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Indigenous way of seeing tourism and conservation in the Colombian Amazon

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This paper is about the way in which indigenous people changed their relationship with natural resources due to the creation of the National Natural Park Amacayacu in 1975, and the way in which indigenous peoples perceive the increase of tourists with the concession of ecotourism services in the same Park in 2005. The purpose of the paper is to show how indigenous people worked previously in the traffic of animal species and wood and, now, aim to promote conservation of these. Also, the paper shows how tourism has not benefited all and therefore has become demotivated to young people who are looking for other alternatives in education and work. For this, environmental interpreters and young people mainly from the community of Mocagua were interviewed. Although, different ways of viewing conservation and tourism in surrounding communities and in the same Park visitors' center were observed. As a result, It was observed that the interpreters have learned a conservationist speech but also are not passive subjects in relation to tourism since they maintain a different way of seeing tourist activities and the people who get involved on it.

Key words: Conservation, Amazon indigenous, tourism, anthropology of tourism, national natural parks, tourism studies, anthropology and sociology of tourism, Colombian Amazon, Amacayacu, ticuna.

INTRODUCTION

For those Colombians who live in the main cities like Bogotá, the southern area of the trapezium is without exaggeration as a place with a few cottages, and a few indigenous persons in traditional costume, surrounded by a pristine nature. It is inconceivable ignorance on a region that covers 34% of the territory of the country.

The territory of the National Natural Park Amacayacu constitutes a large portion of the Colombian Amazon Trapeze. One might think that their policies and activities influence the 295 thousand hectares that comprise it, which added to the surrounding communities, are close to constitute the whole Amazon Trapeze. However, the Park was created in 1975, and some indigenous communities were overlapped. Before the Park, the natives were living in a boom of traffic of skins of animals and wooden, but with the creation of the Park this process was interrupted. At that time, the park officials conducted trainings for the indigenous peoples and now we can read of the environmental interpreters a conservationist speech.

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The launching of the granting of ecotourism services of the Park in the year 2005 increases the number of tourists in the region and motivates the indigenous peoples to be part of the tourist activities. However, they are placed on the lower end of the production chain, receiving low wages and discouraging as well to the generations of young people whose wishes are to leave the communities and go to study and work in the major cities in Colombia.

At the beginning the author explains how environmental interpreters have a direct relation between conservation and tourism, because they incorporate elements in their discourse of conservation and later they started to work on tourism activities. In this way, they learnt that extraction activities they were used to do it before the creation of the Park are harmful for the community, while actual activities are perceived as profitable, especially for their sons.

Secondly, young indigenous want to conserve but they have problems to satisfy their own necessities of work and education. This group perceives the tourism as a way to obtain money and a manner to conserve the natural resources. But, they have realized tourism do not benefit to everyone, only those who are working with tourism activities.

Finally, the author refers to the ethnography of Cure (2005), which talks about the rumor of the head cutter and how the tourist, and even anthropologists can be seen by the indigenous as head cutters or co-workers of the head cutters.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Disciplines such as Economics, Sociology, Anthropology, and Business Administration have contributed to the analysis of tourism and have interpreted from different theoretical perspectives. The interest of anthropologists in tourism is relatively recent. According to Nash (1996), was in the seventies that they began to show a little interest and, although tourism has involved people and places, few anthropologists have perceived it as a focus of analysis.

Implications of tourism on local population have been studied from different points of view. For example, Fredline and Faulkner (2000) studied reactions and perceptions of members of local communities by the arrival of tourism. In this line, Brunt and Courtney (1999) present a research on the perceptions of the population of a community due to socio-cultural impacts of tourism development.

On the other hand, local population can develop perceptions and positive attitudes toward tourism, but they can also have a limited vision of new investment and employment opportunities. In this way, Campbell (1999) concludes that this limited vision will reduce the benefits for local community, while investors who come from the outside, take the opportunities.

Other research focuses specifically on the implications on indigenous populations. In spite of the fact that the anthropologists are fleeing a little of the term, now politicized, of *acculturation*, the concept is present in public and academic discourses about tourism in indigenous communities. Acculturation is what many fear that happens with the arrival of tourists: consumption and marketing of culture. This can be found on the research of Stronza (2001), Chicchon (1995), McLaren (1997), Rossel (1988) and Seiler-Baldinger (1988). Stronza describes the "commercialization of culture" as the process by which traditional practices are first evaluated in terms of exchange value and then converted into goods. For example, a festival could lose its cultural and symbolic meaning for the local, indigenous in this case, when it is showed to the tourists and is then marketed like any other merchandise (Stronza, 2001:269).

The thesis of Rodríguez (2007) shows the negative implications on the indigenous Ticuna due to the concession of ecotourism services of Amacayacu National Natural Park. In the same community of Mocagua, León and Cortez (2007) analyzed the reactions of indigenous peoples due to ecotourism and particularly the effects of the concession. The position of León and Cortez shows the fear that the ecotourism will finish with local culture.

On the contrary, Stronza (2001, 2005) explores the way in which the ecotourism and other forms of alternative tourism can generate social, economic and environmental benefits to local communities and at the same time, create real experiences of transformation for the tourists.

The environmental movement is talked about because the theory is used to explain the results obtained in this article. Martínez-Alier (2004) classifies environmental movements in three streams: the cult of the wild, the gospel of the eco-efficiency, and the ecologist of the poor.

The cult of the wild is characterized by a deep ecology and a biocentrism attitude of nature and its actors radiate their powerful doctrines through Non-Governmental Organizations - NGO - located in First World countries (ibid.:17).

In the second current environmentalist defined by Martínez-Alier (2004: 20), the actors that make part of the "gospel of eco-efficiency" downplay the importance of attractive of the nature and its intrinsic values, and rather are concerned about a good use of natural resources. According to Martinez Alder, in this line are the engineers and economists environmentalists, who analyze the impacts of economic growth on the population in pristine areas, industrial, agricultural and urban. In addition, they believe that it is possible the sustainability of natural resources by maximizing the utility and improving technical efficiency (ibid.).

The third, commonly referred to as the "ecologist of the poor", has a close relationship with the protected areas

and natural parks. Since the developmental point of view, these have become capital reserves for future generations, and the local populations that live in them, such as the indigenous peoples of the tropical rain forest of the Third World, "are being recognized as owners of their territories only if they have accepted it as reserves of capital" (Escobar, 1999:88). From this comes a recent stereotype toward indigenous people as "guardians of the forest" (Martínez-Alier, 2004) or "guardians of the natural and social capital" (O'Connor, quoted in Escobar 1999:88). Thus, the responsibility is falling on populations that are generally poor. Therefore, the current of the ecologist of the poor "criticizes that the conservation plans are for future generations while the poor are clamoring for the daily support" (Martínez-Alier, 2004:27). In this way, "the poor harvest animals and tourists pay to see them" (Jacobson quoted in ibid.). Therefore the current is a demand that searches for "environmental justice between humans" (ibid.).

METHODOLOGY

In this article, interviews were performed with older adults in the community of Mocagua and young people of the same community were surveyed. A survey was carried out by one of them. In relation to older adults, three environmental interpreters were interviewed based on open-ended questions that first made reference to the historical processes of extraction, and then to the control and prohibition. The questions served as a guide, because due to the positive atmosphere, they began to tell the story. They were allowed to speak to understand their speech; later the information was generalized assuming that this is the discourse of the first environmental interpreters.

In relation to the methodology used to interview the youths, a questionnaire of open-ended questions was used to learn about the activities they perform, what they think about tourism and their concession, their dreams, how they see themselves in the future and what are their expectations for life. The purpose of the inter-views was motivated by the conservationist speech that includes the preservation of natural resources for future generations. Also, given that the young people between 15 and 29 years of age are 31% of Mocagua's population, it can be said they project their life and work in the community. Mocagua's community was chosen to perform these interviews because it has been the one, which has received more revenue from tourism since the construction of the visitor's center in 1986.

For the young people interviewed, the author collaborated with a youth from the community of Macedonia, as some questions refer to personal aspects, which are difficult to ask an unknown and lack of confidence person. This young man was studying at the school of Macedonia through a university program delivered by internet. In this way it is assumed that young people would be in an atmosphere of trust that would improve responses and therefore reduce the bias.

In total there were ten interviews, of which the author performed two, while the remaining eight was carried out by the indigenous youth, using the questions written by the author as a guide. An indigenous Uitoto told her life story and how she came to work with the tourism; the conversation was spontaneous and was carried out during the field work. All interviews were recorded. The names of the interviews were changed to respect confidentiality.

Finally, observation was done in the communities of Macedonia, Mocagua, El Vergel, La Libertad and Monifue Amena. Also the author stayed at the Amacayacu National Natural Park and interact-ed with different ethnic groups such as Ticuna, Uitoto and Yagua.

Discourse of the first environmental indigenous interpreters

The author interviewed indigenous people older than fifty years, who when younger, lived on trafficking of skins and extracting of wood, in the sixties and seventies. In the next lines, they express how this extraction period was perceived and of course how this was interrupted through controls and prohibitions imparted by the officials at the moment of the creation of the Park Amacayacu at 1975. Although, the indigenous interviewed notice the importance of have been participated in the trains guided by the Park, that generated guilty feelings because of the scarcity of animals and woods, and in consequence they developed ways of understand the conservation and incorporate their sons as the final purpose of the duty.

Before the Park

Interviewed indigenous people talked about the arrival of "people with money" to the communities, asking them for skins of "tigers, jaguars and wild pigs". Without defining these "people with money" as possible dealers, they remember that were sailing from community to community until they got to River Atacuari, asking indigenous people for animals' skins and offering money as exchange. When a month pass (right time enough to hunt animals), the "people with money" went down the river to each community, picking the skins up. Also, they remember for this mission ticunas indigenous used more blowguns (cerbatanas) than shotguns for one reason: with the shotgun they will scare the animals while with the silence blowguns could kill more.

In the same way, Santiago said: "none care, we take out the wood for sale". So, he remembers that at Leticia Port "the people sell wood in the same way as now sell fish"; Santiago says, "neither police nor anybody asked if wood has license; there was no control". These arguments explain actual scarcity of "good wood" in the communities. As Luis argues, "the cedar is over, to find good wood you must go far away, because we have finished it". In this manner, the hunt of animals for skins and not for consumption, as well the chopping down of trees for sell and not for construction of the houses in the communities became current activities to indigenous during the decades of sixties and seventies.

The interviewed indigenous people justify their activities because of the absence of "the law", and they relate "the law" with the arrival of INDERENA[1] in 1975. They did not mention the creation of Park Amacayacu in this year, they did mention the arrival of the "chief", that is to say the "Park Chief", who started to convoke meetings in order to prohibit and control the extraction activities. Jaime remembers these first meetings as follows: "to many people jump, most of them did not agree with the Chief, because law came to oppress and control all of have to do with flora and fauna" (sic). Interviewed indigenous people did not refer to the dealers either to the market in order to justify their extraction activities. This would be the beginning of a guilty sentiment generated from a power and control hierarchy over the natural resources, which they identify as the "law" and were imparted through the "Chief".

The natives would explain this restriction with the "arrival of tourism and training". It was the first time, they say, "someone came and talk to us about the fauna and flora". To the natives who

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1 INDERENA – Instituto Nacional de los Recursos Naturales Renovables y del Ambiente -, created on 1968 until Law 99 of 1993 close it and create UAESPNN -Unidad Administrativa Especial del Sistema de Parques Nacionales Naturales- as an institution responsible for the Park National Natural System of Colombia.

participated in the training process it was, as Jaime tell, "a great truth" or "an advantage", because they were finishing the natural resources of their "own community", and also considered that, if they continued with the extraction they will not be resources for their children. In other side, the training was referred to as new figure at the communities: the 'resguardos', which in this area of the Amazon Trapeze began to be acknowledged legally on the decade of the eighties. It was the first time officials talk them about a territory that belongs to them and the propitious opportunity to generate a feeling of appropriateness.

For Ticuna[2], tourism has a thought. Interviewed natives say, "the thought of the tourism want to see animals, the tourism arrive here to the Amazon, to observe the cayman", and they say, "the tourism do not feel alright because there are not animals to see as it was before", and they recognize themselves as "guilty" because they affirm "we hunted all the animals". They do not assume the tourism as an economic activity nor an industry, the tourism is an entity who needs to see animals more than nature, but do not need to observe indigenous. For ticuna people, the manner to explain tourism implies a direct relation with nature, because in that way, thanks to the training and to the arrival of the first tourists it was understood.

Some natives who worked in the Recovery Program of piuri´s specie (*Crax globulosa*), a bird that was disappearing from Mocagua Island because of the fish extraction with nets given that these birds feed with these fishes, began the problems, as Jaime explained me, with their own "community partners" and with the other communities of the Program as Mocagua, Macedonia and El Vergel. This is not a surprise, because one of the tasks of the Program was to monitor the Island, and this implies to avoid to their own partners to fish with nets. Logically, the problems arose when "partners" do not obey the agreements between communities and officials, and arrived to fish at prohibit areas. Also, the problems began when the Peruvians from Vista Alegre, as they say, "arrived stealthily to fish with nets without knowing the agreements". Interviewed indigenous do not refer to those who disobey the agreements as enemies, but they refer to them as "gross and lazy partners".

The Recovery Program succeeded, the piuri population increased and also the paujil population (*Pauxi unicornis*). Also, for indigenous, it became in a way to understand conservation process. Jaime explains "when you navigate around the island at five o'clock in the morning, you will listen to the birds, which are the paujil and the piuri". Natives explain that "today conservation will be reflected in a near future"; they say, "in 20 to 25 years, they will be enough time to allow the animals that have gone to return''. These are reasons to support the work with the Park and the communities as a joint effort waiting that the "richness come back", referring to the animals. Natives understand that species recovery is a matter of time, and for the other side, concern about future generations arise. These two conclusions prove an appropriation of the conservationism discourse that is reflected in the testimony of indigenous that became environmental interpreters.

[2]Most of indigenous population of the communities that works with Park Amacayacu is ticuna, and the rest of them are cocama, uitoto, yagua, and other ethnics. Ticunas name the people that are laboriously relate with tourism activities as *turista gü maa I kuagü*, which means "the people that work with tourism", in an open category for environmental interpreters (or tourist guides), artisans, motorists, and even those who work at the restaurant of the visitors centre of the Park. When publicly a ticuna says *gü maa I kuagü*, he refers himself to all these people with different works but all of them relate with tourism. This mean that do no exist words on ticuna language to make a difference between activities, in other words, there is only one general category for *duätá*, or people (ancients, men, women, young and children) to become part of tourism economy and activity. As well, is relevant to recall that tourism and tourist are new words for the ticuna vocabulary, so they do not have translation, and in these cases they add the word *gü*, for example *turista gü*, to mention that this belong to or that become to.

For indigenous, the reasons to conserve are relate with tourism and recovery of extinct species, but constantly they refer to other important reason for them: their sons. Luis says: "my son ask me, 'father, I want to see a bird'; 'son, how can I show it, how can I take you to the Forrest, when there is none?" (Sic). Luis add: "here exists too much youthfulness, while we soon become old, I want my sons to see animals alive and not by pictures" (sic). These young begin to live in the conservation process, waiting that in 20 years could tell a different history about species recovery with a direct relation to tourism and not the one relate to resource extraction.

Analysis of the discourse

According to the environmentalism theory of "environmentalism of the poor" presented by Martínez-Alier (2004:27), when prohibiting the use of natural resources to local population once they become part of the limits of the protected areas, these populations are converted to ecologists. The problem is that, in most cases, these people are poor. It is therefore critical that the current conservation plans are for future generations while the poor are clamoring for "securing the livelihoods of today" (ibid.).

With the creation of Park Amacayacu were banned the extraction activities commonly undertaken by indigenous peoples. As shown in the testimony, the indigenous people were called for in the first meetings, but not for the sustenance of today, because they lose a source of income of extraction activities, even they have not mentioned it. The skins of animals were being demands by the market and snob consumers located mainly in the First World, through luxury articles and accessories. Wood responded to a wider market through goods that we could consider in some cases necessary, since it is difficult to imagine a home without articles having wood materials.

In this way, "if the environmentalism of the poor demand for an environmental justice among humans" (Martínez-Alier, 2004), the demand in the case of the Park Amacayacu should be by a justice of the market. If the "West economic culture what is looking for through the develop mentalists is the transition from a traditional society to an economic culture (Escobar, 1999:63, my own translation), indigenous had taken this step. If we move away from the moral judgments and the purposes of conservation, it is criticized the way the people are looking a multitude of development projects, environmentally friendly, and also the way these communities move from a traditional society to an economic culture. It is not logically advised to return to exploitation and extraction of animals and nature of the decades sixties and seventies, but contributing to analysis implications for the exercise of the conservation and tourism fall on the indigenous (young and adults) and on the future generations.

Young people in the communities

To the indigenous environmental interpreters the fundamental purpose of the conservation became their children, in line with the trend of the conservationist speech that seeks to meet the needs of future generations. However, the current needs of the young people are concentrated in the limited opportunities for access to education. So this section shows how young people are looking for alternatives to resolve some of these limitations. The result of interviews with young people shows that the majority of them are not projected living and working out of the community.

Young people think that in Bogotá and in other major cities will be their desire to do a college career, even those who have initiated courses in higher education. Some young people were interrupted by several reasons from their baccalaureate studies. During these periods they do not attend school, they accompany their parents to farm for cropping, fishing and hunting. In fact, some already know

how to hunt with gun, and their parents learned from 16 years old. However, these activities are not related to the concept of work. Work has to be money paid, as biker boat to bring in the tourists, as construction and maintenance at the visitors center in the Park Amacayacu, stemming from the economic activity of tourism.

When young people speak about tourism, as well as adults, they referred to "environment", "nature" or "biodiversity of fauna and flora", as well as recognize tourism and "as a means to care for and to preserve nature". But they, as indigenous people, don't say be part of this relationship, nor be part of the tourist attractions. In spite of this, youth expressed an additional ingredient omitted by adults: "tourism is also a source of income and labor". Some of the young people expressed to me that they felt envious of the environmental interpreters when they saw them pass by with a group of tourists, and in the majority of the cases expressed disagreement because both tourism and the concession does not have provided work for all. This explain in part why young people think that in the cities, in addition to better opportunities in education will find better job opportunities.

Alternatives to young people to improve their education

Educational opportunities in the community of Mocagua are limited because the school only offers up to primary, therefore the majority of young people studying secondary school in the community of Macedonia. Some of them opted to attend secondary school in boarding schools located in other communities, such as the case of Pablo; and others at Leticia, at La Normal School, as the case of José. However, only studied for a year and then returned to the community to continue their studies at Macedonia. Young people who were studying at Leticia depend in large part of the money their parents can send and this is the condition that makes possible to stay in the city. In the case of Pablo, the constant theft of his belongings in the boarding school was the reason to leaving the school and return to his community. Despite these limitations, young people expressed their interest to continue studying.

The limitations are growing when young people complete their secondary school studies and intend to continue with a professional career. In spite of this, these constraints are solved, at least in part, in a variety of ways. For example: Sara began to study theology at a University in Caballococha in Peru, where she had been offered the opportunity to remain a time studying by way of seminars, later return to her community to make her practices and at the end of two months return to study. Her concern was not associated with transportation or accommodation at Caballococha, but with the high prices of the books needed to acquire to continue her studies. Another way in which graduates continue their study is through the technical courses offered by SENA (National Learning Services) in Leticia and that sometimes are taught in the communities. Administration of hostels, design of hostels, customer service, chickens for fattening, assistant of cabinetmaker, assistant of baker and assistant of butcher, are some of the courses that have made the young with SENA, although some of these courses are not applicable in the context of the community.

Another opportunity is the recent offering by a distance learning University that are taught at the school in the community of Macedonia, initiative that arose through a project funded by Swedish co-operation. For example, Nelson was excited because he began to study environmental management, a career more in line with the context and the needs of the community if compared to the technical courses. Thus, the community of Macedonia became an education center for the surrounding communities, opening up new opportunities for high school graduates begin higher education even at a distance learning University, for what mechanisms are needed to support and strengthen this initiative.

Also, the young people that have made technical courses and even those who are studying in the University, as Sara and Nelson

expressed their desire to continue studying another college career but in one of the major cities of Colombia. They mentioned careers such biology, economics, politics, nursing, tourism, culinary and music, while others were not very clear what they are going to study, as well as either the university or the city where they are going to perform these studies. This is due in part to their lack of information on the opportunities to continue their studies, what can be explained by a lack of access to media in the community as Internet, since they only have television and radio. Some said they have come to the Internet when the system worked in the school of the community, however, after a while did not worked again, without knowing the reasons. In spite of this, the school in Macedonia offers the service of Internet, although with limitations of access and intermittent service.

Media such as television and radio give young people a vague idea of other places outside of the community. If the majority has lived and remained in the community alongside their parents, this explains in large measure, the desire of all to travel to Bogotá, as well as to the major cities of Colombia. Only Sara expressed his desire to know and study in Iquitos, Peru, and the others, in addition to Bogotá, mentioned: Medellin, Cali, Santa Marta, Armenia y Pereira. But the desire is not only due to know these cities but to study in a university and to find a job. Some mentioned that the purpose of becoming professional is to help the family. But in most cases, they will not work in the community to apply their knowledge. With the exception of some, like Sara, who said that at the end of the studying theology would like to work in the Evangelical Baptist Church in the community or be a teacher in the school; or as Nelson, who expressed their interest in improving the system of planting.

Experience of an indigenous uitoto linked to tourism

Other indigenous young people have a different view of tourism, such as the case of Lina, an indigenous uitoto of the Corregimiento La Chorrera, to the North Amazon Trapeze and distant of the study area who, after completing the primary level at the boarding school of her community traveled to Bogota; studied and worked there for twelve years. At the end of this time, she returned to Leticia where she started to work in tourism as an employee of the Company that administers the Concession. After a year of work for the company she resigned, she formed a small separate company and now works as an independent tourism guide. This shows the possibilities to indigenous peoples to create companies linked to tourism, as well as the possibilities of return to the region or to the community to create companies after having studied and worked in the cities, and not necessarily to be an employee.

In the same way as young people of Mocagua, Lina had desires and expectations of traveling to Bogotá in search of work-study opportunities. A great impact caused her to live in Bogotá, especially because she was accustomed, according to her, "to share food in her community and to greet the people"; in contrast, "in the city none's gifted a glass of water". In spite of this began to work caring the plants that an academic brought to the Bogotá's Botanical Garden and after she found other jobs to continue to work during the day and to study during the night. She worked in a teddy shop, she cleaned a hotel in Chapinero and she selected models in an agency of film and television. In this way she spent twelve years living in Bogotá and only traveled occasionally to her community.

After twelve years, she decided to leave the city to return to the region. She found work in Leticia in the Hotel of the Concession but despite she had found a good job apparently at the end of the year resigned. The reasons to resigned to her job in the Hotel were related to a bad work environment, with the pressure provoked by the boss and in the work on Sundays, public holidays, and in the months of December and January. During that year, Lina´s job consisted in designing tourist packages and promotional brochures.

Troubles with others employees and no reasonable increase of wages for employees who, she says, "worked less", joined the causes of her resignation.

Despite these drawbacks, Lina, along with other people, decided to create a little company that offers the services of tourist guides, so that now she works as a freelance guide. Travel agencies and hotels sometimes do not have enough staff to accompany tourist along the activities of the tourist package, for this reason outsource a company such as Lina´s.

A tourist can be a "Head Cutter"

The author was in the bungalow of Nicanor, whit him, his family and an indigenous woman called Griselda. We got out of the bungalow and we sat outside to chat a while under the light of the moon. Griselda asked me: "Ivan, Haven't you heard about the Head Cutter?" I answered her: it must be all that lie. It was August 2005. By then, I knew very little about the Head Cutter. Only I heard that human bodies were flying and were radiant in the night - with a strong light- to cut off the head of indigenous people. By the end of 2005, I learned that Cure (2005) was researching and writing a thesis about the murmur of the Head Cutter. According to Cure (2005), the Head Cutter is defined by the indigenous people as "ones who pursues to another for purely personal benefit; it is an aggressive entity, that comes to kill and therefore does not respect rules or social norms; non-reciprocal, but on the contrary, petty and customizes all that he has and gets". Indigenous commented to Cure: "The Head Cutter is not like us, that we are attacked and persecuted by them" (Cure, 2005:105, my own translation).

According to Cure, "while the 'gringo' is potentially a Head Cutter and is well suited to this dangerous and antisocial behavior, the data obtained cautioned that some white people who are not called 'gringos', as well as certain indigenous, they behave as a 'gringo' Head Cutter" (Cure, 2005, 105 -106, my own translation). Then, Cure points out, "the Head Cutter is defined most powerfully by the 'gringo'; but the 'gringo', beyond a national origin or some physical or material attributes is -as would say Goulard (quoted in Cure 2005:106, my own translation) - "a new category of persons, which may assumed by other white people (mestizo or white people which nationality are from three of the countries of the frontier) and also by indigenous".

In addition Cure points out, those appeared mostly linked with the Head Cutter in the comments of the indigenous, were "'gringos' related to scientific foundations, no governmental organizations and tourism" (2005:111, my own translation). I cannot affirm that because of the arrival of the Chief of the Park, in 1975, indigenous have identified him with a Head Cutter. What is certain is that now the Park and its officials, new concession enterprises, NGOS with presence in the area and the researchers and people actively involved with them, are being identified as Head Cutters. Finally, in 2008, during my stays in the Park, an official told me they were having problems with the new houseboat to tourists on the Amazon River. I told to the officer: The problem is that indigenous people are identifying the houseboat as the place where hides the Head Cutter. Although at that time the officer laughed at me, shortly after the houseboat sank.

RESULTS

Although the indigenous communities are the owners of a good part of the territory where the tourist activities take place, they have not acquired a negotiating role in the chain, so that indigenous peoples are normally employed as guides in the jungle. Only to give a value to their work, park officials have decided to appoint them as "environmental interpreters".

In addition, owners of the agencies are not indigenous, and have a colonialist and paternalistic vision about indigenous peoples. When indigenous peoples are linked with other tourist activities such as handicrafts, tourists do not recognize their work and buy handicrafts at a very low price, which generates lack of motivation. In addition, some shops in the nearby cities buy the indigenous crafts at very low price and sell to the tourists at a higher price, generating more profits than the indigenous people themselves.

In some communities have organized some associations to improve the price, however the cost-benefit is not profitable for the indigenous people because the time and energy invested in the development of handicrafts are not normally compensates for with the sale.

Finally, the indigenous people are in the category of lower profit if we consider the actors in the chain of tourism and its earnings per activity. In this way, the indigenous are located in activities such as handicrafts, guides, tours and food, which are the segments of lower profitability. It is therefore logical that as a result of the interviews, the young people want to seek other opportunities outside of the community, because tourism is not a concrete alternative.

On the other hand, for Gabriela (interviewed by Cure 2005:121) "things are achieved through the hard work in the chagra - the real work for her - or the fishing; but none of these allows you to have much; why who suddenly starts to have things nice, new clothes, improved home, shop, as well, out of nothing, it is because it is working with the gringos cutting heads". The manner in which the indigenous people perceive those who receive high income by other jobs that are not part of their common activities set them in the lowest ranks of income. In addition, not all get to work in tourist activities and those who do are seen as collaborators of the head cutter.

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Full Length Research Paper

Martyrs or terrorists: Suicide bombing in Islamic hermeneutics

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The contemporary world order has been created by non Muslim powers through the infiltration of the Muslim world by colonialism and neo-colonialism. The ummah of Islam was parceled into states by imperial powers thereby weakening the solidarity of the ummah. The collapse of the communist bloc no doubt made Islam to be the only challenging system to the remaining super power. There was no doubt from the statements of leaders of the West that Islam must not only be subdued but must be conquered in order to prevent the much hyped clash of civilizations from taking place. The support of the West to totalitarian leaders in the Muslim world, the invasion of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein and the subsequent invasion of Iraq, the issue of Palestinian state, the massacre of Muslims in Bosnia, the plight of self determination for the Muslims in Chechnya, the Arab springs and the fratricidal war in Syria and other issues all bolstered the current relationship between Islamists and the West. The adoption of suicide terrorism by some Muslim groups as a strategic objective of modern warfare is the thrust of this paper.

Key words: Martyrdom, terrorism, Islam, violence, killing.

INTRODUCTION

DEFINING JIHAD, MARTYRDOM AND TERRORISM

The twin institutions of Jihad and Shahadah (martyrdom) had existed in Islam from the nascent period of Islamic history and civilization. The word *Jihad* is derived from the verbal root *Jahada* which means struggle or striving. It denotes any form of activity, either personal or for the community of Muslims, having the aim of striving for the cause of God and Islam. It may have military connotations but it would be incorrect to translate it as holy war, crusade or terrorist act because these words do not convey the meaning of *Jihad (*Kilani, 1996:35). The concept of martyrdom in Islam is associated with an all-

round effort to make the word of Allah supreme on the surface of the earth. Martyrdom is regarded as the highest form of *shahadah*, i.e. witness which a Muslim can make to the religion of Islam (Kilani, 1995: 73). The popular narratives before now from most sociologists, anthropologists and scholars with backgrounds different from the Islamic tradition had written off martyrdom as akin to suicide. While suicide may be defined as all cases of death resulting directly from a positive or negative act of the victim himself, which he knows will produce the result of death, martyrdom is associated with positive struggle for the Islamic cause and it is associated with Iman (faith). In martyrdom operation or suicide terrorism,

Pape (2005:27) posited that the willingness of an attacker to die has strategic value as it serves as a weapon of weak groups incapable of "denial" as a "coercive strategy and that suicide terrorism relies on punishment and, especially, the expectation of future damage," which provides coercive leverage (29-33). According to Fotion et al. (2007: 1-3), the term terrorism has remained difficult to define because it is often interpreted as a pejorative concept. While there is no doubt that terrorism is associated with death, violence and war but the terrorists often view their actions as necessary to liberate themselves or make a political statement. Fotion et al. therefore consider terrorism as a tactic of war or in a war-like struggle by nations, non nations and individuals. Terrorism is viewed as sub-specie of revolutionary violence or to define it as a distinct and possibly new phenomenon, owing nothing to historical antecedents of violence by non-governmental people in pursuit of political ends of the revolutionary mould (Lodge, 1981: 5). According to Juergensmeyer (2003:5), the term terrorism has more frequently been associated with violence committed by disenfranchised groups desperately attempting to gain a shred of power or influence.

There is no unitary or commonly used definition of terrorism. What is often cited is the popular understanding of terrorism that is constructed by media and politics. Terrorism has no precise meaning, yet it is safe to say that terrorism is in the eyes of the beholder. At times terrorist groups are described as revolutionaries, freedom fighters, guerillas and to others as terrorists. The term is often used to assert that political violence of an enemy is immoral, wanton and unjustified. Terrorism according to some people is 'mindless and senseless killing, a theatre, pathological politics, ideological assertion' (Gerringer, 2002:2). The analysis of who is a terrorist largely depends on who is calling the name at the time. Terrorism is defined as "the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to attain goals, which are often political or ideological in nature, by intimidation or coercion" (Gerringer, 2002:2). The US States Intelligence Committee defines terrorism as "the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to attain political goal through instilling of fear, intimidation or coercion" (Gerringer, 2002). It also means the threat of or actual use of violence for political or other purposes, to foster fear, insecurity, distrust and unrest among specific group or general population (Gerringer, 2002). Although terrorist groups cannot kill on the scale that governments with all their military power can, their sheer numbers, their intense dedication, and their dangerous unpredictability have given them influence vastly out of proportion with their meagre military resources (Juergensmeyer, 2003:6).

The classification of terrorism by Pape (2005) is noteworthy. In his celebrated work, he classified terrorism into; *demonstrative terrorism,* which seeks publicity, *destructive terrorism,* which seeks to exert coercion through the threat of injury and death as well as to mobilize support, and *suicide terrorism,* which involves an attacker's actually killing himself or herself along with others, generally as part of a campaign (2005: 9-11). What are the aims of terrorist groups? According to Gerringer, it is to influence, discredit, destroy the present system of government, to foster a breakdown in existing social structure, to erode the trust of population on the government, to foster growing insecurity and fear among the citizenry and to use agitation and propaganda (agipop) (Clinard and Meier, 1998:442). One can safely say that there is no uniform demand among the various groups that are already tagged as terrorist groups in the world today. In understanding religious terrorism Juergensmeyer posited that, the puzzle among scholars has been why destruction is accepted with such dedication and certainty by some believers and why bad things are done by people who otherwise appear to be good? (p.7).

The recruitment videos and online posting of Muslim terrorist groups often linked their sporadic bombing activities in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine and Saudi Arabia as a form of retaliation for specific acts like the demand for the withdrawal of foreign troops in Iraq, the death of half a million Iraqi children due to sanction, the overthrown of the Taliban government in Afghanistan, the US one sided support for Israel and the presence of US forces in Saudi Arabia among others. This seems to support Pape's thesis that terrorism involved the weaker nation or organization targeting the stronger one (p346).

Suicide and martyrdom in Islam

Suicide is the deliberate destruction of one's own life. It is always an intentional act which can cause death either through the individual's own deliberate acts or from his or her choice not to avoid a threat to life. In his classic study of suicide, Durkheim (1951:44) which seems to have influenced modern thinkers has even included acts of public altruism performed by religious martyrs, defining suicide as "all cases of death resulting directly or indirectly from a positive or negative act of the victim himself, which he knows will produce suicide". A martyr is the name given to those who, in fearless profession of their religion or in an effort of establishing or propagating it, prefer to die rather than abandon it or its teachings or practices (Kilani, 1995: 75). Martyrdom identifies the exemplary ethical model of moral action in a show of struggle (*jihad*) for the sacred, manifested in the ultimate act of self-sacrifice. The (male) martyr or *shahid* encounters the sacred by fighting against the enemies of the true religion; and in the process giving up his life in exchange for a higher, celestial existence. In this regard, it is not merely the event of death that identified martyrdom, but the very fulfillment of the duty of obedience to the will of God that brought one to the level of sacred. Martyrdom can also signify the honorable defense of

faith. The code of honor, which reflects a defensive derive to protect the pietistic themes of virtue (Rahimi, 2004).

Why do people decide to die for a cause to fulfill perceived social obligations rather than as voluntary choice? Martyrdom has a longer history according to Fotion et al., and it goes to the Old Testament where Jews would martyr themselves because they refused to worship the gods of others in the Roman empire; the zealots were reported to have fortified themselves in the Masada fortress. They fought the Romans and in the end, died by their own hand just as they were about to be overpowered. In the same vein, under the Roman rule, the Christians also martyred themselves by refusing to take oaths of allegiance to Rome but declaring their allegiance to Christianity. The celebrated act of Samson deliberately (and fatally) pulling down the house on himself and his enemies with the intention of killing his enemies shows that suicide attacks are as ancient as human conflict. The passage says:

> And Samson said, Let me die with the Philistines. And he bowed himself with all his might; and the house fell upon the lords, and upon all the people that were therein. So the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life [Judges 16:30].

In the early history of Islam, a pseudo-Muslim group known as the Assassins that flourished between eleventh and thirteenth centuries were reputed to have practiced suicide terrorism. The name Assassins was given to the group from the drug *harshish* that the group used ritually in carrying out their murderous expeditions on state officials. The group members were noted not to fear death but welcomed it (Barlow, 2007; Juergensmeyer, 2003). The Hezbollah of Lebanon has been noted to have re-invented martyr/suicide terrorism in 1983 in its attack on US embassy, US marine barracks and French paratroop barracks in Lebanon killing more than 300 civilians and military personnel. Other groups that have adopted it include: Tamil Tiger in Sri Lanka, the Japanese kamikazes (Pape 2005: 35-37) and in more recent times are Israel/Palestine groups, Chechnya rebel, the Taliban of Pakistan and Afghanistan, Al-Shabab of Somalia, Boko Haram of Nigeria, Al-Qaeda in Arabia Peninsula and al-Qaeda in the Maghrib.

The adoption of martyr/suicide terrorism is due to a number of reasons. According to Pape:

> Suicide terrorism is the most aggressive form of terrorism... it places the priority of coercing a target above the retaining of the organization's members, and the recruitment of future member… Other forms of terrorism have a main objective of publicity to gain support in their actions while the main purpose in suicide terrorism is coercion….Suicide terrorism involved the weaker nation or organization targeting the stronger one…. organizations that employ suicide terrorism are always the weaker, they must rely on a tactic of punishment to cause mounting civilian costs to overwhelm the target state's interest in the issue in dispute and so to cause it to concede the terrorists' political demands" (345-346).

Pape concludes that the individuals' "willingness to die magnifies the coercive effects of punishment in three ways". The first of these reasons is that suicide terrorist attacks cause more damage than other forms of terrorism. Because the attacker has no escape plan and no fear of his own life, he is more likely to complete his mission. The person can "conceal weapons on his own body and make last-minute adjustments more easily", making the attack more successful (p346). Awofeso (2006: 287) views suicide terrorism as primarily a weapon of psychological warfare and that terrorists choose targets that horrify and traumatize the wider community. Awofeso posited that a major goal of all forms of suicidal terrorism is to cause fear and it is a paradox of a self aiming to abolish itself while simultaneously seeking self-esteem, i.e. aiming to accumulate 'suicidal capital'.

Islamic tradition strongly condemns suicide because of the Islamic teachings on the sanctity of life. Allaah says, "Because of that We ordained for the Children of Israel that if anyone killed a person not in retaliation of murder, or (and) to spread mischief in the land - it would be as if he killed all mankind, and if anyone saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of all mankind [Maidah: 32]. The prophet (SAW) said, "Whoever kills himself with something in the world, he will be punished with it on the Day of Judgment" [Al-Bukhari 6047 and Muslim 176). He also explained further, "Whoever jumped off a mountain and as a result killed himself, then he is in the fire of Hell, falling in it forever. Whoever drank poison and as a result killed himself, then his poison will be in his hand, drinking it in the fire of forever. And whoever killed himself with an iron, then his iron will be in his hand, bringing it in his stomach in the fire of Hell forever" [Al-Bukhari 5778 and Muslim 175].

However, Islam sanctions death related to martyrdom just like Christianity that earlier supported taking one's life for martyrdom or to protect virginity. It was only in the middle ages that Christian authorities strengthened their denunciation of suicide and Augustine for example maintained that no argument can justify suicide, because the act precludes any possibility of repentance and labeled the act as murder and the position was maintained by Aquinas who described it as a crime against the community and a usurpation of the rights of God to grant life and death (Clinard, p.442). Durkheim classical study has classified suicide into: 1. altruistic 2.Egoistic 3.Anomie suicide. Modern complex society offers examples of individuals giving their lives in time of war like what happened in Sri Lanka among the Black Tigers and the Japanese kamikazes society of the 1940s

in order to accomplish some goal involving group values. Such behaviour is judged as suicidal by outside observers. Suicide bombing or martyr terrorism is someone giving his life in attempt to destroy or kill their targets or opponents. It is apparently clear from Islamic sources that no act could be done for egoistic purpose and still be considered Islamic or acceptable. What Durkheim has classified as egoistic suicide is not acceptable under any guise in Islam so also the anomie suicide. No one is allowed to take his life because of downward social mobility as test and trials are part of the teachings which Muslims are expected to imbibe for their faith to be considered genuine(Q 2:155, 29:2-3).

Suicide process involves an unsuccessful search for possible alternatives to deal with problems, culminating in a final decision that death represents the only possible solution. Suicide/martyr terrorism seldom represents irrational behaviour, the popular narratives among the militant Muslim groups who have adopted it as a tactic of war is that such action express meaning usually about some fundamental flaw in a situation as the case of the Muslims; the flaw is injustice of the powerful nations over the weak nations. Hence lacing oneself with bombs to kill a citizen of the unjust nation is seen as the rational reaction to the sophisticated guided precision missiles, cluster bombs and pilot less missile planes of developed nations who have closed their eyes against the injustice and oppression they daily experienced in their lives rather than to see it as a consequence of poverty or youthful frustration (Ken, 1982:91-115). Suicide terrorism enjoyed transcendent moralism among groups that sanctioned it like Hamas, Boko Haram, Taliban, Hezbollah and Tamil Tigers etc. The position of finding an answer to deal with problems of life as the motivation of suicide terrorism is rejected by Pape when he posited that:

In general, suicide attackers are rarely socially isolated, clinically insane, or economically destitute individuals, but are most often educated, socially integrated, and highly capable people who could be expected to have a good future" (200).

There are two distinct camps in the Muslim world on the subject whether suicide bombers are martyrs or terrorists; those who consider it as terrorism and deliberate act of killing oneself and those who argue that it is permissible jihad effort in Islam. The other dimension to the argument is the bombing of Muslims by Muslims as there is no justifiable reason apart from what Islam considers as a just cause (adultery, apostasy and murder) that can make a Muslim government terminates the life of another Muslim. There is no doubt that suicide/martyr terrorism as the most effective of all forms of terrorism in modern time has done incalculable damages to lives and properties across the world. It is therefore apposite to examine the evidences and claims that have been advanced for the permissibility of self-sacrifices operation (*al- amaliyyat al- Istishhadiyyah*) or martyrdom operation (martyrdom terrorism), which many of such groups consider as legitimate tactic of war and hence subsequently qualifying the one that is involved a martyr.

MARTYRDOM TERRORISM OR SELF SACRIFICE OPERATIONS IN ISLAMIC HERMENEUTICS

It is discernible in the life of the Muslims that the institution of Jihad is viewed from various perspectives ranging from those who sees it as an integral part of Islam to those who consider that the modern world does not have any place for jihad in whatever form. Let us first consider some Verses of the Qur'aan which provide immediate references for Islamists on the subject under consideration. The Qur'aan says, "Say: "Can you expect for us (any fate) other than one of two glorious things- (martyrdom or victory)? But we can expect for you either that Allah will send his punishment from Himself, or by our hands. So wait (expectant); we too will wait with you."" [Q 9: 52]. Maududi (1967:383) interpreted the above verse thus:

Even if they killed in the way of Allaah, it would be success….A believer considers it his success if he sacrifices his life and wealth in the Way of Allah…The criterion of success or failure is whether he has extended or not all the powers of his body and soul, his head and his heart to elevate the world of Allah.

This implication of this verse is that it is victory when the enemy is defeated and victory also when a person dies in the cause of fighting for the sake of Allaah as such a person is granted the rank of a martyr.

During the historic treaty of Hudaybiyyah (6H), the Muslims had an uphill task of entering Makkah to perform a religious obligation of pilgrimage. The delay in the return of Uthman (RA) who was the Prophet's emissary to the Quraysh to the Muslim camp made the Muslims to make a pledge with the Prophet which has been described as "pledge of death"(Bukhari and Muslim).
In the Qur'aan Allah said:

Allah hath purchased of the believers their persons and their goods; for theirs (in return) is the garden (of Paradise): they fight in His cause, and slay and are slain: a promise binding on Him in truth, through the Law, the Gospel, and the Qur'an: and who is more faithful to his covenant than Allah? then rejoice in the bargain which ye have concluded: that is the achievement supreme (Q.9:111).

Maududi wrote on this verse:

(the) aspect of the Islamic faith which determines the nature of the relationship between Allah and His

servants has been called a transaction. This means that Faith is not a merely metaphysical conception but is in fact, a contract by which the servant sells his life and possessions to Allah and in return for this accepts His promise that he would give him the Garden in the Life after death (Vol II, 1967: 417).

The understanding of Islamists (as political movement and Quranic interpreters) is that Allah traded with the believers, with their life first, and then their wealth, whether they die by sword, the gun or the bomb as there is no difference between the one who wants to sell himself to his lord with a plane or by receiving a bullet or receiving a sword, or by becoming a bullet for the sake of Allah.

The martyrdom operation is a specific action performed by the *mujahid* (fighter) with certainty or least amount of doubt that it will inflict harm on the enemy either by killing from their fighters or inflicting suffering on them, and that he has certainty or the least amount of doubt that he will reach martyrdom by being killed for the sake of Allah. The support for the position of Islamists for martyrdom operation has been derived from the Qur'aan, Sunnah and understanding of early scholars of Islam. One of the famous references from the Qur'aan often cited to support martyrdom operation is the story of the Companion of the Ditch mentioned in the Qur'aan in Surat al-Buruj (85) and explained by the Prophet (saw):

It has been narrated by Suhaib Al Rumi about the story of the Boy and the people of the ditch. The story about the young boy who would go and be set by the king to be taught magic, he would go to see a priest also though he was warned by the priest not to come - because they will find out. Eventually they did notice that the boy was coming late, and eventually found out that he was being taught by the priest. They ordered to kill the boy but could not; every time they attempted to do so, Allah (swt) protected and saved him. He said to the king: "You will not be able to kill me until you do what I order you to". The king asked: "What should I do?" he said: "gather all the people, and tie me to a tree; and then get a bow and put the arrow on the bow, and say "in the name of Allah, the lord of this boy"; and throw the arrow and you will kill me." The king gathered the people, and he took the arrow, and said "in the name of Allah, the lord of this boy." He threw the arrow and the arrow went directly into his head (the boy's head). The boy put his hand on his head and he died. All the people began to say, "we believe in the lord of the boy, we believe in the lord of the boy, we believe in the lord of the boy". The king said: "do you believe in him without asking my permission?"; he ordered to dig a ditch, and to throw them in. The people did not hesitate" (Muslim, Ahmad).

Ibn Taymiyyah wrote on this story, "the boy said to the

king, "Kill me". He ordered him to kill him for the sake of the religion to prevail. For this reasons, early scholars of Islam loved for the Muslims to go into the middle of the unbelievers, and even if he has the least amount of doubt that he is going to be killed, if that has benefit for the Muslims" (Majmoo Fattawa Vol.28, p.540). In Qur'an 2:207, Allaah says, "Among the people, there is someone who will sell himself to please Allah, and Allah is kind to His servants." According to Ibn Kathir when Hisham bin 'Amr penetrated the lines of the enemy, some people criticized him for putting himself into harm. Umar and Abu Hurayrah refuted them and recited this verse ((Ibn Katheer vol 1, 2000: 581).

The early generation of the Muslim most especially the companions applied this verse to the one who fought the enemy by himself in the battlefield. Notable companions like Umar ibn Khattab and Abu Hurairah opined that any person who goes into the enemy by himself to cause destruction even by himself alone, that this verse is applicable to him (Qurtubi vol.2,1967:261). Many other companions of the prophet, according to Imam Qurtubi, submitted that this verse is about the one who goes to the enemy by himself to fight [Qurtubi vol.2 p.21]. Abu Ishaq narrated:"I said to Al Bara' bin Azib, "if a man goes into a gathering of the enemy by himself, is he a man who is harming himself?" he said "no, because Allah sent the Messenger who said:"fight in the way of Allah, it is enough by yourself?" (i.e. quoted [4: 84])"[Musnad Imam Ahmad]. It is also narrated: "I heard a man ask Bara' ibn Azib, "if a man who throws himself into the gathering of the polytheist by himself, did he throw himself into harm?" he said: "No, the real one who harms himself is the one who does a sin and gives up and does not ask forgiveness (Ibn Hazm, Al- Muhalla vol. 7 :294).

The early Muslim scholars have provided an intellectual support for self sacrifice operation. Ibn Hajar and Imam Nawawi said: "The companions (sahabah) consent, that it is allowed to advance alone into all the areas of harm in *Jihad fee sabilillah*." [*Fath ul Baari - Sharh Bukhari*] and "There is agreement that you can sacrifice your life for the sake of Jihad."[*Sharh Sahih Muslim* Vol. 12 p.187]. Imam Sarkhasi said:

Our Imam (Abu Hanifah) said: "if one man raids alone, on a big number of the polytheists and he has the least amount of doubt or he knows that he will attack some of them, or inflict some harm upon them, it is allowed, but if he thinks that he cannot inflict any harm on them it is not allowed to do so. "Muhammad ibn Hasan Al Shaybani reported that Imam Al Jassas said: "If one man advances alone on a thousand men, there is no harm at all if he thinks that he could be saved or that he could inflict harm on them, if he is not seeking to be saved nor to inflict harm on them, I would dislike it because he is disposing himself without to benefit the Muslims, but if he was not seeking to be saved or to inflict harm but he was seeking to motivate the

Muslims, in order for them to do the same and so that they would kill the enemy and inflict maximum damage, it is allowed to do so." He also said that it is allowed to do so to terrify the enemy because that has benefit for the Muslims (Ibn Hazm , Al- Muhalla vol. 7:24).

Imam Shafi'i said: "I do not see harm or restrictions for a man to go in the middle of a big gathering barehanded and fight them, or for a man to go into a gathering knowing that he will be killed or most likely that he will be killed, because it occurred in the time of the Prophet (saw), a man went into the battlefield and fought without any weapons, and the Prophet (saw) praised him when he was killed" [Kitab ul Umm Vol.4 p.169]. Imam Nawawi said: "That is a proof that it is allowed for a man to go into the battlefield and fight against a big gathering of the mushrikeen (polytheists), confront them face to face and become martyr, without any dislike for it, and that is the opinion of the generality of scholars of Islam" [Sharh Muslim v.13 p.46]. Imam Qurtubi in his understanding wrote "the correct *hukm*(judgement) for me is that it is allowed to go through the enemy for the one who has no strength, from four angles. If he seeks martyrdom, second if he seeks with the martyrdom /shahadah to inflict harm on the enemy or to tease them, or to motivate the Muslims or to make them brave, or to put fear into the enemy to make them wonder 'if one Muslim can do that what will the rest do' (Abubakr al-Jassaas, 1347H:327).

In our contemporary times there are scholars who have also made statement on martyrdom operation. Sheikh Nasir ud Deen Al Albaani (d.1999) has a fatwa confirmed in his tape number 134 in his chain of tapes "Al huda wal Nur"; he was asked about a group of people from the enemy of commandos who keep inflicting harm on the Muslims. A group of Muslims started to use explosives on their body, and attacking tanks with it. They asked, "is it jihad or suicide?" Albaani said: "That is not considered suicide. Suicide is when a Muslim kills himself to be saved from his miserable life or something similar, as far as what you are asking about, that is *Jihad fee sabilillah;* but we must consider that this action cannot be done individually without designating somebody as an amir who can assess if it will be beneficial for Islam and Muslims, and if the amir decides that to lose that mujahid is more beneficial than to keep him, especially if he is going to inflict damage on the enemy. Then the opinion of that Amir is binding and even if the man is unhappy with that, he must obey him. Suicide is one of the biggest prohibitions; it is when someone dies because he wants to end his life. As for the jihad it is not suicide; the way the sahabah used to fight big numbers of the enemy by themselves" [Al Huda Wal Nur No. 134].

A leading contemporary Islamic scholar, Yusuf al-Qaradawi recently explained the distinction this way: attacks on enemies are not suicide operations, but "heroic martyrdom operations" in which the Muslims act not "out of hopelessness and despair, but are driven by an overwhelming desire to cast terror and fear into the hearts of the oppressors. Shaykh al-Qaradawi holds categorically that these are not only permitted but also required, since they are the only and most effective military means for the Palestinian struggle: These operations [suicide bombings] must be the greatest jihad in Allah's way, so they are among the legitimate 'deterrence' mentioned in the Qur'an 8:60: "Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into [the hearts of] the enemies of Allah and your enemies, and others besides, whom ye may not know, but whom Allah doth know. Whatever ye shall spend in the cause of Allah, shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly" (Qaradawi, 2001: 503–510). Shaykh al-Qaradawi adds that it is wrong to call these missions suicide operations, since the *shahid* has sacrificed himself for the sake of the superior goal of defending his religion and community; while common suicide is a hopeless deed performed by a person who kills himself for his own selfish reasons. He considers the youths who defend their land as real martyrs, who sacrifice their souls in the way of God, as long as they have the intention and no other choice to 'deter' their enemies.

The Militant Muslim groups consider martyrdom operation in contemporary narratives as not just legitimate, but highly commendable when undertaken for reasons of jihad. In case of Hamas for example, suicide terrorism is considered as an operation and violence is used strategically as necessary acts. This explains why Hamas approves it as 'letters' to the enemy (Juergensmeyer, 2003:76). Going into war knowing with the certainty that one will die, they argue, is not suicide (*intihar*) but self-chosen martyrdom (*istishhad*), a much-praised form of self-sacrifice in the path of God, a way to win the eternal affection of Allah for paradise. The various sources from classical times to our present day provide evidences that martyrdom or self sacrifice operation is not alien to Islam. What is however alien is the application of the operation against Muslims as currently being experienced in Iraq, Afghanistan, Algeria and Pakistan lately where martyrdom operation for sectarian fighting between the Shia and Sunni Muslims or lately in Jordan and Nigeria where it has been used against Muslims, Christians and innocent civilians. The Prophet explained this, as a day of Kharaj when there will be wild killing between Muslims. Abdullah Bin 'Umar say: "I heard Messenger of Allah (Peace and Blessings be upon him) say: "The fitnah will come from here and he pointed towards the east (of Madinah), the place where the horn of Satan will appear and you will be striking each other's necks [Muslim 2905].

SUICIDE TERRORISM AS WAR TACTIC IN CONTEMPORARY TIME

In spiritualizing violence, Juergensmeyer (2003:221) posited that religion gave terrorism a remarkable power. The upsurge of suicide terrorism among some militant

Muslim groups today is not an influence of Islamic fundamentalism or conservatism as mostly explained in intellectual discourse. Most terrorist groups irrespective of religious or ideological differences borrow tactics from one another. It is in this respect one cannot agree less with Pape (2006:25) when he posited that:

> the leading agent of suicide terrorism is the Tamil Tigers, which is not an Islamic group—these are Marxists, a particularly secular group. In suicide terms, the Tamil Tigers lead the way—they have committed more suicide terrorist attacks than either Hamas or Islamic Jihad.

Also, the female suicide bombing of January 6, 2015 in Istanbul Turkey was carried out by a Marxist group-DHKP-C. The group claimed that its "sacrificial fighter... carried out the sacrificial action on the tourist police department in Sultanahmet" in its fight against corruption (http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30707871 retrieved 8th January, 2015).

As earlier mentioned, suicide terrorism or martyr terrorism is the most deadly of all forms of terrorism with an average of eight casualties per attack. Its effectiveness in installing the reign of terror in the world is largely responsible for terrorist groups using it as a major tactic of war against the state. Again, suicide bombing prospers because it has been seen to succeed (in forcing the U.S. and Israeli departures from Lebanon). Every suicide terrorist campaign since 1980 has been waged by terrorist groups whose principal goal has been to establish self-determination. Religion is rarely the root cause, although religion may be used as a recruiting tool because of its appeal to people's emotion in the service of the broader strategic objective (Pape). The logic employed by terrorist groups in legitimizing suicide terrorism is to say among other things to their sympathizers (and would be sympathizers) that their communities are under attack or being violated and that their acts are simply responses to the violence being experienced. In other groups like the Boko Haram of Nigeria, freedom of the people vis-a-vis their faith is considered imperiled by government policies and that the secular culture of permissiveness naturally made them to be at war with secular democratic government. It is clear that in terrorist narratives, political grievances are magnified into grand spiritual condemnation and bringing into fore what he describes as vigilante theology or righteous rebellion (Juergensmeyer, 2003:12).

Suicide terrorism is directed at gaining control of territory that the terrorists prized. In the case of Boko Haram, the Borno axis of Nigeria and Adamawa region is considered important region of their Islamization drive with occasional attack on Kano city. The time the Nigeria government allowed Boko Haram to control parts of Nigeria territory marked a watershed in Boko Haram audaciousness against the Nigeria state. The implication

of that is that they transformed from mere fighters (mujahideen) to pseudo-state (dawla), thereby viewing an attack against them as an attack against an Islamic state. This indicates in Islamic metaphor a declaration of war by an enemy state. Pape captures this succinctly that "[T]he taproot of suicide terrorism is nationalism" not religion and that it is "an extreme strategy for national liberation" (79-80). It is this perspective that the local communities are persuaded to re-define acts of suicide and murder as acts of martyrdom or self sacrifice on behalf of the community (83). In choosing target of attack, suicide terrorism is calculated to target states viewed as especially vulnerable to coercive punishment. They attack consistently the capital city of state or important towns to send message to the people that the government cannot protect them. If the government cannot protect the capital cities, it is clearly incapable of protecting other cities and towns (Pape). This explains why most of the attacks were against military and political targets such as government buildings, police convoys, police stations, recruiting stations and Western combat troops. The attacks against mosques and churches are meant to undermine the people's confidence in the states and Federal government especially on their ability to maintain order. The attacks also assist the insurgents to exacerbate inter-religious strife and tension which conforms to the strategic logic of suicide terrorism of undermining the government in order to establish their rule over the people. Suicide operation was considered by many people in Africa for example as alien to them. However, the strength of Boko Haram in its adoption of martyr terrorism as a campaign strategy indicates that terrorists learn from each other; the spread of the method is therefore neither irrational nor surprising (Pape 73-75).

Islam has made it forbidden for a Muslim to kill another Muslim or to kill another person unlawfully. The Prophet (SAW) warned, "Stay away from seven grave sins." They asked O' Messenger of Allah, what are they?" He said (swt) associating partners with Allah, magic, unjustly killing a person whom Allah has made impermissible (to kill), dealing in interest, taking/stealing the money of an orphan, running away from the battle field and falsely accusing the believing woman with fornication (or adultery) [Al-Bukhari 2766, and Muslim 145]. In another tradition, the Messenger of Allah said, "Verily one of the worse situations in which there is no escape for the one who is involved in it is to kill someone unlawfully [Al-Bukhari 6863]. The usage of weapon against another Muslim takes the person away from the brotherhood of Islam, "Whoever carries a weapon against us is not from us" [Al-Bukhari 6874 and Muslim 161].

The extra-judicial murder of Boko Haram leaders in 2009 (in Nigeria) and the government interpretation of the event as a political agenda of a region against the state greatly underestimate the damage religious rhetoric is capable of unleashing in a plural state like Nigeria. The unfolding event since 2009 confirms that religion;

Iannaccone (2004) argues is uniquely able to act as a vehicle for politically oppressed, culturally despised and socially marginalized groups. The militant Islamic groups' popular narrative that keeps them going is that Islam is not merely a vehicle; it has an engine that never runs out of fuel. It is in this perspective; we can understand the endless supply of individuals who are willing to give up their lives for martyrdom operation. The source of the fuel is the power of martyrdom or self sacrifice and the only way to curtail the source of the fuel is to ensure a just society for all. The need for justice and fair play among all nations provides the immediate solution to the indiscriminate use of self sacrifice operation. Mamdani (2004)'s understanding of the situation is very apt when he submitted that the popularity of such extreme methods necessitates that we examine terrorists' grievances and that terrorists are not simply born; they are created. Terrorists do not act out of religious conviction; they act as a response to an unjust society. "Terrorism", Mamdani concludes, "is not a necessary effect of religious tendencies, whether fundamentalist or secular. Rather, terrorism is born of a political encounter."

Conclusion

The question of why people are prepared to transform themselves into living missiles has been difficult to understand by scholars and the end result has been to conjecture that the emergence of suicide bombing is a result of religious syncretism by sunni Muslim who borrowed it from their Shia rival Muslim group or socio-economic frustrations of the youths. The profiles of people who have participated in self sacrifice operations in most Muslim countries have not shown that of frustration but that of optimism of sacrificing their lives in order to inflict harm on the enemies. There is no doubt that it has received attention of world leaders because it is an unconventional way of fighting war. The existence of martyrdom terrorism or self sacrifice operation in the history of major religions and cultures cannot be denied. In Islam, it is meant to legitimately seek martyrdom, to inflict harm on the enemy, to tease them, to motivate other Muslims to be brave in war and make the enemy wonder that if a Muslim can do that what will the rest do'. This confirms the statement of the Prophet (Saw) that, "war is a deceit" (Bukhari 3029, Muslim 58). There is no doubt that this ancient war tactics has been taken over to accentuate all forms of grievances by youths and people whose mission are greatly diametrically opposed to Islamic teachings and dictates.

Conflict of Interests

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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Full Length Research Paper

Planet Earth in the 21st century: Coordination failure in common pools governance?

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Marx argued, we recall that capitalist society suffered from in-built contradictions, which would lead to its demise in time. Today, the globe faces another major kind of contradiction: rapid economic development against ecological sustainability. The relationships between economic growth and environmental sustainability have been much debated: Can they be combined to give both prosperity and environmental protection? On the micro level, many projects show that this is indeed possible. But on the macro level, global emissions of greenhouse gases follow the advancement of country affluence closely. The link is the constantly increasing need for more energy, provided by fossil fuels.

Key words: Ecological sustainability, greenhouse gases, GDP total and per capita, energy consumption, economic growth versus environment sustainability: micro versus macro aspects.

INTRODUCTION

Economists and environmentalists alike underline that there is in principle no contradiction between economic growth on the one hand and preservation of the environment on the other hand. And they go on to offer many examples of innovations that foster both growth and ecology concerns. Thus, Singapore for instance has spearheaded several forms of economic development and economic growth that are also environmentally sustainable. And an entire city in China has been built upon the use of renewable sun energy. Moreover, almost all car makers have planned for the construction of electricity or hydrogen cars. And many urban sites employ so-called green buses.

This feasible coherence between economic growth and environmental sustainability holds at the micro level in the economy, encompassing lots of interesting and promising projects, especially in rich countries. However, at the macro level, especially at the global level, matters are entirely different, as economic activity in general consumes lots of energy, which results in a constantly increasing emission of greenhouse gases. This global contradiction between economic growth and ecological sustainability, both valued by many people, will most probably be the major headache of the 21st century, because there is a limit to the increase in CO2 equivalent emissions, as far as climate change is concerned. Too much global warming may change the basic living conditions on the planet Earth.

The aim of this short research note is merely to pin down exactly these macro relationships between economic activity, energy consumption and greenhouse gases, as they hold for the Planet Earth today when
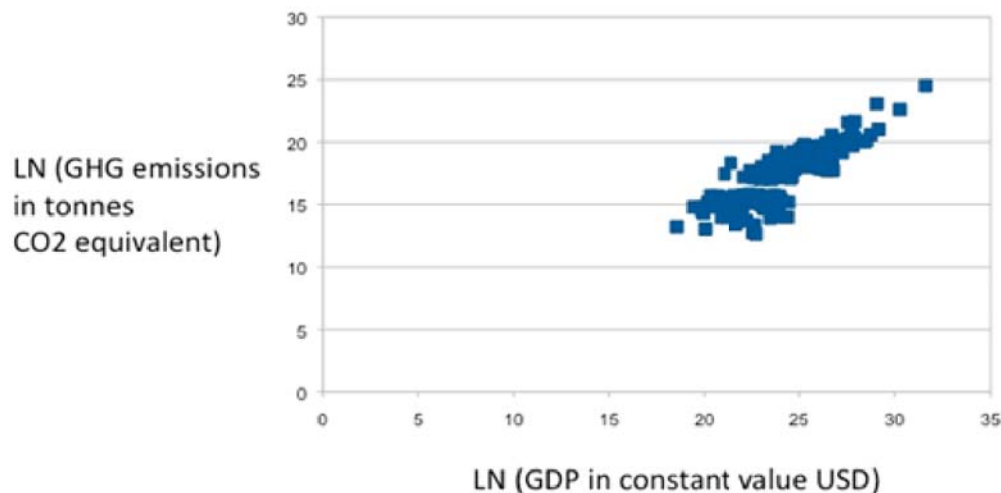
Table 1. Economic affluence in the 21st century (LN GDP per capita in constant value 2005 USD).

Year	2000	2003	2006	2009	2013
Euro area	10,3	10,3	10,4	10,3	10,4
European Union	10,2	10,2	10,2	10,2	10,3
Brazil	8,39	8,40	8,49	8,57	8,67
India	6,36	6,47	6,68	6,85	7,06
China	7,02	7,26	7,57	7,87	8,18
United States	30,1	30,1	30,2	30,2	30,3

Source: World Bank.

Figure 1. Total emissions and GDP: Equation: LN GDP - LN GHG total : y=0.81x , R2 = 0.708.Note: GDP vs. Greenhouse emissions for 158 countries in 2011. Sources: 1. World Bank Open Data, http://data.worldbank.org.2. CAIT WRI 2.0: Climate Data Explorer, World Resources Institute, http://cait2.wri.org

measured at total or aggregated levels.

The relevance of economic growth

Economists and politicians emphasize the need for balanced growth on many occasions. Zero economic growth has been pledged by a small group of people, talking about the global limits to growth. They are often rebutted by the argument that growth and environment do not necessarily collide. This is true – at the micro level.

One understands the quest of e.g. France for economic growth, having experienced the misfortunes that a long period of almost zero growth leads to: budget cuts, loss of public service employees, too little investments, reductions in welfare spending, cutting back on culture projects, etc.

Development theory provides a key role to economic growth for the ambition of the Third World to *catch-up* with the First World. The recent surge in economic

growth is for instance the new economic giant countries are looked upon with envy by the European Union as well as the US (Table 1).

As is well-known, the GDP measures on income or production do not take environmental costs into account. Instead, polluting industries like the airline business, shipping and the car sector contribute considerably to the GDP. It has been argued that the GDP standard indicator should be revised to include the subtraction of ecology costs.

Now, the generation of total income or production for a year comes with the emission of greenhouse gases. Figure 1 portrays the close connection between GDP and total emission, using LN numbers for most recently available data.

Figure 1 shows that on the global macro level, the variation in economic development has strong implications for the emission of all four kinds of greenhouse gases: the richer and larger a country economy, the more emissions it releases. This finding is, of course, the
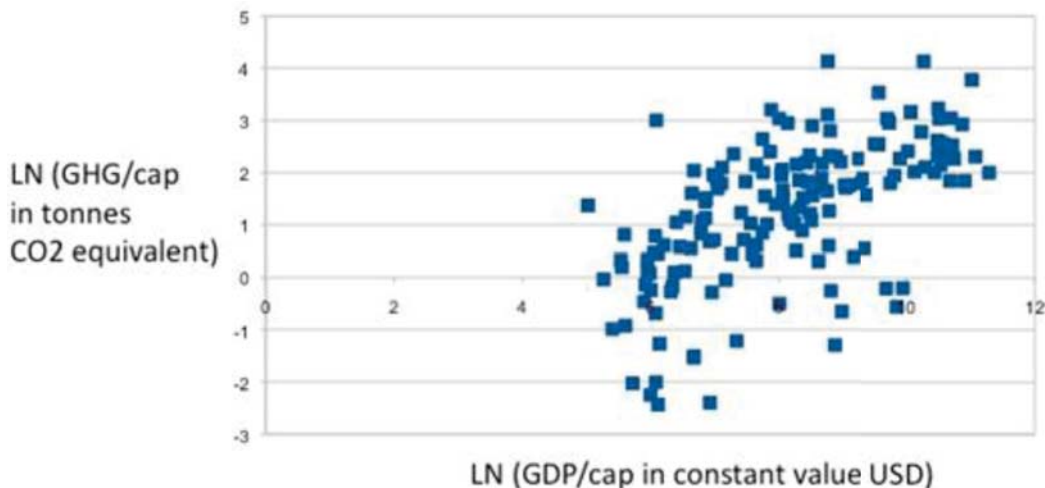
Figure 2. Emissions per capita and GDP per capita: Equation: LN GDP / CAP - LN GHG / CAP: y=0.52x, R2=0.370. Note: GDP/capita vs. Greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions / capita for 158 countries in 2011. Sources: 1. World Bank Open Data, http://data.worldbank.org. 2. CAIT WRI 2.0: Climate Data Explorer, World Resources Institute, http://cait2.wri.org.

rationale for the basic argument that we need another kind of economic growth that builds upon carbon neutral technology. This is no doubt feasible in theory, but in practice we are stuck with the fossil fuel economy, especially after the turn to shale oil and gas. And the destruction of forests and depletion of fresh water sources continue.

At global reunions among the politicians and experts, there is much talk about the emissions per capita. Developing countries underline that they tend to display lower emissions per capita than advanced economies. Is this true? Figure 2 suggests an answer to the question of the distribution of the total greenhouse gases, which is a most policy relevant issue.

The finding, however, suggests strongly that emissions per capita is only weakly associated with GDP per capita. Thus, a few rich countries have rather low emissions, whereas some developing countries have substantial emissions per person. Thus, a global policy for ecological sustainability with regard to emissions control must be the responsibility of all countries on the globe, all people being concerned. It is true that a few rich countries have very high emission per capita (Gulf States, Australia, the US), but most of the emissions originate in the very populous countries in the world, especially in Asia, besides the US.

Economic development can be environmental friendly. Many micro projects have reduced carbon emissions and yet delivered goods and services more efficiently. However, what counts at the macro level is the overall addition and subtractions. Take the example for Singapore that is well aware of the energy-environmental conundrum. Although it must be admitted that Singapore is conducting many advanced projects to promote ecological sustainability, it should be pointed out that it is

a huge hub for air traffic and see shipping, which both result in greenhouse gases. In addition, Singapore has coal fired power stations and consumer huge amounts of electricity (water cleaning, waste treatment, air conditioning in almost all private housing and public buildings).

The same contradictory finding applies to the UAE where lots of investments are done in ecologically friendly projects. But the fact remains that the CO2 emission per capita here is the largest in the world, like also in Qatar.

To understand the close link between total GDP and total emissions one needs to look at global energy consumption.

Energy consumption

Economic activity in all forms consumes directly or indirectly huge amounts of energy. This leads to the emission of greenhouse gases, directly or indirectly. To take a somewhat drastic example: the rapid increase in consumption of meat energy has resulted in an enormous growth of the number of cows in the world, which produce methane that is very conducive to climate change and global warming. Figure 3 shows the close connection between total GDP and total emission today.

It is also the case that rich countries consume more energy per person than poor countries, as higher levels of affluence require more energy – in general. Again, the situation is paradoxical, as rich countries can invest in environment friendly technology but they also consume more energy for upholding their lifestyle. Figure 4 has the finding.

More affluent or luxurious life styles are exhibited not only in bigger and stronger cars, but also in more heating and air conditioning. Electricity is much needed in affluent
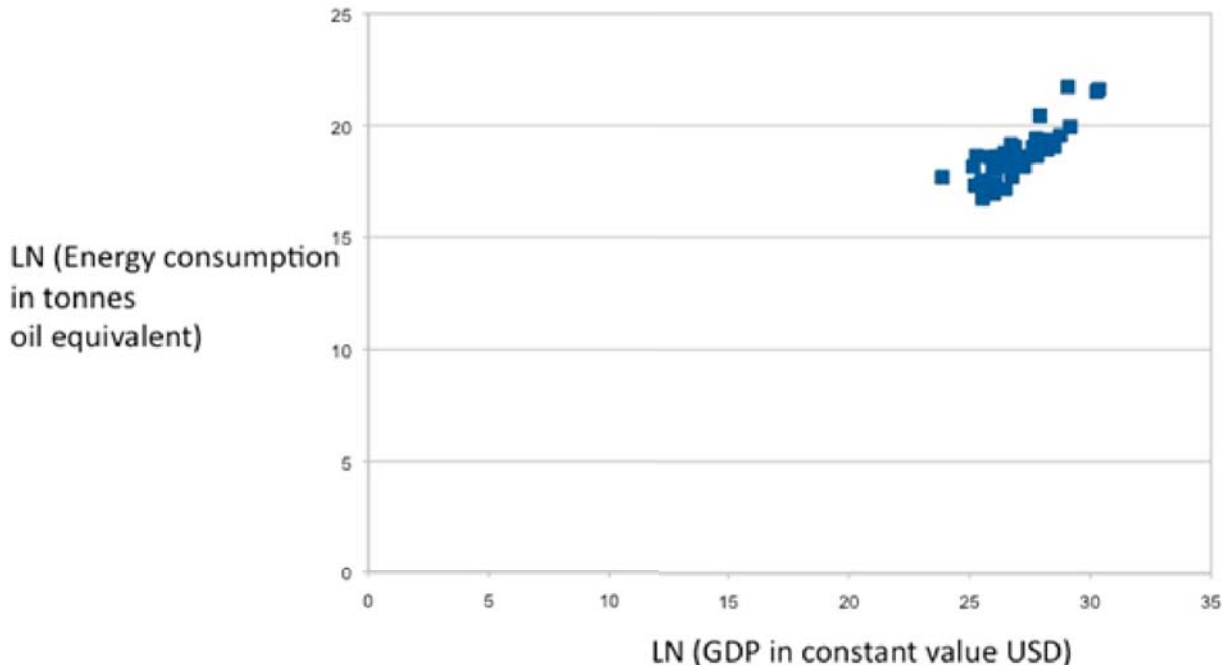
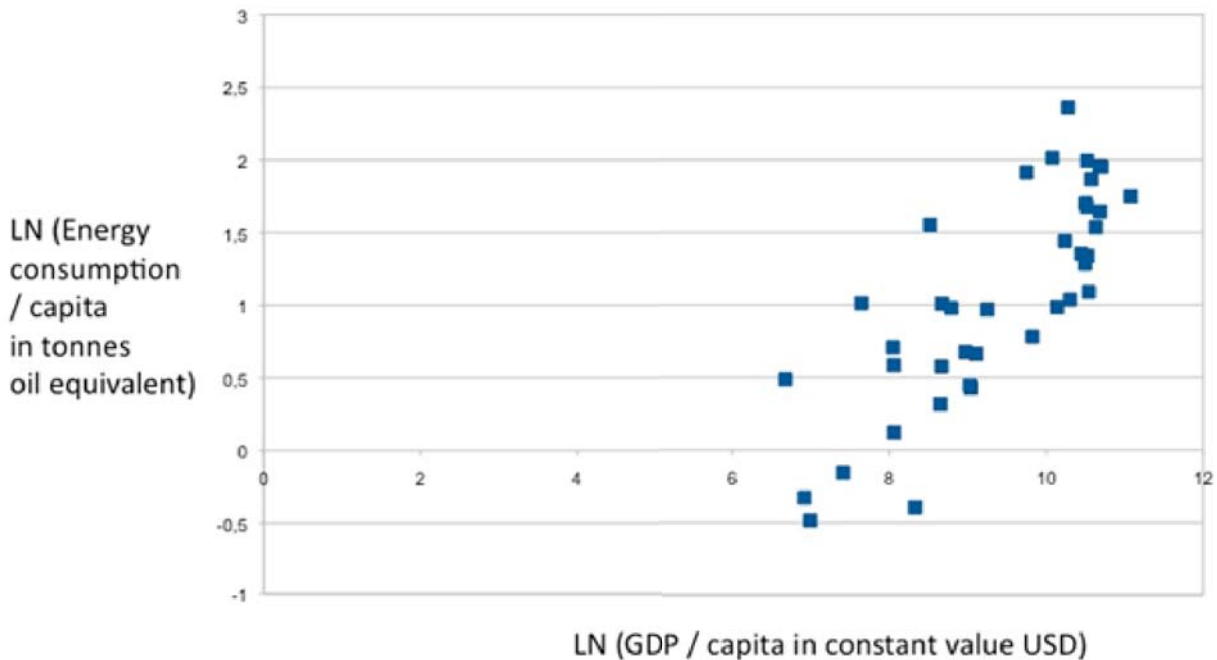**Figure 3.** GDP and energy consumption: LN GDP - LN Energy consumption: y=0.71x, R2=0.695.

Figure 4. GDP per capita – emissions per capita: LN GDP / CAP - LN Energy consumption / CAP: y=0.47 x , R2=0.641.

countries. If it is not to be produced by nuclear energy, as in Germany, a country may actually rely more upon coal fired power stations with. As with Germany, massive amounts of imports of coal from developing countries, like Colombia with dismal ecological effects both abroad and at home.

THREE GLOBAL MODELS

Global ecological sustainability is not enhanced as long as total carbon equivalent emission increase, i.e. augments sharply year in and year out in reality. Two factors increasing greenhouse gases on the macro or

global level are world population and economic activity:

Equation I: Total greenhouse gases = LN GHG = 0.520*LN GDP + 0.477 * LN Pop, R2=0.76.

This equation models the global situation today. One can imagine what happens to total greenhouse gases emissions and ecological sustainability when the world population reaches 9 billion and GDP doubles.

The major factor behind the increases year by year in greenhouse gases by some 3 per cent, besides many promising innovations, is the constantly augmenting need for energy. Other factors matter also, it is true, like the cutting or burning down of forests and the acidification of the seas and oceans. We look at the following equations finally:

Equation II. Ln Energy = 0.477*LN Pop + 0.43 * LN GDP, R2=0.88.

Again, the increase in energy consumption predictions for the next coming two decades from Energy Information Administration (EIA: Annual Energy Outlook for 2014) mirrors the projected growth in world population and the optimistic scenario for economic production or the stylised economic growth rates of 3-5 per cent/year. I would suggest that the energy factor is the central one behind the global warming process, with is supported from the following equation:

Equation III. Ln GHG = 1.0109*LN Energy - 0.133*LN Pop + 0.1052*LN GDP, R2=0.95.

Energy consumption with rising levels of affluence has a stronger impact upon the emission of greenhouse gases than mere population growth in itself. However, when population increases are combined with more of energy in rising affluence, then emissions augment.

EMISSIONS: Levels and rates of increase

Recently in 2015, the EIA has published the message that "economic growth takes off but pollution stalls". This information refers to a slight increase in GDP but CO_2 emissions remain steady. However, this confounds level and rate of change. The yearly output of CO_2 emissions is today at 30 gigatons. If this *level* of output continues for a decade or more, global warming will not halt at 2 degrees plus. Whether it increases a few percentages one year or another will not change the human predicament: rising temperature, desertification, acidification, fresh water shortages, etc. Should the present level of CO_2 emissions continue yearly for more than a decade, then the danger of a 6 per cent increase in global temperatures is not improbable.

Conclusion

The G20 group of states and governments need to do something to promote the use of energy from renewable resources. As they represent almost 80 per cent of global country population, the G20 could embark upon an ecologically sustainable energy policy without either free riding or the kind of massive transaction costs that have plagued the UN efforts thus far. Changing the energy patterns is the only realistic option, as the quest for economic growth emerges from an unstoppable human drive.

One can look upon Planet Earth as a gigantic common pool. Managing the resources in this common pool presents so severe collective action problems that mankind has yet to find a policy mix that can "fix" the problems. Otherwise, we face the most dismal "tragedy of the Commons" ever. It is up to the governments of the large, populous and economically strong to find and implement coordination mechanisms that reduce the economic dependency upon fossil fuels. There is no guarantee against a major coordination failure, for instance in Paris Nov and Dec this year.

Approaching Planet Earth as a giant common pool with an atmosphere necessary for life, one must not assume that teleology will somehow stop free riding and reneging, preventing coordination failure (Ostrom, 1990). The mere need for action, policies and coordination will not call forth institutions and enforcement or policing.

The city of Shanghai boasts that it has succeeded in building a large cool fired power plant that emits no greenhouse gases. Fine! To create of global *common pool regime* (CPR) of all cities burning coal for electricity in order to rebuild them without CO_2 emissions would require much more than "voluntary cooperation".

Conflict of Interests

The author has not declared any conflict of interest.

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Full Length Research Paper

Drug situation in Iran, with emphasis on content analysis of newspapers

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Addiction damages compensation for the non-acceptance of the human population is below the break in economic, social, political, cultural life, increased crime and insecurity. Growing trend of drug abuse and promotion has occupied the mind. It is currently research in recent years. To get rid of addiction requires scientific and practical investigation. This study aims to describe how drug is used in the provinces of Iran using content analysis. In the review of the literature of three papers, respondents' cosmic perception on drug abuse was selected. The most appropriate method of content analysis was used to select the 1999 year study of the most important event in the political, social and economic year. According to statistical data, heroin was mostly used in Fars and Yazd provinces, followed by morphine, cannabis and opium; the highest percentage of drug was found in Khorasan, Sistan and Baluchestan provinces. Most of the users were arrested in Tehran Province. The highest percentage of merchant of deaths is recorded in the province. The highest percentage of drug discovery area is airports. Most trafficking gangs have been arrested in the province, and most of the drugs are found in cars. More youths are involved in drug use and burning materials. Congress measures and decisive actions of the government are being taken.

Key words: State, drugs, arrests, merchants of death, place of discovery.

INTRODUCTION

The development and progress of a program at different levels is required, but in every community there are numerous specific and general issues that are threatening factors to the path of development.

Since drug affects a person's social commitments and threatens the health of an individual and society, it is seen as a social pathology (Karbasi and Vakilian 1998).

The prevalence of drug addiction and social damage is most important in society. It results in injuries irreparable, breaking of values, ethical standards, personal life and the collapse of community life. The community problems not only include its ideals and values, but also its economic, social, cultural and political life. There is acute growing number of consumers of drug in Iran and the world over.

In addition, there are various articles on the effect of narcotic in order to reduce crime and increase safety of citizens. Every year significant portion of human and economic resources of the communities directly and indirectly is allocated to drug control. Trade volume

estimated in the world is on narcotic article and arms. Thus, smuggling and illegal markets have massive profits with a portion of individuals involved; and there is no control over their speculative activities there. Also, use of narcotic article and addiction threaten human and social capital; this leads to the prevalent risk of the efficiency and creativity of the young force communities and breaking of social and familial relationships (Serajzadh, 2002: 92).

Drug addiction and social disorders in the community lead to break of values, ethical standards, personal liability and life, community life and irreparable damage to society. It is not only the ideal values of a considerable part that threaten the life of a community, but also the economic, social, cultural and political difficulties in the community. A growing number of consumers increase the acute nature of the problem.

It is proper to recognize addiction and provide comprehensive solution in the Iranian society; the necessity of any transactions requires research paper that aims to provide cognitive picture of drug abuse situation in the province of the country.

Interdiction

Creation song is dramatic increase in injuries and social problems, correlation and convergence of economic problems, political, social and cultural failure, unhealthy economic activities, lack of balance and income distribution, lack of facilities for the majority of people and lack of social security risks in several community.

Addiction and narcotic article can impose losses on any society, because of non-applicable sales, distribution factors and manpower. There is intensity of crime because addicts resort to bouncing things to get illegal substances. The prevalence of corruption in the society is high coupled with the enormous costs of fighting it. One of the most difficult problems of addiction is perverseness. The increasing number of drug addict adversely affects distributors and consumers each year; increases poverty and reduces productive workforce. The community is faced with low economic, social, political and cultural growth.

Research need

Addiction is one of the main known social problems. This is because Behavior is associated with negative social harm of protests and collective conscience of valuation. Iran is among countries of the world, that for over two decades, has been dealing with narcotic article problems. In the past two decades, the country determined to solve and manage drugs problems by running programs based on credible research. But, research on this field has not been given much attention

(Serajzadh, 2002: 112).

Addiction and risks of different population groups have threatened to break the boundaries of gender and age. Phenomenon of drug addiction is a shocking warning and some shortcomings of social, economic, cultural and political system not suitable for the community. The barrier function of the fundamental elements of a role has jeopardized the safety of the community, disrupting social order.

Poverty, social exclusion, low prices of drugs, especially heroin have contributed to increased consumption. According to statistics, average of about 200 tons of narcotic articles are discovered and around 700 to 750 traffickers are murdered annually. 200 members of security forces of the country were murdered (Raise, 1982:105).

In such cases of narcotics, police strategic plan will fail due to financial and human constrains. Factors such as characteristics of local, regional and national groups in the form of diverse cultures and subcultures and various forms of trauma in the community will lead to the failure of the effort to stop addiction and drug dependence. Addiction as a social problem is deeply rooted in the culture, politics and economy of a society, as well as individuals' personality, and even on international structure. There is need for a research on understanding the young population and providing comprehensive solutions in this regard. The present study seeks to describe and present a picture of the drug situation in the provinces of Iran.

Research objectives

The research objectives were achieved by using content analysis and documents method to describe, explain and review the historical process of the quality of narcotic article currently in Iran.

A REVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES

Research conducted in Iran and other countries indicate the importance of the issue of addiction in a society. The research on this topic in other communities is much than done in Iran. But limited research in Iran has often been done in the form of academic work. Research done by Piran shows that poverty, lack of reasonable demands and satisfaction, severe social transition, severe mobility class, values and goods being imposed on certain patterns, social frustration, death, alienation, personal and mass disasters, earthquake, flood, war, famine , tyranny, traditions and pressure on are factors that cause social stress on the individual and community groups (Piran, 1989: 63).

The studies indicate that addiction is related to age, education, parental inconsistency, addiction of others,

lack of leisure, healthy living, unsafe sexual life, social and economic pressures, frustration, social class, migration, abundant drugs, inability to adapt to new cultures, tensions and urban disparities, recreation, unhealthy conditions, smoking history, family conflicts, drug abuse in the family, lack of fixed employment, social disorders, poverty, severe social class mobility, alienation, individual and collective disasters, tyranny, traditions and severe social transition In Iran. Research results show that the people more prone to addiction in other societies are within the age group of 20- 27 years.

Narotic condition in Iran

In human history, the desire to use hair is controlled by changing one's mental state of pain and sorrow. However, today is different from the past in overcoming drugs; drug is used in many cultures due to historical record.

Narcotic article was continuously used until after Safavihe, where opium was commonly used in teahouse. But gradually the pressure of international organizations and governments create limitations for addicts. With the propagation of the Ghajar period and publishing of new ideas, people with knowledge and educated Europe realized the losses caused by narcotics, particularly opium and pipe were in circles, and injurious to private parties (Ravandi, 1982: 241).

Since Shah Ghajar's elastic proliferation, addiction slowly became a social issue that threatened legislation to control the consumption of this substance (Piran, 1989: 235).

After the events of September 1941, there was limited exclusive care, in the last years of World War II; later, trafficking of Opioid became more prevalent, beginning a new era for fighting against Opioid addiction. Finally, it resulted in the formation of the UN Fight Forum against alcohol and opium and other factors (Ravandi, 1982: 249).

Government agencies expanded, grew and sold opium openly to those smoking it in 1950; this was effective in enhancing drug.

Poppy cultivation and taking of opium were banned by the Parliament and Ministry of Health In February 1955; consequently, a marked decrease in the number of consumers was obtained (Ravandi, 1982: 249).

Laws abolished in the country, scattered population, lack of supervision, administration and corruption led to the involvement of foreigners' cultivation and then to patients and opium addicts using coupons. After the August 28 coup in 1959, heroin found in the community became more prevalent among the urban upper class. After a few decades, 40 heroin addicts were found in Tehran and then slowly were found in major cities, expanding the field of addiction to heroin. But heroin turned into acute social problems in the decades and then solar revolution reached its peak. So, consistent and

widespread fight against it is a vital necessity (Piran, 1989: 235).

In the 1960s, heroin was fast spread in the country. Excess drug use caused the law to punish perpetrators of aggravated drug trafficking in addressing crime in 1968. This was approved by Parliament in 1969. According to the law, the penalty for traffickers and traders was death. The law says that when people bring more than 10 grams of heroin and its derivatives into the country to maintain or sell, they will be executed (Ahmadvand, 1995: 23)

Islamic revolution led to the collapse of previous regime, limited controls at least for a while; after that a lot of heroin and opium were imported into the country and distributed. Undoubtedly, it promoted addiction as one of the ways to defeat the revolution and to make young people imperialists; cheap heroin in large quantities was available. After the revolution, most of the main suppliers of the materials made heroin and opium price to come down. Opium increased in the previous regime and this made homes unsafe. Heroin addicts were young people in Iran (Piran, 1989: 237).

After the Islamic revolution and changing social, cultural, political structures, the rule of Islam on society legal bill that intensified narcotic article penalty was adopted in 1980. It included prohibition of cultivation, death sentence in case of repeated cultivation, death sentence for importers and manufacturers and sellers of drugs, confiscation of all movable and immovable property of persons committing crimes. The law obliged the government to establish maintenance and treatment centers for drug offenders, to provide employment opportunities and education for professional addicts after leaving prison, to address drug crime by authorities and courts act.

Ministry of Health and Welfare in 1984 declared eight hundred thousand addicts in the country i.e increase in 9 years with equivalent of one hundred percent (Piran, 1989: 39).

Since 1988, it is found that the most important steps related to drugs include creating databases with borders, trafficking station destruction, eradication and follow- up of trafficking gangs that have been perpetrated. Despite continuous efforts to combat this problem, the growing trend in the population continues. Statistics addicts in 1379 and the estimated probability are 65 and 30% randomly (Raiss, 2002: 94).

Statistics mention not only understanding the issue of addiction, its depth and necessity, but also demonstrate the important duties of fighting against acute drug problem in Iran.

Opium has a long history and people consume opium for different reasons. Addicts are prone to various effect of drugs on micro, median and macro levels: psychological and social pressures, making oriented force in Iran throughout history, limiting factors, suppressor, personality and family stress caused by incompatibility and rupture of family, divorce, passivity and vanity in society,

lack of adequate conditions for the occurrence of individual talents and interests, internal and external conflicts of the community structure of political instability resulting from foreign domination and internal conflict, lucrative drug trade, in the transportation of narcotics, curious population of youths using drug especially in Phoenix, extensive social relations with each other, drug-trafficking gangs, drug abundance and easy access to it, unemployment and poverty in unfavorable conditions of economic insecurity spirituality and morality in society, unfair distribution of wealth, high social class divide in society, war and economic crisis, unfair distribution of resources in different regions of the country, lack of law enforcement, old habits in specific regions of the country's opium, general weakness of collective participation in society and lack of optimum utilization of resources to meet the needs of people.

METHODS

For the research objectives, content analysis methods were used. Although resorting to bounce addiction resources, content analysis lacks basic theory as a starting point for production of theoretical concepts and abstract theory. The review of newspaper headlines shows that Hamshahri, Kehane and Atleaat universal information is related to drug addiction. To obtain the best form so desired, Tuesday newspaper was selected for the analysis.

Categories in the first news of the manifest content in the study questionnaire and newspapers including arrest, being killed by merchants, drug discovery, the proceeds of drug discovery, drug embedded devices, smuggling gangs arrested, burned material values, measures taken and proposals are discussed in order to obtain better results in parallel; that is, quantitative data transferred into a table next to the categories and the frequency of qualitative information used. Frequencies quoted in any manipulation have come to act and content of news contained in the same categories was counted in a newspaper.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Based on the obtained data, 70.35% heroin was discovered in the Fars Province; 9.48%, in Hormozgan Province; 5.49%, in Tehran Province; 3.16%, in Khorasan Province; 3.09%, in Sistan - Baluchistan.

57.58% morphine was discovered in Yazd Province; 14.16% in Tehran Province; 10.9% in Azerbaijan of the West Province; 8.53% in Kerman Province; 5.49% in HORMOZGAN province; 1.26% in Khorasan province; 1.17% in Sistan – Baluchistan, Golestan, Gilan, Fars, ISFAHAN, ILAM provinces, West Azerbaijan; few percents are allocated to other provinces without morphine.

23.91% cannabis was discovered in Khorasan Province and Tehran Province; 23.14 and 19.73% in   Sistan – Baluchistan Province and Hormozgan Province; 17.66,0/05% in Bushehr Province; 2.78% in Mazandaran Province; 1.99% in Golestan Province; 1.86% in Fars Province; 1.06 in Yazd Province; the percentage is very

low in Isfahan, Khuzestan, Semnan, Kermanshah, Lorestan, Gilan Provinces.

40.09% of opium was discovered in Khorasan Province; 24.67% in Sistan - Baluchistan Province; 12.76% Tehran Province; 7.6% in Hormozgan Province; 2.84% in Fars Province; 2.31% in Kerman Province; 2.14% in Lorestan; 1.6% in Kermanshah Province; 1.25% in Khuzestan Province and 1.11% in Lorestan Province.

The highest percentage of drug discovery in the country is in 1999: In Khorasan Province 29.8% was discovered; 18.61% in Sistan - Baluchistan Province; 12.95% in Tehran Province; 12.21% in Yazd Province; 7.55% in Hormozgan Province; 5.83% in Fars Province; 3.44% in Kerman Province; in other provinces less percent was discovered.

54.03% addicts were arrested in Tehran Province; 22.42% in Sistan - Baluchistan Province; 5.28% in Lorestan Province; 2.14% in Yazd Province; 1.75% in Mazandaran Province; 1.67% in Hormozgan Province; 1.45% in Hamedan Province; but was low in other provinces.

Casualties and damage caused by this crisis are different in provinces: it was 79.38% in Khorasan Province; 4.48% in Sistan and Baluchistan Province; 3.59% in Tehran Province; 2.69% in Hormozgan Province; 2.24% in Yazd Province; 2.24% in Kerman Province; 1.79% in Lorestan Province; 1.79% in Kurdistan. Highest percentage of traders in Kermanshan, Gilan and Mazandaran province were killed.

Based on the frequency table on drug discovery, 0/0 38% was discovered at the airport; 20.7% in the railway; 17.2% at home; 17.2% in the mountains and desert roads and 6.9% in the shop. Airport and railway have the highest frequency because they are the safest place to transport materials.

Most bands traffickers arrested belonged to the Khorasan Province with 24.87 percent; 21.46   in Tehran Province; 17.07 percent in Sistan and Baluchistan Province; 14.63% in Hormozgan Province; 4.87% in Kerman province; 4.39% in Yazd Province; 2.92% in Mazandaran Province; 2.92% in Lorestan Province and 1.95% level in other provinces.

Considering the importance of transportation security, drug trafficking gangs try to reduce the risk of transporting the materials to the desired places; 0.046% are discovered in cars; 12.9% in the stomach; 10.8   in bags and baggage; 10.1 in food boxes; 4.3   in belt and shoe heels; 3. 6% on postal shipments; 2.9% in household appliances; 2.9% in book cover; 2. 2% in frames; 2.2% in camel hump; 1.4% in clothing and 0.4%   is embedded in post card.

Since the discovery of drugs, the highest percentages of drug destroyed by military means are thus: Tehran province has 47.67%; 23.68% in Sistan and Baluchistan Province; 9.13% in Khorasan Province; 3.97% in Hormozgan Province; 3.27% in Yazd Province; 2.79% in Fars Province; 1.44% in Kermanshah Province;
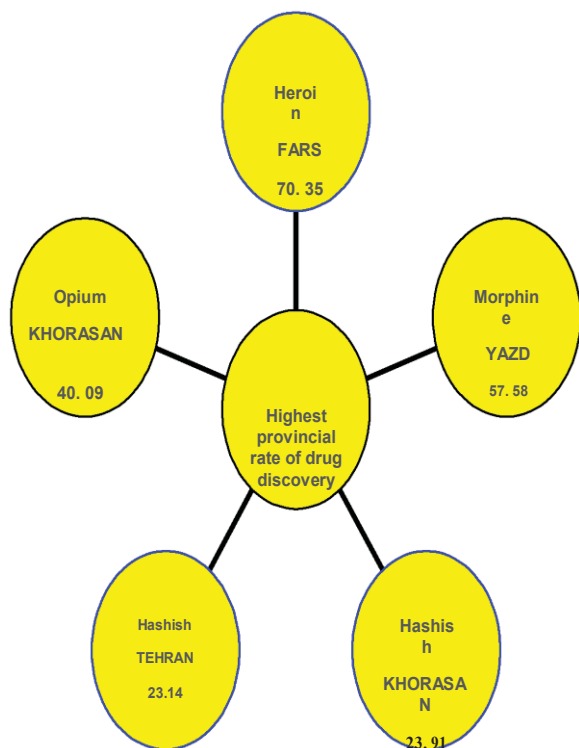
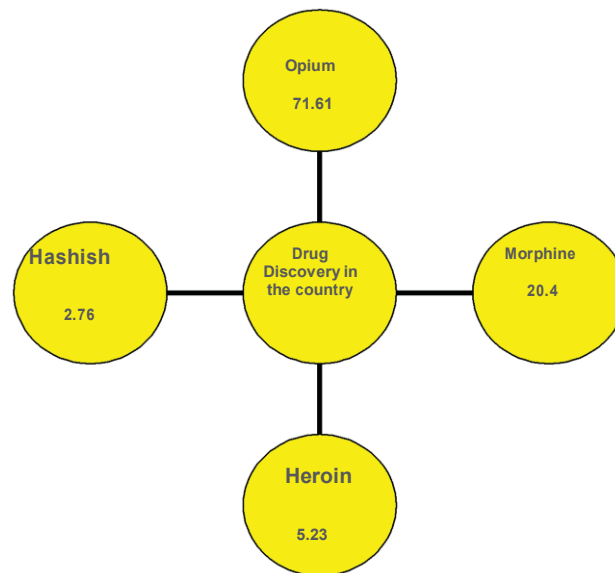**Figure 1.** Provincial breakdown of the materials in drug discovery.

Figure 2. Drug discovery in the country.

1.33% in the Province; 1.08 in Kerman Province and 1.05 in Hamedan Province.

On statistical data discovered drug, opium was 71.61%; of morphine, 20.4%; heroin, 5.23% and cannabis, 2.79%. The highest percentage of drug discovered is opium and morphine in the community. Rate of degradation has caused problems in the society in terms of distribution and consumption of   narcotics in the country.

According to statistical data, there was 22.5% tendency for use of drug by youths, 12.5% increase in social injuries, 0.010% lack the ability to treat addicts, 0.010% involve heavy costs to prevent transit of narcotic drugs, 0.010% for being alone in the fight, 7. 5% for broken drugs,

0.05% for increase in women's tendency to drugs, 0.05% for creating insecurity in society, 0.05% for drug trend revenue, 0.05% for poor laws, 2.5% for security distributors, 2. 5% for politicization of narcotics and 2.5% for incorporation of major drug traffickers in prison and consequences resulting from addiction in Iran.

Based on statistical data regarding the most important discussed measures for controlling drugs, Narcotics Conference seminar has18.07%, burning of drugs is 18.07 percent; MOU international signing is 13.25%; 9.64% in education plan for Prevention of Addiction; 8.44% for opening of drug consumption centers; 6.02% for addicts cleaning public places; 4.84% for twenty-nine thousand drug treatment; 4.84% for children's protest

march; 3.61% for credit allocation to combat drug; 2.41% for training of dogs for fighting; the percentage of quantitative census also includes obstruction of carrying drugs across the country's borders and aggravated trafficking article, the opening of storage centers for girls' addicted families, giving police officers the right to discover drug addicts, opening of regional information exchange and combating trafficking cartels in the country's borders.

Based on one-dimensional table, ways to combat such drugs has been proposed. 30.82% involve dealing firmly with the government's merchants of death, 14.8% for involving the police, 12.35% for prevention of combat, 8.64% for drug law reform, 6.17% for military presence in East regions of the country, 6.17% for firing of employees from the structure of drug administration, 4.93% for people participation, 4.93% for against drug trafficking, 3.7% for educating the drug population on the harms of drug; 3.7% for inadequate detention and arrest, 2.5% for global cooperation and 1. 24% for courses taught in schools on addiction.

Conclusion

In the neighborhood of Afghanistan, there is local production of opium and cannabis, and part of Gold Crescent, Turkey is the critical path for trafficking drugs. Pakistan is one of the major manufacturers in the world and part of Gold Crescent has the highest percentage. Addition has caused 60% damage to Sistan and Baluchistan border, 30% to north of Khora Taybad and 10% to Oman and the Persian Gulf.

Far Yaz, Sistan and Baluchistan Hormozgan, Khorasan, Kerman, Tehran provinces are at risk of
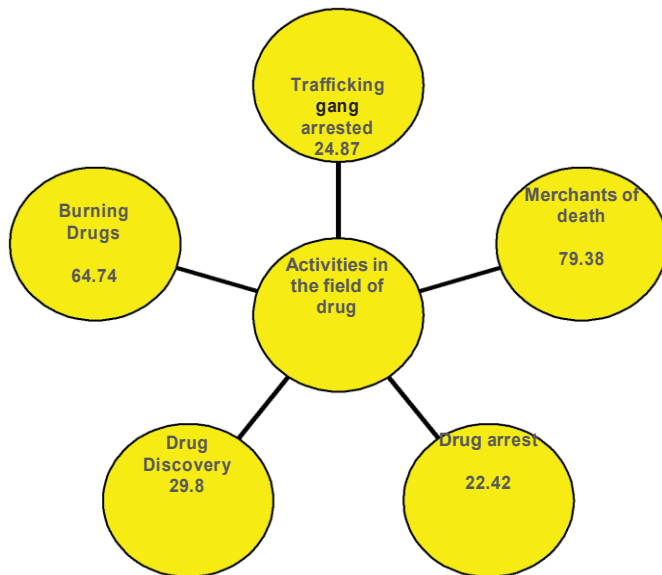
Figure 3. Activities in the field of drug.

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NEWSPAPERS

Hamshahri Newspaper, April to March, 1999.
Kayhan Newspaper, April to March, 1999
Ttelaat Newspaper, April to March, 1999.1o.

addiction than other provinces. Little distance between origin and destination and profitable expansion of its distribution in different regions of Iran has had many effects. Statistics compare drug loss, waste of police discovery and manpower, trafficking gangs and involvement of military officers, the number of detainees and how secondary transverse transport materials scenes and drug fields in the country.

Addiction problems are so deep in the community in three levels- micro, median and macro. Therefore, developing national development model, long-term strategy, short-term training conditions, unemployed persons in community, public education through formal institutions, especially the country's mass media, research studies on the reasons for addiction in the country at various levels, the inclusion of education in schools and university units, individuals engaging in social activities, political and cultural order to prevent drug abuse in society are essential (Figures 1-3).

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