

Foreigners in Maltese prisons: a late occurrence? 60 years of analysis and an earlier episode

Saviour Formosa, Ph.D.
Senior Lecturer, Institute of Criminology
Rm 113 Block A New Humanities Bld
University of Malta, Msida MSD 2080, Malta
Tel: (+356) 2340 2771
Fax: (+356) 2134 6016
Email: saviour.formosa@um.edu.mt

Sandra Scicluna, Ph.D.
Senior Lecturer, Institute of Criminology
Rm 113 Block A New Humanities Bld
University of Malta, Msida MSD 2080, Malta
Tel: (+356) 2340 2771
Fax: (+356) 2134 6016
Email: sandra.scicluna@um.edu.mt

1 Introduction

The incidence of migrants in Maltese prisons is virtually unknown with studies focusing on the generic ‘foreigner’ component, irrespective of the purpose of entry to Malta (Scicluna, 2004; Formosa, 2007). This paper investigates sentenced offenders in Malta’s prisons and develops a classification system which distinguishes between short-term visitors, long-term residents and migrants who became Maltese citizens.

The paper initially takes a comparative approach through a qualitative assessment of offender case studies taken from 1850 till 1950, followed by a quantitative approach analysing the relative crime component. The study attempts to understand migrant offender issues through the social and spatial parameters that encompass the background of such ‘foreigners’. A 60 year (1950 – 2009) analysis was carried out with a further specific focus on the 1990s which show a high rate

of incarceration for foreigners in Maltese prisons as compared to other EU countries, a very evident seachange in source country, an exponential increase in non-Maltese incarcerations and an evolving offence structure.

2 Background

In Malta there are negligible race differences or different ethnic groups, except that based on a religious belief. Following a reduction of foreigners after independence in 1964, due to British rundown, the number of foreigners living in Malta is once again increasing, especially those from the North African countries. Foreigners moved in for seasonal or long-term stays with a resultant mix of cultures. Long-term stays became rooted communities such as the growth of an Arabic community in Mosta in the nineties that moved to San Pawl il-Bahar during the early 2000s. Analysing crime by ethnicity may help identify impacts as evidenced during the 1990s of foreigners committing homicide on other foreigners as against targeting Maltese victims. Whilst research is compiled on an annual basis by the UN on convicted population structure (examples being the USA in 1998 showed a 7% foreigner component, in England and Wales they totalled 0.05% (United Nations, 2003), Malta's situation has yet to be analysed and this paper attempted to lay the foundations for further research.

Though not covered in this paper, a recent phenomenon where Malta has not gone untouched and which is also impacting on crime is that of illegal migration. Large annual numbers of migrants, that at times may reach above natural (population) growth balance have arrived in Malta mainly from Libya on boats. Whilst most are non violent, incidences have been registered were individuals in free centres partake in crime such as drugs (Khat case in July 2006 (Calleja, 2006), alleged group rapes (Malta Independent, 2006) and other offences. Such incidences cause a misconception of this group, enabling xenophobic debates that generally hinder the investigation process.

3 Methodology

Classification System

Lacking a pre-established categorization structure identifying the different type of foreigners in Maltese prisons, the authors developed a migrant classification system based on a spatial (residential-location) and temporal (time spent on the islands) structure:

short-term visitors termed short-stay persons who retain foreign citizenship; such as tourists, those passing-through in transit, or those who may visit the island on a regular basis or live in an undeclared address such as a hotel or other residence (no spatial component and short temporal component)

medium to long-term residents are persons who have a registered Maltese address but retain foreign citizenship (have a spatial component and a variable temporal component)

naturalised – or registered foreign-born persons who became Maltese citizens (have both permanent spatial and temporal components)

3.1 Instruments and Sources

The study was composed of two parts. The initial study was based on a purposive sample of prisoners held in Corradino 1850¹ (n=401), 1860 (n=966), 1870 (n=1608), 1931 (n=648), 1941 (n=483) and 1951 (n=338) (a parameter was taken for each year) which looked into sentencing and pardoning discrepancies between Maltese and non-Maltese offenders. The cases identified those prisoners who would be termed migrants but would fall under the short-term visitor category. Malta, being a British colony until 1964 experienced a high number of English or commonwealth prisoners. Prisoners' petitions were used as assessment to investigate whether there was discrimination in the issuing of pardons. Nationality and place of residence of the prisoners were also analysed.

The second part investigated the full parameter of foreign persons who were in prison between 1950 and 1999 (n=8396) with a preliminary review of those incarcerated in the period between 2000 and 2009 (n=2946).

¹ Prison regulations were enacted in 1850 and 1931 and the study took two decadal samples for each regulation period).

The survey was based on manual inputting from archival records at the National Archives (NAM) and from Prisoner Ledgers at the Corradino Correctional Facility (CCF).

Instruments used for the analysis included spatial information systems and databases which were created by the authors.

Results

4.1 The pre 1950 period

Analysing the situation of foreign offenders in the Corradino Civil Prison (today named Corradino Correction Facility) from the year 1850 to 1951. This section looked for early recorded evidence of distinctions between the two groups through incidences of discrimination in sentencing or issuing pardons as well as through the incidence of prisoners petitioning the governor for a pardon.

Prisoners requesting a pardon could receive immediate release (NAM, LGO/35/5223; NAM, LGO/36/5260/5293; NAM, CSG/04/31/3724; and NAM, LGO/48/7876). Although the majority of the small number of applications were granted, there is no clear pattern about whether pardons were granted or not (see Table 1). A case in point was reviewed when a prisoner asked that his one-month detention be transformed into a fine so that his children would not be left without supervision, which petition was refused (NAM, LGO/48/8192). In contrast, a prisoner who had wounded another prisoner, was pardoned because he had almost served his sentence however it is made clear that the victim had forgiven him (NAM, LGO/48/9448). Pardon was not granted for a foreign prisoner condemned for life, but the governor recommended that the prisoner should be pardoned at a later stage when he was older so that he could be reunited with his wife (NAM, LGO/48/9514). On the 28th May 1870 an Englishman petitioned the governor on the grounds that his trial was unfair. Although the petition was refused it was suggested that he should ask for a remittal of sentence on the ground that his health was not good (NAM, CSG/04/41/5327). Two days later he was released and sent onboard his ship to leave the island (NAM, CSG/04/41/5336).

Table 1: Petitions for pardon refused or accepted by Governor in 1870

Maltese Prisoners	Refused	16
	Accepted	21
English Prisoners	Refused	3
	Accepted	30
Other nationalities	Refused	3
	Accepted	4

Source: Adapted from NAM, CSG 04

Almost all petitions by English prisoners were granted, whilst about half of the pardons for all other nationals (Maltese and others) were refused. Status and standing were considered valid grounds to differential treatment of insiders and outsiders (Hay, 1975 cited in Garland, 1991:203). Maltese judges may have been sentencing English offenders (outsiders) disproportionately severely, giving them grounds for appeal; or the English colonial administration may have been treating Maltese appellants (outsiders) disproportionately harshly, and English petitioners (insiders) more favourably. A more compelling explanation may have nothing to do with discrimination. Most English prisoners would leave the island as soldiers or marines, frequently to a harsher life than that experienced in prison, and often at the request of the military or naval authorities. This reflects Foucault's (1977:178) reasoning that the army, hospitals and educational institutions all served to meet the imperative of producing well-trained bodies; and it was immaterial where this training took place. For example on 21st December 1870 twenty-two prisoners were released on request of the superintendent of ports, with an order to them being returned to ship and sent home (NAM, CSG/04/42/6281).

After 1931, prisoner's right to petition was modified. Although they could still petition for a pardon of their sentence they could only do so after three months when the sentence was less than two years or six months when the sentence was more than two years. Prisoners were not allowed to petition a second time before they received an answer to their first petition and in any case not before six months had passed from the previous petition. If a prisoner was seen to be abusing this

right the director could prohibit him from further petitioning (Prison Regulations, 1931:Sec.91-95). Fourteen prisoners were pardoned in 1931 (NAM, CSG/01-75/1932, NAM, CCP/10/15), 19 prisoners in 1941 (NAM, CSG/01-97/1941, NAM, CCP/10/27) and 12 in 1951 (NAM, CCP/10/38). A problem that occurred during the war was that English prisoners were complaining that they were being treated differently than the Maltese, both at the point of sentencing and during their stay in prison. Table 2 shows that there were 107 requests for pardons in 1941, out of which 86 were refused 13 accepted and seven prisoners were sent to the reformatory. In total 86 Maltese requested a pardon, 75 were refused, four were accepted and seven were sent to the reformatory, as they were juveniles. In comparison, 21 English prisoners requested to be pardoned, 11 were refused and nine accepted (NAM, CSG/01-1941).

Table 2: Requests for pardons in 1941

	Refused	Accepted	Reformatory	Total
Maltese	75	4	7	86
English	11	9	-	21
Total	86	13	7	107

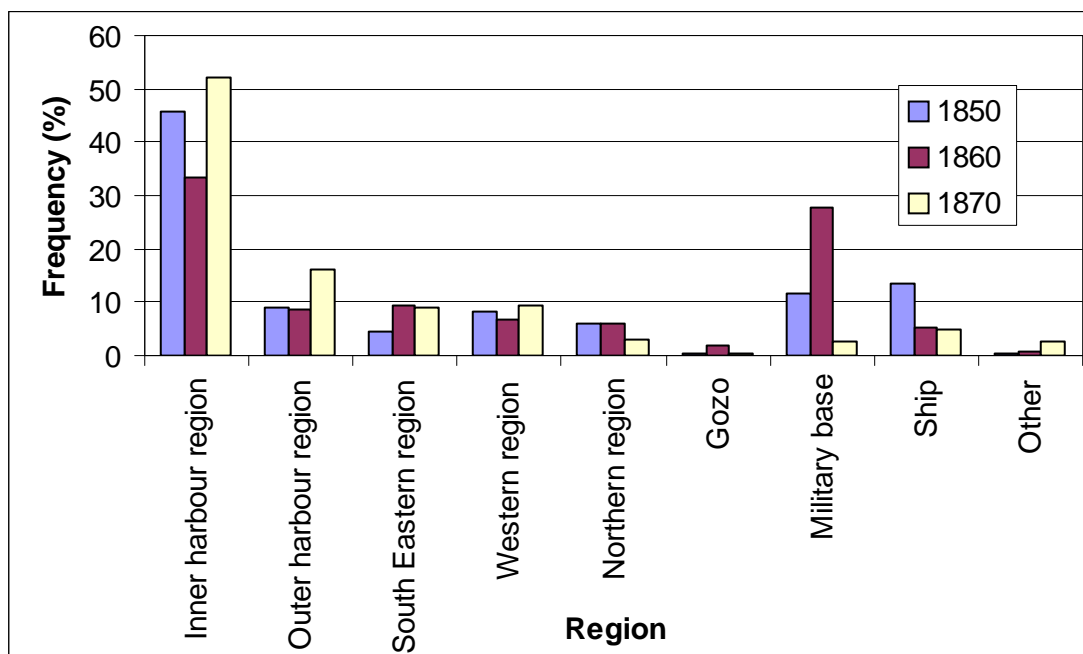
Source: Adapted from NAM, CSG 01-1941

These figures might indicate that there was an ‘obviously apparent’ bias in issuing pardons but this may be an over-simple explanation. Judges of the Maltese courts were issuing much harsher sentences against English people during this year than the Maltese. For example two Maltese persons were given four-and-a-half-months and five-and-a-half-months imprisonment for assaulting a police officer (NAM, CSG/01-3461/1941). On the other hand three Englishmen for the same offence were awarded one year hard labour for two of the offenders, while the other was given a year-and-a-half of hard labour (NAM, CSG/01-2606/41). The former were refused a pardon while the latter were forgiven three-months and four-months respectively. This might indicate that pardons served to balance prison sentences. Harsher sentences issued to the English might be explained because the judiciary at the time was pro-Italian. The chief justice of the time Sir Arturo Mercieca was interned as soon as Italy declared war on the allies and he was later sent to Uganda (Bondin, 1980). Other members of the judiciary were also interned. In 1943 the

governor requested an inquiry about the treatment of servicemen by the Maltese courts and in the Maltese prisons. Although no conclusion is forwarded on the sentences it is suggested that some of the sentences seem 'pretty startling' (PRO, ADM, 178/355B).

Figure 1 shows that the majority of prisoners came from the inner harbour area (44% overall: 46% in 1850, 34% in 1860 and 52% in 1870). Ten per cent of prisoners came from other areas in Malta, with even fewer prisoners from Gozo. The proportion of military prisoners rose from 12 per cent in 1850, to 28 per cent in 1860 and dropped to 2 per cent in 1870. This increase in 1860 could probably be explained by the expansion of the British navy in Malta. In 1860 a fight between the British navy and the chamber of commerce occurred, as the former wanted to take over the French creek to transform it from a mercantile base to a navy base (personal communication, R. Mangion, 10/04/02). This led to a higher increase of Englishmen on Maltese soil. In 1859, due to the Italian unification many Italians came over to Malta. With more foreigners on Maltese soil foreigners in prison were bound to increase. This led to an agreement between Italy and Malta to regulate the transfer of criminals (Ordinance 1 of 1863). On the international setting one finds the end of the Crimean war and in the 1860s a great movement of immigrants and emigrants around the Mediterranean. All this could have contributed in the increase of foreigners in the Maltese prisons, although the researcher suspects that the principle cause was that of the expansion of the British navy and Italian unification.

Figure 1: Place of residence of prisoners prior to imprisonment in 1850, 1860 and 1870

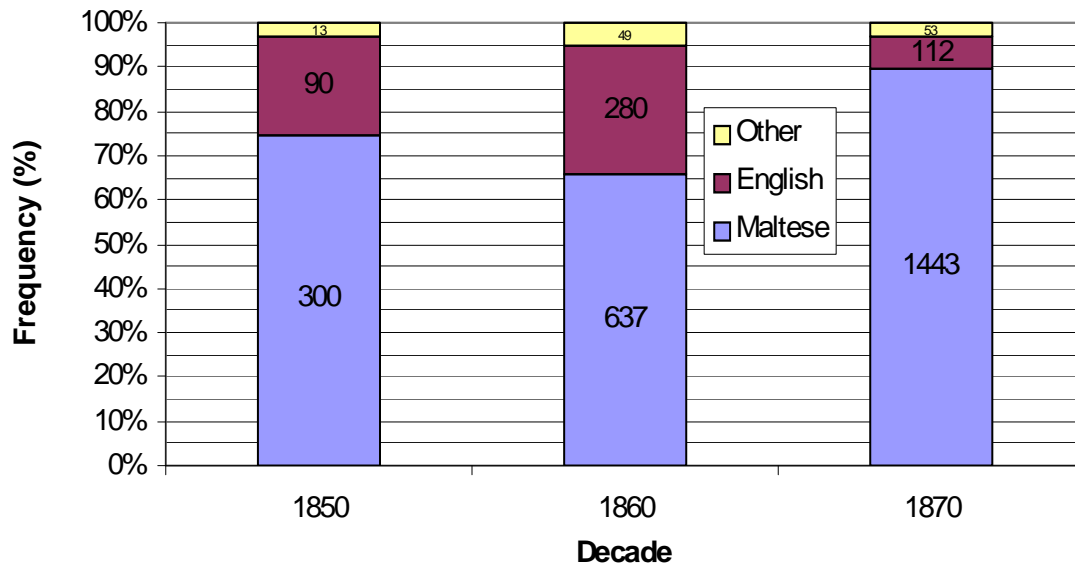


The inner harbour region is the most industrialised place in Malta. With the advent of the industrial revolution an influx of people going to towns and cities occurred. Richards (1977:202) places the peak of the industrial revolution in England around 1850 with other European countries following. Marx (1959:334) maintains that with the advent of the industrial revolution the mode of production changed. Peasants with small parcels of land could not compete with the big landowners and they were forced to abandon their lands to seek work in the cities. Here working conditions were poor. Although in Malta there was no great movement of people from the countryside to the towns none the less some movement occurred particularly due to the lack of transport which workers in the naval industries found to their detriment and eventually moved to live in the inner harbour region. These people would not have known the ways of the city and they could get into trouble much easier. Another factor contributing to the overrepresentation of criminals in the inner harbour area is that proportionately more people lived in a smaller area and there was more opportunity to commit crime.

Figure 2 shows that in 1850, 23 per cent (90 individuals) were English. The “other” category was made up of Italians (7 prisoners), 2 prisoners from Corfu, and a prisoner each from America, Dalmatia, Tripoli and Tunisia. In 1860, most offenders were Maltese (68%), followed by the English (29%), the Italians (2%) and Americans (1%). The situation changed ten years later. The amount of English prisoners decreased from 280 in 1860 to 112 in 1870, while the number of Maltese prisoners increased from 637 in 1860 to 1443 in 1870. It seems that military personnel

were no longer posing the same problem with most offenders (90%) being Maltese.

Figure 2: Nationality of prisoners in 1850, 1860 and 1870

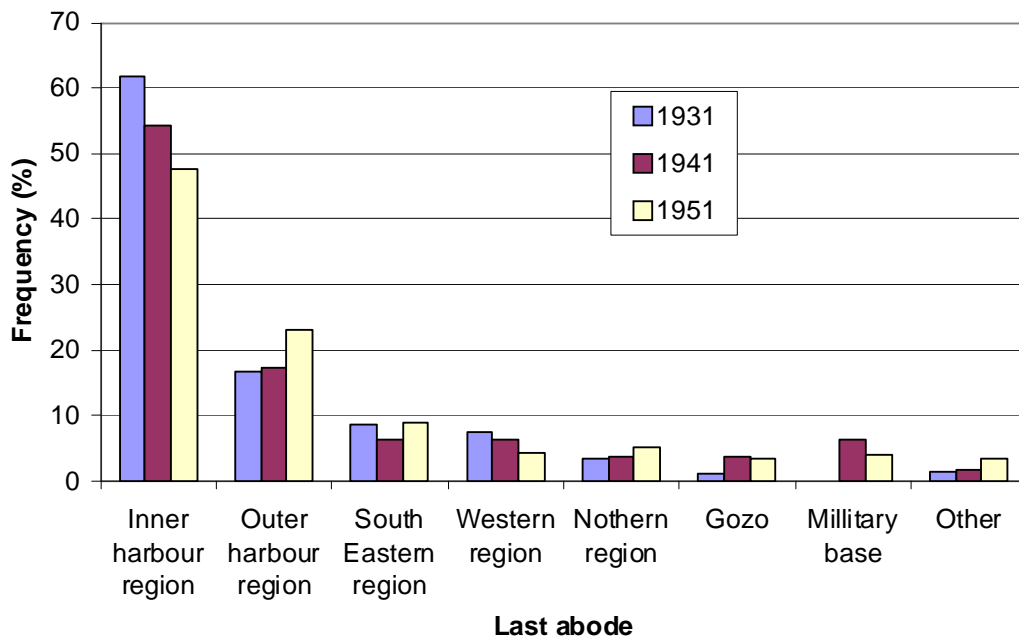


Source: Based on NAM, Prison Admission Records 1850, 1860 and 1870

As can be seen from Figure 3 even in the middle of the 20th Century, most offenders lived in the inner harbour region – 61 per cent in 1931, 54 per cent in 1941 and 47 per cent in 1951. The inner harbour region always attracted more crime mainly because there were many people living in close proximity, it was the place where the mercantile ships entered and where most business was situated. Even after the second world war, when most rich people had left the three cities and Valletta, crime rates in these areas continued to flourish. People living in the outer harbour area follow with 16 per cent, 17 per cent and 23 per cent for the years under study. The northern part of Malta is the least criminogenic with 3 to 4 per cent of offenders coming from this region in 1931, 1941 and 1951. The south-eastern and western regions having a slightly higher percentage than the northern region. Offenders from the island of Gozo are few (1%, 4%, and 3%). However when one considers that offenders sentenced to less than 15 days were kept in the Gozo prison, and that most offenders were actually sentenced to less than 15 days, Gozo's claim to be a crime free zone diminishes, probably becoming no different to Malta as a whole. In 1941 and 1951 there were a number of offenders (6% and 4%) who lived in a military base before being

committed to prison. The absence of prisoners from military bases in 1931 might indicate that military personnel who committed crimes were tried by court martial. During the war the rich people in these places moved to the countryside while the poor entered the cities. There was an influx of poor people in the towns during the war and after. Miller's (1958) theorising on the link between crime and poverty, surplus labour, urbanisation and overcrowding retains its plausibility.

Figure 3: Place of residence of prisoners prior to imprisonment in 1931, 1941 and 1951

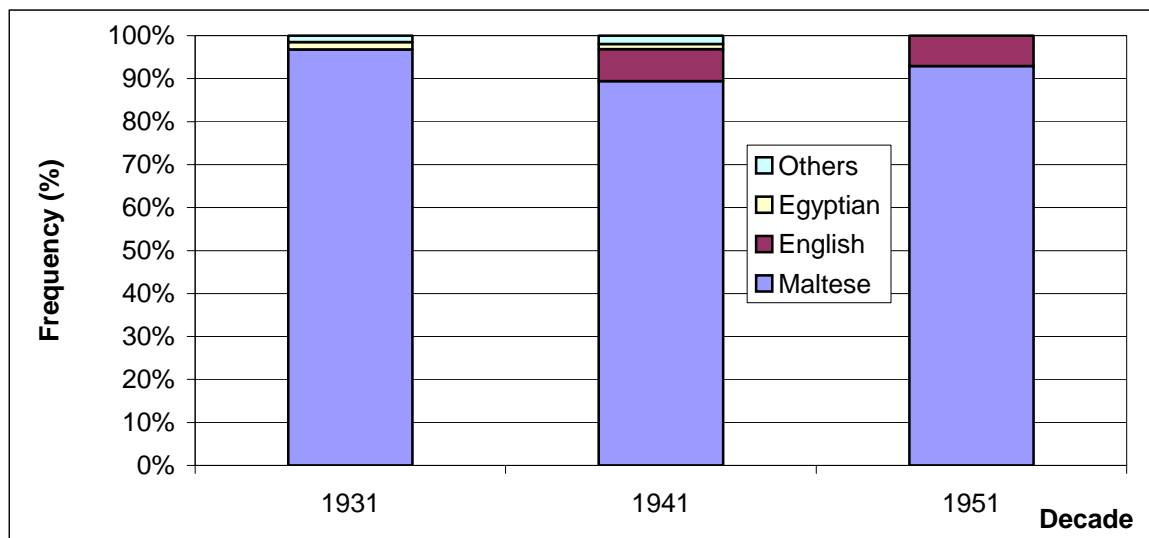


Source: NAM, Prison Admission Records 1931, 1941 and 1951

Figure 4 shows the nationality of the prisoners committed to Corradino during these years. Most

prisoners were Maltese (97% in 1931, 89% in 1941 and 93% in 1951). Other prisoners during 1931 came from Egypt (2%) from Susa (1%), Suez (0.3%) and Bona (0.2%). In 1941 seven per cent were English, two per cent of prisoners were Egyptian while one per cent came from Tripoli and Ireland. There was a prisoner each from Algiers, Canada, Denmark and India. The Maltese tend to totally identify themselves as Europeans rather than southern Europeans, but all those who do not conform to the Maltese mentality of the European image are treated in a racist manner (Borg and Mayo, 1994:219). This attitude would have shown itself in the prison warders. It was felt during the war years when the guards did not seem to know how to deal with English prisoners. They ignored them, leading Captain Strologo to comment that the English prisoners were being discriminated against. Recent research has focused on the treatment of ethnic minorities in prisons, linking discriminatory treatment with stereotypes held by prison warders (Smith, 1994:1101).

Figure 4: Nationality of prisoners in 1931, 1941 and 1951



Source: NAM, Constructed from the Prison Admission Records – 1931, 1941 and 1951

A more interesting notion is found in the war internees. A cursory look at the work done by internees prior to internment shows that most of them held high status jobs (see Table 3). Six internees were lawyers, out of which one finds an ex-prime minister. Another six were journalists or editors of pro-Italian journals. Twelve were merchants and the others held various professions such as an ex-captain of the British navy, teachers, engineers, pharmacists, accountants and university students. Thirty-six of those interned held jobs with the royal naval arsenal varying from mechanics to accountants and engineers. Half of the internees held a professional job and some of those working with the royal arsenal also held jobs such as accountants or heads of departments. One can note a parallel between the treatment of the internees and Micciarelli, ninety years previously. While both prisoners and internees were considered undesirable by society and therefore put in social quarantine (Durkheim, 1893:104) they were not treated similarly due to their social standing (Rusche and Kirchheimer, 1939:176). One would suppose that the enemies of the state during a war would be considered much more dangerous than prisoners, most of whom had committed some petty crime. This paradox in treatment can only be explained by the social standing of most of the internees. The Maltese reaction was mainly based on a political move with the Constitutional Party trying to overcome the Nationalist Party and surely not all Italian sympathisers were interned as this would have amounted to much more than eighty people.

Table 3: Professions of internees

Job held prior to internment	Number of internees
Royal naval arsenal	36
Merchants	13

Journalists/Editors	6
Lawyers/ex-parliamentarians	6
Teachers	2
Engineers	2
University Students	2
Employed	2
Other professionals	7
Unknown	4
Total	80

Source: Constructed from Bondin, 1980:115-121

Some internees ended in prison. Eric Maitland Woolf an internee was problematic to the authorities. Ganado (1977:288) in his memoirs wrote that his trouble making was equivalent to all those of the internment camp. Woolf was born in England but immigrated to Malta to work with the Strickland press. However he soon left the newspaper. When he was arrested in 1940 he soon got into trouble because he attempted to commit murder as an internee and was transferred to the main prison. He requested that he should be treated in the same manner as all other prisoners awaiting trial but his request was refused both because of security reasons and because as a prisoner awaiting trial he would have had more privileges than an internee would. This would have been seen as receiving a reward for a crime (NAM, CSG/01-2200/1941). We see two journalists Micciarelli and Woolf being treated very differently by the prison authorities. However this is justified as Micciarelli was condemned under the press law and Woolf was being tried for murder. Having social status helps, however when the crime committed is atrocious nothing will favour one.

Post-1950

The post-1950's study took a quantitative approach and analysed all the incarcerated offenders parameter. Results show that the Maltese islands, having hosted the British colonial powers till

1964, saw its prisons welcoming a number of residents/dependents from that power, as evidenced by the 1950s with 96% of international offenders directly coming from England, Wales and Gibraltar, where the larger part were marked as being aboard Royal Navy ships when they committed an offence (Table 4). This decreased over time until the British garrison left in 1979. Subsequent ‘aboard ship’ offences were mainly tourism and/or merchant shipping related.

Table 4: International Offender residence: the 1950s: percentage 1

International Offender ‘Residence’	1950 - 1959	1960 - 1969	1970 - 1979	1980 - 1989	1990 - 1999
Aboard Ship	71	62	5	19	0
England	22	3	10	6	1
Pakistan	4	0	0	0	0
Gibraltar	2	0	0	0	0
Wales	2	0	0	0	1

This situation was reversed in the later decades by a take-up of Arab foreigners, mainly Libyans who have dominated the prison scene since the 1970s, when the Maltese government sought closer ties towards the North African countries, particularly Libya. This component reached 25% during the 1990s (Table 5). In fact, North African offenders constituted 59% of all 1990s international prisoners, with 38% coming from the closest lands of Libya and Tunisia.

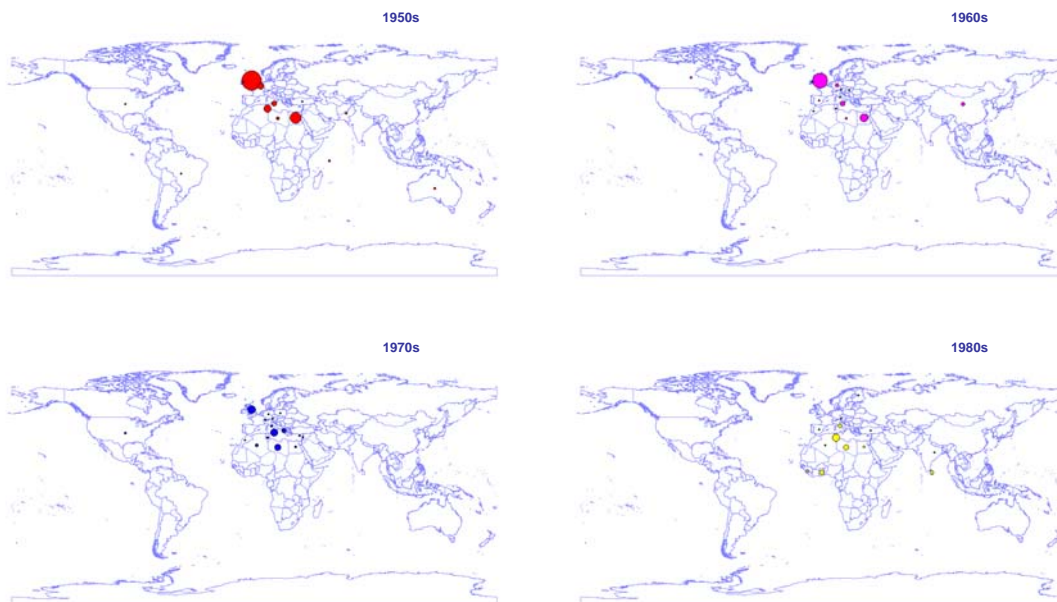
Table 5: International Offender residence: the 1990s: percentage 2

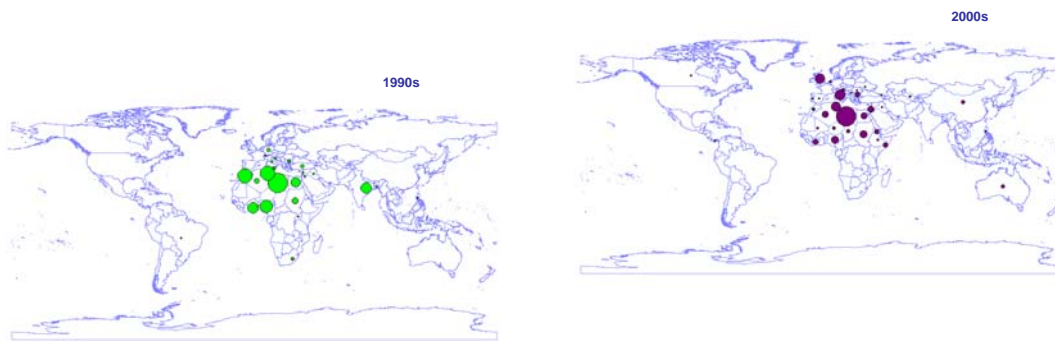
International Offender ‘Residence’	1950 - 1959	1960 - 1969	1970 - 1979	1980 - 1999	1990 - 1999
Libya	0	0	20	13	25
Morocco	0	0	2	0	13

Tunisia	0	0	0	21	13
Nigeria	0	0	0	0	10
Ghana	0	0	0	10	8
India	0	0	0	3	8
Egypt	0	0	2	3	6
Algeria	0	0	5	2	2

Figure 5 shows a spatial depiction of the countries of origin of migrant prisoners in the Maltese islands. The number of migrant offenders in prison rose drastically in the 1980s (24.4%) and 1990s (30.6%) after relatively low percentages averaging 6.3% in the previous three decades. The spatio-temporal flow from a Northern European to a heavily African component is very evident. Interestingly, the high Libyan component of the 2000 figures is very significant, which component would be drastically reduced should illegal immigrants be included in this study. The latter group have not been included since they were discounted from prison sentencing during the 2000s but kept in detention centres. Inclusion of this flow would shift the continental bubble to the Horn of Africa.

Figure 5 Migrant prisoners in the Maltese Islands: 1950s to 2000s 1

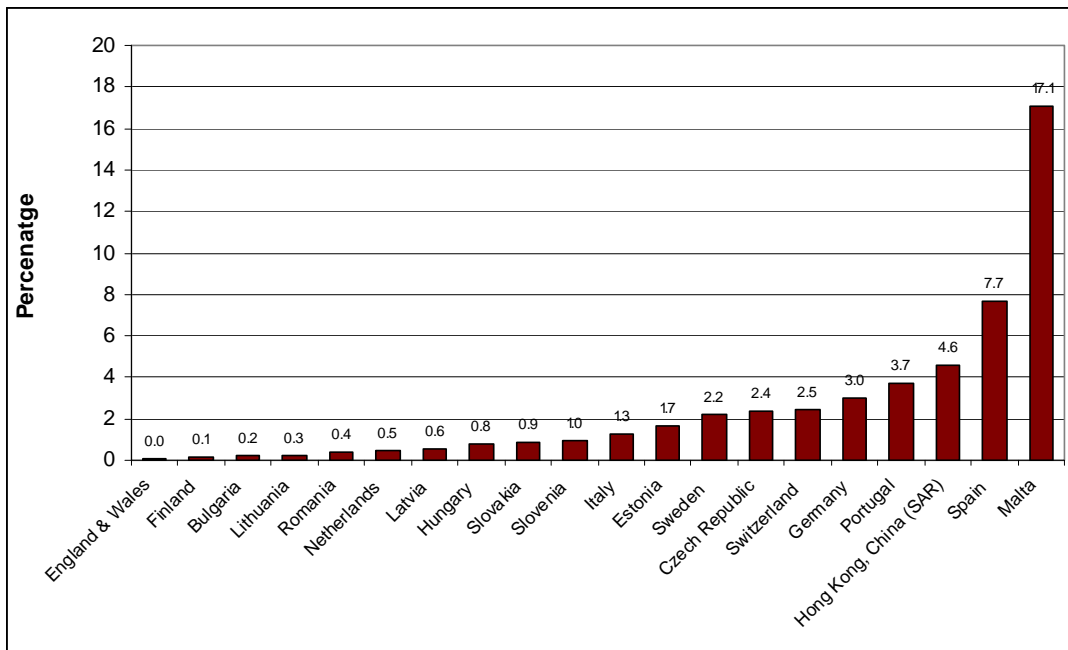




Comparing the component to the global scene (United Nations, 2003): a sub-study of the 1990s 17.1% foreign nationals in Maltese prisons indicates that this is definitely the highest both in Europe and in the only other island reporting comparative information: Hong Kong. Whilst the latter country registered an average of 4.6 percent of foreigners as a percentage of all incarcerated persons between 1998 to 2000, the highest in Europe was Spain with 7.7 %; less than half that of Malta (Figure 6). The other European countries show a mean of 1.63 without Malta’s outlier and have varying percentages with the lowest being England and Wales at 0.05%.

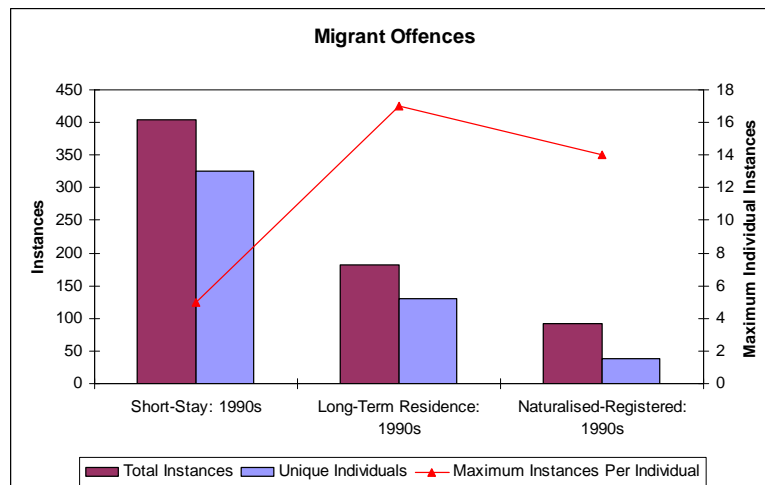
Categorising these individuals in accordance with the classification system, the analysis indicates that 495 persons with a foreign address had foreign nationality and were born abroad, which definitely establishes this group as short-term visitors. Another 594 persons who were born abroad had a registered Maltese address, of which 420 foreigners had a long-term Maltese address but retained foreign nationality. Another 43 foreign-born persons had no fixed address or their residential location was unknown. In summary, of the 1219 foreign-born offenders, 1028 retained their foreign nationality, whereas the rest (191) changed their nationality to Maltese thus signifying permanent residence. Interestingly the homeless persons (19) who were foreign-born now have Maltese citizenship which implies that after gaining citizenship they became homeless. Another 70 lived aboard ship.

Figure 6: Foreigners in Country Prisons as a percentage of total convicted 1998 – 2000 – an international perspective 2



A 1990s offence analysis shows that the short-term stay category commit most offences followed by long-term residents and naturalised-registered persons with a maximum number of recidivist cases at 17 instances (same individual) against a maximum of 26 instances for a Maltese individual.

Figure 7: Migrant Offences (1990s): Instances of offences and Maximum instances per individual.



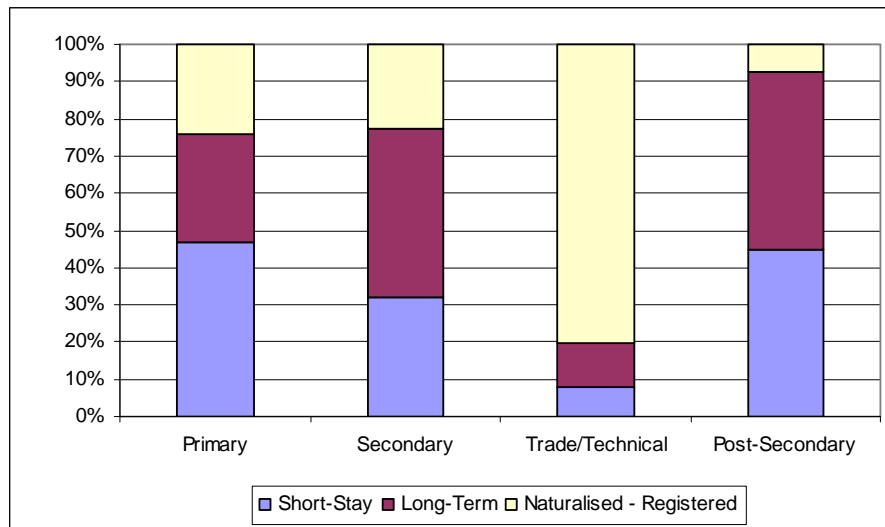
Migrants fall within younger age cohorts than their Maltese counterparts with the different categories showing marked differences between them: the naturalised component has a larger percentage presence than the long-term and short-term groups indicating a greater liability to fall foul of the law when the fear of deportation is much less, reflecting Messner’s findings that this group is highly likely to be incarcerated (1992).

In terms of sex, the migrant component registered 96.2% males as against a 92.2% for the Maltese component.

In terms of status, the majority of the migrant offenders are single (66.2%) as against 57.3% for Maltese offenders, which figures further show that migrant offenders in the naturalised category have a high rate of separated or divorced structure.

Education-wise, migrant offenders tend to have higher educational levels than their Maltese counterparts. Figure 8 also shows that the interesting structure focuses on the trade and technical level within which the naturalised group falls.

Figure 8: Educational levels - Migrants 1990s



Employment-wise, migrants have lower unemployment rates (42.6%) than Maltese (70.5%),

however an analysis based on the classification system shows that the naturalised persons has a higher component than the Maltese at 78% within that category though the other two categories have high rates of students at 10% (short-term) and 9.3% (long-term) as well as ‘general managers’ at 4.4% and 9.3% respectively.

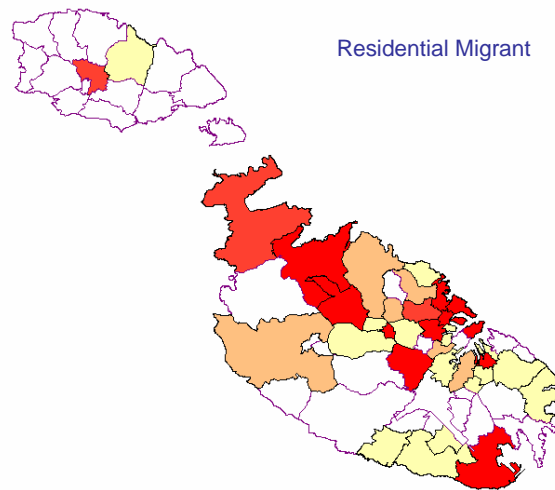
Sentencing for migrants shows that in general, foreign offenders have a higher short-term sentencing outcome (33.5%) as against the Maltese 16.8% figure, and a lower long-term outcome 60.1% against a 71.6%. However an analysis by migrant-category shows that the short-stay offenders are balanced between the sentence type with nearly equal numbers receiving short or long-term sentences. However moving towards long-stay offenders, the structure takes on a similar one to the Maltese structure with a near identical one for the naturalised persons. This is reflected in the type of offence they were sentenced for, which shows that naturalised persons tend to partake to more violent offences with increasing rates for robbery, vehicle crime and thefts.

In terms of recidivism, the larger component of migrant offenders fall within the short-term stay category who have a high 76.9% first-timer component. However, the structure switches in terms of those persons who are naturalised who have a 63.3% recidivist component, which beef up the figure of 8.7% of migrant offenders who have more than 3 times recidivism incidences.

In summary, the characteristics of migrant offenders shows that the migrant offender profile depicts him as male, aged between 21 and 30 years old (Entorf et al, 2000), a recidivist (Schwaner, 1998), has had a secondary education (Rutter et al, 1979), is single and unemployed (Wang, 1999) and increasingly partaking to serious crimes in line with Greenwood’s findings (1982).

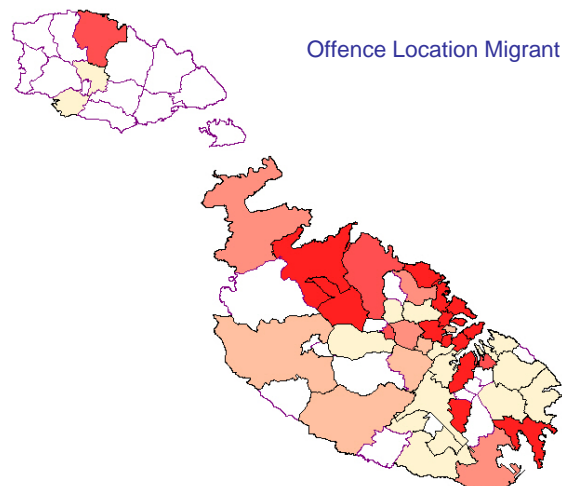
Finally, an analysis based on migrants’ preferential residential location shows a seachange for the highest two locations, primarily due to the high short-term stay component where Gzira and San Pawl il-Bahar (Figure 9) are preferred to those taken up by the Maltese offender, traditionally switching between Bormla and Valletta. Sliema, Mosta, San Giljan and Qormi are also serving as attractors for migrant offender preference. An in-depth analysis shows that naturalised offenders are taking on a similar structure to the Maltese component where Bormla and Valletta start becoming preferable for migrants who stay longer or permanently on the islands.

Figure 9: Migrant Residential preferences: red signifies a higher residential rate



At the other end of the offender-offence pivots, offence analysis shows that whilst it is understandable that most migrant-related offences occur in locations related to transit, such as airports, seaports and bus termini, migrants tend to commit offences close to their area of residence, with Gudja, Floriana and Valletta registered at the top of the league (Figure 10) (Bottoms and Wiles, 1997). Further analysis shows that the transit component is very evident for the short-term offenders, however the longer-term migrants tend to commit offences also in high-density residential areas such as San Pawl il-Bahar and Valletta and also in the traditional haunts of the Maltese offender: the entertainment mecca of San Giljan and its recreation centre of Paceville.

Figure 10: Migrant Offence targets: red signifies a higher offence rate



Conclusions & Outlook

The results of this analysis shows that there are distinct differences in structure in terms of migrant offender and the offences they commit when compared to their Maltese counterparts. Both phases spanning the 150 years of the study show that whether in terms of actual offences and structure as well as in the sentencing and pardoning practices the differences meted out are distinct.

The classification system employed for this study has shown that the longer the immigrant stays on the islands, the higher the potentiality of emulation to the Maltese counterpart's structure both in terms of offence type, offender residential and offence spatial locations.

The study would have been enhanced with new data on the 2000s group being integrated within this analysis with specific reference to the incidences reported for those offenders who had been registered as illegal immigrants, but who have been subsequently released after the proscribed eighteen months detention process and who may have committed offences in the period following release. The offence spatial structure there is totally different to that offered by the migrant analysis carried out in this study.

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² NAM – National Archives of Malta

³ CCP - Corradino Civil Prison

⁴ CSG – Chief Secretary to the Governor

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⁵ LGO - Lieutenant Government Office

⁶ PRO - Public Records Office (UK)