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**UNDERSTANDING DRUG TRAFFICKING IN RWANDA:
A GENDER PERSPECTIVE (2017-2019)**

**Dissertation submitted to the University of Rwanda in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the award of Masters of Arts Degree
in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation**

By

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned Jean Baptiste Bikorimana, hereby declare that the work presented in this research project titled “Understanding Drug Trafficking in Rwanda: A Gender Perspective” is my original work and has never been presented anywhere for any academic qualifications. Furthermore, all the materials used for scholars and publications have been acknowledged as indicated in the references.

Candidate’s signature

.....

Date/...../ 2020

APPROVAL

I, Dr Aggée Shyaka Mugabe, certify that this study titled “Understanding Drug Trafficking in Rwanda: A Gender Perspective” is an original work of Jean Baptiste Bikorimana under my supervision.

Signature

.....

Dr Aggée Shyaka Mugabe

Date/...../ 2020

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to:

My wife Juliette

My children Délice, Fiesta, Elysée, Jonathan

My parents, brothers and sisters

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I am very thankful to those who have been involved at different levels in the preparation of this study. First of all, my greatest gratitude goes to The Everlasting God for his invaluable gift of life without which the study would have not been completed.

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed at exploring the gender dynamics between males and females' involvement in drug trafficking in Gasabo District. It is an explanatory research of mixed design of qualitative and quantitative approaches. From the population of 422 individuals, 68 were sampled, and stratified, quota and purposive sampling techniques were used to select respondents from two major categories of inmates convicted of drug trafficking and public officials in the criminal justice system from which interviews, questionnaires and documentary review were used to collect both primary and secondary.

The study generally found out gender differences and similarities in motivating factors to drug trafficking, with females mainly influenced by social economic factors as vulnerable of poor living conditions such as divorce, separation, loss of husbands, family conflicts, infidelity of husbands and unplanned pregnancies / births; whereas males were found to be motivated by personal factors like personal decisions in risk taking, drug consumption background and insufficient parental control or child adversity especially to youths. Concerning similar motivating factors, males and females reported to be influenced by poverty, unemployment and youth headed families. In regard to the gender roles played in drug trafficking activities, both males and females engaged through productive and reproductive roles in society, with females engaged through prostitution, drug mules, milking practices, care giving to patients, Muslim head scarf and face veil wearing styles and baby carrying practices; whereas males use small bars mixed with shops in residential houses, motorcyclists transporting market commodities, bicyclists fetching water in jercans, selling traditional medicines, wedding convoy, funeral vans transport and partnering with more women.

Therefore, the study recommended gender sensitive strategies for effective prevention such as extension of social support to vulnerable women and unemployed youths; formal education program, enhanced targeted operations, and intelligence powered by neighbourhood watch.

Key words: Drugs, Drug Trafficking, Gender, Gender Roles

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACCRONYMS

ANU:	Anti Narcotics Unit
CIM:	Inter- American Commission of Women
CPC:	Community Policing Committees
DCI:	District Criminal Investigator
DPC:	District Police Commander
DPCEO:	District Police Civic Education Officer
DPU:	District Police Unit
DRC:	Democratic Republic of Congo
IASC:	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IDPC:	International Drug Policy Consortium
MoH:	Ministry of Health
OSAGI:	Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women
RBA:	Rwanda Broadcasting Agent
RCS:	Rwanda Correction Services
RIB:	Rwanda Investigation Bureau
RNP:	Rwanda National Police
UK:	United Kingdom
UN:	United Nations
UNODC:	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
USA:	United States of America
WDR:	World Drug Report
WHO:	World Health Organization
WOLA:	Washington Office for Latin America

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This study is about ‘Understanding Drug Trafficking in Rwanda: A Gender Perspective’. It intends to comparatively explore the gender dynamics between men and women’s involvement in drug trafficking in Rwanda, specifically in Gasabo District. It came about to fill the gap on the fact that people in different societies have diverse perceptions and give many representations to men and women involved in crimes especially serious and organized crimes. Furthermore, different images, interpretations also come to peoples’ minds when they come across men and women behind organized and trafficking offences.

According to UNODC (2019a), some people tend to associate drug trafficking and terrorism to men coming from specific nationalities while women come first in peoples’ minds when cases of human and child trafficking occur, but all of these may be superficial or partial representations of men and women experiences, focusing only on stereotypes that may be taken as reflecting reality; So, the author highlights that, men and women have different experiences, and the way gender is performed and understood shapes criminal justice system and administration outcomes, hence the importance of having a gender perspective when exploring crime and criminalization.

This chapter discusses the background and statement of the problem, the research questions and objectives, study significance and scope as well as how the whole work is organized from chapter one to chapter five.

1.1 Background of the study

Today, the former notion that the crime was dominated by male offenders has been proven wrong. Females like males, women and men, girls and boys suffer from tensions, frustrations, distrust, enmity, hatred and other factors which motivate them to engage in different criminal behaviors and crimes committed by females and males differ from country to country, region to region, culture to culture with influence of other social aspects and contexts that might be particular to a specific community (Bhosle, 2009).

Globally, the role of women in crime had previously been given very little attention because they were traditionally perceived as exceptionally law abiding, and therefore not committing crimes at the same rate like men (Arnot & Usbone, 2001). This difference between crimes committed by men and those committed by women termed gender gap refers to the fact that crime is committed disproportionately by males (high level) compared to females' crimes (low level) and has been fitting a number of traditional crime theories. For example '**anomie**' which suggests that female offend less than males because the former are less subject to cultural emphasis on material success; '**differential association**' or '**social learning theory**' which suggests that females do not commit crimes at the same level as males because they are less exposed to other criminal peers; '**social control theory**' which stipulates that females are always subject to strong supervision and social bonds with their parents, hence not committing crimes as males; and '**cultural transmission**' which suggests that females are naturally less likely to engage in criminal activities (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996).

However, other criminologists like Sutherland cited in Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) stressed that the gender gap in crime is not stable rather it varies considerably in space, time, by race or age, thus having sociological explanations rather than biological justifications of crime because a biological basis cannot vary across time and space. This led patterns of criminality amongst men and women to remaining complex in different types of crimes and scholars try to approach them from different perspectives, contexts, cultures and countries.

In the USA from 1960s to 1992, men were mostly found in very serious crime while women were greatly involved in minor property and substance abuse offences with a good number in drug related offences and prostitution (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996), while in the UK, the crime statistics were dominated by women committing simple theft in early 19th century with 64.2% against 35.8% of males' indictments (Arnot & Usbone, 2001). In Albania, the crime patterns between males and females looked different from many other countries across the world. According to Fiandaca (2003), from 1991 to 2001 the women crime incidence rate was minimal compared to males but women were engaged in more serious and organized crimes than males, such as homicide, theft, kidnapping, counterfeiting official documents, kidnapping children for exploitation and drug trafficking with high rates of recidivisms.

In African society, crime and criminology has been dominated by men for a number of decades, and scholars have argued that crime especially property crime has been often a

men's business, engaging in more serious and violent offending with recidivism at higher rates than their female counterparts and much of what is known about crime in Africa had been mostly developed by men and about men (Heidensohn & Silvestri, 2012).

In Rwanda, the greatest involvement of both men and women in serious crimes was noticed in 1994 genocide against the Tutsi whereby both men and women significantly participated in extermination of Tutsi, and many of them are still serving their sentences. Currently, males and females still get involved in crimes at different levels depending on the nature of crime and other factors, and the most prevalent crime that attract a good number of both males and females at higher level is related to narcotic drugs, especially drug trafficking (RIB, 2019).

Drug trafficking has become a major global threat, causing consequences to human lives, with 35 million people worldwide suffering from drug use disorders while only 1 out of 7 people receive treatment per year, with 30% of increment from 2009 to 2019, and its prevention continue to fall short in many parts of the world (UNODC, 2019a).

According to UNODC (2019b), drug trafficking is an illegal business of production and trade of unlawful products and substances, and is not only increasing in men, but also women are being affected worldwide. For instance, the UNODC (2018, p.26) highlighted that *“though the absolute number of men in detention for drug trafficking is high, the proportion of people in prison for drug trafficking related convictions is higher among women”*, whereby out of 714,000 imprisoned women worldwide, 35% were convicted of drug offences whereas 19% of 9.5 million imprisoned men were convicted of drug offences in 2018.

Furthermore, UNODC (2018) points out that in the USA, over half of the women in federal prisons were charged of drug trafficking and their number increased more than six fold between 1978 and 2016, and that most of them were Latin American or African America; In Latin America like Brazil, Salvador, Guatemala, the number of females engaged in drug trafficking doubled from 2000 to 2016, whereas in Europe the proportion of females engaged in drug trafficking varied considerably like in Bulgaria with 25%, Denmark, Finland and Sweden 33%, Italy and Spain 40% of other imprisoned females in 2016, with UK having mostly women involved being from minority ethnic background along with foreign born women. In Asia, the highest percentage of women involved in drug offences was noticed in Thailand with 77%, Malaysia 61%, Japan 39% and Georgia 38% in 2014, with South Asian

countries having large number of women and children employed by male drug traffickers to carry heroin in Bangladesh; while Africa especially the West has become one of the main connecting paths of illegal drugs from America to other continents (UNODC, 2018).

This phenomenon has also been noticed by other scholars indicating the roles of men and women even in the criminal leadership. Decker and Champan (2008) added that high profile drug traffickers involve both men and women, that is why drug trafficking needs to be well understood from different perspectives, and therefore prevented because its economy does not merely depend on group's leadership mostly done by men but also relies on a number of physical labor performed by women, girls and children through participation in drug markets.

In Rwanda, the law n°68/2018 determining offences and penalties defines drug trafficking as unlawful production, transformation, transport, storing, giving to another and selling of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances; and it provides penalties ranging from 7 years to life imprisonment and a fine ranging from 5 million to 30 million Rwandan francs depending on the severity of the drug trafficked and the circumstances surrounding the criminal act.

Though the above penalties provided for by the law seem to be severe, offenders still engage in such criminal behavior as indicated by crime reports in Rwanda. The RIB crime statistics (2019) indicates that drug related offences are dominantly involving both males and females participation especially drugs trafficking whereby Gasabo District came at the top to have a big number of males and females involved in narcotic drugs offences, and the number of male and female suspects has been increasing from 2017 to 2019 as per the table below.

Table 1 Top 10 districts with higher number of narcotic drug suspects, 2017 to 2019

SN	District	2017			2018			2019			Grand Total			
		Gender	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
1	Gasabo		88	513	601	102	573	675	156	666	822	346	1752	2,098
2	Nyaruge		92	545	637	77	454	531	92	453	545	261	1452	1,713
3	Kicukiro		43	329	372	49	304	353	37	359	396	129	992	1,121
4	Burera		29	228	257	50	304	354	86	396	482	165	928	1,093
5	Nyagatar		26	188	214	45	280	325	54	464	518	125	932	1,057
6	Rubavu		54	208	262	51	263	314	86	250	336	191	721	912
7	Gicumbi		35	185	220	45	284	329	34	273	307	114	742	856
8	Bugesera		27	153	180	44	236	280	47	173	220	118	562	680
9	Ruhango		17	127	144	83	247	330	30	165	195	130	539	669
10	Rwamag		20	162	182	19	207	226	27	163	190	66	532	598

Source: RIB crime statistics report, 2017-2019

These crime statistics from RIB indicate that both males and females engage in production, transport, storing, and selling of local illegal drugs at different levels, but the bigger part of drugs is mostly imported from neighboring countries such as Uganda, Tanzania and DRC, and brought to the center market in the City of Kigali with modus operandi or tactics closely related to gender roles exercised in day to day activities such as farming activities, traditional practices of carrying babies by women and so on. This has grave effects to citizens' lives and the national economy as well. Decker and Champan (2008) add that when drug trafficking is not prevented, and consequences not mitigated, it constitutes a social illness, which engenders other crimes, and becomes a source of destabilization and decline of neighborhoods relations, family instability, threat to security and economic development in both countries of origin and destination.

Furthermore, Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) point out that drug trafficking has many dimensions that vary dramatically by gender whereby males and females get crime opportunities that might be shaped by legitimate opportunities, by the structure of the criminal world, and by changes in productive and routine activities; with men mostly found in active roles as leaders, while females are motivated in activities that require little or no criminal skill accessible to their traditional roles. So, the understanding of these specific behaviors of men and women in drug trafficking, the nature of their criminal roles, the circumstances leading to criminal involvement, the motivations for committing such crimes, and vocabularies they use to justify their criminal behaviors will help law enforcers and policy makers to prevent such crime, and devise appropriate long term strategies for environment free of drug trafficking and related offences; hence the need for this study to shed light on the above issues using gender perspective.

1.2 Problem statement

According to UNODC (2019a), understanding drug trafficking phenomenon from different perspectives is very important to prevent and reduce its consequences through channeling the efforts to where they have effects on the crime. Furthermore, Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) pointed out that gender dimensions in a specific type of crime need to be well understood in dealing with it because they are not stable, instead are variant over time and space and require empirical explanations on the differences and similarities in causes or factors influencing both males and females in criminal behaviors.

In Rwanda law enforcement agents and local authorities established and implement mechanisms to combat drug trafficking including community policing campaigns, creation of anti drug clubs in schools, community and prisons, patrolling porous borders, sharing information with CPCs and other partners, destroying confiscated illegal drugs in public, prosecution of offenders as well as application of severe penalties up to life imprisonment.

However, despite these efforts, drug trafficking cases continue to increase significantly in Rwanda. According to current crime statistics (RIB, 2019), since 2017 up to 2019, the arrested suspects of drug trafficking have been increasing with both men and women in many districts, and Gasabo District in City of Kigali has been at the top with 601 suspects (513 males & 88 females) in 2017; 675 (573 males & 102 females) in 2018 and 822 (666 males & 156 females) in 2019, all making an increase rate of 77.3% of female suspects and 60.2% of males. This was emphasized by the Minister of Justice and Attorney General on 14 August 2019 on his official visit to females' prison in Ngoma district, whereby in his remarks broadcasted by RBA on 26 August 2019, showed the government concern on the increasing number of women and girls being involved in drug trafficking despite the mechanisms in place, and called for researchers to understand such phenomenon to help policy makers. Since then no study has been conducted exploring gender dynamics in drug trafficking in Rwanda.

These illegal drugs trafficked are sold to drug abusers and have direct and indirect consequences to offenders' lives and their families including permanent physical and emotional harms, deaths, leading to other types of criminality as well as affecting country's stability and economy (UNODC, 2019b). Furthermore, not knowing the gender related dynamics in this type of crime leads to non responsive preventive strategies and inappropriate policies which result in recidivisms and increasing rate of drug trafficking offence and its consequences to the community.

That is why this study uses gender lenses to understand this phenomenon of drug trafficking in Gasabo District, to enable concerned authorities devising responsive measures and well fitting drug policy meant for prevention and mitigation of its consequences for sustainable peace and security in Rwanda.

1.3 Research questions

This study was guided by the following main research question and three sub questions:

1.3.1 Main research question

How are men and women involved in drug trafficking in Rwanda's Gasabo District?

1.3.2 Sub-questions

- ✓ What are the gender differences and similarities in factors motivating men and women to engage in drug trafficking in Gasabo District?
- ✓ How are gender roles played by men and women in drug trafficking activities in Gasabo District?
- ✓ What are the strategies for effective prevention of drug trafficking in Gasabo District?

1.4 Objectives of the study

In line with the research questions, the study main and specific objectives are as follows:

1.4.1 General objective

The general objective of this study is to explore the gender dynamics between men and women's involvement in drug trafficking in Rwanda, Gasabo District.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- ✓ To explore the gender differences and similarities in factors motivating men and women's involvement in drug trafficking in Gasabo District.
- ✓ To understand how gender roles are played by men and women in drug trafficking activities in Gasabo District.
- ✓ To recommend strategies for effective prevention of drug trafficking in Gasabo District.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study is of benefit to academics in the field of gender and crime, female and male criminality as well as drug trafficking prevention adding new knowledge related to gender differences and similarities in factors motivating males and females to drug trafficking as well as their gender roles played in drug trafficking activities. It will also be beneficial to women and men organizations in Rwandan community to know what challenges facing both males and females in families as the foundation of the society, so as to enhance advocacy to relevant authorities to address the root causes for sustainable peace and development. Furthermore, the study provides empirical findings to the Minister of Justice who called for researchers to understand drug trafficking phenomenon among males and females and therefore will assist him together with other policy makers, law enforcement agencies and other stakeholders in elaboration of appropriate drug policies and well fitting preventive measures to protect Rwandan community. Lastly, the study shall be a basis of literature for future studies as it suggests to researchers other field areas that need further studies in this specific subject.

1.6 Scope of the study

This study focuses on understanding drug trafficking phenomenon in Rwanda, specifically in Gasabo District using gender lenses by comparing and contrasting factors influencing males and females in drug trafficking and exploring how gender roles of men and women are played while engaging in this criminal offence. The area of study is Gasabo District in City of Kigali; it has been chosen because it is the district that is at the top of having many cases of drug trafficking with high number of men and women involved in drug trafficking as per RIB crime statistics (RIB, 2019). Furthermore, Gasabo District has been at top of having increasing number of men and women drug trafficking suspects arrested since 2017 up to 2019 as per the above mentioned report. In addition, Gasabo has both urban and rural areas whereby 8 out of 15 sectors cover the biggest rural part of the district bordering with other sectors of the northern and eastern provinces, thus having findings that represent both urban and rural settings in the country.

The respondents selected include males and females from Gasabo District convicted of drug trafficking offence detained in Nyarugenge Prison, and public officials and law enforcement agents responsible for combating, investigating and prosecuting illegal drugs related offences

in the district such as RNP ANU and DPU Gasabo officers, RIB officials and prosecutors at the Intermediate Court in Gasabo District respectively. The period of study is from 2017 to 2019 chosen because it matches with the establishment of RIB (Law n° 12/2017 of 7 April 2017), a new public entity responsible for all criminal investigations including drug trafficking offence. So, all reports and documents consulted were confined in this period.

1.7 Structure of the study

This study is organized into five chapters, each divided into sub chapters, sections and subsections. Chapter one which is the general introduction of the study provides the background of the study, problem statement, questions and objectives, significance of the study, scope as well as how the study is structured. Chapter two reviews different existing literatures on drug trafficking and gender, providing how others scholars described the factors leading men and women to drug trafficking, the gender roles played in criminality as well as the strategies for effective prevention. The chapter also reviews how gender perspectives is an important tool to explain any criminal behaviour among men and women and more specifically how it could help in understanding men and women's involvement in drug trafficking offence through their gendered roles using theories.

Chapter three provides the methods and methodology of the study, composed of the design, the target population divided into five categories, sample size and sampling techniques, instruments used to collect and analyse data, study limitations as well as ethical considerations followed in compliance with research ethical standards. Chapter four covers findings, both from qualitative and quantitative approaches, their analysis and interpretation in relation to the study objectives and theories, while chapter five lastly presents the conclusions and pertinent recommendations on strategies meant for future use in prevention of drug trafficking offence and mitigation of its consequences to Rwandan community.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter clarifies the key concepts, reviews the existing literature on drug trafficking and its current phenomenon from international to local aspects. It also reviews the literature on gender roles and criminality with gender perspectives tools to explaining any criminal behaviour and drug trafficking offence with emphasis on two theories underlying gender differences and gender roles in criminality respectively.

2.1 Clarification of key concepts

This section defines the key concepts as per different scholars and operationalized them to the context of the study. Important documents from the study areas and related laws in place were also reviewed for full clarification of the concept of drug, narcotics drugs and drug trafficking, gender and gender roles.

2.1.1 Drug

Drug normally means chemical products used in medical career or a number of illegal substances whose production, selling and consumption are clearly prohibited by both national and international law and treaties. The Art 2 paragraph 4 of the UN Convention on Psychotropic Substance (1971) stipulates that a drug is any natural or manufactured substance which can produce dependency and malfunctioning of the brain, with the presence of disorderly thinking and unusual behavior, hence being also called psychotropic substances or narcotic drugs.

a. Narcotic drugs

Narcotic drug is a generic concept that was used in both international and local legal instruments to designate illegal drugs that should be combated to the best effort of countries. According to the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs (1961) and its amending protocol (1972), narcotic drugs were defined as natural or manmade substances with higher level of negative effects when used or absorbed by the human being and the UN Convention against

Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (1988) specified that they only match with a list of substances in schedule I and II which have greater negative effects on human nervous system. In Rwanda the Article 2 of the ministerial order n° 001/MoH/2019 of 04/03/2019 establishing the list of narcotic drugs and their categories classified narcotic drugs into three categories namely very severe narcotic drugs which include cocaine, heroin, cannabis (known as *urumogi* in Kinyarwanda) and opium (known as *mugo*); Severe narcotic drugs which include *catha edulis* (known as *mayirungi*); shisha; *datura stramonium* (known as *rwiziringa*) and electronic cigarette; finally simple narcotic drugs which are composed of alcoholic drinks produced without complying with legal standards and other chemical substances whose original intended use has been altered and applied as narcotic drug. Men and women involve in buying, transporting and selling these categories of drugs, thus suspects of drug trafficking offence.

2.1.2 Drug trafficking

Drug trafficking also termed illegal drug trade has been a major concern worldwide since longtime time, thus attracted a number of scholars to look at it from different perspectives. According to Dorn et al. (1992) it is a global black market that involves different activities such as cultivation, manufacturing, distribution and sale of drugs products which are forbidden by the laws. On international level, the constituting activities or elements of this type of crime look the same. The commentaries of the UN Conventions against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (1988, p.51) elaborated more activities that are regarded as illicit traffic or drug trafficking on international level as follows:

Illicit traffic means the cultivation, production, manufacture, extraction, preparation, offering, offering for sale, distribution, possession with the intent to distribute, purchase, sale, delivery on any terms whatsoever, brokerage, dispatch through the mails, dispatch in transit, transport, importation and exportation of any controlled substance contrary to the provisions of this convention.

In Rwanda the Article 263, paragraph 3 of the law n°68/2018 of 30/08/2018 determining offences and penalties in general defines drug trafficking as any acts related to unlawful production, transformation, transportation, storing, giving to another or selling narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. It also provides for sanctions related to the three categories of narcotics whereby men and women convicted for very severe narcotic drugs are punished by

a life imprisonment with a fine ranging from 20 to 30 million Rwandan Francs; severe narcotic drug traffickers are punished with a 20 to 25 year imprisonment with a fine ranging from 15 to 20 million Rwanda Francs; whereas those convicted for simple narcotic drugs are punished with a 7 to 10 years imprisonment term with a fine ranging from 5 to 10 million Rwandan Francs (Article 263, paragraph 4-7 of the law n°68/2018).

Decker and Chapman (2008) stressed that for a war on drug to be successful enough, it should be done through different angles like justice, economic, and social political perspectives and all these aspects are to be understood by policy makers for subsequent strategies to mitigate this global threat. Gender dimensions have been emphasized as one of the key social perspective in combating drug trafficking war as the latter globally involves both males and females at the increasing rate (UNODC, 2019a); thus, gender related concepts defined.

2.1.3 Gender

The UN OSAGI cited in UNODC (2019a) stressed that gender refers to socially constructed and learned attributes, opportunities, responsibilities and relationships which are based on a given specific context, culture, and time and subject to change at any time, and most of the time involving the access and control of resources and opportunities in making decision between men and women. Other scholars also emphasized on the inequalities and differences between men women to refer to gender. For example IASC (2006) defined gender as social differences between females and males which are experienced through the life cycle with an element of variation based on time and cultural context, whereas Olatunji et al. (2016) also conceptualized gender as the social, political, cultural, economic attributes, opportunities and constraints connected with being male and female.

For this particular study, gender is understood as per UNODC (2019a) description as a set of roles, behaviors, activities, attributes and opportunities that a given society gives to men and women and considers them as appropriate within a specific time. The author adds that gender concerns also the relationship between men and women that are formed during socialization process in a community. These include the differences we see in what men and women are doing in our daily life, how they do it, what helps them to do it, and which behaviors are expected from them that the society they live in has accepted as good for them. All these

constitute the different aspects or perspectives that explain men and women behaviors and experiences in criminal activities through their gender roles.

2.1.4 Gender roles

Men and women have different roles which change from society to society, culture to culture, and a number of scholars came up with some definitions. According to Olatunji et al. (2016), gender role, also known as a sex role, is a social role encompassing a range of behaviors and attitudes that are accepted and considered appropriate or desirable in the society, based on their actual or perceived sex. Furthermore, IASC (2006) stressed that in sociological and psychological aspects, gender roles mean prescribed attitudes, characteristics and behaviors attached to men and women as learned from cultural standards. In this study gender roles will be understood as a set of roles and responsibilities attributed to men and women in society and strengthened at various level by political and education systems, employment patterns, norm and values and through the family (Bayisenge, 2019). They simply show what kinds of work men and women do, who makes decision and have control over household resources in a particular society. The author also add that these roles are culturally determined, based on what the society ascribes to men and women and have less to do with their biological make up, and may include productive work, reproductive work and also community roles.

Productive work means the roles played by men and women on daily basis to generate income for the survival of the households. Women's productive works in society according to Bayisenge (2019) are not much valued than those done by the men because women combine them with other socially assigned roles related to domestic and family care responsibility known as reproductive work; these includes all responsibilities mostly carried out by women related to bearing and rearing children and other related domestic duties like cooking, washing, fetching water and firewood, cleaning and are usually not paid whereas community roles are mostly carried out by women as an extension of reproductive work to maintain resources used by everyone in the community like water sources, health care education facilities while men in their community roles are mostly involved in politics and this increases their level in the community (Bayisenge, 2019). In all these gender roles, men and women are found in different activities within provinces and districts in the country and in most of the times these roles are played in relation to criminal activities.

2.2 Literature overview on gender roles and criminality

Gender is important in the study of everyday life including criminal behavior because it is part of equality in society and also justice. According to UNODC (2019a), analyzing the differences in factors leading males and females to crimes is important to identifying the needs, patterns and trends and then devising long lasting solutions that are appropriate to both men and women. The author also adds that "*Without understanding gender aspects in organized crime there is a risk that we do not fully comprehend what drives it and how to build the comprehensive response necessary to combat it*" (UNODC, 2019a, p.7)

Furthermore, UN OSAGI cited in UNODC (2019a) stressed that men and women might have suffered from different inequalities in responsibilities, activities, access and control of resources and decision making opportunities which lead them to have different expectations and different ways of valuing things in their context, and scholars have identified that these gendered differences root different reasons for engaging in criminality for men and women.

2.2.1 Gender perspective in crime

According to UNODC (2019a), men and women have different experiences and the way society or people understand and perform gender is also different, so applying a gender perspective to analyzing different behavior and experiences related to crimes is important to understand the implications to criminal justice system and realities on different impacts it has on both men and women. Furthermore, Steffensmeier and Allan (1996), stressed that a gender perspective for analysis of crime should include four key elements through which differences between men and women are viewed. Those are organization, opportunities, motivation and context.

a. Organization of gender

Steffensmeier and Allan (1996), pointed out that the gender perspective in crime should explain both male and female criminality, providing clarifications on how the organization of gender prevents or frames criminality of females on one hand and how it encourages criminality among males on the other hand. In this light, the authors identified the five areas of normal life that restrain female criminality but support male crime. Those are gender norms, which concerns how males and females should be and act in society in accordance to

the standards and expectations of their community and culture; moral development and affiliative concerns, which presuppose that women have an inherent ethic of care to others which restrains them from committing crimes as males.

The third area of gender organization in crime is social control which was described by Giordano et al. cited in Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) that the powerful supervision of parents, teachers to females reduce their attachment to delinquent peers and influence to criminality; while the physical strength and aggression, the fourth area, suggests that females are always not stronger than men, therefore not similarly respond to crimes that require physical power and violence as men; and lastly sexuality suggesting that reproductive sexual differences contribute more to males' sexual deviance and infidelity with females found in financial gain through prostitution and other related illicit sex roles. All these gender differences in the above areas related to gender organization frame the criminal patterns, motivation, opportunities as well as gender differences in the type, frequency, and context of criminality.

b. Access to criminal opportunity (use of gender roles)

According to Daly and Steffensmeier cited in Steffensmeier and Allan (1996), a gender perspective in crime should consider differences in ways that route to crime for males and females. These are related to gender roles that are played in everyday life for example women using motherhood and child care roles, exploiting sex as illegal money making business, while men exercise roles for example holding jobs like truck drivers, dockworker (those working at shipping points of goods) or carpenter that would provide opportunities for illegitimate activities like theft, drug dealing and so on. Women are mostly found exercising roles related to commission (having been tasked to do something on behalf of somebody else), surveillance and messenger for their male counter parts.

c. Motivating factors

Different authors also come up with how the gender perspective concerns motivation to crime. Kruttschnitt and Udry cited in Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) pointed out that in exploration of the gender differences in crime, the approach should not only base of social, historical and cultural factors but also to biological and reproductive differences related factors. These are the factors that are specific to females and others specific to males leading

to their criminal involvement. Furthermore, Hagan cited in Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) advanced the view that criminal motivations and involvement are greatly shaped by gender differences in taking risk and also in the style of risk taken by males and females, whereby motivating factors in criminal behavior for women are connected to risks related to sustaining valued relationship while those of males are connected to risks taken related to increase their status or competitive advantage.

d. Context of offending

The fourth element in explaining the criminal phenomenon, Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) stressed that a gendered perspective should not only provide gender differences in type and frequency of crime, but also should explain differences in the context of offending. The context of a crime according to Triplett & Myers cited in Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) involves the characteristics of a particular offence, the nature of the criminal activity and the circumstances surrounding that crime. It can also include the settings, the role of the offender, types of weapon used and the purpose of the offence.

The authors emphasized that the gender differences in context of crime are very key to understanding criminal behavior of men and women because even though they commit the same crime as defined by the law, the gestalt of their offending will always be different, and gender differences in context of serious criminal acts have been proven by scholars to be largely shedding more light to gender concerns that were difficult to explain compared to context of small offences as confirmed by Daly cited in Steffensmeier and Allan (1996, p.479) that “*the more serious the offence, the greater the contextual differences by gender*”.

Feminists’ writers have emphasized on context through power relations in a gender perspective. For example Tierney (2006) stressed that gender relations are based on power rather than mere difference, and that when we ignore the existence of power relations in explaining criminal behavior, we put aside the inequalities and oppression among men and women which underlie contextual difference in occurrence of crimes. Furthermore, Messerschmidt cited in Tierney (2006) added that in consideration of power relation, women’s offending are considered as the crime of the powerless whereas men who are powerful in both gender and class spheres do the most criminal damage to society. For the context of this study, the researcher used elements or lenses of the gender perspectives to

analyze drug trafficking offence in Rwanda which are gender differences and similarities in motivating factors and crime opportunities accessed through gender roles amongst males and females.

2.2.2 Gender differences in criminality

Males and females' criminality differ in a number of perspectives which help in understanding trends in both serious or organized crimes. Denno, Kruttschnitt and Weiner cited in Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) in their comparative study of males and females' criminal career, they came across considerable gender variations in offending. They found out that females generally participate in less violent crimes than males in their career, they do not stay longer in criminal carrier as males do and are less likely to repeat the violent crimes as men. Furthermore, females were found more likely to give up from violence than males after facing the criminal justice system. All these are general differences of male and female criminality which seem to be common, but opposite realities with particular cases have been noticed in different context and countries leading to other considerations of either males or females' offending.

Feminist criminologist like, Miller and Richie cited in Burke (2014), revealed that females' crime is different from males because females offend as result of long term victimization by males and they resort to illegal activities as innovation and seeking dependency or as a survival strategy (Walker, 2003). Furthermore, Steffensmeier (1993) added that, differently from males, females suffer from a high level economic pressure provoked by households' issues like divorce, heading families, illegitimacy and high demanding care of children and this pressure increases their likelihood to engage in criminal activities. The author further stressed that other particularity that leads females to crimes in addition to economic pressure differently from males is that females engage in criminal activities of lucrative forms which require little or no criminal skills, and others related to merchandising goods as well as other accessible to them through their roles as consumers or heads of families. The reason for this was also explained by Anglin et al. and Inciardi et al. cited in Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) that the income generating crimes are the major push causes to women because they have been facing major constraints against crime.

On the other hand, men are considered as the main bearer of opportunities to commit crimes through taking advantage of the legitimate chances and using them through illegitimate actions because of power they have in society (Tierney, 2006); thus the existence of gender dynamics amongst males and females' trends in organized crimes including drug trafficking.

2.2.3 Gender and drug trafficking

According to UNODC (2019a), men and women are differently represented in crime and the way people own the notions of genders shapes their understanding of organized crime and subsequent experiences in the criminal justice system. This sub section provides factors motivating both males and females in drug trafficking, their gender differences and similarities.

a. Factors motivating females to drug trafficking

In the study conducted in South Africa in 2017 by Shaw and Skywalker cited in UNODC (2019a), they came up with a number of factors below which led women and girls to participate in drug trafficking offence and other related organized criminal activities:

i. Feeling of belonging and family

A number of women revealed that they engage in this type of criminal behavior to seek belongingness with other fellow women and men because in their living lives they missed it, and these help them from feeling protected by their peer criminals and they get secured in terms of resources whereby the income from drug trafficking generates for them money, clothes, and so many other items needed in their daily life. They also added that they get into these criminal activities through friendly relationship with those already practicing them.

ii. Protection

The other factor that was mentioned by women criminals joining organized crimes is looking for protection offered by criminal group especially gangs. UNODC (2019a) pointed out that women who mentioned this were victims of dangerous environment they lived in and crimes like domestic violence and sexual aggressions and then it oppressed them to join the criminals whom they feel might protect them. This however, might not be the factor for women to join

criminals in all types of crimes because the physical and sexual violence might be higher in gangs and drug traffickers compared to the rate in their living areas.

iii. Resources

Gaining resources was another factor behind engagement in criminal activities by women and girls whereby through the illegal business of drug trafficking, it does not take much time to have cars, jewellery, clothing and other expensive stuffs that they would not be able to acquire themselves. For those who joined criminal gangs they said that, they were first offered these resources before continuing activities for them to be fully committed.

iv. Under- and unemployment in the licit economy

Lacking jobs to some women was also pointed out as one of the factors that led them joining drug trafficking as a way of seeking opportunities with sufficient reward in return compared to what they usually do in licit business. The women and girls expressed that they opted for such risky decision because of the long lasting hardship life conditions or boring employments they experienced before.

v. Substance abuse

Other interviewed women and girls revealed that they joined the drug trafficking criminals because they were addicted to drug abuse, so wanted to continue getting access to them easier. Another reason advanced in line with this is that the fact that they were used to drugs abuse made them vulnerable of missing formal job opportunities and of other violence, hence opting to join the criminal groups. For the case of women and girls in Rwanda, Ujeneza (2018) found out that women have been induced in drug trafficking by being single parents, having conflict in families, unwanted pregnancies and stigma after prison life and this is different from factors motivating males to drug trafficking offence in Rwandan context.

b. Factors motivating males to drug trafficking

The occurrence of serious and organized crimes has been qualified as men's business and what is known about men in crime has been dominantly written by men criminologists (UNODC, 2019a). Therefore, scholars have been eager to shed light on factors behind the construction of masculinity in society and how it influences their participation in criminality.

i. Rigid social and cultural expectations

According to UNODC (2019a), when men in a given society are not being able to meet the social expectations, they feel strained because are no longer considered as members and this press them to engage in crime like drug trafficking with expectation of gaining monetary values to be able to meet what they failed to achieve as social obligations.

ii. Toxic masculinity

Masculinity has been defined by UNODC (2019a) as a set of socially constructed attributes, roles and behavior describing the characteristics of men in society; and traditionally in some society men have been regarded as masters of hardness and violence as a sign of power over the other members of the society, therefore, referred to as toxic masculinity to emphasize on their extraordinary strength, dominance and sexual expertise, and this has been one the factors that lead men in engagement in criminal activities like drug trafficking, because they want to maintain the appearance of physical strength and aggression.

iii. High level of violence and trauma

Criminals especially men have been demonstrating different traits of an extraordinary man which are connected to organized criminal behavior. Henry (2015) in his work on performing masculinity described men found in drug related offences as being harsh, self determining, emotionless and powerful and these are not innate traits. He emphasized that these are a result of consequence of high levels of structural violence and trauma which are developed by men, and they engage in serious criminal activities to seek protection against future victimization.

iv. Lack of employment or education opportunities

The UNODC (2019b) also emphasized that gender lens help us to appreciate the different experiences of men and women in organized crime like drug trafficking not limiting to the simple interests of them as men and women, but viewing them from the in-depth pictorial factor rooting their involvement in such behavior; and a number of men drug dealers were found being indigenous, migrants or low income people who opted to criminal behavior as a means to support themselves and their families from structural lack of employment and education opportunities.

v. Other factors

The UNODC (2018) stressed that men especially young boys are mostly influenced in drug trafficking at early age by childhood adversity which is child experiences, before 18 years of age, of emotional, physical and sexual abuse, or any other form of maltreatment resulting from parental neglect and household dysfunction, including parental use of substances. The research conducted in 2013 on women and men's motivating factors to organized crimes including drug trafficking, revealed that the factors that influence men and women in such behavior are of three folds such as social, economic and personal, but those which are more common to them are related to social inequalities, sexual violence, child abuse and easy access to drugs and firearms (Walklate, 2004). However, though these factors may affect both males and females, there are differences and similarities highlighted by authors which assist in understanding the reason for specific motives in engaging in drug trafficking.

c. Gender differences and similarities in motivating factors to drug trafficking

Steffernsmeir and Allan cited in Broidy and Agnew (1997) pointed out that there are explanations that help understanding why males engage in criminal activities related to organized crimes more than females. Considering the above mentioned factors influencing males and females to criminality, the author explained that there are differences that justify why males' reactions will tend to result into criminal activities at a higher rate than women such as different social support related to having friends and tied relationship, social control which means the way the society expects men and women to behave, and the disposition to engage in crime that exist between men and women. So, all these are differences in factors for men and women that root their criminal behavior, and as a result males are found engaged in key criminal activities of drug trafficking such as drug dealers, traffickers, retailer, transporters and distributors while females start with depression before engagement in crime and later found in softer activities like storing illegal drugs, giving to others and short distance transportations after being hired by males counterparts.

On similarities of factors motivating to drug trafficking, Priyanka cited in Tuyishimire (2017) stressed that majority of males and females are both influenced in drug trafficking by poverty, bad company, ignorance, unemployment, indiscipline, lack of contentment and so forth.

2.2.4. Gender roles in drug trafficking

Gender perspective through roles has also been used by scholars to explain the varying dimensions of drug trafficking opportunity among men and women. According to Steffensmeier cited in Steffensmeier and Allan (1996), there is a need to understand how drug related crimes opportunities are created through legitimate ones, how men and women offenders are structured and the way they manipulate the productive and routine activities in committing such crimes. These are the gender roles that are played by men and women and connected to the existing gender differences in crime within a specific society.

Some scholars tackled on the differences and similarities in roles of women and men in involvement in drug trafficking offence like Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) who were of the view that both males and females in drug trafficking settle their criminal acts to the activities which are easily available within their skills, daily duties from which they expect a satisfactory return with fewest risks of arrest by law enforcement agents. Furthermore, they stressed that men disguise drug trafficking behaviors through legitimate and routines activities more than women do. This gives chance to many of them not being caught as it happens to women offenders.

Trafficking and selling narcotics drugs has been among the major profit making enterprise in which both females and males have sought opportunity in the field across the world and many literature tried to explain this phenomenon from different angles including gender. According to UNODC (2019a), analyzing drug trafficking using gender does not only mean how gender itself is organized and performed, but also means how men and women engage in such a crime through different roles played and the implication it has on subsequent actions.

The author also stressed that, the way men and women participate in drug trafficking can be linked to the ways their roles have been connected to long term structural conditions they have been facing in their respective societies, thus found useful to consider gender dynamics in drug trafficking through the organization of gender itself and the operationalization of gender roles (UNODC, 2019a). So the ways women and men play their productive and reproductive roles in engagement in drug trafficking are key to understanding their experiences in this type of crime and the techniques they use to be successful.

a. Female roles in drug trafficking

Female engagement in criminal behavior especially organized groups has different forms depending on the time it was studied. The literature on women and organized crime has revealed that it is only recent that their role played in criminal behavior has been recognized and given its own attention for studies, because before women were playing roles as lovers, mothers, sisters and wives of members and leaders of criminal groups and they were involved in criminal activities because of closeness with men criminals in their areas (UNODC, 2019b).

According to Arsovska and Begun cited in UNODC (2019b), since women roles in drug trafficking have been given attention, women were found holding various positions in undertaking different activities of drug trafficking whereby some of them were exercising leadership of teams of drug dealers, others being organizers, recruiters of other members, traffickers and quite number of others were also playing roles as accountant and messengers to connect different groups for the successfulness of this criminal behavior (Sanchez cited in UNODC, 2019b). All these roles were played by women in transnational drug trafficking whereby drug dealers need a sort of organization, coordination of the activities.

Women reproductive roles have also been used to carry out drug trafficking activities. The literature on gender and drug trafficking revealed the roles of women as caretakers, looking after the children, sick, wounded, cooking for the group, loyalty to men in the society, and then their role have been exploited to take advantage of lack or low attention of law enforcements especially at porous borders and women were used as arms in drug trafficking, spies and messengers (UNODC, 2019b). Women roles were then regarded as coverage of illicit drugs transportation or women spying activities of law enforcement agents fighting drug traffickers disguising themselves through exercising females' reproductive roles.

Other studies which analyzed the women roles in drug trafficking pointed out that though there are some women holding positions in leading groups in this criminal behavior worldwide, most of the women play peripheral or supporting roles in distribution, transport of illegal drugs and such roles are the most being criminalized, leading many women and girls becoming incarcerated in many regions and therefore get separated with the families and deprived of their parental rights (Shaw & Skywalker cited in UNODC, 2019b).

Furthermore, studies of narcotics and drug trafficking that emerged in the 1980's and early 1990 rarely mentioned women, though the latter have always been part of the drug trade despite their small representation in the popular culture, but a few scholars considered how women were connected to the drug trade as addict, lovers and mules (Carey, 2014). Mules mean those who are paid to take illegal drugs from one place to another and women have been successful in these activities because they do it through their roles as normal activities.

The role of female mule has been particularly troubling law enforcement agents both from the source and destination countries. According to Carey (2014), women demonstrate ability to circumnavigate law enforcement surveillance because officials especially do not expect women to engage in the trafficking of contrabands at higher levels. This has been the case especially in South American countries like Mexico and Colombia whereby women were utilized by smugglers because women were less prone to searches by police, so they hired them to move drugs and other commodities (Carey, 2014).

b. Male roles in drug trafficking

Men and women have different experiences in crimes, and the way gender is perceived and understood in different societies shapes the behaviors and the outcome of the criminal justice system. Carey (2014) pointed out that in early 20th century; women appeared as victims of the international drug trade, because were used by men as mules, thus being familiarized by them to such men dominated illicit drug trade.

Researchers and policing agents also discovered that men's role in drug trafficking offence are mainly remarkable in selling drugs at markets and trafficking them through porous borders as well as producing illegal alcoholic drinks at higher level than women, and this led men appear as dangerous suppliers and drug lords across the world because it is related to their productive roles in society (Carey, 2014). This trend has various factors and has continually altered the policing of borders and flow of people and goods in African countries. For example in Rwanda, men's involvement in drug trafficking has been accompanied by the use of traditional weapons disguised as normal men's productive roles of farming and hunting, but meant for defending themselves against obstacles in drug trade pathways (RNP, 2019).

c. Power and social relations in drug trafficking

For a better understanding of drug trafficking behavior, scholars also looked into the influence generated by the power and social relations among men and women. The UNODC (2018) pointed out that women's trend to drug trafficking is also attributed to their relationship with men, whereby societies with increasing number of women in drug trafficking or any other organized crime are found with unequal power relations among men and women being structurally embedded in economic, access to education and employment opportunities. The author also adds that in such societies, women are more likely to face custodians sanctions because they are unable to pay fines, or pay the surety needed for bail because of their lower earnings compared to those of men.

According to WOLA et al. (2015), women in organized crimes such as drug trafficking have also been described to be with lower financial powers compared to men whereby women were found to be in state of poverty than men with less or no education background and in most of the times were amongst the immigrants in countries, indigenous, disabled or any other powerless position compared to men. This leads to understanding of how the power relationship among males and females influence trends to drug trafficking with roles and tasks at drug markets being also assigned basing on these relationships.

WOLA et al. (2015) also adds that based on these relationship, women are found carrying out lowest pay tasks that are risky and peripheral which expose them to visibility by law enforcement agents, hence increase the number in detention centers. The women relationship with men and other members of society also affect women's perceptions and actions and then find themselves in having less knowledge to negotiate lesser sentences because of the social norms that exclude them from such a circle of power.

This was also emphasized by other scholars like Connell cited in UNODC (2019a, p.11) that *“to understand men and women's experiences and impact on society we must move from focusing on sexual difference to focusing on relations,”* because gender issues are mainly concerned with social relations where individuals and groups work throughout; and Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) added that in patriarchal societies, power relations influences gender differences in crime because females are pushed to crime by a number of factors including economic marginalization, search for survival needs, victimization by their peer

males and so forth, all resulting from power inequalities experienced through socialization process; thus, being at the base of why the involvement of men and women in criminal activities differ depending on region, country or even district because the social and power relations among communities are quite different.

2.3 Strategies for drug offences prevention

According to WOLA et al. (2015), men and women engage in drug related offences differently, with women mostly found in low level but high risk tasks like transporting illegal drugs as human mules or carrying out other small scale drug dealings, hence engaging in drug related offences especially drug trafficking as a result of poverty or sometimes due to coercion by the partners or other relatives in families. Therefore, they stressed that concerned authorities or policy makers should pay attention and take into consideration the gender perspectives in developing, implementing and evaluating legislative and drug policy reforms, basing on the fundamental legal principle that imprisonment should be used as a last resort and the human development focus.

Furthermore, in adopting such strategies meant for prevention of the occurrence of drug trafficking offences, the gender perspectives related to differences in factors motivating males and females should also be taken into considerations. For instance WOLA et al. (2015) again pointed out that in the criminal justice system, the mitigating factors to women should be given attention as women involved in drug trafficking are mostly care givers to minor children, older family or community members, disabled people and sometimes are pregnant and this is differently from their male counterparts, so the strategies for prevention or drug policies should not only focus on the punitive measures but also be oriented to restorative or human approaches taking into accounts those dependents of the females suspects as well as the conditions of greater vulnerability of indigenous women. These gender sensitive strategies were proven to be less harmful, less costly and more effective in responding to drug offences.

Scholars have further identified challenges and impediments of designing effective strategies or drug policies. WOLA et al. (2015) stressed that the major obstacle to designing gender sensitive and effective drug policies includes the lack of information and knowledge about men and women's participation in different activities related to drug trafficking and their status once they are incarcerated. This is due to three restrictions namely: the closed nature of

prison environments with lack of understanding on dynamics of daily life for males and females imprisoned; secondly the lack of gender perspective on offenders data in different institutions' information systems including prisons; thirdly the lack of clear differentiations in the scale of drug related offences committed by men and women whereby small scale and large scale dealings are recorded as same category of drug trafficking, so for an effective drug policy there is a need to break down information on different activities of drug trafficking such as cultivation, production, transformation, supply, distribution, sale, transfer and then identify the roles men and women play in each conduct so as to make differentiated analyses.

2.4 Theoretical framework

This section provides the relevant theories that underlie the involvement of male and females in criminality by clarifying why males get involved in crimes at a higher rate and also what motivates criminal behaviors for both males and females. They also explain the gender differences in motivating factors to criminality and how gender roles are learned and played in criminal activities as per the research objectives of this study.

2.4.1 The General Strain Theory (GST)

Robert Agnew's general strain theory was drawn from classic strain theory of Merton (1938) which stipulates that crimes emerge from the inability to attain the goal of monetary success, middle class status or both (Broidy & Agnew, 1997). This theory was critiqued by criminologists to have narrow explanations with only focus on males, thus expanded by Agnew to explain the higher rate of crimes among males and why females engage in criminal behavior.

According to Agnew (1995) females are susceptible to frustrations of more general nature and that these frustrations correlate positively with offending. He further stressed that females suffer from a range of oppressive conditions considered as the underlying factors which are at the root of their crime because oppressed individuals may turn to crime in an effort to reduce their strain or manage the negative emotions associated with their strain. Therefore, the GST identifies three major sources of strain among females, namely the failure to achieve positively valued goals, the loss of positively valued stimuli, and the presentation of negative stimuli with the first type of strain having three other subtypes: the failure to achieve

aspiration or ideal goals, the failure to achieve expectations and the failure to be treated in a just and fair manner (Broidy & Agnew, 1997).

a. The failure to achieve positively valued goal

Agnew (1995) pointed out that serious distress happens when we experience a disjunction between our expected goals that have high absolute and importance for the individual and the actual achievement. Expectations are more firmly rooted in reality and the failure to achieve them is quite distressing, hence stressing that females' engagement in crime is more related to the failure of achieving interpersonal, financial and fair or just treatment goals.

Failure to achieve interpersonal goals: It breaks achieving and maintaining close interpersonal ties with others through socialization and structural position (Chesney et al. cited in Broidy & Agnew, 1997). The achievement of these goals of closeness is difficult for many females due to higher rate of divorce and abuse against them in many intimate relationships, and failure to attain this goal is a major source of criminality in the lives of many female (Chesney & Lind cited in Broidy & Agnew, 1997). So, when women get divorced, separated or suffer broken household bonds, it generates conditions to criminality.

Failure of financial goals: This means that females are increasingly concerned with financial success or security in their families and according to Adler et al. cited in Broidy and Agnew (1997), this type of strain structurally originates from the increasing number of females who live alone, head families and then have responsibilities for generating income to their homes. The increase in divorce and illegitimate couples paired with changes in the job market have dramatically increased the number of females who head households and live in feminization poverty (Alder et al. cited in Agnew, 1992) and such financial problems are major sources of strain in lives of females that play central role in involvement in criminality (Simpson, 1991).

Failure to fair or just treatment goal: Females have a more general desire to be treated in just and fair manner, and serious distress is likely to happen when there is a disjunction between just or fair outcomes and actual treatment from family members, relatives, friends, co-workers and employers (Broidy & Agnew, 1997); so females are believed to experience this type of strain more than men because they perform low skill and boring tasks that are not equal to their skills and qualifications; for example they routinely attend to the needs of their spouses with little attention to their own needs in return; with a disproportionate share of all

housework; they are employed in low pay jobs; making them giving more than they receive, hence an unfair treatment or a sense of injustice which is linked to their criminal behavior.

b. The loss of positively valued stimuli

This is a factor related to the loss of family members and friends through deaths and relocation, the loss of intimate partners through divorce and separation which creates barriers impacting on women's participation in social settings, conversation, physical and emotional expression and sexual behavior, hence engendering powerfully strain leading to criminality especially for adolescent (Simmons et al. cited in Agnew, 1992).

c. The presentation of negatively valued stimuli

This factor has been labeled to be major in relation to involvement of women in criminal behavior by a number of writers. For instance Mirowsky and Ross (1989) stressed that females are often subject to varying types of abuse by family members and other relatives including emotional, physical, and sexual abuse. Furthermore, the role of housewife to many women was found boring, humiliating, restrictive, highly demanding and stressful in family life (Barett et al., 1987). In addition to these forms of deliberate victimization, females are subject to many other types of negative treatment, such as harassment, discriminations, and underutilization of their skills and talent in pink collar jobs characterized by being high demanding, low control, low pay and most stressful hence a major factor proven to be conducive to self destructive forms of behavior, such as drug related offences (Bernett et al. cited in Agnew, 1992).

Furthermore, the GST also suggests that there are gender differences in the three types of strain which explain how males and females engage in criminal activities differently. These differences are based on distinctions of goals of males and females, types of strains among males and females, consequences of strains and strain coping mechanisms. Firstly, males and females have distinctive goals, whereby males are concerned with more material successes and extrinsic achievements whereas females are more concerned with the establishment and maintenance of relationship of the real meaning or purpose of life. Secondly, for the types of strain, males get upset of financial and work problems while females get upset when they experience network and interpersonal problems (Broidy & Agnew, 1997).

Thirdly, different types of strain for males were found more conducive to serious violent property crimes while types for females' strains are conducive to family violence and more likely oriented to self directed crimes like drug use and related behaviors as consequences. Lastly, males and females are different in coping with strain or emotional responses to strain, whereby males' strains result in anger, hostility and blame to others followed by criminal acts while females respond first emotionally with anxiety and state related to depression, sadness and feeling of guilty before they engage into criminality.

The GST is relevant to this study because it provides explanations of factors motivating males to criminality and justifies the reasons for their high rates of criminality compared to females'. It also highlights different sources of strains to females which root causes that particularly affect women before they engage in crime. Finally, the theory provides gender differences among factors influencing males and females in crimes such as differences in targeted goals, types of strains, consequences of strains, and in coping mechanisms with strain among men and women, and these are related to the research questions of the study.

2.4.2 Sex-Role Theory

Sex-role theory suggests that biological differences of males and females form the basic explanations of their experiences in socialization or learning process, their subsequent criminality behavior as well as the mechanism through which specific learning takes place (Walklate, 2004). It was developed by Southerland (1947) and Talcott Parson (1937) who stipulated that criminality is learned as any other behavior in society, and for a criminal behavior to be practiced the learning process does not only suffice; there should be an understanding of the value, motives or attitudes attached to it to support that behavior learned.

Southerland cited in Walklate (2004) emphasized that men, women, boys and girls learn behaviors which are related to their respective gender roles, and these explains how they will involve in criminality differently. Men through learning process are taught the characteristics related to male roles or instrumental roles of achievements, goal attainment, breadwinning such as being tough, aggressive, active, risk-seekers; and all these form the prerequisites for engagement in criminal activities. They pursue the masculinity characteristics of being powerful, tough and rough, hence involving in criminality at a high rate than females. Women and girls on the other hand, are more controlled by families than males through socialization

process and learn behaviors related to the expressive roles of women in a family, which are associated with nurturing, caring and keeping the family together, and their future criminal behavior will be closely related to these learned feminine characteristics of softness, gentleness and the expression of emotion (Parson cited in Walkate, 2004).

This theory is also relevant as it explains how men and women learn criminal behaviour through traditional gender roles of how they are expected to behave or act in society. The theory again explains the way men and women involve in criminality playing their gender roles which they had learnt through socialisation process, and this helped in understanding how males and females play their gender roles while engaging in drug trafficking offence.

2.5 Conceptual framework

This study brings light to the complex phenomenon of drug trafficking in Rwanda, specifically Gasabo District, and gender perspectives was used as a tool of analysis to explain how males and females get involved in drug trafficking as indicated in figure 1 below.

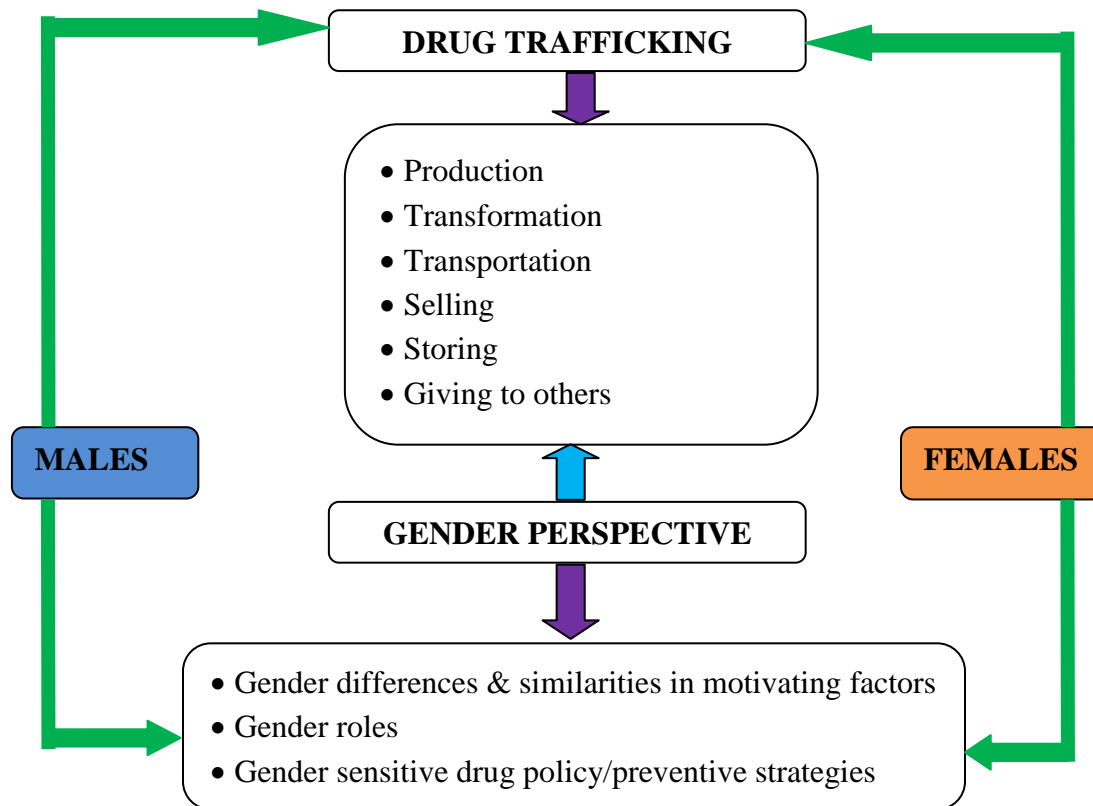


Figure 1 Conceptual framework on males and females’ involvement in drug trafficking

Source: *Researcher own model*

Drug trafficking has been recorded among the prevailing criminal behaviors in Rwanda that involves both males and females at larger number. Men and women, boys and girls, are found in all the six constructs of drug trafficking as defined by the law determining offences and penalties in Rwanda. This study uses the gender lenses to understand how and why this offence is expanding by comparing and contrasting motivating factors among males and females, and exploring how gender roles of men and women are played while engaging in the elements of drug trafficking. Finally it recommends gender sensitive drug policy or strategies that fit for the effective prevention of drug trafficking among males and females in Rwanda.

2.6 Chapter summary

This chapter defined and operationalized the key concepts in relation to the study topic and objectives. It reviewed different literature on drug trafficking and different aspects of gender which are among the tools of analysis to understanding criminal behaviors including drug trafficking. Factors motivating both males and females to drug trafficking were also reviewed with their gender differences and similarities together with the gender roles played by males and females in engaging in a criminal behavior and more specifically in drug trafficking. The chapter also reviewed strategies as per different authors and how they fit for effective prevention of drug trafficking among males and females. All these were supported by two theories on gender and crime which explain the gender differences in factors motivating males and females to criminality, and how gender roles are played by males and females in criminal activities respectively. The next chapter discusses the study methods and methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology and methods of the study. It provides the study design and approaches, the area of study, the population through different categories, the sample size and sampling techniques employed. It also provides instruments used to collect and analyze both primary and secondary data, the limitations faced and mitigation strategies used to overcome them as well as ethical considerations.

3.1 Research design and approach

This research is explanatory in nature, based on a mixed design of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. According to Bhattacharjee (2012), explanatory research seeks explanations of observed phenomenon, behavior or problem, identifying its causal factors and outcomes. This study therefore seeks to explore the gender differences and similarities in factors motivating both males and females to drug trafficking and how they play their gender roles throughout. Furthermore, Kothari (2004) stressed that qualitative approaches is important to study the behavior and discover the underlying factors which motivate people to behave in a certain manner, while Dawson (2002) also stipulates that qualitative study involves exploration of attitudes, behavior, experience and attempt to get an in-depth understanding of opinions from participants. So, this study used qualitative approach to a higher extent because it intends to explore and get in depth-understanding of factors leading both males and females in drug trafficking in Gasabo District, compare them using gender lens to understand different dynamics related to committing this crime as well as exploring gender roles played while engaging in such criminal behavior.

The study also used quantitative approach to a lower extent to analyse available numerical information. According to Kothari (2004), quantitative approach is helpful to present operations of numerical data that represent the structure of a dynamic process or the behavior of the process over time. So this study used quantitative approach to understand the gender dynamics in motivating factors to engage in drug trafficking in Gasabo District, describing quantitative information on why men and women engage in elements of drug trafficking.

3.2 Area of the study

This study was conducted in Gasabo District, one of the largest districts located in the North East of the City of Kigali. It covers a surface of 430.30 km² divided into fifteen sectors of which eight occupy its rural part at 90% of the total area and seven remaining cover its urban area. Basing on the 4th population and housing census of 2012, Gasabo District had a total population of 530,907 with 274,342 males and 256,565 females, representing 46.8% of the City of Kigali population and 5% of the total population of the whole country. It was qualified to be the first district to be populated as included in the district development plan 2013 - 2018 (Gasabo District, 2013).

Gasabo District was chosen as the area of study because it came at the top of other thirty districts in having the highest number of drug trafficking cases with also highest increasing number of men and women suspects since 2017 up to 2019 (RIB, 2019). Furthermore, Gasabo District is bordering with Northern and Eastern Provinces whose districts have been used as routes of illegal drugs trade being trafficked from neighbouring countries to final destination in City of Kigali (RNP, 2019). In addition, this district has got two geographical differences of both rural and urban settings which are helpful in explaining drug trafficking phenomenon among men and women with the findings that are able to represent the whole country; thus, drawing the target population from Gasabo district.

3.3 Study population

The target population of this study is composed of 422 people grouped into 5 categories: 306 inmates (194 males and 112 females) who have been convicted of drug trafficking in Gasabo District detained in Nyarugenge Prison (RCS, 2019). The second category is composed of 80 RNP UNU officers who are responsible for combating narcotic drugs in the whole country on daily basis. The third category involves 17 police officers having tasks and responsibilities to combat narcotic drugs in collaboration with ANU officers, including 1 DPC Gasabo, 1 DPCEO Gasabo and 15 police station commanders that operate in Gasabo District.

The fourth category is composed of 13 Criminal Investigators from RIB in Gasabo District including 1 DCI at district level, 4 Criminal Investigators at Station bureaus and 8 Criminal Investigators at post bureaus. These Criminal investigators have been selected because they

are public official dealing with daily investigations of drug trafficking offences for both males and females suspects in Gasabo District. The fifth category is composed of 6 prosecutors at Intermediate Court in Gasabo District who prosecute drug trafficking offences in the district and sue offenders in courts after fulfilling all evidences on drug trafficking activities. Their choice helped the researcher in having an in-depth understanding of the factors influencing males and females' involvement in drug trafficking in the district and gender roles played by both males and females in engaging in drug trafficking in Gasabo District.

3.4 Sample size

To determine the sample size which is representative of the population, the researcher used the formula of Alain Bouchard (2002, p.68) depicted in his table available at appendix I. He stipulated that when the size of the target population is less or equal to 500 and more than 100 individuals, it corresponds to the sample of 81 with a marginal error of 10% and precision of 95% as shown in the annexed table. So the appropriate formula to calculate the sample size is as follows:

$$nc = \frac{n}{1+n/N}, \text{ where:}$$

N represents the total population size; **n** representing the sample size for a finite population which is equal to **81** from Alain Bouchard table (at appendix I); and **nc** representing the adjusted sample size for a finite population. To simplify this formula, we have:

$$\begin{aligned} nc &= \frac{n}{1+\frac{n}{N}} \\ &= \frac{n}{\frac{N+n}{N}} \\ &= \frac{n \times N}{N+n} \end{aligned}$$

$$nc = \frac{81 \times 422}{422+ 81}$$

$$= 67.95 = 68 \text{ respondents}$$

3.5 Sampling techniques

Considering different categories of the target population, the researcher used the stratified, quota and purposive sampling techniques to get different elements of the sample. According to Kothari (2004, p.62), if a population from which a sample is to be drawn does not constitute a homogeneous group, stratified sampling technique is generally applied in order to obtain a representative sample, and then the selection of items from each stratum is made to constitute the sample.

Furthermore, Bryman (2012, p.203) adds that for Quota sampling technique, once the categories and the number of people to be interviewed within each category (known as quotas) have been decided upon, it is then the job of interviewers to select people who fit these categories, unlike in a stratified sampling whereby the sampling of individuals from strata is carried out randomly. Thus, after the researcher determined the categories and number of individuals from each category, the elements from stratum 1 of inmates were determined using the method of proportional allocation, because they form a good number of respondents with similar characteristics, and from whom quantitative data have been collected. According to Kothari (2004, p.63), under the proportion allocation, the sizes of the sample from strata are kept to the size of the strata using the following formula:

$$n_1 = \frac{n \times P_1}{N}, \text{ where:}$$

n_1 represents the sample size for stratum one; n representing the total sample size; P_1 representing the proportion of population in stratum one; and N representing the total population. Therefore, for the stratum of inmates, its sample size is as follows:

$$n_1 = \frac{68 \times 306}{422}$$

$$= 50 \text{ respondents}$$

To determine the sample size of males and females inmates, the researcher also used the same formula for proportional allocation, and therefore with the total number of 194 males and 112 females, the sample size is as follows:

$$\text{Male inmates} = \frac{50 \times 194}{306} = 31$$

$$\text{Female inmates} = \frac{50 \times 112}{306} = 19$$

For the rest of strata or quotas for key informants, the researcher used purposive sampling to determine the size and elements from each. According to Kothari (2004), purposive sampling is used for selecting items which the research considers to be important and representative of the population that does not have the same characteristics. So, purposive sampling of inmates imprisoned in Nyarugenge prison was also based on district of origin which is Gasabo, gender which is male and female, and literacy status to differentiate those who were able to fill the questionnaires and those who were not, for them to participate in interviews.

Furthermore, for stratum two, 8 ANU police officers were purposively sampled based on the level of experience and position in the teams responsible for combating narcotic drugs. Those with high level of experience were selected because they have much knowledge on how men and women get involved in drug trafficking activities. For stratum three, 4 RNP officers in Gasabo DPU were also selected based on their roles and responsibilities related to combating narcotics drugs namely 1 DPC, 1 DPCEO who are involved in daily meetings with the community through community policing and civic education programs with emphasis to educate citizens on how to participate in fighting narcotic drugs in the community, and 2 police stations commanders selected based on geographical locations (urban and rural parts of Gasabo district) of stations which had higher number of males and females involved in drug trafficking. This helped the researcher to gather information from different spatial settings among men and women representing the whole district; while stratum four, 4 RIB investigators have also been selected based on spatial settings of Gasabo district of both urban and rural parts in consideration of RIB stations and post bureaus having recorded many cases of drug trafficking offence among men and women; and lastly for stratum five, 2 prosecutors at Intermediate Court of Gasabo have been selected as the public officials in charge of completing investigations and prosecuting men and women drug trafficking offenders to the competent court for trials of such cases in Gasabo District.

Therefore, the total sample size as drawn from five categories of population was depicted in the following table:

Table 2 Sample size

Category		Population		Sample size	
Inmates	Male	194	306	31	50
	Females	112		19	
ANU police officers		80		8	
DPU Gasabo officers		17		4	
RIB investigators		13		4	
Prosecutors		6		2	

Source: Researcher' own table

3.6 Data collection methods

Patton cited in Karen (2010) stressed that the researcher must be able to collect data for achieving acceptable results using instruments as part of the process. In this study, the researcher used triangulation methods to increase the validity of the finding. According to Yeasmin and Rahman (2012), triangulation is a process that increases validity by using several methods in social sciences studies with a combination of two or more sources of data, methods or investigators in a research on a phenomenon and can be used in both qualitative and quantitative approaches. So, in light of the above, the researcher used interviews, questionnaires and documentary review to collect both primary and secondary data.

3.6.1 Interviews

Interview was the first instrument to collect primary data from respondents. According to Bryman (2012), in qualitative interviewing there is much greater interest in the interviewee's point of view. This is also clarified by Bhattacharjee (2012) that through interview process, the interviewer has the opportunity to clarify any issues raised by the respondent or ask probing or follow-up questions. The interview may be unstructured, semi-structured interview. It may also be conducted face to face, by telephone or focus group discussion.

a. Semi-structured interview

In this study the researcher used face to face semi-structured interview to explore the respondents view points and opinions about the theme. Semi - structured interview is the

interview whereby the researcher uses interview schedule or guide with predesigned questions which will help him or her to know specific information which can be compared and contrasted with information gained through other instruments (Dawson, 2002). So, the interview guides were prepared before and contained questions structured in an open ended manner.

Using semi-structured interview, the researcher was able to get viewpoints and perceptions from respondents and to ask other followup questions from what is picked up on the things said by the interviewees or clarify some questions to the respondents (Dawson, 2002). This helped the researcher to examine deeply the theme and understand thoroughly the answers provided. In this study, face to face interviews were conducted with RNP ANU officers, DPU Gasabo officers, RIB investigators and prosecutors at Gasabo Intermediate Court in order to get in-depth information on the factors leading men and women involvement in drug trafficking in Gasabo district and gender roles played in involvement in such behavior.

b. Focus group discussion

The researcher also used two focus group discussions with both males and females inmates of Gasabo District to get understanding on factors influencing their involvement in drug trafficking and gender roles dynamics played by them. According to Bryman (2012), the focus group discussion is applicable to interview a group of people known to have a certain experience so as to know how they make sense of a phenomena under study; and its number varies from four to thirteen participants per group. In this study, the researcher moderated the focus group discussions to 12 male and 12 female inmates of Gasabo District detained in Nyarugenge prison and they provided information on motivating factors led them to drug trafficking and how their gender roles were played in such criminal behaviour.

3.6.2 Questionnaires

The researcher used questionnaires to collect primary data from inmate respondents. Questionnaires were close and open ended, having short questions with pre-written answers and open ended questions respectively which allowed the respondents to provide deep understanding and perceptions on a theme and quantitative information on motivating factors in committing drug trafficking offence. According to Dawson (2002), the use of open-ended questions is preferable in qualitative research as it seeks respondents' opinions rather than

numbers and respondents use their own words to answer questions, while close ended questionnaires provide additional numerical information on different dynamics of a phenomenon under study. For the purpose of this study, the researcher used open ended questionnaires since he intended to seek respondents' opinions on factors that motivate males and females in involvement in drug trafficking. Both males and females inmates (respondents) were free using their own words stipulating what factors led them to be involved in drug trafficking and how they got involved in this type crime. These questionnaires were research administered to 7 female and 19 male inmates who were selected amongst inmates of Gasabo District among those who were willing and able to read and fill information on the questionnaires. The questionnaires were filled in the presence of the researcher and they provided complementary information to what had been gotten through interviews and documentary review.

3.6.3 Documentary review

Documentary review was also used as secondary data in collecting information from existing literatures about males and females cases in drug trafficking. Documents constitute a varied amount of data which are important for both quantitative and qualitative research, ranging from personal and official documents from the state, private sources, and the mass media, in printed, visual, digital, or in any other retrievable format (Bryman, 2012). These documents were examined by the researcher in order to get the relevant information on the themes. The researcher reviewed the reports at Gasabo District criminal investigation office containing cases compiled on drug trafficking with men and women offenders, register books at RIB station and post bureaus, reports from RNP ANU and DPU Gasabo. The choice of these reports is that on monthly basis, a comprehensive report is compiled on each specific crime and such report contains many details and other reasons behind the involvement of offenders in criminal activity, and the reports are made from register books at station and post bureaus, hence a significant support to this study.

The other documents that were reviewed are the male and female inmates register books at Nyarugenge prison where records on all male and female prisoners in are kept before and after entering the prison. Furthermore, the records in form of computer based system were used and allowed easy tracking of inmate information related to the study objectives. This helped the researcher to access all information related to what elements of drug trafficking

offence males and females have been convicted of in Gasabo District, and the information collected were taken together with other gathered data to assess the factors influencing the males and females involvement in drug trafficking and gender roles dynamics in Gasabo District.

3.7 Data analysis

Primary and secondary data collected were properly recorded, analysed by the researcher and then presented and interpreted in line with the objectives of the study. Qualitative data collected from interviews were analysed using thematic analysis technique to understand different factors motivating males and females in drug trafficking and data from documents were analysed using qualitative document analysis with extraction of relevant themes and quotations relevant to understand the behaviour of men and women and their roles in drug trafficking. This is in line with Bryman (2012) view, stressing that qualitative content analysis mainly concerns of searching out the fundamental themes of materials being analyzed with extraction of quotations that are important and related to the analyzed material. For quantitative data from questionnaires, the researcher used the statistical tools like tables, figures with percentages to present, analyze and interpret numerical data in relation to motivating factors and how gender roles were played in engaging in drug trafficking offence.

3.8 Study limitations and mitigation strategies

The study faced some limitations including total disclosure of information by some female inmates convicted of drug trafficking who looked to have been psychologically affected by severe penalties they are facing, thus leading them not to be cooperative enough. Furthermore, due to movement restriction in lockdown, the researcher could not physically reach all the respondents. In mitigating these challenges, the researcher used the leadership of anti drug club Imena in Nyarugenge prison to explain to them the purpose of the study and also to select those willing to fully participate. For the movement restriction, the researched conducted telephone interviews and sent other detailed interview guides via emails which were well filled and returned for analysis.

3.9 Ethical consideration

During data collection process, the researcher explained to the respondents the purpose of the study as a requirement of academic award. The ethical values and rules related to secrecy, confidentiality, anonymity and privacy of responses were also shared with respondents before gathering data and they were observed during the conduct of study. Names of respondents were codified and data collected were kept out of reach of any person unless they are given authorization. The language used in data collection process was Kinyarwanda and data interpretation was highly guided by choice of words to reflect objective opinion. The researcher also avoided any bias related gender, age, religion and any other discrimination of any kind that could affect the quality of information collected.

3.10 Chapter summary

This chapter three focused on the research design which is mixed of qualitative and quantitative approaches and triangulation method was based on collecting data through interviews, questionnaires and documentary to increase the validity of the information from sampled respondents grouped into five categories. Stratified, quota and purposive sampling techniques were used mainly based on categories of people that are important to providing relevant information helping to use gender lens to understanding drug trafficking phenomenon among men and women in Gasabo District. The next chapter focuses on presentation of findings which were analyzed and interpreted through thematic and content analyses techniques as well as tables with figures in percentage as highlighted by this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

STUDY FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents both primary and secondary data collected from respondents and the study area, their analysis and interpretations using two underlying theories of General Strain Theory and Sex-Role Theory. Data were gathered in both English and Kinyarwanda and the later were first translated to English before analysis and discussion. The data collected were divided into two major categories namely the general characteristics of the respondents, and those related to the study objectives. For those related to the study objectives were grouped into three themes namely gender differences and similarities in factors motivating in drug trafficking, gender roles played by men and women as well as strategies for prevention of drug trafficking.

4.1 General characteristics of respondents

The respondents were divided into two major categories which also were subdivided into five subcategories. The major categories include male and female inmates convicted of drug trafficking and public officials in the criminal justice system with its four subcategories. Their gender, position and daily responsibilities allowed them to provide helpful information in understanding drug trafficking offence among men and women in Gasabo District because it is their primary duty of which they have enough experiences. Furthermore, the gender differences in characteristics of inmates respondents such as age, marital status, education, employment status, family size, experience in drug trafficking and categories of drugs trafficked helped to better understand motivating factors and roles played by males and females in engaging in drug trafficking.

4.1.1 Gender of respondents

The gender of respondents was explored to both inmates and public officials in the criminal justice system to enable understanding of how many males and females were involved in drug trafficking, their gender differences in motivating factors and how they played gender roles in drug trafficking activities. The gender for officials in the criminal justice system was also

important in this study, because according to the Rwandan culture, men are more open to men and women do the same. Furthermore, when it comes to professional ethics in search operations, police officers do conduct body search to suspects of the same sex, thus having important information related to gender dynamics in involvement in drug trafficking in Gasabo District.

Table 3 Gender of respondents

Gender	Inmates	Public officials in criminal justice system				Total
		RNP ANU Officers	DPU Gasabo Officers	RIB Investigators	Prosecutors	
Male	31	6	3	2	1	43
Female	19	2	1	2	1	25
Total	50	8	4	4	2	68

Source: Primary data for December 2019 to April 2020

The figures in the above mentioned table indicate that the number of men and women inmates respondent is proportionate to their total number sampled. This helped the researcher to maximise the information on both males and females' experiences in drug trafficking behaviour in both quantitative and qualitative approaches. All men respondents occupy 63.2% while females were 36.8%. For public officials in the criminal justice system, the researcher interviewed males and females employed in designated positions of selected locations who have enough experience in drug trafficking phenomenon. These percentages allowed the researcher to have significant information regarding both males and females engaged in drug trafficking offence in Gasabo District.

4.1.2 Experience of public officials in criminal justice system

The researcher explored the experience of public officials in the criminal justice system to understand how these officials have enough knowledge and professional experience in dealing with issues related to drug trafficking offence among men and women in Gasabo District, the motivating factors and how gender roles are played in engaging in such criminal behaviour by men and women.

Table 4 Experience of public officials in criminal justice system

Public officials	A range of professional experience in years				Total
	3-5 years	5-10 years	10-15 years	Above 15 years	
RNP ANU officers	2	3	2	1	8
DPU Gasabo officers	-	1	1	2	4
RIB Investigators	-	1	2	1	4
Prosecutors	-	2	-	-	2
Total	2	7	5	4	18

Source: Primary data for February to April 2020

Table four indicates that 2 public officials representing 11.1% have professional experience of three to five years, 7 representing 38.9% have five to ten years experience, 5 representing 27.8% have experience of ten to fifteen years of experience while 4 representing 22.2 % have more than fifteen years professional experience. This means that they all have enough experience to deeply understand the issue at hands, namely drug trafficking and therefore might have provided reliable information.

4.1.3 Age of the inmates respondents

The age of inmate’s respondents was explored to know whether the youths and elderly people in both men and women do participate in drug trafficking equally and whether there are gender differences in low and high aged drug dealers and traffickers in Gasabo District. The table below provides the details.

Table 5 Age of the inmates convicted of drug trafficking

Inmates and their gender	Age range						Total
	18-35		36-50		Above 50		
Male	22	71.0%	9	29.0%	-	0.0%	31
Female	4	21.0%	13	68.4%	2	10.6%	19
Total	26	52.0%	22	44.0%	2	4.0%	50

Source: Primary data for December 2019 and January 2020

Table five indicates that males aged from 18 to 35 years were 22 representing 71.0%, those aged 36 to 50 were 9 representing 29.0% and none was found to be above 50 years. Females aged from 18 to 35 were 4 representing 21.0%, those from 36 to 50 years old were 13 representing 68.4%, while 2 representing 10.6% were over the age of 50. The gender difference is noted in the higher number of men of 18 to 35 years old who are too young as compared to women involved in similar activities, whose majority are adult women of between 35 and 50 years old. This means that women engage in drug trafficking to respond to their families' needs and heavy responsibilities as stressed by Agnews (1995) that females suffer from a range of oppressive conditions which root factors influencing them to criminality.

4.1.4 Marital and social status of inmates respondents

The researcher explored gender differences of marital and social status as a characteristic of inmates' respondents to understand how the spousal relations of men and women in households and vulnerable social status are connected to the involvement in drug trafficking and the table below provides more information.

Table 6 Marital and social status of inmates' respondents

Inmates and Their gender	Marital status								Total	Social status	
	Married		Divorced/ separated		Single		Widow/ widower			Orphan	
Male	6	19.3%	2	6.4%	21	67.7%	2	6.4%	31	6	19.4%
Female	2	10.5%	9	47.4%	1	5.3%	7	36.8%	19	3	15.8%
Total	8	16.0%	11	22.0%	22	44.0%	9	18.0%	50	9	18.0%

Source: Primary data for December 2019 and January 2020

Table six indicates that 6 males representing 19.3% were married, 2 representing 6.4% were divorced or separated, 21 representing 67.7% were single with 6 of them representing 19.4% having been orphan in their childhood age, and 2 representing 6.4% were widowers. For females, 2 representing 10.5% were married, 9 representing 47.4% divorced or separated with their husbands, 1 of them representing 5.3% was single, 7 representing 36.8% were widows with 3 representing 15.8% who were orphans in their childhood age. These data indicate that there are gender differences on marital status of men and women involved in drug trafficking

whereby a high rate of men involved are single seeking economic competitive advantages in satisfying their needs, whereas females who are highly involved are those whose households relations were broken with total separation with their husbands/ partners and parents as divorced/separated and widows so they engaged in drug trafficking offence as a survival strategy as emphasized by (Walker, 2003).

4.1.5 Education level of inmates respondents

The researcher focused on the education level of inmates convicted on drug trafficking offence to explore whether the involvement of both males and females in drug trafficking is linked to the education opportunities that prevented them from getting legitimate means of earning living. The table below provides the details.

Table 7 Education background of inmate respondents

Inmates and Their gender	Education level								Total
	No education		Primary school		Secondary school		Higher learning institution		
Male	3	9.7%	22	71.0%	5	16.1%	1	3.2%	31
Female	1	5.3%	15	78.9%	3	15.8%	-	0.0%	19
Total	4	8.0%	37	74.0%	8	16.0%	1	2.0%	50

Source: Primary data for December 2019 and January 2020

The table seven indicates that 22 males representing 71.0% attended primary school, 5 representing 16.1% attended secondary school, and 1 representing 3.2% attended higher learning institution while 3 of them representing 9.7% did not attend any school. The number of females who attended only primary school is also higher with 15 females representing 78.9%, 3 representing 15.8% attended the secondary school, none attended higher learning institution and 1 representing 5.3% did not have any formal education. These show that both males and females convicted of drug trafficking are not much educated to be able to get legitimate employment opportunities, because many attended only primary school, and Priyanka cited in Tuyishimire (2017) said that it is a source of ignorance to government drug policies and have direct implication to their involvement in drug trafficking activities.

4.1.6 Employment status of inmates respondents

The employment status of inmates convicted of drug trafficking in Gasabo District was explored to know whether unemployment or lack of formal job occupation was among the motivating factors that influenced both males and females in drug trafficking in Gasabo District or whether there were gender differences in job opportunities that justify involvement in such criminal behaviour. The table below provides the details.

Table 8 Job occupation of inmates before detention

Inmates and Their gender	Job occupation categories						Total
	Public servant		Self employed		Jobless		
Male	1	3.2.%	11	35.5.%	19	61.3%	31
Female	-	0.0%	15	78.9%	4	21.1%	19
Total	1	2.0%	26	52.0%	23	46.0%	50

Source: Primary data for December 2019 and January 2020

Table eight indicated that among males who engaged in drug trafficking, 1 representing 3.2% was working in public sector, 11 representing 35.5% were self employed, while 19 representing 61.3% had no job occupation. 15 of females representing 78.9% were self employed while 4 of them representing 21.1% had no other job occupation before they were arrested, and no one was in public service. The gender differences in employment status of men and females before they were arrested is that males who did not have other job occupation greatly indulged in drug trafficking at a higher rate, while majority of females involved were self employed meaning that females engage in drug trafficking pursuing much more income than they had before to sustain their families needs. This confirms what has been said by Adler et al. cited in Broidy and Agnew (1997), that females are more concerned with financial security in their families and the originating strain drives them to criminal behavior in a search for income to their homes.

4.1.7 Family size of inmates respondents

The researcher also explored the family size of inmates to understand whether the burden of catering for a big number of children is linked to involvement in drug trafficking of men and women seeking to satisfy their basic needs. The table below provides detailed information.

Table 9 Family size for inmates' respondents

Inmates and Their gender	A range of number of children								Total
	1-3 children		4-7 children		Above 7		No child		
Male	7	22.6%	4	12.9%	-	0.0%	20	64.5%	31
Female	5	26.3%	13	68.4%	-	0.0%	1	5.3%	19
Total	12	24.0%	17	34.0%	-	0.0%	21	42%	50

Source: Primary data for December 2019 and January 2020

The table nine shows that 7 men representing 22.6% had from one to three children, 4 representing 12.9% had from four to seven children, while 20 representing 64.5% had no child. For females, 5 representing 26.3% had from one child to three children, 13 representing 68.4% had from four to seven children, while 1 representing 5.3% had no child. These findings indicate a gender difference such that females having 4 to 7 children are much more involved in drug trafficking activities, thus suggesting that females who are involved in drug trafficking have heavy family responsibilities to cater for as compared to men whose involvement is dominated by those without any child or having one to three children. It also means other factors lead men to involve in drug trafficking differently from women such as bad company, search for competitive advantage as per Priyanka cited in Tuyishimire (2017).

4.1.8 Experience of inmates in drug trafficking offence

The researcher explored the experience of men and women in drug trafficking to know whether there are gender differences associated to how long they have been involved in such criminal behaviour before arrest and detention. The table below provides much information.

Table 10 Experience of inmates respondents in drug trafficking

Inmates and Their gender	Range in periods of experience in drug trafficking								Total
	Below 1 year		1-3 years		4-5 years		Above 5 years		
Male	19	61.3%	12	38.7%	-	0.0%	-	0.0%	31
Female	17	89.5%	2	10.5%	-	0.0%	-	0.0%	19
Total	36	72.0%	14	28.0%	-	0.0%	-	0.0%	50

Source: Primary data for December 2019 and January 2020

Table ten indicates that 19 men representing 61.3% have less than one year experience in drug trafficking, while 12 representing 38.7% have experience of one to three years, and no one reported experience of more than 3 years. For female inmates, 17 representing 89.5% reported to have experience of less than one year in drug trafficking, while 2 representing 10.5% have experience of one to three years, and none reported experience of above 3 years. These findings show that a good number men and women involved in drug trafficking offence had experience of less than one year; however males have demonstrated a difference of having been experienced in drug trafficking with 38.7% against 10.5% for females. This means that men are likely to reoffend while females are attracted by their fellow in social relationship.

4.1.9 Categories of narcotic drugs trafficked by inmates

This study explored the categories of narcotic drugs trafficked by males and females in Gasabo District to understand the gender differences in involvement in very severe, severe and simple narcotic drugs¹, and the table below provides the details.

Table 11 Categories of narcotic drugs trafficked by inmates respondents

Inmates and their gender	Categories of Narcotic drugs trafficked per severity						Total
	Very severe		Severe		Simple		
Male	27	87.1%	-	0.0%	4	12.9%	31
Female	19	100%	-	0.0%	-	0.0%	19
Total	46	92.0%	-	0.0%	4	8.0%	50

Source: Primary data for December 2019 and Jan 2020

The table eleven indicates that 27 males representing 87.1% were involved in very severe narcotic drugs, while 4 representing 12.9% were involved in simple narcotic drug. For females, all 19 respondents representing 100% were involved in very severe narcotic drugs. This means that both males and females are involved in very severe drugs especially cannabis

¹ Very severe narcotics drugs include cocaine, heroin, cannabis and opium; Severe narcotic drugs: catha edulis, shisha, datura stramonium and electronic cigarette; simple narcotic drugs: illegal alcoholic drinks and other chemical substances applied as narcotic drug (Ministerial order n° 001/MoH/2019 of 04/03/2019).

due to its availability in Rwanda. The gender differences were noted to males being involved in simple narcotics drugs mainly composed of illegal alcoholic drinks produced in the country or imported from neighbouring country differently from females as stressed by (Carey, 2014) that men in rural areas are mostly found in this category because it is physically demanding compared to other types of narcotic drugs. Furthermore, females were also much involved in trafficking opium than males because it is easier to carry through body packaging, and both males and females face similar sentences as the later are mainly influenced by category of illegal drugs.

4.2 Gender differences and similarities in motivating factors for drug trafficking

This section explored the gender differences and similarities in factors motivating males and females for drug trafficking in Gasabo District in line with the first objective of the study. The researcher first examined the gender differences and then similarities as they were stated by respondents during interviews and questionnaires administered to them.

4.2.1 Gender differences in motivating factors for drug trafficking

This sub section examines first the factors which particularly influence females and then those influencing males in drug trafficking for a better understanding of gender dynamics in this criminal behaviour.

a. Factors motivating females in drug trafficking

Females through interviews and questionnaires reported factors motivating them to engage in drug trafficking, with differences from those motivating male counterparts.

i. Divorce, separation and loss of husbands

Women who participated in the focus group discussion of 2 January 20 at Nyarugenge prison declared that they were involved in drug trafficking because they experienced distress related to divorcing, separation and loss of their husbands, thus having burden of households' responsibilities. One woman supported this in the following statement: *“Imagine, I have six children who are still young. My husband died five years ago. I am not employed anywhere and could not initiate my own business. How do you think I will survive with those children”?*

During the discussion one woman confirmed that these factors can not affect men and declared that *“we are different from men. For them, when they get divorced or separated with their partners, they don’t stay longer alone, rather they easily get remarried to other partners and life continues as usual”*. These findings confirm what was stressed by Chesney and Lind cited in Broidy and Agnew (1997) that when women get divorced, separated or suffer broken household bonds, it generates conditions to criminality due to strain related to failure to achieve interpersonal goals.

ii. Family conflict

Women respondent declared that when a family experiences long lasting conflict, the woman gets oppressed after being denied some rights including financial. In a way for searching answers to support herself, she engages in illegitimate business which is profitable so as to find for her the basic needs that she would have got from the husband. This came about from the answers in a questionnaires administered to 7 women on 2 January 20 at Nyarugenge prison on what motivates them in involving in drug trafficking activities, whereby 4 women out seven representing 57.1% said that they were induced in drugs trafficking by family conflicts with their husbands and partners, struggling to provide for what was denied to them. Other women added that this mostly happens to women only when couples are illegally married, with male partners reluctant to provide for the families, thus leading women to search for their own means to increase the chance to stay another day.

Other women also declared that, in conflicting families, men exploit women dependency with torturous statements which later push women to search for their own sources of income to get rid of such mistreatment. Three out twelve women in a focus group discussion of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison said that they separated with their former male partners before engaging in drug trafficking activities. Here is one’s statement *“I was fade up of my partner’s pressure that I was not supporting anything at home, and then went on finding out a neighbour who introduced me to this business”*. All these support what was pointed out by Mirowsky and Ross (1989) that females are often subject to varying types of abuse by family members and other relatives including emotional, physical, and sexual abuse and they constitute a strain of presentation of negative stimuli which motivates them to criminality.

iii. Infidelity of husbands or male partners

The other factor reported to have motivated females for drug trafficking is infidelity of husbands or male partners. This was stated by one woman during a focus group discussion of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison, that:

“My male partner joined another woman, and they got three children. He only comes to my home once in two weeks and he had 4 other children. He was no longer catering for the children as before, thus was compelled to search for means to support the family”.

Other women also reported that male partners who no longer wish to stay with their female counterparts use illegal drugs as tool or a trap to speed up the separation process. One woman reported her experience through the following statement in a focus group discussion of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison:

“I noticed that my partner was no longer willing to stay with me, because he got married to another wife. I knew before that he used to transport and sell cannabis in town and come back with money. One day he came with fifteen pellets of cannabis, kept them in my room, and went on calling the police the next day. After searching the house, I was not able to defend myself, was arrested and convicted, but only God knows”.

These relate to what Shaw and Skywalker (cited in UNODC, 2019a) stressed that some females engage in crime to seek belongingness because in their living lives they missed it.

iv. Unplanned pregnancies / births

Female inmates also reported that they were involved in drug trafficking after they got pregnant and gave births outside the illegal marriage. They added that drug trafficking was the only way that remained to them to survive after being chased out by their parents. One lady reported in a questionnaire of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison in the statement:

“I was forced to move out of my father’s house after he noticed that I got pregnant out of legitimate marriage. I rented a house nearby, and after giving birth I joined the friends whom I knew before were selling cannabis so that I could get milk and survival needs for me and the kid. When the police conducted search, they came across five pellets of cannabis with me, thus arrested and detained with my two year old child”.

This proves what Miller and Richie (cited in Burke, 2014) revealed that females’ crime is different from males because females offend as result of long term victimization by males;

and that they resort to illegal activities as innovation, seeking dependency as a survival strategy (Walker, 2003).

b. Factors motivating males in drug trafficking

Different respondents have indicated factors that influence mostly men in engaging in drug trafficking compared to females in Gasabo District. These are major factors identified:

i. Personal decision in risk taking

RNP ANU officers indicated that males who engage in drug trafficking are mainly among those who decide to do so knowingly, with awareness of the consequences, but decide to take risks following the outcomes. During a face to face interview with 2 officers from ANU on 28 February 2020 at RNP headquarters, they added that this is shown by their aggressive behaviour upon arrest like carrying traditional weapons like machetes, heavy sticks with nails while transporting narcotic drugs especially in rural areas. This means that they know what they are doing and are ready for defending themselves, which is not found to women offenders. Furthermore, in an emailed response of 22 April 2020, one prosecutor added that men are always dominants in drug trafficking offence because they possess fearless character which motivates them to criminality compared to women. These confirm what is suggested by the sex-role theory that males in learning process, pursue the masculinity characteristics of being powerful, risk seekers, tough and rough, hence involving in high rate of criminality than females (Walklate, 2004).

ii. Drug consumption background

The respondents from RNP ANU also indicated through face to face interview of 28 February 2020 at RNP headquarters that the big numbers of men and boys who are arrested because of drug trafficking offence have illegal drug consumption record. This was also portrayed in the ANU annual report (2019); showing that 70.7% of suspects arrested were men and boys of 18 to 35 years old who also form the biggest part of illegal drugs consumers. The RIB Investigator from Gatsata station bureau in Gasabo District also confirmed through telephone interview of 23 March 2020 that the cases of drug trafficking recorded in males offenders especially youths are also connected with drug consumption trends for them to get easy access to drugs for consumption; thus confirming that most men join drug trafficking

criminals because they were addicted to drug abuse (Shaw & Skywalker cited in UNODC, 2019a).

iii. Insufficient parental education and control or child adversity

The respondents from RIB investigators through telephone interview of 26 March 20 also reported insufficient parental education and control as a factor influencing males to engage in drug trafficking. He stated that: *“amongst the youth arrested for drug trafficking, boys with well off parents have always been found, and when asked the reason they respond that they learned such behaviour from their peers in the neighbourhoods in the search for their own financial means and this is a result of insufficient parental education and control”*. The other respondents from RNP ANU through face to face interview of 29 February 2020 at RNP headquarters also reported that males youth who have been arrested due to drug trafficking were mostly redundant, resulting from lacking strict parental control whereby some of the youth dropped up from the schools to follow the monetary profit drawn from drug trafficking trade. This is exactly childhood adversity as stressed by UNODC (2018) that child maltreatment resulting from parental neglect influences children in drug offences at early age.

4.3.1 Gender similarities in motivating factors for drug trafficking

Through the questionnaires administered to male and female inmates at Nyarugenge Prison on 2 January 2020, the respondents reported similar factors influencing both men and women in drug trafficking in Gasabo District as per table below:

Table 12 Factors influencing both males and females in drug trafficking

Factors	Frequency by gender				Total average %
	Males	%	Females	%	
Poverty	10	52.6	3	42.8	50.0
Unemployment	6	31.6	2	28.6	30.8
Bad company	-	-	-	-	0.0
Ignorance	-	-	-	-	0.0
Lack of contentment	3	15.8	2	28.6	19.2

Source: Primary data for December 2019 and Jan 2020

Table 13 indicates that poverty was the first influencing factor reported by both males and females at average of 50.0%, followed by unemployment at 30.8% and then lack of contentment at 19.2% especially in youth headed families. These factors were also emphasized on by inmates in a focus group discussion of 2 January 20 as follows.

a. Poverty

Men and women, boys and girls from Gasabo district stressed that poverty is at the top among the factors leading them to drug trafficking offence. In a focus group discussion of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison, one woman supported it in the following statement:

“I started in teaching profession at a primary school in our sector from 1999 to 2004 but the income could not sustain my family even for basic needs and household’s wellbeing. My family lived in permanent poverty due to heavy responsibility, though I was also selling some fruits. But when I started selling cannabis, I could get ten times income of what I would have earned from teaching profession per month, since there was no tax. It changed my living conditions in feeding, schooling and provision of other basic needs”.

Men and boys also stressed that poverty in the households is one of the major factors that led them to drug trafficking offence for them to survive. Those below 35 years emphasized that they were caught by extreme poverty after their respective parents have been imprisoned for other serious crimes. Three young boys in focus group discussion of 2 January 20 at Nyarugenge prison shared the same views as stated by one them:

“My father has been detained for more than 15 years in this prison convicted of drug related crimes and my mother died long time ago. We have been living in poverty with my brothers and sisters, and I had to look after them as the elder. I got a friend from neighbouring cell whom we shared the same experience, and advised me to join him in the business of cannabis. Few months later, we were caught and jailed together”.

In documentary review of Gasabo district development plan 2013-2018 (Gasabo District, 2013), on 20 February 2020 at district website, the poverty rate amongst men and women was 26%, with extreme poverty of 13.2% and among the indicators of poverty as per the household census of 2012, were households with more than 7 children at 63.8%, households headed by women at 26.1%, households headed by widows at 17.8% and households headed by person of below 21 years old were rated at 0.9%. Though there were latest development programs in the district, these data support that in some parts of the district especially rural settings, people suffer from poverty and therefore induce them to illegitimate means to earn

living as stressed by Priyanka cited in Tuyishimire (2017) that majority of males and females are both influenced in drug trafficking by poverty for subsistence reasons.

b. Unemployment.

Men and women in Gasabo district stipulated that unemployment is also a factor that motivated them to engage in drug trafficking activities. One of the two women supported the argument in the focus group discussion of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison:

“Before I got arrested on illegal drug charge, I used to sell second hand clothes and shoes from which I gained the support of my family, but nowadays such a business has been restricted and many of us could not afford it again. I later went on with selling small stuff in my village town, but local authorities chased me away because I could not meet required conditions, and then found myself dealing with cannabis to earn living”.

Men especially youth below 35 years old also stated that they were forced to engage in drug trafficking because of changes in employment opportunities that were there before in construction activities with companies. One of the youth respondents stated that:

“We were gaining food from casual labour force around the district, and as of now all construction activities are being undertaken by recognized companies with their own workers, both professional and unprofessional. So, getting job has become harder to most of uneducated youths living in the city, thus engaging them in illegal business”.

This was emphasized by UNODC (2019a) that structural lack of employment and education opportunities to indigenous, migrants, low income people especially youths in cities root factors of involvement in criminal behaviors to support themselves.

c. Lack of contentment in youth headed families

Five out of seven boys and one girl (representing 66.6% of respondents with records of orphan in their childhood) in the focus group discussion of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison said that they opted to involve in drug trafficking activities to manage distress of loneliness and for the survival of their headed families. Furthermore, in documentary review of Gasabo District Development Plan, the researcher found out that the number of households headed by persons below 21 years old was rated at 0.9% in 2013 (District Gasabo, 2013) and this supports the above findings that youth heading families are more engaged in illegal business such as drug trafficking to satisfy the needs for their dependent.

4.3 Gender roles played by males and females in drug trafficking activities

The other objective of this study was to understand how gender roles are played by men and women while involving in drug trafficking activities. The study first explored the female gender roles played which are the activities done by women and girls that are closely related or resembling to the females' roles in Rwanda society and they are used by them as facilitating factors in fulfilling drug trafficking activities.

4.3.1 Females gender roles played in drug trafficking activities

Females in Gasabo District have revealed different activities they were doing which facilitated them to succeed in trafficking drugs. The roles played by women mainly helped to understand the phenomenon of drug trafficking amongst women and girls.

a. Prostitution

When we hear prostitution, the first thing that comes to our mind is a woman or girl who practices sexual intercourse with various partners in exchange of money. Though this behaviour involves men and women, it is culturally understood as a female profession or role that is associated to the female gender. Female in Gasabo District have been facilitated by this practice to commit drug trafficking offence as declared by some of them in a focus group discussion of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison:

“I joined the prostitutes in two years ago and realized that male partners very often ask for the so called ‘medicine’ or ‘umuti’ in Kinyarwanda meaning pellets of cannabis after sexual intercourse. So, I started looking for them and sold to whoever requested for. When one man was caught by the police, he disclosed the source; they came together in civilian cloth, searched my house and seized other 25 pellets from my room”.

In an emailed interview response with the police station commander Remera of 25 March 2020, he stated that in many occasions prostitutes have been caught with illegal drugs like cannabis, Mugo and sometime heroine when they had to meet with foreign partners. He added that the reason is that their profession is in itself illegal, so adding on another illegal activity was easy for them. Again the male partners of prostitutes are sometimes drug abusers, so if they find a short cut to get them, they immediately take advantage of it to fulfil their needs.

Prosecutors at Gasabo Intermediate court through an emailed interview on 24 April 20 also added that they encountered cases whereby females get illegal drugs for sell in exchange of sex with male drug dealers, thus a role played by females. This also confirms the literature by UNODC (2019b) that some females engage in drug trafficking activities by being lovers, and wives of male drug dealers.

b. Women as mules or messengers

Women in Gasabo district again reported that some of them were caught while working as mules or messengers employed by drug dealers. A woman declared such case in the focus group discussion of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison through the following statement:

“I was employed by one shop holder in Karuruma cell of Gatsata sector, in six months ago. I was paid to transport drugs on foot from Karuruma to Kimisagara in a house shown by the boss. He used to pay me 70,000 Rwanda Francs per month and obliged me to carry my child on the back with my hand small bag well sealed. Before I could not know that I was transporting illegal drugs, but later started guessing because neighbours used to ask me and question what I was carrying. One day in evening, I was stopped by the police at Nyabugogo centre, searched and found with pellets of cannabis in that bag. Both my boss and the one that I used to give the message fled after they knew what happened to me. I was then arrested and taken to the police station”.

A RIB investigator through a telephone interview conducted on 24 February 2020 confirmed this saying that: *“women are much involved in transportation of different types of drugs and in some cases they work for other people in exchange of price. The reason is that women and girls are less suspected to engage in serious and organized criminal activities and when they get involved through the practices of female roles in society, it is often very hard to detect them unless there are reliable sources of information”.* This confirms what was said by Carey (2014), that women demonstrate an ability to circumnavigate law enforcement surveillance because officials do not expect women to engage in the trafficking of contrabands at higher levels, and that drug mule is mostly women role because they accept lower pay than men for transportation of illegal drugs.

c. Milking practice and caring for patients

Women in Gasabo district have also declared that one of the facilitating role they used in transporting illegal drugs was a milking pot normally used to carry milk from one place to

another. One woman in the questionnaires administered on 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison revealed the following in her statement:

“I was taking my ‘fortune’ in a milk port from the local area to the centre. Several times others were being stopped and searched but none could guess that I had different things in the pot. I was revealed by one person from Kirehe district who was supplying us cannabis pellets bought from Tanzania at cheaper price, and was arrested in our sector when the neighbouring community informed the police”.

The police officers in DPU Gasabo through emailed interview responses on 26 March 20 also stated that: *“in few months ago, we arrested two women coming from one of the rural sectors in Gasabo districts carrying 20 pellets of drugs in two flasks; one was carried by a young girl and was caught along the way saying they were going to hospital for patients.* These are among the tactics used by women through their roles as care givers to disguise their acts to law enforcement agents in drug trafficking activities, and this is related to learned feminine characteristics of softness, gentleness and the expression of emotion which are imitated in female criminal activities as per Parson cited in Walkate (2004).

d. Cloth wearing (head scarf or *Hitab* and face veil or *Miqab*) and baby carrying

The women also declared that other means used to carry out drug trafficking activities was through cloth wearing styles. One woman in a focus group discussion of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison declared that: *“I knew before that Muslim ladies well covered with *Hitab* and *Miqab* are not searched. I then looked for the similar clothes, covered all my head and face, and then travelled a distance with cannabis pellets in hairs and clothes. I only came to be discovered when my former male partner who was also a drug dealer went to the police and disclosed the information because of hatred”.*

Furthermore, one prosecutor at Gasabo Intermediate Court through an emailed interview responses of 23 April 2020 also revealed that most of the women prosecuted and convicted of drug trafficking offence were caught carrying drugs in the back with babies, putting drugs first in a well sealed cloth packets, then lie the child over it as a traditional reproductive role for women carrying babies. This again agrees on what was said by Carey (2014) that females have been successful in drug trafficking activities because they are involved through the exercise of normal females’ productive and reproductive roles.

4.3.2 Males gender roles played in drug trafficking activities

Males in Gasabo District also have played their roles in engaging in drug trafficking behaviour. These are the activities performed by men and boys in relation to their known roles in society but which were regarded as facilitating factors in involvement in drug trafficking offence.

a. Small bars mixed with shop in residential house

Men declared that one of the facilitating factor in drug trafficking was selling narcotic drugs through small bars mixed with shop. One of the men supported the argument with the following statement in a focus group discussion of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison:

“I had a small shop with a bar in the back side of my home. People requiring some pellets of cannabis or alcoholic drinks termed ‘Kanyanga’ were seated in the small bar, with isolation, took normal drinks then they used a signal to notify me to send another type of drink. Others, who knew me before, used to come and pay as usual then were given well sealed product resembling to a normal shop commodity”.

The police officer in ANU also reported through a face to face interview of 28 February 2020 that the shops mixed with bars in residential houses have been sources of drug trafficking behaviour, and they came to be known when people get drunk of *Kanyanga* and start quarrelling and fighting in village centres of rural areas, thus attracting suspicion of having illegal drugs. Men play their roles as shop holder but with hidden illegal drugs that are sold in secrecy with the accomplices.

b. Partnering with more women (Polygamist men)

A RIB investigator in a telephone interview conducted on 22 March 2020 declared that men who usually engage in drug trafficking in Gasabo District as suppliers or dealers use the tactic of partnering with more than one woman. The reason stated by the criminal investigator is that drug dealers polygamists tend to make a store in the second home and reduce significantly movements in that home so as to minimise the chances for suspicion and arrest by local authorities and security agencies.

c. Motorcyclists and bicyclists

Men convicted of drug trafficking offence in Gasabo District also reported that one of the facilitating factors that helped them transporting illegal drugs include bicycles using empty jercans as if they were going to fetch water from a public water point. Another man also reported in a focus group discussion of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison that he made several trips from Rwamagana District to Gasabo District using motorbike known as ‘*Yamaha AG100*’ in transporting pellets of cannabis mixed in luggage of sweet potatoes and managed to move from one district to another. These roles mostly known to be played by men and boys in society have been facilitating the trade of the illegal drug across Gasabo District and contributed to increase of such cases in the district.

d. Wedding convoy and funeral vans

One of the men convicted of drug trafficking offence also reported that he used to travel with the group of drug dealers in a two vehicle convoy of assumed marriage and managed to carry drugs from far districts to Gasabo District pretending that they were busy with marriage issues. In a focus group discussion of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison, he stated that: *“No one could stop the convoy because we were well dressed with necessary materials of the wedding ceremony inside the cars. The entire trips we did with such a tactic were succeeded and we were able to meet our objectives in several occasions”*.

After those men have been arrested and convicted, they formed the anti drug club “*Imena*” in Nyarugenge prison, and decided to disclose all the tactics they were using to succeed in drug trafficking activities. The researcher held a focus group discussion with some of the members of the club who were among the respondents and explained how this male role was very significant to them in making money from a profitable illegal business of drug trafficking.

Furthermore, in an emailed interview of 25 March 2020 with the police station commander of Nduba police station in Gasabo District, he disclosed that:

“Men also used funeral vans to transport narcotic drugs from far distances with front and rear surveillance on motorbikes and this has received attention by law enforcement agents to trace and follow up these routine roles played by men thanks to the information recently shared by local authorities and CPCs”.

e. Selling traditional medicines

The other male role that facilitated drug trafficking offence in the district was selling traditional medicines. In a focus group discussion of 2 January 2020 at Nyarugenge prison, one of the old men stated that:

“I was known to fetch and distribute traditional medicine among the community who were in a need. Later my neighbour who was selling drugs convinced me that cannabis is also one of the traditional medicines which help both the human life and domestic animals. He gave me some examples that cannabis helps pregnant women, is protective food when cooked and eaten together with other vegetables, is mixed with tea, cures diarrhoea, stimulates appetite to domestic animals and cures many other diseases, then I started”.

All these male roles have been facilitating drug dealers and their accomplices to conduct illegal drug trade in Gasabo district and the reason stated by one of the DPU Gasabo officers in an emailed interview of 26 March 2020 is that *“the drug traders gave their own interpretation to the community to disguise their role in illegal drug trade and try to show the role as selling traditional medicine with cannabis being part of them”.*

4.4 Strategies for drug trafficking prevention

Concerning the strategies for effective prevention of drug trafficking offence, the study through documentary review at RNP ANU headquarters found out that the existing measures include the enactment of the law n°68/2018 of 30/08/2018 determining offences and penalties in general which defines drug trafficking offences, its elements and provides for penalties from seven years up to life imprisonment and a fine ranging from 5 million up to 30 million depending on the category of illegal drugs trafficked. The law also provides for confiscation of equipments and facilities used in committing such offence. The police officers from ANU, DPUs and Canine Brigade detectors (Sniffer dogs) also join efforts in combating such offence in their area of responsibilities, whereas RIB and prosecution officials investigate and sue the suspects to competent courts for trials respectively. Furthermore, local authorities and other security organs share information on drug offences, carry out sensitization and destroy in public all confiscated drugs in line with prevention of drug trafficking.

In a face to face interview of 28 February 2020 with ANU police officers at Kacyiru and through emailed responses to interview guides by DPU Gasabo officers on 26 March 2020,

respondents proposed other strategies that could contribute to effective prevention of drug trafficking among men and women, namely:

- ✓ Legalization of drug trafficking offence in the neighbouring countries equally. This is possible through cooperation and diplomatic relations of countries and regional integration initiatives to curb the sources of illegal drugs being imported from those countries through porous borders. The fact that bordering countries do not handle the case similarly; it strengthens the drug trafficking behaviour and make it persist among men and women despite the internal effort in place.
- ✓ Enhanced search operations to entry points to the city of Kigali from Northern and Eastern provinces and especially to female suspects' body packs, as they are mostly used as drug mules compared to males.
- ✓ Addressing at the long term the issue of unemployment in city of Kigali, female vulnerability to social economic conditions as well as ignorance among men and women, since these are at the top to influence both males and females in engaging in drug trafficking activities.

4.5 Discussion and interpretation of findings

This section discusses the data presented in chapter four as collected from different categories of respondents. The researcher also interpreted them by connecting to the theoretical framework of the study in order to understand the relationship of the theoretical part and empirical findings about gender dynamics in drug trafficking offence in Gasabo District.

The findings are related to the General Strain Theory in that men were found involving in drug trafficking because they need to earn huge money in very short time for them to reach a certain middle class status or level that is why they take risks to be involved. It has also been revealed that all the three types of strain were present and led women in engaging in drug trafficking in Gasabo District. The example is that the factors identified leading females in drug trafficking such as divorce, separation, loss of husbands, family conflicts, infidelity of husbands or males partners and unplanned pregnancy or births are all related to the failure to achieve positively goals whereby women who engage in drug trafficking in Gasabo District

experienced the strain of failure to achieve interpersonal goals through divorce, separations, broken family bonds as it has explained by inmates female respondents.

The family conflict, infidelity of husbands or male partners, unplanned pregnancies or births are also related to the strain of presentation of negative stimuli whereby different abuses, discriminations, unfair or unjust treatments by family members or friends engendered conditions for criminality to females. The findings also indicated the gender differences among males and females in involving in drug trafficking whereby males in Gasabo District engaged in drug trafficking following material success or extrinsic achievements as most of them had no other job occupations, whereas females got involved pursuing the means to sustain their households basic needs as the real purpose of life, thus a gender difference in pursued goals. The other gender difference is related to the types of strain whereby males got involved in drug trafficking in Gasabo District because they have got financial or work problems to satisfy the needs of their wives and children or seeking competitive advantages over the peers while findings also indicated that females got involved because they have been affected by the family status translated into network or interpersonal problems through broken relationships of intimates relatives. All these help to understand why males in Gasabo District involve in drug trafficking at a higher rate and also the reasons behind females' engagement in this type of illegitimate business.

Furthermore, the findings were also related to the Sex-Role Theory because it has been pointed out that males and females engage in drug trafficking differently and that the specific male and female's roles were played respectively by men and women in involving in drug trafficking activities. Females were reported to be involved through prostitution, as messengers or drug mules, care giving to patients in hospitals, baby carrying roles, and cloth wearing styles which are female roles of feminine characteristics in Rwandan society; while men also have been reported to engage in drug trafficking as risk takers, with aggressive reactions to law enforcement agents, through polygamist's practices, wedding convoys and through funeral vans and other roles closely related to men practices connected to instrumental roles of masculine characteristics in Rwandan society, thus concluding that the theory also explained how gender roles were played in engaging in drug trafficking activities in Gasabo District.

4.6 Chapter summary

This chapter presented data collected from two major categories of respondents namely the inmates convicted of drug trafficking and the public officials working in the criminal justice system, and both categories were also subdivided into five sub categories which provided information through interview and questionnaires. Three main themes were used to analyse data namely: Gender differences and similarities in factors motivating males and females to drug trafficking, gender roles played by males and females in engaging in drug trafficking offences and strategies for effective prevention of drug trafficking offence. All data presented were analysed and interpreted and found to be related to the guiding theories of general strain theory and sex-role theory. The following chapter provides general conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the summary of findings on gender dynamics between men and women's involvement in drug trafficking in Gasabo District. The general conclusions were also made followed by the recommendations to different institutions to enable the comprehensive response to drug trafficking phenomenon in Rwanda.

5.1 Summary of findings

The study was guided by three research questions on exploring gender differences and similarities in factors motivating males and females in drug trafficking; understanding how gender roles are played by males and females in drug trafficking activities and recommending strategies for effective prevention of drug trafficking. In answering the first research question, the researcher first explored the gender differences related to characteristics of inmates' respondents which also root their factors of engaging in drug trafficking in Gasabo District. Those were the age with a bigger portion of youth males involved against adult women who are responsible of families; marital status with involvement of mainly single males against female involved who are mainly divorced, separated and widows; for the education background both men and women involved mainly attended primary school; thus not having formal employment to males but majority females were self employed. For the family size, females involved in drug trafficking were found to have from four to seven children higher than males whose majority have no child with few of them having one to three children. Regarding the experience in drug trafficking activities, majority of both males and females have an experience of less than one year, with males only having higher experience of three to four years compared to females. Lastly, the study found out that, both males and females were involved in trafficking of very severe narcotic drugs at a higher percentage mainly cannabis as the type of illegal drug commonly available on Rwandan territory and opium which is easier for transportation by women drug mules.

On the gender differences and similarities in factors motivating males and females for drug trafficking, the study first revealed that in gender differences females are specifically

motivated by divorce, separation and loss of husbands through death, family conflict, infidelity of husbands or male partners and unplanned pregnancy / births to women and girls. These factors fall under social economic aspects whereby females are engaged as a survival strategy for the families differently from male counterparts. For the factors influencing mainly males in drug trafficking, the study found out that personal decisions in risk taking, drug consumption background, and insufficient parental education and control to male children or childhood adversity were the main, and they all fall under personal factors as opposed to those found to females of social economic aspects. Regarding the similar factors motivating men and women, poverty, unemployment and youth headed families were reported.

Concerning the gender roles played by males and females in drug trafficking, the study found out that females are engaged through prostitution, hiding narcotic drugs in rooms and selling them to partners, women hired and paid as messengers or drug mules; using milking practices and caring for patients roles and also through imitating Muslim women wearing styles of head scarf or *hitab* and face veil or *miqab* covering the whole body parts; as well as baby carrying roles. For male gender roles played in drug trafficking activities in Gasabo District, the study found out that men used small bars mixed with shops in their residences to sell narcotic drugs through normal shopping activities; motorbike transport of mixed commodities, riding bicycles for fetching water with empty jercans, selling traditional medicine in rural settings, using wedding convoys from neighboring districts and funeral vans along the main roads with motorcyclists' surveillance patrols, and partnering with more than one woman using the unofficial home addresses as stores or center points for such illegal business. All these roles are played by males and females in Gasabo District depending on the demographic situation of their areas, and are closely related to what men and women normally do in both rural and urban settings.

For the strategies to prevent drug trafficking, the study found out that same legalization of drug offences in neighboring countries, enhanced control and body packs checks to women mules at entry points in of City of Kigali, addressing unemployment, women socio economic vulnerability and ignorance among men and women could be more gender sensitive in support of the existing measures to effectively prevent drug trafficking offences. With these findings, there is no doubt that the objectives of this study were fully explored and attained.

5.2 Conclusions

This study aimed at exploring the gender dynamics between men and women's involvement in drug trafficking in Gasabo District with a view to assisting concerned authorities in well understanding the phenomenon of drug trafficking among men and women and therefore come up with appropriate policies and responsive measures for prevention and mitigation of its consequences.

The key lessons from this study are that men and women involved in drug trafficking differently, hence need gendered approaches to prevent such criminal behavior. Men and women also have both similar and different factors motivating them to drug trafficking. The similar influencing factors were related to the search of financial gain in their daily life. Men are particularly influenced by personal factors related to the search of monetary success to achieve the middle class status or a competitive advantage with their peers with a get- rich - quick mindset, thus inducing them to criminality. This confirms the suggestions of the general strain theory that men engage in criminality due to failure to attain the goal of monetary success or middle class status or both.

The study also found out that females were influenced in drug trafficking by conditions of vulnerability related to broken social and family relationship such as divorce, separation, widowed, family conflicts, infidelity of male partners, thus engaging in drug trafficking as a survival strategy to respond to social economic vulnerability. This also confirms the suggestions of the general strain theory that females suffer from three main sources of strain that root factors influencing their criminality namely the failure to achieve positively valued goals like interpersonal relationship, broken household bonds; the loss of positively valued stimuli like loss of family members, friends, parents; and the presentation of negative stimuli like negative treatment, discrimination, harassment and so on.

For the roles played by males and females in drug trafficking, it was found out that men played their productive roles in being tough, rough, active, aggressive, and risk seekers whereas females played both productive and reproductive roles imitating the traditional roles of females in society, being soft, gentle, emotional, and caregivers. All these confirm the provisions of sex - role theory that males learn masculinity characteristics related to instrumental roles in criminality whereas females learn feminist characteristics related to

expressive roles which are imitated during their criminal behaviors. Concerning the strategies or recommendations for effective prevention, the study recommends gender sensitive strategies addressing gendered factors to support the existing measures for drug free environment. So, there is a need of a comprehensive response to all these personal, social and economic factors by different institutions to curb this criminal behavior and its consequences to Rwandan community.

5.3 Recommendations

The factors motivating men and women to drug trafficking in Gasabo District as well as the gender roles played by them in engaging in drug trafficking activities may be applicable to other districts with the same demographic and geographical situations; thus a need to be considered by all concerned institutions in the country for effective strategies. This section provides recommendations to the Ministry of Local Government, Ministry of Education, RNP, Local authorities and Rwandan citizens at large to help in future effort in fighting drug trafficking in Rwanda.

5.3.1 Recommendations to the Ministry of Local Government

- ✓ To extend the existing support for vulnerable people in the community by including all unemployed youths, men and women living in city and towns through vocational trainings, job creation seminars, small scale business support, exoneration of taxes for small scale business beginners and consideration in home grown solutions like one cow per poor family where applicable.
- ✓ To put in place appropriate policies to support women headed families including divorced, separated, widowed, by creating opportunities that enable them catching up in life conditions to reduce the risks of exposure to illegal activities related to drug trafficking. The support may include a policy regarding casual labour in public construction works to be offered to identified men and women in these categories through the Ministry of Local Government.
- ✓ To establish through districts' administration a policy of supporting tailoring cooperatives to assist men and women vulnerable and victims of divorces, separations, widows and widowers, orphans with the working age and others who had not got chance of education

and employment opportunities for them to be able to earn living through legitimate means instead of risking their lives in drug trafficking activities. This is doable because it was successfully implemented by Rwanda Demobilisation and Reintegration Commission in supporting men and women former refugees from Democratic Republic of Congo who came back to Rwanda through reintegration process.

5.3.2 Recommendations to the Ministry of Education

- ✓ To include among the curriculum the package about narcotic drugs, their types, uses, consequences to the community and economy of the country and to be taught in primary, secondary and higher institutions because they have greater impacts on human lives' conditions especially youths, the country's security and economic stability as well as the future generation.

5.3.3 Recommendations to RNP

- ✓ To conduct periodic targeted search operations to prostitutes' quarters, bars mixed with shops in residences, motorcyclists and bicyclists carrying luggage and traditional medicine sellers to detect and seize illegal drugs and dealers for sustainable security in the country. Quarters that harbour prostitutes are mostly found in urban sectors and small centres whereas bars in residential houses, motorcyclists and bicyclists carrying luggage are mostly found in rural settings and road networks connecting village centres.
- ✓ To conduct snap check points to control suspicious movements of luggage of vehicles, motorcycles, bicycles, wedding convoy vehicles, funeral vans in rural roads networks and sentries with a view to identifying and eradicating illegal drug supply chains.
- ✓ To focus on thorough verification and search of men and women body packs, carried milk pots, flasks, hand bags and those wearing head scarf and face veil pretending that they are members of Muslim community with a focus at all entry points to the City of Kigali.

5.3.4 Recommendations to Local Authorities and Community Policing Committees

- ✓ To identify and periodically report to the police illegitimate couples whose male partners do not regularly stay with their female partners and monitor their movements, practices,

activities through neighborhood watch platform to enable subsequent operations aimed at identification of illegal drugs stores in community residences.

5.3.5 Recommendations to local communities, men and women

- ✓ The citizen drug dealers and traffickers should understand that narcotic drugs have serious negative effects to the future of Rwandans including their own children and lives and that the material profit gained could not be compared to the subsequent risks and consequences. So, people should understand that there is no excuse in engaging in drug trafficking offence, rather the community should work together with the local authorities to find out solutions of their problems, and also encouraged to play their role in combating drug trafficking through timely reporting of any patterns of such a destructive behaviour, joining anti drug clubs, etc.

5.3.6 Suggestions for further studies

Considering the above recommendations, the following subjects are suggested for further studies to enlighten the phenomenon of drug trafficking in Rwandan society:

- ✓ An investigation of the dynamics in trends of drug trafficking in urban and rural districts.
- ✓ A comparative assessment of the effects of internally produced and imported narcotic drugs on Rwandan community.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Table of Alain Bouchard

	Precision								
	90 sur 100			95 sur 100			99 sur 100		
	10%	5%	1%	10%	5%	1%	10%	5%	1%
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100,000	68	270	6336	96	383	8763	166	659	14229
50,000	68	269	5959	96	381	8057	166	655	12457
10,000	67	263	4035	95	370	4899	163	622	6239
5,000	67	257	2875	94	357	3288	161	586	3842
1,000	63	213	871	88	278	096	142	399	943
500	60	176	466	81	271	475	125	285	485
100	41	73	99	49	80	99	63	67	99
50	29	43	50	33	44	50	49	47	50

Source: ALAIN BOUCHARD., *Statistique appliquée à la géographie*, Paris, 2002, p.68.

APPENDIX II: Introductory letter

RWANDA NATIONAL POLICE

Musanze, 17 DEC 19



NATIONAL POLICE COLLEGE

TEL: (+250)788311956

P.O.BOX: 23 Musanze

E-mail: npc@police.gov.rw

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to confirm that **SP JEAN BAPTISTE BIKORIMANA** is a student of Rwanda National Police College, undertaking a Master's Degree in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation for the academic year 2019-2020. He is conducting a research on: "*UNDERSTANDING DRUG TRAFFICKING IN RWANDA: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE*", for which he is required to collect data from relevant sources.

Any assistance rendered to him in this regard is highly valued by this College.

F NTIRUSHWA
CP
D/COMMANDANT

APPENDIX III : Letter to RIB

SP JEAN BAPTISTE BIKORIMANA
STUDENT IN UNIVESITY OF RWANDA
CENTER FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT
NATIONAL POLICE COLLEGE MUSANZE
PSCSC 08/19-20
TEL 0788406556
Email: jbbikora6@gmail.com
Musanze, 23 Dec 19

**The Secretary General RIB
KIGALI**

Sir,

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR DATA FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE

I am kindly requesting for data related to drug trafficking offences committed from 2017 to 2019 by both males and females' suspects in Rwanda to enable me in my research thesis meant for completion of studies in Master's degree.

Sir, I am a student from Rwandan National Police attending the Police Senior Command and Staff Course in Musanze intake 08/19-20 and doing master in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation from University of Rwanda. I am doing a research on a topic "**A Gender Perspective to Understanding Drug Trafficking in Rwanda**" and my targeted population is males and females arrested and convicted of Drug Trafficking in Rwanda from 2017 to 2019.

Sir, a part of information I will require is the statistics of males and females' suspects arrested from 2017 up to 2019 and their location, as well as carrying out telephone interviews with District Criminal Investigators in Eastern Region and in Kigali City (sampled areas) on motivating factors and gender dynamics of involvement in drug trafficking offence. Sir, that is why I kindly request for these statistics and permission to interview the DCIs in selected areas.

Sir, if this permission is granted, I will comply with all ethical standards regarding data collection for research purpose and will adhere to all regulations of Rwanda Investigation Bureau.

Respectfully,


SP JB BIKORIMANA

RIB SG'S Office
Reception
23/12/2019 Ronald

APPENDIX IV: Permission to collect data in Nyarugenge Prison

RWANDA CORRECTIONAL SERVICE



OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER GENERAL

Kigali, on 24/12/2019

Ref. N° 1257/CG/RCS Mq19


SP Jean Baptiste BIKORIMANA
Student in University of Rwanda
Center for conflict Management
National Police College Musanze
PSCSC 08/19-20
Tel : (+250)788406556
E-mail: jbbikora6@gmail.com
MUSANZE

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN NYARUGENGE, RWAMAGANA AND NGOMA PRISON

1. Reference is made to your letter dated 23rd Dec 2019, requesting permission to conduct a research on the topic "*A Gender Perspective to Understanding Drug Trafficking in Rwanda*" by collecting data from inmates in Nyarugenge, Rwamagana and Ngoma prison for your dissertation paper in master's degree program in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation at the University of Rwanda, Rwanda National Police College, Musanze;

2. I am pleased to inform you that the permission has been granted and I request Prison director copied this letter, to be available and facilitate in your research.

3. Regards,


George Rwigamba
CGP
Commissioner General / RCS



Cc
-DCG/ RCS;
-DP Nyarugenge, Rwamagana and Ngoma.

Kicukiro District, Kicukiro Sector, Kicukiro Cell, Isoko Village in Plot No 436 | KK 8 Ave |
Website: www.rcs.gov.rw | P.O. Box 6516 Kigali-Rwanda | E-mail: cgoffice@rcs.gov.rw

APPENDIX V: Letter for respondents in DPU Gasabo

LETTER FOR RESPONDENTS

Dear respondent,

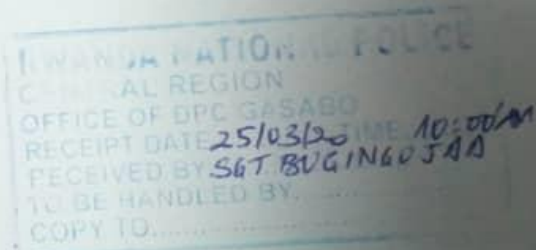
I am SP Jean Baptiste BIKORIMANA, a student of University of Rwanda doing Masters in peace studies and Conflict Transformation. I am doing a research on "**Understanding Drug Trafficking in Rwanda: A Gender Perspective**", Case of Gasabo District. Thank you for accepting to participate in this questionnaire/interview which is part of the study being carried out. You have been selected due to your role played in Combating drug trafficking offense with involvement of both males and females. The information provided is for academic purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality and anonymity. So, I would like to request you to give answers that you feel are most appropriate to each asked question.

Thank you!

SP JB BIKORIMANA

Tel 0788406556

Email: jbbikora6@gmail.com



APPENDIX VI: Acceptance letter: Gasabo Public Prosecution

RWANDA NATIONAL POLICE

Musanze, 17 DEC 19



NATIONAL POLICE COLLEGE
TEL: (+250)788311956
P.O.BOX: 23 Musanze
E-mail: npc@police.gov.rw

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to confirm that **SP JEAN BAPTISTE BIKORIMANA** is a student of Rwanda National Police College, undertaking a Master's Degree in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation for the academic year 2019-2020. He is conducting a research on: "*UNDERSTANDING DRUG TRAFFICKING IN RWANDA: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE*", for which he is required to collect data from relevant sources.

Any assistance rendered to him in this regard is highly valued by this College.



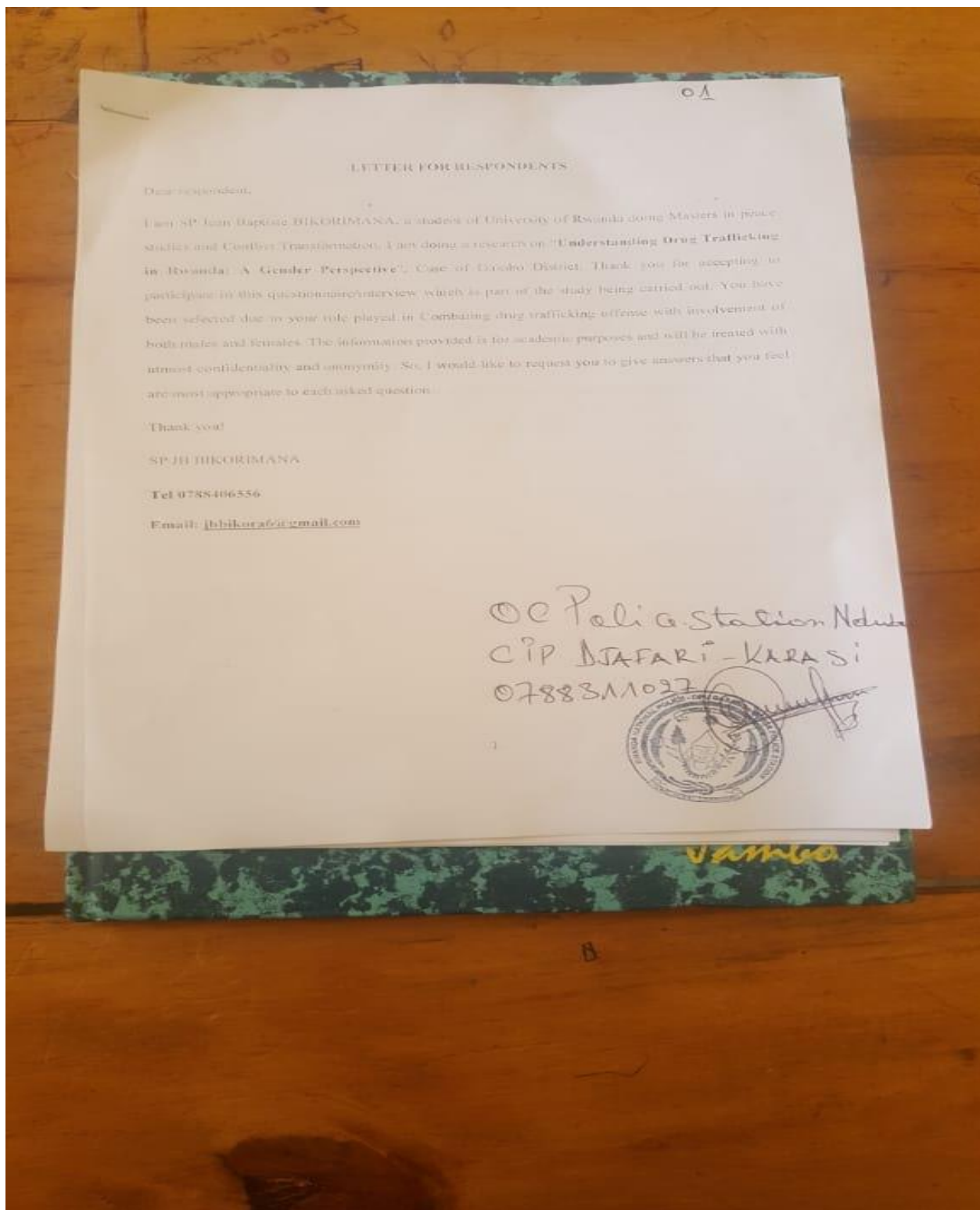
F NTIRUSHWA
CP
D/COMMANDANT



B.P. Umuhozi

Recu le 20/04/2020

APPENDIX VII: Letter to Police Station Nduba – DPU Gasabo



01

LETTER FOR RESPONDENTS

Dear respondent,

I am SP Jean Baptiste BIKORIMANA, a student of University of Rwanda doing Masters in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation. I am doing a research on "Understanding Drug Trafficking in Rwanda: A Gender Perspective", Case of Gashyamba District. Thank you for accepting to participate in this questionnaire/interview which is part of the study being carried out. You have been selected due to your role played in Combating drug trafficking offense with involvement of both males and females. The information provided is for academic purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality and anonymity. So, I would like to request you to give answers that you feel are most appropriate to each asked question.

Thank you!

SP JB BIKORIMANA

Tel 0788406556

Email: jbikorab@gmail.com

00 Police Station Nduba
CIP NJAFARI - KARASI
0788311022



Jamblo

B

APPENDIX VIII

QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGNED FOR MALES & FEMALES INMATES CONVICTED OF DRUG TRAFFICKING IN NYARUGENGE PRISON

Instructions

- (i) Fill the information in the space provided.
- (ii) Do not indicate your name on this questionnaire's paper.

Section A

1. A. Gender: (i) Male B. Age: (i) 18-35 (iii) above 50
(ii) Female (ii) 36-50

2. What was your daily occupation before being arrested and detained?

- (i) Public servant
- (ii) Private sector
- (iii) Jobless

3. A. What is your marital / social status

- (i) Married
- (ii) Divorced
- (iii) Separated
- (iv) Single
- (v) Widow/widower
- (vi) Orphan

- B. Number of Children

- (i) 1-3
- (ii) 4-7
- (iii) Above 7
- (iv) No child

4. What is your education level

- (i) Primary School
- (ii) Secondary School
- (iii) Higher Institution
- (iv) No education

Section B

5. How long have you been involved in drug trafficking?

- (i) Less than one year
- (ii) From 1- 3
- (iii) From 3- 4
- (iii) Over 5 years

6. What type types of illicit drugs did you start with? How?

- (i) Cannabis
- (ii) Opium
- (iii) Illegal drinks
- (iv) Others. State them
-

7. What motivates you in engagement in drug trafficking activities?

- (i) Poverty
- (ii) Unemployment
- (iii) Bad company
- (iv) Ignorance
- (v) Lack of contentment
- (v) Others. State them

8. What facilitated you in conducting activities related to drug trafficking?

.....
.....

9. Whom do you get these drugs from? What is the destination?

.....
.....

APPENDIX IX

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INMATES CONVICTED OF DRUG TRAFFICKING IN NYARUGENGE PRISON

1. How long have you been involved in drug trafficking?
2. What type types of illicit drugs did you start with?
3. What activities did you do (producing/cultivation, transformation, transporting, selling, storing, and giving to others)?
4. What factors influenced you in involvement in drug trafficking? Why?
5. What facilitates you in conducting activities related to drug trafficking?
6. Whom do you get these drugs from? And where do you take them for?
7. What routes do you use to reach your desired destination

APPENDIX X

**INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ANU POLICE OFFICERS, DPU GASABO OFFICERS,
RIB INVESTIGATORS AND PROSECUTORS**

1. Gender : (i) Male Gabo
(ii) Female Gore

2. How long have you been combating/Investigating/prosecuting drug trafficking offence?

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3. What are the dominant offenders between males and females in trafficking chain? Why?

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4. What types of narcotic drugs do males deal with? Why

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5. What types of illicit drugs do females deal with? Why?

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6. What activities do males and females mostly do in drug trafficking (producing, cultivating, transporting, selling, storing or giving to others?)

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7. What do males and females use to carry out such activities?

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8. What are the factors that motivate males and females in involving in drug trafficking? Why?

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9. What differences in motivating factors of men and women involvement in drug trafficking?

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10. What facilitation factors available to males and females in conducting drug trafficking activities?

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11. How do men and women use their respective gender roles in drug trafficking activities?

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12. Where do men and women get narcotic drugs from? What are their destinations?

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13. What are the routes do men and women use in drug trafficking activities?

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14. What tactics do males and females use in engaging in drug trafficking?

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15. What do you think are the reasons behind the increasing phenomenon of drug trafficking in Gasabo District

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16. What strategies do you think can fit for effective prevention of drug trafficking offence among males and females?

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