2019 crime figures depict a year-on-year reduction in crime reports which follow a year that depicted a drastic decline in reported crimes as published in the Annual Crime Report of 2018. The year 2019 saw a decrease in the number of crimes over the previous year dropping by 2.1% or 336, this being the second largest decrease since 2015. This takes the Maltese crime scenario to the 2012 level, which serves as the baseline prior to the increase in crimes exhibited from that year. The Maltese offence profile has maintained the past years’ shift from a public-oriented to a personal-target structure with an increasing focus on financial-related offences. Interestingly, Malta may be perceived as becoming more dangerous due to the high drop in pickpocketing which pushes up the relative ratio of serious crimes, even though the latter have decreased or remained constant. Displacement is also very evident as the migration of crimes from one zone to another becomes more pronounced, particularly in the Gozitan Island, the latter due to an increasingly dynamic and diverse societal change. San Giljan’s rate of crime once again dropped by 4% from a height of 19.5 in 2012 to 10.6% in 2017 and again to 9.1% in 2019, the lowest in the last 14 years. In terms of societal reaction, moral panic still plays a part in rendering a perception that crime is increasing, when the facts depict a stabilised scenario. In terms of predicted crimes for 2019, with a drastic increase in resident population and also the number of tourists, the number of crimes that should have occurred during the year, again did not occur, resulting in a safer scenario, again stressing the need to study the serious crimes and ensure their reduction.

Professor Saviour Formosa
www.crimemalta.com

March 2020
CRIMEMALTA ANNUAL CRIME REVIEW

Year 2019

In 2008, CrimeMalta was launched as a conveyor for crime research and reporting in the Maltese Islands. As from 2017, the annual report is being published through the enhanced CrimeMalta Observatory initiative, which is targeted to expand its reporting to other areas inclusive of environmental, locational and other societal domains. The annual report covers a factual crime review of Malta’s interactive spatial technologies and spatial statistics such as published in this year’s annual report for 2019.

For the second year, the report publishes an overview of victims.

This report covers the 2019 annual statistics as elicited from an analysis of reported crime, incarceration statistics and spatial analysis. The outputs below pertain to the closed ‘accounts’ for 2019 crime.

In terms of the European comparison, Malta fares as a very safe place, well below the EU28’s average in all serious crimes covering Assaults, Burglary, Drugs, Homicide, Rape, Robberies, Sexual Assault and Sexual offences as published by the UNODC. The only remaining main category that was higher than the EU average pertained to Theft which high rate was accentuated by one sub-category that had dominated crime reporting in Malta over the past years: that pertaining to pickpocketing. 2019 again experienced a 29% decrease (following the near-halving of the phenomenon) in pick-pocketing and back to the counts registered before 2012 when the sequential increase started.

In summary, at 15,589 reported offences, crime analysis shows a significant reduction over the recent years’ crime offences, evidenced through a decrease in crime reports over the 2019 period comprising an absolute decrease of 336 crimes or 2.1%. This is another welcome decline from the previous year’s 7.1% decrease that comprised an absolute decrease of 1211 crimes. This combined rapid decrease is due to the fact that the previous entire crime scenario had been absorbed by a single phenomenon falling within the Theft category, which phenomenon had grown by 5 times between 2009 and 2016 but Malta had experienced a 66.5% drop as from 2016: Pickpocketing has decreased by 330 offences in 2019 dropping from 1149 cases in 2018 to 819 reports in 2019. Most other categories of theft have decreased apart from theft from factories by employees, mugging, religious temples, occupied residences, shop lifting, snatch and grab theft from sea craft and theft from vehicle. Theft from vehicles experienced a 66% increase to 513 reports, as was the case pertaining to theft from building sites, an increase of 38%, which reflects the development phenomenon structural changes occurring in Malta. Factories, offices and retail outlets experienced drops ranging from 36% to 44% reflecting more awareness, crime prevention and actual in-situ mitigation. On a societal level as tourism experienced another inbound peak. The opportunities for crime have multiplied drastically, which is not reflected in the number of report crimes, pointing towards effective measures being set in place.

Theft comprises 42.5% of all offences reported to the Police, up from 41% in 2018, having experienced an increase in vehicle-related thefts that negated the positive decline in
pickpocketing, though retaining the second lowest in 14 years when the rate was that of 62.4% of all reported offences. This indicates both mitigation as well as a diversification of offences in other crime categories as indicated in the next sections, even where particular sub-categories spike as did the vehicle-related crime in 2019.

The second highest reported offence, Damages, has again seen a slight increase to 25.3% of all offences up from 24.7% in 2018, doubling through Involuntary Damage by Hit and Run incidents.

In third place, consonant with the previous years, Domestic Violence has slightly decreased from 1341 cases in 2018 to 1326 in 2019. Ironically, as the total reported crimes decreased, the relative weighting indicated a percentual increase of 0.1%, thus pushing up domestic violence in the league of crimes in Malta. Increases occurred in Stalking which increased by 61% and slightly by psychological harm, whereas most sub-categories experienced a decline.

Bodily Harm, which had registered a year on year decrease initiated in 2009 dropping to 5% in the previous years, has again retained 4% increase to 925 offences. Whilst, overall, this points to a steadily more tolerant and less violent society in the social realm, bodily harm has again been pushed to fourth place as reports on Fraud decreased.

Once again positioned at a 5th ranking, Fraud experienced a decrease of 20% (211 cases) over the previous year reaching 821 cases in 2019.

These 5 categories of crimes comprise 87.5% of all crime reports.

Causalities, Opportunity and the Expected Increase that again did Not Materialise

The causes of the 2019 change are interesting in criminological terms. As described in previous reports, the foundations that comprise social structures known as PREFE (Politics, Religion, Economy, Family and Education) have experienced rapid change such that the impact of values and norms becomes less tangible. Whilst the Political or legal measures have evolved and security implementation has increased in the social arenas resulting in the reduction of such offences as theft from residences, damages, bodily harm and prostitution, the strongest pillar pertaining to the family or household has become increasingly fragile such that the incidence of the personal-security incidents has grown dramatically. This is reflected through domestic violence, irrespective of form or method, whether psychological or physical. The inclusion of Technology as a new foundational element is essential as it posits scenarios where crime has migrated to the digital domains, both in commissioning and investigation: PREFET.

As Economic measures increasingly offer most offenders an opportunity to partake to crime when the rewards far exceed the sanctions, offences such as theft emanating from the invasion of person-spaces increase as they offer a quick intake of funds. The fact that the recreation and leisure activities offer ripe ground for offending particularly where the recreational zones are crowded and person space is not possible, the opportunity for dexterous hands offers a high rate of return. Vitally important is the expected increase in tourism-related offences, where tourism offers an opportunity for crimes
in terms of numbers and access to the partaking of goods: an annual year-on-year **expected increase of 1500** offences that did not occur as expected to reflect the high increase in tourist numbers, which has reached nearly 3 million visitors as at 2019. This may be due to an alert public, increased awareness, tourism police and better security visibility. The study of pick-pocketing as a comparative analysis of people movements may help one to understand the dynamics pertaining to the relative increase followed by the 2018 and subsequently the 2019 decrease in both the criminal process and the social phenomenon under study as being offered by the opportunity offered by the increase in potential victims.

Incidentally, the Maltese population has experienced a major shifting in terms of structure, whilst the predicted population for 2019 would have been circa 420,000, the figures depict a reality that is closer to **494,000 persons**. This 74,000 population difference has resulted in both a higher potential for victimisation, though it has also pushed down Malta’s crime rate from **42 crime per 1000 persons** to one where the rate has reached **31.6 crimes per 1000 persons**, down from **34 crimes per 1000 in 2018**, rendering the islands an even safer place to reside in.

In terms of crime mitigation, the Maltese society needs to focus further on this phenomenon and change accordingly, even in terms of educational campaigns that target both citizens and visitors, whilst building awareness scales on the measurement of such offences, the relative offender-victim dynamics, the flow of goods and the offence displacement when action is taken by the state and its operational arms.

In terms of the loss of relative offence volume that **San Giljan** experienced over the past years, going down from **19.5% in 2012 to 9.1% in 2019**, a rate even lower than the lowest recorded of 10.6% in 2017 and lowest in the last 15 years. This scenario, within a national perspective where offences have remained stable, calls for the investigation of the displacement issue. The latter seeks to understand where such offences migrated to and in turn to predict mitigation of predicted crime before it occurs. Revived areas such as Valletta have borne the brunt of such a migration but in 2019 this scenario was mitigated for as pick-pocketing was **sheared by 1626 cases or 66.5%** and target areas, inclusive of Valletta experienced such a sharp decline. Offences migrate to the opportunities offered to potential offenders who weigh the risk taken against the reward achieved, where the higher the reward as against the risk, such an offences becomes more attractive and is partaken to. The **revived city of Valletta** and its mushrooming recreational and retail outlets are offering increasingly lucrative options for offenders, thus migration from other localities become a conscious choice for offenders. In turn, the policing effort in such places has placed a stressor on offenders and the result of mitigation and awareness is evidenced in 2019.

Emphasis should be now taken to the next level through an **educational awareness campaign** starting from the early ages to elder adults. The implementation of the 2017 Crime Prevention Strategy is a veritable vehicle for such a process, as also experienced through Community Policing initiative set up by the Malta Police Force.
Victims: Source, Age-Cohorts, Gender

For this second year, the CrimeMalta Observatory reviewed victimisation and the components pertaining to such a phenomenon. Victims are mainly Maltese residents (78.6% up from 74.3% in 2018), followed by Italian residents (1.9%), which changed the scenario from 2018 where UK residents comprised the second group, whilst British, Libyans, Bulgarians and Syrians comprise other source countries whose residents suffered victimization. This is remarkably different than the 2018 scenario where the other main victims hailed from western European states (Italians, French, Germans and Spanish). Victims hail from 161 countries, excluding the Maltese victims.

Foreigners are in their majority victims of theft (74.4%) as against Maltese who comprise 44.3% in that category. Maltese victims suffer more damage when compared to foreigners.

As against 2018, where both Maltese and foreign victims suffered the same rate of bodily harm at 8% of all offences, 2019 registered a 7.1% and 6.6% respectively, indicating an increasing foreign victimisation component.

Age

The main age cohort that is victimised pertains to the 40-59 year cohorts, followed by the 30-39 year and the 20-29 year and the 60+ cohorts respectively.

All age cohorts have seen an increasing victimisation rate, described through a number of cases where more than one victim experienced a crime.

Domestic violence was mainly experienced by the 40-59 year cohort, followed by the 30-39 year cohort.

Those aged under 18 were mainly victims of Theft and Bodily Harm, when compared to the other age cohorts, whilst the 60+ cohort were mainly victims of Theft and Damage.

Youths aged less that 18 yrs have declined in victimisation rates from 4.6% in 2016 to 3.3% in 2018 and to 2.7% in 2019.

Gender

In terms of gender, main victims’ gender is male, growing over the years up to 60.7% in 2019, up from 57.6% in 2018, whilst females make up 39.3% of victims, down from 42.2% in 2018.

Females were mainly victims of damage, theft, cases of civil nature, domestic violence, insults and threats and bodily harm. Males were mainly victimised for damage, theft, cases of civil nature, bodily harm, insults and threats and fraud.
MORPHING OF THE MALTESE CRIME SCENARIO

Offences in the Maltese Islands have morphed from a multi-thematic to a spatial structure:
*From a Social-Space scenario to a Private-Space scenario*

Whilst homicides once again took media precedence, such was not based on volume but on method and location. The method, particularly high profile murder in Paceville raised concern and increased calls for mitigation. In fact, such was the major contribution to the perceived fear of crime as published in conjunction with the perception of corruption and bribery. All other perceptions report low or very low concern on both violent and non-violent crime.

The past year has again seen an increased awareness process on Domestic Violence as well as the uptake of initiatives projects that study the phenomenon. The Crime Prevention Strategy (Formosa Pace, 2017) sought for a focus on raising awareness towards the mitigation of crime that integrates further community policing aimed at decreasing the social-space offences further, have been taken up by the relevant entities. The need to focus on the movement away from the perception that the mitigation is simply a role that the Police Force must be solely responsible for is erroneous, but one needs to view such as rather a call for collective Social Responsibility.

The reduction in crime of **2% points** towards both awareness and on-the-ground mitigation by the forces.

Previous CrimeMalta reports pointed towards a depiction where Social Capital is provided through the PREFET structures, of which the Police Force form a part. However, the essential aspects that will pivot towards offence mitigation lies in the enhancement of Social Cohesion through awareness raising, values redefinition, self-respect and the will to report and stop offences. Such a process requires a sea change in both the Police Force and relative enforcement agencies remit as well as civil society through NGOs and self-help groups. The instances where such institutions were attacked on a constant basis have eroded the perception and perceived trust, which the entities need to work on in order to achieve both reduction in offences as well as the an increase of knowledge on the actual crime situation based on facts as against social-media depictions or rash statements that go counter to the crime statistics.

One cannot continue to observe crime as the arena for uniformed officers but one where such are enhanced through social and publicity activity run by social entities to ensure knowledge on crime, rescue and support functions as well as personal safety and security increase. It is imperative that offences are viewed as a personal domain issue as against that pertaining to the police. The latter are tasked with securing social spaces but the individual is tasked with securing their private spaces. This is to be enhanced through the implementation of measures emanating from the Crime Prevention Strategy.

On a regional/locality level, crime reports need to be taken seriously as they posit a comparative approach to research methodology that would allow one to make information-based policy and in effect take realistic measures to mitigate crime fluctuations.
Criminologist Professor Saviour Formosa (www.crimemalta.com) has been publishing crime statistics and reviews since 2008 through the analysis of crime trends in Malta as of 1949 and through spatio-temporal analysis as from 1998 (354,487 offences). Crime studies in Malta comprise 37 main categories of crime and 229 sub-categories.

The studies take the form of a rate analysis, as against a count analysis, through the study of a RISC assessment (Relative Index of Spatial Crime), trend analysis and spatio-statistical analysis. The RISC categories that show which towns suffer most from crime, or inversely are safest in Malta and Gozo, can be found below.

Over the years a spatial depiction was developed to aid users to visualise crime through maps, where due to the increasingly available mobile technologies, users can interact with their location and identify safety zones as well as offence areas. The 2019 report comprises the publication of interactive maps highlighting graduated maps, heat maps as well as variable high-level cluster maps that users can review and understand safety and security in the Maltese Islands. The categories comprise Main Category Offences, Sub-Category Offences and Heat.
FIGURES TO PONDER

- **Crimes that Increased** (in descending percentage change order): violation of places of confinement, crimes against public peace, sexual offences, money laundering, arson, pretended rights, bodily harm, attempted offences and theft.

- **Crimes that Decreased** (in descending percentage change order): perjury and false swearing, infanticide/abandonment of child, prostitution, drugs, abuse of public authority, crimes against public safety, homicide, immigration, forgery, fraud, computer misuse, violence against public officers, pornography, threats and private violence and domestic violence.

- **Thefts** have seen a slight increase overall, though out of 48 sub-categories, 18 experienced an increase with 30 experiencing a decrease. Interestingly, this slight increase comes at a time when pick-pocketing, which was the heavyweight category for all reported crimes has again experienced a 29% decrease in crime when compared to 2018, but the 330 case decrease was offset by 513 cases of increased theft from vehicle (66% increase), 52 cases of theft from building sites (38% increase), 24 cases of thefts from occupied residences (4% increase) and 49 cases of theft from factory premises (20% increase). In terms of decreases, Theft of vehicle experienced a 26% decline (72 cases) with residences vacant and exterior experiencing a 30% decrease, a percentage also experienced by snatch and grab. Theft comprises 42.5% of all offences, an increase of 2% (103 cases) over the previous year's drop from 48.2% in 2017 to 41% in 2018.

- **Damages** increased slightly in 2019, comprising 25.3% of all offences up from 24.7% in 2018 and 22% in 2017, increasing through *Involuntary Damage by Hit and Run* incidents.

- **Bodily Harm** stood at 925 cases in 2019, up from 892 cases in 2018 which results in a significant 4% increase, where the main increase was related to *Grevious Bodily Harm with Physical Force* (39% increase) and *Slight Bodily Harm with arms Improper* (15% increase).

- **Fraud** has experienced a 20% decrease (211 cases) following a major high 31% increase between 2017 and 2018. The count for 2018 amounted to 1032 cases, which makes the 2019 figure still second highest, thus maintaining a hold as one of the top 5 crimes in the Maltese Islands League of Tables.

- **Computer** related crime experienced a 17% decrease over the previous year, falling throughout the sub-categories, except for Unauthorised deletion of data.

- **Drugs** reporting decreased by 54% (drop of 189 cases), decreasing throughout the sub-categories. This decrease followed an increase of 12% between 2017 and 2018.
- **Domestic Violence** decreased slightly by 1% of all offences, even when it has a 8.5% weight of all reported crimes, reaching 1326 cases, with a 61% increase in *Stalking*, 3% in *Psychological Harm* and 4% in *Grievous Bodily Harm with Physical Force*.

- **Threats and Public Violence** has decreased by 8% in 2019, mainly through *stalking, blackmail, defamation and causing fear of violence, though harassment and threats by means of writing* experienced a reduction in reporting.

- **Sexual Offences** increased by 21% (25 cases) in 2019, maintaining a year-on-year increase initiated since 2015, with an increase in all sub-categories except for *indecent exposure* which registered a slight decrease.

- **Violence against Public Officers** decreased by 15% to 185 cases down from a high of 238 in 2017.

- **Theft from Residences** has again increased by 24 cases or 4% as compared to 2018 reaching 647 cases, a steady increase initiated in 2015.

- **Pretended Rights** which had been recorded as a separate category in 2017 registered a 6% increase in reports amounting to 183 cases up from 172 cases in 2018.

- **Money Laundering** as recorded for the first time as a distinct category in 2017 registered a 9% increase in 2019, reaching 36 cases from a count of 17 cases in 2017 and 33 cases in 2018.
Temporal Statistics

In terms of Temporal statistics, the months are balancing out with slight differences between the months, though steadily increasing from January to July, and again declining slightly till December. As tourism establishes a hold on the shoulder months, such is also reflected in offences as the months of February, March, July, September, October and December.

Monday, followed by Saturday attract most incidences.

In terms of time of time, 9% of offences occur between 00:00 and 03:00, which however has seen an increase between 2018 and 2019. Crimes reported between 08:00 and 12:00 have seen a steady decrease, whilst the rest of the time periods have remained stable. Reports lodged between 03:00 and 08:00 have experienced a 2% increase.

PRISONS IN MALTA

Prison numbers registered a return to the situation experienced in 2012 when high rates went beyond the Psychological Threshold of 600 residents reaching 815 residents on the 2019. On the 27 December 2019, 745 residents were registered.

CCF remains inundated with a high number of inmates, held in the Island’s only prison that comprises services for both sexes, all categories of offences, all ages, national and international provenance, sentenced and remanded offenders, amongst other categories. Youths have been transferred to Mtahleb.

As from 2012, CrimeMalta’s research process was also enhanced to include the prison population statistics, with data going back to 2001.

Some statistics recorded on a Friday base-date:

- The CCF Psychological Capacity Threshold of 600 inmates was exceeded for the first time at the end of September 2012.

- The CCF Population as at 27th December 2018 (last Friday): 745 (682 males and 63 females);

- The CCF Population as at the highest ever recorded Friday – 08th November 2019: 815 which is 26.4% higher compared to the previous highest registered on the 25th April 2014: 645 (607 males and 38 females).
RISC MODEL: LEAGUE TABLES FOR 2019

As part of a review of RISC Modelling for the Maltese Islands, a number of analytical studies have been carried out for the period between 1998 and 2019. Domestic Violence and Commercial Activity-related RISC has been included as from 2015.

Grand Total Offences
In terms of Grand Total Offences, Mdina retained its top position above San Giljan, which had maintained its perennial hold at the top of the League, with Mdina hosting more than 5 times the national rate of offences, which is calculated as the observed offences as against those which should potentially occur in those areas under study. At a rate between 2 and 5 times the national rate, San Giljan followed a close second, which group also comprises, Floriana and Valletta.

At a rate between the national up to twice that rate one can find Gudja, Ta’ Xbiex, Marsa, San Pawl il-Bahar, Zebug (Ghawdex), Bormla, Msida, Gzira, Hamrun, Luqa, Marsaxlokk, Sliema, Pieta, Ghajnsielem, Birgu and Mellieha. All the other Councils host a lower that national rate, albeit none have a Zero RISC.

Theft from Residences
Whilst this category of offences registered no councils having over 5 times the national rate of offences, in 2019, the relative RISC still appears for Mdina and Marsascala, the latter registered within the 2x-5x RISC. The rate between the national up to twice that rate category includes Msida, Ta’ Xbiex, Birzebbugia, Zebug (Ghawdex) Pembroke, San Pawl il-Bahar, San Giljan, San Gwann, Ixilo, Sliema, Pieta, Bormla, Paola, Naxxar, Swieqi, Marsaxlokk, Santa Lucija, Gzira, Figura, Mellieha, Valletta, Attard, Hamrun and Lija. In contrast, most other zones have lower than average rates and that Kirkop and Gharb registered zero residential offences in 2019.

Theft of and from Vehicles
During 2019, Ta’ Xbiex took top spot, followed by Marsa, Floriana and Pieta as the highest RISC areas where one’s car could be vandalised, broken into and/or stolen, which towns host between 2 and 5 times. Note that these towns host parking and transport-related activities that attract offenders to high-volume and relatively less monitored opportunities. Fontana, San Lawrenz and Sannat hosted zero offences.

Domestic Violence
Domestic violence reports pertain to stalking, slight bodily harm, grievous bodily harm and psychological harm. Kirkop, Floriana, Isla, Bormla and Santa Lucija host between 2 and 5
the national rate. With diminishing rates of RISC, it is imperative to note that a significant number of councils exhibit some form of domestic violence that is above the national rate (yellow in the RISC maps depicted in the CrimeMalta website) at 1-2 times the rate. In effect all towns have incident reporting but may register lower than national rates.

At the other end of the scale, Mdina and Ghasri registered zero offences, a phenomenon also found in rural and small areas were the changes in legislation may yet have an effect in terms of encouraging victims to report.

Commercial Activity-related

Gudja (also due to the MIA activity) hosted more than 5 times the national rate, taking over San Giljan at the top of the League. Towns that host between 2 and 5 times the national rate of offences comprise San Giljan, Pembroke and San Pawl il-Bahar, indicative of their proximity to the main economic centres such as the San Giljan recreational zone. The least RISC registering towns at zero RISC include Santa Lucija, Fontana, Xghajra, Birgu, Mdina, Gharghur, Isla, Lija, Munxar, San Lawrenz, Sannat, Kercem, Qala, Ghasri and Gharb (9 of 14 Gozitan localities).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grand Total</th>
<th>Residential</th>
<th>Vehicle</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Commercial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Council</td>
<td>Council</td>
<td>Council</td>
<td>Council</td>
<td>Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOSTA</td>
<td>MOSTA</td>
<td>MOSTA</td>
<td>MOSTA</td>
<td>MOSTA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUDJA</td>
<td>GUDJA</td>
<td>GUDJA</td>
<td>GUDJA</td>
<td>GUDJA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZEBBUG (Malta)</td>
<td>ZEBBUG (Malta)</td>
<td>ZEBBUG (Malta)</td>
<td>ZEBBUG (Malta)</td>
<td>ZEBBUG (Malta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KALKARA</td>
<td>KALKARA</td>
<td>KALKARA</td>
<td>KALKARA</td>
<td>KALKARA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIRIA</td>
<td>MIRIA</td>
<td>MIRIA</td>
<td>MIRIA</td>
<td>MIRIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIBIR</td>
<td>SIBIR</td>
<td>SIBIR</td>
<td>SIBIR</td>
<td>SIBIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOREN</td>
<td>GOREN</td>
<td>GOREN</td>
<td>GOREN</td>
<td>GOREN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARITA</td>
<td>SARITA</td>
<td>SARITA</td>
<td>SARITA</td>
<td>SARITA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTDRA</td>
<td>MTDRA</td>
<td>MTDRA</td>
<td>MTDRA</td>
<td>MTDRA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZEBBUG</td>
<td>ZEBBUG</td>
<td>ZEBBUG</td>
<td>ZEBBUG</td>
<td>ZEBBUG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NADUR</td>
<td>NADUR</td>
<td>NADUR</td>
<td>NADUR</td>
<td>NADUR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHALMA</td>
<td>GHALMA</td>
<td>GHALMA</td>
<td>GHALMA</td>
<td>GHALMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABAT</td>
<td>SABAT</td>
<td>SABAT</td>
<td>SABAT</td>
<td>SABAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTARD</td>
<td>ATTARD</td>
<td>ATTARD</td>
<td>ATTARD</td>
<td>ATTARD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
<td>BIRKIRKA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
<td>SANT'A LUCIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
<td>SAN LAWRENZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
<td>MUNIAJU</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Professor Saviour Formosa

CrimeMalta Observatory

Department of Criminology
Faculty for Social Wellbeing
University of Malta
saviour.formosa@um.edu.mt

Profile: https://www.um.edu.mt/profile/saviourformosa
ResearchGate: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Saviour_Formosa

CrimeMalta: www.crimemalta.com
info@crimemalta.com

March 2020

REFERENCE MAPS:

Main site: http://www.crimemalta.com
Main Crime Categories Interactive Map: http://crimemalta.com/qgis2019/main
Main Crime Sub Categories Interactive Map: http://crimemalta.com/qgis2019/subselected
Sample Imagery

Interactive Cluster Map

Interactive Heat Map