"An Analysis of Kill Events with Two or More Victims in Trinidad and Tobago 2017-2023" by Daurius Figueira

Introduction

The following research paper is a study of kill events with 2 or more victims for the period 2017 to 2023 in Trinidad and Tobago (T&T). This specific subset of data was extracted from the macro data set provided by the TTPS which provided the following details on each murder recorded by the TTPS for the period under study. These details are as follows: Time of death, Day of death, Month of death, TTPS division, TTPS station, Location, Number of Victims, Type of Location, Age of the Victim, Ethnicity, Gender, Means and Motive aggregated by year for the period under study. The sub set of data extracted for this study focuses on TTPS Division, Number of Victims, Ethnicity, Gender and the Means utilised by year for the period. The foundation of the study is the extraction of all kill events with 2 or more victims and aggregating their characteristics for each year for the period which affords comparative analysis of a phenomenon that first appeared in the period under study in the history of T&T and rapidly evolved during the period under study. The appearance of this reality in this period in T&T's history and its rapid evolution within the period of its appearance potently indicate its source to be conflict between incompatible transnational organised crime business models in T&T battling for hegemony over the illicit trades of T&T.

Limitation

A study of this nature demands an analysis of the modus operandi of the perpetrators of the kill events. In the absence of such data in the macro data supplied by the TTPS, other sources of said data are being investigated to complete this analysis.

Section 1

Kill Events of 2 or more victims 2017 to 2023

2017

The total number of murders recorded for 2017 was 497. Of this total persons killed in kill events involving two or more murders were 73 or 14.688% of the total murders for 2017. These 73 murders were structured as follows: two victims with 26 kill events for 52 victims, which is 71.232% of the total murder toll from kill events with 2 or more victims; three victims with 7 kill events for 21 victims with a grand total of 73 victims. 2018

The total number of murders in 2018 was 517 which was a year on year increase of 4.0241%. Of this total 71 victims were killed in 2 or more victims kill events for the year or 13.733% of total murders for 2018. These 71 murders were structured as follows: 2 victims kill events: 26 for 52 victims, or 72.239% of the total murder toll for the year of kill events of 2 and more murders; 3 victims kill events: 5 for 15 victims: and 4 victims kill events: 1 for 4 victims. 2018 was the first year for the period in which a 4 victim kill event was recorded for the period under study. TTPS data states that three of

four victims had their throats slit which presents graphic interpersonal violence that sends a message.

2019

The total number of murders in 2019 was 539 which was a year on year increase of 4.255%. Of this total 73 victims were killed in 2 victims or more for the year or 13.543% of total murders for the year. Already a pattern is set of between 13% to 15% of total murders for the year are the result of kill events of 2 or more victims. There are then two clear modes driving kill events from 2017 to 2019: the single victims events and the multiple victim kill events with both modes requiring entirely different logistical and skill banks of expertise and experience. Clearly multi victim kill events are the domain of the professional Sicarios rather than gang bangers. The kill events of the 73 victims are structured as follows: 2 victims kill events: 24 for 48 victims, which is 65.753% of the murder toll of kill events of 2 or more victims; 3 victims kill events: 7 for 21 victims and 4 victims kill events: 1 for 4 victims. The one instance of a 4 victim kill event involved death by gunshot to all four victims. The escalation of kill events with three deaths indicate the scale of the violent engagement on the ground and the operational mobilisation of Sicarios/ professional assassins.

The murder toll for 2020 was 403 victims which was a year on year decrease of 25.231%. Of this total there were 87 victims of kill events with 2 or more victims for the year or 21.588% of the annual murder toll. The rate at which multiple victim killings increased in 2020 nearly matches the decrease in total murders year on year in 2020. There were 32 kill events with 2 victims with a total of 64 victims, 5 kill events with 3 victims for a total of 15 victims and 2 kill events with 4 victims for a total of 8 victims. Kill events with 2 victims accounted for 73.563% of the total number of victims of kill events of 2 or more murders.

Whilst single victims kill events markedly decreased in 2020, multiple victims kill events markedly increased making 2020 the year of the Sicario in the murder landscape of T&T for the perio0d 2017 to 2023. Clearly the various forms of curtailment of public movement and activity in response to the Covid pandemic impacted single victims murders but not multi victim murders for 2020. Those who claim publicly that effective policing curtailed murders in T&T in 2020 certainly did not curtail the specialty work of the Sicarios, as the curtailment measures also failed to so do. In 2020 the message sent by the Sicario was a most potent one to the national security apparatus.

The murder toll for 2021 was 452 an increase year on year of 10.840%. Of this total there were 73 victims of kill events of 2 or more victims or 16.150% which is a decrease on 2020 but higher than 2017 to 2019, which means the trend of 2020 continued impacting the landscape of kill events in 2021, the Age of the Sicario had dawned. Of this total there were 24, 2 victims kill events for 48 victims, 5, 3 victims kill events for 15 victims and 2, 5 victims kill events for 10 victims. 2021 was the first year in which 5 victims kill events were recorded for the period under study. For the two 5 victims kill

events in one kill event all five died by gunshot and in the other 2 died by gunshot and three by having their throats slit. Kill events with 2 victims accounted for 65.753% of the murder toll with 2 or more victims for 2021.

The Sicarios were again sending potent messages in this war in the illicit trades of T&T as the engagement was now escalating pointing to the use now of terror as a weapon in this war of the incompatible business models in the illicit trades of T&T. This was then an engagement between contending business models of transnational organised crime with their Gangland affiliates in tow. The writing was now clearly on the wall, as both sides are battling for hegemony.

2022

The murder toll in 2022 was 605 murders, clearly indicating that T&T was back on the murder toll growth path that was interrupted by 2020, but this time back with a bang with an increase of 25.289% year on year. There were 115 victims of kill events with 2 or more victims or 19.008% of total murders in 2022 placing 2022 in line with 2020, another year of the Sicario. There were 49, 2 victims kill events for 98 victims,3, 3 victims kill events for 9 victims, 2, 4 victims kill events for 8 victims in total and no 5 victims kill events. Kill events with two victims accounted for 85.217% of murders with 2 and more victims.

With the 2, 4 victim kill events all eight victims died from gunshots. What is now clearly apparent from 2017 to 2022 the strategy driving this war is to wipe out, erase cliques, crews and sets of the enemy's forces on the ground thereby creating voids which are filled by your personnel thereby building hegemony over geographical spaces and the structures and markets contained therein. This accounts for the preponderance of 2 victim kill events and the intent to take out both male and females of the enemy forces as females who are attached to males in the Game are open targets as they can and will fill the void left by the death of the male, so both are killed. This modus operandi then escalates the engagement to embrace terrorism as an instrument of this war insisting that no one inhabiting the enemy's turf is innocent.

The murder toll for 2023 was 577 victims which was a year on year decline of 4.628% which indicates that the expected slowdown in keeping with previous episodes of murder spikes then a decline was no longer the rule in T&T. There is then a new order of power on the ground where the illicit trades and Gangland of T&T are now bi-polar with two transnational organised crime models that are incompatible with each other establishing two orders of power on the ground in contradiction with each other. The long standing hegemony of the Colombian model exerting hegemony over the illicit trades and Gangland of T&T has now been shattered. There are now three Ganglands with three different operational orders of power of the illicit trades, all incompatible: the Colombian order, the Mexican order and the order of the unaffiliated to both. In 2023 there were only 6 kill events with two or more victims, with a total of 14 victims or 2.426% of total murders. This is a dramatic drop compared to 2017 to 2022 which signals that the work of the Sicarios was largely over as the prized alpha targets were all

eliminated and their organisations dismantled by cutting of its head and dismantling it at the level of the street crew, cliques and sets. The task at hand was now filling the void created by violence with your players and Gangland affiliates. The losing side resorted to terror in a futile attempt at resistance and has to now reorganise to fit the new reality they are faced with having lost the hegemony they exercised since the decade of the 1960s. The 6 kill events with 2 or more victims in 2023 were structured as follows: 4 with 2 victims for a toll of 8 victims, 2 with 3 victims for a toll of 6 victims and no kill events of 4 and 5 victims each. Kill events with 2 victims accounted for 54.142 % of the murder toll arising from kill events with 2 or more victims, the lowest level for the period under study.

For the period 2017 to 2023 kill events of 2 victims is the preferred/go to method of elimination in the category of kill events with two or more victims, which confirms that the strategic imperative of the drug wars is to behead the federations and eliminate the sets/cliques and crews of the three business models at war. It is much easier to drive the herd of targets into manageable groups of two marked for death and to eliminate such targets rather than managing three or more targets for the kill opportunity and the kill event. The management process commences with forcing the herd to panic by taking out its top leadership forcing the survivors to band together into small units for protection which you then target by taking them out two at a time, which shatters the set as you are offering those of this organisation who qualify affiliate status in your organisation. The survivors of the set under attack then focus on those who jumped ship marking them for death. This escalates the engagement hastening the elimination of a weakened headless set belonging to a headless federation that is shattered. Hence the resort to terror in such a strategic reality by those who have lost the hegemony they enjoyed over the illicit trades in T&T for decades since the late 1960s. In 2018 the maximum leader of the Sheron federation was erased followed by a process of eliminating the remaining leaders of the factions of the federation, its middle managers and targeted sets/cliques/crews backed up with recruitment of chosen foot soldiers for affiliate status in the new order. In 2019 the maximum leader and the alternate leader were removed of the Sandman federation followed by the same process of elimination and recruitment. This purge and replace with a new order intensified the instability of Gangland and the illicit trades in T&T as both federations exercised hegemonic power over large swaths of the old Gangland which gave rise to the myth of Muslim vs Rasta City. Out of this maelstrom a new Gangland emerged and a new order of the illicit trades in T&T comprising the Mexican order, the Colombian order and the unaffiliated to both, the Independent order. The terrain of the illicit trades in T&T as a result is now prone to outbreaks of violence for various structural reasons constituted by this tri-polar order of power on the ground for all three poles have reason to relentlessly seek hegemony over the other two and the illicit trades.

Section 2 Victimology

This section focuses on the Kill Event mode utilised in conjunction with the Race and Gender of the victims. The picture that emerges for the period 2017 to 2023 is the overwhelming dominance of African Males as the premier victim of all kill events recorded especially Kill Events with gunshot as the mode. African males and Africans as a whole are then over represented in the victim data given their proportion of national population. Which means that Indians, the Mixed group and the race minorities of national population are underrepresented in the victim data given their proportion of national population by race. Amongst the race minorities the Chinese and Spanish speaking group dominate the victim data of the race minority population of T&T. The greatest number of victims in the study were victims of gunshot and the significant dominant race/gender group in this category of mode was the African male. This is not proof of the African male in T&T being criminogenic, having a propensity for criminal activity. This is the legacy of Colombian transnational organised crime since the second half of the 1960s targeting the East-West Corridor of Trinidad to exercise hegemony over its inhabitants and spaces as the foundation of its illicit trades in T&T. From the 1960s to now successive generations of especially males of the East-West Corridor have been socialised to be functionaries of transnational organised crime in T&T. It is this transnational organised crime business model that established the new phase of Gangland evolution in the second half of the 1990s to serve its interests. This evolution has progressed where today we have now two transnational organised crime business models in operation on the ground in T&T with its own distinctive Gangland constituted to serve both business models.

The data for victims of gunshot is presented by year as follows:

2017

African Male 49, African Female 3; Indian Male 8, Indian Female 0; Mixed Male 2, Mixed Female 1, Other: Chinese Male 2 Spanish Male 2 2018

African Male 37, African Female 1; Indian Male 3, Indian Female 1; Mixed Male 4, Mixed Female 2; Other 0

2019

2020

African Male 38, African Female 5; Indian Male 8, Indian Female 4; Mixed Male 8, Mixed Female 5; Other Male 1

African Male 37, African Female 4; Indian Male 6 Indian Female 8; Mixed Male 9, Mixed female 2; Other Male 5, Female 2 (Spanish speaking persons and Chinese) 2021

African Male 36, African Female 3; Indian Male 15, Indian Female 6; Mixed Male 5, Mixed Female 0; Other 0

2022

African Male 61, African Female 4; Indian Male 13, Indian Female 3; Mixed Male 8, Mixed Female 1; Other 1 (Arab Male) 2023

African Male 7, African Female 1; Indian Male 2, Indian Female 1; Mixed Male 3 Mixed Female 0; Other 0

2022 and 2017, in that order were the number 1 and 2 years (respectively) of the highest toll on African males via the gunshot mode in kill events of 2 or more victims in T&T for the period 2017 to 2023. Whilst the years 2018 to 2021 showed a consistent annual number in the 30s which speaks to a quota for the Sicarios to fill. In 2021 and 2022 the number of Indian male victims increased illustrating the reality on the ground of the war to erase the hegemony enjoyed by the Sheron and Sandman federations and to fill the void created. Indian operatives of both federations were now on the line as valued targets for removal. In this war of attrition there is push back, tit for tat killings and the action of third parties seeking to replace both business models of transnational organised with an independent model. In this case the war intensifies and escalates into a brutal three way fight with no holds barred, for keeps. In these battles modes other than gunshot are used as chopping/dismemberment, burning to send graphic messages of what the enemy can expect in this war for hegemony over the illicit trades of T&T. What is also indicated in the victimology is the intention to eliminate women who are connected to males in the illicit trades, especially those with the capacity to replace the male and continue the business after the male is erased. Both male and female are executed in these circumstances. The data set indicates not only the presence of couples in the trade of the same race origin but also couples of different race origins where African, Indian, Mixed and Hispanic females form bonds with African, Indian, Mixed and Hispanic males thereby constituting couples of different races which fall victim to kill events. The data set also indicates the activities of the Hispanic immigrants in T&T being involved in the illicit trades which exposes them to kill events in the drug wars of **T&T**.

Location of Kill Events by TTPS Division

This final section of Victimology presents kill events and the number of victims by divisions of the TTPS in a hierarchical order per year for the period studied 2017 to 2023 as follows:

2017

1st. Central 8 kill events 19 victims, 2nd. Northern 7 kill events 15 victims, 3rd. Port of Spain 6 kill events 13 victims, 4th Southern 4 kill events 10 victims, 5th North Eastern 3 kill events 6 victims, 6th Western 2 kill events 4 victims, 7th South Western 1 kill event 2 victims, 7th Eastern 1 kill event 2 victims, and 7th Tobago 1 kill event 2 victims The assault on the hegemony of the two dominant federations affiliated to the Colombian business model, Sheron and Sandman federations, has been unleashed on multiple simultaneous fronts in the these core divisions of the engagement: Central, Northern and Port of Spain. The Southern, North Eastern and Western divisions are satellites of these three core engagement zones. The command and control center of the Sheron federation was located in the Central division whilst its origins were tied to the to the South Western peninsula of Trinidad and the Caroni swamp. Both federations were exerting hegemony over the Port of Spain division, whilst the Northern division was the weak

under belly of the Sandman federation arising from its aggressive conquest of this division which commenced in the first decade of the 21st century. This aggressive conquest displaced drug trafficking families and federations who traced their lineage back to the early years of the operational presence of Colombian transnational organised crime in T&T. There was then continuing resistance, push back to and dissatisfaction with the hegemony of the Sandman federation in this division. This was then exploited in the wars between the Colombian and Mexican business models that became openly public from 2017.

2018

The hierarchy of kill events with its victims by TTPS divisions for 2018 is as follows: 1st Northern 9 kill events 20 victims, 2nd Western 5 kill events 11 victims, 3nd Port of Spain 4 kill events 9 victims, 4th Central 4 kill events 8 victims, 4th North East 4 kill events 8 victims, 6th South Western 2 kill events 6 victims, 7th Southern 2 kill events 4 victims, Eastern 2 kill events 4 victims. In 2018 the maximum leadership of the Sheron federation was eliminated which was followed by a meticulous process of eliminating the rest of the heads of the federation and its middle management, effectively constituting a three way battle for hegemony over this vacated space. The best expression of this was the reality of the war on the ground of the Northern division as those affiliated with the two dominant transnational organised crime models were now faced with the displaced and new players seeking to fill the void left which worsened in 2019 with the eradication of the maximum leadership of the Sandman federation.

The hierarchy of kill events and their victims was as follows: 1st Port of Spain 7 kill events 16 victims, 2nd Northern 7 kill events 15 victims, 3rd North Eastern 5 kill events 12 victims, 4th Southern 4 kill events 10 victims, 5th Western 4 kill events 8 victims, 6th Eastern 2 kill events 5 victims, 7th South Western 1 kill event 3 victims, 8th Central 1 kill events 2 victims, 8th Tobago 1 kill events 2 victims. The engagements in the Northern division has now intensified waking up the North Eastern and Eastern divisions. The war on the maximum leadership of the Sandman federation has intensified the engagement in the Port OF Spain division which has awakened the engagement in the Western division. Whilst the Central and South Western divisions are no longer contested spaces.

In a year where the murder toll markedly decreased whilst the death toll from kill events with 2 or more victims markedly jumped, the hierarchy of kill events with their victims now affirm the fact that it was the year of the counterattack by the Colombian affiliates and the intensified push by unaffiliated third parties for space on the ground of the illicit trades. The hierarchy is as follows: 1st Northern 11 kill events 24 victims, 2nd Western 6 kill events 13 victims, 3rd Central 6 kill events 12 victims, 4th South Western 4 kill events 11 victims, 5th North Eastern 4 kill events 8 victims, 5th Southern 3 kill events 8 victims, 7th Port of Spain 3 kill events 6 victims, 8th Tobago 1 kill event 2 victims. The tripartite war in the Northern division has now gone ballistic where those who switched sides are targeted, the Colombian affiliates are becoming openly paranoid and are increasingly

embracing the desperate tactic of arming id disparate elements on the ground who exhibit a propensity for reckless terror. The third force of the unaffiliated on the ground also follow the tactics of the besieged Colombian business model. The Port of Spain division in 2020 went dead quiet signaling the peace of the new order which pushed the war into the Western division. The desperate push back to recover lost ground in the Central, Southern and South Western divisions by the Colombian model along with the desperate hope for winning space by the unaffiliated third force ratcheted up the engagement in these divisions.

2021

The hierarchy of divisions of 2021 will show the responses to the terrain of engagement of 2020. The hierarchy is as follows; 1st North Central 5 kill events 14 victims, 2nd North Eastern 5 kill events 13 victims, 3rd Northern 4 kill events 12 victims, 4th Port of Spain 5 kill events 11 victims, 5th Southern 5 kill events 10 victims, 6th Central 4 kill events 9 victims, 7th Western 2 kill events 4 victims. The protracted war of the Northern division with attack and counter attack has now lighted up the North Central and North Eastern divisions. The velocity of the engagement in the Western division has decreased whilst the engagement to reconquer the Port of Spain division has intensified. The counter attack in the Central division has not attained its target whilst new attention is being paid to the Southern division with the attack on targets previously untouched and the counterattacks by the Colombian affiliates and the opportunistic unaffiliated third force.

This is the year of the final desperate push by the Colombian affiliates and the unaffiliated to turn back the challenge of the Mexican affiliates to the old Colombian order of the illicit trades in T&T. The murder toll for this year by kill events with 2 or more victims reflects the graphic desperation of this besieged transnational organised crime business model and those displaced by both transnational organised crime models on the ground. This desperation on the ground in 2022 is potently indicated by the kill events of the Central and Western divisions. The hierarchy is as follows: 1st Central 12 kill events 24 victims, 2nd Western 8 kill events 22 victims, 3rd North Eastern 8 kill events 18 victims, 4th Southern 7 kill events 16 victims, 5th North Central 5 kill events 10 victims, 5th Northern 5 kill events 10 victims, 7th Port of Spain 4 kill events 8 victims, 8th South Western 2 kill events 4 victims, 9th Eastern 1 kill event 3 victims. The assault on Port of Spain has failed intensifying the assault on the Western division. The North Eastern division is now outstripping the war effort of the Northern division but these three divisions remain joined at the hips impacting the Eastern division rather than the other way around. The war in the Central division has once again impacted the level of engagement in the Southern division whilst keeping the South West division on the scoreboard even though ar a lower position. 2022 was then the make or break year for the Colombian affiliates and the unaffiliated. A marked fall in 2023 in the number of kill events with 2 or more victims will then confirm that the illicit trades in T&T are now under the hegemony of two gravely incompatible transnational organised crime models: the Colombian and Mexican business models.

In 2023 the hierarchy of victims of kill events with two or more victims reflects the reality of a drastic reduction in kill events compared to the preceding years of the period. The strategic aim of dismantling the dominant federations on the ground affiliated to the Colombian business model was attained, the counter attack to break the back of the move to establish a new transnational organised crime business model antagonistic to the Colombian model failed and the unaffiliated were faced with the pressing reality that their only source of supply of illicit product was the Colombian paramilitary transnational trafficking organisations as the Mexican transnational trafficking organisations do not sell their product to unaffiliated entities. The Colombian Don in T&T was then forced to work with the remnants of the dismantled federations and the unaffiliated to create a new Colombian order. In this task the Hispanic migrant population in T&T, especially the illegal migrants under the control of the Don are playing a key strategic role of rebuilding from the ground up. This strategic reality has drawn Venezuelan and Colombian gangland under the control of the Colombian Don/Capo into T&T to be part of this engagement and rebuilding.

A grave threat then exists of a return to the Age of the Sicario with its rivers of blood as in the period under study. The hierarchy of 2023 is as follows: 1st Northern 2 kill events 6 victims, 2nd North Central 2 kill events 4 victims, 3rd South Western 1 kill event 2 victims,3rd Southern 1 kill event 2 victims. The hierarchy indicates the reality of the specific group of police divisions where the engagement between transnational organised crime business models continue to enhance the propensity for future flare ups of gun violence expressed as kill events with two or more victims.

The Illicit Gun Market of T&T

The use of illicit guns as the dominant instrument of murder in T&T for the period demands an understanding of the illicit small weapons trade of T&T. In the second half of the decade of the 1990s the Valle Norte federation of Colombia abandoned the business model of the Medellin and Cali federations, their predecessors in the Colombian illicit trades. The Valle Norte federation commenced wholesaling their kilo bricks and established specialist trafficking arms charged with the smuggling of cocaine, ganja, small arms and illegal migrants for clients and themselves. The gun transports of this federation then began the process of dominating the supply side of the illicit gun markets of the Caribbean basin. With the collapse of the Valle Norte federation the Colombian paramilitary federation adopted and continued the Valle Norte business model.

In the second decade of the 21st century developments in Venezuela and T&T changed the demand side of the illicit gun markets of both countries which resulted in a new order of supply appearing especially in T&T. From 2013 the Colombian paramilitary overlords of Gangland Venezuela began the process of arming their gangland affiliates with semi-automatic assault rifles of the AR-15 platform. This weapon platform is widely available in Colombia unlike Venezuela thereby possession of this weapon platform by Gangland groups became a mark of distinction in Venezuela. This strategic

decision of the Colombian Capo had an expected impact on the desire of the affiliates of the Colombian Don in T&T. And by extension the unaffiliated. The cost of an AR-15 semi automatic assault rifle supplied by the Colombian gun brokers carried a high premium hence it was prohibitively priced. This drove those in the know to reactivate the old small arms trafficking pipelines from the Eastern seaboard of the USA to T&T. These pipelines were active from the decade of the 1970s until their collapse in the late 1990s early 21st century under the impact of the cheap Colombian supplied handguns and ammunition. The gun market of the USA now offered weapons of the AR-15 and AK-47 platforms at prices appreciably lower than that of the Colombian brokers. In T&T towards the end of the first decade of the 21st century a potent push factor appeared in the illicit trades, as the foot soldiers of the Mexican affiliates in T&T were now being armed in keeping with the military discourse of arms of the Mexican order of power. Foot soldiers are outfitted with either an AR-15 or an AK-47, a 12 gauge shotgun and a 40 caliber or a 9 mm handgun. All weapons are sourced internally with a level of manufacturing, acquisition and smuggling that is totally under the sole control of the organisation as product is sourced from worldwide sources rather than a dependence on a single supply market as the USA. Acquiring a steady affordable supply of weapons from the AR-15 and AK-47 platforms by the Colombian affiliates and the unaffiliated in T&T became an imperative vitally necessary to defend their hegemony and survive. An arms race in the illicit trades of T&T then appeared in the T&T illicit trades in the second decade of the 21st century which intensified the nature of the engagement driving it at times to paranoia with a penchant for terrorism. A concomitant development arising from the reactivation of the US supply pipelines was the smuggling of reloading machines, black powder, detonators and bullets for reloading spent cartridges to live rounds of ammunition. This new illicit industry then created a demand for spent shells overnight where all gun ranges became targets of supply for this valuable commodity. The landscape of the illicit trades has been organically changed, diversified with the presence of two transnational organised crime groups in the illicit trades of T&T unleashing impacts upon the social order of T&T never experienced before in the history of the illicit trades of T&T. As this new model develops, evolves further impacts are forthcoming on the social order of T&T.