	10,613	29,832,220	40,839,000	35.6	26.0
1937	10,562	30,095,560	41,031,000	35.1	25.7
1938	11,086	30,286,820	41,215,000	36.6	26.9
1939	10,326	30,570,280	41,460,000	33.8	24.9
1940	9,377	29,237,000	39,889,000	32.1	23.5
1941	10,635	28,364,400	38,743,000	37.5	27.5
1942	12,400	27,996,800	38,243,000	44.3	32.4
1943	12,790	31,819,600	37,818,000	40.2	33.8
1944	12,915	31,961,200	37,785,000	40.4	34.2
1945	14,708	32,096,800	37,916,000	45.8	38.8
1946	15,789	32,148,600	40,759,000	49.1	38.7
1947	17,067	32,193,000	41,786,000	53.0	40.8
1948	19,765	32,450,600	43,296,000	60.9	45.7
1949	19,879	32,582,800	43,595,000	61.0	45.6
1950	20,474	32,558,400	43,830,000	62.9	46.7
1951	21,780	32,455,200	43,815,000	67.1	49.7

Table A5: England & Wales Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1952	23,680	32,529,600	43,955,000	72.8	53.9
1953	23,610	32,601,000	44,109,000	72.4	53.5
1954	22,421	32,672,000	44,274,000	68.6	50.6
1955	21,134	32,750,600	44,441,000	64.5	47.6
1956	20,807	32,849,000	44,667,000	63.3	46.6
1957	22,602	32,975,000	44,907,000	68.5	50.3
1958	25,379	33,072,000	45,109,000	76.7	56.3
1959	26,623	33,226,200	45,386,000	80.1	58.7
1960	27,099	33,443,200	45,775,000	81.0	59.2
1961	29,025	33,565,100	46,196,200	86.5	62.8
1962	31,063	33,844,900	46,657,300	91.8	66.6
1963	30,896	33,988,200	46,973,100	90.9	65.8
1964	29,600	34,181,500	47,324,300	86.6	62.5
1965	30,421	34,541,100	47,671,400	88.1	63.8
1966	33,086	34,801,400	47,966,500	95.1	69.0
1967	35,009	35,017,600	48,271,900	100.0	72.5
1968	32,461	35,126,400	48,510,700	92.4	66.9
1969	34,667	35,229,400	48,738,000	98.4	71.1
1970	39,028	35,294,600	48,891,100	110.6	79.8
1971	39,708	35,485,900	49,152,000	111.9	80.8
1972	38,328	35,604,800	49,327,100	107.6	77.7
1973	36,774	35,703,800	49,459,000	103.0	74.4
1974	36,867	35,769,800	49,467,900	103.1	74.5
1975	39,820	35,871,000	49,469,800	111.0	80.5
1976	41,443	36,004,200	49,459,200	115.1	83.8
1977	41,570	36,168,800	49,440,400	114.9	84.1
1978	41,796	36,349,300	49,442,500	115.0	84.5
1979	42,220	36,572,222	49,508,200	115.4	85.3
1980	42,264	36,827,400	49,603,000	114.8	85.2
1981	43,311	37,042,848	49,634,300	116.9	87.3
1982	43,707	37,222,895	49,581,626	117.4	88.2
1983	43,462	37,486,494	49,616,997	115.9	87.6
1984	43,295	37,782,723	49,713,130	114.6	87.1
1985	46,233	38,067,659	49,860,713	121.4	92.7
1986	46,770	38,305,466	49,998,574	122.1	93.5
1987	48,426	38,528,600	50,122,984	125.7	96.6
1988	48,872	38,714,738	50,253,568	126.2	97.3
1989	48,500	38,930,993	50,407,826	124.6	96.2
1990	44,975	39,102,268	50,560,628	115.0	89.0
1991	44,809	39,246,255	50,748,033	114.2	88.3
1992	44,719	39,321,228	50,875,647	113.7	87.9
1993	44,552	39,378,488	50,985,877	113.1	87.4
1994	48,621	39,424,604	51,116,228	123.3	95.1
1995	50,962	39,488,113	51,271,978	129.1	99.4
1996	55,281	39,553,986	51,410,433	139.8	107.5
1997	61,114	39,672,449	51,559,648	154.0	118.5

Table A5: England & Wales Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1998	65,298	39,842,498	51,720,104	163.9	126.3
1999	64,771	40,055,937	51,933,471	161.7	124.7
2000	64,602	40,298,219	52,140,181	160.3	123.9
2001	66,301	40,551,759	52,359,978	163.5	126.6
2002	70,778	40,818,374	52,602,143	173.4	134.6
2003	73,038	41,095,463	52,863,238	177.7	138.2
2004	74,657	41,392,943	53,152,022	180.4	140.5
2005	75,979	41,816,777	53,575,343	181.7	141.8
2006	78,127	42,197,656	53,950,854	185.1	144.8
2007	80,216	42,593,534	54,387,392	188.3	147.5
2008	82,572	42,999,448	54,841,720	192.0	150.6
2009	83,559	43,367,382	55,235,253	192.7	151.3
2010	84,725	43,779,893	55,692,423	193.5	152.1
2011	85,951	44,197,743	56,170,927	194.5	153.0
2012	86,634	44,513,580	56,567,796	194.6	153.2
2013	84,249	44,811,567	56,948,229	188.0	147.9
2014	85,307	45,187,344	57,408,700	188.8	148.6
2015	85,626	45,579,669	57,885,400	187.9	147.9
2016	85,348	45,968,034	58,381,200	185.7	146.2
2017	85,632	46,249,349	58,744,600	185.2	145.8

Table A6: New Zealand Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1881	698	279,580	534,040	249.7	130.7
1882	636	288,679	551,294	220.3	115.4
1883	613	297,783	568,548	205.9	107.8
1884	629	306,890	585,802	205.0	107.4
1885	589	316,001	603,056	186.4	97.7
1886	625	325,117	620,310	192.2	100.8
1887	691	331,817	629,978	208.2	109.7
1888	641	338,568	639,646	189.3	100.2
1889	633	345,369	649,315	183.3	97.5
1890	562	352,220	658,983	159.6	85.3
1891	534	359,121	668,651	148.7	79.9
1892	476	376,123	692,426	126.6	68.7
1893	502	392,349	714,258	127.9	70.3
1894	555	404,416	728,121	137.2	76.2
1895	582	415,930	740,699	139.9	78.6
1896	577	428,015	754,010	134.8	76.5
1897	674	441,534	768,910	152.6	87.7
1898	595	454,962	783,317	130.8	76.0
1899	566	467,778	796,359	121.0	71.1
1900	568	481,440	810,536	118.0	70.1
1901	713	498,945	830,800	142.9	85.8
1902	653	522,946	863,364	124.9	75.6
1903	739	542,403	887,940	136.2	83.2
1904	750	562,396	912,974	133.4	82.1
1905	810	585,456	942,533	138.4	85.9
1906	891	606,758	968,797	146.8	92.0
1907	847	621,419	989,555	136.3	85.6
1908	879	642,698	1,020,713	136.8	86.1
1909	949	658,479	1,042,997	144.1	91.0
1910	881	672,733	1,062,750	131.0	82.9
1911	873	690,446	1,087,848	126.4	80.3
1912	866	704,190	1,115,069	123.0	77.7
1913	919	720,787	1,147,104	127.5	80.1
1914	1,045	724,238	1,158,436	144.3	90.2
1915	998	724,798	1,165,236	137.7	85.6
1916	890	719,807	1,163,136	123.6	76.5
1917	1,007	721,770	1,160,245	139.5	86.8
1918	1,047	732,213	1,170,946	143.0	89.4
1919	920	771,218	1,226,978	119.3	75.0
1920	1,060	793,473	1,255,926	133.6	84.4
1921	1,099	815,916	1,284,873	134.7	85.5
1922	1,114	878,636	1,376,632	126.8	80.9
1923	1,195	893,988	1,393,626	133.7	85.7
1924	1,247	916,792	1,422,007	136.0	87.7
1925	1,333	927,268	1,431,079	143.8	93.1
1926	1,435	930,997	1,429,700	154.1	100.4

Table A6: New Zealand Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1927	1,549	949,166	1,450,400	163.2	106.8
1928	1,484	965,036	1,467,400	153.8	101.1
1929	1,395	982,139	1,486,100	142.0	93.9
1930	1,569	1,000,691	1,506,800	156.8	104.1
1931	1,657	1,016,240	1,522,800	163.1	108.8
1932	1,583	1,029,144	1,534,700	153.8	103.1
1933	1,442	1,042,461	1,547,100	138.3	93.2
1934	1,236	1,055,114	1,558,400	117.1	79.3
1935	1,150	1,067,840	1,569,700	107.7	73.3
1936	962	1,083,100	1,584,600	88.8	60.7
1937	835	1,099,150	1,601,800	76.0	52.1
1938	808	1,116,480	1,618,300	72.4	49.9
1939	934	1,137,480	1,641,600	82.1	56.9
1940	895	1,122,980	1,633,600	79.7	54.8
1941	1,015	1,112,470	1,631,200	91.2	62.2
1942	1,064	1,110,780	1,636,400	95.8	65.0
1943	1,077	1,112,880	1,642,000	96.8	65.6
1944	993	1,139,380	1,676,300	87.2	59.2
1945	1,040	1,182,710	1,727,800	87.9	60.2
1946	1,032	1,218,090	1,781,200	84.7	57.9
1947	1,137	1,234,470	1,817,500	92.1	62.6
1948	1,025	1,251,620	1,853,900	81.9	55.3
1949	991	1,269,690	1,892,100	78.1	52.4
1950	1,083	1,283,250	1,927,700	84.4	56.2
1951	1,076	1,302,440	1,970,500	82.6	54.6
1952	1,113	1,328,790	2,024,600	83.8	55.0
1953	1,115	1,351,500	2,074,700	82.5	53.7
1954	1,223	1,368,610	2,118,400	89.4	57.7
1955	1,154	1,387,470	2,164,800	83.2	53.3
1956	1,403	1,407,240	2,209,200	99.7	63.5
1957	1,513	1,432,730	2,262,800	105.6	66.9
1958	1,695	1,459,760	2,316,000	116.1	73.2
1959	1,746	1,479,930	2,359,700	118.0	74.0
1960	1,828	1,496,560	2,403,600	122.1	76.1
1961	1,866	1,523,020	2,461,300	122.5	75.8
1962	1,760	1,550,400	2,515,800	113.5	70.0
1963	1,804	1,576,580	2,566,900	114.4	70.3
1964	1,757	1,609,760	2,617,000	109.1	67.1
1965	1,702	1,644,890	2,663,800	103.5	63.9
1966	1,964	1,680,980	2,711,300	116.8	72.4
1967	2,053	1,702,990	2,745,000	120.6	74.8
1968	2,093	1,721,630	2,773,000	121.6	75.5
1969	2,047	1,745,050	2,804,000	117.3	73.0
1970	2,365	1,783,560	2,852,100	132.6	82.9
1971	2,632	1,817,450	2,898,500	144.8	90.8
1972	2,636	1,863,740	2,959,700	141.4	89.1

Table A6: New Zealand Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1973	2,567	1,915,690	3,024,900	134.0	84.9
1974	2,440	1,972,360	3,091,900	123.7	78.9
1975	2,752	2,021,780	3,143,700	136.1	87.5
1976	2,843	2,049,780	3,163,400	138.7	89.9
1977	2,860	2,066,530	3,166,400	138.4	90.3
1978	2,763	2,087,730	3,165,200	132.3	87.3
1979	2,742	2,108,590	3,163,900	130.0	86.7
1980	2,801	2,145,710	3,176,400	130.5	88.2
1981	2,464	2,175,980	3,194,500	113.2	77.1
1982	2,643	2,218,650	3,226,800	119.1	81.9
1983	2,700	2,260,680	3,264,800	119.4	82.7
1984	2,989	2,296,470	3,293,000	130.2	90.8
1985	2,235	2,315,930	3,303,100	96.5	67.7
1986	2,675	2,338,050	3,313,500	114.4	80.7
1987	3,105	2,376,000	3,342,100	130.7	92.9
1988	3,270	2,390,840	3,345,200	136.8	97.8
1989	3,451	2,421,060	3,369,800	142.5	102.4
1990	3,955	2,459,660	3,410,400	160.8	116.0
1991	4,079	2,540,000	3,516,000	160.6	116.0
1992	4,316	2,573,200	3,552,200	167.7	121.5
1993	4,169	2,609,300	3,597,800	159.8	115.9
1994	4,269	2,648,800	3,648,300	161.2	117.0
1995	4,372	2,691,400	3,706,700	162.4	117.9
1996	4,899	2,733,200	3,762,300	179.2	130.2
1997	5,173	2,765,900	3,802,700	187.0	136.0
1998	5,388	2,789,600	3,829,200	193.1	140.7
1999	5,475	2,809,700	3,851,100	194.9	142.2
2000	5,865	2,829,300	3,873,100	207.3	151.4
2001	5,626	2,866,600	3,916,200	196.3	143.7
2002	5,818	2,928,400	3,989,500	198.7	145.8
2003	6,168	2,990,700	4,061,600	206.2	151.9
2004	6,712	3,038,300	4,114,300	220.9	163.1
2005	7,514	3,082,200	4,161,000	243.8	180.6
2006	7,644	3,126,700	4,209,100	244.5	181.6
2007	7,513	3,159,800	4,245,700	237.8	177.0
2008	8,069	3,192,900	4,280,300	252.7	188.5
2009	8,310	3,239,400	4,332,100	256.5	191.8
2010	8,712	3,276,200	4,373,900	265.9	199.2
2011	8,600	3,303,200	4,399,400	260.4	195.5
2012	8,670	3,329,800	4,425,900	260.4	195.9
2013	8,405	3,381,000	4,475,800	248.6	187.8
2014	8,744	3,457,000	4,554,600	252.9	192.0
2015	9,012	3,543,500	4,647,300	254.3	193.9
2016	9,851	3,633,000	4,747,200	271.2	207.5

Table A7: United States Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1850	6,737	12,044,331	23,191,876	55.9	29.0
1851	7,972	12,509,093	24,017,021	63.7	33.2
1852	9,207	12,973,854	24,842,165	71.0	37.1
1853	10,442	13,438,616	25,667,310	77.7	40.7
1854	11,677	13,903,378	26,492,454	84.0	44.1
1855	12,912	14,368,139	27,317,599	89.9	47.3
1856	14,146	14,832,901	28,142,743	95.4	50.3
1857	15,381	15,297,663	28,967,888	100.5	53.1
1858	16,616	15,762,425	29,793,032	105.4	55.8
1859	17,851	16,227,186	30,618,177	110.0	58.3
1860	19,086	16,691,948	31,443,321	114.3	60.7
1861	20,468	17,121,575	32,154,826	119.5	63.7
1862	21,849	17,551,201	32,866,331	124.5	66.5
1863	23,231	17,980,828	33,577,836	129.2	69.2
1864	24,612	18,410,455	34,289,341	133.7	71.8
1865	25,994	18,840,082	35,000,846	138.0	74.3
1866	27,375	19,269,708	35,712,351	142.1	76.7
1867	28,757	19,699,335	36,423,856	146.0	79.0
1868	30,138	20,128,962	37,135,361	149.7	81.2
1869	31,520	20,558,588	37,846,866	153.3	83.3
1870	32,901	20,988,215	38,558,371	156.8	85.3
1871	35,387	21,693,351	39,721,455	163.1	89.1
1872	37,873	22,398,486	40,884,539	169.1	92.6
1873	40,359	23,103,622	42,047,622	174.7	96.0
1874	42,845	23,808,758	43,210,706	180.0	99.2
1875	45,331	24,513,894	44,373,790	184.9	102.2
1876	47,816	25,219,029	45,536,874	189.6	105.0
1877	50,302	25,924,165	46,699,958	194.0	107.7
1878	52,788	26,629,301	47,863,041	198.2	110.3
1879	55,274	27,334,436	49,026,125	202.2	112.7
1880	57,760	28,039,572	50,189,209	206.0	115.1
1881	60,047	28,880,166	51,468,265	207.9	116.7
1882	62,335	29,720,760	52,747,320	209.7	118.2
1883	64,622	30,561,354	54,026,376	211.5	119.6
1884	66,910	31,401,948	55,305,432	213.1	121.0
1885	69,197	32,242,542	56,584,488	214.6	122.3
1886	71,484	33,083,136	57,863,543	216.1	123.5
1887	73,772	33,923,730	59,142,599	217.5	124.7
1888	76,059	34,764,324	60,421,655	218.8	125.9
1889	78,347	35,604,918	61,700,710	220.0	127.0
1890	80,634	36,445,512	62,979,766	221.2	128.0
1891	82,893	37,338,861	64,291,189	222.0	128.9
1892	85,153	38,232,210	65,602,613	222.7	129.8
1893	87,412	39,125,559	66,914,036	223.4	130.6
1894	89,672	40,018,907	68,225,460	224.1	131.4
1895	91,931	40,912,256	69,536,883	224.7	132.2

Table A7: United States Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1896	94,191	41,805,605	70,848,306	225.3	132.9
1897	96,450	42,698,954	72,159,730	225.9	133.7
1898	98,710	43,592,302	73,471,153	226.4	134.4
1899	100,969	44,485,651	74,782,577	227.0	135.0
1900	103,229	45,379,000	76,094,000	227.5	135.7
1901	105,488	46,448,000	77,584,000	227.1	136.0
1902	107,748	47,578,000	79,163,000	226.5	136.1
1903	110,007	48,661,000	80,632,000	226.1	136.4
1904	112,267	49,792,000	82,166,000	225.5	136.6
1905	114,526	51,014,000	83,822,000	224.5	136.6
1906	116,786	52,224,000	85,450,000	223.6	136.7
1907	119,045	53,397,000	87,008,000	222.9	136.8
1908	121,305	54,660,000	88,710,000	221.9	136.7
1909	123,564	55,970,000	90,490,000	220.8	136.5
1910	125,824	57,346,000	92,407,000	219.4	136.2
1911	125,661	58,369,000	93,863,000	215.3	133.9
1912	125,498	59,387,000	95,335,000	211.3	131.6
1913	125,334	60,650,000	97,225,000	206.7	128.9
1914	125,171	61,907,000	99,111,000	202.2	126.3
1915	125,008	62,863,000	100,546,000	198.9	124.3
1916	124,845	63,811,000	101,961,000	195.6	122.4
1917	124,682	64,646,000	103,268,000	192.9	120.7
1918	124,519	64,092,000	103,208,000	194.3	120.6
1919	124,356	65,407,000	104,514,000	190.1	119.0
1920	124,193	66,839,000	106,461,000	185.8	116.7
1921	124,030	68,154,000	108,538,000	182.0	114.3
1922	123,866	69,102,000	110,049,000	179.3	112.6
1923	123,703	70,461,000	111,947,000	175.6	110.5
1924	132,710	72,035,000	114,109,000	184.2	116.3
1925	141,717	73,324,000	115,829,000	193.3	122.4
1926	150,724	74,619,000	117,397,000	202.0	128.4
1927	159,731	75,978,000	119,035,000	210.2	134.2
1928	168,738	77,323,000	120,509,000	218.2	140.0
1929	177,745	78,619,000	121,767,000	226.1	146.0
1930	186,752	80,068,980	123,076,741	233.2	151.7
1931	195,758	81,209,172	124,039,648	241.1	157.8
1932	204,765	82,294,743	124,840,471	248.8	164.0
1933	213,772	83,392,142	125,578,763	256.3	170.2
1934	222,310	84,552,935	126,373,773	262.9	175.9
1935	230,847	85,698,080	127,250,232	269.4	181.4
1936	239,385	86,791,801	128,053,180	275.8	186.9
1937	247,922	87,876,551	128,824,829	282.1	192.4
1938	256,460	89,072,692	129,824,939	287.9	197.5
1939	264,997	90,311,164	130,879,718	293.4	202.5
1940	273,535	91,764,122	132,122,446	298.1	207.0
1941	272,637	93,135,825	133,402,471	292.7	204.4

Table A7: United States Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1942	271,739	94,486,828	134,859,553	287.6	201.5
1943	270,841	95,837,053	136,739,353	282.6	198.1
1944	269,944	97,153,352	138,397,345	277.9	195.0
1945	269,046	98,372,755	139,928,165	273.5	192.3
1946	268,148	99,500,869	141,388,566	269.5	189.7
1947	267,250	100,723,315	144,126,071	265.3	185.4
1948	266,353	102,066,436	146,631,302	261.0	181.6
1949	265,455	103,444,722	149,188,130	256.6	177.9
1950	264,557	104,994,301	152,271,417	252.0	173.7
1951	272,703	106,048,368	154,877,889	257.1	176.1
1952	280,849	107,054,753	157,552,740	262.3	178.3
1953	288,994	108,053,025	160,184,192	267.5	180.4
1954	297,140	109,122,793	163,025,854	272.3	182.3
1955	305,286	110,192,874	165,931,202	277.0	184.0
1956	313,432	111,353,676	168,903,031	281.5	185.6
1957	321,578	112,514,204	171,984,130	285.8	187.0
1958	329,723	113,558,478	174,881,904	290.4	188.5
1959	337,869	114,779,195	177,829,628	294.4	190.0
1960	346,015	116,145,687	180,671,158	297.9	191.5
1961	347,143	117,900,175	183,691,481	294.4	189.0
1962	348,270	119,412,390	186,537,737	291.7	186.7
1963	349,398	120,822,242	189,241,798	289.2	184.6
1964	350,526	122,205,737	191,888,791	286.8	182.7
1965	351,654	124,572,108	194,302,963	282.3	181.0
1966	352,781	126,664,717	196,560,338	278.5	179.5
1967	353,909	128,784,895	198,712,056	274.8	178.1
1968	355,037	130,814,842	200,706,052	271.4	176.9
1969	356,164	132,904,639	202,676,946	268.0	175.7
1970	357,292	135,290,289	205,052,174	264.1	174.2
1971	347,492	137,852,263	207,660,677	252.1	167.3
1972	337,692	140,476,487	209,896,021	240.4	160.9
1973	359,002	143,144,603	211,908,788	250.8	169.4
1974	380,312	145,867,315	213,853,928	260.7	177.8
1975	401,623	148,805,353	215,973,199	269.9	186.0
1976	422,933	151,783,587	218,035,164	278.6	194.0
1977	444,243	154,776,287	220,239,425	287.0	201.7
1978	465,553	157,810,346	222,584,545	295.0	209.2
1979	484,577	160,950,041	225,055,487	301.1	215.3
1980	503,600	163,602,021	227,224,681	307.8	221.6
1981	556,800	166,254,000	229,465,714	334.9	242.7
1982	612,500	168,852,000	231,664,458	362.7	264.4
1983	647,400	171,225,000	233,791,994	378.1	276.9
1984	682,800	173,342,000	235,824,902	393.9	289.5
1985	744,200	175,300,000	237,923,795	424.5	312.8
1986	815,000	177,267,000	240,132,887	459.8	339.4
1987	858,700	179,232,000	242,288,918	479.1	354.4

Table A7: United States Full Series

Year	Prisoners	Adult population	Total population	Incarceration per 100,000 adults	Incarceration per 100,000 people
1988	950,400	181,252,000	244,498,982	524.4	388.7
1989	1,078,900	183,363,000	246,819,230	588.4	437.1
1990	1,148,700	185,407,320	249,464,396	619.6	460.5
1991	1,219,000	187,673,098	252,153,092	649.5	483.4
1992	1,295,200	190,012,470	255,029,699	681.6	507.9
1993	1,369,200	192,332,966	257,782,608	711.9	531.1
1994	1,476,600	194,494,289	260,327,021	759.2	567.2
1995	1,585,600	196,814,371	262,803,276	805.6	603.3
1996	1,646,300	199,168,835	265,228,572	826.6	620.7
1997	1,743,600	201,730,488	267,783,607	864.3	651.1
1998	1,815,200	204,425,597	270,248,003	888.0	671.7
1999	1,910,400	207,093,808	272,690,813	922.5	700.6
2000	1,945,400	209,786,222	282,162,411	927.3	689.5
2001	1,962,800	212,297,780	284,968,955	924.6	688.8
2002	2,033,100	214,688,736	287,625,193	947.0	706.9
2003	2,086,500	217,007,175	290,107,933	961.5	719.2
2004	2,136,600	219,507,563	292,805,298	973.4	729.7
2005	2,200,400	221,992,930	295,516,599	991.2	744.6
2006	2,256,600	224,622,198	298,379,912	1004.6	756.3
2007	2,296,400	227,211,802	301,231,207	1010.7	762.3
2008	2,310,300	229,989,364	304,093,966	1004.5	759.7
2009	2,297,700	232,637,362	306,771,529	987.7	749.0
2010	2,279,100	235,217,625	309,338,421	968.9	736.8
2011	2,252,500	237,734,073	311,644,280	947.5	722.8
2012	2,231,300	240,292,912	313,993,272	928.6	710.6
2013	2,222,500	242,660,171	316,234,505	915.9	702.8
2014	2,225,100	245,051,479	318,622,525	908.0	698.3
2015	2,172,800	247,411,463	321,039,839	878.2	676.8
2016	2,162,400	249,747,123	323,405,935	865.8	668.6

References

- Alexander, Michelle, 2010, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, New Press, New York.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001, *Prisoners in Australia 2000*, Cat No. 4517.0, ABS, Canberra.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008, *Prisoners in Australia 2008*, Cat No. 4517.0, ABS, Canberra.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018, *Prisoners in Australia 2018*, Cat No. 4517.0, ABS, Canberra.
- Biles, David, 1984, *Australian Prison Trends Nos 1-100*, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra
- Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2018, 'Estimated number of persons supervised by U.S. adult correctional systems, by correctional status, 1980-2016', US Bureau of Justice, Washington DC.
- Cahalan, Margaret, 1986, *Historical Corrections Statistics in the United States, 1850- 1984*, NCJ -102529, US Department of Justice, Washington DC.
- Carcach, Carlos and Grant, Anna, 1999, 'Imprisonment in Australia: Trends in Prison Populations and Imprisonment Rates 1982-1998', Trends and Issues in Crime and Justice No. 130, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.
- Christie, Nils, 2004, *A Suitable Amount of Crime*, Routledge, New York.
- Clear, Todd R. and Natasha A. Frost, 2014, *The Punishment Imperative: The Rise and Failure of Mass Incarceration in America*, NYU Press, New York.
- Doob, Anthony and Cheryl Webster. 2003. 'Sentence Severity and Crime: Accepting the Null Hypothesis', *Crime and Justice*, Vol. 30, pp.143-195.
- Frost, Natasha A., and Todd R. Clear, 2018, 'Theories of Mass Incarceration' In John Wooldredge and Paula Smith (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Prisons and Imprisonment*, Oxford, New York, pp. 104-124.
- Gluckman, Peter, 2018, 'Using evidence to build a better justice system: The challenge of rising prison costs', Office of the Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor, Auckland
- House of Commons, 2019, 'Prison population 2022: planning for the future', Sixteenth Report of Session 2017–19, HC 483.

- Leigh, Andrew, 2020, 'The Second Convict Age: Explaining the Return of Mass Imprisonment in Australia', CESifo Working Paper no. 8163.
- Mukherjee, Satyanshu K. 1981. *Crime Trends in Twentieth-Century Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney
- Nellis, Mike. 2017. 'Electronic Monitoring' In Kent R. Kerley (ed) *The Encyclopedia of Corrections*, Wiley, Hoboken, NJ.
- Office of National Statistics, 2018, *Offender management statistics quarterly: January to March 2018, Annual Prison Population: 2018*, ONS, London
- Pew Charitable Trusts, 2018, '35 States Reform Criminal Justice Policies Through Justice Reinvestment', Fact Sheet, Pew Charitable Trusts Public Safety Performance Project, Philadelphia, PA.
- Sutherland, E.H., 1934. The Decreasing Prison Population of England. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 24(5), pp.880-900.
- Travis, Jeremy, Bruce Western and Steve Redburn (eds), 2014, *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Exploring Causes and Consequences*, National Academies Press, Washington DC.
- Vamplew, Wray (ed), 1987, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Broadway.
- Warde, Bryan, 2013, 'Black Male Disproportionality in the Criminal Justice Systems of the USA, Canada, and England: A Comparative Analysis of Incarceration', *Journal of African American Studies*, vol. 17, pp. 461–479.
- Webster, Cheryl Marie and Anthony N. Doob, 2007, Punitive Trends and Stable Imprisonment Rates in Canada, *Crime and Justice*, vol. 36, pp. 297-369.
- Webster, Cheryl Marie and Anthony N. Doob, 2018, 'Penal Optimism', in Kevin R. Reitz (ed) *American Exceptionalism in Crime and Punishment*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 121-180.
- Western, Bruce, and Becky Pettit. 2010, 'Incarceration & social inequality.' *Daedalus* vol. 139, no. 3, pp. 8-19.

Notes

¹ For example, until 1985, Canada allowed provinces to set the dividing line between youths and adults at 16, 17 or 18 (personal correspondence from Canadian criminologist Anthony Doob).

² In principle, one could also exclude elderly people from the population denominator, since they comprise only a small share of prisoners. However, given that the share of elderly prisoners has been growing significantly in the past generation, I opt not to take such an approach.

³ For a review of the literature on electronic monitoring, see Nellis (2017).

⁴ In some US states, the increase has been particularly extreme. From the early-1970s to the early-2000s, the imprisonment rate in Louisiana increased eightfold (Webster and Doob 2018, p.129).