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AN EXPLORATION OF DRUG TRAFFICKING AMONG FEMALE OFFENDERS IN
THE CARIBBEAN

by

Dianne Berger-Hill
B.S. May 2011, Old Dominion University

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of
Old Dominion University in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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May 2013

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ABSTRACT

AN EXPLORATION OF DRUG TRAFFICKING AMONG FEMALE OFFENDERS IN THE CARIBBEAN

Dianne Berger-Hill
Old Dominion University, 2013
Director: Dr. Melvina Sumter

This thesis is an exploratory study examining drug trafficking among female offenders under the custodial care of the Trinidad and Tobago Prison Service. The female offenders were interviewed using a semi-structured interview guide that inquired into how they were recruited, why they decided to traffic drugs, did they join in with friends, were family members or relatives involved in the activity, or did they initiate it on their own, and if their childhood experiences influenced them into getting involved with drug trafficking. Themes were identified during the course of the data analysis. More than half of the female offenders were preyed upon by unscrupulous individuals by manipulating them and exploiting their circumstances in order to further personal causes; only a few of the female offenders became involved in drug trafficking to earn extra income; friends and family were predominant in the recruitment and decision making processes that inclined the females to become involved; and childhood experiences influenced over half the female offenders to traffic drugs.

Moreover, many of the females in this study were exploited by friends, people they were sure they could trust. Several of their stories depicted childhoods filled with instability, which may be the result of either a patriarchal society or poverty. Even so, many of the female offenders shared stories of determination and looked forward to better lives in the future.

This thesis is dedicated to the female offenders that have yet to have their voices heard
and their stories told.

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I would like to acknowledge those who have provided the encouragement and support that enabled me to complete this process and realize a life-long dream. First, to my children I want to say thank you. They have been there to listen when I complained, they understood why I could not come spend a holiday with them because I needed to “write,” and for repeatedly telling me that I could do it. Second I want to thank my friends and my *sista*, who provided many words of support and for keeping in touch with me for the last two years as I became a recluse glued to my computer. I also want to thank my thesis committee, Dr. Monk-Turner and Dr. Linnemann, for reading and rereading my drafts and giving me suggestions for improvement. Last, and more than anyone else, I want to thank my thesis chair, Dr. Melvina Sumter, for her countless hours of reading and editing in helping me to find the right words to give life to 13 female offenders and tell their stories. Without Dr. Sumter, this thesis could not have been completed and all that I have learned over the last few years is attributed to her strength, gentle pushes, knowledge, and encouragement; but most of all, her patience.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A young woman gets off the plane at an international airport on a beautiful and peaceful Caribbean island; but the thought of a wonderful vacation is soon disturbed when the customs agent says, “You are under arrest for trafficking in drugs.” She may have lost everything, her freedom, her children, her family; her parents will be disappointed, her business may fold, her children might be brought up by someone else, and that money she was promised is nowhere in sight. Now she is paying the price. Why did she do it? Little inquiry has been made into why a woman becomes involved in transporting drugs from one country to another (Olmo 1990; Green, Mills and Read 1991; Huling 1995; Davies 2003; Hutton 2005; Geiger 2006; Campbell 2008; Fleetwood 2009; Fleetwood 2010). This research explores drug trafficking among female offenders transiting through the Caribbean nation of Trinidad and Tobago.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has identified drug trafficking as a global issue that includes “cultivation, manufacture, distribution and sale of substances which are subject to drug prohibition laws” (UNODC 2012). Additionally, the UNODC (2012) has listed, as an international phenomenon, that heroin, morphine, and cocaine are the drugs of choice most often intercepted through seizure by the worldwide law enforcement community. Columbia, from 2008 and forward, has remained the predominant origination point of cocaine (UNODC 2012) which is the most prevalent drug seized at major airports. Cocaine has been reported to transit through countries such as Mexico, Colombia, Central America, and often the Caribbean nations (UNODC 2012).

Globally, reports of incidents of women being arrested for trafficking drugs has risen in countries such as India, China, Nigeria, and Zambia and examples of that increase is in India, Delhi criminal justice agencies reported a rise of approximately 15 percent from 2005 to 2006 (MyNation Foundation – News 2007) in female offenders as well as the Punjab police in Malwa reported a 12 percent rise in arrests of women during the first five months of 2012 (Tandon 2012). Likewise, courts in China’s provincial capital of Guangdong reported women represented a substantial portion of the 250 plus individuals prosecuted for drug trafficking and the trend has been showing the female offenders are “local women who help their foreign boyfriends smuggle drugs into the Chinese mainland” (Caixiong 2012). Beijing court officials reported that from 2007 to 2009, the number of drug cases prosecuted were over 4,600 and the author stated that “foreign offenders involved in drug trafficking” had also risen, as well as the female offenders rising from 9 percent to 30 percent during a period of two years (eChinacities.com 2010). As well, Beijing officials also reported that many of those arrested in their country were from “developing or under-developed countries” (Yin 2011). A Zambian official, the public relations officer for the Drug Enforcement Commission in Lusaka, stated that four women had been arrested within seven days at their international airport and he was “saddened with the emerging trend of drug trafficking as it is degrading to the dignity of women in our society” (*Lusaka Times* 2012).

Worldwide reports that discuss the methods of trafficking used by female offenders in Nigeria reported they were inventive in their methods of external concealment (Ogbo 2012). In an article in the *Daily Times* in July 2012, The National Drug Law Enforcement

Agency revealed that female offenders arrested for drug trafficking had creative uses of “customized underwear and wigs” (Ogbo 2012). Other Nigerian women resort to internal concealment such as ingestion for the purposes of hiding methamphetamines (Ogbo 2012). Similar to the Nigerians, Zambian women arrested for drug trafficking were found to also use methods of internal concealment to transport their goods and the report stated one woman “inserted a block of cocaine in her private parts” (*Lusaka Times* 2012).

Academic research, reports from newspapers, blogs, and newsletter websites cite a myriad of motivations for engagement of women in the trafficking of drugs. For example, Lorenz (2008) reported in a blog discussing the findings of Howard Campbell’s 2008 research of female traffickers along the Mexico and United States border, that some women use the reasoning of empowerment and adventure as their motivations. Conversely, women in Zambia engage in the illegal activity because of socioeconomics as cited by the Chief Editor of the *Lusaka Times* (Siulapwa 2010). In contrast, Olsen (2009) described Mexican drug lords using younger women of higher class statuses for transportation because they were in new cars, with stylish clothing, and could pose as shoppers heading over the border. Interestingly, Muslim women in Dammam, Saudi Arabia are also becoming involved in drug trafficking; however, many have been tricked or trapped by family members or husbands into engaging in the criminal activity (*Muslim Women News* N.d.). This involvement of female drug trafficking offenders has become a source of concern for the Women for Change in Zambia, and the Executive Director of the group has denounced the activity, citing “women are likely to compromise with the way they have been regarded in society” (LusakaTimes.com 2010).

The increase in drug trafficking worldwide is discussed in the World Drug Report of 2010 (UNODC 2012) as well as in published literature. In the UNODC report, statistics reveal that between 2007 and 2008, cocaine users were estimated to be 17 million and the increase in seizures in South American countries accounted for over 50 percent of the total globally (UNODC 2012). Likewise, Jenner (2011) reported the “global market for illicit drugs nets over \$500 billion annually” (p. 905) and that trafficking in drugs is the “most crucial” (p. 905) element in supplying that market. With drug trafficking being one of the most abundant and profitable markets (Jenner 2011) worldwide, it would seem location of the country of origination “relative to major markets” (MacCoun and Reuter 2002:14) would become an important factor in the number of drug seizures. Thus, the report of cocaine seizures in 2010 revealed that, although showing a decrease by greater than 10 percent, 7.28 tons was seized in the Caribbean nations (UNODC 2012). Griffith (1997) called the Caribbean the *vortex* between South and North America, making the “physical and social geography of the Caribbean” (p. 54) a drug trafficker’s haven.

Drug trafficking in the Caribbean island nation of Trinidad and Tobago has increased exponentially with cocaine being brought into the country; this increase has also caused a dramatic rise in violence and resulted in the nation being referred to as a *narcostate* (Townsend 2010). Because Trinidad and Tobago is considered the most prosperous and wealthy of the Caribbean nations, it has also become a “major trans-shipment point for cocaine” (BBC News 2012). Reports of cocaine as merely transited through Trinidad and Tobago is not always the case and officials note that other drugs and often weapons remain in the country and feed the increase in violence (Townsend

2010). Likewise, the close proximity to the coast of South America, only seven miles, has also made Trinidad and Tobago an “ideal staging post in the shipment of cocaine to the US and European markets” (Davis 2011). Thus, the trafficking of cocaine, which has “clogged the courts” (BBC News 2012) of the national criminal justice system, has established Trinidad and Tobago as a major area of concern for drug trafficking among female offenders (BBC News 2012).

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to examine drug trafficking among female offenders in the Caribbean. Previous research revealed that drug trafficking is conducted by people on the fringes of society, those of low socioeconomic status, those desiring to uplift their personal identity within mainstream society because of past victimization or childhood abuses, and by those who are criminally inclined or have anti-social behaviors (Olmo 1990; Edberg 2001; Evans et al. 2002; Li and MacKenzie 2003; Geiger 2006; Garcia 2007; Campbell 2008, Decker and Chapman 2008; McGarten and Gunnison 2009; Fleetwood 2010). This study focused on why female offenders, under the custodial care at the Trinidad and Tobago Prison Service, became involved in drug trafficking. Inquiry included how the individual was recruited, what prompted the decision to engage in drug trafficking as well as if friends or relatives were involved in drug trafficking, and if there was anything in their childhood experiences that may have influenced their engagement in drug trafficking. Answers to these questions aids in understanding the influences causing female offenders to become engaged in drug trafficking in the Caribbean. The

terms drug smuggling and drug trafficking were used interchangeably throughout this document.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The World Drug Report of 2012 revealed that since 2010, drug trafficking, and the violence and devastation that often accompanies the crime, has become a major social problem worldwide (UNODC 2012). Drug trafficking research among male offenders has been conducted; however, little research has been completed on female offenders and why women become engaged in drug trafficking. Recent history has shown a significant increase in some female offenders being involved in trafficking in drugs (UNODC 2012), making this study significant because it explores an area that previously has been overlooked. This study assists with unlocking the door to see how female offenders actually become involved in drug trafficking.

The following chapter will review literature previously published on drug trafficking among female offenders.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents a review of the research literature concerning drug trafficking among females. The chapter begins with a discussion of female drug traffickers using Maslow's theory of human motivation and critical feminist theory. Following the theoretical perspective is a review of previous research examining drug trafficking among females. The chapter concludes with a summary and critique of the literature and a prelude to the next chapter.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Theorists suggest female involvement in illicit drug trafficking may be linked to economic gain based upon the theory of rational choice (Aguilar and de Francisco 2009). Theorists also propose social learning through childhood experiences and/or peer relationships (Yarbrough et. al 2012) while others argue motivation is prompted by the need to obtain feelings of empowerment among those with less power, including individuals who may have suffered from sexual, physical and emotional abuse (Ajzenstadt 2009; Geiger 2006). For women in search of power, Zavalloni (1994) argues that social identity theory, the process by which each individual views his or her place in society as a reflection of how they are perceived by others, may be an important key to drug trafficking. All these theories are built upon the human need to better one's life regardless of the means to that end and can be connected to Maslow's theory of human motivation. Maslow (1943) categorizes human needs in the order as they present

themselves. For instance, in Maslow's hierarchy, the human need for food, water, and other physiological essentials come first, followed by the needs of safety, love, esteem, and ending with the need for self-actualization. Maslow (1943) wrote that the physiological need is the first to emerge in human nature, and as that need is satisfied, the remaining needs will be presented as each becomes the most predominant, until each has been equally satisfied. Therefore, motivation by humans, and in this instance female offenders who traffic in drugs, will work to satisfy whatever need presents itself to be the most prominent.

Supplemental to Maslow's theory of human motivation is the critical feminist theory, a theory that suggests female offending is linked to the manner in which males and females are socialized. Ritzer (2011) argues that women are oppressed through domination by men, termed patriarchy. According to Ritzer (2011), patriarchy is a system "in which society is organized to privilege men in all aspects of social life" (p. 471); is not secondary nor is it unintentional, but is the result of a deliberate and intentional "power arrangement" (p. 471) whereby "men subjugate women" (p. 471) and this system has been sustained "over time and space" (p. 471). In this system of patriarchy, as women are subjugated by men, they are also socialized to be feminine, and as such, they are deemed to be cooperative, caring and nurturing, pacifist, non-violent, and virtuous. Women are expected to communicate in a certain style, to be emotional, and to have a "greater capacity for creating peaceful coexistence" (Ritzer 2011:462). Ritzer (2011) also wrote that because of socialization, women use more "moral reasoning" (p. 463) than men and focus on achieving the end results that appeases the needs of men. As well, women are not free to become who they want to be, and because of male oppression, see

themselves to exist “only to recognize a master” (Ritzer 2011:464); the master being the dominant man.

Therefore, as women are exploited and dominated by men, it is believed by theorists touting the critical feminist theory that “exploitation triggers the onset of female delinquent and deviant behavior” (Siegel 2008:186). Thus, Maslow’s theory of human motivation and the critical feminist theory are complimentary and explain drug trafficking among female offenders and in particular the experiences of the 13 female offenders incarcerated at the Women’s Prison in Arouca, Trinidad.

Maslow’s Theory of Human Motivation

According to Maslow (1943), basic human needs are categorized into hierarchies, beginning with the most important physiological needs, followed by safety needs, love needs, esteem needs, and finally the need for self-actualization. Maslow (1943) noted that basic human needs would “arrange themselves in hierarchies of pre-potency” (p. 3), meaning in order of importance and significance at any given moment in a person’s life. Because this is an automated action, as soon as one need, also termed a *drive*, is satisfied another need may surface and that “every drive is related to the state of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of other drives” (Maslow 1943:3). Maslow (1943) explained that because this is a hierarchical structure of human needs, that regardless of the manner in which the need is satisfied, much of human behavior can be moved by one or more motivations and that human motivation is not homogeneous.

Huitt (2007) addressed the Maslow hierarchy and placed the needs in a pyramid to reveal the importance of each as can be seen in Figure 1. Huitt (2007) identified the

needs in order from the bottom to the top, the bottom being the biological need of physical comforts such as food and water. The following needs are therefore not biological but psychological, beginning with the need for safety and/or security; the need for “belongingness and love” (Huitt 2007) or the need to be accepted by others, and the need to be recognized or “gain approval” (Huitt 2007) and therefore build the individual’s self-esteem. Huitt (2007) also added cognitive and aesthetic needs to Maslow’s hierarchy and noted these needs relate to having the ability to understand and seek a sense of beauty, balance and order. The need to find fulfillment in one’s life is attained through self-actualization and Huitt (2007) further lists self-transcendence at the top of the pyramid. Maslow (1943) identifies individuals who reach this top rung in his hierarchies are “the exception” (p. 11) in society and these individuals are expected to have the “fullest (and healthiest) creativeness” (p. 11).

Beginning the discussion of the hierarchical order of Maslow’s Theory of Human Motivation is the biologically motivated physiological need. Maslow (1943) discussed the physiological need as being the “starting point” (p. 4) in human motivation. Maslow (1943) revealed that an individual’s body is maintained at a “constant, normal state” (p. 4) and when the organism has been disrupted by the lack of an important physiological event, homeostasis automatically assumes control and returns the body to that constant. Maslow (1943) reported the “physiological needs are the most pre-potent of all needs” (p. 5) and therefore represents the highest form of human motivation.

In addressing the need for safety as a human motivation, the Maslow (1943) noted that once biological needs have been satisfied, “then emerges a new set of needs” (p. 6) and when an individual is presented with an unfamiliar or unsettling event, the need for

safety will step in and “serve as the almost exclusive organizers of behavior” (Maslow 1943:6). Maslow (1943) also noted this need cannot always be recognized by others, because as adults, we have been instructed to not show fear, threat, or feelings of danger. Therefore, Maslow (1943) noted the need for safety becomes a predominant factor during any type of an emergency such as “societal disorganization...chronically bad situation” (p. 8). In that instance, this safety need will rule, and “if it is extreme enough and chronic enough” (p. 7), the individual may place safety above all other needs. Interestingly, Maslow (1943) also argued that in an instance where an individual has an emergent need for safety, he or she will often “search for a protector, or a stronger person on whom he may depend” (p. 9). A woman who is dire need to support her family, may in turn look for her *protector* and believe the individual recruiting her into drug trafficking is that *protector*. Additionally, in a case of emergent needs such as feeding one’s children, a woman may therefore turn to drug trafficking as a means to meet that emergency, even if the risks outweigh the reward. In consideration of this specific human motivation for women participating in drug trafficking, if a woman has been chronically impoverished, she may use the opportunity to traffic in drugs in order to compensate her economic status with a windfall of money, likely not caring about the possibility of arrest or conviction, or worse yet, health concerns.

The next need in the hierarchical pyramid is the love need. Maslow (1943) revealed more is known about the need for love than any of the remaining hierarchical needs, other than the physiological ones, due to the number of clinical research projects conducted on the subject. Maslow (1943) also included “both giving and receiving love” (p. 10) are integral elements to be considered in the love needs. When the previous needs

of physiology and safety are satisfied, Maslow (1943) posits the need for love will emerge and the desire for contact with friends, significant others, or family, will surface and that the individual will likewise look for his or her placement within society.

Research has shown that women often enter the drug trafficking community because of a friend, a family member, or a spouse/significant other, revealing the need for love also prompts the specific criminal activity. Similarly, Zavalloni (1973) identifies an individual's social identity as the "perception of himself and of others" (p. 67), and if this person is lacking that perception of his or her place within society, motivation to act to achieve that placement can be found in criminal endeavors. Zavalloni (1973) studied individual's self-identities within a group (or societal) context, and also noted that social environment is a predominant element in the identity of individuals and that his or her view of *self* within a society is a key component to finding the individual's niche. Maslow (1943) stipulated that those within society who have not fulfilled this particular need are those found with "maladjustment and more severe psychopathology" (p. 9). Therefore, the love need, the need for an individual to be able to identify within a specific group, family or society, may motivate a person to take part in crime such as drug trafficking in order to foster his or her group, family, or societal placement.

The need for esteem followed in Maslow's (1943) discussion of human motivation and this need was defined as being an individual's "desire for a stable, firmly based, (usually) high evaluation of themselves, for self-respect, or self-esteem, and for the esteem of others" (p. 10). Maslow (1943) further stated that self-esteem was based on "achievement and respect from others" (p. 10). Likewise, Zavalloni (1973) addressed a sense of self-esteem is evaluated through the social roles of the individual and if those

roles are considered by the person as fulfilled or unfulfilled. Therefore, based upon this self-concept, the individual will adjust his or her behavior accordingly. Maslow (1943) also maintained when individuals meet the need for esteem, it would lead to a sense of being “useful and necessary in the world” (Maslow 1943:10). Paradoxically, those in search of that sense of self-esteem might participate in crime such as drug trafficking in order to see themselves as a positive member of their society.

The last in the hierarchy of human needs in Maslow’s (1943) theory is the self-actualization need. Self-actualization is identified by Maslow (1943) as “[w]hat a man *can* be, he *must* be” (p. 10). Specifically, a man’s “desire for self-fulfillment, namely, to the tendency for him to become actualized in what he is potentially” (Maslow 1943:10) better describes self-actualization. This human motivational element varies in form in different people, and depending on the desire of the individual, self-actualization will manifest itself in that desire. Maslow (1943) uses the example of self-actualization being the desire to become the “ideal mother” (p. 10), and keeping that in mind, if a woman feels that desire, and is unable to adequately provide for her children, in order to become the *ideal mother*, she might participate in drug trafficking in order to have enough money to feed her children. As well, self-actualization can be likened to a sense of empowerment, and Maslow (1943) stipulated that when an individual feels empowered, there is a belief that he or she has become “everything that one is capable of becoming” (p. 10).

Critical Feminist Theory

Gender-based theorists, in order to explain causality of female offending, have suggested theories such as gender difference, gender-inequality, gender oppression, and structural oppression. These contemporary theories have guided much of the work in feminist sociology. In Ritzer (2011), the gender difference theory posits that men and women differ in experiencing various situations. Naturally they differ in biology, but aside from biology, the social needs between men and women vary in fulfillment of specific roles as well as their contrasting needs in “self-definition” (Ritzer 2011:462). In looking at the gender inequality theory, two points stand out: (1) men and women are not just treated differently, they are treated unequally, and (2) the status of women in a social setting is less than that of men, including their power of “opportunities for self-actualization” (Ritzer 2011: 466). Theories based on gender oppression stipulate that the circumstances of women are directly linked to power relationships with men, meaning men are dominant and women are subordinate and at the will of the dominator (Ritzer 2011). And lastly, structural oppression argues the oppression suffered by women directly results from the “controlling, using, and subjugating” (Ritzer 2011: 475) by men. All four of these theories consider inequality and oppression as they apply to a variety of variables, including class, gender, race, ethnicity, and age (Ritzer 2011).

Keeping in mind the gender-based theories, critical feminist theory becomes an important tool in producing a new, clearer understanding of female offending. The critical feminist theory is based on the inequality that rises from the power men hold over women in a society driven by capitalism (Siegel 2008). This inequality can foreshadow the events of exploitation by men, namely fathers, husbands, and significant others, over

the women in their lives. According to Siegel (2008), this domination by men can be attributed to the history of patriarchy, which is a system that values the work of men far more than that of women. In a patriarchal society, privileges and rights of men are far superior to those of women, and this “characterizes the vast majority of societies throughout history and the world” (Akers and Sellers 2009:268). In addition to the exploitive nature of patriarchy, the theory also proposes that male masculinity is accomplished “at the expense of women” (Siegel 2008:186). In Siegel (2008), masculine behavior is described as being emulated by males in all cultures to be that of what is *ideal* to that culture. In the culture of western societies, that *ideal* is characterized as being “authoritative, in charge, combative, and controlling” (p. 186). Also in all cultures, men who do not conform to whatever the *ideal* may be must prove their manliness, and crime is often the vessel for that proof. According to Siegel (2008) directing violence toward a woman also demonstrates “physical bravery” and “manhood” (p. 186) and mandates that masculinity.

Paternalism is an additional element of the critical feminist theory and that part of the power-control theory attributable to criminality in women. As a segment of the power-control theory, theorists argue that gender differences which create criminality in women have two factors; power or class position, and control with regard to family functions (Siegel 2008). In a paternalistic family, Siegel (2008) proposes that because the parents assume traditional roles of father as breadwinner, or “in a command position” (Akers and Sellers 2009:277) and mother attends to the home, and is in “an obey position” (Akers and Sellers 2009:277), these positions ensure the stage is set by this “parent-daughter” (Siegel 2008:187) relationship for females to be unlikely participants

in criminal behavior. However, Siegel (2008) goes on to stipulate that for females who are relegated to behavior they find dissatisfying, will seek more risky behavior such as criminal activity. Thus, criminal activity and the patterns of that behavior can be perpetrated by gender conflict and has become commonplace in the postindustrial era (Siegel 2008).

Likewise, Williams and McShane (2004) address the outcomes of patriarchy in terms of the capitalist driven society. These theorists state in this type society, groups, such as men and women, attain unequal statuses and opportunities and because women are exploited by the system of patriarchy, females often take part in crimes identified by Williams and McShane (2004) as crimes of accommodation. Meaning, while men commit violent crimes, women will likely commit vice and/or property crime. Additionally, Williams and McShane (2004) indicate issues of “race, class, and gender” (p. 263) propels young women in particular, into “complex cycles of victimization and offending” (p. 263). Not only does dominance through patriarchy aid in understanding the differences in gender and crime, it also reveals a great disparity in offending males and victimized females in cases of sexual and domestic violence (Akers and Sellers 2009).

Similarly, when considering patriarchy and female criminality, Parker and Reckdenwald (2008) contend that patriarchy is a direct reflection of the subordination of women in society and reveals their underprivileged positions. Parker and Reckdenwald (2008) also posit that female offenders become involved in criminal activity because of economic marginalization created by “female unemployment and poverty levels” (Parker and Reckdenwald 2008:7) that are indicative of the statuses of women. According to

Parker and Reckdenwald (2008) the marginalization of women's status economically is the "leading contributor to female crime" (p. 8).

Lastly, in an explanation of the role patriarchy plays in female offending, Cullen and Agnew (2003) relates female offending to the patriarchal practice that relegates violence or sexual abuse towards young girls, stating that because of this abuse, and to escape from the circumstances, girls will run away and "seek refuge in the streets where they must commit crimes to survive" (p. 400). Ironically, these young girls often turn to the very sexual exploitation they were trying to escape as victims. Cullen and Agnew (2003) also maintain that because of the difference in the socialization of men and women, their response to strains are equally different and that "inequality is integrally involved in the criminogenic strains that women experience" (p. 401).

In concluding the discussion on Maslow's theory of human motivation and critical feminist theory, it is clear that both theories have merit in the exploration of drug trafficking among female offenders. Maslow (1943) stipulated that at any given time in the life of an individual, whichever need is the least satisfied becomes the most predominant need and "will monopolize consciousness" (p. 18). Meaning, if an individual's least satisfied need is self-actualization, also identified by critical feminist theory as difficult for exploited women to achieve, that need will become the most pressing and the person will automatically do whatever is necessary to address the lack of empowerment, be it through economic gain, a love interest, or performing a criminal activity that might satisfy the specific need. Maslow (1943) also cautioned that his theory is not the same as other theories of behavior, but that motivation is one segment that prompts certain behaviors and "[w]hile behavior is almost always motivated, it is also

almost always biologically, culturally, and situationally determined” (p. 3). Involvement in drug trafficking, for women, can be equated to and explained by all the hierarchies of Maslow’s (1943) theory of human motivation. It can also be argued that it is “biologically, culturally, and situationally determined” (p. 3). Additionally, critical feminist theory also connects behavioral patterns of criminality to various conditions such as the “gender conflict created by the economic and social struggles” (Siegel 2008:185) as well a society in which capitalism is “marked by both patriarchy and class conflict” (Siegel 2008:185). And thus, keeping in mind Maslow’s (1943) theory of human motivation as well as the critical feminist theory, when faced with a life-changing event such as the loss of a spouse or a job, or not having enough money to attend to the needs of a family, or the need for attention, or the need for the love of a man, or to overcome the feelings of less power due to childhood experiences, some women may turn to criminal activities such as trafficking drugs to meet those needs and satisfy safety, security, love, and “self-definition” (Ritzer 2011:462) needs.

SURVEY OF LITERATURE

A survey of the literature reveals several themes including recruitment strategies and techniques used by leaders of drug empires to enlist drug traffickers, the influence of pop culture and folklore that glamorizes successful drug traffickers, and the possibility of economic gain through trafficking in drugs. The research literature also suggests the role of past victimization and abuse among females, childhood experiences that might cause females to participate in drug trafficking, the need for empowerment and status lacking in the lives of women who choose to participate in trafficking drugs, and the risks

associated with that crime. The literature review also includes methods of distribution such as internal and external concealment and end with the responses of criminal justice entities worldwide.

DRUG TRAFFICKING AMONG FEMALE OFFENDERS

Recruitment Strategies/Techniques

Olmo's (1990), research of female offenders in the women's prison in Cuenca, Ecuador, suggests that as early as the 1980s, the drug trade had "become the largest transnational economic and political enterprise" (p. 40) and women as a general rule have played dominate roles. Likewise, Adler and Adler (1983), in a study of drug traffickers in the border region of southwestern California, noted that only "half of those recruited came directly from the drug world's social scene with no prior involvement" (p. 199) in drug trafficking. As well, Decker and Chapman (2008) conducted a study to understand the "personal experience of smuggling drugs" (p. 20) from the individuals who engaged in that activity and reported that recruitment was a two-fold operation: individuals recruited as first-time traffickers and those who repeated the criminal activity. Decker and Chapman (2008) also further discussed new recruits into drug trafficking were not always involved in other drug activities, but because of family connections to upper-level drug lords or because they were known to members of the cartel families, they were specifically chosen to be recruited and perform the illicit activity. Decker and Chapman (2006) also concluded that "friendship provided a large number of contacts for new

sources of labor” (p. 98) for the organizational kingpins looking for drug trafficking recruits.

Edberg (2012) reported, in an ethnographic study of narco-traffickers on the Mexico and United States border, that recruitment to trafficking “often occurs across generations” (p. 261) and that family members and long-time friends are used to traffic drugs across borders. Likewise, Decker and Chapman (2006) suggested that “ethnic ties” (p. 96) such as kinship and/or friendship contributed greatly to the recruitment of traffickers and leaders of the drug organizations tended to lean towards self-protection and protection of the product by utilizing relatives and life-long friends to transport their goods.

Women are often recruited to become drug traffickers because of low economic statuses. Moreover, Olmo (1990) reported women who were recruited to work in the drug trade often did so because of their statuses and economics. Olmo (1990) also reported women were recruited to work as secondary participants, such as becoming drug mules or couriers, and used the opportunities to work in the illegal trade when unemployment was greatest (Olmo 1990). Additionally, Campbell (2008) addressed the socioeconomic status of women recruited as traffickers and termed them as being marginalized and “generally the most vulnerable” (p. 242) in the hierarchy of the drug trafficking business. As well, because women are often the victim of drug trades by virtue of involvement in trafficking; these women take the maximum risks with minimal reward. Likewise, Huling (1995), in an examination of female offenders in prison in New York state, reported lifestyles and socioeconomics seemed to be the decision maker for many of the women confronted with recruitment to engage in illicit drug trafficking and they saw the

opportunity as a “survival strategy when there [were] more opportunities for illegal employment than for legal work” (p. 59).

In another study, Fleetwood (2010) conducted ethnographic research of female offenders in Ecuador and reported coercive tactics used against women in recruitment attempts varied, such as serious threats against her children, the use of manipulation, or coercion through debt. Many of the subjects in Fleetwood’s (2010) study revealed they were recruited because of “circumstances of deprivation” (p. 8). As well, examples provided by Campbell (2008) of women recruited to traffic in drugs often included violent lifestyles because of threat of physical harm, arrest and imprisonment, and the possible loss of children or other important family members.

In 2006, Joseph analyzed data collected between 1993 and 2005 from prisons in England and Wales and concluded that gender, race, and nationality all played an important role in the decisions to engage in criminal activity such as drug trafficking. The author reported those who have been faced with oppression, marginalized, or disempowered through gender, race and nationality, may be the very group of individuals who commit crimes, and in particular drug crimes (Joseph 2006). Likewise, an earlier study completed by Green et al. in 1994, using female offenders arrested at “Heathrow and Gatwick Airports between 1990 and 1992” (p. 479) further suggested that nationality and gender proved to be determinants of those recruited to become drug traffickers, and women from “West Africa” (p. 485) were overrepresented. As well, Hutton (2005), in an analysis of female involvement in drug offending in England, suggested that drug crimes have been habitually and incorrectly linked to men because of the sense of the male ideal, which is “tough, aggressive and smart” (p. 546). Although Hutton’s (2005) study was

centered on drug dealing based on interviews with two men and one woman, the foundation for the discussion regarding gender can be applied to drug trafficking. Hutton (2005) also disagreed with an earlier study performed by Denton and O'Malley (1999) that regarded drug crimes to be a male-dominated occupation. However, Denton and O'Malley (1999), in a study of female drug dealers in Australia, concluded that women could become effective members of the drug crime network and only in certain instances should they "be consigned to the status of victims or subordinates" (p. 528).

Economic Gain

Davies (2003), in an examination of economic crimes that women become involved in, argued that women, "because they are victims who are pushed and driven into crime to escape from poverty, abuse, and hardship" (p. 290) participate in crime, in this instance the crime of drug trafficking, for economic gain. Olmo (1990) also argued the necessity for economic stability was a lesser obtainable status for women than for men and that women in Latin American societies "developed survival strategies" (p. 43) in the areas of economic gain by becoming involved in drug crimes such as trafficking. The author further stated that economic hardships presented "more opportunities for illegal employment than for legal work" (Olmo 1990:43) and in order to leave the lower economic statuses, women would often work in the drug industry. As such, the women in Latin American countries acted in lower-level positions and were paid very small amounts in contrast to the large amounts of money being profited by the drug dealers (Olmo 1990). As well, the women performed the "most difficult work" (Olmo 1990:44) and often that work, which included children as well as women, carried with it health

concerns because of working in direct contact with the cocaine. Other participation by women that promised to make money included providing places of storage for the drugs in their homes until it could be transported out of the country, which meant that because the Latin American women were not employed outside the home, they would frequently be the only family member present if the drugs were detected and would be the only individual placed under detainment during a drug raid (Olmo 1990). Hence, although the promise of economic gain may be the catalyst for women to store the drugs in their home, the threat of arrest and conviction is higher than for that of men (Olmo 1990).

Adler and Adler (1983) determined that “successful operators can earn upwards of a half million dollars per year” (p. 195) making economic gain appear to be one of the major reasons for participation in drug trafficking. The authors found that only the higher level members of drug trafficking operations used their positions as a “full-time occupation” (Adler and Adler 1983:196) and the profits realized by these dealers depended how they ran their business and the security of their operations. Adler and Adler (1983) also found that many of the traffickers and the dealers maintained a tight-knit community and frequently held a lifestyle that included “lavish spending” (p. 197). This type of lifestyle was not often experienced by the low-level traffickers, in particular the women, because they were members of the *crew* and experienced a relationship with the dealer or sponsor to be that of “benign paternalism” (Adler and Adler 1983:200), providing lesser economic gain for the trafficker than for the dealer.

In a later ethnographic study of drug traffickers in southwestern United States, Adler (1993) noted many entered the drug trafficking business because of a need for economic gain and “easy money” (p. 99). The author explained women who were

struggling to support families as heads of households would agree to work as couriers in order to provide for children regardless of the risk (Adler 1993). Similarly, Fleetwood, (2010) in an examination of motivations of Latin American women participating in drug trafficking, found that many of those female offenders interviewed described financial concerns and supporting families as their primary reasons for becoming engaged in the criminal activity. Fleetwood (2010) reported that women who performed as *mules* did so as a means of “providing for their family [or] response to a pending crisis such as debts” (p. 6). The author also addressed the financial needs of Jamaican women who headed their households as the motivational factors for decisions to participate in drug trafficking. Fleetwood (2010) also argued the women who engaged in drug trafficking may not have always been confronted by a financial crisis, but saw the “opportunity to gain some improvement in the living conditions of themselves and their family” (p. 6).

Campbell (2008) noted the impact of the drug world and subsequent trafficking performed by women, that the status of women in society gained new meaning, and that among the countless motivations used women to traffic in drugs, his research showed that most begin their occupations as “a desperate economic measure” (p. 259). But the author also noted the women who participated as mules could “earn more money...and perhaps use that wealth to move up in the social structure and consolidate a stronger position in their households” (p. 260). As well, Geiger (2006), who studied female offenders in the Neve Tirza Women’s Prison in Israel, stated they “struggled against intolerable socioeconomic deprivation” (p. 582) and used the economic gain of drug trafficking to improve their statuses.

Fleetwood (2009) investigated the economic motives of female offenders incarcerated for their involvement in drug trafficking in Ecuador and found myriad of reasons. Listed among the motivations of the female offenders trafficking in drugs were redecorating their houses, funding drug habits, financial independence, providing for children's futures, and financing relatives' operations (Fleetwood 2009). The author also noted that financial crisis such as debts and emergencies created the need for an economic gain and prompted engagement in drug trafficking (Fleetwood 2009). However, Fleetwood (2009) also noted that many of the emergent financial hardships were "intertwined" (p. 131) with other motivations that had resulted from previous drug uses, bad relationships, lack of education, unemployment, and other "connective motives: for the benefit of themselves and those surrounding them" (p. 136).

Griffith (1997), in addressing the economic gain provided by drug trafficking in the Caribbean, revealed that "employment, income regeneration, and revenue enhancement" became the predominant assets of the crime of drug trafficking. Although Griffith (1997) stated that it would be difficult to stipulate the number of people who were provided employment opportunities through trafficking in drugs, his examination into the amount of income generated revealed drug trafficking provided both primary and supplemental incomes for those who participated. Griffith (1997) also noted the "relative economic deprivation and poverty in the region" justified engagement in drug trafficking for many (p. 182). Likewise, Adler (1993) addressed the income generation of drug trafficking as being "incalculable" (p. 41) for the dealers who employ the traffickers. The costs of doing business such as the cost of "attorneys, bail bondsmen, and fines" (p. 41) could create losses for the drug lords.

In stark contrast to the reasons female offenders become involved in drug trafficking in order to support families or raise their standards of living, Decker and Chapman (2008) added the dimension of economic gain in order to maintain “a party lifestyle, acting in concert with friends and relatives” as an important reason women become involved in drug crimes such as trafficking. The authors noted that nowhere else could an individual, in particular a woman; make the amount of money in the legitimate job market as could be made by drug traffickers in such a short timeframe (Decker and Chapman 2008).

Influence of Pop-Culture and Folklore on Drug Trafficking

Campbell (2005) revealed, in a study of drug trafficking folklore, the importance of pop-culture to the drug community. Likewise, Edberg (2001) revealed the popularity of the “traditional narrative music genre called the *corridor*” and the manner in which the pop-culture of drug trafficking is romanticized. Contrary to the negative ideal espoused by President George W. Bush that drugs were an “unmitigated evil” (Campbell 2005:328), stories told in social gatherings served to lessen the evil of the drug traffickers and promoted them as “people who are simply trying to make a living” (Campbell 2005:328). As well, Edberg’s (2001) study reveals that traditions and history promotes the drug traffickers as “social bandits or heroes,” (p. 259) and that their “*celebretization*” (p. 259) serves to reveal the factors of culture and socioeconomics. Although most of the stories and songs represent the dealings and trafficking activities of many of the more famous Mexican drug kingpins, Campbell’s (2005) study focused on the commonplace dealers and traffickers such as everyday people: some were high school students, store

clerks, and “waiters, teachers, and government employees” (p. 333). Conversely, the Edberg (2001) study examined the *narco-corridos* as interpretations of “class or social position” (p. 261) and circumstances, and not as individual histories. Edberg (2001) also stipulated the songs and stories were not absolute in their details but those listening understood the *corridos* were based upon truthful accounts.

Campbell (2005) explained that because the areas on the border, both within Mexico and the United States are the “most impoverished” (p. 327), and that citizens residing in that region on either side of the border views drug trafficking as a “practical, quick way poor people can increase their incomes” (p. 327). Meaning, that not only do the traffickers obtain substantial earnings from their occupation, but the common everyday individual can also make easy money. Campbell (2005) provided an example of that easy money as “by allowing a drug courier to store a duffel bag in one’s apartment overnight can net \$200” (p. 327), making the business of drug trafficking seem lucrative and risk-free. Thus, the stories and songs representing the drug trade are mere entertainment to be conveyed to listeners who have either participated or have “immediate relatives and friends” (Campbell 2005:327) taking part in drug trafficking in some form or another. The Campbell (2005) study also revealed the “pervasiveness of drug-trafficking stories, and the strong popularity of *narcocorridos*, indicates the degree to which narcotics’ trafficking is accepted by the general public” (p. 327). Edberg (2001) also revealed the commonplace acceptance of drug trafficking by the society in the region and that “growing drug-related plants (opium poppies, marijuana) has for a long time been closely integrated into the life of many rural villages” (p. 261). Also revealing the glamorization of the trafficking business, Edberg (2001) discussed that weapons used by

the traffickers had “cultural nicknames: The AK-47, for example, is popularly known as a *cuerno de chivo* (horn of the goat) after its long, curved clip” (p. 261-62), and suggested that many of the villagers know the term and its meaning.

Campbell (2005) also discussed the multitudes of people involved in drug trafficking on the Mexico-United States border as being “thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands” (p. 327) and that customs inspectors on the border call it the “*culture on the border*” (p. 327). Similarly, Edberg (2001) also referred to the drug trafficking on the border region as the “tapestry of community” (p. 262). Edberg (2001), while interviewing youth on both sides of the Mexico and United States border, found the lifestyle of the drug trafficker was a reality and described it as “*how it is*” (p. 262). A reality so prevalent, that Edberg (2001) explained when on-stage performers are sharing their songs and stories, “someone will come from the audience and give them handwritten lyrics, or a home-recorded tape, for a *corridor* about something that happened in their town or area” (p. 262). The celebration of the triumphs over law enforcement of the drug traffickers is a common theme of the *narco-corrido*, also serving to “immortalize” (Edberg 2001:262) and idealize the drug trafficker. Campbell (2005) also explains the romantic stories and songs follow certain patterns of glorification that begin with “the initiation, the confession, the boast, the cautionary tale, and the horror story” (p. 328). One example of the glamorization of the *corridor* was revealed through a story of children of “drug cartel leaders” (p. 331) going to the same private schools attended by the children of law enforcement agents fighting against the very same leaders. In another story, a teacher in a border-town school had given her students a lecture about drug trafficking and loaned some of her students books; upon return of the books from the students, and sometime

later, the teacher found a “packet of heroin” inside one of the books (Campbell 2005:329). Campbell (2005) revealed the most common reason the stories were shared was to “boast about the teller’s knowledge or personal exploits...[b]oasting is also a key feature of *narcocorridos* and classic *corridos*” (p. 331). In the Edberg (2001) study, drug trafficking was also glorified through the “portrayal is one of power and daring...narco-traffickers as powerful and fearsome...an aura of excitement...valiant” (p. 263). Edberg (2001) also revealed the spiritual side to the *narco-corridos* and that in one border town, a member of the drug trade was honored as a saint with a shrine that people often visit and would “leave momentos or flowers” (p. 264). Both Campbell (2005) and Edberg (2001) provided evidence that drug trafficking is glamorized, sensationalized, and glorified in the border regions between the Mexico and United States border and can be an influence on the crime of drug trafficking.

Childhood Experiences, Past Victimization, or Abuse

Geiger (2006) reported a number of female offenders who engaged in drug trafficking referred to a “childhood filled with emotional, physical, and/or sexual abuse” (p. 586) and attributed their criminal activity as a means to overcome negative life-long effects. Li and MacKenzie (2003), in research conducted on probationers in the mid-Atlantic region of the United States, found that “antisocial tendencies formed early in life continue to be reinforced throughout adolescence and early adulthood” (p. 280). Meaning, an individual growing up in an antisocial childhood, regardless of the type of abuse, will likely carry those tendencies into adulthood and be a mitigating factor in becoming involved in drug trafficking and other crimes. The authors also noted that

“family and society” (Li and MacKenzie 2003:280) effected females more than males and that females may have a greater preponderance to engage in drug trafficking or other criminal activity. Likewise, Leverentz (2006), through research that consisted of women ex-offenders having already served sentences but living in halfway houses upon release in a large mid-western town in the United States, discussed outcomes of women exposed to drugs through childhood experiences early in life. The author’s findings indicated members of the respondent’s families such as “parents...siblings or cousins” (Leverentz 206:470) were initially responsible for their involvement in drugs and drug trafficking. Similarly, Evans, Forsyth and Gauthier (2002) conducted a study of the life histories of ten female crack addicts in treatment in small southern towns in the United States in order to discern if childhood experiences had an effect on their addictions or prompted them to become involved in crime that might lead to drug trafficking. The authors found that “childhood sexual abuse” (Evans et al. 2002:492) was a prevalent response as half of the women reported they had suffered through this specific type of abuse. As well, Evans et al. (2002) reported many of the respondents in this study also suffered through childhood neglect because of the parents’ drug abuse. Garcia (2007), performing an exploratory study on upper-level drug traffickers who had served time and had either Latin American or Mexican ancestry, revealed respondents suffered from childhood experiences of impoverishment and forced immigration to the United States. The author also reported that because numerous respondents had come from large families, “love towards them was rarely expressed by their parents, resulting in feelings of alienation and lack of self-worth” (Garcia 2007:91). The author argued this lack of self-esteem in childhood experiences prompted the respondents to become involved in drug trafficking.

Geiger (2006) found that female offenders often participated in drug crimes and prostitution due to their victimization as adults. Findings indicated that many of the female offenders had survived an “abusive and oppressive family” (Geiger 2006:586). The author also noted that females who had been oppressed, abused, and impoverished used “engagement in crime, drugs, and prostitution often represent the last expression of resistance” (Geiger 2006:591) available in order to “negotiate a positive identity” (Geiger 2006: 592). McCartan and Gunnison (2009) interviewed female offenders housed in a correctional facility in the southwestern region of the United States and revealed women with prior sexual abuse were more likely to participate in unhealthy relationships that lead to criminal activity. The authors argued that women who experienced prior sexual abuse had lower “self-images as well as a difficulty in staying employed” (McCartan and Gunnison 2009:1463), which may have led to choosing to participate in criminal offenses such as drug trafficking.

Fleetwood (2010) argued victimization and abuse of women becoming involved in drug trafficking also came in the form of manipulation and trickery. Fleetwood (2010) revealed that respondents had been “manipulated” (p. 7) by boyfriends or family members and were often victimized by threat and coercion into drug trafficking. Further victimization was cited by Huling (1995) as female offenders claimed they were “tricked...by people who planted drugs in their belongings” (p. 15).

Empowerment/Status

Widom’s (1979) study of female offenders at a correctional facility in northeastern United States revealed they frequently suffered from feelings of “low self-

esteem and/or powerlessness” (p. 366). The author further argued that lower socioeconomic status can possibly create the same sense of a lack of power, and women, who participate in the drug trafficking economy, if successful, can help to build that feeling of power or empowerment (Widom 1979). Campbell (2005) also spoke to the empowerment achieved through drug trafficking and suggested that even though the empowerment may only be temporary, successful trafficking activity can make a sizeable amount of money which often builds self-esteem or a sense of power. Campbell (2008) also reasoned that as women gained status in drug organizations they would feel a “degree of power” (p. 260) rather than victimization. Campbell (2005) expressed that stories and folklore portraying the exploits of those who engage in the illicit trade, even the women, instill a sense of the “individual’s positioning within social structures of knowledge and power” (p. 328). Thus, if an individual, in particular a woman, is successful, she has been granted empowerment within her sub-culture (Campbell 2005). Likewise, Edberg (2001) concluded that *narco-corridos*, pop-culture type songs and stories that elevate the prestige of the drug trafficker, could provide “power and status” (p. 272) to females engaged in drug trafficking. Fleetwood (2010) also argued that many women involved in drug trafficking achieved status and empowerment and considered the endeavor to provide “fringe benefits” (p. 8) such as travel abroad, “excitement and a free holiday” (p. 8). As well, Adler (1993) added that successful drug traffickers had positive self-images and “feelings of power” (p. 99). Conversely, Campbell (2005) cautioned the role of a female drug trafficker has a darker side as the trafficker in general is often stigmatized and “labeled dirty” (p. 326) by those within mainstream society and serves to further diminish empowerment for a woman.

Risks

Hutton (2005) stipulated that dealing in drugs, no matter what fashion, as choice of a lifestyle would bring with it certain risks. Hutton (2005) also reasoned the risk to women is even greater than to men because they are often faced with “violence and intimidation” (p. 546) prior to recruitment as well as throughout the drug trafficking experience. Huling (1995) provided an example of that risk of violence with the story a female body packer that met with a vicious end when she arrived at her destination; the men who met her tried to remove the drugs by cutting open her stomach “without anesthesia” (p. 16) and eventually threw her out of the car in the driveway entrance of a local hospital. Adler (1993) also argued in the world of drug trafficking, violence and taking risks was not uncommon and addressed that dealers often had to show force and a propensity for violence in order to maintain their reputations and ensure success of their trafficking operations.

Decker and Chapman (2006), in a discussion regarding the risks of detection, pointed out that a confidential informant has become a useful tool in apprehending drug traffickers. Decker and Chapman (2006) stipulate a “confidential informant is an individual who was caught by a law enforcement agency...who receives a consideration for reduction in his sentence in return for his cooperation” (p. 128). The use of confidential informants is so widespread by law enforcement, that in the Decker and Chapman (2006) study, 50 percent of the drug trafficking respondents were arrested because of a confidential informant (p. 127).

Fleetwood (2009), in an investigation into drug trafficking by both men and women who had been imprisoned in Quito, Ecuador noted the respondents in the study

considered apprehension and incarceration to be the greatest deterrence and risk to becoming involved in the drug trafficking business. As well, in the songs and stories relayed by Campbell (2005), details revealed the risks taken by drug traffickers serving time in Mexican prisons as well as in other countries. One such story in the Campbell (2005) study was of a father serving a lengthy term in a federal prison for cocaine trafficking and the pride of his son who displayed newspaper stories of the arrest. Another tale spoke of a grandfather who had already served 20 years with 9 years left on his sentence for drug trafficking, and in other stories, an aunt serving a long prison term as well as the tale of the a “bank teller’s sister-in-law” (Campbell 2005:330) serving a drug trafficking sentence in Arizona.

Griffith (1997) investigated drug trafficking in the Caribbean and addressed the risks involved in the illegal activity. Griffith (1997) described the risk of possible capture and prosecution was dwarfed by the risk of “physical injury and even death” (Griffith 1997:83). The author reported this risk is most prevalent to the drug trafficker when flights have been delayed or canceled or the cocaine packages break open (Griffith 1997). Similarly, Kelly et al. (2007), in a case study of drug traffickers brought to the Emergency Room at a hospital in Ireland using the body packing method, reported findings that indicate the risks taken by drug traffickers can also be in the form of health dangers. Kelly et al. (2007) noted that even if they are undetected by law enforcement and may not face criminal prosecution, they risk becoming over-dosed resulting in possible death. Likewise, Goertemoeller and Behrman (2006), in a case study involving emergency room records in a mid-western city in the United States, found that traffickers choosing to ingest cocaine to transport it illegally, usually come to the hospital because

they “have developed drug toxicity, gastrointestinal obstruction, or because they have been captured and need medical clearance before incarceration” (p. 541). The authors noted that hospital records revealed individuals were treated by two methods: a laxative in mild cases to emergency surgery in severe cases (Goertemoeller and Behrman 2006).

DISTRIBUTION METHODS

Methods of illegal drug distribution have a wide range of creative avenues and Huling (1995) noted that various concealment methods of transportation that included a “small wooden statute filled with cocaine...a quilted suede coat...a long-line brassiere padded with drugs to wear back on the plane...a package of cocaine” (p. 16) and the ever popular form commonly referred to as body packing. Fleetwood (2009) stated that terminology used to describe the type of method utilized by drug traffickers is interchangeable; such as “carrier, courier and mule” (p. 100) being used when generally referring to methods of illegally moving drugs from one country to another. In the Fleetwood (2009) study, the role of a mule was defined as a “person who physically carries the drugs across international borders” (p. 101) and encompassed all types of methods of conveyance including external and internal concealment.

Fleetwood (2010), in a study regarding the international cocaine trade, highlighted the fact that drug mules concealed the illicit substances in various methods, “either in the stomach or other orifices” (p. 3). The author described the process of body packing was beginning to take shape in the 1970s when security at borders was increasing and it had become more difficult to traffic the drugs internationally (Fleetwood 2010). Fleetwood’s (2011) later research on both males and females in the prison in Quito, Ecuador, further

identified and defined a drug mule as an individual who transports drugs paid for and supplied by others and have therefore been recruited by drug dealers to move the unlawful substances. Additionally, Harper and Murphy (1999), in an analysis from 1991 through 1997, found that traffickers arrested at Heathrow Airport in London to be mostly transporting cocaine; a large portion of those apprehended were predominately female foreign nationals. Likewise, Fleetwood (2010) found the nationality of numerous body packers were from developing countries. Griffith's (1997) investigation of drug trafficking in the Caribbean, reported findings that indicated carriers used "every possible orifice of the human anatomy, every possible piece of clothing, all kinds of fruits and vegetables, and a variety of craft, furniture, and other things for the conveyance of drugs" (p. 81).

Internal Concealment

Body packing methods all have the same basic premise and in a study of body packers who commonly transit through Jamaica, Cawich et al. (2009) describe this method of transportation of illegal drugs to be the ingestion of "several small pellets that contain an average of 3-12 grams of Cocaine...encapsulated with a variety of materials including condoms, plastic film and even aluminum foil" (p.5). Even more disturbing than the ingestion of the drug is the method used once the body packer has reached his or her final destination; at that point the individual is "usually given laxatives, cathartics or enemas in an attempt to expedite delivery of their cargo" (Cawich et al. 2009:5). Conversely, Decker and Chapman (2006) argued that very few high-level drug traffickers in their study used body packers to transport drugs because as well as being the "most

difficult” (p. 83) it was also the least profitable. Likewise, Adler (1993) also revealed that body packing was not as advantageous as other forms of trafficking because no more than “a kilo at a time (body smuggling was even more limiting)” (p. 39) could be moved. In another study, Kelly et al. (2007) discussed various categories of body packing used to traffic drugs, in particular cocaine, from a medical perspective and procedures used to examine body packers, once brought to the hospital by law enforcement for evaluation. In this study, Kelly et al. (2007) argued that most body packers would go unobserved because of the difficulty in detection and identified four categorical types of body packing. Kelly et al. (2007:9) also identify Types I through III as being radiolucent, meaning not easily detected through x-ray and therefore difficult to distinguish and only Type IV could be discovered through this procedure, see Table 1.

Table 1. Four Categorical Types of Body-Packing

Type	Description
Type I	Loosely packed cocaine by two to four layers of condoms or other latex-like material. This type has the highest risk for leakage/rupture.
Type II	Tightly packed cocaine powder or paste covered in multiple layers of tubular latex.
Type III	Tightly packed cocaine powder or paste covered by aluminum foil.
Type IV	Dense cocaine paste is placed into a device, condensed and hardened. This is then packaged in tough tubular latex. This is then covered with colored paraffin or fiberglass. It is always radiopaque, rendering it easily identifiable on plain X-ray of the abdomen.

The Cawich et al. (2009) study in Jamaica revealed that hospital admissions had decreased in number and suggested the possible increase in measures being instituted to detect the drug traffickers in Jamaica was creating the downward spiral of numbers of

those caught as body packers. Conversely, in a case study conducted by Zuidema and Veenings (2010) in a Medical Center in Amsterdam of detainees brought to the hospital for evaluation by customs agents, the authors contend that presentation for illnesses due to body packing in emergency rooms has diminished and argued the processes being used to wrap the packages was improving and less traffickers were being intoxicated or hindered by bowel obstruction. Contrary to the Cawich et al. (2009) conclusion and the Zuidema and Veenings (2010) findings, Fleetwood (2011) suggested that because drug mules are often purposefully “sent in groups” (p. 383), in case one or two are caught; the others will go undetected by customs or law enforcement agents.

External concealment

Huling’s (1995) study discussed methods used by drug mules and listed various means used other than swallowing drugs to traffic illegal substances. As well, Griffith (1997) also identified several external concealment methods used by drug mules in the Caribbean such as cocaine being “found in the wound and within its bandages” (p. 81) of a trafficker’s leg wound. Other resourceful external concealment methods included cocaine being discovered in “cans of beer, juice...ice cream, false tops of drums, cigarette packaging...detergent, lumber, piñatas, false legs (of amputees)...dolls, Bibles, mannequins, bales of cloth...ceramic tiles, fiberglass dog kennels, bottles of shampoo and mouthwash...wooden coat hangers...and countless other objects” (Griffith 1997: 81). Griffith (1997) also noted that children are used as drug mules and that once, in 1994, a “sixteen-month-old dead baby was used to convey cocaine from Kingston, Jamaica, to London, England. The suspicion of an alert air hostess who found it unusual that the

'child' had not cried or fidgeted once throughout the eight-and-a-half-hour flight" (p. 87) provided the probable cause for the drug trafficker to be detained.

Fleetwood (2010) noted that placing the drugs into luggage became popular in the 1970s and has subsequently become the most "typical method of concealment" (p. 3). Some drug couriers, who were arrested, also reported they were completely unaware of their participation in trafficking the illegal substances, swearing the drugs had been planted either on their person or in their luggage without their knowledge (Huling 1995). Techniques for using luggage as the means of transport included suitcases with false bottoms or double lining as well as using souvenirs and other containers (Fleetwood 2011). Concealment methods also discussed in the Fleetwood (2011) study revealed other than being packed in luggage or disguised as packages, some drug mules strapped the drugs to their bodies or concealed the substances in their clothes. In addition, Campbell (2008) also suggested the mere culture of women provided for greater avenues of drug trafficking, and that "women have unique spaces in or on their bodies where they can conceal drugs" (p. 254) when being utilized as drug traffickers. Similar to the previous statement by Campbell (2008), Fleetwood (2009) also identified that female drug mules packed the substances into their underwear or on their bodies, and the drug packages were "customised for the individual mule's body shape" (p. 197). In agreement with Campbell's (2008) assessment of the use of female drug mules, Fleetwood (2009) also noted that because of the special shapes of women, the role of external body packing was "often filled by a woman" (Fleetwood 2009:197).

CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESPONSE TO DRUG TRAFFICKING

Interdiction

Griffith (1997) explored the means used by various Caribbean countries, including Guyana, Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago from 1994 through 1996, by interviewing criminal justice agencies, both governmental officials and private officials such as banking leaders, in order to discern the various procedures being utilized to combat drug trafficking activities. The author noted the simple geographic location of the Caribbean nations makes the area the most convenient transit point between the nations in South America producing drugs and the North American nations receiving the drugs (Griffith 1997). The author argued that Jamaica in particular, is a likely transit point “given its long coast line, proximity to the United States, its many ports, harbors, and beaches” (Griffith 1997:65).

Countries world-wide are using whatever resources available in order to deter drug trafficking and Cawich et al. (2009) examined several interdiction methods utilized to detain and discourage drug trafficking. Because of previous and extended experiences with drug traffickers transiting through the international airport in Jamaica, the method of profiling the arrival of passengers is utilized (Cawich et al. 2009) due to the fact that historically, body packing drug traffickers were females travelling alone. Griffith (1997) also suggested that drug trafficking is often carried out by old women because “they do not fit law-enforcement agencies’ trafficker profile” (p. 87). Once the suspected drug trafficker has been identified and detained, they are transported to the hospital for further “evaluation” (Cawich et al. 2009:5). According to Cawich et al. (2009), the government

in Jamaica has financed a significant number of resources to decrease the flow of drugs being trafficked through their country.

Conversely, interdiction efforts can be hindered by developing world countries too poor to spend the resources or their “sovereignty is often destabilized by a strong drug economy” (Decker and Chapman 2008:155) and these countries may be ineffective in slowing the transit of drugs. As well, Bartlow and Eom (2009) examined data provided through drug interdiction efforts of the “member countries of the Organization of American States” from 1984 through 2003, and in interviews with “former drug traffickers and the drug enforcement officials” (p. 129), to determine if open trade enhances or reduces the capabilities of countries to decrease drug trafficking. The authors concluded that “trade openness enhances the counter-narcotics operations of states in drug-producing countries in the Americas but weakens the interdiction capabilities of states in drug-consuming countries” (Bartlow and Eom 2009:136). Meaning, increased drug trafficking helps the nations that produce the drugs but hinders the efforts of stopping the flow of drugs into the countries receiving the drugs. Because the drug business, in particular the international trafficking of drugs is such an organized endeavor, and because there are extraordinary rewards and dividends compared to the potential costs, interdiction has become an increasingly difficult arena for criminal justice professionals (Decker and Chapman 2008).

MacCoun and Reuter (2002) also investigated drug control measures used in various countries by examining cross-national drug policies. The authors identified the eleven nations of, “Australia, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, France, Iran, Jamaica, Mexico, Portugal, Russia, and Sweden” (MacCoun and Reuter 2002:7) as having

excessive drug issues such as being the originating point for organizations involved in the illegal transport of drugs. The authors highlighted the ills and trials of international drug control measures and argued the United States drug control policies far surpassed all other nations in addressing “drug use and drug-related problems” (MacCoun and Reuter 2002:8). As well, the authors investigated many issues regarding the differences used by other nations to confront drug use, distribution, and trafficking, and found the measures to be specific to each country; such as “international treaties, health and welfare policies, individual rights... sociodemographics” (MacCoun and Reuter 2002:13). MacCoun and Reuter (2002) also identified many dynamics that provided positive influences on the manner in which drugs are trafficked, such as Mexico’s close proximity to the United States. Thus, because the borders between Mexico and the United States are more closely monitored, cocaine destined for distribution to the United States could travel more successfully by moving through Jamaica and other Caribbean countries rather than transit directly through Mexico.

Sentencing

Because sentencing processes for drug trafficking vary from country to country with little consistency, Decker and Chapman (2008) found it highly likely traffickers were unaware of the punishment they would receive if apprehended in any given country. The authors argued this lack of knowledge of penalties may have aided in the decision to engage in the drug trafficking (Decker and Chapman 2008).

In an attempt to classify a systematic structure of sentencing for drug traffickers, several studies have been completed to specifically examine the role of drug type, courier

demographics, and often the street value of the drugs transported, and studies such as the Green et al. (1994) examination of sentences pronounced by the courts in Great Britain, revealed, through an analysis of the type of drug, the demographics of the courier, and street value of the drug, that a Class A drug such as cocaine, carried a more severe penalty with a mean sentence of eight plus years. As well, the authors argued courts delivered sentences that were harsher for drug traffickers carrying cocaine (Green et al. 1994). In an additional study, Harper, Harper, and Stockdale (2010) examined drug trafficking in the United Kingdom from 1991 until 1997 to determine the sentencing structure of drug traffickers in that country. This examination resulted in finding the general sentence length was approximately five years, but could maximize to 25 years; however, when investigating the length of sentences for cocaine traffickers, the mean sentence length increased to more than six years (Harper et al. 2010). As well, Harper et al. (2010) further revealed demographics such as gender were only significant when traffickers were transporting Class A drugs such as cocaine; but otherwise factors such as race, nationality, or dependents versus no dependents, held no significant determinant in the length of the sentence given. Likewise, Sevigny and Caulkins (2004), investigating available data in the “Survey of Inmates in Federal and State Correctional Facilities, 1997” (p. 401) discovered that drug type did carry weight in sentencing in the United States in both state and federal prisons. Sevigny and Caulkins (2004) noted drug traffickers were likely to be given more lengthy sentences than mere users. The study also showed that “the more culpable, dangerous, and harmful drug inmates received the severest sentences and expected to serve the longest times” (Sevigny and Caulkins 2004:422). Additionally, Izenman (2003), investigated the differences in sentencing

guidelines between European countries and the United States, and found substantial sentencing differences. The author noted that in Europe, “circumstances in which the defendant was found with drugs” (Izenman 2003:535) determined sentences while in the United States, drug traffickers were convicted “through an elaborate system of sentencing rules and guidelines...depend only upon the amount of drugs (possibly adjusted for circumstances) and the defendant’s criminal history” (Izenman 2003:353).

As reported by Green et al. (1994), British Courts traditionally viewed robbery as a very serious offense that carried a sentence of approximately four years. The same British courts have been sentencing transporters of cocaine to terms of more than six years revealing the disparity between the offense of robbery, a sentence of four years, and drug trafficking, a longer sentence (Green et al. 1994). However, the probation services in Great Britain have established a new project whereby “social enquiry reports (and subsequently pre-sentence reports)” (Green et al. 1994:486) are provided to judges prior to sentencing. According to the authors, these reports have provided a favorable aspect when judges make their decisions regarding drug couriers (Green et al. 1994). Other sentencing disparities in Britain include the role of women, ethnicity, and nationality, and Joseph (2006) revealed that in Britain, “ethnic minorities and foreign-born women are overrepresented in the prison system” (p. 140). The author reported a minimal sentence of ten years is pronounced for drug traffickers who swallow the usual amount transported by a drug mule, “500 grams of a Class A drug” (Joseph 2006:140), and that the ethnicity represented the most in English prisons are those of Black and African Caribbean descent. Joseph (2006) further revealed there was great discrimination in sentencing decisions between women of ethnic minorities and white women. Likewise, an earlier

investigation completed by Maden, Swinton, and Gunn (1992) examined the ethnicities of the women in prison system in Great Britain and found that many of the female offenders were not citizens of the country, but were from West Africa. Maden et al. (1992) reported the large increase in representation of black women in the female prison population was due to the increase in drug trafficking.

The debate over sentence reform when relating to drug trafficking has been focused on the “over-representation of women compared to men” (Harper et al. 2010:101). In addition to the inequality of sentencing of women as opposed to men, women were also found to be taking roles that carry more danger, more risk, but were considered to have a lower status when serving as a drug mule or courier (Haper et al. 2010). Harper et al. (2010) revealed women were likely carrying “more drugs in terms of weight and value than male couriers” (p. 111) and were therefore being given longer sentences in countries that deem sentence length according to weight and class of drug trafficked.

In 2011, Fleetwood and Haas conducted a study to investigate the “issues surrounding women’s participation in the international drug trade at the level of international drug policy” to determine the extent of involvement of women in the global drug trade. Fleetwood and Haas (2011) cautioned that finding the exact involvement of women as drug traffickers would be impossible because their study was based solely on arrest and conviction rates and could never represent the numbers of women not apprehended. However, the study did reveal the differences in women being imprisoned because of participation such as a mule or courier, being “passive or active actors” (Fleetwood and Haas 2011:199) in drug offending or trafficking, whether or not the

women were unaware of the circumstances involved in trafficking drugs, or if they were punished because they were merely present when drugs were seized. The Fleetwood and Haas (2011) study revealed that a resolution established by the United Nations to look at the global drug policies was a first step at investigating gender issues and disparities in the apprehension and conviction of women who participate in the illegal drug economy. Similarly, in a call for sentence reform by Fleetwood (2011), it was concluded that sentencing guidelines should be revised, but also revealed this may not “result in a fairer system of penalties for drug mules” (p. 388) because there would still be a “reliance on weight as an indicator of seriousness” (p. 388). As well, no consideration would be given to the fact the female drug mule may not know the amount they are carrying or the courts would be unaware of the circumstances surrounding the recruitment of the mule or courier (Fleetwood 2011). Lastly, because the new guidelines may not be to the benefit of the drug mule regarding length of sentence, the revisions would likely be more beneficial to the professional drug trafficker who would adjust the business in order to adapt to the new guidelines (Fleetwood 2011).

SUMMARY

A review of the literature regarding drug trafficking among female offenders has revealed pertinent information by discussing how some female offenders become involved in the illegal activity, various distribution methods, and global criminal justice responses to drug trafficking. In the research studies available, topics were discussed that included why women in particular become involved in the trafficking of drugs, including the fact that many were the head of household and engaged in illicit activity to provide

for their families. Research on recruitment methods and techniques showed that often women have no previous connections to the business of drugs, but engage in the activity because of threats or coercion. Drug dealers also entice women into drug trafficking by displaying the possibilities of economic gain as well as the trade being glamorized by existing pop culture and folklore. Literature on drug trafficking research has also provided information that suggests childhood experiences such as parental neglect or abuse can push women into drug trafficking, and equal to those experiences is victimization and abusive relationships women endure as adults. Women who have engaged in prior criminal activity and women who feel less empowered through socioeconomic statuses or because of childhood experiences, victimization, and abuse by others are often those who become involved in the business of drug trafficking and will ignore the risks involved in the activity such as loss of freedom, families, children, business, and depending on the type of method of trafficking, possibly their lives. Literature is plentiful on the methods of distribution and discusses the two types, internal and external concealment. There are differing views on the most common type of concealment used, as well as differing terminology used to define the specific activity, but all methods carry with them the risk of capture or dire physical outcomes. Lastly, the literature available regarding the criminal justice responses worldwide addresses the interdiction methods used by countries most affected by drug trafficking and discusses various sentencing criteria of each nation. As well, criminal justice professionals and academics are calling for sentencing reform and suggesting that courts view the total circumstances involved in the trafficking event and not just taking the drug seriousness and weight when pronouncing sentences.

However, there were limitations to the literature available as few studies have been completed on the motivations used by female offenders engaged in drug trafficking. As well, the available literature failed to narrow and stipulate the exact terminology for methods of concealment; such as calling the transporters drug mules, carriers, or couriers. Although the literature was plentiful on descriptions of methods of concealment, both internal and external, there was no set terminology used to define the difference between a drug mule, or drug courier, or drug carrier.

A review of literature currently available provides insight into the activities of drug trafficking as well as the physical risks and penalties for taking part in the criminal behavior. However, very little research has been conducted to examine drug trafficking among female offenders and because there is a deficiency of qualitative research on the why certain women engage in drug trafficking, this study will fill that void by examining the drug trafficking experiences among 13 female offenders incarcerated in the Trinidad and Tobago Prison Service. Examination of these specific 13 female offenders will aid in forming themes and patterns in order to develop survey instruments to be used in future research. The following chapter will discuss methods and data analysis that guides this research.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodology that was used to explore drug trafficking among female offenders. Also included is a detailed description of the methods of qualitative research, the central research questions that guided this study, and the techniques of data analysis that was used to analyze the results.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This research was an exploratory, qualitative research study designed to examine drug trafficking among female offenders. The sample for this study consisted of 13 female offenders who were under the custodial control of the Trinidad and Tobago Prison Service (TTPS). Overall demographics of the sample for this study consists of four who identify themselves as African/Black, two Caucasian/White, one Asian, one Guyanese, one Jamaican, and four of mixed race/ethnicity. Additionally, the age groups best representing these female offenders consisted of 31 percent in age group 18-24, 31 percent in age group 25-34, 31 percent in age group 35-44, and 7 percent in age group 55 and older. Countries of origin of the 13 female offenders in this study were Trinidad (N=3), United States (N=3), Malaysia (N=1), Saint Vincent/Grenadines (N=1), Jamaica (N=1), United Kingdom (N=2) and Canada (N=2).

As indicated earlier, this was a qualitative study. Creswell (2008) defines qualitative research as comprehensive questioning of respondents followed by an interpretation of answers to open-ended questions and therefore gives the most in-depth

form of inquiry by the social sciences. In questioning why certain individuals take part in crime, in this specific study, the crime of drug trafficking, qualitative research is the best form of inquiry. Creswell (2008) further stipulates that qualitative research is conducted in a “natural setting” (p. 175) thus allowing the researcher and the respondent the ability to interact comfortably. Through this interaction, the researcher is able to view behaviors, body language, and voice inflections as well as interpretation of direct answers to open-ended questions (Creswell 2008). Qualitative research also affords the interviewer the capacity to establish themes and organize the data based on “abstract units of information” (Creswell 2008:175) that become more comprehensive through the process of the interview. Thus, Creswell (2008) recognizes that qualitative research is evolving during the interview discussions with the respondent and not preset as in quantitative methods of research. As well, Creswell (2008) views the qualitative research method as being “holistic” (p. 176) in that it enables viewing a larger picture rather than one single element of a situation or circumstance and clarifies many factors revolving around the actions of the respondent. Therefore, the experiences addressed by the respondents in this study will give insight into the pathways used by female offenders when entering the criminal community (Creswell 2008) of drug traffickers.

Qualitative research was the preferred method due to the fact it is all-encompassing of the thoughts and feelings that occurred in the minds of the participants from the onset of recruitment, through actual physical dimensions of the trafficking experience, to the thoughts and disappointments experienced due to incarceration. This type of research method provides rich detail and information that can provide framework for future studies as well as highlights how participants truly respond to their drug

trafficking experiences and subsequent incarceration. The qualitative methods form of research truly “gives a voice to the respondent” (Perkins 2012) and provides true-life insight into the experiences of the female offenders serving sentences in the Trinidad and Tobago prison for drug trafficking. The following exploratory inquiry guided this study.

RESEARCH QUESTION

This study was designed to explore why female offenders engage in drug trafficking in the Caribbean. Determining the response to this central research question was completed through the following inquiry:

1. How were you recruited for this role?
2. Why did you decide to get involved in drug smuggling?
3. Did you join in with friends, were family members or relatives involved in the activity, or did you initiate it on your own?
4. Can you describe for me how you think your childhood experience influenced you into getting involved with drug trafficking?

DATA SOURCE

The data for this research study was taken from a larger study sponsored by the Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity designed to explore motivations for drug trafficking among female offenders and to develop a profile of those incarcerated at TTPS. The study took place in January of 2010 at the Women’s Prison in Arouca, Trinidad and the data was collected by Dr. Melvina Sumter assisted by a graduate student. The total population of approximately 120 female offenders under the custodial

care of TTPS and of those female offenders, a total of 65 females, including the 13 female offenders further interviewed, volunteered to participate in the initial study. The female offenders included those previously convicted (N=45) and those awaiting judgment (N =20). Demographics for the total population of female offenders surveyed identified the following ethnicities: African/Black, 31 percent; East Indian/Indian, 22 percent; white, 9 percent; and 38 percent identified their ethnicity by the country of origin or other than those ethnicities already listed (Sumter and Alcala 2010). More than half of the female offenders, 64.6 percent reported Trinidad and Tobago as their domicile while England (9.2 percent), Canada (7.7 percent), and Jamaica (6.2 percent) were the other three major countries of origin (Sumter and Alcala 2010) of those incarcerated. Marital statuses of the female offenders participating in this study revealed that approximately 15 percent were married while more than 26 percent were widowed, divorced, or separated. Approximately 26 percent of the participants had never been married and more than 29 percent considered themselves as being involved in a common-law marriage (Sumter and Alcala 2010). Nearly 45 percent of the female offenders surveyed had an educational attainment at the secondary level while only 6 percent reported to have completed school at the University level (Sumter and Alcala 2010). Of the population of female offenders participating in the study, only 23 percent reported not having children while more than 61 percent of those with children reported having their first child prior to age 18 (Sumter and Alcala 2010). The average age for the population of female offenders participating in the survey was 32 (Sumter and Alcala 2010).

Semi-structured Interviews

To carry out the study designed to explore drug trafficking among the female offenders in the Caribbean, a purposive, then stratified sampling technique was used. First, the TTPS compiled a list of female offenders (remanded and convicted) incarcerated for drug trafficking. Afterwards, the female supervisor at the Women's Prison gathered the offenders together and provided an overview of the research project and asked for volunteers to participate in the study. Of the females who were remanded or convicted of drug smuggling, 22 of the convicted females volunteered to participate in the research study. Upon arrival at the prison facility, the researchers met with the 22 females and provided another overview of the study, invited the females to participate in the semi-structured interview and complete the questionnaire (discussed in the next section), explained the research process would entail a semi-structured interview which would be recorded, noted that participation in the study was voluntary and that all of the information given would be confidential. In explaining the confidential nature of study, potential participants were advised their names would not be used during the interview process; as such they would be given a pseudo name. Afterwards, the officer in charge utilized a systematic sampling technique, selecting every other female to be a part of the study. A total of 13 females were selected for the study to take part in the semi-structured interview process. Overall, the questionnaire inquired into the specifics of the drug trafficking experience of each participant, the origination and destination points of the drug, the method of recruitment, if the participant had been previously involved in criminal activity and/or drug offenses, their reasons for engaging in trafficking, if childhood experiences were influential in their decision to participate in drug trafficking,

and any other thoughts or feelings that might arise from their incarceration for drug trafficking. The semi-structured interviews were adapted from an assessment tool used by the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP 2008). Comments given by females were transcribed verbatim. See Appendix A.

ADMINISTRATION OF SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Akin to the selection of the female offenders who participated in the semi-structured interview process, the female supervisor presented an overview of the research process to develop a profile of the female offender process to the entire female population, inviting all of them to participate in the study. Out of approximately 120 female offenders at the facility, 65 females (including the 13 selected to participate in the semi-structured interviews) volunteered to participate in the study. The female offenders included remand offenders (N =20), and convicted offenders (N = 45). For these offenders, a survey was administered to each respondent to develop a profile of the females remanded and incarcerated by TTPS, and to understand how the onset of criminality as well as demographics, educational and/or work history, social and/or economic factors, and prior abuse may explain the decision to engage in criminal and other problematic behavior. Open-ended questions also probed the women's perceptions about living in prison. The survey instrument used in this study is a modified version of an assessment instrument developed and validated by Barbara Owen and Barbara Bloom in 1995, see Appendix B. Pseudo names have been used throughout the document.

In January of 2010, prior to carrying out the research, approval to conduct the research was obtained from Old Dominion University – Institutional Review Board.

DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of the transcripts used for the in-depth interviews revealed certain themes were present in the stories of those female offenders incarcerated for trafficking in drugs. Creswell (2008) explains that coding is the “process of organizing the material into chunks or segments of text before bringing meaning to information” (p. 186) and is an integral segment in qualitative research procedures. The process of open coding will be utilized and is defined as “data are broken down into discrete parts, closely examined, and compared for similarities and differences” (Babbie 2010: 401). Themes will be coded to reflect elements such as how the individual was recruited, how they came to the decision to traffic in drugs, were friends or relatives involved in drug trafficking, and if childhood experiences or upbringing influenced their engagement in drug trafficking.

Research is abundant studying male offenders engaging in the illegal activity of drug trafficking; however, few studies have been directed at drug trafficking among female offenders. Therefore, qualitative analysis is the best method to further gain insight into patterns that might emerge regarding the experiences of women who become drug traffickers and available data for this study will provide a treasure of information into the understanding of female drug traffickers.

The next chapter will discuss the findings of the data analysis of this study using the pre-existing data collected at the TTPS in January of 2010.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

This chapter discusses findings from the data analysis of the semi-structured interviews examining drug trafficking among 13 female offenders under the custodial care of the Trinidad and Tobago Prison Service (TTPS) in Arouca, Trinidad. The chapter begins with a discussion of the demographics of the 13 female offenders. Afterward the themes that emerged from each of the four questions guiding this study are discussed.

DEMOGRAPHICS

Of the 13 female offenders, it was revealed that four (30.8%) identified themselves as African/Black, two (15.4%) stated they were Caucasian/White, one (7.7%) said she was Asian, one (7.7%) reported she was Guyanese, one (7.7%) reported to be Jamaican and four (30.8%) stated they were of mixed race/ethnicity. The ages of the respondents ranged from 18 to older than 55. Ages of the 13 females showed that four (30.8%) were in age group 18-24, four (30.8%) were in age group 25-34, four (30.8%) were in age group 35-44, and one (7.7%) was in age group 55 and older; with the average age of 32. The 13 female offenders reported their countries of origin as Trinidad and Tobago (one, 7.7%), Canada (three, 23.1%), United States (two, 15.4%), Malaysia (one 7.7%), England (two, 15.4%), Saint Vincent/Grenadines (one, 7.7%), Jamaica (two, 15.4%), and Guyana (one, 7.7%). Marital statuses of the 13 female offenders at the time of incarceration varied; four (30.8%) indicated they had never been married, two (15.4%)

reported to be married, one, (7.7%) reported being separated, three (23.1%) stated they were divorced, and three (23.1%) indicated they were involved in a common-law

Table 2. Characteristics of Female Offenders Incarcerated for Drug Trafficking

Characteristic	Percentages	Interview Participants (N=13)
Country of Origin		
Trinidad and Tobago	7.7	1
Canada	23.1	3
United States	15.4	2
Malaysia	7.7	1
England	15.4	2
Jamaica	15.4	2
St. Vincent/Grenadines	7.7	1
Brazil	0.0	0
Guyana	7.7	1
Ethnicity/Origin		
African/Black	30.8	4
Caucasian/White	15.4	2
Asian	7.7	1
E. Indian/Indian	0.0	0
Guyanese	7.7	1
Jamaican	7.7	1
Portuguese	0.0	0
Mixed	30.8	4
Age		
17 or Younger	0.0	0
18-24	30.8	4
25-34	30.8	4
35-44	30.8	4
45-54	0.0	0
55 and older	7.7	1
Average Age		
	32	
Marital Status		
Married	15.4	2
Widowed	0.0	0
Divorced	23.1	3
Separated	7.7	1
Never Married	30.8	4
Common-Law	23.1	3
Other	0.0	0
Education		
Primary	15.4	2
Secondary	53.8	7
Tertiary	15.4	2
University	15.4	2

marriage. Educational levels of the 13 female offenders consisted of two (15.4%) reported only having a primary education, nine (69.2%) reported having completed secondary or tertiary educational levels, and two (15.4%) indicated participating in higher education at the university level.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data collected from the 13 female offenders incarcerated for drug trafficking is explored through the four questions guiding this research. From the data collected, themes emerged specific to each question asked in the semi-structured interviews. A summary of the themes specific to each of the questions is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Theme Summaries

<u>How were you recruited for this role?</u>	Number of Respondents
Preyed Upon	7
Earn Extra Money	3
Previous Involvement with Drug Trafficking	3
<u>Why did you decide to get involved in drug smuggling?</u>	
Bamboozled	8
Earn Extra Money	3
Not Her Decision	1
Protect Her Daughter's Father	1
<u>Did you join in with friends, were family members or relatives involved in the activity, or did you initiate it on your own?</u>	
Friends	11
Family	2
Initiated on her own	0
<u>Can you describe for me how you think your childhood experience influenced you into getting involved with drug trafficking?</u>	
Lack of a Parental Figure	6
Childhood Experiences did not Influence the Decision to Traffic Drugs	5
Sexually Abused as a Child	2

The following section discusses each theme as it emerged from the individual responses to each question.

HOW WERE YOU RECRUITED FOR THIS ROLE?

Three themes emerged from this question; preyed upon, to earn extra money and previous involvement with drug trafficking or related activity.

Preyed Upon

Over half of the females believed they were victimized. These females were at a vulnerable point in their life and the co-conspirator was aware of their difficulties. The co-conspirator used this information to his/her advantage to entice the females into drug trafficking. Moreover, these females shared they were not aware of being recruited to traffic drugs and expressed strong sentiments of being deceived by family, friends, and/or acquaintances. The co-conspirators, under the guise of friendship, would feign being a friend by offering emotional support or offer an opportunity for a nice vacation to get away from problems.

For example, Innaya was a young female with no prior history of drug trafficking, who at age 20 had never traveled outside her county of Malaysia. Innaya was recruited to traffic in drugs by a family friend who used her naiveté when she was promised a free holiday, but tricked because her luggage was filled with drugs. The long-time family friend, an older woman, who was trusted by Innaya's parents, offered to take her on a vacation and had spoken to her parents to ask their permission. Innaya described this woman as always being nice to her and giving her total support. The woman took care of

all the paperwork, including taking Innaya to get her passport and told her that she need not worry about anything; the only requirement would be to follow her overseas. Being young and naïve, Innaya explained her excitement at the chance to travel, thought it was a legitimate vacation, and had no idea she would be trafficking drugs. Innaya said,

...imagine, at my age 20 years old yeah right 20 years old when you going to vacation in a different country. It's like the best thing in your life that you can share with your friend that you can say I go and met this people and that's why I was so excited! I was really, ya know I was thinking about it like this ya know...

Table 4. "How were you recruited for this role?"

Name:	Answer:
Sheree	They never recruit me for anything...I was just at the wrong place at the wrong time
Agatha	Recruited by a male business acquaintance.....cocaine or whatever so I'm not going to be a person to bring it into the country.
Lana	...no idea until my brother asked me to go on the trip [to] Guyana.
Amy	I was s'posed to come here with...He was a good friend...someone I could trust ya know. Drugs were planted in suitcase.
Daloris	I'm a party girl. So I go this thing I meet this guy and they ask me ta do it.
Innaya	I did not know; because actually I was following my friend going vacation.
Jacquie	It wasn't my first time this was my second time...long-time friend she had previously trafficked for asked her and she accepted...
Norma	...give me a trip into Suriname and I going to bring a suitcase with some clothes...
Thelma	It's not really recruited...um it's like umm, well I met somebody here on the internet so I came over to see that person.
Angela	...umm so I just got caught up...got paid for holiday and spending money...so I took the offer.
Mariah	...so to fix his situation I agreed to traffic it back to Canada.
Shanay	Well, was under false pretense that I was caught here...
Lisa	girlfriend she had married a Nigerian gentleman...and he said that he had ways for her to make umm some extra money before Christmas

Similar to Innaya, was Shanay's story. Shanay, who was older and had no drug trafficking history, was manipulated by a man she thought was her friend. Shanay explained that she took vacations often because she worked good jobs and was financially stable, and on a previous trip to Panama, she met this man, they became friends, and began corresponding. Shanay described over time their friendship grew to the point of intimacy and that she told him about the domestic problems she was having and that she had attempted suicide. She believed him to be genuinely concerned and stated he offered for her to visit him in Trinidad to get away from her problems. Initially, she was going to spend two weeks with him where she thought he was conducting his business. She also revealed she felt as though they were becoming closer in their relationship and said,

...ya know as a woman and becoming close in the relationship and things and when a man offers you to meet his parents and family you thinking he's taking you serious and I was more than glad.

Shanay also described the friend as being a "nice guy and everything" and they had discussed making plans to strengthen their relationship; as such, she believed that was the purpose of the trip. Because she trusted him and believed they were developing a personal relationship, Shanay stated she was recruited "under false pretense."

Norma, who was having financial issues, shared her story of how she was also duped by someone she thought was her friend. Norma, with no prior history of drug related activity stated she had never been arrested. She also spoke about the bad economy in Jamaica and the high cost of living and explained she could barely meet her family's needs. Therefore, Norma believed the opportunity to deliver items to make extra money was enticing and said she knew people who had done that and thought it might be a good

way to help with the finances. Norma described how her friend used her possible financial shortcomings as a means to lure her into taking the trip to Suriname and bringing back a suitcase. Norma thought the co-conspirator tricked her into drug trafficking by providing her airline ticket and telling her all that was necessary was for her to pick up the ticket, along with the suitcase. Norma talked about thinking she was not doing anything illegal and that she would merely be transporting clothes; although she was unaware the suitcase contained drugs, she did expect to be paid an unknown amount of money. Norma believed she was at wrong place because she had trusted her friend. Norma explained,

Is a genkleman from Jamaica. Axe me to come in Suriname on a visit. And he tell me that when 'a coming, I going to get a suitcase just to deliva...so that is what I end up here. Was at de right place de wrong time. De wrong place at...give me a trip into Suriname and I going to bring a suitcase with some clothes.

Thelma, who also had no history of drug trafficking activity, did not feel as though she was recruited but was deceived by someone she thought was her friend. Thelma met her friend through the internet social media of Facebook and had known him for about a year. She explained that while she was visiting in Jamaica, and because it was so close to Trinidad, she decided to go visit her friend. After she met him in Trinidad, Thelma described him as being "cool, he was friendly he was nice." However, just before she was due to leave, the friend told her there was something that needed to be taken back to England, and when she questioned as to what she was going to take, he explained that she would be transporting drugs. She told him about her fears to traffic the drugs, but felt she had no choice, saying, "cause I was already there." Thelma also described what took place after he told her about the drugs and further confirmed her belief that she had no choice. Thelma stated,

...while I was locked up for the two days...I said, I'm scared to do this kind of thing. He's like 'no it'll be alright' ting ting ting but anyway 'you don't have a choice' whatever, 'cause I was already there'...

Thelma also explained that she was due to leave on a Thursday but could not find her passport and had to postpone her departure to the following Monday. Later, Thelma's Facebook friend told her that he had found her passport and she said,

And then he goes 'Oh, um I found the passport in my friend's taxi car' and ting ting ting and then when he said to me that was the mission I realized he probably took my passport.

Amy admitted to a history of selling drugs but had not taken part in drug trafficking activity. She spoke about the man she trusted, that he had dated family members, and she thought of him as a good friend. Amy said she believed he must have known she was *gullible* at the time because she wanted to get away from home to be alone. Amy explained she always wanted to run when things got tough, even when she was a child, and that she often used poor judgment. She therefore took the friend up on his offer of a chance to get away from her problems. Amy described that initially she and her friend were supposed to take the trip together but he did not go because of his sick daughter. Amy explained that because her friend did not go on vacation with her as planned, she believed she was tricked into drug trafficking. Amy also insisted she would not have taken part in trafficking and stated,

Of course, because like I said I'm not a goody two shoes, I grew up around a lot of things and I have sold drugs but I wouldn't risk my freedom to do something stupid when there's many drugs where I live...I never knew anything about trafficking, like I had sold drugs before but I never really knew about trafficking so...

The last of the female offenders to report being manipulated by a friend was Agatha. Although not unfamiliar with drug crimes, her story involved a business

acquaintance who offered her a management position in his company. The friend offered to pay all her flight and hotel expenses and she agreed to go to Trinidad and see if the market was viable for the seamstress business. She described the week she spent in Trinidad as that of taking care of business such as ordering and buying materials and fitting clothes. Agatha noted what she called “red flags” during the course of the week, and wondered how the business acquaintance could provide an all-expense paid trip for her, with only minimal work being performed, as a means to determine if she was willing to accept the management position in his business. She also began to question the businessman about him being able to afford to fund the business venture as well as take care of her expenses. She said her acquaintance explained that if she were to bring something back on her return trip, he would be able to afford the venture and all the expenses. Agatha said she continued to question the man about what she would be bringing back and he finally told her she would be transporting drugs. Agatha explained,

...and he said and I'll give you \$10,000 I said well I don't need 10,000 dollars said I have a good job and I'm getting a severance pay and I don't do things like that! I said I have grandchildren I am NOT bringing drugs into the country because I don't want my grandchildren getting a hold of drugs...cocaine or whatever so I'm not going to be a person to bring it into the country.

Agatha told her business acquaintance that she didn't want to be involved in anything illegal saying, “I work too hard, I have too much to lose if I ever got caught.” However, not giving up, the gentleman made several more attempts to get Agatha to agree to be a part of the legitimate management side of the seamstress business in Trinidad, but she refused out of fear of involvement in any form. She told him she did not want to do anything illegal and no longer wanted to be a part of his legal business. However, the acquaintance further persisted and Agatha relayed that he begged her by saying, “please,

please, please!” and she finally gave in to his request. She explained her involvement in the business was under the agreement that she would not traffic drugs and he had to promise to never ask her again, or to force her, or to trick her into drug trafficking.

Agatha felt she had given the business acquaintance a sincere refusal to traffic drugs, and thought she could trust in their agreement. Having that feeling of assurance, she left for Canada with the intentions of making the final decision if she would take the management position permanently.

In another case, Lana was victimized by her brother because during her medical and financial problems, he was the only person that provided any type of support. As well, Lana worked for her family at a bar while taking business management classes to make her life better. She believed the trip to Guyana with her brother would be furthering her education as well as giving her brother the opportunity to take care of what she termed his “export, import” business. Lana was excited about going to Guyana and seeing other family members and explained that after they arrived, she went to stay with family and her brother went to a hotel. She said during her stay she helped make arrangements for a cousin who was getting married and she shared that her last days of freedom were wonderful. Lana was not aware she was being recruited to traffic in drugs until it was time for them to leave Guyana when her brother told her about the plan to transport the drugs. Lana’s brother used her sense of loyalty and obligation to him, because he had helped her through difficult situations, to manipulate her into trafficking in drugs. Even though she was initially unaware she was being recruited, she did agree to it and described her brother’s explanation about the drugs. Lana stated,

...he picks me up it was maybe eleven twelve o'clock at night and we go back to the hotel and he starts explaining stuff to me and I'm like O MY GOD...yeah, but I said you know this doesn't feel right, and he's like no we're gonna be alright...

Earn Extra Money

Three of the female offenders in this study were looking for ways to earn extra money. One of the females, Jacquie, reported being a single unemployed mother lacking in suitable child support and enduring intolerable living conditions. Moreover, Jacquie described her financial and living situations at the time were difficult because she was having problems collecting child support. She explained taking her child's father to court for more money, but the magistrate didn't award as much as she needed. She also stated that even though she was collecting her child support every month, it was to be spent only on the child and it was not enough to take care of living expenses. Jacquie also explained the problems she was having with her living situation and the lady she was living with was asking for more money. At the same time, Jacquie had a friend who joined the navy in England and told her to come there and take the test to try to enlist. But Jacquie needed the money for the ticket and couldn't find anyone to help her. Jacquie did try to get money for her ticket to England from her father, but was unsuccessful and also asked her boyfriend, who was going to pay for the ticket for her daughter, but no more. So in the meantime, her friend happened to call about the drug trafficking opportunity and Jacquie felt as though her problems had been solved. Jacquie described being recruited as,

...I knew the kinda business he was in, but then ya know, as I said desperate time call for desperate measure so...I was in need and while I was in need my phone rung and it was him because the year before I went and it was for him. And then he called and say...I say right now I need 'TING TING TING' he know the

situation and he said 'well I will send the ticket 'TING TING TING' and then you will come', WHATEVER WHATEVER.

Jacquie explained that although this was her first conviction, it was not her first time trafficking, and she stated the timing of the opportunity to traffic in drugs was the chance she needed to better her life situation. Jacquie explained that a friend she knew since childhood and who she had successfully trafficked for the previous year contacted her at the time when she needed money the most.

Another case of needing to earn extra money was Lisa, who had been involved in drug-related crime but was never arrested. Lisa told of a past that included selling drugs such as crack cocaine on the street and smoking marijuana from the time she was 11. She explained that she stopped smoking and selling the crack when she was 19 because she had two sons. She described an instance when one of them was mimicking her rolling weed one night and she decided it was time to stop because she was afraid he would go to school and do that in front of a teacher. She said that raising her children was a good deal of responsibility and was the reason she stopped her drug activity. She also did not want to get arrested and said she found a safer, but still illegal, way of making money. Lisa explained that she began to work in massage parlors and escort services. For several years she worked in the *sex trade industry* was making very good money; however, her fiancé did not want her working in sex trade so she had to quit that as well. Lisa described how she met with her friend and found out about the opportunity to make money. Lisa's friend, who was married to a Nigerian man on *paper* only, explained that he had opportunities for them to make extra Christmas money. Lisa's friend explained they would be carrying *profiles* from one country to another, but Lisa was adamant that she wanted nothing to do with drug trafficking or doing anything illegal and said,

...cause I told her right off the bat I'm not interested in anything that has to do with trafficking, I'm not interested in anything that has to do with drugs. I'm not doing nothing like that...[they were to] pick up profiles and hand deliver them to the people in the other countries and they will pay us \$3,000 per person to do that, with a fully paid vacation.

Lisa questioned what *profiles* were and was told repeatedly that it was not illegal. When her friend's husband explained how the *profiles* would be placed in her suitcase and she would not be handling them, she decided to take the opportunity to earn the extra money. However, after she arrived in Trinidad, she met with the contact holding the *profiles* and discovered they were actually stolen identities such as passports, credit cards, and birth certificates that were illegal. Lisa decided that since she was already there, and she needed the money, she would participate in transporting the *profiles*.

Soo, while I'm here I realize that the profiles are illegal. So now I'm here already and I was like okay, well it's only paper...you know I was like...I was still kinda nervous...but I was like it's only paper I'll be alright, you know it's just in the suitcase, I'm like...you know...Soo for myself I was like I didn't have any reason to suspect that it had anything to do with drugs because they had already gone and come back...

Lisa explained that she planned to put the money towards her wedding and she said, "I was supposed to get married in June last year. My first marriage..."

Angela and her fiancé accepted the offer to traffic in drugs to earn extra money. Angela explained that she had been involved in illegal activities when she was growing up and that she was classified by her friends as a *Ride or Die* type of personality. Angela stated she accepted the offer to earn extra money by trafficking drugs and said,

...just got caught up I said I need...that's fine everything go paid for holiday and spending money...so I took the offer."

Angela was told the airline ticket, some spending money, and the hotel would be paid for in advance and that she and her fiancé were to go to Tobago to pick up the drugs. Angela

was told that when they arrived in Tobago, they would be met by someone with the drugs and that the transport method was to swallow the pellets. Angela, along with her fiancé, met with friends in Tobago to receive the drugs they were to transport and found they were already packaged and ready for the two of them to swallow. She said they were each asked to swallow 80 pellets.

Previous Involvement with Drug Trafficking

Three of the female offenders noted their lifestyle and previous involvement with drug trafficking led to them being asked to traffic drugs. One of the females, Sheree, who had previously been arrested four times for drug-related offenses and convicted three times, knew about the drugs because her common-law husband had friends that brought the drugs into her home. She didn't want to be a part of the drug dealing but never questioned exactly what was going on. Sheree said, "I never asked any questions about it because I never wanna be much of a part of it." Sheree believed she was in the wrong place at the wrong time as she was at her home in Trinidad when some friends of her common-law husband were there with the drugs in their vehicles. She described she would hear the men talking about how they were going get people to swallow the drugs and the methods used in compression of the powder into pellets, but that she was never paid to deal with the drugs. Sheree owned a retail clothing store and traveled back and forth to the United States to see her family and to buy for her business. Sheree also gave details about how she had turned to her family for help when she was in the *States* to get her clothing business running by borrowing money from them to build the business. Upon return from her last trip to the *States*, she was awakened by officers pounding on

her door and explained the officers took her to the station and asked questions. Sheree gave the following account of her experience,

They never recruit me for anything any roles, I was just at the wrong place at the wrong time...No, they never like had me in-depth in it, I know like to say you would see them or you would know, well these are these people who deal with them should but to say like...you see it you know what it is but to say like like you know exactly who is going to or what they gonna do with it...So you know, not like yah don't know stuff or not know like they do shit wit it, but like you nevah question it or wanna be a part of it asking or like you volunteering yourself ta leave the county wit it o nuttin' like dat no. I nevah add myself to the problem but I get added to the problem so I'm in this mess.

She was frustrated because this was the fourth time within two years she had been detained and taken to the police station. She explained that every time she went to the *States* and came back to Trinidad, her common-law husband would be involved with his drug-dealing friends and it would result in her being involved in the drug crime. She was also angry because at the time of her arrest, the common-law husband was not even present and she said,

SO I question him and I ask him whose gonna help? Look at the problems I already got into...and you wasn't even there, you wasn't even there at the house, you wasn't even there...the officers just take away...so tell me what, what's goin' on I didn't even know it had any stuff in there...

Daloris, who labeled herself as a *party girl*, had a history of drug related activities with three previous arrests; however, this was her first conviction. Daloris described that she wanted to make money to help with building a new business because in 2006 she had operated a business and wanted to start a new one. Daloris further explained that she met a guy at a party in Jamaica and he asked her to traffic his drugs, and since she needed the money, accepting the offer was easy. Daloris said,

Yeah so, I gone tell ya I'm a party girl. So I go this thing I meet this guy and they ask me ta do it. He didn't force me nor do anything I just give him the answer.

Yes. I know say it was like a money ting. Yeah it was like a money ting I was trying to make for MYSELF and so that's the reason why I do it.

As well, Mariah, who believed she was not recruited into the role, also had a history of drug trafficking and other drug-related activities. Moreover, Mariah was a single mother, who lived in Canada, and declared she was not new to trafficking and revealed her experience stating that,

I'm not new to trafficking...I've done a lot of trafficking since I was younger and I have a lot of connections EVERYWHERE

Mariah also shared that she had been surrounded by drugs, lived the lifestyle, and used to sell drugs when she was younger but never used the drugs. She also explained that she made good money and didn't need to traffic to make money at the time of her conviction. Mariah then told her story of how she became involved in drug trafficking for this current offense and explained that her daughter's father had been deported when she was pregnant. Mariah said she had previously taken the child to see her father at age four months, and at one year old, and on this trip, the child was about two. Mariah explained that while they were visiting, some men showed up one day asking why they couldn't get their money or their weed. The men told Mariah about the 40 pounds of marijuana that was lost and they wanted it returned; Mariah described what transpired between her and the men,

....I found out him and another guy ended up stiffing somebody else for 40 pounds of weed in Saint Marteen, but it wasn't him it was the guy he went with. So to fix his situation I agreed to traffic it back to Canada...not [to make money] for him but for the people that showed up, ...so I told them that if I fix it to traffic for them to get back their money if they'll rest the issue. They said yes.

WHY DID YOU DECIDE TO GET INVOLVED IN DRUG SMUGGLING?

When asked this question, four themes emerged; bamboozled, to earn extra money, not her decision, and to protect her daughter's father.

Bamboozled

Slightly more than half of the female offenders stated they did not make the decision to become involved, but were duped, into trafficking by the co-conspirator who used underhanded methods to lure their involvement in drug trafficking.

Table 5. "Why did you decide to get involved in drug smuggling?"

Name:	Answer:
Sheree	I never wanna be much of a part of it.
Agatha	...I don't do things like that! I am NOT bringing drugs into the country
Lana	I felt indebted to him ya know he helped me all those months
Amy	He was a good friend...but then I don't even know how my suitcase got broken because I never used my suitcase
Daloris	...it was like a money ting...cause I didn't want they money to do a business.
Innaya	I did not know; because actually I was following my friend going vacation. Not her decision; she was exploited by a family friend
Jacquie	I needed the money, single mom TING
Norma	Noo! He neva explain, no...they come and take me off de plane say they find something in de suitcase so I was so shock...
Thelma	Well basically when I did come here it was like 'I need you to take something back for me'...well, I had no choice so.
Angela	...umm so I just got caught up I said I need...And I said ooo ok a little bit of extra money 6000 pounds...that's fine everything go paid for holiday and spending money...so I took the offer
Mariah	...I'm not new to trafficking...I wasn't willing to let my baby's father sacrifice his life
Shanay	...nice guy and everything... when he told me about the drugs I told him it was ok... Yeah and I was ok with it.
Lisa	...it's just paper.' I said cool...agreed to it...sounds fine, fully paid vacation... it was at the point where I mean I was kinda feeling like it was something I had to do.

For example, to earn extra money, Lisa agreed to carry items for her friend called *profiles*; items she thought were legal. However, once she discovered the profiles were illegal, she agreed to transport the illegal documents to earn the money. Lisa explained that even though it was an opportunity to make extra money by transporting illegal items, she was tricked into trafficking drugs. Lisa described her decision-making experience as,

Four of us interested in making money...Cause I told her right off the bat I'm not interested in anything that has to do with trafficking. I'm not interested in anything that has to do with drugs. I'm not doing nothing like that...it's just paper.' I said cool...agreed to it...sounds fine, fully paid vacation...

Lisa also expressed she decided to traffic the drugs because once she arrived in Trinidad and met with the contact with the *profiles*, she felt somewhat threatened and said,

...and I was like you know it was at the point where I mean I was kinda feeling like it was something I had to do. I was here...I was here and the flights were already booked. And the guy that was here was kinda watching over me and stuff like that too. So I was kinda feeling like it was something I had to do. And plus I knew they knew where my family lived and I figured that they'd be really angry if they...if they knew that I had went back home after spending all the money they'd already spent and didn't get what they were look for.

Shanay was also tricked into drug trafficking by someone she met and had been corresponding with for two years as well as trusted because she thought he was concerned for her welfare. She described the circumstances as she and the previous boyfriend had not been living together because he had become violent and was stalking her. Shanay said she had taken out an order of protection against him, and that because of the situation, attempted suicide. Because she wanted to get away, Shanay accepted the friend's offer of an all-expense paid trip to visit with him in Trinidad. They had planned to travel on to Malta for her to meet his family and celebrate a family-member's wedding, but after arriving in Trinidad, Shanay discovered her friend would not be leaving with her because of a death in his family. Just before it was time for her to leave, he brought a gift

basket for her to deliver to the wedding party, and then explained there were drugs in the gift. Although Shanay believed this to be a trip to meet her friend's family, when she was confronted with the truth about trafficking the drugs, she decided to go ahead and take the trip and the drugs to further please her friend. Shanay explained,

And we had discussed our relationship and we had discussed and made plans to build our relationship to be stronger so that's when you know I was telling you how he wanted me to meet him his family, and so forth and everything and when he bought me the gift package which the drugs was in that...when he had explained it to me, I told him it was ok...when he told me about the drugs... Yeah and I was ok with it...And I decided ok no problem, it's money involved it's a free vacation it's a good guy and ya know and I wanna change my future and the money would help me to make a new start and things like that so I agreed to it.

In another case, Innaya, a very young woman who had never traveled before, accepted the offer presented by a close friend of her family. This was an older woman who offered to take her on vacation. Innaya was very excited to be going outside her own country but soon discovered it would not be much of a vacation. Innaya explained that while they were in Venezuela where they stayed about a week, the friend took her to various places that she described as, "REALLY rough with the graffiti all over the place...I was like WOW I want to go back [home]." While her friend remained in Venezuela, she sent Innaya on to Trinidad alone. Innaya was very concerned because she could not speak English and she was afraid. The friend told her to find a cab and to give the driver the address she had been provided; luckily Innaya found a very caring and older man that helped her as much as possible during the time she was alone in Trinidad. After more than a week by herself, the friend finally arrived in Trinidad and they left for London. The two took British Airways and when they arrived in London, Innaya's problems began. Innaya gave the details of the experience by saying,

Remember because I took this opportunity ya know but my friend know my mom...we take British Airways right we went to England the Immigration let her go and stopped me...more than ten times they scanned my luggage, even myself too...they haven't see a drugs yet but they want to send me in prison...so I ask why you want to send me in jail? [they said] 'because you don't have a ticket, if you stay outside which part who you going to stay with?'...immigration officers asked me so they will charge me a illegal in here...but they didn't charge me yet because I was begging I was crying...so the security agent was feeling REAL sorry for me they carry me to cureub right in this place in here cureub right which is the place is like a house but it locked me from outside...after five or six days I got my ticket to go back my country...I was HAPPY I pack up all my stuff and things and my luggage...so from here I have to fly to Tobago...my ticket I was asking the immigration and like the immigration said you have to fly from Frankfurt Germany you will go back to Malaysia...but before that I get a phone call from my friend right...so she said, yeah, you don't have to worry ya know. I want to let you know something and when I tell you this thing [she said] 'please do not panic', I say what you talkin' about? [laugh] I don't feel panicked right now, I just ready to go home...so she say there's something important in that luggage, right. She say when you reach in the airport in Malaysia somebody will pick you up...So what happened now she say...DA DA...da da in my language in English means drugs. I was like drugs [smile]...I was like YEAH RIGHT, I think this is JOKE!...So I was like YEAH ok, she may be pulling my leg...after I take the call two police officers came and say they want to carry me in luggage area and check my luggage and stuff like that, but I just COOL even though I knew that my friend was calling me and tell me something I was like normal because I knew there's no way to find the drugs in there because I been in ABOUT more than like 10 tests when I was in England and same luggage and there is scan, computer ALL, all they do...so they carry me going the baggage area, before they loading the luggage...going inside like a room like this and after that they opened and emptied the luggage right, cut ALL stuff, they touch in the lining you know they try to turn like uh the inner lining the luggage it was like a hard...so they cut the luggage, well I saw when they cut a cupboard like brown color cupboard. And when they open the cupboard inside there it's like a substance, white substance, ya know like a powder or something. I KNOW so stupid I think it was like a flour or something, it's like a normal thing so I just normal but remember she was telling me about cocaine, I never saw how the cocaine looks like. YES, I study, but I never pay attention about drugs before...

Norma was also tricked by a trusted friend who made arrangements for her to travel to Suriname and bring back a suitcase of clothes. A Jamaican friend of Norma's friend paid for the six-day vacation and she expected payment upon return of the suitcase. Norma explained that not having enough money was her problem and because she had

witnessed other people transporting goods, she thought this was an opportunity to make some much-needed money. Norma described how the connection was made between her friend and his Jamaican friend stating,

...he has a friend. Very believed in Jamaica. But since I come in Suriname when they tell me like such and such a person but he have a friend live in Jamaica that is a friend. Give me d, buy the ticket for me I say alright...give me a trip into Suriname and I going to bring a suitcase with some clothes right.

According to Norma, she was never told that she would be transporting drugs, and expressed that she decided to bring the suitcase back because she wanted to use the money to finish building her house. She explained that when she arrived in Trinidad, she was shocked when she was removed from the plane and said,

[she was told]...I find cocaine in your suitcase. Me say me miss, she say yes...so I was so shock. I lift my head and say O my God, why me lord? I start to cry...same time

Another case was that of Amy, who was offered a vacation to get away from her problems at home by a man she described as being a good and trusted friend. Amy, who said she was not a “goody two shoes,” explained that initially, she and her friend were supposed to go to Trinidad together, but he did not go because of his sick daughter. Because her friend did not accompany her to Trinidad, he arranged for his acquaintances to pick her up at the airport and took her to a guest house. Additionally, if she needed to go somewhere, arrangements were made for her to call her family friend and he would contact the people in Trinidad to pick her up and take her wherever she needed to go. Amy said she was miserable in Trinidad and said, “cause the whole time I was here I’ll I did was cry cry cry cry cry” and she tried to change her ticket to leave early, but it was too expensive. She decided she would remain the extra two days and when she was ready to leave Trinidad, she found her suitcase was broken. Her friend arranged to have a new

piece of luggage bought for her from the mall, although she believed the original suitcase was not broken when she arrived, she explained,

Of course, because like I said I'm not a goody two shoes...I grew up around a lot of things and I have sold drugs but I wouldn't risk my freedom to do something stupid when there's many drugs where I live...I like never heard of him trafficking like really. So I never really knew what trafficking was 'til now...but here the actual suitcase that was caught wasn't the actual suitcase I brought with me. So like my suitcase was broken and under the assumption that my suitcase was brought from the mall, because it was in a bag while I was at the mall. Whenever I switched my things from my broken suitcase into the new suitcase so umm pretty sure that that was basically set up...so it was already in a suitcase it was brand new, it came out of the bag and the mall...

Thelma explained she believed she had no choice but to traffic drugs. Moreover, she commented that she met the gentleman on the internet social media of Facebook and they had been *chatting* for about a year. Thelma expressed a belief that she knew the gentleman, had spoken to him over the phone, and generally felt comfortable with him. Thelma described her internet friend as being nice and friendly towards her until it was time for her to leave. Two days before her scheduled departure date, Thelma could not find her passport and had to change her airline ticket. But after her flight had been changed, her Facebook friend told her he did, in fact, find her passport in his friend's taxi. Then once the friend told her she would be trafficking drugs, she commented that she "realized he probably took my passport...to delay my flight..." Thelma explained that after he told her about the drugs, she began to feel threatened and felt she had no choice but to agree to traffic the drugs. Thelma elaborated,

...Well basically when I did come here it was like 'I need you to take something back for me' I was like what it is? So I was like already here and he started to get violent [5:09 inaudible] pellets...after he told me I wasn't allowed to go anywhere; I didn't come out the house from that like two days before...I said, I'm scared to do this kind of thing...he's like 'no it'll be alright' ting ting ting but anyway, 'you don't have a choice'...but what happened is like when he would leave and give me the stuff to swallow, because I only had 28...I couldn't

swallow anymore...after he took me to the airport and thing, and he's like 'don't do anything stupid, because I have friends in high places' and stuff... Basically, but I had a choice, if I had went to somebody at the airport, I had a choice there. So basically, half my fault.

Agatha, a business woman, was duped by an unscrupulous business acquaintance who had offered her a management position in his company. In order to get her to come to Trinidad, he paid all her expenses and told her she would be checking the area for viability of their specific business. During the time she spent in Trinidad, Agatha took care of business functions but noted what she termed "red flags" that troubled her. Agatha couldn't understand how her business acquaintance could afford to pay all her expenses based upon the fact she might take the position he offered. When she questioned him, he told her he could afford it all if she took something back with her when she left. This is when Agatha discovered she had been set up to transport drugs; and expressed she would not be involved in anything illegal, and especially drugs because she had her grandchildren to consider. She said,

...I don't do things like that! I said I have grandchildren I am NOT bringing drugs into the country because I don't want my grandchildren getting a hold of drugs.

Agatha then informed the business acquaintance that she wasn't even sure she wanted to be a part of his seamstress endeavor in Trinidad, but because he kept begging her to accept the original agreement, she finally agreed. In turn, Agatha made him agree that she would not traffic any drugs and he was required to promise her to never ask, force, or trick her into drug trafficking. Agatha thought she could trust in their agreement and left to return to Canada with the intentions of making the final decision. However, Agatha was apprehended at the airport and charged with possession of cocaine.

Joining her brother on vacation, Lana's brother used her feelings of indebtedness towards him to trick her into drug trafficking. Lana previously had a good job working as a toll service supervisor when she began to have difficulties with the cervical discs in her neck. After missing several months of work she discovered she would not be able to return to work because of her physical ailments. These physical difficulties were followed by other problems such as issues with her car, and through it all, her brother helped with her finances. When she was able, Lana began to work in the family business and was taking business management classes through the on-line university of Everest Institute. When her brother suggested she go on the trip to Guyana, Lana thought it would be a good idea and would give her the opportunity to visit with family and learn something about foreign markets. Lana was unaware this was a trip arranged to traffic drugs back to the United States. Because she felt obligated to her brother, when she finally found out about the drugs, Lana made the decision to traffic drugs for her brother and explained,

...Friday when he calls and he's like um get ready I'm coming ta pick you up. And I'm like huh?!... and he picks me up it was like maybe eleven twelve o'clock at night and we go back to the hotel and he starts explainin stuff to me and I'm like O MY GOD...and um it was ya know likeisay I felt indebted to him [brother] ya know he helped me all those months...

Earn Extra Money

Three of the female offenders made the decision to become involved in drug trafficking because they needed to earn extra money.

Daloris, who had previously owned a business and lived in Trinidad, wanted to open another business and needed the extra money for that effort. Daloris also spoke

about her lifestyle, and how she went to a party in Jamaica and when asked if she would traffic drugs by someone she met at the party, she didn't hesitate to accept the offer. She explained,

...yeah well [smiles] I gotta tell u I'm a party girl, ok. So I go and meet this guy and he h'ask me to do it. He didn't force me, nor do anything I jus' give'em the h'answer. Umm, I know say it was like a money ting. Yeah it was like a money ting I was trying to make for MYSELF and so that's the reason why I do it. My fault, nobody dey didn't force me ta do it, just get the opportunity and I said yes, 'cause I didn't want they money to do a business.

Daloris explained that had she not gotten caught, she considered drug trafficking more and said she would do it, "maybe do it two more times...until I achieve what I have."

Angela, along with her fiancé, decided to traffic in drugs to earn extra money and take a holiday. They planned to get their finances in order, buy property and a luxury car, and had their efforts to traffic the drugs been successful, they wanted to start their own drug trafficking business in Tobago. Angela responded,

...umm so I just got caught up I said I need, I'm actually a manager for a call center, so and they said oh wow because you're a manager it would look good if you and your fiancé go on holiday. And I said ooo ok a little bit of extra money 6000 pounds [inaudible 4:45] that's fine everything go paid for holiday and spending money and et cetera so I took the offer.

Jacquie, who had a daughter, was unemployed and having problems with the lady she lived with who wanted more money. Even though she had taken the daughter's father to court, the child support she was awarded was minimal. Jacquie and her daughter were living with someone in St. Vincent and they wanted her to pay more money. So she was ready to get out and conveyed that desperation by wanting to leave to join her friend in England who had previously enlisted in the navy. But Jacquie needed the money to get to England and money to live on until she passed the test and was able to join the English

navy. After trying several avenues to get the money she needed, a friend she had trafficked for before happened to call her and Jacquie stated,

I don't know, I needed the money, single mom TING. To me I think I needed the money...I was gonna join the Navy, well when I go England I need money to spend, I need to put her in Daycare if I was gonna go courses [take classes] and ting. I need to put her in daycare and stuff like that. So...it was my fault because, I made a choice...so that's why I told you I feel I needed the money.

Not Her Decision

One of the females in the study stated that she did not make the decision to become involved in drug trafficking. Sheree had four prior drug trafficking arrests and three convictions and knew what was going on in her home with the drugs, but insisted she neither invited it nor did she try to prevent it. She said she knew exactly what they were going to do with it but didn't ask questions because she didn't want to be a part of it. But her association with her common-law husband and his friends made her a part of it. Sheree then told the story of the guys who involved her common-law husband and subsequently involved her in the drug trafficking,

...the guys who lived close by and my husband, not my husband my common-law husband he deal with them I guess. So, they get it from different people I guess, they get it from...Venezuela, if deh...you know whoever they hire they always have people to get the stuff down [and] they get rid of it here...like people, different people they give it out to and they...whoever they give it out to I can't say, and some people they give it to leave the country with it or they give it to have it done here...

Sheree explained that she had just returned from a trip to the *States*, buying for her clothing store and she was arrested by the local law enforcement. Expressing it was not her decision to traffic drugs and was more the fault of her common-law husband because he was involved with drug dealers, Sheree explained what happened and said,

...Yes, and every time I come back here I'm in this mess because every time I talk to you, you out of this I come back whoever hook you up wit it in the space of time I'm not there...I'm in this mess.

Protect Her Daughter's Father

Mariah based her decision to traffic drugs to ensure her daughter's father was protected. The child's father had previously been involved with drug dealers and had failed to deliver the money he supposedly earned for the sale of 40 pounds of marijuana in Saint Marteen. Mariah explained that when she and her daughter went to visit him, the encounter with the drug dealers took place. She had made arrangements with the drug dealers to be met by someone to pick up the drugs once she arrived back in Canada to even the score for her daughter's father. Mariah also explained that she would never have trafficked for anyone else if it weren't for her daughter's father and she described the situation,

Because I have, I'm not new to trafficking...I've done a lot of trafficking since I was younger and I have a lot of connections EVERYWHERE...So, I told them that if I fix it to traffic for them to get back their money if they'll rest the issues. They said yes...Umm hmm, those people are willing to do anything for their little 40 pounds of weed...and I wasn't willing to let my baby's father sacrifice his life.

DID YOU JOIN IN WITH FRIENDS, WERE FAMILY MEMBERS OR RELATIVES INVOLVED IN THE ACTIVITY, OR DID YOU INITIATE IT ON YOUR OWN?

When asked this question, only two themes emerged; friends and family. Eleven of the females' drug trafficking experiences were with friends and two were involved with family members.

Friends

Eleven of the female offenders stated they were accompanied by friends in the drug trafficking experience that brought about their incarceration. Six of the female

Table 6. “Did you join in with friends, were family members or relatives involved in the activity, or did you initiate it on your own?”

Name:	Answer:
Sheree	... my common-law husband...
Agatha	Male business acquaintance...
Lana	...it was my brother
Amy	He was a good friend...someone I could trust ya know...
Daloris	...I used ta see him when I go party...and I say yes because I DID want the money ta do my business.
Innaya	I was following my friend going vacation.
Jacquie	...since I was growin up I knew him...I needed money for the ticket!
Norma	He have a friend live in Jamaica...I say alright
Thelma	Friend on the internet...
Angela	Yeah...yeah friends.
Mariah	To protect her daughter's father
Shanay	...the man I came here with that I thought I knew...
Lisa	My girlfriend...four of us in total that were interested in making money.

offenders were involved with a friend, but initially were not aware they would be trafficking drugs and were either victimized or their circumstances were exploited by the friends.

Norma, who was 43 at the time of her conviction for her first offense of drug trafficking, unknowingly participated when she decided to go to Suriname for vacation and was told she, was to bring back a suitcase of clothes. She explained,

No, has a friend. Very believed in Jamaica. But since I come in Suriname when they tell me like such and such a person but he have a friend live in Jamaica that

is a friend. Give me de, buy the ticket for me I say alright. When I go home I go pick up my tick, pick up a suitcase.

Norma took the offer of the all-expense paid vacation of six days in Suriname with the understanding she would be paid upon her delivery of the suitcase. She explained,

...I never know that it was...that he senning it from. But tell me that I going to...give me a trip to Surinan and I going to bring a suitcase with some clothes right...Noo! He neva explain, no...Noo he never told me noting...Nor, he done paid me too...Bor, you neva make no arrangement...

Norma's trip would take her from Suriname, with a stop in Trinidad, and then on to Jamaica. Being unaware of the drugs inside her luggage, Norma was shocked when the three police officers removed her from the plane and told her they found cocaine in her suitcase and she said,

...Me say me miss, she say yes, me say o my God! Why me lord. I start to cry...same time...I was very surprised.

Innaya, became involved in drug trafficking because of a long-time family friend.

Innaya, unaware she was involved in drug trafficking, had never traveled out of her country and was very excited to be joining her on vacation. She shared that the friend did everything, including arranging to get her passport, and Innaya had no idea where she was going. She explained,

...because she hold my ticket, she carry me going to do a passport because I have no passport, I NEVR, I never traveling, NEER traveling in my life, FIRST TIME. So she carry me going to the immigration and every stuff like that ya know to uh, do a passport and stuff like that, so she told me I don't have to worry I just have to follow here that's all. Because she will support everything, so I don't really, I don't really study like think WHY? WHERE? Ya know I asking her...'which country?' and she 'overseas' that's all...

Innaya described her friend as being older and very supportive of everything she did and that is why she was so trusted. Innaya also expressed the woman had gone to her parents and asked their permission to take her on vacation and her parents agreed. Once they

were in Venezuela, Innaya began to wonder about what was going on because she described her vacation with the friend as,

Yeah so when we staying at Venezuela we stayin' about a week right...and she askin' me she carry me all over the place right...and she take me this kind of place and thing but I don't find it a vacation country because it was like REALLY rough with the graffiti all over the place...I was like WOW I want to go back, YES!! But she carry me um, going to like a mall a big mall and stuff like that but still I prefer back home my country...I never pay attention with that she's doing, ya know. She just leave me and pick me up and send me back in the hotel...but after a week now she got a ticket for me coming in Trinidad...I came for myself, alone right...well she said there is a place and she got a friend in here, she say she couldn't come with me because there is a reason...remember she have a business to do and stuff like that...

Innaya was devastated when her friend sent her to Trinidad by herself and more so when the friend just left her standing at the airport in England when the drugs were discovered.

She shared this story,

The immigrations stopped me but let her go. Right so what happened now I was like WHY WY ya know I was like my FRIEND, my FRIEND. They say, 'you HOLD ON' I was like...but NO NO NO, so my friend just walk ya know just left me ya know...but the immigration GO and spoke to her. Right, stopped there and talked to her. I don't' know WHAT she explained but I want to go to her but the immigration WOULDN'T carry me and just leave me there, right there and after that speak to her and after that after spoke to my friend, my friend just walk away but my friend was like 'I WILL CALL YOU', say like that. I was like, what what what?...I was like I don't KNOW WHAT to say I was just crying...

Amy, who was also unaware she was trafficking drugs, was 21 years old when she was convicted of her first offense of possession with the purpose of trafficking. Amy, who was having problems at home, explained that although she had sold drugs before, she did not know anything about drug trafficking. When a family friend offered to take her on vacation to get away, she agreed because she thought they were going together. However, as it turned out, the family friend was unable to go with her so she went alone. Amy's friend had arranged for some of his friends to take her wherever she wanted to go

while she was in Trinidad and each time she wanted to go anywhere, she would call him and then he would make the arrangements for her to be picked up. When the day came for her to leave, she said her suitcase was in the car and the zipper wasn't zipped because it was broken. She described what happened,

But then I don't even know how my suitcase got broken because I never used my suitcase but a few times and not to travel anywhere else...I got a new one when I went to the mall...and I was buying souvenirs...[at] Trincity, and I was buying souvenirs and the other person brought me a suitcase right, so...well I was under the assumption that...but I was with one of them and then another one was at the mall, like walking around ya know so when the other one gets a phone call and the other one said, they got the suitcase that was when...the end of like I didn't have to shop for a suitcase now so I went outside and under my assumption they bought me a suitcase...

Agatha, who was 57 at the time she was convicted of her first offense of drug trafficking, thought she was going to Trinidad to evaluate if she wanted to accept an offer of employment from a business acquaintance; she unknowingly became involved in drug trafficking. The acquaintance agreed to pay all her expenses while in Trinidad and during that time, Agatha assisted the man with his business. But she believed something just wasn't right about the entire endeavor and when she questioned him, he finally admitted that he wanted her to carry drugs back to Canada. She refused to take part in drug trafficking but after his assurance she would not be involved with the drugs, she agreed to work for him. Agatha said they made an agreement and it was her belief he could be trusted; but her friend exploited that trust and Agatha thus became an unwilling participant in drug trafficking.

Shanay, who was also initially unaware she was trafficking drugs, was convicted of her first offense at age 38. Shanay shared her story of believing in a man she thought she knew but found out she did not. Shanay explained how she met her friend in Panama

while she was on vacation a couple of years prior to this conviction. She described him as a nice person and said they had been corresponding for two years and she felt she knew him well. Shanay was having problems at home, and when she explained that to her friend, he offered her a chance to come visit him while he was in Trinidad on business and offered to pay all her expenses. She believed they were going to use the time to strengthen their relationship because he wanted her to meet his family and she was excited to have found a man she could believe in and decided that because he could not go as initially planned, she would go ahead to Malta without him and she said,

...I was happy because I'm away from my other problems it's a new life for me I'm reinventin' myself I'm in, I found someone that's good for me you know that's when I'm thinking you know. 'Cause I'm not that YOUNG anymore ya know ugggghhh I'm getting up in age and I'm just figurin' YEAH, YEAH, YEAH.

Shanay explained that on the day she was to leave he brought the gift basket with toiletries and when he finally told her about the drug trafficking, she agreed to do it and said,

And I decided ok no problem, it's money involved it's a free vacation it's a good guy and ya know and I wanna change my future and the money would help me to make a new start and things like that so I agreed to it...

Thelma also joined with a friend to traffic in drugs, and was convicted of her first offense at age 31. However, Thelma was not aware she would be transporting drugs until just before she was to leave. She explained that she previously met a friend on the internet social media of Facebook and they had gotten to know each other well. Thelma described him as being *cool* and friendly at first, but when it became time for her to leave, his demeanor changed. Thelma described the events that took place after her friend told her about the drugs and she said,

...if he wasn't there, I would be there and he would drop the gate and he would leave me inside. So, I didn't have a way to contact anybody really 'cause my phones, my phone doesn't work here...[asked if she felt like she had a choice] not really. Not really.

Thelma also described how she realized she had been set up when her passport became missing. Thelma explained,

...Actually I was supposed to left on the Thursday and I couldn't find my passport, and I can't leave without my passport so I had to go to the airport and change my flight for the Monday. And then he goes 'Oh, um I found the passport in my friends taxi car' and ting ting ting and then when he said to me that was the mission I realized he probably took my passport.

Thelma stated that in hindsight, had she known before what he was going to ask her to do; she would not have taken the trip to Trinidad.

Five of the female offenders were active co-conspirators with friends in the endeavor. For example, Angela, who was 19 at the time of her conviction, received a sentence of trafficking, first offense; she was aware she would be trafficking drugs and identified the people who met her and her fiancé in Tobago were people she knew and described them as friends. Angela admitted that she had been involved in illegal activities as a teen and spoke about how her friends classified her as having a strong personality. Angela became caught up in a plan for an all-expense paid holiday for her and her fiancé, which included extra money, and accepted the offer to go to Tobago. Once they were in Tobago, their contact gave them the drugs and told them to swallow 80 pellets each which had already been packaged. Angela said there were four people present when they were swallowing the drugs, and after swallowing a few, she could not swallow any more. She explained,

As I started ta swallow when I was in Tobago I got really sick, really dizzy my chest felt tight and that was probably like only the 3rd one, and my fiancé was probably like on the 38th...So I started to cry I was under a lot of stress, because I

was working myself up my throat got sore because I smoke as well so it even got sorer because I couldn't manage I couldn't manage I got to my 19th one I tried to swallow my 29th one and I kept throwing up throwing up and my friend called and said well look you're gonna have ta do it because how much you swallowed that's only for the ticket alone you're not going to be able to get any money so I was like under a lot of pressure. So this caused my fiancé to be under a lot of pressure so instead of him swallowing 80 he had to swallow more to make up for me...my boyfriend looked very sick, it was horrible.

Angela further described that during the time she was getting sick, the men that were present and watching her did not seem aggressive like the many horror stories she had previously heard. Angela said that because she wasn't able to swallow the designated amount, and to keep her fiancé from having to swallow more, the men decided that she would insert what she could not swallow into her vagina. Angela had a suspicion that something was going to go wrong and said,

On our way back to the airport I said to him 'something doesn't feel right' 'cause when we left the hotel I heard somebody else call the manager and the manager said, 'it's OK, I've already DEALT with that case'. So strait away I was like OH MY GOD they've phone the hotel they've phoned the airport [inaudible 13:35-40] I was just being negative. So we got to the airport he went away for about an hour 'cause we're both tall, so we were looking for extra leg room on the airplane...And it was HOT I'm not used to the weather at all I'm just HOT, DIZZY, just hoffin and puffin...

Angela's fiancé became sick before they got on the plane to go to Trinidad, was unconscious while they were in flight, and was transported to the hospital via ambulance. Eventually, both Angela and her fiancé were able to pass the cocaine pellets and they were charged.

Lisa, who was convicted of trafficking cocaine as a first offense was 29 years old, had a little different experience than the other participants with friends as accomplices in trafficking, because she thought she was trafficking illegal *profiles*, and not drugs. Lisa was interested in earning extra money, but said only if it was something legal, and

definitely not anything to do with drugs. Lisa was contacted by a girlfriend and told there were opportunities to earn extra money for Christmas. But there was some question about what these opportunities entailed. So after much discussion with Lisa's girlfriend and the man she was married to (a marriage of convenience and not a *real marriage*) who had the opportunities, Lisa decided she would take part because she had been assured it was neither illegal nor did it involve drugs. Lisa was promised \$3000 to deliver the *profiles*. However, when she arrived in Trinidad and made contact with the man who had the *profiles*, he explained what they were, and she said she realized they were "basically stolen identities" and were illegal. Even so, she decided to go ahead and transport them. Lisa explained,

Soo while I was here I realize that the profiles are illegal. So now I'm here already and I was like okay, well its only paper...you know I was like...I was still kinda nervous...but I was like it's only paper I'll be alright, you know it's just in the suitcase, I'm like...you know...the other three [participants] had already gone and come back...Soo for myself I was like I didn't have any reason to suspect that it had anything to do with drugs because they had already gone and come back.

Once she arrived at the airport, but not having checked in as yet, Lisa said that two officers came to her and asked her to come with them. When she questioned why she had to go, they told her they had received a tip she was trafficking drugs. Lisa explained that she didn't know anything about drugs and was comfortable going to the room where they x-rayed the suitcases. She explained they were drilling holes in the metal bars and other areas and she decided to tell them about the documents in the suitcase lining. She said that she "basically ratted" herself out, but when they opened the lining, there were no files. So they began opening the hygiene products; the lotion, toothpaste, cotton balls, and Q-tips, and found nothing. In the mega pack of Lever 2000 soap, there were eight bars of cocaine, shaped like soap. Lisa said,

I wouldn't have been able to do it. If I knew it was cocaine, honestly, any type of drugs, I wouldn't have been able to do it. I have anxieties. So, I was kinda even worried about how I'd be able to pull it off going through customs immigration with profiles. Like I'm the kind of person that I get nervous and I'll...people can...people can read my face...I can't hide things well. So, even just doing the profiles, I was kinda nervous in saying what if my face goes read. I'm the kind of person my face will just go beat red, or just different things you know. Like so I know for a fact, to do drugs, to transport drugs, I wouldn't have been able to do it...

Jacquie, who was convicted of her first offence of possession of cocaine with the purpose of trafficking at age 23, was aware she was involved in drug trafficking. Jacquie described her situation as a "desperate time" and explained that she was having financial problems and needed to leave St. Vincent where she and her daughter had been living. Being a single mother with financial needs, Jacquie took the opportunity to traffic again but blamed herself for her incarceration, and said,

...it was my fault because, I made a choice, there's choices in life and then it's you makin' wrong choice, bad choice. It was my fault, I made the choice, if I had patience I would nevah be in this situation. So therefore it was my fault nobody didn't put a gun to my head and say "Carry THIS!" so and so place. It was my choice It was my fault.

Likewise, Daloris, who was convicted of her first offense for trafficking, at age 35, described herself as a *party girl*. Daloris was having financial difficulties and wanted to open a new business. Explaining that she met a man at a party in Jamaica, she had no problem accepting his offer to traffic drugs. She said at their first meeting, he didn't tell her how the drugs would be transported or how much money she was going to get paid. She said he didn't tell her anything just that she was to go to Trinidad and come back to Jamaica. She explained the drugs were in the lining of her suitcase and she didn't see it prior to picking up the bag. Daloris also took full responsibility for trafficking the drugs and shared,

...my fault, nobody didn't force me to do it. Just get the opportunity and I said yes, cause I did want the money to do a business... Yeah, if I didn't know, if I got caught I knew I would do IMPRISONMENT.

Mariah, who was 29 when she was convicted of her first offense of trafficking, volunteered to traffic drugs to keep her daughter's father from harm. Mariah explained that her daughter's father had been deported from Canada before the baby was born, and that she traveled to see him periodically to allow him to spend time with his daughter. On this particular trip, she found her daughter's father had become involved with another man in taking someone's 40 pounds of marijuana. The men that had their drugs taken had come to the father's house wanting to know about either their drugs or the money. Mariah explained that she was not new to trafficking and that she had connections all over and said she volunteered to traffic drugs in order to "get back their money." At first, Mariah was going to leave the toddler with her father, but changed her mind and the child was with her when she was arrested. Mariah described the incident that took place at the airport when they arrived; because there was a long delay in between the time her flight arrived in Trinidad and the next flight out, the attendant at the check-in desk told her she could check her luggage to alleviate her having to carry it and the baby around. Mariah believed the police were just waiting for her to check her luggage and she believed it was a phone call that tipped them. Mariah also explained that if she had been successful in the trafficking endeavor to protect her father's daughter, it would have settled the issue for the men who lost their marijuana and paid her 10,000 Canadian dollars.

Family

Two female offenders identified joining with a family member to traffic in drugs. This being her fourth offense, Sheree, at age 20, felt she was convicted of trafficking because of her common-law husband's associations and that she was in the wrong place at the wrong time. She also explained that she was trying very hard to get her retail business up and running, including borrowing money from her family back in the United States. Sheree described that each time she went to the *States* and returned her common-law husband would promise to stop getting involved with his drug dealing friends; but because he did not, she would subsequently pay the price. Sheree clearly blamed her common-law husband for her conviction and expressed it by saying,

Yes, and every time I come back here I'm in this mess because every time I talk to you, you out of this I come back whoever hook you up wit it in the space of time I'm not there...I'm in this mess...I see I get in mess again I'm like you not takin' it, yuh not, yun not studyin' this part of it; yuh just studying' money...yuh, that's all yuh thinkin about. You know, yuh not studyin' the time that comes wit' that. I'm askin him questions like...what's goin' on? You not thinkin' about if I'm gonna be in prison...you not thinkin' about if YOU gonna be in prison...because you just thinkin' about yeah...yuh wanna make money...YEAH! His fault, all of it because it's not like, like, like I had stuff to do wit' it or I wanted to be part of it. I was tryna get my own shit...

Sheree explained that she did not want to be a part of her common-law husband's drug dealing but because she was present when law enforcement came, she was placed in that position and was an unwilling participant. Sheree said,

They got people I guess who deal with them, the guys who lived close by and my husband, not my husband my common-law husband he deal with them I guess. No, it's like I have [inaudible 3:32] with me so it's like the guys who were doing the stuff, they had the stuff in the vehicles so it was like when the officers came to the house, they got the stuff in the vehicle and they take everyone so it's not like you can say I know nothing about that...everyone has to go. So, it's not like you separated or you, you not getting the charge be'cuz you different, you were there, you were present, so you have to go you don't have a choice. Even if you knew about it or not you have to go.

Although Lana, who was 36 when she was convicted of her first offense of possession of cocaine, initially did not know the trip to Guyana was meant to transport drugs, agreed to it because of her brother. Lana had medical issues, was basically unable to work, and she and her two teenaged children moved in with her parents. After a while, her children were causing problems and the three of them moved into an apartment, but when her savings ran out, she didn't know what to do. Her cousin and brother had opened a cultural bar and she began bartending for them and then gradually moved up to managing. But she was still unable to go back to her regular job because her medical issues were increasing as well as her mounting financial problems. During all these problems, the only person that was helping her was her brother, who was giving her money to go towards her rent. But then he began having his own financial problems with the country going into a recession, he was working two jobs, and it became too much for him. He lost his house and his bills began piling up and he was looking for what Lana termed a "quick fix." So Lana's brother asked her to go to Guyana with him for several days, a trip that she said she thought was "like business to get like say they do export, import." She had enrolled in business management classes at Everest Institute and thought the trip would not only give her an opportunity to see family but to further her knowledge about foreign business. Her brother eventually explained to her about the drugs and she agreed because she felt so indebted to him for all his help when she needed him. Lana described the method they used to traffic the drugs; it was strapped on both their legs with ace bandages, and she wore a long skirt and leggings. They were not supposed to get off the plane when they landed in Trinidad, but everyone was told to disembark and they had to go through another customs inspection. Her brother went

through the inspection with no problems, but when they patted Lana down, the officer noticed her feet were swollen and took her off to the bathroom and did a strip search.

Lana explained that because of that search, she could not hide anything. She explained that for the brief moment she and her brother were able to talk at court he said,

...I'm sorry um and he's like 'ya know it was just to pay off the debt and make the business better and of course I would have given you money to pay off...to get you a better car and all that stuff whatever but um...

CAN YOU DESCRIBE FOR ME HOW YOU THINK YOUR CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCE INFLUENCED YOU INTO GETTING INVOLVED WITH DRUG SMUGGLING?

From this question, three themes emerged as possible contributors to the involvement in trafficking drugs; lack of a parental figure, childhood experiences did not influence decision to participate in drug trafficking, and being sexually abused as a child.

Lack of a Parental Figure

The lack of a parental figure was identified as a possible reason why six of the female offenders became involved in drug trafficking. For example, Sheree spoke about her life after her parents separated while she was in her teens. She said,

YEAH, because at the end of the day if they were togetha I don't think I would be hav' ta have any...I wouldn't be needin' someone to talk to someone to be around I don't think you would actually need that if you had them...so you know everyone knows the situation's you in so they know they hear your mom and your dad they left and you alone you just there and you know.

Table 7. “Can you describe for me how you think your childhood experience influenced you into getting involved with drug trafficking?”

Name:	Answer:
Sheree	if they [parents] were togetha I don't think I would be hav' ta have any...I wouldn't be needin' someone to talk to
Agatha	My parents, or childhood had nothing to do with the situation
Lana	... I wouldn't blame it on my upbringing or my parents nor nothing. It's ME that I made the wrong judgment.
Amy	I think just I never really felt loved as a kid from my mom.....so, like all my life it's been back and forth,
Daloris	...first of all I grew up in a good home, Christianity. It's just me, is the bad one...love ta do things on my own
Innaya	Molested as a child...umm hmm, by my father,
Jacquie	...when I was 8 or 7 I got molested by my uncle so...I didn't tell my motha what happed to me, because that was her brotha'
Norma	No, no, no. Trying my best never again.
Thelma	Well, uh <i>it's</i> not really my childhood situation it's more just being an adult, being with friends...
Angela	Yeah, that is very easy, my father ...I ALWAYS ALWAYS blame my father ...
Mariah	...I never knew my father...My mother was a dancer my father was a driver in the club. I never knew him...
Shanay	...yeah always looking for a man's approval, cause my father wasn't there, he wasn't a good father figure.
Lisa	Yeah I think my family...has a big part to play in it...my mom and dad used to fight they were abusive to each.

Sheree explained that first her mom and dad separated, then her mom left, and she was left to care for the younger siblings when she was only sixteen. Sheree spoke about how her relatives were always checking up on her and her younger siblings and that her relatives were sending her money, but at sixteen it was difficult. She explained she was trying to go to school, trying to take care of her brother and sister, and as she described, trying to “help them with their lil’ problems in school.” Sheree shared,

...So you have to be there for them [siblings] and you have to be there for yuhself. So at the end of the day you lookin’ for comfort you lookin’ for somebody to have yuh back, you lookin’ for something.

For Sheree, the man she sought for comfort and to have her back was her common-law husband because of his acquaintances. Additionally, her relatives wanted to make certain that she, her sister, and her brother were being cared for so they questioned her choice in men. Therefore, Sheree was stressed and depressed because of her situation and having to be parent to her younger siblings. Sheree described her situation,

You... You fall into this situation afta being' left afta being' separated from your parents not havin' anybody tuh take care of you. So it's like you in this mess and you depressed you frustrated... your parents... you have no one to talk to you have no one to stand for you and then at the end of the day yeah, your family they will be here for this time but then they they gonna drift. Because you a burden to them now, so you have to stand on yuh own feet... and then you have your own... you have two brothas and sistuhs, two to see about... so at the end of the day you lookin' for someone who can help you, you not lookin' for someone who can't who you have to help for yuhself. So you lookin' for someone who gonna give you something. So when you get this you into problmes now... you can't be like, WOAHH you just wanna drift, because sat the end of the day not so say like he set you up o somethin' people set him up anyway and you in this mess wit him... you can't change the hands of time, you can't go back and make him not do that, you already in there.

Sheree believed that her childhood experiences and the lack of parental figures, combined with her association with her victimizing common-law husband, contributed to her current conviction in drug trafficking.

Amy, also lacked parental figures and explained that her mom had been taking drugs since she was a baby. Amy explained that from the time she was born until she was three, she lived with her dad, but then her mother had her taken from her dad. Amy's mom also had a DNA test to prove paternity, but the lady having the test vials in her purse was the victim of a purse snatching. However, mysteriously the vials reappeared and were switched and her mom went to court with the test results to prove Amy was not the daughter of the dad she had been living with. Amy shared that she was shuffled back and forth between her mother, father, and other relatives, and she described how her mom

would take her from her dad and he would come and steal her back; or she would be with her mom and then get sent back to her dad. At one point, Amy said she also lived with her grandmother. There were times when her mom would send her to some person and she described that while with her mom, they would move from place to place and that her entire childhood was “movin, movin, movin.” Amy explained,

my mom would get in trouble and move us to this neighborhood and that neighborhood and just...I think just I never really felt loved as a kid from my mom...I can probably NOT count on two hands as many times as I can remember me hearing my mom say that she loved me until NOW.

Amy also described that she rebelled as a teen because she thought she was grown and that she had to do everything on her own such as watching her siblings or cook dinner. She felt she played the role of the mother and because of that never finished high school. Amy ran away from home at 15 and didn't return until she was 18. Amy explained she thought the childhood she experienced, coupled with her alcoholic and drug addicted mother, was an influence on her participation in drug trafficking and expressed,

maybe just growin up the way I did had me make the wrong decision and being around the wrong people.

Angela also believed the lack of a parental figure influenced her involvement in drug trafficking. Angela was brought up by a single mother, and her father was seldom in her life as she was quick to lay the blame on her father. She said,

Yeah, that is very easy, my father because even though my mom now, she's got her own company and whatevuh, but at the time when we was growin' up she was still going to university...

Angela told the story of how her mother gave birth to her and her siblings when she was very young and she left school to bring up the children. After the children were grown a little, Angela's mother had returned to school to get an education and was subsequently

not working. Angela acknowledged she knew it was difficult for her mother, but she said the little bit of money coming in was not enough for her. Angela wanted designer clothes and when she was 15, she was able to go to work because she lied about her age. She explained that as a teenager she was under pressure to have what the other teenagers had and said that “you’re in a society where you have to live up to certain expectations” and without those things, teens would be picked on and or considered outcasts. Angela also expressed that,

...everytime I made money me and my sistuh would go to school, use it to go to school. Just keep OH NO mom, take the money from mom and just save it so that if we really really needed it we’ve got the money there...

Angela spoke about her feelings toward her father and how she believed he was the reason she was involved in drug trafficking,

...I ALWAYS ALWAYS blame my father that is why he hasn’t even contact me AT ALL he hasn’t said anything because he KNOWS I’ll blame him. I’m not scared of him and I’ll tell him to his face I ALWAYS say that...I always I nevuuh liked the man, and the thing is I look EXACTLY like him and I READLLY DON’T LIKE IT [laughs]...it seems like he tries, but ya know he just doesn’t help himself...

Angela also stated that she believes the reason not only she, but her friends become involved in trafficking is because of the lack of parental figure, in particular a father, and she shared,

Um, I don’t know, I know you can’t do nothing you can’t CHANGE the world but I REALLY do think, and this is my experience with my female friends even male friends. The most of us the reason why we’re trafficking, we do what we do because we haven’t got a father role in our life to support or help financially. So if men lived up to their responsibility and od what they had to do I REALLY REALLY think it would a lot of illegal stuff would stop. I really think personally.

Mariah was among those female offenders who reported the lack of a parental figure was a contributing factor to involvement in drug trafficking. Mariah shared that her

father was never there as she was growing up, as well as feeling she was an outsider in her mother's family. Mariah spoke about her childhood and that her mother and father were never married. She explained that her mother was a dancer in a club where her father worked. She described the situation as,

...when he found out she was pregnant he told her that he's married and has children so I never knew him.

To further complicate her life, Mariah talked about the fact that her mother was French Native Indian, and white, and that her older siblings were also white, and that her mother's family rejected her because she was black. She talked about how she never felt a part of her siblings and she thought these feelings could have been why she was always trying to please others. Mariah shared,

...so I don't know if it was that I just wanted to be accepted by a man because I always out them first no matter when, there needs always came before mine. If it meant you're hungry and I was hungry you would eat and I wouldn't. I literally, I would do whatever I could to make sure they were happy.

Shanay also spoke about how not having a parental figure, specifically her father; not being present when she was younger shaped her adult life. Shanay revealed that she was always looking for a man's approval because her father was never there. She explained,

...he wasn't a good father figure. So I had a problem with men so I think the choice of the relationship I was involved with in the States at the time caused me to run away from that..

Shanay described her childhood and how she grew up with an alcoholic father who was abusive to her mother. She thought of her mother as being a strong woman who instilled in her abuse from a man should not be tolerated. However, because of her involvement in

a prior relationship that was extremely abusive, she believed her friend was able to exploit her and lure her into drug trafficking. She explained,

... run to him and the coming to him and him treating me and giving me this acceptance and this affection and thing caused me to accept whatever he asked me to do...

With an alcoholic father and a mother with a drug problem, Lisa also expressed the lack of a parental figure was an influence on her engaging in drug trafficking. Lisa told her story of how she used to get in between her mom and dad when they were fighting so her younger siblings would not have to be witnesses to the fights. She explained that when the two began drinking, they would begin fighting and it would escalate from there. She explained her parents separated when she was 11 and she rebelled to the point her mom could no longer handle her, so she was sent to foster homes. She shared that she kept running away from the foster homes until she was about 16 and was sent to juvenile prison. She also described the instance of being sexually assaulted by a juvenile jail guard when she was 13 that led to her contracting Gonorrhea and Chlamydia. Even with the sexual abuse, Lisa still felt the most profound effect upon her current actions were the total of her experiences as a teen. She further revealed that she was unaware of her mother's drug problem until she was 15 and explained that once her parents separated, her real issues with her father began. Lisa wanted to go with her dad, but she said he believed "children belong with their mother." Lisa's dad moved close by after the separation so the children could visit with him. After a while, Lisa explained that her father,

...ended up getting another girlfriend and she had two daughters and he still wouldn't let me come live with them so I think that hurt me more because I was like you want to be a father to somebody else's children but you can't even be a full time father to your own children.

Lisa was very angry and bitter towards her parents and wanted them back together because she had been taught, by them, to believe that families were supposed to stay together and take care of each other. She was very disappointed because they couldn't stop fighting. Lisa described that she had no one to teach her how to live from the time she was about 12, and she basically raised herself and taught herself everything, which led her to sell drugs until she was 19.

Childhood Experiences Did Not Influence Decision to Traffic Drugs

Five of the female offenders did not believe their childhood experiences influenced their involvement in drug trafficking. For example, Daloris described herself as the “BAD one” and that she did things on her own. She further explained that she was a *party girl* and was not forced to traffic in drugs. Having grown up in what she called a good Christian home, there were no childhood experiences that brought her to the lifestyle she led or to become involved in drug trafficking.

Likewise, Lana echoed the same sentiment, and although she was sexually abused as a child, she felt that was not what influenced her to traffic in drugs. Lana shared her story that included a good parental presence with good moral values being taught. She further stated that neither of her parents had ever been in any legal trouble, and that they were still together, even with family hardships. Lana said that although her father had committed adultery, her mother had remained at his side. Considering the fact that she was molested as a child, Lana expressed that she no longer dwelt on it and that she

considered herself to be a strong person. She blames only herself and her lack of judgment for becoming involved in drug trafficking.

Norma was another female offender that did not believe her childhood experiences had influenced her to traffic in drugs. She said, “No, no, no. Trying my best never again” and explained this was her first time trafficking and that she would not do it again. Norma also stated that she would beg for a job before she would engage in drug trafficking again.

Thelma also agreed that nothing in her childhood experiences influenced her to become involved in drug trafficking. Thelma explained that growing up she never did anything that was considered to be really bad, except that she got into fights. She feels as though she has calmed down since being in prison and that her temper has eased. She did not blame her involvement in drug trafficking on her childhood but said,

...well, uh *it's* not really my childhood situation it's more just being an adult, being with friends and but I don't think it has nothing to do with my growing up, I don't.

The last of the female offenders to express their childhood experiences did not influence their engagement in drug trafficking was Agatha. She remarked, “My parents, or childhood had nothing to do with the situation.” Agatha did express that she thought of herself as being very gullible and believed it was the manner in which she was brought up that made it easy for another individual to take advantage of her trust and trick her into trafficking drugs. She explained that because of her upbringing she was, “Always wanting to please...people...and always being taught to trust people.” Agatha described that trust in people is the reason she gave in to her business acquaintance when he begged her over and over again. As well, his promise of never involving her in anything illegal,

in particular anything to do with drugs, that she said she didn't want to "let him down" and trusted him at his word. This trust in people was how she had grown up and was always how she looked at others and explained,

Do you know how many times over the years I've been burnt by people because I've been too helpful to people?...and it's like my daughter said...'when you gonna' learn mom?!

Sexually Abused as a Child

Two of the 13 female offenders reported being sexually abused as a child by family members and believed that contributed to their subsequent involvement in drug trafficking. Even though she was unaware of being involved in drug trafficking, Innaya's story revealed that because of her sexual abuse, she thought of herself as terrible person if her own father would try to rape her at age 11. She had in her mind that her family had to be horrible, and called them the "WORST family in the WORLD," because of her father's actions. The fact that made it even more unbearable was that when Innaya went to her mother and tried to tell her what happened, she was not believed. In fact, not only did her mother not believe her, Innaya said she "slapped my face" and then told Innaya it was wrong to lie about her father. Innaya expressed she could not understand why her mother still loved him, and how she didn't trust her own daughter. Because she had been victimized by her father, in Innaya's mind, she thought that if she wanted to be a bad girl, she could, and she said,

...so that's why I say, if I want to be a bad girl, that age turn to 12 years old I can go find all kind men or ya know type of men and have sleep with them and...if I want to, ya know I can just...the only thing I want to show to my father, WITHOUT him I can still LIVE right, I still alive today, healthy, good...

Jacquie was also sexually abused as a child by a family member but never told her mother because the abuser had been her uncle. Jacquie also shared that as a teen she was always getting in trouble and being arrested. Jacquie was mostly getting in fights, but cases would be dismissed when she went to court. Jacquie described herself as the “BLACK SHEEP in the family” and explained that she had been very depressed since coming to prison because she placed her daughter in the same type of situation. Jacquie explained that she had been molested somewhere between age seven and eight by her uncle and did not want the same thing to happen to her daughter. Jacquie was very concerned for her daughter and said,

don't have a motha' figure to guide SHE and then she can tell me ANYTING is somebody touch she dey, anyting.

Jacquie believed that her sexual abuse as a child and her inability to tell her mother had an influence on her involvement in drug trafficking.

The next chapter will present the findings of the as they relate to the four research questions as well as the incorporation of the theoretical framework and previously available literature. The next chapter will also include the limitations of this study and implications for future research.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter presents a discussion of the findings from the qualitative analysis of the exploration of drug trafficking among 13 female offenders incarcerated in the Trinidad and Tobago Prison Service. Also included are limitations of the study, implications for future research, and a culmination of concluding remarks.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine drug trafficking among female offenders. Inquiry was made into how the female offenders were recruited, why they decided to traffic drugs, if they joined in with friends and family, and if their childhood experiences influenced their involvement in drug trafficking. This was a first conviction for drug trafficking for 12 of the females; however, well over half experienced a prior history of drug-related criminal activity.

The responses to the four questions that guided this research revealed commonalities with previous research, such as recruitment methods utilizing friends and family (Decker and Chapman 2008; Edberg 2001) as well as recruitment of females who were often suffering from financial hardships (Olmo 1990; Campbell 2008). Additionally, coercive tactics and manipulation were reported to be a recruitment technique discussed by previous research and equally in the current study (Fleetwood 2010); also shown in past research was that females who were marginalized were chosen to traffic drugs, and the same held true in this study (Hutton 2005). Previous research

stipulated that female offenders take part in drug trafficking for the purposes of economic gain; however, in the current study, there were only three that participated because of economic gain. As such, these findings differ from previous research (Adler and Adler 1983; Olmo 1990; Adler 1993; Griffith 1997; Davies 2003; Campbell 2005; Geiger 2006, Campbell 2008; Fleetwood 2010). Having a sense of empowerment and building self-esteem was also reported in prior studies; however, this was not as evident in the current study (Widom 1979; Adler 1993; Edberg 2001; Campbell 2005; Fleetwood 2010). The last parallel between past research and the current study was the effect of childhood experiences, including family instability and abuse (Evans et al. 2002; Li and MacKenzie 2003; Geiger 2006; Garcia 2007; McGarten and Gunnison 2009; Fleetwood 2010).

The theoretical perspectives of Maslow's theory of human motivation and the critical feminist theory were also substantiated in the current study. Maslow's (1943) theory places human motivational needs in a hierarchy, beginning with the need for basic life-supporting functions such as food and drink. The remainder of these needs, safety, security, love, self-esteem, and self-actualization (Maslow 1943; Huitt 2007) were all represented in the interviews with the 13 female offenders incarcerated for drug trafficking in the Caribbean. As well, examples of the complementary critical feminist theory were also present in the experiences of the respondents in the current study. The current study contains examples of females enduring the system of patriarchy in capitalist societies, socialization to subjugation by males, exploitation by males, and marginalization due to underprivileged statuses (Cullen and Agnew 2003; Williams and McShane 2004; Parker and Reckdenwald 2008; Siegel 2008; Akers and Sellers 2009; Ritzer 2011).

Responses of the female offenders garnered stories that entailed being exploited and tricked into drug trafficking or being manipulated and lured into deciding to become involved in the activity. Previous research addresses recruitment strategies that include manipulation, coercive tactics, and using the deprivation suffered by many females in society (Fleetwood 2010). Additionally, prior research has shown disempowerment due to gender, socioeconomics, or marginalization, is also used as a recruitment technique (Joseph 2006). Likewise, in applying the theoretical perspectives of Maslow's theory of human motivation and the critical feminist theory, explanations are provided of how and why the females became involved in drug trafficking. However, in the process of becoming involved in criminal activity, many of these females fell prey, under the guise of friendship, to an unscrupulous individual, interested only in furthering his or her cause. For example, according to the critical feminist theory, females are socialized to believe they need men and find themselves exploited, manipulated, and dominated by men (Ritzer 2011). Combining with exploitation, manipulation, and domination might be the lower socioeconomic statuses of females who may be single mothers, unemployed, or struggling to meet basic family needs.

Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of human needs states that as the physiological requirements to sustain basic life are met, various other needs will arise and take over the consciousness of an individual. One such need is the need for safety, such as having enough money to meet rudimentary family essentials. In marginalized females, participation in crime in order to satisfy the need for safety and security is often the outcome. Additionally, socialization of females in patriarchal societies, historically and culturally, has been that of looking to a man as a leader and protector (Siegel 2008; Akers

and Sellers 2009). Maslow (1943) also speaks of this facet of socialization in the hierarchal element of the safety need and states that females, in order to feel safe and secure, may look for a *protector*; someone she can trust to help her through her difficult time (Maslow 1943). Therefore, in explaining why some female offenders fell prey to a *protector*, someone who is stronger and on whom they can depend and believe is serving in that role, as well as examining the socialization of females and striving to meet the safety need, will give a clearer picture of the decision making processes. Examples of that exploitation and manipulation, most often perpetrated by males, follow in the stories of many of the 13 female offenders.

Norma is an example of being victimized by manipulation, coupled with her need for the safety and security of having enough money to take care of her family. As well, because of Norma's chronic financial problems, she placed the safety of having enough money as her top priority (Maslow 1943). Norma, who had never been arrested, lived in Jamaica where the cost of living was extreme and providing for her family was foremost in her mind. Norma explained she knew of people delivering goods for a fee, and when presented the opportunity, she viewed it as a means to give her family a better life. Norma's friend, aware of her financial issues, promised her an all-expense paid vacation, and all she needed to do was bring back a suitcase containing clothing. Norma believed she was not doing anything illegal because she trusted her male friend who never explained to her that she would be transporting drugs. Norma's experience revealed the manipulation used by her friend to make her believe he was helping her financially and there were only clothes in the suitcase she was bringing back on the return trip to

Jamaica. Norma's situation shows that she was socialized to believe in a *protector*, and her friend was playing that role (Maslow 1943).

Other female offenders in this study who clearly made conscious decisions to become involved in drug trafficking may not have been recruited through manipulation, because they were aware of the criminal activity beforehand, but may have been exploited because of their need to improve their lives or earn extra money. Past research has shown that marginalized or disempowered females will turn to drug trafficking as a means to counter unemployment and subsequent poverty (Adler and Adler 1983; Olmo 1990; Adler 1993; Huling 1995; Griffith 1997; Davies 2003; Geiger 2006; Joseph 2006; Campbell 2008; Fleetwood 2009). As well, in the theory of human motivation, Maslow (1943) spoke to the all-important need to keep oneself safe or to break free of chronic circumstances, and theorizes that female offenders turn to whatever means necessary to fill that safety need. The critical feminist theory described socialization in a patriarchal society as a dominant factor leading females to turn to criminal activity (Williams and McShane 2004; Parker and Reckdenwald 2008; Siegel 2008). The two stories that follow provide examples of female offenders who were recruited and exploited by friends because of their need to provide financial support or earn extra money.

Jacquie, an unemployed single mother, was not new to drug trafficking. She had trafficked before and had been successful. Jacquie's situation was complicated because of being unemployed, having a child, having less than desirable living conditions, and receiving minimal child support from her child's father. Jacquie was in a desperate situation and wanted to join her friend who had joined the navy in England. Jacquie thought this might be her way out of her financial difficulties, but also knew she could

not afford the plane fares for her and her daughter, the living expenses before she enlisted, the expenses connected to day care for her child, and the possible expenses of studying to take the navy's entrance exam. Jacquie tried to find help with the finances but was unsuccessful. So while Jacquie was in this dilemma of raising enough funds to make this move, a friend she had previously trafficker for, happened to call her with an opportunity to make the much needed money. Jacquie believed this was her way out and gladly accepted the offer made by her friend, who was aware of her dire financial needs.

Jacquie's circumstances were complex; in that she needed extra money to move to England and to better her life situation and her childhood friend used and exploited that situation. In a patriarchal society, Jacquie would believe that her *protector* (Maslow 1943) was not exploiting her but helping her by providing that opportunity to earn money for her trip. However, the paternalism that has shaped the lives of females suggests that because she is female, and females take the "obey position" (Akers and Sellers 2009:277), she would likely employ the criminal behavior of drug trafficking without the realization that she had been exploited.

An additional element in Jacquie's story is the fact that she was sexually abused as a child by a family member, which has been shown through prior research to be a precursor to female criminal activity (Evans et al. 2002). Available literature has shown that females suffering from sexual abuse in their childhoods became involved in criminal activity as a means to overcome the life-long negative effects of the abuse (Geiger 2006). As well, the negative effects of sexual abuse would lower a female's self-esteem and self-respect (Maslow 1943). Females suffering from sexual abuse as children have often been victimized by men attempting to prove their masculinity by perpetrating that type of

violence toward a child with no power (Siegel 2008). Also, past studies, examining sexual abuse suffered by young girls has revealed they may turn to crime in order to escape the circumstances brought on by the sexual abuse (Cullen and Agnew 2003). As such, Jacquie, being sexually abused by an uncle before age 10, might account for her feelings of low self-esteem that may have contributed to the ease of exploitation used to engage her in drug trafficking.

Lisa is also an example of the need to provide for her own safety and to free herself from financial issues as well as a story of the exploitation that was used to recruit her to traffic drugs (Maslow 1943). Lisa, with a history of drug-related crime, had never been arrested. She had a tumultuous childhood as her parents had separated and she suffered through family instability. Lisa described her father as being an alcoholic and her mother had a drug problem, and that she lacked the parental guidance that may have steered her life in a different direction. She explained that as a young child, age 11 or 12, she lacked a parent to teach her how to live and that she basically raised herself and sold crack cocaine and smoked marijuana, but stopped doing both by the time she was 19 because of the increasing responsibilities of her own children. Available literature reports that females often become involved in criminal activity such as drug trafficking when legal employment is difficult to find (Huling 1995). This would hold true in Lisa's case as she explained that because she could not find legal work, she turned to the only type of work she could find, the sex trade industry. However, because her new fiancé didn't want her working in that type of business, she was at a loss for enough money to take care of her family. Lisa explained that she ran into a friend who could provide opportunities for her to earn money for Christmas. Lisa explained time and again to her friend's husband

that she wanted nothing to do with anything illegal, and especially drugs, and was repeatedly assured what she was carrying was legal. Lisa discovered that she would be transporting items called *profiles*, they would be placed in her suitcase, that it was only paper, and she would never have to touch them. For her efforts, Lisa would earn \$3,000 as well as an all-expense paid vacation. Lisa was delighted to accept the offer to get away from her family life, visit a tropical island, and earn the extra Christmas money. However, once Lisa arrived in Trinidad and made contact with the person who held the *profiles*, she was told they were illegal stolen identities. Understanding that she was going to be delivering illegal documents, but not knowing the documents were actually drugs, Lisa made the conscious decision to continue with the trafficking and earn the money. Lisa also explained that she believed it was something she had to do and felt threatened. Research previously conducted has reported that threats against family is a coercive tactic often used to recruit females (Fleetwood 2010), and her belief that this was something she must do also pushed Lisa into drug trafficking. Lisa's story reveals the need to pull herself out of the chronic situation of needing money (Maslow's 1943) as well as being exploited by friends. Moreover, her feelings of being threatened by the man in Trinidad, is a clear indication of patriarchy fostering female criminality by using the threat of violence to display masculinity (Siegel 2008). However, the strongest suggestion of this system of patriarchy and her being controlled by a man is noted in the fact that although Lisa was aware she was carrying illegal goods, she was exploited by her friend's husband by using illegal profiles to hide the fact she was trafficking illegal drugs; an activity that Lisa adamantly explained would not garner her involvement.

Maslow (1943) placed the love need in his hierarchy of human needs right after the need for safety. Huitt (2007) explained the love need as a desire to belong, a need to gain approval and the acceptance of others, and Maslow (1943) identified this need as “both giving and receiving love” (p. 10). Likewise, critical feminist theory suggests that because females are socialized to be subordinate to males and to appease their needs (Ritzer 2011), gaining approval and acceptance of others, the love need, often propels females into criminality. Ritzer (2011) also proposes that females are taught at early ages to be cooperative, to be pacifist and non-violent, and they exist only to please a master, that master being a dominant man. Thus, Maslow’s (1943) love need becomes a significant element in the recruitment and decision making of the female offenders in this study as reasons for involvement in drug trafficking. The next three stories, Shanay, Sheree, and Amy reveal the importance of fulfilling that love need, and show it can be achieved through loyalty to a man, a belief in pleasing that man and not letting him down, and the lack of a sense of connectedness that led all three females to become involved in drug trafficking.

Shanay was exploited by a man she had previously met while on vacation in Panama. She and the man became friends, had been corresponding and speaking on the phone for about two years and their relationship had grown to intimacy. During the time she and the man were becoming close friends, Shanay was having domestic issues with a former boyfriend who had become violent and was stalking her. Because of those domestic problems with the previous boyfriend, Shanay had reached deep despair and had attempted suicide. Over the course of the two years Shanay and her friend were corresponding, she grew to trust him enough to share her attempted suicide and the

reasons behind the action, believing him to be truly concerned for her welfare when he offered for her to come to Trinidad for a visit. Shanay's friend led her to believe he was in the consulting business and her stay with him for two weeks would enable her to get away from her problems at home. She was also excited because he had expressed a desire for her to meet his family, and because of that, she believed the purpose of her trip was to strengthen their relationship. While in Trinidad, the two had planned to go to Malta, where Shanay could meet his family and celebrate the marriage of his cousin. Shanay described the trip to Malta to be like a "couples retreat" and was more than thrilled to go. However, just before they were to leave, she found out her friend was not going to make the trip, and not wanting to disappoint her friend, she decided to go without him. Because she was adamant about not going to Malta to visit the newlyweds without a gift, the friend brought a gift basket for Shanay to deliver; the gift basket was filled with toiletries and contained the drugs to be transported. When her friend told her about the drugs, Shanay had no problems taking it because she wanted to change her future and hoped that future included him. Shanay described a childhood without her father, and that she always wanted to please a man, and was always looking for a man's approval because of her father's absence. Shanay agreed to traffic the drugs without hesitation because she didn't want to let her friend down while simultaneously fulfilling that need for love, approval, and a sense of belongingness (Maslow 1943; Huitt 2007; Ritzer 2011),

Williams and McShane (2004) stipulated that because males and females are unequal in the attainment of statuses and opportunities, females become exploited by the males in their lives because of patriarchy. The authors contend that while men may commit violent crime, females commit vice or property crime, also known as crimes of

accommodation (Williams and McShane 2004). Williams and McShane (2004) also state that females, young females in particular, are pushed into “complex cycles of victimization and offending” (p. 263). Sheree fits into that cycle as she was victimized by the common-law husband, but because she continually allowed him and his drug-dealing friends into her home, she became the offender as an accomplice to the crime and ultimately paid the price.

Being only 20, and having four prior arrests for drug-related crime, Sheree was involved with drug trafficking because of her common-law husband and insisted she had not been recruited to traffic drugs but was in the wrong place at the wrong time. Sheree lived in Trinidad and owned a retail clothing store and made trips to the United States in order to buy for the store and visit with family. She often borrowed money from family members to be used for the purposes of her business. Sheree’s family had been very supportive of her since she was 16 when she was pushed into the adult world because of her parent’s separation. Sheree’s parents first separated and then her mother left her and her younger siblings to fend for themselves. This abandonment by her mother threw Sheree into the role of parent. In a patriarchal society, males and females take on certain roles, and when a female is thrust into a role that she finds dissatisfying, she will seek other roles by turning to criminal activity (Siegel 2008). A woman in Sheree’s position, looking for comfort from a man, was expressing her need for safety and looking for a “protector” (Maslow 1943: 9). Sheree explained she needed to be able to depend on him, but he continually created her drug-related problems. Upon return from one of her trips to the United States, Sheree discovered her common-law husband had once again become involved in drugs and his friends had the drugs in vehicles at her house. She admitted to

knowing what was going on but never wanted to be a part of it; however, she never attempted to stop the drug dealers from bringing the drugs to her home. Sheree described how each time she went to the *States* and would return, even after pleading with her common-law husband to stop getting involved with his drug-dealing friends; she would find him caught up with them. Sheree's relationship with her common-law husband is a classical patriarchal relationship (Siegel 2008) because he was clearly dominant. His associations with drug dealers would over and over, four times to be exact, set her up to be arrested, and yet, she continued to allow him to live in her home. Sheree's desire to remain with her common-law husband prompted her to do whatever was necessary to keep him, including a conviction for drug trafficking (Maslow 1943).

Previous research has revealed that behaviors considered to be antisocial, such as exposure to drugs and family instability, will carry through to early adulthood (Li and MacKenzie 2003; Garcia 2007), and therefore Amy's childhood experiences could have led her to sell drugs and expose her to a lifestyle that enabled drug trafficking. As well, Amy's involvement with drug trafficking could be explained as the result of a lack of belongingness, a low self-esteem, and not knowing her place in society (Maslow 1943). Likewise, Amy's lack of fulfillment and her need for self-definition, may have been the turning point that led her to crime (Ritzer 2011).

Amy was also exploited by someone she thought she could trust, a man who dated members of her family, and offered her a chance to get away and go on vacation. She explained that as a child, when her life became difficult, she would often run and used poor judgment. This urge to run was due to the fact that as a child, her mother, who was a drug user, and her father fought over custody of her. Amy described being pushed back

and forth, first living with her mother, being taken by her father, only to be stolen back by her mother. During the times she lived with her mother, they moved from neighborhood to neighborhood, and she often stayed with people she didn't even know. Because of her childhood family instability and her need for a sense of belonging (Maslow 1943; Li and MacKenzie 2003; Garcia 2007), when the long-time family friend offered her a chance to go on vacation, she gladly accepted the offer. Amy believed the trip would provide her with a means of escape through an all-expense paid holiday. At the last minute, the friend decided not to go because his daughter became ill, but wanting to get away, Amy decided to go alone. When she arrived in Trinidad, her friend arranged to have his acquaintances pick her up at the airport as well as take her everywhere she wanted to go. Amy explained that when it was time for her to leave, she noticed her suitcase was broken and her friend arranged to have another brought to her, and the suitcase the man had delivered contained the drugs. In hindsight, Amy understands that she was set up and exploited. Because of her unstable childhood, Amy suffered with self-esteem issues and lacked a sense of being a positive member of society, which may have been the reason she turned to her friend (Maslow 1943). Even though she was unaware she was trafficking drugs, she had admitted to being a part of drug-related crimes. Amy said she was not a "goody two shoes" and defined her lifestyle as often making the wrong decisions and being around the wrong people, giving her the opportunity to indulge in more risky behavior, and thus be exploited by her friend into trafficking drugs. As well, because in a patriarchal society, patterns of behavior are formed, and if females in particular, are in roles they find dissatisfying, they will choose a more risky behavior (Siegel 2008).

Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs addresses self-esteem as "respect from others" (p. 10). Agatha was exploited and tricked into drug trafficking by a business acquaintance; Lana was manipulated by her brother because of her feelings of indebtedness toward him; but Angela willingly accepted the offer to traffic drugs. The common thread among the three female offenders was their low self-esteem. Agatha wanted to gain the respect of her business acquaintance by not letting him down. Similarly, Lana, who was appreciative of all the help her brother had provided, didn't want to let him down. Angela, because of her position as a manager in her job, wanted the "respect from others" (Maslow 1943:10), and a sense of empowerment, and thought she could achieve her needs by owning a home and a luxury car. All three females trafficked drugs, either unknowingly or knowingly, because of their need to build self-esteem.

Exploitation, a product of patriarchy, is not confined to friendship, but also happens between business acquaintances. Siegel (2008) addressed the power men hold over women in a capitalist-driven society, and not only does that power hold true from fathers, husbands, and significant others, but can also be used to exploit and manipulate those in the business sector. Agatha, an older female offender, was exploited by a business acquaintance, a man she knew through her business, and who wanted her to take a management position in his seamstress business in Trinidad. This business acquaintance paid all Agatha's expenses, and paid her to take care of his business arrangements during her week in Trinidad. Although Agatha began noticing "red flags," she continued to work throughout the week. When she confronted the man and questioned his ability to cover her expenses and fund the business venture, he told her about the drugs he wanted her to

take back to Canada, and offered her \$10,000. She refused to take the drugs and told him she no longer wanted to be a part of his business. The acquaintance continued to ask her about working for him in his legitimate business, and after he begged, she finally gave in, insisting he agree that he would never ask or trick her into trafficking drugs. Agatha explained a childhood that had no effect on her involvement in drugs, except to say that she was brought up to trust people and that she was an easy prey for someone who wanted to take advantage of her. Agatha shared this was not the first time she had been exploited by people she trusted and that was the reason she gave in to her business partner when he begged her over and over again. She trusted in his promise that he would never involve her in anything illegal, in particular drugs, and that she didn't want to "let him down." Agatha, by wanting to not let her friend down, was looking for his approval and acceptance and to build her self-esteem (Maslow 1943). Because an individual's self-esteem is often evaluated through social roles, those roles are either fulfilled or unfulfilled; and since Agatha was asked to fill a role as a business manager, and regardless of the fact the man had tried to trick her into transporting drugs, she felt the need to fill that social role and trusted him to follow through with their agreement (Zavalloni 1973). Additionally, because in viewing her own "self-definition" (Ritzer 2011:466), and since men have greater opportunities for self-definition because females' circumstances are directly linked to power relationships with men, Agatha's lack of power in the relationship with her business acquaintance provided the avenue for her to be duped into trafficking drugs and exploited by a trusted friend.

Previous research has shown that recruitment is often through family members or other "ethnic ties" (Decker and Chapman 2006:96) Literature also stated these kinship or

friendship ties are used to protect the product and the drug dealer (Decker and Chapman 2006). As such, Lana was exploited by a family member, her brother. Lana's brother was the only person offering any help for several months while she was having health issues which resulted in her having financial problems because she was forced to leave a good paying job. Although she was initially unaware of victimization by her brother, it was because of those close ties, that he was able to exploit her and use her to traffic drugs. Lana's brother asked her to go on a trip to Guyana and she thought it was for him to make connections for his import/export business. Lana was also excited to go because she would be able to visit with family as well as to help further her education as she was enrolled in business management classes at Everest Institute, and thought this trip would help her to better understand foreign markets. Trying to better herself by taking classes revealed Lana's need for self-fulfillment to reach her true potential (Maslow 1943), also known as self-actualization (Huitt 2007). Lana was seeking fulfillment by learning all she could about business in the foreign sector and therefore used that as part of reasoning to make her decision to accompany her brother. After arriving in Guyana, and a few days into the trip, her brother explained about trafficking the drugs. He believed this would be a quick fix to his financial problems and because Lana felt so indebted to him, she agreed to participate. Feelings of indebtedness are those feelings that could be construed as being negative, and often bring with them feelings of guilt (Schaumberg and Flynn 2009). Those feelings of guilt could have easily been the case with Lana, as she reluctantly agreed to help her brother. Lana's self-esteem was also low because of her previous dependence on her brother, and now he was asking for her help (Maslow 1943). With Lana having feelings of a low self-esteem, that could have led to a belief that she was

powerless, and prior research has shown that females who feel powerless, no matter what has created that sense of lack of power, participation in drug trafficking may seem to be the manner to restore that power (Widom 1979). Therefore, Lana reluctantly agreed to help her brother by trafficking drugs; all the while telling him it didn't feel right. Even though Lana had been victimized and manipulated by her brother, she shared a story of a good upbringing, her parents had never been in trouble or arrested, and nothing in her childhood influenced her to go along with her brother trafficking the drugs. However, Lana's feelings of low self-esteem, created by the feelings of indebtedness to her brother, was the vessel that carried her into drug trafficking.

Drug trafficking has been romanticized and glorified to appear as easy money and previous research proves that an element of acceptance can be seen in the pop culture associated with drug trafficking (Edberg 2001; Campbell 2005). Angela, a young woman in her late teens, came from a single-parent home, had become very successful as a manager of a call center. Angela was not exploited, she was not tricked, and she jumped at the chance to traffic drugs and make extra money. Angela described her childhood as being meager because her mother didn't work but went to school to better herself and there was never enough money for her. Angela explained that she wanted designer clothes and all the things a teenager wanted, but that her mother couldn't provide. She explained that she had to "live up to certain expectations" and that without money, she would lose the respect of her peers and be bullied. For those with low self-esteem, gaining approval or being accepted by others is important (Huitt 2007). Angela felt without the money she needed to gain that approval, she could not live up to the expectations of her generation. Past research has suggested that drug dealers and

traffickers maintain a tight-knit community and have lavish lifestyles (Adler 1993). Angela also wanted that type of lifestyle, in fact, had she and her fiancé been successful in drug trafficking, they planned to move to Tobago and open their own trafficking business. Angela and her fiancé accepted the opportunity to go to Tobago, pick up the drugs that were already packaged for them to swallow, and hoped to use the money they earned to put a down payment on a house, to buy a luxury car, and to start their own business of drug trafficking. Having a house, a car and owning a business could potentially give Angela and her fiancé the status they were looking for, and with that status would come higher self-actualization, even if the wealth came from illegal drug trafficking. Available literature speaks to the pop culture and folklore that accompanies drug trafficking in some countries, of the power that comes with successful trafficking, as well as some of the stories immortalize the drug traffickers; and in some countries they are considered as saints (Edberg 2001; Campbell 2005). Additionally, for those drug traffickers who are successful, a sense of empowerment can help build self-esteem (Widom 1979; Campbell 2005). Because Angela's childhood was that of deprivation, she may have thought that trafficking in drugs might possibly give her the lifestyle she yearned for and therefore she took the risk to achieve that power, empowerment, and high self-esteem by participating in drug trafficking.

LIMITATIONS & IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

While this exploration into drug trafficking among female offenders in the Caribbean has given voice to the respondents who were interviewed, there were limitations in the current research. The first limitation was the small sample size drawn,

as there were only 13 female offenders interviewed. As generalization to other female drug traffickers at the prison in Trinidad, or in other prisons throughout the Caribbean, or in the world, may not portray reliable findings. In order to have a clear understanding of the experiences of female offenders who have engaged in trafficking drugs, responses from more than 13 females is required. Therefore, the limitation of a small sample size potentially restricts reliable conclusions to be drawn about female offenders convicted of drug trafficking.

The second limitation is in the semi-structured interview guide used to conduct the current research, which was a modified version of an assessment tool used by the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP 2008) that was originally designed for male offenders. A more comprehensive interview guide, specifically designed for women, would provide a more reliable tool that could include questions tailored to childhood experiences, in order to gain more insight in the life course many of these females have traveled. A semi-structured interview guide should also include pointed questions regarding childhood sexual abuse to aid in determining if that is a contributing factor in becoming involved in drug trafficking. As well, since patriarchal societies are prevalent in most developed and developing nations, questions regarding feelings of empowerment, role statuses, and self-esteem issues should be included to better understand the role these issues play in females making decisions to engage in drug trafficking.

The last limitation to this study is the lack of the opportunity for a longitudinal study of female offenders in the current study. Following the 13 female offenders over the course of a time span would prove to be interesting to see if the forces that brought

them to this conviction in drug trafficking, worked against them to create a repeat offense. For those with self-esteem issues, discovering if they were able to find self-actualization and work through the issues that created their low self-esteem would prove valuable. For those who were exploited by friends and family, examining if they were able to avoid that situation and not repeat the behavior would also be interesting.

For the purposes of future research, and because prior research discussed criminal justice responses to drug trafficking on a global scale, and that area was not addressed in this study, investigations into the differences in sentencing procedure's between developing countries in the Caribbean and developed countries such as the United States, England, and Canada should be included. Because less than half of the 13 female offenders in this study were from Caribbean countries, and in order to fully understand the sentencing procedures in a developing country such as Trinidad, more research should be conducted to include policies and procedures addressing sentencing reform.

Additionally, prior research discussed the risks involved in drug trafficking but was not addressed in this study. To have a clearer picture if those female offenders who willingly took part in drug trafficking were aware of the dangers they may encounter by the method of transport or the risks to their freedom because of sentencing procedures of international drug interdiction efforts, future research should address this critical factor. Lastly, because previous research indicates there are multiple risks of trafficking drugs, future research should also include questioning if the females who knowingly participated in the activity were aware of those risks and if they considered those risks when making the decisions to traffic drugs.

The last implication for future research should also include an investigation into the relationship between the colonization of the Caribbean and drug trafficking. Because the geographical location of the nations of the Caribbean, and because previous research has deemed the area to be a *vortex* for drug trafficking, investigating if the culture, economy, and stability of this area is at risk because of the activity may provide insight. Likewise, exploration of the networks and structures associated with drug trafficking in the Caribbean that creates the corruption, violence, and economic hardships that befall a small country with limited resources may pave the way for lessening the struggle by the nations of the Caribbean to maintain their culture and way of life.

Even with the few limitations, this study has opened the door to the shared experiences of females incarcerated for drug trafficking in the Caribbean. Few studies have provided exhaustive qualitative research and discussion on the thoughts, feelings, and disappointments experienced by females after being convicted of drug trafficking. It would be important for future research to include more in-depth questions regarding the social and financial forces that shape the lives of the female offenders who are convicted of drug trafficking.

CONCLUSION

This exploration of drug trafficking among the 13 female offenders incarcerated in the Trinidad and Tobago Prison Service has provided insight into the experiences of female drug traffickers.

Existing literature discusses recruitment strategies and techniques, the influence of pop culture and folklore that glamorizes successful drug traffickers, the possibility of

economic gain through trafficking in drugs, the influences of past victimization and abuse, the effects of childhood experiences, and the need of empowerment and status among females.

Over half of the female offenders were recruited into drug trafficking by means of exploitation or victimization by friends and two were manipulated by family members. Only three made conscious decisions to traffic drugs in order to earn extra money; however, childhood experiences, including family instability and sexual molestation, were believed to be influential in their involvement in drug trafficking by many of the females, while others thought their childhood experiences had nothing to do with their participation in the activity.

Most prisons currently provide programs designed to assist with vocational rehabilitation and offering opportunities for female offenders to learn new skills. Based on the findings from this study, it might be beneficial if the Prison Service incorporated programs and services into the prison rehabilitation programs to enhance the self-esteem of females who have been victims of oppression and exploitation in a patriarchal society. Thus, prevention will aid in the reduction of recidivism for female offenders who became involved in drug trafficking.

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APPENDIX A

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

ID# _____

Interview with []
 [] female
 Place: Women's Center, Arouca Trinidad
 Date: January [], 2010
 Time: []

Past Offenses/Charges

age at first drug smuggling arrest _____

offense at first drug smuggling arrest _____

number of drug smuggling arrests _____

age at first drug smuggling conviction _____

offense at first drug smuggling conviction _____

number of first drug smuggling convictions _____

country of residence at first drug smuggling arrest _____

I want you to describe the drug smuggling offense that resulted in your incarceration.

Date of arrest? _____

Charge at arrest? _____

Date of conviction? _____

Sentence Length? _____

Conviction offense? _____

What type of drugs were you smuggling?

Where did the load originate?

What was the final destination point?

How were you recruited for this role? Please Explain

Were you told what would happen if the load were stolen/lost/interdicted? Please Explain

What routes and types of conveyance were used to get drugs to the final destination point? (specify location for pick-up, transshipment, stash, delivery points. POE)

[If this is not your country of citizenship/residency]

What instructions were you given to transport the drugs out of your country?

Were you paid? _____ If yes, what amount in U.S. dollars?

When did you receive payment? _____

What did you plan to do with the money? Please Explain

How were you caught? Please Explain

Were you surprised when you were caught? _____ Please Explain

Did you think about getting caught? _____ Please Explain

Whose fault was it that you were caught? _____ Please Explain

What did you think your chances of getting caught were? _____ Please Explain

How did you figure those odds? Please Explain

Did you engage in other criminal activities while you were a drug trafficker/smuggler?

What other types of criminal activities were you engaged in during this time?

What was the reason for engaging in these other crimes?

Have you ever engaged in prostitution? _____ YES _____ NO

Please explain

Have you ever engage in international prostitution? _____ YES _____ NO

Please explain

Have you ever engaged in human trafficking? _____ YES _____ NO

Please explain

Have you ever been the victim of human trafficking? _____ YES _____ NO

Please explain

[If the present conviction is the first attempt at drug trafficking/smuggling SKIP to the last two questions and conclude the interview.]

Now I want you to describe your first drug smuggling offense for me? Use as much detail as you can recall, and remember that what you tell me cannot be linked back to you.

How old were you when you first participated in such an activity? _____

What year was it? _____

Why did you decide to get involved in drug smuggling?

How did you originally become involved in drug smuggling (if current charge is the first attempt, state explained earlier)?

How were you recruited for this role? _____ Please Explain

What is your estimated number of drug smuggling trips? _____

Did you join in with friends, were family members or relatives involved in the activity, or did you initiate it on your own? (If friend and family member involvement was revealed in previous question SKIP this question)

What kind of drug was it? _____

How long did you plan on being involved in drug smuggling? _____ Why?

What was the size of the load (kilos)?

Were you paid? _____ If yes, what amount in U.S. dollars?

When did you receive payment? _____

What did you do you plan to do with the money? Please Explain

Did you engage in other criminal activities while you were a drug trafficker/smuggler?

What other types of criminal activities were you engaged in during this time?

What was the reason for engaging in these other crimes?

Can you describe for me how you think your childhood experience influenced you into getting involved with drug smuggling?

Is there any thing else you think I should know about your experience as a drug trafficker/smuggler that we have not mentioned during this conversation?

APPENDIX B
SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this survey!

Introduction:

The purpose of this survey is to learn more about women who are presently incarcerated in the Trinidad and Tobago Prison Service. This survey is confidential; I will not record your name, your prison id number, or any other specific detail that identifies you personally. I will combine your answers with those other TTPS women prisoners to create a profile of the characteristics, needs and opinions of individuals like you who are incarcerated. You are free to decline answering any question that makes you uncomfortable but I hope that you can help me with all the information so I may have a more accurate picture of women in this facility.

DEMOGRAPHICS AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND:

1. What best describes your ethnicity? _____
2. Are you a citizen of Trinidad and Tobago?
_____ YES _____ NO
3. What was your age at your last birthday? _____
4. What is your marital status?

_____ Never Married	_____ Widowed
_____ Married	_____ Common-law
_____ Separated	_____ Other _____
_____ Divorced	
5. What is your detainment status?

_____ Remand
_____ Convicted
6. What is your religious preference?

_____ Christianity	_____ Hinduism
_____ Judaism	_____ Confucianism
_____ Islam	_____ Other
_____ Buddhism	

7. What is the highest level of school, including any vocational/technical school you have completed?

_____ Primary _____ Secondary _____ Tertiary _____ University

7a. Number of years of education _____?

8. Was this completed in the community or the prison?

_____ Community _____ Prison

9. [If you DID NOT finish Secondary School] what were your reasons for quitting?

[Write the most important three, use the numbers below]

_____ Most important reason

_____ Second most important

_____ Third most important

Use these codes

1. Didn't quit

2. Didn't belong

3. I was pregnant

4. I was bored

5. I started to work

6. Not living at home/left home

7. Drug/alcohol use

8. Expelled

9. Started to cut & didn't

10. Didn't care

11. School was too hard

12. Took GED test/passed

13. Gang activities

14. Fighting with others

15. Involved in criminal activities

10. Did you enjoy school? _____ YES _____ NO

11. Were your Grades?

_____ Average

_____ Above Average

_____ Below Average

12. How was your school attendance?

_____ Good

_____ Fair

_____ Below Average

13. Were you ever expelled from school? _____ YES _____ NO

14. Were you involved in clubs or sports etc. while in school? _____ YES _____ NO

15. If you attended or completed the University, what was your primary subject in the University? _____

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

Use these codes:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. General education | 9. Computer sciences |
| 2. Business or management | 10. Arts/Music |
| 3. English/literature | 11. Philosophy, Theology |
| 4. Education | 12. Protective services |
| 5. Social sciences | 13. Nursing/Pre-med |
| 6. Psychology | 14. Physical education |
| 7. Agriculture | 15. No University |
| 8. Natural sciences | 16. Technology |

16. What did you study? _____

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

Use these codes:

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Business, secretarial | 11. Automotive technology |
| 2. Medical, dental | 12. Travel related |
| 3. Cosmetology | 13. Heavy equipment operating |
| 4. Construction trades | 14. Cabinetry/woodworking |
| 5. Drafting, design | 15. Air conditioning/refrigeration |
| 6. Modeling/Fashion | 16. Secretarial |
| 7. Marketing | 17. Hotel related |
| 8. Electrical, electronics | 18. Other |
| 9. Interior decoration | 19. No attendance |
| 10. Food Preparation | |

17. Did you complete the course of study? _____ YES _____ NO

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

[Now I'm going to ask you some questions about your work history]

18. Were you employed at the time of the offense?

[Please choose one]

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| _____ Full-Time | _____ Retired |
| _____ Part-Time | _____ Unemployed |
| _____ Full-Time Student | _____ Temporary/Seasonal |
| _____ Housewife | |

19. What type of job did you have at the time of the offense? _____

[Write the number that best describe your situation]

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Business | 11. Automotive technology |
| 2. Medical, dental | 12. Travel related |
| 3. Cosmetology | 13. Heavy equipment operating |
| 4. Construction trades | 14. Cabinetry/woodworking |
| 5. Drafting, design | 15. Air conditioning/Refrigeration |
| 6. Modeling/Fashion | 16. Secretarial |
| 7. Marketing | 17. Hotel related |
| 8. Electrical, electronics | 18. Other |
| 9. Interior decoration | 19. No job at time of offense |
| 10. Food service | |

20. In the one (1) year before your offense date, how many months were you employed?

_____ Number of months

21. In the one (1) year before your offense date, how many jobs did you have?

_____ Number of jobs

22. How did you support yourself (and family) in the year before being remanded to the Trinidad and Tobago Prison Service?

[Please choose the numbers that best describes your situation from each section]

_____ Primary source of income

_____ Secondary source of income

Use these codes:

Any legitimate sources such as:

1. Working at a legitimate job/business
2. Welfare or other public assistance programs
3. Unemployment compensation because of layoffs/fired
4. Spouse, family or friends (legitimate income)

Any illegal source such as:

5. Welfare fraud
6. Prostitution
7. Drug dealing/sales
8. Shoplifting or fencing
9. Spouse, family or friends (their illegitimate income)
10. Crime other than ones above
11. Any other illegal source

23. Was this family income enough to support you and your family? _____ YES

_____ NO

24. If no, this was not enough because:

[Please check one]

1. Was enough
2. Expenses high
3. Drug use
4. Public assistance not enough
5. Does not apply

25. If you answered "working" to the questions "How did you support yourself (and family) in the year before this prison term? (Question #22) was the work:

[Please check one]

- Full-time
 Part-time
 No working
 Temporary/seasonal

26. [If you did not choose "working" as an answer to the questions "How did you support yourself (and family) in the year before this prison term? (Question #22) what was your reason? [Please choose most important reason]

Use these codes:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Was working | 11. Child care responsibilities/problems |
| 2. Made more money from public assistance | 12. Did not want to work |
| 3. No jobs available | 13. Transportation problems |
| 4. Was in school/training | 14. Don't know why/no specific reason |
| 5. Was looking for work | 15. Temporary/seasonal |
| 6. Was in rehab program | 16. Other |
| 7. Did not have training/education/skills | 17. Made more money from crime/hustling |
| 8. Had drug/alcohol problems | |
| 9. Spouse/family supported me | |
| 10. Ill/handicap (not drug/alcohol-related) | |

27. What childcare arrangement did you have to make in order to work?

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. No-had no children (N/A) | 7. No- did not have custody |
| 2. No-partner supported family | 8. No- not working |
| 3. No-on public assistance | 9. Yes- others watched child |
| 4. No- family supported me and children | 10. Yes- arranged commercial daycare |
| 5. No- left them at home | |
| 6. No- only worked while child in school | |

28. Have you ever been involved in making money through prostitution of any kind?
 YES NO

29. About how much money (per month) was made from all sources in U.S. dollars?
 Legitimately dollar amount _____ Illegal dollar amount _____

30. What is the highest hourly salary you earned before this prison term (in U.S. Dollars)? _____

31. Have you ever received public assistance/welfare? YES NO

32. Did you receive any public assistance in the last year before this prison term?
 YES NO

33. [If you have a work history, or have been previously employed]
 Where did you learn how to do these jobs? _____

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Have no training | 5. Prison |
| 2. Tertiary school | 6. Family/friends |
| 3. University | 7. On-the-job training |
| 4. Military | 8. Other |

34. Are you planning to work when you are released from TTPS? YES NO

35. If no, (to Question #34) please specify why: _____
 [Write the number that best describes your situation]

1. Return to crime
2. Return to school
3. Family will support
4. Partner will support
5. Caretaker responsibility
6. Public assistance
7. Feel unemployable
8. No desire
9. Other

36. What do you need to increase your chances of getting a job?
 [Please identify the top three in order of importance – use codes below]

_____ Most important
 _____ Second most important
 _____ Third most important

1. More education
2. More experience
3. English skills
4. Dental work
5. Help in self-presentation (grooming, application, interview)
6. More technical training
7. None, fully qualified
8. Won't be working

37. Do you think TTPS can help you in these areas? _____ YES _____ NO
 _____ DON'T KNOW

FAMILY CRIMINAL HISTORY

[Now I'm going to ask you some questions about your family's arrest and prison history]

38. Have any members of your family ever been arrested? _____ YES _____ NO

39. Have any members of your family ever been on probation? _____ YES _____ NO

40. Have any members of your family ever been in jail/prisoner any kind of detention?
 _____ YES _____ NO

41. Was this [imprisonment/detention] while growing up/in their care?
 _____ YES _____ NO

42. Has your partner/spouse ever been incarcerated? _____ YES _____ NO

43. Is former/current partner/spouse now incarcerated? _____ YES _____ NO

44. Is (he/she) in prison because of something related to your offense? _____ YES
 _____ NO

JUVENILE CRIMINAL HISTORY**[Now I'd like to ask you some questions about when you were under age 18]**

45. Were you ever arrested as a juvenile? _____ YES _____ NO
46. Were you ever declared a status offender? _____ YES _____ NO
47. Did you ever live in a group home/foster/orphanage? _____ YES _____ NO
48. Were you ever on probation as a juvenile? _____ YES _____ NO
49. Did you ever runaway or leave home? _____ YES _____ NO
50. How old were you when you first started getting into trouble? _____
51. Describe how your childhood experiences influenced your getting into trouble?
[Use area below to describe in your own words]

ARREST AND SENTENCE INFORMATION**[No I'm going to ask you some questions about your arrest and sentencing for this current prison term.]**

52. Were you on probation prior to this current offense? _____ YES _____ NO
53. Were you represented by legal counsel during this last trial? _____ YES _____ NO
YES – public defender/state-appointed _____ Yes-private
54. How much time did you receive from the court? _____
55. How many times have you been arrested as an adult? _____ (estimate if not sure)
56. How old were you the first time you were arrested? _____ (including juvenile)

57. What offense were you arrested for the first time?

[Check all that apply]

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Homicide | <input type="checkbox"/> Grand theft (auto) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> voluntary manslaughter | <input type="checkbox"/> Kidnapping |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Assault | <input type="checkbox"/> Grand theft |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Robbery | <input type="checkbox"/> Embezzlement |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Motor vehicle violations | <input type="checkbox"/> Petty theft with a prior |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Driving under the influence | <input type="checkbox"/> Fraud/check fraud |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Weapons offense | <input type="checkbox"/> Other narcotics |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Burglary | <input type="checkbox"/> Possession |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Forgery | <input type="checkbox"/> Narcotics sales |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Welfare fraud | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prostitution | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Child abuse or child endangerment | |

58. How many times have you been in prison including this time? _____

59. What offense(s) were you convicted of that resulted in this current prison term?

[Check all that apply]

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Homicide | <input type="checkbox"/> Grand theft (auto) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Voluntary manslaughter | <input type="checkbox"/> Kidnapping |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Assault | <input type="checkbox"/> Grand theft |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Robbery | <input type="checkbox"/> Embezzlement |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Motor vehicle violations | <input type="checkbox"/> Petty theft with a prior |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Driving under the influence | <input type="checkbox"/> Fraud/check fraud |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Weapons offense | <input type="checkbox"/> Other narcotics |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Burglary | <input type="checkbox"/> Possession |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Forgery | <input type="checkbox"/> Narcotics sales |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Welfare fraud | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prostitution | <input type="checkbox"/> Smuggling/trafficking |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Child abuse or child endangerment | <input type="checkbox"/> Probation violation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Child homicide | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Involuntary manslaughter | |

60. Do you have codefendant(s)?

YES NO DOES NOT APPLY

61. Did the co-defendant(s) serve time for this offense?

YES NO DOES NOT APPLY

62. What is the gender of the codefendant(s)?

MALE FEMALE BOTH DOES NOT APPLY

63. Is the sentence longer or short than your term?

YES NO SAME DON'T KNOW DOES NOT APPLY

64. What were your reasons for committing the crime that got you here?

[Please write the number that best describes your situation in order of importance]

_____ Most important

_____ Second important

_____ Third important

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. No pay for drugs | 8. Anger | 18. Drug deal gone bad |
| 2. Economic pressures | 9. Fear | 19. Running the streets |
| 3. Poor judgment | 10. To escape abuse | 20. Took rap for other(s) |
| 4. To protect self/family | 11. Desperation | 21. Wouldn't inform on perpetrator |
| 5. Intoxicated or high | 12. Gambling | 22. No response |
| 6. Pressured by friend | 13. To get attention | 23. Other _____ |
| 7. Helping a friend | 14. Greed | |
| | 15. Revenge | |
| | 16. Claim innocence | |
| | 17. Ignorance of the law | |

65. Have you ever used a weapon to protect yourself? _____ YES _____ NO

66. Did you serve any time for the weapons use? _____ YES _____ NO

CHILDREN

[Now I'm going to ask you some questions about your children you might have]

(Skip if you DO NOT have children)

67. How many children do you have? _____

68. If Yes, How many are 6 and under? _____

69. If Yes, How many are 7-17 years and 11 months? _____

70. If Yes, How many are over 18? _____

71. How old were you when your first child was born? _____

72. Do you currently have legal custody of all your children?

_____ YES/all

_____ DON'T KNOW

_____ YES/some

_____ DOES NOT APPLY

_____ NO

73. How far away from this prison does your child (who lives the farthest) live?

_____ Miles

74. Do you have problems keeping in contact with your children while you were in prison? _____ YES _____ NO

75. Have you ever used a weapon to protect your children? _____ YES _____ NO

76. Did you serve any time for this weapons use? _____ YES _____ NO

VISITING/CONTACT

(I am interested in how much contact you might have with your family, your children, your partner/spouse, and other friends.) These next questions ask about that contact.

[Use these responses to answer questions 77-80]

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. 4 or more times per week | 13. Don't know |
| 2. 1-3 times per week | 14. Pending visiting approval |
| 3. Every two weeks or so | 15. Not eligible due to status added elsewhere |
| 4. Every three weeks or so | 16. Paperwork still being processed |
| 5. About once a month | 17. Rules prohibited/cannot contact person from here |
| 6. Every two months or so | 18. No partner |
| 7. Every three months or so | 19. Cannot call this person |
| 8. Between four and six months | 20. No friends/family |
| 9. Longer than six months | 21. Does not apply |
| 10. No pattern but some contact | |
| 11. Never since this incarceration | |
| 12. Not able to due to rules/custody | |

Questions begin here: [Write the appropriate number from the above responses]

77. Since you have been here, how often do you call your children? _____

78. Since you have been here, how often do you receive letters from your children?

79. Since you have been here, how often do you write letters to your children? _____

80. Since you have been here, how often do you have regular visits with your children?

LIVING SITAUTION

[Now I'm going to ask you some questions about your living situation in the year before this prison/remand term.]

81. Right before you were arrested for this term, where and with whom did you live?

_____ [Please write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Lived alone | 6. Had no permanent residence/mobile |
| 2. Lived with parents or grandparents | 7. Homeless/on the streets |
| 3. Lived with other relatives | 8. Shelter |
| 4. Lived with spouse/partner | 9. Drug program |
| 5. Lived with friends/roommate | 10. Out of country/with family |
| | 11. Other _____ |

82. Were any of your children living with you in the place you just told me about?

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| _____ YES, all of them | _____ NO, kids grown |
| _____ YES, some of them | _____ No children |
| _____ NO, kids somewhere else | |

83. Where do you plan to go upon your release? _____

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

Use these codes:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Live alone | 9. Recovery home/other drug program |
| 2. Live with parents or grandparents | 10. Out of country/with family |
| 3. Live with other relatives | 11. Don't have a place to go |
| 4. Live with spouse/partner | 12. Anywhere but last place/Trinidad and Tobago |
| 5. Live with friends/roommate | 13. Too soon to think about |
| 6. Will have no permanent residence/mobile | 14. Don't know |
| 7. Homeless/on the street | 15. Other _____ |
| 8. Shelter | |

84. How will this living situation affect your chances for staying out of trouble?

_____ NEGATIVELY _____ POSITIVELY _____ DOES NOT APPLY

85. Do you plan to live with any of your children? _____

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. YES-right away | 5. NO-kids in good situation |
| 2. NO-can't get custody | 6. Don't know/too soon/doesn't apply |
| 3. YES-but need to get settled first | 7. NO-kids grown no children |
| 4. NO-not in kids interest/cannot care them | |

PREVIOUS HISTORY OF ABUSE

These next questions ask you about some sensitive questions about things that might have happened to you/that have happened to many women in prison. I know they are hard to answer, but they will help develop programs to help those women who may need help.

86. Have you even been physically abused (harmed/hit...as a child)? _____ YES
_____ NO

[If no, skip to next Question #90]

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

87. How often did this occur? _____

1. A one-time event
2. More than once but not an ongoing, recurrent event
3. An on-going, recurrent event

88. Can you tell me all the people who may have hurt you? _____

[Write the number that best describe your situation]

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Mother | 12. Step-sister |
| 2. Step-mother | 13. Sibling's peers |
| 3. Father | 14. Your peers |
| 4. Step-father | 15. Family friend/neighbor |
| 5. Mother's boyfriend | 16. Authority figure (teacher,
minister/priest etc.) |
| 6. Your boyfriend | 17. Stranger |
| 7. Spouse/partner | 18. Customers of prostitute—trick |
| 8. Other male relatives (not incl.
brother) | 19. Pimps |
| 9. Brother | 20. Anyone else |
| 10. Sister | 21. Didn't know who they were |
| 11. Step-brother | |

89. Have you been physically abuse/battered as an adult? _____ YES _____ NO

90. How often did this occur? _____

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

1. A one-time event
2. More than once but not an ongoing, recurrent event
3. An on-going, recurrent event
4. Does not apply

91. Can you tell me all the people who may have hurt you? _____

[Write the numbers that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Mother | 12. Step-sister |
| 2. Step-mother | 13. Sibling's peers |
| 3. Father | 14. Your peers |
| 4. Step-father | 15. Family friend/neighbor |
| 5. Mother's boyfriend | 16. Authority figure (teacher,
minister/priest etc.) |
| 6. Your boyfriend | 17. Stranger |
| 7. Spouse/partner | 18. Customers of prostitute trick |
| 8. Other male relatives (not incl.
brother) | 19. Pimps |
| 9. Brother | 20. Anyone else |
| 10. Sister | 21. Didn't know who they were |
| 11. Step-brother | 22. Does not apply |

92. Have you ever been sexually abused as a child? _____ YES _____ NO

93. How often did this occur? _____

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

1. A one-time event
2. More than once but not an ongoing, recurrent event
3. An on-going, recurrent event

94. Can you tell me all the people may have sexually abused you?

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Mother | 12. Step-sister |
| 2. Step-mother | 13. Sibling's peers |
| 3. Father | 14. Your peers |
| 4. Step-father | 15. Family friend/neighbor |
| 5. Mother's boyfriend | 16. Authority figure (teacher,
minister/priest etc.) |
| 6. Your boyfriend | 17. Stranger |
| 7. Spouse/partner | 18. Customers of prostitute trick |
| 8. Other male relatives (not incl.
brother) | 19. Pimps |
| 9. Brother | 20. Anyone else |
| 10. Sister | 21. Didn't know who they were |
| 11. Step-brother | 22. Does not apply |

95. Can you tell me all the people may have sexually assaulted you as an adult? _____

[Write the numbers that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Mother | 12. Step-sister |
| 2. Step-mother | 13. Sibling's peers |
| 3. Father | 14. Your peers |
| 4. Step-father | 15. Family friend/neighbor |
| 5. Mother's boyfriend | 16. Authority figure (teacher,
minister/priest etc.) |
| 6. Your boyfriend | 17. Stranger |
| 7. Spouse/partner | 18. Customers of prostitute/trick |
| 8. Other male relatives (not incl.
brother) | 19. Pimps |
| 9. Brother | 20. Anyone else |
| 10. Sister | 21. Didn't know who they were |
| 11. Step-brother | 22. Does not apply |

[If you have indicated that you have experienced abuse, answer the following questions]

96. You have indicated some things that have happened to you as a child. Do you feel this has had anything to do with your reasons for committing crimes? _____ YES
_____ NO _____ NO ABUSE REPORTED

97. You have indicated some things that have happened to you as an adult. Do you feel this has had anything to do with your reasons for committing crimes? _____ YES
_____ NO _____ NO ABUSE REPORTED

98. Have you received counseling for this abuse while serving this prison term?
_____ YES _____ NO _____ NO ABUSE REPORTED

99. Would you like to receive counseling or participate in a program dealing with surviving abuse? _____ YES _____ NO _____ NO ABUSE REPORTED

100. If you have received any counseling, do you feel that it has helped? _____ YES
_____ NO _____ NO ABUSE REPORTED _____ NEVER NEED COUNSELING
_____ NEVER RECEIVED ANY COUNSELING

DRUG USE HISTORY

[Now I would like to ask you some general questions about your drug and alcohol use.]

101. Have you ever used drugs? _____ YES _____ NO

102. If Yes, What was the frequency that you need drugs? _____

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

1. Never used
2. Experimental
3. Occasional
4. Moderate
5. Heavy

103. If Yes, (to Question #101) What age did you begin? _____

104. If you no longer use drugs, at what age did you stop? _____

105. Has drug use ever caused disruption of your family life? _____ YES _____ NO

106. Do most of your friends use drugs? _____ YES _____ NO

107. Do you feel you have a drug problem now? _____ YES _____ NO

108. In the last year from today, what would you consider your drug use as?

[Please check one]

- _____ Not Used
 _____ Occasional Use: 1 time or less per week
 _____ Moderate Use: 2 to 3 items per week
 _____ Heavy Use: 4 to 5 time per week

109. Have you ever used alcohol? _____ YES _____ NO

110. Was alcohol ever a problem in your life? _____ YES _____ NO

111. Did you drink alcohol the last year you were free? _____ YES _____ NO

112. How often did you drink alcohol? _____

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Twice a day or more | 6. Every month or two |
| 2. Daily or almost daily | 7. Less than once every 3-4 months |
| 3. 3-5 times a week | 8. Weekends |
| 4. Once or twice a week | 9. Binge pattern |
| 5. Once every 2-3 weeks | 10. Never |

113. Have you ever used marijuana? _____ YES _____ NO

114. Was marijuana ever a problem in your life? _____ YES _____ NO

115. Did you ever use marijuana the last year you were free? _____ YES _____ NO

116. Did you ever drink alcohol while using marijuana? _____ YES _____ NO

117. How often did you use marijuana? _____
 [Write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Twice a day or more | 6. Every month or two |
| 2. Daily or almost daily | 7. Less than once every 3-4 months |
| 3. 3-5 times a week | 8. Weekends |
| 4. Once or twice a week | 9. Binge pattern |
| 5. Once every 2-3 weeks | 10. Never |

FINANCIAL STATUS

118. Which best describes your residence prior to current remand?
 (Choose the one that best describes your situation)
 _____ OWN _____ RENT _____ OTHER

119. How much was your monthly rent/mortgage? _____

120. Did you have a checking account? _____ YES _____ NO

121. Did you have a savings account? _____ YES _____ NO

122. Did you receive child support? _____ YES _____ NO

123. Did anyone else contribute to your living expenses? _____ YES _____

EXPANDED DRUG USE HISTORY

[Now I would like to ask you some additional questions about your drug and alcohol use in the past]

124. Have you ever used heroin? _____ YES _____ NO

125. Was heroin ever a problem in your life? _____ YES _____ NO

126. Did you use heroin the last year you were free? _____ YES _____ NO

127. If so, how often _____

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Twice a day or more | 7. Less than once every 3-4 months |
| 2. Daily or almost daily | 8. Weekends |
| 3. 3-5 times a week | 9. Occasionally |
| 4. Once or twice a week | 10. Binge pattern |
| 5. Once every 2-3 weeks | 11. Never |
| 6. Every month or two | 12. Does not apply |

128. Did you ever drink alcohol while using heroin? _____ YES _____ NO

129. Did you use heroin the last year you were free? _____ YES _____ NO

130. Have you ever used cocaine? _____ YES _____ NO

131. Was cocaine ever a problem in your life? _____ YES _____ NO

132. Did you use cocaine the last year you were free? _____ YES _____ NO

133. If so, how often? _____

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Twice a day or more | 7. Less than once every 3-4 months |
| 2. Daily or almost daily | 8. Weekends |
| 3. 3-5 times a week | 9. Occasionally |
| 4. Once or twice a week | 10. Binge pattern |
| 5. Once every 2-3 weeks | 11. Never |
| 6. Every month or two | 12. Does not apply |

134. Did you ever drink alcohol while using cocaine? _____ YES _____ NO

135. Have you ever used amphetamines/speed? _____ YES _____ NO

136. Were amphetamines/speed/ever a problem in your life? _____ YES _____ NO

137. Did you use amphetamines/speed/ the last year you were free? _____ YES _____ NO

138. If so, how often? _____

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Twice a day or more | 7. Less than once every 3-4 months |
| 2. Daily or almost daily | 8. Weekends |
| 3. 3-5 times a week | 9. Occasionally |
| 4. Once or twice a week | 10. Binge pattern |
| 5. Once every 2-3 weeks | 11. Never |
| 6. Every month or two | 12. Does not apply |

139. Did you ever drink alcohol while using amphetamines? _____ YES _____ NO

140. Have you ever used sniffed glue or other inhalants? ____YES ____NO

141. Were inhalants ever a problem in your life? ____YES ____NO

142. Did you use inhalants the last year you were free? ____YES ____NO

153. If so, how often? _____

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Twice a day or more | 7. Less than once every 3-4 months |
| 2. Daily or almost daily | 8. Weekends |
| 3. 3-5 times a week | 9. Occasionally |
| 4. Once or twice a week | 10. Binge pattern |
| 5. Once every 2-3 weeks | 11. Never |
| 6. Every month or two | 12. Does not apply |

144. Did you ever drink alcohol while using inhalants? ____YES ____NO

145. Have you ever used crack? ____YES ____NO

146. Was crack ever a problem in your life? ____YES ____NO

147. Did you use crack the last year you were free? ____YES ____NO

148. If so, how often?

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Twice a day or more | 7. Less than once every 3-4 months |
| 2. Daily or almost daily | 8. Weekends |
| 3. 3-5 times a week | 9. Occasionally |
| 4. Once or twice a week | 10. Binge pattern |
| 5. Once every 2-3 weeks | 11. Never |
| 6. Every month or two | 12. Does not apply |

149. Did you ever drink alcohol while using crack? ____YES ____NO

150. Have you ever used LSD or other hallucinogen? ____YES ____NO

165. Was LSD ever a problem in your life? ____YES ____NO

152. Did you use LSD the last year you were free? ____YES ____NO

153. If so, how often?

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Twice a day or more | 7. Less than once every 3-4 months |
| 2. Daily or almost daily | 8. Weekends |
| 3. 3-5 times a week | 9. Occasionally |
| 4. Once or twice a week | 10. Binge pattern |
| 5. Once every 2-3 weeks | 11. Never |
| 6. Every month or two | 12. Does not apply |

154. Did you ever drink alcohol while using hallucinogen? _____ YES _____ NO

155. Have you ever used prescription drugs? _____ YES _____ NO

156. Were prescription drugs ever a problem in your life? _____ YES _____ NO

157. Did you use prescription the last year you were free? _____ YES _____ NO

158. If so, how often?

[Write the number that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Twice a day or more | 7. Less than once every 3-4 months |
| 2. Daily or almost daily | 8. Weekends |
| 3. 3-5 times a week | 9. Occasionally |
| 4. Once or twice a week | 10. Binge pattern |
| 5. Once every 2-3 weeks | 11. Never |
| 6. Every month or two | 12. Does not apply |

159. Did you ever drink alcohol while using prescription drugs? _____ YES _____ NO

160. [For those using more than three substances]

You have told me about using several different substances, would you say that you

_____ Used anything available

_____ Only used those specific substances

_____ Other _____

161. How old were you when you first drank alcohol? _____ NEVER DRANK

162. How old were you when you first used drugs? _____ NEVER USED

163. Have you ever used a needle to inject drugs? _____ YES _____ NO _____ NEVER USED DRUGS _____ DON'T KNOW

164. Would you be interested in participating in a drug/alcohol program inside prison? _____ YES _____ NO _____ NEVER USED DRUGS _____ DON'T KNOW

165. Would you be interested in participating in a drug/alcohol program outside prison? _____ YES _____ NO _____ NEVER USED DRUGS _____ DON'T KNOW

166. Have you ever participated in any treatment programs for drugs or alcohol?

_____ YES _____ NO

LIFE INSIDE/CORRECTIONAL PRORAM QUESTIONS

[Now I want to ask you some questions about your life and how you spend your time here] [Circle all that apply]

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Vocational | 9. Religious groups |
| 2. Educational | 10. Recreational |
| 3. Legal | 11. Transition/reentry |
| 4. Individual counseling | 12. Drug/alcohol |
| 5. Group counseling | 13. Arts/crafts/music |
| 6. Parenting | 14. Other _____ |
| 7. Lifer group | 15. No participation |
| 8. Self-help | |

167. Which of these programs has been helpful/beneficial to you?

[Circle all that apply]

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Vocational | 9. Religious groups |
| 2. Educational | 10. Recreational |
| 3. Legal | 11. Transition/reentry |
| 4. Individual counseling | 12. Drug/alcohol |
| 5. Group counseling | 13. Arts/crafts/music |
| 6. Parenting | 14. Other _____ |
| 7. Lifer group | 15. No participation |
| 8. Self-help | |

168. Which of these programs would you like to see here?

169. Do you ever volunteer for work assignments outside your normal assignment?

_____ YES _____ NO

170. How were you assigned to your current program?

[Please check the one that best describes your situation]

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| _____ Own request/desire | _____ Disciplinary reasons |
| _____ Counselor/team assignment | _____ Not yes assigned |
| _____ Only program available | _____ Don't know |
| _____ Medical reasons | _____ Other _____ |
| _____ Custody reasons | |

171. Where do you spend the bulk of your free time here?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> In my room | <input type="checkbox"/> At hobby craft |
| <input type="checkbox"/> In the day room | <input type="checkbox"/> In the gym |
| <input type="checkbox"/> In my unit (room/day room) | <input type="checkbox"/> The chapel |
| <input type="checkbox"/> On the yard | <input type="checkbox"/> No one place |
| <input type="checkbox"/> In the library | <input type="checkbox"/> oOher _____ |

172. Do you shop (go to the canteen?) _____ YES _____ NO _____ NOT AVAILABLE

173. Where does your commissary money come from?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> My parents/relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> Own income/from streets |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My partner | <input type="checkbox"/> No single source |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My friends | <input type="checkbox"/> No answer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My children | <input type="checkbox"/> Do not shop |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Own income/earned here | <input type="checkbox"/> Trading |

174. Have you ever been without money (in here)?

- _____ YES _____ NOT NOW BUT IN THE PAST _____ NEVER

175. I have asked you a lot of questions about many different aspects of your background and experience. Is there anything else you would like to tell me that will help us understand the prison experience of women?

176. Is there anything about programs or opportunities that you think might help you or others in similar situations return to the community?

We very much appreciate your willingness to share this information with us. Thank You very much for your time and effort! Your assistance is a great help to us, the prison service, other female offenders, and the wider society

VITA

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Honors and Awards:

Summa Cum Laude, May 2011, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia

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