'Atrako Fatal'

Robbery homicide in the Dutch Caribbean

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Preface

Before you lies the dissertation ‘Atrako Fatal – Robbery Homicide in the Dutch Caribbean’. This explorative research was part of the CSM Capstone Capstone on Homicide Research, and aimed to provide insights into when, how and why (robbery) homicides take place in the Dutch Caribbean as well as to extend the current data on Dutch Caribbean homicides present in the Dutch Caribbean Homicide Monitor.

Both the data gathering and research were extensive and difficult, however very interesting and informative, therefore keeping me motivated.
Unfortunately, the relevance of this research was proved during the data gathering process, as on may 7th 2019 Curcao.nu reported another Dutch Caribbean robbery homicide.

"*When the robbers then broke open a door of one of the neighbouring apartments, they came face to face with Ronald Wilhelmus Molenaars, a landscape architect by profession… Then one of the robbers shot Molenaars. He died instantly."* Curcao.nu (2019)

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I would like to thank my supervisors Dr. Marieke Liem and Dr. Pauline Aarten for their kind guidance and support during this process. I also wish to thank my fellow Capstone researchers, Lieke Teurlings and Rosa van der Gaag for their feedback and without whose help the data gathering process would not have been possible. In addition, I like to thank Canilia Geerman for translating several sources.
Also, I would like to thank my loving girlfriend Gislaine de Boer for her support, patience and motivational words.

I would like to dedicate this project to my loving parents and thank them for their unconditional support, their advice, their understanding, their help and above all their guidance in every walk of life.

I hope you enjoy your reading.

Milo Gallardo,

The Hague, June 9 2019

Table of Contents

Abstract

This explorative research takes a closer look at lethal violence Dutch Caribbean. Although this overseas region is part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, research on lethal violence and homicides in this region has been limited. Contrary to research on the European counterpart of the Kingdom, information on when, how and why homicide offences take place over longer periods is not yet available.
By further developing the Dutch Caribbean Homicide Monitor, which currently only entails homicide information on Curacao between 2014 and 2018, this research aimed to diminish this data gap. Based on the information provided by a Dutch Caribbean focused unit of the Dutch National Police, and verifying this information through public sources, the Dutch Homicide Monitor now contains information on Dutch Caribbean homicides between 2012 and 2018, for all Dutch Caribbean islands.

Results indicate that robbery homicides are a reoccurring type of homicide in the Dutch Caribbean, accounting for 14,6 percent of all registered homicides. However, the majority of homicides take place in the criminal milieu these account for 36 percent. Comparison between the two sectors of the Kingdom shows that the Dutch Caribbean homicide rate was on average 10 times higher than the homicide rate in The Netherlands during the studied period.

By not only looking at general homicide occurrence but by also considering a specific sub-type of homicide, a more detailed picture of Dutch Caribbean homicides has been presented. Furthermore, the data found on robbery a homicide was approached from the routine activities theory and strain theory, to explain the occurrence of this crime. Both theories provide valid perspectives on this homicide subtype due to their focus on socio-economic factors. Relating the data to these theories resulted in a deeper understanding of victims, perpetrators, and settings in which robbery homicides occur. Since current data on homicides in the Dutch Caribbean is limited, this research makes a valid contribution to homicide research on the Dutch Caribbean.

Introduction

Latin America and the Caribbean are known to be one of the most violent areas in the world; these regions accounts for 8% of the world's population, but the area experiences 33% of the world's homicides (Muggah & Tobón, 2018). Some Latin American and Caribbean countries are showing violence- and homicide rates that equal or surpass those of nations in a state of war. Crime and lethal violence in this region has been on the rise since the 1970s and has been so prominent, that the trend has been described as a 'pandemic of violence' (Heinemann & Verner, 2006: 2).

There are several explanations for the violence and homicides in the Caribbean. General criminological literature on this area points out the following drivers. First, several studies note the strong presence of (youth) gangs throughout the region (Bennett & Lynch, 1996; Heinemann & Verner, 2006; Katz & Maguire, 2015; Rodgers, 1999; UNODC, 2013). These gangs are able to flourish in the poor and underdeveloped urban areas with low social capital, which are present all throughout the region. Second, illegal drug trafficking is believed to be an important driver of the high violence and homicide rate in the region; this leads to criminal killings, assassinations and organized crime groups which undermine governments and society (Bennett & Lynch, 1996; Faber et al. 2007; Muggah & Tobón, 2018; UNODC, 2013). Both gang and drug violence are highly visible and manifest themselves in other types of crime such as robbery, burglary, and larceny (De Albuquerque & McElroy, 1999).
Third, there is a strong relationship between tourism and crime as noted by De Albuquerque & McElroy (1999). The Caribbean has a thriving tourism industry, which brings high numbers of wealthy visitors to the region. This creates opportunities for committing property crimes. Furthermore, these authors state that the drug-related offences have spilled over into the tourist industry; providing in the demand for drugs.

Fourth, as shown by Sutton & Ruprah, (2017) and Berkman (2007) ineffective and unaccountable criminal justice institutions in Latin America and the Caribbean increase crime and violence among the population. A lack of trust in these institutions creates a lower sense of citizen security as wells as more opportunities for crime to flourish.
Lastly, historical and cultural explanations such as political violence by dictators, violent conflicts fought by guerrillas, unregulated urbanisation, and social norms such as machismo all are believed to be contributing to the normalisation of crime and violence in the Latin American and Caribbean region (Muggah & Tobón, 2018; Imbusch, Misse & Carrión, 2011).

Although the drivers of crime are diverse, the prevalence of violence and homicide in the Caribbean and Latin America is above all related to underlying and structural inequality in society (Amarante, et al., 2016; Fajnzylber, Lederman & Loayza, 1998). There is an extreme gap between severe poverty and extreme wealth, which in turn, lead to corruption among institutions, a lack of rule of law, and social exclusion (Imbusch, Misse & Carrión, 2011; Berkman, 2007). If people are lacking economic opportunities, live in poverty, are limited in obtaining a higher status or income and are excluded as well as marginalized, resorting to illegal means to survive becomes an attractive alternative. Undoubtedly, crime and violent acts are not excluded from these illegal means. Combined with lacking security, failing institutions, non-functioning judicial systems and failing state protection most people either endure violence or resort to violence (Berkman, 2007). In other words, those with no possibilities to advance their economic and financial position in society are attracted to illicit activities and violence in order to survive. Failing institutions push these people towards violent leaders, gangs and corrupt officials that provide them with the pathways for advancing in life (Berkman, 2007).

Nevertheless, no matter what explanation for homicide or violence is chosen, it remains eminent that since the 1970's until today crime, violence and homicide rates have been on the rise in Latin America and Caribbean (Heinemann & Verner, 2006).

The Dutch Caribbean is no stranger to violence and homicides; in 2001 and 2003, the number of registered homicides rose to an exceptional levels. With over 30 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 2002, the island of Curacao was heading towards the top of the list regarding the world's deadliest areas (Weenink, 2009).

This Dutch Caribbean region is the overseas part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. This section of the Kingdom currently consists of the islands of Aruba, Curaçao, Sint Maarten and, the BES-islands. The BES-islands, Bonaire, Sint-Eustatius, and Saba, have the status of a special Dutch municipality.

When looking at homicide rates, the European part of the Kingdom shows different statistics as the numbers seen on the islands. In the Netherlands, the homicide rates are much more stable and in 2017 it was calculated at 0.90 homicides per 100.000 inhabitants (CBS, 2018).

In the Dutch Caribbean however, homicide rates have seen an upward trend. In 2017 a number of 28 homicides occurred on the island of Curacao. This translates to 19 homicides per 100.000 inhabitants.
In addition, statistics show that men are 13 times more likely to be killed due to violence in the Dutch Caribbean (CBS, 2015; curacao.nu, 2018; OM CURACAO, 2017). The exact reasons for these differences remain unclear, and until now, research on the causes of this discrepancy or the characteristics of homicides committed in the Dutch Caribbean has been limited (Universiteit Leiden, 2018). Apart from a baseline study done in 2007 done by Faber et al. (2007), a special issue on the Dutch Caribbean by the journal *Justitiële verkenningen,* the re-occurring policy report BES Veiligheidsbeeld 2013 & 2018, and special reports focussed on the Dutch Caribbean by the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) documentation and studies on Dutch Caribbean homicide are meager.

''Te ainda ko-atrakadó den kaso atrako fatal ta deskonosí'' or 'Suspect of the fatal robbery remains unknown' (Extra.cw, 2018). This is just an example of several headlines that appear in the Dutch Caribbean press from time to time. Robberies, locally known as atrako's happen frequently in the Dutch Caribbean and often have deadly outcomes. Atrako's have a major impact on society and are harmful to the image of the Dutch Caribbean, the economy and tourism (Veligheidsbeeld BES, 2018). In 2017, The Public Prosecution registered a number of 482 atrako's in Curacao in 2017 alone, and stated that these robberies almost always take place with the involvement of firearms increasing the chances of fatal victims (OM CURACAO, 2017; Veligheidsbeeld BES, 2018).

In the Netherlands, robbery homicides account for 7% of the total number of homicides; these are homicides were a victim has died during a robbery inside a house, commercial setting or during a street theft (Ganpat & Liem, 2012). As mentioned before, there is limited research on type, nature and the extent of homicides in the Dutch Caribbean (Caribisch Netwerk, 2018). This also accounts for subtypes of homicides; unlike the Netherlands, the percentage of robbery homicides in the Dutch Caribbean remains unknown. So, not only is the high homicide rate in the Dutch Caribbean is under-investigated, details on homicide subtypes are also lacking. Therefore, it is worthwhile to register and study homicide cases in the Dutch Caribbean and see if the high homicide rate also accounts for subtypes of homicides; in this case, robbery homicides.

The main underlying issue grounding this thesis revolves around the high homicide rate in the Dutch Caribbean, the discrepancy in homicide rates in relation to the Netherlands and the lack of information on homicide subtypes. The main goal is to find out to what extent homicides occur in the Dutch Caribbean, what their characteristics are and how robbery homicides occur. Furthermore, it is worthwhile to see if routine activities and strain theory could be used to explain robbery homicides. In order to gain insights into these three aspects, the following research question is posed to guide this thesis:

- *To what extent does robbery homicide explain the high homicide rate in the Dutch Caribbean between 2012 and 2018 and could the occurrence of this homicide subtype be explained using the routine activities theory and strain theory?*

Academic relevance

Not every homicide is like the other, and not all homicides share similar characteristics. Homicides can be branched in several subtypes, which in turn have different perpetrators, victims, and motivations that can all be considered part of the offence. In the Netherlands, homicide research has been focussing on four dimensions of homicide subtypes; a. social factors that influence homicide subtypes, b. homicide subtypes based on the relationship between the victim and offender, c. subtypes based on motive, and d. subtypes based on sentencing (Liem & Pridemore, 2012). This research wil be focused on dimensions a. and b. Looking at homicide subtypes has been part of a shift in research focus and is becoming more favourable than general homicide research (Ioannou & Hammond, 2015). These authors state that studying homicide subtypes is the result of an expanding and more specialized field of homicide research. In addition, a more detailed examination of subtypes creates opportunities for explaining homicide trends in general, and studying differences between types of homicides creates better insights into complexities and subtleties of homicide offences (Ioannou & Hammond, 2015; Kivivouri, Suonpää & Lethi, 2014).

In their study on homicide research trends, Kivivouri, Suonpää & Lethi (2014) state that European homicide research has mainly been focusing on intimate partner homicides. And although some European studies mention robbery homicide (Ganpat & Liem, 2012; Kivivouri, Suonpää & Lethi, 2014; Ioannou & Hammond, 2015), they do not focus on robbery homicides as a specific homicide subtype. Lastly, as Nieuwbeerta & Leistra (2003: 38) state, homicides outside the family sphere - such as homicides in fights and robberies – have ‘barely received any attention’. They set forth that in Dutch and European research only liquidations, sexual murders, and familial homicides have been the subject of study.

This thesis is mainly relevant to the field of criminology and specifically homicide research. Looking into homicides that have taken place in the Dutch Caribbean does not only add new data but also gains insights into the nature and extent of homicides in this area. By using descriptive and explorative research methods, differences and similarities in robbery homicides across the Dutch Caribbean can be examined.

In sum, this thesis will make a contribution to the currently limited research on homicides in the Dutch Caribbean as well as a contribution to the trend of researching homicide subtypes. Furthermore, by relating the findings on robbery homicide to the routine activities and strain

theories the aim is to consider different aspects of the offence and look at the underlying conditions to see if these explain the occurrence of robbery homicides.

Lastly, this thesis also relates to the field of Crisis and Security Management. Violence and homicide problems in the Dutch Caribbean can be regarded as demanding and pressing security issues; it is putting a strain on security, law enforcement, and judicial institutions. As a result, security and safety remain problematic aspects within Dutch Caribbean society. Consequently, the violence and homicide issues reduce the ability of the Dutch Caribbean islands to govern effectively and protect its citizens.

Societal Relevance

Homicides do not only result in the loss of human life and hurt those related to the victim, but also affect the extended families as well as the overall community. If homicides are not adequately dealt with, and homicide rates not stabilized, this could lead to a society in which on-going fear and uncertainty dominate the community (UNODC, 2013).
Atrako's and robbery homicides can be considered crimes that fuel fear, uncertainty and the overall feeling of insecurity. Robberies are high impact crimes, which in turn impact on other sectors such as tourism. In the Caribbean, although residents are significantly more likely to be injured as a result of violent crimes, tourists stand a higher chance of experiencing violent property crimes (De Albuquerque, 1999). When not only the prospect of being robbed is present, but also the chance of not surviving such a robbery exists, these negative aspects of a country will dominate and create a lasting image. If this image prevails it will ultimately strain efforts for keeping a tourist destination sustainable (De Albuquerque, 1999). Therefore, high rates of homicides and robberies are damaging to the reputation and image of the islands in the Dutch Caribbean. This is reflected in the awareness campaign set up by the Curacao Hospitality & Tourism Association, which aimed to specifically stop crimes against tourists (Antilaans Dagblad, 2018).

Apart from dangers to the tourist industry, several studies on crime, violence, and homicide in the Caribbean and Latin America point out the undermining effects these issues have on economic and social development. For example, in the whole of Latin America, Heinemann & Verner (2006: 2) state that 'around 14.2 % of the regions GDP is spent on dealing with violence and security-related issues'. Correspondingly, they note that the Colombian Urban Planning Department stated that the cost of urban violence over a 5-year period accounted for

18.5% of Colombia's GDP. In a similar setting, in the early 2000's Venezuela spent about 9 % of its GPD annually on martial losses and health issues related to violence (Buvinic & Morrison, 1991; Heinemann & Verner, 2006). These authors mention how indirect spending's caused by violence created an economic burden that translates to what they consider to be 'lost growth'. In the case of Colombia, they estimated that the country would have had a 32% higher income per capita if the nation's development had not been hindered by the costs of violence and crime. Adding to this, Imbusch, Misse & Carrión (2011) point out that circumstances of high violence will move government resources away from more productive purposes and processes. In sum, there are direct and indirect costs associated with high crime, violence and homicides rates. The above shows that these issues are problematic for socio-economic and general development.

Lastly, Heather & Ruprah (2017) point out issues with governments implementing anti-crime and preventative violence policies. These policies are lacking decent evaluation and policymakers are not always adequately informed by data (Heather & Ruprah, 2017). This results in implementing policies without fundamental information on crimes, public safety or homicides. Therefore, studying the extent and characteristics of homicides could aid in creating a more solid understanding of violence and reduce the absence of solid workable information.

Dutch Caribbean context

Before focussing on empirical studies and criminological theories related to robbery-homicide, it is worthwhile to paint a general picture of aspects relevant to the Dutch Caribbean society. The following chapter will focus on socio-economics, mobility, education, and youths in the Dutch Caribbean. The Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), as well as the BES Veiligheidsbeeld 2018 provide the basis for this information. These reports all focus on the Dutch Caribbean islands and summarize demographic, economic, and security trends.

Socio-economics and mobility

The general socio-economic picture of the Dutch Caribbean portrayed in the reports shows a region that is affected by poverty, citizen mobility, lacking infrastructure, natural disasters, limited education, unevenly distributed wealth, uncontrolled immigration, and crime (BES Veiligheidsbeeld 2018; CBS, 2019; Straatmeijer, 2018).

First of all, the BES Veiligheidsbeeld (2018) and the CBS reports state that citizen mobility influences all of the Dutch Caribbean islands. Native citizens often relocate and leave the islands either for short or longer periods of time. They move to the European part of the Kingdom (The Netherlands) either to study or seek better economic opportunities. Mobility also occurs within the Dutch Caribbean islands, for example between Curacao and St Maarten. Apart from internal mobility, there is external mobility; the islands receive immigrants and refugees from South America, other Caribbean nations (such as the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Jamaica) and Asia. These groups migrate to the islands driven by economic or political reasons. However, not only immigrants from neighboring regions move to the islands, but most islands also see a large influx of wealthy Europeans and Americans aiming to retire on the islands (BES Veiligheidsbeeld, 2018). These types of mobility, migration, and immigration are causing changes in population spread and income distribution (CBS, 2018a). This is reflected in the CBS report, which showed that the relatively small islands Bonaire and Saba experienced a population growth of 20-25%. This growth resulted in a situation in which immigrants have outgrown the native population. In Bonaire, Saba and St. Eustatius 4 out of 10 persons are non-native Dutch Caribbean's (CBS, 2018a).

Lastly, the BES Veiligheidsbeeld (2018) report states that the influx of wealthy individuals from the US and Europe is causing economic changes on all the islands. Living costs have surged upwards driven by the arrival of these wealthy immigrants, while the general income of the native, lower income classes remained the same (Straatmeijer, 2018). This is causing poverty within communities; since 2010, the number of citizens living at or under the minim income level has been increasing (Straatmeijer, 2018).

Immigration

Unsurprisingly, the deteriorating political and economic situation in Venezuela is also bringing in a large number of refugees (BES Veiligheidsbeeld, 2018; The ISS Blog, 2019). The economic and political crisis in Venezuela is causing refugees to flee their country and seek better economic opportunities and to provide for themselves or their families. Because of the proximity to the coast of Venezuela, many refugees relocate to Aruba, Curacao, and Bonaire. Exact numbers are not available since these refugees often live outside the scope of governments and reside within networks of fellow illegal immigrants. The influx has been dubbed as a 'silent invasion' as these refugees reside in unknown communities parallel to the general society (BES Veiligheidsbeeld, 2018:19-22).

Besides influx from Venezuela, there is another second 'silent invasion' on-going; immigrants from Asia and specifically China are increasing their influence on Dutch Caribbean society and economics (BES Veiligheidsbeeld, 2018: 20). They reside legally on the islands and increasingly own shops, small businesses and restaurants. The BES Veiligheidsbeeld (2018) report states that similarly to immigrants from Venezuela, this group remains closed off for outsiders and often conduct their lives and businesses within networks parallel to the general society. They employ other Chinese, undercut local economies by selling cheap Chinese products and are 'dominating the middle class' (BES Veiligheidsbeeld, 2018: 20). Furthermore, this group is also related to criminal actions and accused of conducting 'shady banking schemes, involvement with fraudulent real estate transactions, money laundering and illegal prostitution' (BES Veiligheidsbeeld 2018: 20 & 38).

Employment and labor force

The Central Bureau of Statistics released a special report on the economic developments in Aruba, Bonaire, Curacao, Saba, Sint Eustatius, and Sint Maarten. In the majority of the islands, the labor market is heavily dependent on the tourist industry. However, those working in the oil refineries on both Aruba and Curacao also represent an extensive part of the labor force (CBS, 2019).

As the CBS (2019) report shows, unemployment on the islands is not alarmingly high, and most islands are close to the average of the OECD-countries (6.3%). In Aruba, the unemployment rate is (7.7%), for Bonaire (6.7%), Sint Eustatius (7.1%) and Sint Maarten (6.2%). Curacao is leading the islands in terms of unemployment; the rate for this island is 14.1%. Saba has the lowest level of unemployment rate that stands at 3.3%.

Although unemployment is not alarmingly high, poverty is part of society in the vast majority of the Dutch Caribbean islands (BES Veiligheidsbeeld, 2018). As mentioned before, this is largely due to the changes in the costs of living driven by immigration from wealthier countries. However, as Straatmeijer (2018) shows, salaries have also not increased; making it harder for the lower and basic income groups to make ends meet, and often having to work two jobs. Furthermore, the minimum costs of living in the Dutch Caribbean have been increasing; in some islands, 40% of the households now have to live off an income that does not foresee the minimum costs of living.

Education

The report by the CBS (2018a) shows that on average the general educational level in the Dutch Caribbean is lower than the general level in the Netherlands. There are several reasons for this, first of all, the BES Veiligheidsbeeld (2018) states that education in the Dutch Caribbean is lacking availability and quality. There are practical limitations for entering and maintaining a higher education; a lack of internships, universities, and connection to the labor market decreases which all decrease the quality of education. There is a gap between what students need and what the education system provides.

Although the level of education differs amongst the islands, the CBS (2018a) notes that the lowest educational levels are found in St Eustatius, Saba, and Bonaire. Furthermore, youths who are unemployed and not enrolled in any type of education have the strongest presence in St Maarten (31%), followed by St Eustatius (25%) and Curacao (22%).

Natural disasters

Natural disasters are returning problems for some Dutch Caribbean islands. In recent decades several islands have been affected by severe hurricanes that destroyed infrastructure, housing, and public services. Most recently, St Maarten was hit by hurricane Irma in 2017 that had an extensive impact on the island. The disaster caused a shortage of goods and medical supplies while also straining the tourist industry. Crime and aggression also increased after the hurricane, mostly due to economic destruction and 'displacement aggression' (BES Veiligheidsbeeld 2018: 41). Furthermore, in the aftermath of natural disasters, public administrations often fail to deal with the pressing issues and recovery is slow (BES Veiligheidsbeeld 2018).

Youth and crime

The BES Veiligheidsbeeld (2018) studied the occurrence of crime concerning youths. They found that in the BES islands, perpetrators are committing thefts and robberies at increasingly younger ages. Mostly when youths are ending their high school career, they start their criminal career; dropping out of school, using drugs and committing small thefts are common. The report notes that these juvenile crimes are increasingly escalating; what starts as small theft turns into burglaries and robberies relatively quickly.

Political organization

After the 2010 attainment of new statuses (Curacao, Aruba, and St Maarten as nations within the Kingdom and Bonaire, Saba & St. Eustatius as special municipalities) Dutch Caribbean islands kept the political organization and institutions of their former colonial power (Veenendaal, 2016).

Politics on the Dutch Caribbean islands are often failing; corruption, political deadlocks and inability to govern effectively are returning issues (BES Veiligheidsbeeld, 2018). According to Veenendaal (2016), the Dutch political organization is unfit, not applicable in the Dutch Caribbean context. He states that the Dutch system is tailored to specific cultural, demographic, and historical developments in the Netherlands. However, in the Dutch Caribbean, politics are more personal, patron-client linkages between citizens and politicians are more important and strong ideologies are absent (Veenendaal, 2016: 149). This author states that there is a discrepancy between the political system and political reality. This causes incoherent parties, split-offs, coalition break-ups, and the abrupt emergence of new political parties. These issues surrounding the governmental abilities of the islands spill over in other parts of society and are reflected in the function of institutions, education, law enforcement

and social security policies (Veenendaal, 2016). The bottom line here is that political instability is present on all Dutch Caribbean islands and strains the functioning of the state and local governments (BES Veiligheidsbeeld, 2018).

The above reporting and analysis of the context in the Dutch Caribbean show a number of complex social problems. Just a brief look at the reports shows structural problems in this region. Although not all reports are negative, the overall message is clear; Dutch Caribbean communities are affected by external and internal strains on society and everyday life.

Empirical research on robbery homicide

Although robbery homicide is considered a major crime that often gains substantial attention, its worldwide occurrence is stable and accounts for about 5% of all yearly homicides in the Americas, Europe and Oceania (UNODC, 2013). However, while the likelihood of dying during a robbery is not very high, this type of crime receives a lot of attention; the odds that robbery-related homicides appear in the media are 3 times more likely compared to non-robbery related homicides (Warr, 1994).

European homicide research is often preoccupied with intimate partner homicides and has not had a strong focus on homicide sub-types such as robbery homicide (Kivivouri et al., 2014). A reason for this, as Markwalder (2012) notes, this is related to the fact that the definition and legal categorization of robbery homicide differs across nations, as well as the fact that robbery homicides are often not formally registered as homicide sub-types but as standard homicides. In the Dutch context, most research into robbery homicide is part of general studies into homicide and manslaughter. For example, the general study on homicide and manslaughter by Ganpat & Liem (2012) showed that the Netherlands 7% of homicides are related to robberies and that there has been a decline during the 1999-2008 period.

What follows here is an overview of robbery homicide studies in the US and Europe as well as their findings on robbery homicide related concepts.

Defining robbery homicide

Looking at the law for a definition of robbery homicide leads to no avail, as this type of crime is often not specifically recognized and justice systems categorize the offence under different terms. Looking at the literature, there is no strong consensus on the definition of robbery homicides. Often there is differentiation on the details and scenarios of what a robbery homicide entails. While there is no consensus, there are still useful approaches to be derived from the literature.

Cook (1987: 357) defines a robbery as ‘both a property crime and a crime of violence’ with a relationship between these two dimensions. Several studies agree on this idea of two dimensions related to robbery homicide; both the occurrence of a violent homicide as well as the fact that a property crime occurs considered to be of importance (Cook, 1987; Cook, 1985; Markwalder, 2012; Smit & Nieuwbeerta, 2007).

Building forth on this definition, Markwalder (2012) described the three dominant approaches to the concept of fatal robbery in criminological literature and research. The first and

narrowest approach to robbery homicide is based on the criminal act itself; taking possessions by force. This approach is most relevant for studying street robberies and property crimes where the perpetrator used direct violence as a means to take someone's possession. Homicides that happened during a different type of property crime (such as burglary) are excluded from this approach.
The second approach follows a broader sense of the term robbery. Markwalder (2012) states that within this line of thinking, robbery homicide is related to other (non-violent) property crimes such as burglaries. This broader perspective ensures that all types of property crimes that led to fatally injured victims are considered to be robbery homicides. The last line of thinking which Markwalder (2012) describes, is the broadest approach and loses, in a sense, its focus on robbery homicides. Within this perspective, all types of homicides that occurred during any type of crime are included. This leads to a category of homicides not only related to property crimes but also incorporates other offences were something was stolen. For example, a sexual homicide during which something was robbed.

Cook (1987) did not only look at types of property crimes leading to homicide but also considered different scenarios in which robbery homicides could occur. First, he distinguished accidental homicides where the robber only planned the property crimes, but killed the victim purely as an impulse.
Second, he distinguished homicides that occurred because of a mishap, accidental use of force or a struggle. In both the first and the second scenario, perpetrators had the capability, but not the intent to use lethal force during the robbery.
The third scenario Cook (1987) describes, are situations in which the homicide was planned before the robbery, essentially planning for both a property crime and a homicide. This also covers robberies that take place after a homicide was committed, for example searching the dead body or location for valuables. In these scenarios, a conscious decision to use lethal force was made beforehand.

Lastly, Copes, Kerley & Carroll (2002) described crime-precipitated homicides. These are robbery homicide scenarios in which the perpetrator of the crime becomes the victim of a homicide. In the case of robberies, this would describe scenarios in which those robbed, kill the robber as an act of defense.

Modus operandi

In the international context, the two American studies done by Zimring (1997) and Zimring &

Zuehl (1986) looked at weapon choice and modus operandi in robbery homicides. By focussing on (robbery) homicide rates in Detroit and Chicago, they compared three types of robberies: non-injury, injury and fatal injuries. They found that several factors and characteristics were determined for causing victim injury and victim deaths during robberies. Weapon use, location, social distance, gender and victim resistance were all variables that influenced the outcome of the robbery. However, the most determining factor was the modus operandi or choice of weapon. What they found was that if the weapon used in the robbery was lethal, chances of a robbery ending fatally increased significantly. By far, most robbery homicides they analyzed were committed with a firearm.

Cook (1987) also looked at robbery homicides characteristics such as time, location and victim/perpetrator relationship. Similar to the research Zimring & Zuehl (1986) he found that the weapon used in 65% of the lethal robberies was a firearm. However, he also found that it is less likely that perpetrators using a firearm will attack the victim, but when they do, lethal injuries are far more likely (Cook, 1987).

Lastly, when studying robberies in the UK and interviewing convicted robbers, Morrison & O'Donnell (1996) found that robbery offenders are easily satisfied with small amounts of money. Furthermore, robbery offenders consider a firearm to be the most effective and essential tool for completing the job.

The findings described above are in line with the research by Ganpat et al. (2013); when they compared lethal with non- lethal criminal events, they found that chances of a lethal outcome increase if the perpetrator uses or shows a firearm.

Perpetrator and victim characteristics

Several studies have looked at demographic aspects of both robbery homicide victims and perpetrators. What Zimring & Zuehl (1986) found was that in robbery homicides, both victims and perpetrators are predominately male; female victims are less likely. The authors explain this difference by suggesting that robbers presume that females offer less resistance and therefore use a lesser degree of violence against female victims. In line with this research, Cook (1987) found similar results when studying general robbery violence; robbers, despite the outcome of the robbery, are likely to be male, and under twenty-one years of age. Furthermore, he found that the percentage of male victims in robbery homicide is higher compared to victims in other homicides.

This is in line with research from the Netherlands, were Smit & Nieuwbeerta (2007) found that perpetrators of robbery homicide are younger; they have an average age of 27,1 years. This study found victims to be much older, on average 50,1 years old.

In terms of the relationship between the victim and perpetrator, Smit & Nieuwbeerta (2007: 47), looked at homicide in the Netherlands between 1998 and 2002-2004 and found that in most cases (54%), victims and perpetrators did not know each other prior to the robbery homicide. Cook (1987) found similar results and stated that in robbery homicides there is a greater relational distance between victims and perpetrators of robbery homicides.

These findings are incoherent to the study by Smit, et al. (2001); these researchers found that in robbery homicides close to 30 percent of the victims and perpetrators had some kind of relationship.

Motivation

Unlike other studies, Cook (1987) made an important distinction in underlying motivations for robbery homicides. Often, the homicide is a by-product of the robbery and is caused by active resistance, an accidental move or as a result of and violent impulse. Nevertheless, in some cases, it is the other way around. The planned robbery included the killing of the victim as the primary motivation, while the collection of robbed goods was secondary. However, he found that these incidents occur less often.

Wolfgang (1957) noted that in the victim-offender relationship, the victim is often part of the reason why he or she gets killed. He introduced the concept of victim-precipitated homicides that revolve around the idea that the actions of the victim are part of what caused the homicide.

Zimring & Zuehl (1986) followed this idea and found that lethal violence and the death of robbery victims are strongly associated with victim resistance. Risks of dying during a robbery are fourteen times higher when the victim actively resists. In most of these cases, the victim involved in a robbery attempted to prevent or resist the robbery and failed to take the perpetrator seriously.

Lastly, Morrison & O'Donnell (1996) looked at cognitive, social and psychological aspects related to the decision making the process of those who commit an armed robbery. What they found was that those who carry out an armed robbery strongly focus on the 'pros' of their crime and neglect the 'cons' of their actions; they underestimate the possible outcomes of a robbery.

Location

Both Cook (1987) and Zimring & Zuehl (1986) found was that most robbery homicides occurred in residential and commercial settings, street robberies occurred less often. These findings are confirmed by Dutch research; most robbery homicides took place in residential settings, inside a house, and mostly in the house of the victim (Nieuwbeerta & Leistra, 2003; Smit en Nieuwbeerta, 2007). More specifically, between 1992 and 2001, 55% of all robbery homicides in the Netherlands were committed inside a private house or residential setting (Nieuwbeerta & Leistra, 2003).

In conclusion, there have been several studies on important aspects of robbery homicides. In the European and Dutch context, robbery homicide has been studied as an aspect of general studies on homicide. The main body of detailed empirical research on robbery homicide comes from the US. However, despite relevant and interesting results, there are limitations for applying US-based research in the Dutch Caribbean context. Apart from differences in legal systems, there are differences in classification, registration, and intent. Without going into legislative details, the main difference between the US classification of robbery homicide and European is related differences to perpetrator intent and liability (Markwalder, 2012). In addition, US convictions based on felony homicides are not restricted to robberies but can potentially incorporate all kinds of crimes after which a homicide follows. The criminal code in the Dutch Caribbean is based on the criminal code of the Netherlands; consequently, using US-based research results and homicide classifications has its limitations.

Criminological Theory

Robbery homicide and criminological theories

Using theory to investigate a phenomenon in criminological research starts by applying theoretical concepts to criminal behavior. Although there are many relevant theoretical approaches for explaining homicide, not all may be useful for explaining the robbery homicide.

Cook (1987) argues that there is a two-dimensional aspect within robbery homicides; the property crime and the homicide. Therefore, a theory explaining only homicide is not always sufficient. As Parker (1989: 989) states, 'the intent of the robber is to obtain money or other valuable economic goods; homicide may be necessary in some cases, but it is a means to an end, defined in economic terms'. Nonetheless, economic, cultural and learning theories can be put to use for studying robbery homicide; applicability and limitations of these theories shortly are explained below after which the most suitable theories for studying robbery homicides will be described.

The *social disorganization* theory described by Gabbidon & Greene (2009) revolves around the central idea that crime and violence are a result of poverty-stricken social ecologies. Underdeveloped and poor neighborhoods will decay and crime will be able to flourish in these parts. Poverty could create a lesser sense of community and deteriorate social bonds causing a general disinterest in preventing criminal activities. In other words, social disorganization due to poverty and limited social bounds within neighborhoods causes crime to rise. In relation to robberies and robbery homicide, this disorganization causes crime to raise mainly through incensement of fear; lower social involvement and collective efficacy are regarded as conditions that reduce and control and facilitate the occurrence of more serious crimes such as robberies (Markowitz et al., 2001).

A second classical theory is *the subculture of violence* theory developed by Wolfgang & Ferracuti (1967). This theory looks at certain attitudes that exist within groups. These attitudes could refer to norms or values that are accepted as part of the general lifestyle of that particular group. These could lead to normalization and acceptance of violence, which is expressed in this group as a subculture. Often, these subcultures emerge within groups that show deviant behavior towards society in general. Violence in these subcultures is regarded as a way of life and part of everyday activities. In other words, the main argument of this theory states that there are subcultures that differentiate from the central society in which crime is normalized. Because of this tendency to normalize violence, subculture members consider the

use of violence as a favourable attitude and hold up different norms towards crime-related activities (Gabbidon & Greene, 2009: 780; Markwaler, 2012 Parker, 1989). When related to robbery and robbery homicide, this theory has limited application for explaining this type of crime, mostly because the primary motives of robbery homicides are economic. Nonetheless, regarding robbery as a suitable solution to relive economic stress could also be a result of (sub) cultural norms. However, if economic motives are considered primary, robbery homicides are better explained by deprivation and economic theories instead of cultural aspects (Parker, 1989).

Related to the subculture of violence theory, is the *differential association* theory. Developed by Sutherland in 1947, this theory states that criminal activities are a result of learned behavior. This is based on the fundamental idea that other individuals influence the behavior of the criminal. The most important influencing factor for criminal behavior is the family responsible for the upbringing of the individual. The theory consists of nine prepositions that describe how delinquent behavior is learned and internalized (Burgess & Akers, 1966). Similar to the subculture of violence theory, this theory has limited applicability for robbery homicides; this social learning theory is more relevant for studying rape, drug-related crimes, and prison gang-related crimes as these are closer to subcultural and learning aspects (Parker, 1898).

Routine activities theory

For this research, the routine activities theory is considered suitable for explaining the occurrence of robbery homicide in the Dutch Caribbean. This theory is considered useful because of its capability to explain violent events (Felson, 1993).
Robbery homicides are in most cases primarily considered an economic crime (Felson, 1993). Therefore, certain looking at underlying aspects of the crime might explain why the robbery homicide occurred.
In other words, the routinized activities theory is suitable for explaining robbery homicide as it provides insights into the motivation and choices made by the offenders as well as the conditions of the victims. Furthermore, the theory provides an opportunity to look at situational factors, the role of the victims, perpetrators and the actions of possible guardians.

As Siegel & McCormick (2006) show, the routine activities theory follows from the fundamental rational choice theory. This latter theory argues that humans are free in choosing their actions and behavior. In general, people are motivated or make decisions based on the desire to minimize pain and maximize pleasure. So, the central idea is that people are rational beginnings capable of being stopped or changed by altering the possible outcomes of their actions, for example, with punishment. In other words, criminal actions of an individual are a result of personal decisions made by the individual after balancing out possible outcomes, profits, and losses (Siegel & McCormick, 2006). Another aspect of the rational choice perspective is that both personal factors (money, revenge, status or fun) and situational factors (victim's accessibility, protection, and police presence) are going to be considered by the perpetrator (Siegel & McCormick, 2006).

Building forth on these situational and personal aspects, routine activities theory considers personal and situational aspects in more detail. The theory was first developed by Cohen & Felson (1979) and revolves around how standardized daily activities explain the occurrence of crime. Routinized activities are as: '*recurrent and prevalent activities which provide for basic population and individual needs*' Cohen & Felson (1979: 93). In other words, basic human activities that are recurrent, such as leisure, work, and social interactions are considered to be part of routinized activities. These authors state that these everyday activities provide settings and opportunities for the convergence of criminals and victims. So, according to Cohen & Felson (1979) the main idea behind the routine activities theory is that within time and space, motivated perpetrators and suitable victims converge. If in these situations, capable guardianship is not present, the motivated perpetrators will commit a criminal offence.

Cohen & Felson (1979) theorized three general dimensions along which criminal activities are likely to occur. First, there has to be a perpetrator with enough motivation to commit a crime. Second, there has to be a suitable victim for the crime. This victim needs to have a certain value for the perpetrator and needs to be accessible.
Lastly, there should be no protective or preventative conditions, which could interfere with the occurrence of the crime. The authors define this as guardianship, which means that there are factors (such as other people) present that could have a preventative influence on the occurrence of the crime. For example, this could be supervision by law-enforcement but also social control, or simply someone watching.

If the three conditions described above are present in the right combination, it creates a definite opportunity for the occurrence of a crime. So, routine activities theory, therefore, tries to explain crime by looking at situational factors and the influence these factors have on criminal behavior. However, the three dimensions need to exist collectively in order for a crime to happen. Opportunity, targets, and motivation are to some extent depended on each other. For example, criminals that are motivated will not engage in the crime if there are no potential targets and the presence of police or security personnel will discourage offenders (Siegel & McCormick, 2006).
Applying the routine activity theory to the robbery homicides calls for a further examination of the three aspects.

Motivated offenders

As Cohen & Felson (1979) have shown, the first element of routine activities theory revolves around motivated offenders willing to commit a crime. A motivated offender consists of a person who is more likely to be involved in a crime, or in this case, a robbery homicide. Indicators for these individuals are, amongst others, household situations, professional status, education, and relationship status. Individuals with certain characteristics are more likely to be involved in robbery homicides. Prior research has indicated several of these characteristics for robbery homicide offenders.

Smit & Nieuwbeerta (2007) showed that robbery homicide offenders are often non-Dutch descent, male and below the age of 30. Furthermore, they are single and unemployed. Cook (1987) found similar characteristics when studying robbery homicide offenders. Based on these studies it is possible to presume the characteristics of motivated robbery homicide offenders. They are likely to be unemployed males, not married, below 30 and with a criminal history.

Suitable victims

The second dimension of the routine activity theory revolves around victim suitability. Cohen & Felson (1979: 591) and (Felson & Cohen, 1980: 393) considered target suitability to be related to the material or symbolic value a person has (*value*), if targeted goods can be moved easily (*inertia*), the ways in which the victim is exposed (*visibility*), and if the victim is accessible as well as the likelihood the victim will resist a crime (*access*).

Based on prior research, those who are likely to become victims of robbery homicide in the Dutch Caribbean can be sketched out. As shown by Smit & Nieuwbeerta (2007) the victims of robbery homicide in the Dutch context are often single or living alone, older of age, retired, and female. However, the Chicago study done by (Zimring & Zuehl, 1986) showed that males are far more often fatally injured during a robbery.

In the study done by Smit & Nieuwbeerta (2007: 34-35, 28), the average age of victims was 50.9 years and for the female victims 64.1 years. The high age found in victims of robbery homicide is suggested to be caused by a decreasing ability of victims to defend themselves when they are older; higher age means less resistance and fighting capabilities.

The victim characteristics could also be related to the societal status a person has. Miethe & Meier (1990) found that high economic attractiveness (high-social status or wealth) does influence victimization risks. They also note that other factors such as education, occupation, lifestyle and overall place in society are decisive factors in victim attractiveness. In terms of

victim suitability, individuals with a higher income, education, and social status are presumed to have a higher chance of becoming robbery homicide victims.

Capable guardianship

The last aspect of the routine activities theory is capable guardianship. Hollis-Peel et al (2011) define guardianship as the presence of a person or a group of persons influencing the occurrence of a criminal event; either by choice or by accident. They note that the essential element of guardianship revolves around the idea that someone is watching who could intervene. So, a CCTV camera could also be considered a type of guardianship, as it allows for someone to watch. But also the unintended presence of someone who is just simply passing by could prevent the crime from being carried. Therefore, guardianship is not always related to official actors such as police or security but could also mean informal social control.

Effective guardianship is also influenced by the number of perpetrators against the number of victims or guardians, or the weapon used by the perpetrators. Both aspects influence the ability of guardians to stop or intervene. Also, the setting could influence the ability of others to deter or prevent the crime; crimes at night are less likely to be disturb by witnesses or guardians since there are fewer persons active during the night.

Settings also influence the role of guardianship. As Nieuwbeerta et al. (2008) showed, neighbourhoods and areas in which there is a lesser degree of social cohesion and social control often see more criminal activity. Gruenewald & Pridemore (2009: 359 & 375) related high homicide and crime rates to what they call a ‘central city phenomenon’; large cities and urban environments with higher population densities lack social control and therefore experience more crime. In these areas there are more people and more anonymity, making it harder to recognize perpetrators. Based on this research, it is safe to presume that homicides and robbery homicides will take place during the night in urban areas when capable guardianship is limited.

Lastly, private settings such as homes or places closed off from the public eye are more likely to see crimes with a deadly outcome; in these places, there is less capable guardianship to prevent the crime (Felson, 1995; Weaver et al., 2004). Therefore, it is possible to presume that the location of a robbery influences the outcome of a robbery. There are different approaches to measure capable guardianship. Hollis-Peel et al. (2011) describe police presence, police budget, housing situation, household members over 16 years old, presence of dogs and alarm

systems. They show that is clear that there are many ways of measuring guardianship and its effects on crime.

Strain theory

Apart from the routine activities theory, strain theory is a useful addition to the analysis of robbery homicides. In most robbery homicide cases, the criminal act was primarily targeted at gathering valuable goods. In other words, homicide during a robbery is 'a means to an end'; in which the end is obtaining valuable goods and the homicide a secondary effect (Parker, 1989: 990). Because of this economic aspect to robbery homicides, strain theory is also fit to analyze this homicide type.

Strain theory is one of the most widely used classical theories for linking socio-economic status to criminal offending. Originally theorized and developed by the scholar Robert Merton (1938), the central idea is that the gap between preferred goals and the limited opportunities to reach these goals is caused by economic deprivation. This deprivation is connected to aggression, frustration and psychological conditions that cause violence and delinquent behavior (Kivivuori et al., 2012). In most research, the general idea is that each person wants to reach a certain degree of (economic) successfulness and has certain ambitions. When a person is unable or prevented to reach these ambitions, a strain is caused (Brezina, 2017). In other words, strain theory argues that economic pressures generate negative tendencies in people, which leads to an increase in criminal demeanor.

Agnew (1992, 2001, 2006) developed several perspectives on GST (General Strain Theory). He notes three types of strain that could be experienced by individuals: a. there is the experience of negative events, b. losing something very positively valued and c. the limitations on achieving one's goals. These strains could be either subjective (bounded to personal experience) or objective (where most of a group considers events as a strain). So, it is often dependent on the individual if an event or condition is experienced as a strain. Furthermore, the three types of strain described above can also be experienced as a group or through others.
According to Agnew (1992), the relation between strains and criminal behavior is based on the idea that criminal behavior is a way of misconducting negative emotions and coping with experiences of strain. He states that criminal behavior allows for an escape, as well as an attractive alternative to the strains experienced by the individual.

Although many experience strains, not everyone burdened by strains turns to crime. As Agnew (2006) shows, individuals who have low confidence in their own abilities are more likely to turn to crime. Furthermore, low coping strategies for negative emotions, impulsive reactions, lower social skills, lower empathy for others and the tendency to blame the cause of their strains on their surroundings are all traits that are related to individuals who turn to crime because of their strains (Agnew, 2002). However, criminal behavior as a result of strains is not always related to the individual; it might also be a result of group examples, peer pressure and an environment where criminal behavior is normalized and reinforced (Agnew, 1992). In other words, community characteristics also play a role in the relationship between strains and criminal behavior.
Lastly, Agnew (2002) found that that individual with stronger social ties, social skills, active life in society and strong bonds are less likely to engage in criminal activities; they experience stronger social control.

Measuring Strain

As mentioned before, strains are both objective and subjective concepts. It is often not easy to measure, and measurements are dependent on the perspective on strains. In most criminological literature there is a focus on limitations for reaching achieving one's goals or aspirations. These goals are often related to monetary, social and financial status, which in turn are related to education, occupation and household indicators (Agnew, 1992). Furthermore, Agnew (2001: 335) defined several strains that have low levels of social control and therefore more likely to result in crimes; a. parental discipline (low direct control), b. parental rejection (low attachment), c. working in the secondary labor market (low commitment), and d. homelessness (low attachment and commitment).

Besides circumstantial aspects, Broidy & Agnew (1997) stated that direct aspects of the individual might also influence the experience of strains. They argue that gender plays an important role in experiencing strains; in general, males experience more strains than females. They base this presumption on several aspects. First, they note that females are often more concerned with interpersonal relationships and men tend to focus more on status, money and achieving (financial) aspirations. In other words, goals and achievements vary between males and females. Second, strains that men experience are issues for which crime could be an attractive solution i.e. economic gains from crime provide financial solutions. Third, men have different emotional regulations regarding strains and are conditioned differently; they have had earlier contact with crime as opposed to females. And lastly, men are more likely to

respond with anger to strains and blame others. These ideas of men experiencing strains apply to both adults and adolescents.

Following the statements by Broidy & Agnew (1997) described above, it is safe to presume that males are more likely to commit robbery homicides due to their relation with strains. They experience more and different types of strains. And in order to relieve the economic and financial strains, robberies could be an attractive solution. Furthermore, unstable households situations, diminished family ties, lower education and working lower paid jobs are also considered sources of strain which could be present in robbery homicide offenders.

Methodology

The aim of this explorative research is threefold; the first goal is to gain insights into the frequency, type, and characteristics of homicides in the Dutch Caribbean between 2012 and 2018. Second, the aim is to answer to what extent robbery homicides drive up the high homicide rate in the Dutch Caribbean, what the characteristics of this homicide subtype are, how they occur, by who they are committed and who are targeted. Thirdly, the aim is to assess to what extent routine activities theory and strain theory are able to explain robbery homicide in the Dutch Caribbean.

Data collection

The tool used in this research is the *Dutch Caribbean Homicide Monitor* (DCHM). The DCHM is based on *Dutch Homicide Monitor* (DHM), which has an overview of incidents qualified as homicide or manslaughter in the Netherlands between 1992 and 2016 (Ganpat & Liem, 2012). The DHM also contains information on victims and perpetrators involved in these homicide offences. The monitor is a project of the Violence Research Initiative of Leiden University.

The data in the DHM is based on several sources; media, official data from the National Police and information from the Public Prosecution Office. The data is classified and categorized through a uniform classification scheme guaranteeing opportunities for conducting cross-national research on homicides, victims and perpetrators (Liem, Barber, Markwalder, Killias & Nieuwbeerta, 2011).

Based on the DHM, a Caribbean version of this monitor was set up as a previous master thesis project. For the Caribbean part of the monitor the similar selection criteria were used as the DHM, but only homicide and manslaughter cases that occurred in the Dutch Caribbean were added. This resulted in the Dutch Caribbean Homicide Monitor (DCHM).

The DCHM has 228 variables that cover the offender, victim and incident details. On top of the variables already existent in the DHM, the previous thesis project researcher added 20 extra variables. These 20 variables are focused on specifics aspects of the Dutch Caribbean culture and context, such as gang-related homicides, illegal firearm possession, previous convictions, and drive-by shootings.

The DCHM dataset followed the criteria of the DHM and currently includes information on Dutch Caribbean homicide cases from 2014 until 2018 and only from the island of Curacao. Table 1 gives an overview of the different homicide monitors, their contents and the sources.

	DHM	DCHM (2018)	DCHM (2019)
Current contents	- Homicide cases - Victims - Perpetrators	- Homicide cases - Victims - Perpetrators	- Homicide cases - Victims - Perpetrators
Geographical Area	The Netherlands	Curacao	All Dutch Caribbean islands
Time span	1992 - 2016	2014 - 2018	2012 - 2018
Sources	-Media -National Police data -Public Prosecution data	-Media -ICCA Data - KPC police data -Public Prosecution Office	-Media -ICCA data -Moordlijst 2014

Table 1: Current Homicide Monitors relevant for this research, the DCHM (2019) was created as a result of this research

For this research, the current data in the DCHM data was expanded by including murder and manslaughter cases from all other Dutch Caribbean islands, including Aruba, Bonaire, Saba, St. Maarten, and St Eustatius. Furthermore, the time span of the cases was also extended from 2012 to 2018. Therefore, the current data on Curacao was stretched further back from 2014 to 2012.

Case selection

The DHM applied the following criteria for adding cases: "*only crimes that are defined in the Criminal Code (WvSr) as murder (Article 289 WvSr) or manslaughter (Art. 287-288 WvSr) are included. The starting point is what the Prosecution Office charges the suspect, i.e. cases are included in the Monitor when the Prosecutor charges the suspect with murder or manslaughter* (Dutch Homicide Monitor Manual, 2017: 1). Similar, this criterion was also applied when the DCHM was created.

However, because this research was based on different sources, this research altered the criteria for adding cases slightly. This research selected cases based on the following steps. The starting point for data collection was the list provided by the Infocell Caribbean (ICCA); an intelligence unit from the Dutch National Police in Rotterdam. This information sharing division keeps track of all homicides, attempted homicides and violent incidents for all the islands in the Dutch Caribbean. The list contained locations and dates of violent incidents that occurred between the 1st of January 2012 and the 31st of December 2018 in the Dutch Caribbean. These cases were verified and researched for more background information, and if applicable, added to the DCHM.

The verification process was based on public information from Dutch Caribbean newspaper articles, online sources, and media websites. Fortunately, and contrary to European news outlets on crime, Caribbean news outlets provide extensive information on homicide or suspected homicide cases. It is not uncommon to find crime scene photos, names, dates of births, prior convictions and other detailed background information on the victims and perpetrators.
So, ICCA cases, dates and locations were cross checked with media reports by using search strings and key words such as: ‘murder’, ‘shooting’, ‘homicide’, ‘perpetator’, ‘victim’ and additional Papiamentu keywords such as ‘atrako’, ‘asesinato’, ‘sospechoso’, ‘víktima’, ‘skopèt’.
An additional source used for cross checking the ICCA information was the ‘Moord- en doodslaglijst published by H.J. Korterink’. This list contained an overview of all homicide and manslaughter cases in the Netherlands, several homicides in the Dutch Caribbean, homicide cases of Dutch nationals abroad and homicides committed abroad by Dutch nationals.

Several online sources were not available because of either the website ceased to exist or the webpage was no longer available. In these cases, the ‘The Wayback Machine’ was used to retrieve the webpages. The Wayback Machine is a digital archive that allows access to older pages on the World Wide Web and information on the internet.

If cases from the sources described above were found in the media they were checked for the following criteria before incorporating them to the DCHM. First, the cases were checked for geographical location; the homicide had to take place in one of the Dutch Caribbean islands. This meant that the island of St. Maarten, which is divided into a French and Dutch quarter,

only cases that occurred in the Dutch quarter were selected. This was done to avoid not skewing the data on Dutch Caribbean homicides.

Second, only cases in which reports claimed that there was a conviction, a strong suspicion, or a strong indication of a homicide or manslaughter crime were added. Following the DHM, uncompleted homicides, suicides, euthanasia, illegal abortions, traffic accidents and legally justified homicides were excluded (Liem, Suonpää, Lehti, Kivivuori, Granath, Walser and Killias, 2018). Third, the selection of cases was not influenced by nationality; as long as the homicide occurred on one of the Dutch Caribbean islands the case was considered relevant.

In a similar fashion, the classification of homicide victims checked. ICCA information was cross-checked by media reports to see if victims were reported as having lost their lives due to unnatural deaths, and how many victims were reported. When media reports were not coherent or indicated that the cause of death was natural, the case was excluded from the DCHM. Perpetrators were also added based on cross checks between the ICCA data and media reports. If the perpetrator was unknown or suspects remained unclear, at least one perpetrator was added to the homicide case in the DCHM, and all variables were scored as unknown. Therefore, each Dutch Caribbean homicide case was scored with at least one principal perpetrator and one principal victim.

So, if the cases were found to be applicable to add to the DCHM, all variables in the DCHM were scored based on the media reports and the ICCA data. If the information on certain variables remained unclear or was conflicting, the variable was scored as ‘unknown’. This way the data was added as accurately as possible. Furthermore, this allowed for future expansion and updating of the DCHM with information that is currently found to be missing. Lastly, whenever information on homicide cases was found Papiamentu (the native language besides Dutch in the Dutch Caribbean), these sources were translated and interpreted with the help of a native speaker.

Interrater reliability exercise

In order to speed up data gathering, the process was shared with two other master thesis students with similar thesis topics. Each student gathered data on homicide cases of a specific island and added this to the existing Dutch Caribbean Homicide Monitor (DCHM). To make sure reporting, interpretations and variable scoring was consistent among all three students, an

interrater reliability exercise was performed. This excise consisted of a joint case analysis for which 19 important variables were scored in the DCHM. Each student scored the variables independently after which the scores where compared. Variables concerning perpetrators age, location and modus operandi shared the strongest similarity between the researchers. Variables focused on perpetrator motivation were scored with the lowest similarity. Overall, the exercise resulted in a similarity score of R=0.79% among the three data gathering students.

Expert opinion interview

In order to gain more information on the (robbery) homicide cases added to the DCHM, interviews were conducted with two experts on Dutch Caribbean crime working for the Infocel Cariben (ICCA). These interviews were focused on clarification and gaining an expert perspective on the specific circumstances under which the (robbery) homicides take place in the Dutch Caribbean. In other words, the aim was not to collect qualitative data but rather to get an expert viewpoint and interpretation on the data gathered. The two members of the ICCA work for the Dutch National Police, one of them had worked several years as an police officer in Curacao in both the homicide unit as well as the in atrako (robbery) unit. At the start of the interview, oral informed consent was discussed with the two experts. The interview was held together with the two other thesis researchers.

Analysis

To analyze the findings on victim, perpetrator and incident characteristics the data was added to de existing DCHM variables in SPSS software. This software was used to perform descriptive analysis of the gathered data. General victim and perpetrator details such as age, nationality, gender and background were added and analyzed. In relation to the incident, the time, year, island, region, modus operandi and crime scene details collected. After the data collection, relevant data was selected for analysis. In order to keep the data representative of the Dutch Caribbean, homicide cases that took place in the French quarter of St. Maarten were removed from the dataset.

General descriptive analysis of Dutch Caribbean homicides was focused on three aspects. First, the number of homicide cases, victims and perpetrators were analyzed for the 2012-2018 period. In addition, homicide occurrence for each island was reported. Second, the overall homicide rates and island homicide rates in the Dutch Caribbean were calculated. In order to perform homicide rate calculations, data on populations for each Dutch Caribbean

Island was obtained. Population numbers were based on the information provided by the national Dutch Statistics Agency (CBS), the Dutch Caribbean statistics agency in Curacao and the online sources of the World Bank.

Lastly, differences in homicide types for the Dutch Caribbean were analyzed. This was done based on already existing categories in the DHM and the DCHM. These categories were dependent on the context of the incident and the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator. The homicide categories were: familial killing, partner killing, criminal milieu killings, robbery killings, nightlife violence, killing by mentally disturbed, other & other non-criminal milieu, child killing by an adult (non-family) and sexual killings.

For analyzing robbery homicide cases in the Dutch Caribbean, the data set containing all Dutch Caribbean homicide cases was split into a separate set which only contained Dutch Caribbean robbery homicides, named ‘Robbery Homicide DCHM'. Within this data set, several cases concerned robbery homicides in which the victim killed the perpetrator as an act of self-defense. These were excluded from the data for reasons explained later.

In order to gain insights into robbery homicide victims and perpetrators, the ‘Robbery Homicide DCHM’ was analyzed for the following variables: age, gender, birth country, housing situation, employment, and citizenship. For understanding the offence characteristics of robbery homicides, the following aspects were analyzed: modus operandi, time, location, number of victims/perpetrators, and victim violence. By looking at these aspects the aim was to get an understanding of robbery homicide in the Dutch Caribbean.

Operationalization

Building on theoretical definitions of the concept robbery homicide described in chapter 3, the relevant concepts for this research are operationalized and described here. Apart from robbery homicide and homicide in general, victims and perpetrators are also defined. Furthermore, the variables important for the routine activities and strain theory also described.

Victims and perpetrators

In this research, victims are considered individuals who lost their life as result of a homicide or manslaughter crimes. The indicators for this criterion are based on the media reports, the ICCA information as well as the ‘Moordlijst 2014’. Cases in which there was no coherent info or the cause of death, suicides, and deaths suspected to be natural were excluded from the list.

Perpetrators are considered individuals that are accused, convicted or suspected of committing the offence that led to the death of the victim. If the perpetrator remained unknown or no suspected was reported in the media, at least one perpetrator was added to the DCHM. This was done based on the idea that each homicide victim has at least one perpetrator.

Robbery homicides

This thesis will follow a relatively broad definition and conceptualization of robbery homicides. The definition followed here is based on the one used by Markwaler (2012: 13) '*killing of a person due to an attempted or completed theft by force'.*

Following the second approach described by Markwaler (2012), all types of property crimes in which a fatal injury was inflicted upon a victim or where the property crime led to a deathly outcome are considered relevant for this research. This includes all types of contact property crimes such as burglaries, street robberies, pickpockets, thefts and rip-deals. So, robbery homicides that occurred in the criminal milieu are also considered relevant. In terms of intent, all three approaches described by Cook (1987) in chapter two are considered relevant. So, regardless the intention of the perpetrator, as long as the robbery led to the death of a victim the case is considered to be relevant. In a similar fashion, the fact whether the property crime was successful or not is relevant; as long as the victim died during or as a result of the robbery the case is considered applicable.

In addition, both the property crime and the homicide have to be carried out by the same perpetrator, or group of perpetrators. So, the crime-precipitated homicides as described by Copes, Kerley & Carroll (2002) in chapter 3, are excluded from this analysis and seen as a separate category. These are cases in which the robber was killed by the victim of the robbery, in an act of self-defence. In these cases, the crime cannot be considered a robbery homicide, but should be considered a failed robbery and the homicide an act of self-defence.

Lastly, the DHM and DCHM have an existing classification of robbery homicides based on three types; private/residential, commercial and street robbery homicides. This classification is based on the crime scene and is followed for this research. The location of the robbery homicide is based on the primary location; so if the robbery took place inside a private home but the victim was murdered in the street the robbery homicide was scored as 'private/residential'.

Indicators for the settings were as follows:
- Private/residential settings are locations were individuals live or reside. This includes vacation homes or temporary living locations.
- Commercial settings are places of business were money is exchanged for goods or services, such as gas stations, small shops, restaurants, and casinos.
- Street settings are considered public streets, public places as well as parking places.

By defining robbery homicide along the dimensions described above, the aim is to gather all relevant cases of robbery homicide in the Dutch Caribbean. By not limiting the dimensions of robbery homicide along property crime type, setting or intentions, the goals is to make sure that all Dutch Caribbean robbery homicides are included in the analysis.

Variable selection

The selection of variables was done based on the following three considerations. First, they had to gain insights into the general occurrence of homicides in the Dutch Caribbean. Second, the variables had to be relevant for understanding the characteristics of robbery homicide as well as the characteristics of victims and perpetrators. And lastly, the variables were selected based on their relevance for the routine activities and strain theories. The variables selected were already existent within the DCHM, however, some were re-categorised in order to strengthen the analysis. What follows here is an overview of the selected variables.

First, based on the descriptions and literature on routine activates and strain theory in chapter three, there are several variables considered relevant for testing the theory. In the three dimensions of routine activities theory, the first aspect is a motivated offender. In this research, indications that could define motivated offenders are *age, gender, profession/occupation*, and *birth country*.
Second, suitable victims are also determined by looking at *age, gender, profession/occupation* and *victim perpetrator relationship* are considered important indicators which influence victim suitability.

In terms of capable guardianship, indicators of this aspect are considered to be the robbery homicide type (either private/residential, commercial or street), *modus operandi*, *number of perpetrators*, and *time*.

Based on the research on strain theory, the following aspects related to perpetrators are considered indicators of strains; *household/housing situation*, *education*, *profession/occupation*, and household.

Robbery homicide characteristics variables

Victim perpetrator relationship: this variable is analgised along the following categories: no relationship, relative or other relative, slightly known and friends/ long time acquaintances.

Modus operandi: this relates to the weapon used in the robbery homicide. The categories are: firearm, knife/sharp object, physical violence without a weapon (hitting, kicking, pushing), poisoning, exposure to dangerous substances, hanging/strangulations, drowning, bomb/explosion, fire, and other.

Crime Scene: this is based on the location of the victims body and categorised along the following options: the private home (of the victim, the perpetrator, or unrelated person), public place (street, road or public transportation), recreational area (park/forest), place of entertainment (a shop, restaurant or commercial business place), private vehicle, hotels, and institutions.

Time: the time at which the homicide took place, this is divided into four categories: morning (6.00-12.00), afternoon (12.00-18.00), evening (18.00-24.00) and night (00.00-06.00).

Victim violence: this variable indicates whether the victim of the crime used violence against the perpetrator(s). There are three options to score this variable: victim did not use any violence, victim used violence in self-defense or the victim used violence first or in a non-defense manner.

Perpetrator and victim variables

Age: Apart from a general analysis on both victims and perpetrators, age groups will be defined based on categories used in previous research. The groups will have the following range: 0-18, 19-25, 26-34,35-46,47-64 and 65+. This variable is important to see if there are certain age groups that could be attributed to motivated offers and victim suitability. These age groups were chosen based on similar research by (Blijeveld & Smit, 2006)

Gender: the gender of both victims and perpetrators will be determined. Again, this variable is important to see if there are differences in victims and perpetrators as well as identifying both motivated offenders and suitable victims.

Birth country: after a general analysis on the birth countries of both victims and perpetrators, the birth countries will be divided into regions to see where most victims originated from. The regions are: ‘Other Caribbean’, ‘South America’, ‘USA’, ‘The Netherlands’ and ‘Asia

(China)', Dutch Caribbean islands are not clustered in a category.

Educational level & occupation: Educational level will also be analysed specifically for perpetrators. This is relevant in relation to the strain theory to determine if there are socio-economic factors causing strain.

Household: this variable indicates what the housing situation of the victim was at the time of the crime. In order to simplify the values these variables are categorised as follows; living alone, cohabiting with adult, and homeless.

Illegality: This variable is analysed in order to find out if the individual was legally or illegally staying in the Dutch Caribbean.

Results

The following chapter presents the results of the DCHM analysis. The first part concerns a general analysis of homicides in the Dutch Caribbean between 2012 and 2018. The second part focuses on Dutch Caribbean robbery homicides specifically, between 2012 - 2018. The characteristics of these homicides will be analysed based on the variables described in the previous chapter. Furthermore, this result section will also present the findings from the interviews held with the experts from the ICCA.

Homicides in the Dutch Caribbean

The Dutch Caribbean islands included in this overview are Curacao, Aruba, Bonaire, St. Maarten, Saba and St. Eustatius. In order to keep de data representative of the Dutch Caribbean, homicide cases that occurred in the French quarter of St. Maarten are excluded from the analysis. This resulted in a reduction of 22 homicide cases from the DCHM.

Between 2012 and 2018, **234** homicides took place across all islands in the Dutch Caribbean. These **234** incidents led to the death of **263** victims and involved **330** perpetrators.
The black line in figure 1, shows the yearly number of *homicide* cases in the Dutch Caribbean. Although there is a declining trend in the yearly homicides until 2016, 2017 shows an increase in homicides cases compared to previous years.

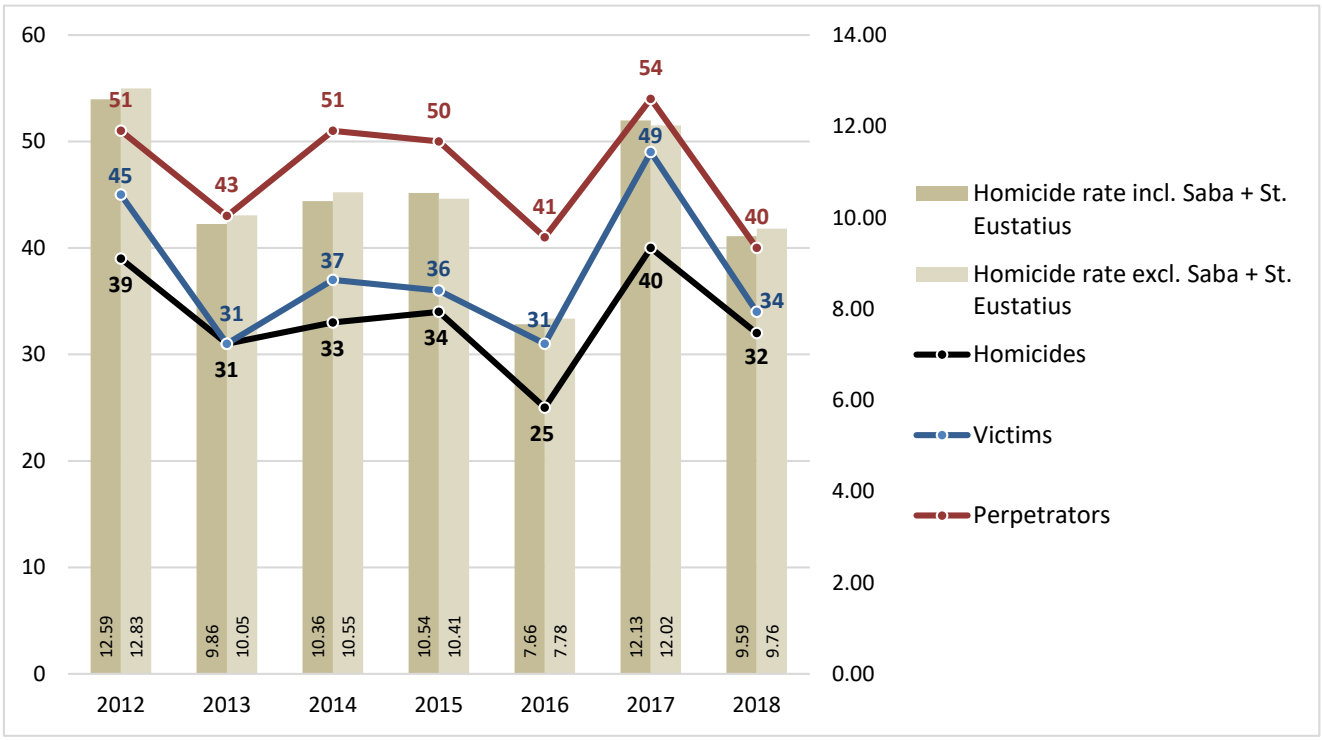


Figure 1: Homicides, rate, victims and perpetrators in the Dutch Caribbean between 2012 -2018 (N=234)

The blue line in figure 1 shows the total number of yearly *victims* involved in homicides. Similar to homicide cases, this number also shows an increase in 2017. Lastly, the red line represents the number of *perpetrators* involved in homicide cases. Again, similar to cases and victims, 2017 also saw an increase in perpetrators. Each year, the number of perpetrators exceeds the number of cases and victims. This is related to the fact that 46,9 % of Dutch Caribbean homicide cases involve multiple perpetrators (*N*=234).

As seen in figure 2, homicides are spread unequally across the Dutch Caribbean islands. By far, most homicides are committed in Curacao, this island accounts for 61 percent of all Dutch Caribbean homicides.

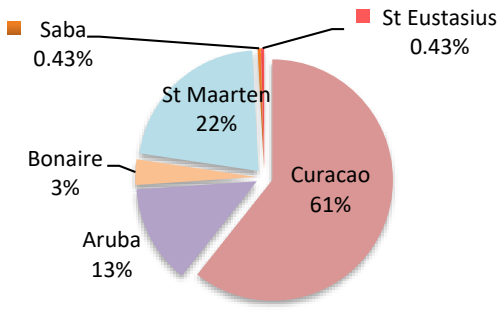


Figure 2: Homicide percentages for each island (2012-2018) (N=234)

Lastly, the columns in figure 1 reflect the yearly homicide rates for the whole Dutch Caribbean. The calculation of this rate will be explained hereafter.

Homicide rates

The homicide rate is based on the number of yearly registered homicides and yearly populations. The rate reflects the number of persons that became victims of homicide or manslaughter crimes during a particular year. In order to calculate the homicide rate, the number of registered homicides are divided by the population at risk, and multiplied by 100.000 in order to correct for population differences.

Figure 3 shows the average homicide rate for each Dutch Caribbean island between 2012 and 2018. The highest homicide rates are found in St. Maarten (18.75) and Curacao (13,12).

It is important to note here that the seven-year average homicide rate for both Saba and St. Eustasius are artificially high. Between the 2012-2018 period, each of these two islands registered only a one single homicide. However, because of the low population numbers in these islands, a single homicide impacts the calculated homicide rate strongly. *Figure 3: Seven-year average (2012-2018) homicide rate for each Dutch Caribbean island.*

Dutch Caribbean homicide rate

The Dutch Caribbean homicide rate was determined by dividing the yearly population of the whole Dutch Caribbean by the yearly number of homicides in the Dutch Caribbean. Figure 4 shows the average homicide rates between 2012-2018.

The red line reflects the homicide rate based on the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, St. Maarten (Dutch quarter) and Curacao; Saba and St.Eustasius are excluded here. The dotted blue line, shows the Dutch Caribbean homicide rate with inclusion of Saba and St.Eustasius. For comparison, the lighter blue line shows yearly homicide rate in the Netherlands, the European part of the Kingdom.

Differences in homicide rates including or excluding Saba and St Eustatius are minimal. The most compelling differences are seen in the years 2015 and 2017; these are the years in which the two homicides took place in Saba and St Eustatius.

On the other hand, the difference between the Dutch Caribbean homicide rate and the rate in the Netherlands is compelling. The rates in the Netherlands are much lower compared to the rate in the Dutch Caribbean homicide rate. However, in 2017 both parts of the kingdom experienced an increase in homicides driving the yearly homicide rate up.

Case Characteristics of Dutch Caribbean Homicides

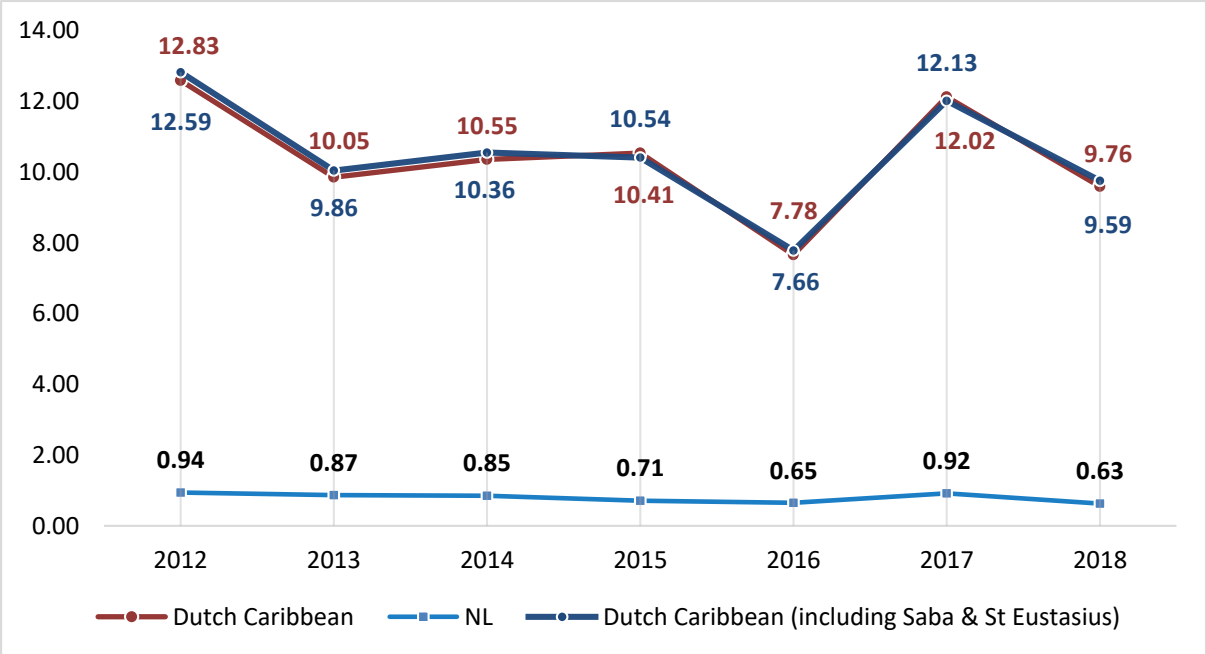


Figure 4: Yearly homicide rates in the Dutch Caribbean (2012-2018) (including and excluding Saba & St Eustatius) and The Netherlands (2012-2018).

Crime scene, time and modus operandi

The registered crime scenes are based on the location where the body of the homicide victim was found. Table 1 shows the different crime scenes, time and modus operandi for all homicide cases in the Dutch Caribbean between 2012-2018.

For 225 homicides the crime scene was known and for 9 homicides the scene remained unknown. The vast majority of Dutch Caribbean homicides took place in the public space (*N*=100), accounting for 43 percent of the total. Private homes are the second most registered crime scene, accounting for 30 of all homicides. This category includes homes of victims, perpetrators or homes of persons unrelated to the homicide (*N*=67).

Table 1 also shows the time frame in which Dutch Caribbean homicides took place. Evening (*N*=65) and night times (*N*=83) are by far the most frequent timespans where homicide occurs; together they account for 75 percent of the total. In contrast, homicides occur far less often in the mornings (*N*=20) and afternoons (*N*=31). In 33 homicide cases the time of the homicide remained unknown. Lastly, table 1 also shows the modus operandi of Dutch Caribbean homicides. A firearm is by far the most popular weapons of choice for committing homicides (*N*=152), accounting for almost 75 percent of the total. Second, knifes and sharp objects are frequently used (*N*=31), this weapon type accounts for 15% of the total.

Crime scene	*N*	%
Private homes	67	30%
Institution	1	0.5%
Hotel or motel	4	2%
Inside private vehicle	14	6%
Park, forest or recreational area	8	3%
Shop, restaurant or other place of entertainment and amusement	20	9%
Street, road, public transportation or other public place	100	43%
Workplace	7	3%

Other	4	2%
Total	**225**	**100%**
Unknown	9	-
Time	*N*	%
Morning (6.00-12.00)	20	10%
Afternoon (12.00-18.00)	31	16%
Evening (18.00-24.00)	65	33%
Night (00.00-06.00)	83	42%
Total	**199**	**100%**
Unknown	33	-
Modus operandi	*N*	%
Poisoning	1	0.5%
Hanging/Strangulation/Suffocation	7	3%
Drowning	1	0.5%
Smoke or fire	3	1.5%
Knife or sharp object/weapon	31	15%
Firearm	152	72%
Physical violence	11	6%
Other	4	2%
Total	**199**	**100%**
Unknown	33	-

Table 1: Crime scenes, modus and time of occurrence of Dutch Caribbean homicides (N=234).

Homicide types

The 234 Dutch Caribbean homicides that occurred between 2012 and 2018 are characterized based on the context of the incident and the relationship between the victim and perpetrator. Based on this, homicides were marked along on 15 different types of homicides. Of the 234 cases in the DCHM, the homicide type was known for 185 cases.

Within the homicide types, there are two categories that include homicide sub types. First, there are familial killings, which include partner killings, child killings (including infanticide) and the killing of other family related persons. Second, homicides in the criminal milieu include sub-types: gang-related killings and assassinations.

Other homicides categories are; robbery killings, killings by mentally disturbed, sexual

killings, nightlife violence, and homicides of children (by adults). Lastly, homicides that could not be categorised within the above described categorises were defined as 'other/other in non-criminal milieu'. This last category includes random killings or homicides as a result of a fight. Table 1 shows types of homicides that occurred in the Dutch Caribbean between 2012 and 2018.

Homicide type	*N*	%
Familial killing	11	6%
Partner killing	16	9%
Criminal milieu	66	36%
Robbery killings	31	17%
Nightlife violence	12	6%
Killing by mentally disturbed	5	3%
Other & other non-criminal milieu	39	20%
Child killing by adult (non-family)	1	1%
Sexual killing	4	2%
Total	**185**	**100%**
Unknown	49	

Table 2: Homicides and manslaughter types in the Dutch Caribbean (N=234) (2012-2018).

The most common homicides in the Dutch Caribbean are *criminal milieu* killings (*N*=66), this type accounts for 36 percent of all the homicides. Homicides in this category are related to criminal, drug and gang related activities such as rip-deals, gang fights, drive by shootings, conflicts among criminal partners or other criminal feuds. Assassinations and contract killings are also included in this category.

The second most common homicides are *robbery homicides* (*N*=31). These robbery homicides occurred either in street, private or commercial settings and account for 17 percent of the total homicides. As mentioned before, this category includes all types of property crimes leading to the death of a victim.

Familial and *(ex) partner killings*, are the third most registered homicides categories and together account for about 15% of the total (*N*=27). Familial killings include child, siblings, parents, in-law killings and killings of other family related persons.

Nightlife violence leading to a homicide also has a presence in the Dutch Caribbean (*N*=12). About 6 percent of all homicides occurred during nightly leisure activities in clubs, parking lot gatherings, bars or nightly places of entertainment.

Only 3 percent of homicides was committed by someone in a *mentally disturbed* state of mind

(*N*=5). These homicides exclude those under the influence of drugs or medicines that led to the changed mind state.

Sexual killings do not have a large presence in the Dutch Caribbean during the registered time period (*N*=4). Only 4 homicides were registered as having a sexual motive or element. This category entails homicides committed during or after attempting sexual violence or rape. This category also includes homicides on prostitutes or sex workers, although only one of these has been registered. This homicide category accounts for 2 percent of the total.

Lastly, *other* & *other non-criminal milieu* type homicides also account for a large part of the total homicides; 20 percent (*N*=39). This category consists of either (trivial) fights, long lasting conflicts outside of the criminal milieu, road-rage homicides, and homicides that occurred because of conflicts between persons unrelated by familial bonds such as neighbours, acquaintances or colleagues. Disappearances with a strong suspicion of a criminal element are also included in this category.

A visual representation of what is described above regarding the different types of homicides in the Dutch Caribbean is displayed in figure 5.

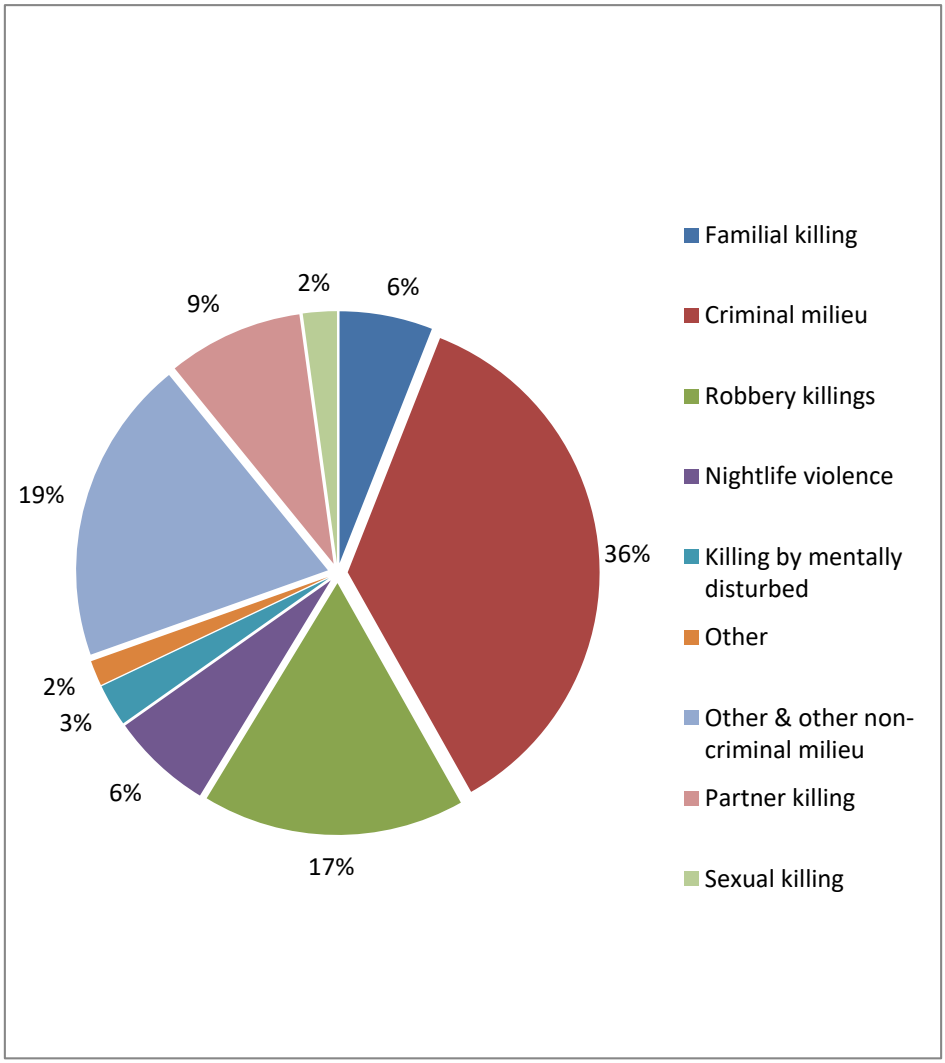


Figure 5: Different types of homicides in the Dutch Caribbean (N=185) (2012-2018).

Victim and perpetrators characteristics of Dutch Caribbean homicides

Age and gender

Table 3 shows the age and gender of both perpetrators and victims of Dutch Caribbean homicides. In both the perpetrator and victim categories, males have a strong presence; 93 percent of perpetrators and 85 percent of victims are male. Females are underrepresented in both categories; only 7 percent of perpetrators and 15 percent of victims are female. When looking at age categories, 39 percent of all perpetrators fall between the ages 19 – 25. The age groups are more equally distributed in the victim category; the three age groups 19-25, 26-34, and 35-46 each make up almost 75 percent of the total.

Perpetrators	*N*	*%*	*M*	*SD*
Men	224	93%		
Women	17	7%		
Age groups	185		29	9.3
0-18	11	6%		
19-25	72	39%		
26-34	53	29%		
35-46	40	22%		
47-64	8	4%		
65+	1	0%		
Total	**185**	**100%**		
Unknown	143			
Victims				
Men	223	85%		
Women	39	15%		
Age groups	231	%	35.2	15
0-18	13	6%		
19-25	58	25%		
26-34	55	24%		
35-46	57	25%		
47-64	38	17%		
65+	10	4%		
Total	**231**	**100%**		
Unknown	34			

Table 3: Age and gender of both victim and perpetrators in Dutch Caribbean homicides.

Robbery homicides in the Dutch Caribbean

Robbery homicides make up 17 percent of all homicides in the Dutch Caribbean between 2012 and 2018, (*N=31*). However, this number includes robberies in which the robber became the victim due to acts of self-defence. As mentioned before, cases like these are excluded from this research. This resulted in a reduction of 4 cases; changing the sample size from *N=31* to *N=27* and the overall percentage from 17 to 14,6 percent.

Robbery homicides, rate, victim and perpetrators

Figure 6 shows the yearly robbery homicides in the Dutch Caribbean region between 2012 and 2018 (*N*=27). The black line reflects the number of robbery homicides. This line is closely followed by the blue line, which shows the total number of robbery homicide victims (*N*=29). Only 2012 there were multiple victims; the five robberies resulted in seven victims.

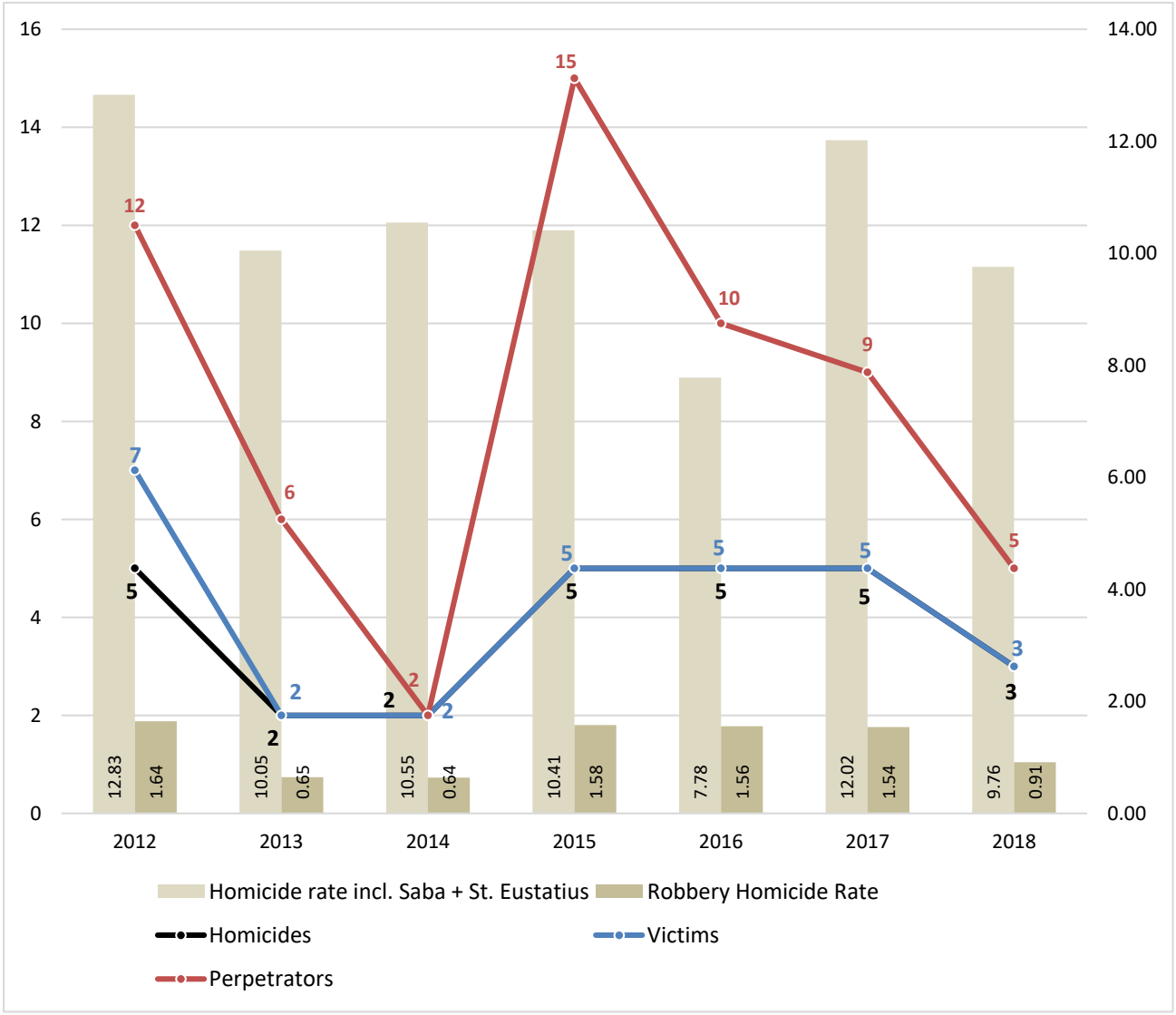


Figure 6: Robbery homicide cases, victims, perpetrators and the Dutch Caribbean Homicide - and Robbery homicide rate (2012 – 2018).

The red line in the graph relates to the number of perpetrators involved during robbery homicides (*N*=59). The red line shows that in 2015 several robberies occurred which involved multiple (4 or more) perpetrators; causing the large spike in the graph.
In terms of robbery homicides, 2013 and 2014 were the safest; there were only two robberies in which the victim was fatally injured, and both robberies only caused a single victim. In conclusion, despite the increase in 2015, the number of robbery homicides seems to have been stable between 2015 and 2017 and showed decline in 2018.
Lastly, the two columns in figure 6 represent both the *overall* Dutch Caribbean homicide rate (excluding Saba & St Eustatius since no robbery homicides were registered on these islands), as well as the Dutch Caribbean *robbery homicide rate*.

Robbery homicide rate

Similar to the Dutch Caribbean homicide rate, the robbery homicide rated as been determined for each of the islands. Figure 7 shows the robbery homicide rate for the islands St. Maarten, Bonaire, Aruba, Curacao and the overall Dutch Caribbean per 100.000 inhabitants. This rate is based on registered robbery homicides and the Dutch Caribbean population excluding Saba and St Eustatius.

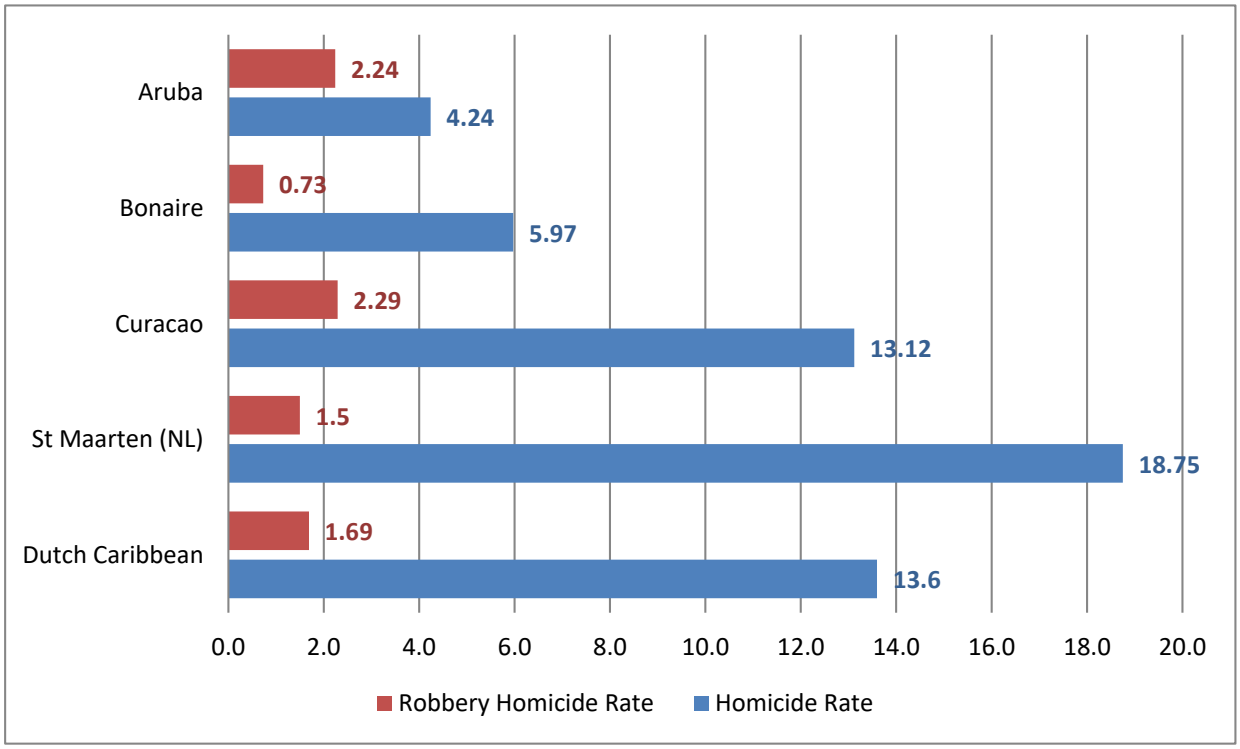


Figure 7: Robbery homicide rate for each island, excluding Saba and St. Eustasius per 100.000 in habitants (2012 -2018)

Unsurprisingly, the highest robbery homicide rate is seen in Curacao; this island also saw the highest number of robbery homicides in general. Curacao is closely followed by Aruba. Surprisingly, Aruba is the island with the second highest robbery homicide rate; the rate is close to 50% of the overall homicide rate. In both Curacao and St Maarten, the robbery homicide is not very high compared to the overall homicide rate.

Robbery homicide settings

When taking a closer look on the specifics of robbery homicides in the Dutch Caribbean, there are differences regarding location and setting. The robbery homicides were categorised based on; robbery homicides that occurred in private / residential settings, commercial settings or in street settings.

Most *victims* of Dutch Caribbean homicide robberies fell during robberies that occurred in private or residential settings, accounting for 59 percent of the total (*N*=17).

Residential and private robberies are followed by homicide robberies that occurred in commercial businesses, which led to a total number 9 fatal victims, accounting for 31 percent of the total.

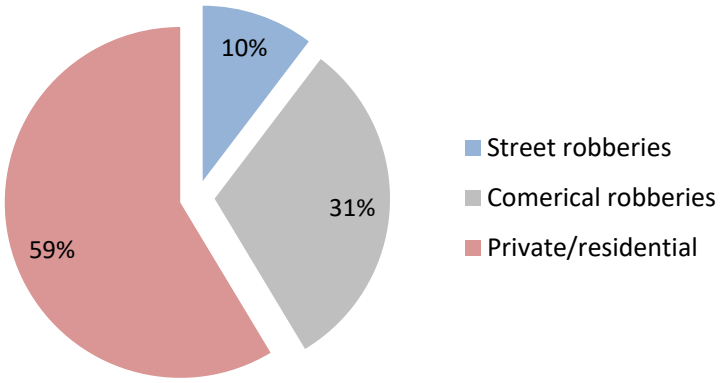


Figure 8: Percentage of robbery homicide victims based on settings (N=27 (2012-2018))

Street robberies account for the least number of victims and only for 10 percent of the total (*N=3*). There are only 3 registered victims of fatal street robberies in all of the Dutch Caribbean. In terms of victim numbers, the average number of victims in robbery homicides is 1.07. Apart from 2012, each robbery homicide caused only a single victim. All other types of homicides in the Dutch Caribbean result on average in 1.13 victims. In other words, robbery homicides do not cause more victims compared to all other types of homicide.

Lastly, in terms of islands, most robbery homicides occurred in Curacao, followed by St Maarten, Aruba and Bonaire. Figure 9 shows the spread of robbery homicides across these islands. The spread across the islands is displayed in figure 9.

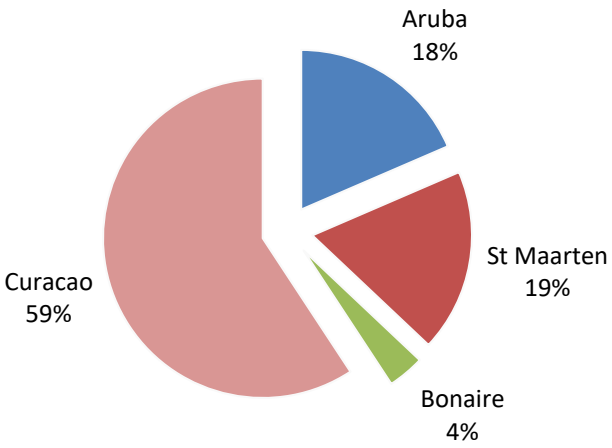


Figure 9: Robbery homicides for each island (N=27) (2012-2018)

Robbery homicide characteristics

The following result section takes a closer look at the characteristics of robbery homicide. The variables described in the operationalization section of this research are analysed here after which the results are presented.

Crime scene and time

All Dutch Caribbean robbery homicides took place in what is considered to be an urban setting (*N*=27); none of the offenses occurred in a rural area. Furthermore, for all robbery homicides the crime scene was known. Analysis of robbery homicide crime scenes shows that most homicides took place in private settings; either the home of the victim *(N*=11), the home of the perpetrator *(N*=2) or in the home of someone unrelated *(N*=2).

The second most registered crime scenes are street, road, public transport or public places (*N*=5) and workplace settings (*N*=4). Lastly, only two robbery homicides occurred in a shop, restaurant or other place of entertainment. Figure 10 shows the spread of robbery homicide crime scenes.

It is important to note here that crime scenes differ from robbery homicide settings (privet/residential, commercial, street). Settings are dependent on where the property crime took place. However, crime scenes were scored based on the location of the victim's body. So, in several cases the victim was attacked or robbed at his/her house or shop but lost his/her life in the close proximity of that area (street or parking lot).

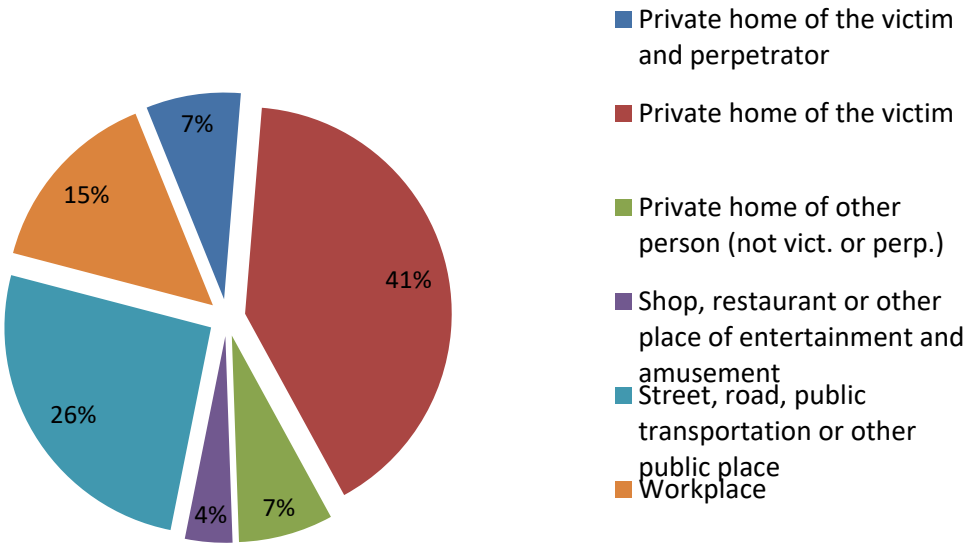


Figure 10: Robbery homicide crime scenes (N=27)

Time

Times when the robbery homicide took place are shown in table 4. Most robbery homicides occurred during the night (*N*=12), 44 percent of the total. This is followed by robbery homicides in the evening, accounting for 32 percent of the total (*N*=9). Daytime and morning robbery homicides both occurred only 3 times; accounting for 24 percent of the total.

Time	*N*	*%*
Morning (6.00-12.00)	3	12%
Afternoon (12.00-18.00)	3	12%
Evening (18.00-24.00)	9	32%
Night (00.00-06.00)	12	44%
Total	**25**	**100%**
Unknown	2	

Table 4: Robbery homicide times (N=25) (2012-2018)

Victim and perpetrator relationship

The relationship between the perpetrator and the robbery homicide victim was known for 49 out of the 59 perpetrators. The vast majority of perpetrators did not know the victim before the crime occurred (*N*=42). For the remaining 7 perpetrators, 4 did know their victim slightly but were not friends, 2 perpetrators were relatives of the victim and only 1 perpetrator was a friend or acquaintance of the victim. The percentages of perpetrators victim relationships are shown in table 5.

When looking at types of robbery homicides, robbery homicides in commercial settings saw most perpetrators that did not know their victim (*N*=22). During street robbery homicides there was also no relationship between the perpetrators and the victim (*N=5)*. The only robbery type in which there was some kind of relationship between victim and perpetrator are robberies in private homes or residential settings (*N=5)*. However, the majority of perpetrators that committed robbery homicides inside the private homes of their victims did not know the victim (*N*=22).

Relationship	*Perpetrators (N=)*	*%*	*Commercial business*	*Private home*	*Street robbery*	*%*
Perpetrator and victim do not know each other	42	86%	22	15	5	86%
Other relative	2	4%	0	2	0	4%
Friend. or long-time acquaintance	1	2%	0	1	0	2%
Perpetrator and victim are slightly known to each other (not friends)	4	8%	0	4	0	8%
Total	**49**	**100%**	**22**	**22**	**5**	**100%**
Unknown	10		3	3	4	

Table 5: perpetrator and victim relationship (2012-2018)

Number of perpetrators and victims

For all 27 robbery homicides it was known whether the robbery was committed by a single or by multiple by perpetrators. Table 6 shows whether robbery homicides involved multiple or single perpetrators/victims. Out of these 27 robberies, 30 percent was committed by a single perpetrator and involved a single victim (*N*=8).

Robbery homicides which involved multiple perpetrators and multiple victims account for only 11 percent of all robbery homicides (*N*=3). The vast majority of robbery homicides (60 percent) involved only a single victim, but were committed by multiple perpetrators (*N*=16).

Multiple victims & perpetrators	*N*	*%*
Single victim, single perpetrator	8	30%
Multiple victims, multiple perpetrators	3	11%
Single victim, multiple perpetrators	16	60%
Multiple victims, single perpetrator	0	-
Total	**27**	**100%**
Unknown	0	

Table 6: Multiple or single victims and perpetrators (*N*=27) *(2012-2018)*

Modus operandi

Table 7 shows the modus operandi that was chosen for committing the robbery homicide. For all registered robbery homicides, the modus operandi was known (*N*=27). The majority of the robbery homicides were committed with the use of a firearm; these account for 59 percent (*N*=16).

Modus operandi	*N*	%
Hanging/Strangulation/Suffocation	5	18%
Firearm	16	59%
Knife or sharp object/weapon	2	7%
Blunt object	1	4%
Hitting, kicking or other similar physical violence without weapon.	3	11%
Total	**27**	**100%**
Unknown	0	

Table 7: modus operandi in robbery homicide (*N*=27) (2012-2018)

Besides fire arms, the second most used modus operandi were strangulation / suffocation. This type accounts for 18 percent of the total (*N*=5). Hitting or other physical violence only accounts for 11 percent (*N*=3). What stands out is that knifes are seldom used in robbery homicides and the same goes for blunt objects.

Victim resistance

Another interesting aspect to analyze is the resistance to the perpetrators shown by the victim. For 25 of the 29 victims it was known if he/she showed resistance to the robbery and the perpetrators or not. Table 8 shows the percentages and the type of resistance given by the robbery homicide victims.

Victim resistance	*N*	%
Victim did not use any violence	9	36%
Victim used violence in self-defence	15	60%
Victim used violence first or in a non-defence manner	1	4%
Total	**25**	**100%**
Unknown	4	

Table 8: Victim resistance (N=29) (2012-2018)

Most of the fatal victims resisted actively during the robbery in order to defend himself, herself or the one being robbed (*N*=15). These victims account for 60 percent of the total. All of the other victims did not use any violence (*N*=9) and only one victim showed violence in a non-defence manner and attacked the perpetrator before the robbery took place.

Perpetrator and victim characteristics of robbery homicides

The following result section takes a closer look at the perpetrators and victim characteristics of robbery homicide in the Dutch Caribbean. Based on the operationalization, the following variables are analysed: *gender, birth country, age, education / profession* and *illegality.*

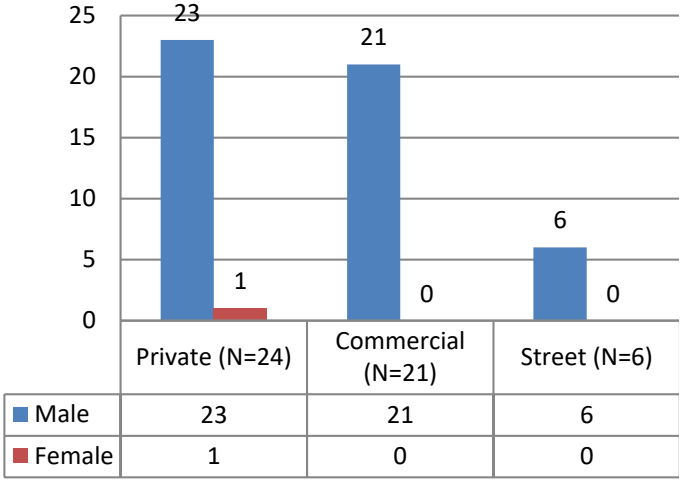
Gender

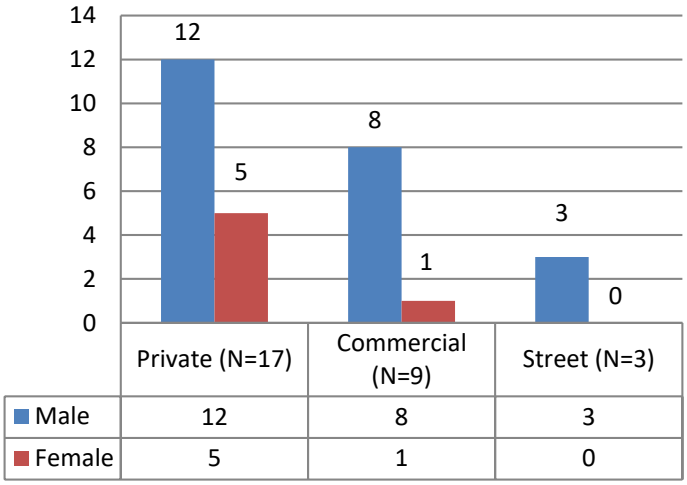
Table 9 shows the gender of both perpetrators and victims. Robbery homicide perpetrators are predominantly male; Out of the 59 perpetrators 98 percent was male (*N*=50). Consequently, only 2 percent of perpetrators were female (*N*=1). The gender of 8 perpetrators remained unknown.

Gender	Perpetrators *(N=)*	%	Victims *(N=)*	%
Male	50	98%	23	79%
Female	1	2%	6	21%
Total	**51**	**100%**	**29**	**100%**
Unknown	8	-	0	-

Table 9: Gender of both robbery homicide perpetrators (*N=59) and victims* (*N=29)* (2012-2018)

Victims of robbery homicide where also predominantly male *(N=23)* accounting for 79 percent. In contrast, 21 percent of all the victims were female *(N=6).* Figures 11 and 12 show the gender of both victims and perpetrators for each type of robbery homicide setting.
For both genders, robberies in a private / residential setting are far more deadly than commercial or street robberies. Female victims are mostly seen in private and commercial settings.





Figures 11 & 12: Perpetrators (left) and victims (right) for each robbery homicide setting (2012-2018)

Age

Table 10 displays the average age of robbery homicide perpetrators and victims. The average age of perpetrators is 26,3 years, the youngest perpetrator was 15 years and the oldest 52. When looking at robbery homicide victims, the difference in average age is substantial compared to perpetrators; the average victim is aged 55,1 years old, the youngest victim was 19 and the oldest 90. Because of the strong spread in ages for both victims and perpetrators, table 10 also shows ages based on age categories.

Age	*N*	*%*	*M*	*SD*
Perpetrators				
Age (years)	59		26.3	7.9
0-18	5	10%		
19-25	22	46%		
26-34	15	31%		
35-46	4	8%		
47-64	1	2%		
65+	1	2%		
Total	**48**	**100**		
Unknown	11			
Victims				
Age (years)	29		54.2	18.9
0-18	-	-		
19-25	2	8%		
26-34	-	-		
35-46	7	28%		
47-64	9	36%		
65+	7	28%		
Total	**25**	**100**		
Unknown	4			

Table 15: Age groups of both perpetrators (*N=59) and victims* (*N=29).*

If the ages of perpetrators and victims are categorized by age groups, the differences in ages of victims and perpetrators becomes even more apparent. Most perpetrators are aged between 19-25; this age group makes up 46 percent of all perpetrators *(N*=22*)*. Perpetrators aged between 26-34 follow this group; they make 31 percent *(N*=15*)*.

In other words, 77 percent of robbery homicide perpetrators fall within the ages 19-34. In addition, 10 percent of perpetrators was younger than 18 *(N*=5). This means that more than 87 percent of perpetrators is aged 34 or younger. In contrast, only 8 percent of the victims were aged below 34.

Looking at victims, 64 percent of the victims had an age of 47 or older *(N*=16*)*. In addition, 28 percent of victims was aged 65 years or older and can thus be considered elderly *(N*=7*)*. In conclusion, the age of robbery homicide victims in the Dutch Caribbean is far higher compared to those that commit robbery homicide.

Birth country

Table 16 is tasked with showing the birth countries of both victims and perpetrators of robbery homicide. For all 29 victims the birth country was known. In the case of perpetrators the birth country was known for 51 out of the 59 offenders. In order to simply the table, countries have been grouped in categories based on regions.

Birth Country Perpetrators	N	%	*Birth Country Victims*	N	%
Netherlands	3	6%	Netherlands	1	3%
Colombia	1	2%	Colombia	1	3%
Venezuela	5	10%	China	6	21%
Aruba	3	6%	Aruba	2	7%
St Maarten	3	6%	St Maarten	2	7%
Bonaire	1	2%	Ecuador	1	3%
Curacao	28	55%	Curacao	11	38%
Other Caribbean	7	14%	Other Caribbean	2	7%
USA	0	0%	USA	2	7%
Total	**51**	**100%**	**Total**	**29**	**100%**
Unknown	8		Unknown	**0**	

Table 16: Birth country of victims and perpetrators

Individuals born in Curacao have a strong presence in both victim (38 percent) and perpetrators (55 percent) categories. This is primarily related to the fact that most robbery homicides did occur in Curacao. Furthermore, Venezuelans and individuals coming from surrounding Caribbean nations together account for 24 percent of the perpetrators. The birth country of all other perpetrators lies either below the 5 percent or remains unknown.

Looking at victims, the relatively high number of Chinese victims in Dutch Caribbean robbery homicides stands out. Out of all victims, 21 percent was from Chinese or Asian decent *(N*=6*)*.

Figure 13 shows all the victims for each type of robbery homicide setting. The vast majority of victims are born in the Dutch Caribbean, except for street robberies.
Residential robberies account for most of the victims, which are predominantly native to the Dutch Caribbean (*N=16)*. This is followed by commercial and street robberies. However, the victimization of Chinese individuals is also apparent when looking at the different types of robbery homicide; almost all of the Chinese robbery homicide victims fell during a robbery in a commercial setting.

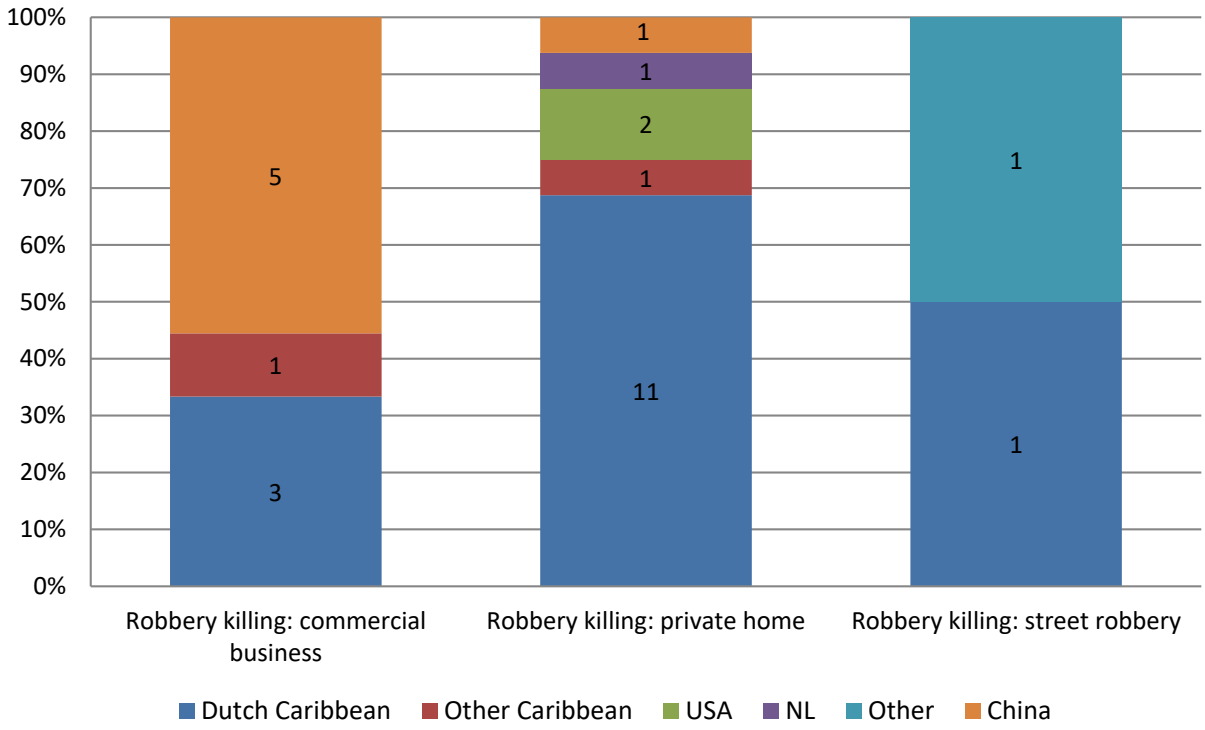


Figure 13: Birth countries of robbery homicide victims based in robbery setting.

Household situations

Table 17 is tasked with showing the household situation of robbery homicide perpetrators and victims. The household situation was known for 22 of the 59 perpetrators. Out of these 22 perpetrators 36 percent lived alone without any children (*N*=8) at the time of the crime. This is followed by perpetrators who cohabiting with one parent (*N*=5) and perpetrators who lived with a partner (*N=4*). When looking at the victims, the housing situations were known for 20 out of the 29 individuals. The vast majority of the victims (65%) were cohabiting with a partner (*N*=13). The second group of victims was living alone (30%) either with or without children (*N*=6).

Housing situation perpetrators	*N*	%
Cohabiting with partner	4	18%
Cohabiting with one parent	5	23%
Living alone (with or without children)	8	36%
Cohabiting with friend	1	5%
Temporarily living with someone	4	18%
Homeless	-	-
Total	**22**	**100%**
Unknown	37	
Housing situation victims	*N*	%
Cohabiting with partner	13	65%
Cohabiting with one parent	-	-
Living alone (with or without children)	6	30%
Cohabiting with friend	-	-
Temporarily living with someone	-	-
Homeless	1	5%
Total	**22**	**100%**
Unknown	37	

Table 17: Housing situation for robbery homicide perpetrators (N=59) and victims (*N*=29) (2012-2018)

Employment / professional status

Table 18 displays the employment status of both victims and perpetrators. The employment and professional status was known for 22 out of the 37 perpetrators. Within this group of perpetrators, 44 percent was unemployed (*N*=27) and 37 percent was regarded as having a working class job (*N*=10). The remaining statuses were students (*N*=4) and one perpetrator was an asylum seeker.

When looking the victims, the largest group was employed as working-class (*N*=8), accounting for 34,8%. Second, victims who were retired account for 26 percent (*N*=6) and thirdly, managers & professionals, account for 17 percent (*N*=4).

Employment Perpetrators	N	%	*Employment Victims*	N	%
Working class	10	37%	Working class	8	35%
Unemployed	12	44%	Unemployed	2	9%
Student	4	15%	Student	1	4%
Asylum seeker	1	4%	Managers & professionals	4	17%
-			Retired	6	26%
-			Other	2	4%
Total	**27**	**100%**	**Total**	**23**	**100%**
Unknown	32		Unknown	6	

Table 18: Employment and professional status of both victims (*N*=29) *and perpetrators (N*=59*)* (2012-2018)

Citizenship

Lastly, table 19 shows whether the perpetrator was staying illegally on the island. This was known for 44 out of the 59 perpetrators. Those who were legal residents make up the majority of perpetrators, accounting for 84 percent (*N*=37). For 15 perpetrators it was not known whether they stayed legal or illegally on the islands. In conclusion, most of the perpetrators were staying as legal residents during the time of their crime.

Legal / illegal citizenship?	*N*	%
Yes	7	16%
No	37	84%
Total	**44**	**100%**
Unknown	15	

Table 19: Citizenship of perpetrators (N=59) (2012-2018)

Expert interview

The following result section shows transcripts of the interview that was held with two member of the ICCA. This interview was unstructured in nature but covered several topics chosen by each of the thesis researchers. Extracts of the interview considered most important are displayed here.

Criminal activities and family involvements

In relation to robbery homicides and homicides in general, the two experts were asked what, according to them, the main reason is for the high homicide number of homicides found in the Dutch Caribbean. Both experts stated that unstable family relations are an important factor causing crime, as well as the fact that children are raised by multiple and changing family members. Especially one-parent families are problematic; they do not provide a safe and stable environment for children to grow up. This causes children and adolescents to look for other types of stability making them turn to their peers. Expert 1 stated that:

'*Children do not grow up in stable families and are often passed around during the day between family members. This often leads them to looking for 'warmth' elsewhere; they gather up with other youths in similar situations; this is how gangs are formed.'*

Another factor that causes crime, violence and homicides is related to the socio-economic situation in the Dutch Caribbean. Both experts sated that this is part of what causes younger individuals to turn to crime. According to them, this is driven by a lack of employment options as well as a failing education system. The lacking prospects for a stable future combined with jealousy and attractiveness of easy criminal money draws youths towards criminal activities. Expert 2 stated:

'The combination of the economic situation, lacking education and high unemployment rate brings these youths to crime. And yeah when you see your buddy, or you see someone three streets away who drives a nice scooter or a fat car, and if you see what he is doing to get money, then the temptation is very great to think of yes, I want that too. They aim to go for the easy money, they start with a small theft and escalate to robberies.'

Robberies and atrako's

When discussing the findings on robberies and the victimization of Asians in robbery homicides, the experts were asked why robberies are often targeted at Asians, and why these robberies often escalate into homicides. In response to the question why Asians are often targeted, both expert 1 and expert 2 stated together; '*Cash!'.*

'The Chinese in the Dutch Caribbean do not like the taxman. Most transactions and economic activities within the Dutch Caribbean Chinese community are conducted in cash. The criminals in the Dutch Caribbean know this and Chinese are constantly robbed. A colleague of mine even wanted to follow a Chinese language course to help with the language barrier when taking in robbery reports.

They rather risk losing a certain amount of money during a robbery, instead of structurally paying taxes and losing their profits; despite the dangers.

The targeting of Chinese victims is also related to the fact that they make up the majority of small business owners; they have shops and restaurants. They work very hard and generate a lot of cash.'

Furthermore, both experts stated that robberies always have a chance of escalating, and based on what they have seen and experienced, robberies are often combined with rape and brutality. In general, the violence is more than just functional, and often exceeds normal criminal tactics. Expert 2: '*Yeah, its characteristic. There is functional violence, however, it often escalates. Also with other types of crime, shootout in public places that kill 5 but were targeted at 1. Criminals see it as collateral damage and part of the risk. Also, they shoot very quickly whenever there is a conflict, they see it as part of the risks involved in the job.'* Furthermore, robberies are no longer specially targeted at tourists. Expert 1: '*We do not see robberies specifically targeted at tourism; it used to happen more often. But robberies are often violent and involve rape'* Nevertheless, they do still occur and are often very violent; violence is normalized and used as a tactic or they see it as part of their crime. Expert 2: '*Dutch Caribbean have tendency to act primary. This is not nice to say and a bit flippant, but its based in my law-enforcement experience.'*

Lastly, when discussing gang activities and crime, both experts stated that individuals involved in gangs also commit other crimes such as robberies. They operate outside of the

gang and pursue something that the experts described as an ‘freelance criminal career’. Expert 2:

> *‘That does not happen a lot. Yes, robberies locally and robberies within the gangs, but they do not catch tourists. And yes inside the gangs you also have freelancers off course. They are members of a gang but at the same time they have their own income yes off course and they do catch tourists for example.’*

Immigration and crime

On the topic of immigration and crime both experts stated that they did no see strong evidence for crimes solely being committed by immigrates. They did state that they saw a mix of perpetrators; both Dutch Caribbean nationals as well as immigrations for neighboring countries. Expert 1: *There is some mixture of immigrants and crime and the numbers of immigrants have increased from Venezuela due to the situation over there. They often come with boats and bring illegal stuff into the islands.* Expert 2:

> *‘Yes, there are many immigrants. However, they often find work in construction and try to provide for themselves. If you drive around Curacao you see many immigrants working on roads, construction and infrastructure. There are not many native Dutch Caribbean working these jobs, they don't like to work all day in the sun. Haitians, Jamaicans, Dominicans and Venezuelans are working those jobs, they take those shitty jobs to live and provide for their families. Many natives want to work high-end jobs, but don't get there without proper schooling. Therefore, they end up in crime. So, yeah there is work but is being done by illegals and immigrants.’*

Police capacity and crime reduction

When discussing the topic of solving cases, crime reduction and police capacity, the experts stated that police in the Dutch Caribbean is lacking capacity and means to actively solve and

reduce crimes. The reason why some little cases are solved has to do with priorities as well as capacity. Expert 1: '*It appears that there (in the Dutch Caribbean) are a few people in a room that are dealing with a specific type of crime and the pile of work grows and grows. They cannot pay a lot of attention on every case. That is why I can imagine that choices are made regarding cases.'*

As an example of the influence police capacity has on crimes, expert 2 described how he and his team were part of an project that strengthened the police capacity in the Dutch Caribbean. Robberies were targeted specifically, and the team succeeded in their efforts to reduce this crime type. Expert 2:

'An example, the robbery team in Curacao existed of twelve detectives in 2003. Then they had a thousand robberies per year. Thousand cases on 155 thousand people. Well, then you have an average of two or 3 robberies per day. The team went from 12 to 45 people and people were brought in from the Netherlands… So we started to focus on robberies and went from 12 to 45 people that were working robberies… In 2008, after three years, the goal had to be achieved which was reducing robberies with 50 percent. The goal was reach within one year. It never came above the 500 anymore for several years. At the moment it shifts between six and seven hundred I think.'

Discussion

Based on a sample of 234 registered homicides in the Dutch Caribbean between 2012 and 2018 this study was able to discern the following findings on general- as well as robbery homicides.

First of all, in line with what was suspected, the Dutch Caribbean homicide rate is higher compared to the homicide rate in the Netherlands. Between 2012-2018 the homicide rate in the Netherlands did not exceed 0.9 homicides per 100.000 inhabitants. In contrast, the Dutch Caribbean homicide rate was about 10 times higher in the same period; fluctuating between 7.7 and 12.3 homicides per 100.000 inhabitants. Looking at the literature as well as the socio-economic context of the Dutch Caribbean, this finding supports the ideas of Amarante, et al. (2016) and Fajnzylber, Lederman & Loayza, (1998) which all relate inequality, poverty, unemployment to violence and a higher homicide rate. Moreover, this finding strengthens the findings by Rogers & Pridemore (2012), which, in their cross-cultural study on 30 nations, found that homicide rates are influenced by poverty and economic instabilities. Lastly, the increasing inequality caused by wealthy immigrants reported by the BES Veiligheidsbeeld (2018) and Straatmeijer (2018) is also supportive of this finding.

Second, the geographical spread of homicide differs across the Dutch Caribbean. In Curacao 61 percent of all Dutch Caribbean homicides take place. However, when the homicides are corrected for differences in population, St Maarten stands out as the island with the highest homicide rate in the Dutch Caribbean. Both Saba and St. Eustasius each only registered one single homicide during the 2012 – 2018 time period. Because of the small population size on these islands, their homicide rates are artificially high.

Thirdly, when looking at different types of homicides, the vast majority of Dutch Caribbean homicides take place within the criminal milieu. Homicides in this category account for 36 percent of the total and include all homicides related to drug, gang, organized crime and illegal activities. This finding is in line with the explanations of the Caribbean and Latin American violence and homicides argued by Bennett & Lynch (1996), Heinemann & Verner (2006), Katz & Maguire (2015) and Rodgers (1999). These studies all found that violence and crime in the Latin American and Caribbean region can be explained by the presence of (youth) gangs, drug trafficking, and criminal organizations.

Fourth, analysis of victims and perpetrators involved in Dutch Caribbean homicides showed that in both categories males are dominating. Results showed that males committed 93 percent of the homicides and 85 percent of the homicides were directed against males. This finding is in line with the study of the CBS (2018), which found that Dutch Caribbean males are 13 times more likely to be killed in homicides compared to males in the Netherlands. Furthermore, based on the relation between strain and gender proposed by Broidy & Agnew (1997), these finding supports the idea that men are more often involved in criminal activates because they are more affected by financial strains pushing them to criminal activities and homicides. Also, this finding is in line with the interviews held with the ICCA police experts, which stated that males engage in criminal activities driven by negative prospects, low education, and unemployment and drawn by the attractiveness of easy money gained by criminal actives. The dominating role of males in homicides is also supportive for the findings of Muggah & Tobón (2018) and Imbusch, Misse & Carrión (2011), which connect the high number of male perpetrators to social norms such as machismo. In addition, Plummer (2013), when studying crime and masculinity in the Caribbean, also found that men are more engaged in criminal activities. He attributed this to the social norm of the transition from boys to men.

Fifth, the largest group of Dutch Caribbean homicide perpetrators is aged between 19-25 (39%), closely followed by the 26-34 age group (29%). When this finding is related to the popular criminal age curve theorized by Moffitt (1993), it shows that this age curve is only partly applicable to the Dutch Caribbean context. Moffitt (1993) argued that most criminal and antisocial behaviour (including homicides) is displayed by adolescents aged between 15-25. However, findings on the Dutch Caribbean show that older perpetrators aged between 26-34 commit a compelling part of the homicide crimes.

Sixth, in terms of time, the majority of Dutch Caribbean homicides are committed during the night or evening. Although this research aimed to explain robbery homicides by using routine activities theory, the theory is also relevant for the finding on homicide time occurrence. As theorized by Cohen & Felson (1979), capable guardianship is diminished during the night, and therefore more crimes occur.

Seventh, in terms of location, the analysis found that most Dutch Caribbean homicides took place in public spaces. This disproves the ideas on capable guardianship that presumes that more guardianship is present in public spaces and thus crimes are less likely to occur in these settings.

Lastly, most homicides in the Dutch Caribbean are committed by using firearms. According to Agozino (2009: 288), who dubbed the gun use in the region a process of 'pistolization', this predominate use of fire arms in the Caribbean region is best explained by historical factors such as decolonization and structural adjustment programs. These developments caused the rise if illicit markets trading drugs, endangered species, illegal timber and guns. The resulted in a flourishing gun trade that affects the crime, violence and homicide rates seen today.

Robbery homicides

Besides the analysis of general homicides in the Dutch Caribbean, this research is examined robbery homicides as a homicide subtype. Although there are similarities between general and robbery homicides in the Dutch Caribbean, results reflect that Dutch Caribbean robbery homicide are distinct from general homicides. The following section discusses the finding of robbery homicide case, victim and perpetrator characteristics and seeks to relate these findings to the routine activity and strain theories.

As a clearly defined homicide type, robbery homicides are the second most committed homicides in the Dutch Caribbean, accounting for 14,6 percent of all homicides between 2012 - 2018. Most robbery homicides lead to single victims, and apart from 2014, predominantly involve by multiple perpetrators.

In terms of islands, Curacao saw most robbery homicides accounting for 59% of all robbery homicides. This finding is not strange since the expert stated that in general, most robberies take place in Curacao.

However, when the robbery homicide rate was compared to the general homicide rate, Aruba stands out. Almost half of the homicide rate on this island is due to robbery homicides. The reason for this difference is presumably caused by the fact that only robbery homicide that involved multiple victims, was registered in Aruba.

Most robbery homicides took place in residential settings (59%), followed by robberies in commercial settings (31%). These findings are line with research from the Dutch context, as well US based research (Cook, 1987; Nieuwbeerta & Leistra, 2003; Zimring & Zuehl, 1986). Surprisingly, only 10% of all robbery homicides were street robberies. Again, this in line with the study of Zimring & Zuehl (1986) which found that under 20 percent of robbery homicides take place in street settings. The fact that most robbery homicides took place indoor is supportive of the routine activities theory and ideas on capable guardianship; these presume that crimes inside private houses are more likely to occur since they cannot be spotted or

stopped by capable guardians.
However, this finding is conflicting with the results on general homicides; these have shown to take place mostly in public spaces. The reason for this conflict is related to the fact that the majority of homicides in the Dutch Caribbean take place in the criminal milieu. As shown by Danielle (2015) when studying Caribbean crime scenes, 61 percent of the gang and criminal related homicides crime scenes are located in open or public areas.

When looking at time frames in which robbery homicides occur, the finding is coherent with findings on general homicides; both general and robbery homicides occur most frequently in the evening or night time. Again, this supports the idea that capable guardianship is less likely to be present during this time frame.

In the majority of robbery homicide cases, victims and perpetrators did not know each other, accounting for 86 percent. Only 14 percent of robbery homicide perpetrators had some kind of relationship to their victims, and all these robberies occurred in private/residential settings. In all registered commercial robbery homicides, the relationship between the perpetrators and the victim was non-existent. These findings are in line with the studies by Smit & Nieuwbeerta (2007), Zimring & Zuehl (1986) and Cook (1987) which all claimed to see a relational distance between victims and perpetrators of robbery homicides. However, this finding is incoherent with Smit, et al. (2001) which claimed that in 30 percent of robbery homicides the perpetrator and victim had some kind of prior relationship. A possible explanation for cases were a relationship did exist could be that offenders had a better comprehension of the attractiveness of the victim in terms of value. Also, the offender may have easier access to the target because of the familiarity.

Next, an examination of the number of perpetrators involved in robbery homicides showed that in 60 percent of all robbery homicides involved multiple perpetrators. This finding supports the study by Ganpat & Liem (2012) in which they found that 54 percent of robbery homicides are committed by multiple perpetrators. If we relate this finding to capable guardianship, multiple perpetrators have a diminishing effect on possible resistance showed by the victim or guardians. This explains why most of the robbery homicides are committed by multiple perpetrators.
Although the findings are in line with the literature, it should be noted here that Ganpat & Liem (2012) based their research on convictions of perpetrators. This research did not classified perpetrators based on convictions, but the number of perpetrators was based on

ICCA and media data. Therefore, it is possible that perpetrators were registered as robbery homicide offenders in this analysis, but ultimately were not convicted of this crime.

Similar to the general homicide analysis, firearms are most frequently used in robbery homicides accounting for 59 percent of all homicides. A possible reason for the frequent use of firearms has already been presented by Agozino (2009). This finding supports the findings of Cook (1987) as well as Morrison & O'Donnell (1996) which both found that in robbery homicides firearms are the preferred weapon of choice. In relation to aspects of capable guardianship, using a firearm causes the possible guardians to limit their possibilities of interfering with the crime and is therefore regarded as the most effective weapon of choice.

Lastly, in 59 percent of the registered robbery homicide cases, the victim showed violence towards the robber. This finding shows that active resistance during robbery increases the chances of a deadly outcome for the victim and supports the ideas of Wolfgang (1957) on victim-participated killings.

If we take a closer look at perpetrator and victim characteristics of robbery homicide, more differences compared to the general homicide analysis become apparent. Starting with age, the results show a compelling difference between the registered age of the perpetrators and the age of the victims.

On average, victims of robbery homicides in the Dutch Caribbean are 54.4 years of age. This is very similar to the findings of Smit & Nieuwbeerta (2007), who found that victim age averages at 50.1 years. The finding that victims of robbery homicides are older can be related to the fact that their older age increases their victim suitability; older victims are less capable of offering resistance to the robber and therefore falls within the suitable victim category.

The age perpetrators of robbery homicides in the Dutch Caribbean averages at 26.3 years. Again, this is closely related to the findings of Smit & Nieuwbeerta (2007), who found that perpetrator age averages at 27.1 years. Most of the robbery homicide perpetrators fell within the 19 – 25 age group (46%). In contrast to general findings on general homicides, this group does fall within the age group presumed to undertake most criminal activities described in the Moffitt (1993) age-crime curve.

Based on the expert interview, the young age of perpetrators can be related to the failing education system which leaves youths without future prospects, and lowered educations. This places them in the motivated offender category. Furthermore, the young age of perpetrators suits the trend described by the BES Veiligheidsbeeld (2018) of youths increasingly

committing more serious crimes at younger ages.

On the topic of gender, males fall almost exclusively in the category of robbery homicide perpetrators, they account for 98 percent of the total. Based on findings in previous research, this proves that males are more likely to fall within the motivated offender category. Similar to the analysis of Dutch Caribbean homicides in general, this finding is also supportive for the idea that there is a relation between strains and gender. Broidy & Agnew (1997) found that males are more often strained by financial pressures and therefore more likely to engage in property crimes, and thus robberies and robbery homicides.

Both victims and perpetrators were mostly born in the Dutch Caribbean and specifically Curacao. Because most robbery homicides did take place on this island, this finding is not surprising. However, the results also did show that 17 percent of the perpetrators were born in surrounding Caribbean nations and Venezuela. This indicates that immigrants from these surrounding countries are engaged in criminal offences in the Dutch Caribbean. Both the expert interview as well as the BES Veiligheidsbeeld (2018) support this finding. Both sources indicated that to some extent, there is a mix of immigrant and native perpetrators. Venezuelans specifically account for 10 percent of all robbery homicide perpetrators. However, this is due to a robbery homicide case in which 5 out of the 7 perpetrators were from Venezuelan descent. Therefore, this finding does not indicate that robbery homicide perpetrators have a strong presence of Venezuelan immigrants, and it should be noted that this finding is caused by a single case.

The results on robbery homicide victims show that 21 percent of victims had an Asian background. Although in general most victims fell in private home settings, most victims with an Asian background were registered in commercial settings. Based on the BES Veiligheidsbeeld (2018) and the expert interview this finding supports the idea that Asians in the Dutch Caribbean are seen as suitable victims. This is largely due to their economic activity as well as the image of generating a lot of cash, causing them to have an attractive economic position in society. As we have seen, the attractiveness of the target is determined by, value, inertia, access, and visibility (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Felson & Cohen, 1980). So, the attractiveness of Asian as suitable victims is largely due to two of these aspects; a. having a high economic position (value), b. they provide access to cash in shops which is easily obtained (inertia).

The finding that robberies in commercial settings see a distinct type of victim, which differs from other robbery homicide settings, is an important indication that could have implications for future research as well as preventative policies.

Household situations were less likely to be reported in the media, which explains the large number of unknown values. In addition, when discussing these results with the experts from the ICCA, they stated that housing situations change very often and that several family members are responsible for raising children or providing housing. It is therefore hard to establish the exact housing situation of the individual.
Nevertheless, the result showed that most perpetrators were living alone or in a housing situation not bound by familial or partner ties. If this finding is related to the ideas of strain described by Agnew (2002). Based on this, this finding could indicate that living alone, without any ties to others could cause low attachment and commitment and therefore incentives to engage in criminal activities such as robberies. However, because of the limited number of registered household situations and the unstable housing situations described by the experts, it is hard to make any strong statements on this finding.

The majority of victims were living together with a partner during the time of the crime. In relation to the routine activities theory, this finding does not support the idea that suitable victims are living alone. However, the household situation was based on general information about the victim. This means that at the time of the crime, the victim could have been alone. Furthermore, this finding was not corrected for settings, which means that could have taken place in another setting and not necessarily the private home of the victim.

Most robbery homicide perpetrators are either unemployed or working in working-class jobs. ICCA experts stated that unemployment and negative economic prospects are drives for crime and violence. If this finding is related to the ideas on strain by Agnew (2001, 2002), as well as the findings on the increasing poverty in the Dutch Caribbean, the results support the idea that unemployment, as well as lower paid jobs, are indicators and aspects that limit individuals from achieving their goals. This causes strains and makes property crimes such as robberies an attractive alternative to relief these strains.

The findings on high victim age found is in line with the findings on employment; a large number of victims are retired or have senior professional positions indicating that they are higher of age. This supports the idea reflected in prior research; the attractiveness of suitable

victims increases if they hold higher economic positions or jobs in society. Higher professional positions are associated with more valuable goods and increase victim attractiveness and suitability (Miethe & Meier, 1990).
Furthermore, several victims were retired. As reports on the Dutch Caribbean have shown, wealthy immigrants often come to this region to retire, which could explain this finding. However, this is finding is not supported by the analysis of the birth country of robbery homicide victims; apart from two USA residents, there are no further indications that wealthy retired individuals were targeted in robbery homicides.
The second largest group of victims was working in working-class jobs. It should be noted that small business owners or self-employed workers were also scored as having working class jobs. Therefore, the high number of victims with working class positions could be explained by earlier findings on victim birth countries; individuals of Asian descent holding small businesses are included in the working class category.

Lastly, only 15,9% of all perpetrators was staying illegal on one of the islands at the time of the robbery homicide. When we relate this to the strain theory, this shows that illegally living in another country as an immigrant cannot be regarded as a strain that leads to crime. In addition, according to the expert's perspective most immigrants are working and trying to provide for their families back home and do not engage in criminal acts.

Limitations
Although this research tried to gain as much information as possible on homicides in the Dutch Caribbean, there are several limitations to be considered. First of all, the sources used for obtaining information on the homicides did not provide all the details of the homicide. This resulted in a high number of 'unknowns'; this research was not able to score all variables in the DCHM due to limited background information. Apart from sources, this was caused by the following reasons.

First, media reporting on homicides or suspected homicides is often limited and does not always keep up with the developments and context of the homicide. Therefore, additional aspects of the homicide do not appear in the media and thus remain unknown. Second, unknown values are also related to the low percentage of solved cases and cases in which there is no perpetrator known to the police. As confirmed by the expert interviews, Dutch Caribbean law enforcement is lacking the capacity to tack all homicide cases and has to prioritize some cases over others. In turn, this leads to fewer convictions and eventually to

less reporting in the media. So, the low number of solved cases influences the data gathering process as well as the analysis since background information such as motivation, profession or educational level of perpetrators and victims remains vague.
If more detailed information variables were available, this could have led to better insights on different types of robbery homicide as well as a more detailed picture of motivated perpetrators, suitable targets and capable guardianship.

This research looked at robbery homicides a subtype of homicides. In doing so it was presumed that all robbery homicides are a homogeneous phenomenon. However, this research saw indications for differences among the settings of robbery homicides; the three types (private homes/commercial/street) of robbery homicides have distinctive characteristics. Therefore, future research should consider taking a closer look at the differences between robbery homicides based on their settings.
Moreover, this research did not consider different scenarios and intentions of robbery homicides as described by Cook (1987). Mainly due to a lack of data, motivations, and intentions of each robbery homicide could not be analyzed. Therefore, there is a possibility that the data includes robbery homicides in which perpetrators aimed only to commit a property crime, and the homicide occurred as an accident. On the other hand, cases could have been registered as robbery homicides while perpetrator motivations were different.

Biases

The data collection process was done as objective and truthful as possible. Nevertheless, it is important to consider possible biases during the data collection. First of all, the data collection of this thesis was mainly done by following a list of incidents and verifying these incidents through public sources and online references. Although this list came from the ICCA, which is part of the Dutch National Police, in contained no official police data from the Dutch Caribbean. Therefore, the possibility exists that homicide cases were not included in this list and thus were not added to the DCHM. Second, by verifying through online sources and newspapers, the data was possibly influenced by reporting bias. As Lundman (2003) shows, reports by media and news agencies often show selection biases when investigating or covering a possible homicide case. This bias is based on aspects such as gender, race and the exceptionality of the homicide. These factors are determent factors for the ‘newsworthiness of a story’. In addition, homicides that involve particular combinations of victim/perpetrator race

and gender also create more interest. To some extent, this was also the case in the Dutch Caribbean context. There was often far more online information to be found on homicides that involve females, immigrants, children or multiple victims. In these cases, there is more information on the backgrounds of those involved and possible motives that played a role. In addition, on homicides that involve just a victim and perpetrator, or when the perpetrator remains unknown, reporting is limited and does not always follow up on, for example, judicial proceedings. In order to limit the influence of this reporting bias, reports on homicide cases were always cross-checked with different news sources reporting on the same incident. In other words, all available media sources were checked for additional or conflicting information.

Related to the reporting bias, the data was possibly influenced by recall bias. The reports in de media are based on witness accounts, which have consequences for the accuracy of reporting. The reports might be subjected to wrongly recalled events or personal biases coming from the witness, reporter or editor. Nevertheless, as mentioned before details in the reporting that conflicted or remained uncertain were not interpreted but instead excluded from the data set.

Some of the data was found only in Papiamentu was translated by a native speaker. Although the information was translated as truthfully as possible, it is still possible that certain details or aspects were lost in translation or not deemed important by the translator, resulting in a loss of information. However, this bias was avoided as much as possible by providing the translator with a short overview of what kind of information was deemed most important.

Theoretical implications and future research

On the topic of theories, both strain and routine activities theory have proven to be useful for placing robbery homicides in the Dutch Caribbean context; mainly due to the importance of socio-economic conditions in this region. Both theories translate socio-economic conditions to either indicators for motivated offenders, suitable victims or strains and are therefore suitable for explaining one dimension of robbery homicides; the property crime. However, the theories did not provide conditions for a deeper understanding of the second dimension of robbery homicides; the act of taking another human beings life.

Although the expert interview provides some perspective on why robberies escalate, namely that functional violence is often regarded as insufficient and heavy violence is seen as a necessary part of the job. However, a deeper understanding of why violence and robberies escalate remains to be studied.

Perhaps there other criminological theories described earlier such as the subculture of violence, social disorganization and differential association theory could provide insights into these matters. Moreover, it would be interesting for future research to look into the aspects of self-control theory; mainly due to the fact that Dutch Caribbean homicides are committed by multiple perpetrators. However, it remains unclear if all of these perpetrators are involved in the actual homicide. In other words, self-control theory could provide insights into why some robbery offenders turn in robbery homicide offenders. However, this approach requires even more detailed information on robbery homicides. In sum, future research into homicide subtypes in the Dutch Caribbean could approach the phenomenon from a more cultural based perspective. This would require more quantitative research methods but could lead to a deeper understanding of Dutch Caribbean violence.

Lastly, this research saw indications for subtypes within a homicide subtype; as mentioned earlier, robbery homicides seem to differ based on their setting. For example, robbery homicide in a commercial setting saw different victims due to contextual aspects. So not only should future robbery homicide studies consider these differences, but also within other research into subtypes of homicide and manslaughter, there should be considerations for possible diversity whiten homicide subtypes.

Practical recommendations

Based on the findings of the research, several recommendations can be made in order to limit or tackle robbery homicides in the Dutch Caribbean. First of all, both robbery homicides in private and commercial settings should see priority in the formulation of preventative policies and law-enforcement efforts. Since these settings see the most robbery homicides, increasing capable guardianship in these settings could result in a decline in this homicide type. For private home settings, setting up social systems like neighborhood watch could increase this guardianship. In commercial settings, hiring private security personnel during the time frames in which most robbery homicides take place, or setting up high-quality security cameras could be solutions.

Second, suitable victims of robbery homicides have found to be mostly of higher age and holding attractive economic positions in Dutch Caribbean society. Furthermore, due to their economic position, Asian immigrants are attractive targets for robberies and robbery homicides. Persons who have the characteristics of suitable robbery homicide victims could be informed to take extra precautions to protect themselves from robbery violence.

Lastly, the vast majority of homicides in the Dutch Caribbean are committed with firearms. Although this is hard to achieve regarding the fact that police capacity in the Dutch Caribbean is insufficient, stricter gun control could result in a reduction of overall homicides as well as robbery homicides. A specialized police unit similar to the Atrako unit described by the ICCA expert could be set up in order to illegal reduce gun ownership.

Conclusion

This explorative study focused on homicides in the Dutch Caribbean and specifically on robbery homicide as a subtype. By not only looking at general homicide occurrence, but by also considering a specific sub-type of homicide, a more detailed picture of Dutch Caribbean homicides has been presented. In order to guide this research, the following research question was posed: *To what extent does robbery homicide explain the high homicide rate in the Dutch Caribbean between 2012 - 2018 and could the occurrence of this homicide subtype can be explained using the routine activities theory and strain theory?* This question can be answered as follows.

The analysis of homicides in the Dutch Caribbean between 2012 and 2018 showed that, while robbery homicides make up an extensive part of the overall homicides, the most compelling driver of the homicide rate are criminal milieu related homicides. Both theories used offer valid perspectives and contributions for explaining robbery homicide in relation socio-economic conditions. However, future researchers should consider investigating the role of cultural factors when studying this homicide subtype and included quantitative research methods.

This study finds it academic relevance in the fact that current data on homicides in the Dutch Caribbean is very limited and close to non-existent. In addition, by focussing on homicide subtypes, homicides can now be placed in a broader context.
Its societal relevance is found in its relation to violence and crime problems in Latin America, the Caribbean and the Dutch Caribbean. Policies to tackle these violence and crime related problems are often based on limited, or no data at all. This study aimed to diminish this lack of data by gathering data on Dutch Caribbean homicides and create a foundation on which future research and policies can be based.

Furthermore, several findings from previous robbery homicide studies in both the Dutch and international context have been confirmed. In addition, by using routine activities and strain theory this study indicated several offence, victim and perpetrator specific characteristics related to Dutch Caribbean robbery homicides. The majority of Dutch Caribbean robbery homicides occur in private and commercial settings. Most offenders of this homicide type are by young males, and targets are older victims with attractive economic positions.

Due to limitations and selection of sources maybe not all factors that are important to the study of robbery homicides have been uncovered. However, the quantitative descriptive finings combined with an expert perspective on the data resulted in a rich overview of lethal violence in the Dutch Caribbean. Therefore this research still shined a light on Dutch Caribbean homicide dynamics.

Robbery homicides in the Dutch Caribbean are recurring phenomenon, and although they do not make up the bulk of homicides, killing a victim for economic gains seems to remain a necessity in the Dutch Caribbean.

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Appendix 1: Empirical studies on Robbery Homicide

Study	Subject	Region	Main Findings
Ganpat en Liem (2012) *Moord en doodslag in Nederland*	Homicide types in the Netherlands between 1992-2009	The Netherlands	Robbery homicides declined and stabilized Robbery homicides account for 7% of the total number of homicides Most robbery homicides take place in residential settings Several perpetrators are involved in 54 percent of the robbery cases.
Smit & Nieuwbeerta (2007) *Moord en doodslag in Nederland*	Overview of all murders and homicides in the years 1998 and 2002-2004.	The Netherlands	Robbery homicide victims are often natives, perpetrators often with immigrant background. Dutch robbery homicide perpetrates average age is 27,1. Victims are 50,9 years old.
Zimring (1997) *Death Rate from Robbery: A Detroit Time Study*	Robbery homicide trends between 1963 and 1974 in Detroit	USA (Detroit)	Increase in robbery homicides between 1963 – 1974 Robbery homicides which involve a fire are have a higher death rate
Markwalder (2012) *Robbery homicide: a Swiss and international perspective*	An analysis of robbery homicides in Switzerland - 1980 – 2004	Swiss & International	Theoretical approaches and overview of robbery homicides studies In Switzerland, robbery homicides occur with relative consistency over the years. Research on robbery homicide is often USA based and tuned to specifics in this country
Zimring & Zuehl (1986) *Victim Injury and Death in Urban Robbery*	Emperical study into the occurance of robbery killings in Chigago	USA (Chigago)	Most homicides occur during residential and commercial robberies firearms account for most of the robbery homicides Male victims are dominant, female victims less likely Relation between victim resistance and lethally of the robbery: increase by factor 14 when victim actively resists.
Cook (1987) *Robbery violence*	Study into robbery homicide in 57 US cities	USA	65 percent of the robberies are committed with a firearm. Robbers who use firearms are more likely to inflict lethal injuries Killing is often a by-product of the robbery caused by active resistance
Wolfgang (1957) *Victim precipitated criminal homicide*	Study into Victim precipitated criminal homicide	USA	Role and actions of the victim is a determent factor for occurrence of homicide
Morrison & O'Donnell (1996) *An analysis of the decision-making practices of robbers*	Study of commercial armed robbery in London.	UK	Armed robbers strongly focus on the 'pros' of their crime and do not neglect the 'cons' of their act. Robbers are easily satisfied with small amounts of money A firearm was by most believed as an essential tool for completing the job.

Appendix 2: Flowchart DCHM