The Socio-Cultural Factors Related to the Role and the Function of the Healer, Dukun, in Makassar

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Abstract
The Indonesian government has established various modern medical facilities in cities, and they have even reached villages. The goal of this program is to encourage citizens to use these facilities so they can eliminate the roles and functions of the traditional medical system, especially the role of herb doctor (dukan). In fact, the role and function of dukan still exist and become the societal health care system in Makassar City. This is the main reasonable factor, why the socio-cultural factors which contributes to the continuation of the roles and functions in the traditional medical system are necessary to be studied. The research was conducted in Makassar City, and the techniques were used to collect data in this study were: the library research, observation and interview. For the data analysis, this study employed interpretative descriptive analysis. The research results show that the beliefs system, knowledge system, economic status of the patient, and the services provided by the dukun are the factors that contribute to the continuation of the traditional medical care in Makassar City.

Keywords: Social, Culture, Role, Function, Healer (anda dukun)

1. Background
The role of a healer (dukan) who acts as a doctor in the traditional medical care has, especially in Indonesia, not fully been able to be replaced by a doctor in the modern medical care yet. Though, the development program of the public health, the government clinics throughout Indonesia, has even existed and constructed into the rural areas. The people have any access to the modern medical and the health services with its facilities, which are prepared by governmental agencies themselves. therefore, they can easily replace the traditional medical care
(Dove, 1985:34). The real situation is not so. The traditional medical care still exists. In addition, the current reality raises and appears multi systems of medical care in the society, such as public medical care, folk medical care and professional medical and health care (Klienmen, 1980:49-50).

The existence of the traditional medical care as one of the alternative medical systems proves that the role and the function of the healer (dakun) is still needed, even Foster and Anderson (1986:301) admit as well by saying that in the countries with most developed system of their medical and health care, there are many people in certain condition, turning to non institutional medical cares such as spiritual expert healer and herbal expert healer. Foster and Anderson further say that the alternative health care as such can fulfil the health need seen from social, psychological, and possibly also organic, at least some people who are not successful to get satisfaction neither from doctor nor from health service concerned.

Alwy (1991) says that the sources of traditional medical care are still depended and functioned in the community, because they are still supported by different cultural factors. They are still practiced by local healers, especially dakun as well. The traditional medical care is easily understood and believed by patients who need the medical care, because the way how to heal the patients is familiar to them based on their knowledge and belief which have already been embedded in their culture. Another expert such as Lundy (in Foster and Anderson, 1986:309) says that how flexible the healers are, they tend to be conservative in their culture. The nearer their roles to the role of scientific healer the more sensitive they are against the extinction.

From the above explanation, it can be known that the presence of the traditional medical care is closely connected with the culture, even Geertz (1983) in his research of Javanese people, found that the traditional medical system is a sub-category of the abangsan religion. Supran (1991) also studied the Javanese where he found that there was a relationship between the cosmological view and the traditional medical system. Its presence in the Javanese community can be seen by using the approach of “integrative mechanism of change”, that is there is such a mechanism of exchange which makes the status of the dakun is integrated into the Javanese community. The dakun is regarded as a patron and the patient as a client, so the relationship between patron and client is seen as the patron-client relationship. As a patron, the dakun can give a protection and a medical care to his patient, while his patient gives any services and obeys his dakun.

The role of a dakun in a community cannot be replaced by any personal role, especially in relation to the health care system. It is said so, based on the above explanation that the dakun is closely related to the socio-cultural factors which make the role of a dakun still function in the community. Even the community which has received the role of modern medical system cannot replace fully the role of the traditional medical system. As Foster and Anderson (1986:306) say that there are many Navaho Indians pleased to receive medical care from doctors for their physical phenomena, but at the same time, they also go to the ditch-doctors (dakun) to recover their balance with the nature.

Thus, the presence of dakun as the traditional healers in the traditional medical system still play the important role and the function in the community, because they are supported by the socio-cultural factors and people’s belief which are deeply rooted in the people’s heart. Thus, the Bugis-Makassar dakun in Makassar City as the subjects of the research are still functional, even though the doctors still play an important role in the modern medical system or the biomedical one are not the new matters in this city. The modern medical care and the health services have reached all social stratifications, even so the role of dakun in the traditional medical care is still needed by the citizens, because there is a relation between their knowledge and belief of the community, especially the Bugis-Makassar in Makassar City about illness and healing process.

The perception, the understanding, and the belief are integrated in their cultures which make them as a frame of reference to the interpretation and to make a decision for further nation. For example, the perception, the understanding, and the belief about an illness which are related to the role and the function of a dakun still exist in Makassar City, because they still became the part of their culture, especially the Bugis-Makassar. So, the dakuns who act as a healer in the traditional medical system have also a perception, understanding, and belief about the illness which includes in their culture, and then they make these elements as a frame of reference to make decision for further medical care of the illness.

In this connection, different specific reasons with reference to the role and the function of the Bugis-Makassar dakuns still exist, because the dakuns can maintain their good services for the low economic status. In other words, it is based on the service and the economic factors.

2. Research Methods
To obtain the significant data in this research, the researcher used the observation technique, that is, observer, hearing and noting down, all the happenings which related to the research problems, what to observe was the
room where the dukun healed his patients or the dukun’s room, he also observed the life situation either in the house or outside the house of the dukun. The deep interview technique was also used to obtain data from dukuns and patients based on the interview guide.

3. Results and Discussion

This explanation contains cultural knowledge and belief in relation to the role and function of dukun, dukun’s services, and how dukuns attract patients, and how patients choose the dukun’s method of healing.

3.1 Cultural Knowledge and Belief in Relation to the Role and Function of Dukun

The Bugis-Makassar in Makassar City, especially who have ever used the dukun’s medical services said that the role and function of dukun is still needed. They say so, because they have still understood and believed that the illness is always related to the unseen or supernatural beings, so in their socio-cultural conception they think that only the dukun can heal that such illness. Besides that there is illness which they regard it is caused by natural factor, or they do not care about sanitation, food and beverages, seasonal change, accidents such as hurts and broken bones. The assumption of later illnesses in their socio-cultural conception can be categorized into the illnesses which are able to heal by doctors. When the doctor fails to heal the illness, they will return to seek the dukun’s medical service.

This was the case of Abdul who was suffering from paralysis illness, a part of his body was unable to move or had no feeling. He got the paralysis, when he swept the terrace of his house in the afternoon. According to Abdul, his paralysis illness was caused by the “evil wind” (angin jaha) which beloved his body, when he was sweeping his terrace. At the beginning, he went to hospital for medical care. He has been treated at the hospital. For about a month, he asked for the permission to get out from the hospital, after considering the finance which was too heavy for him, another reason was his perception about the illness that he was suffering from. In the hospital, he had got a recovery, but he did not feel well as usual, even though he could shake his hand and leg which for merely suffered from paralysis. Further, the went to the dukun, because he suffered not only paralysis but also restless which made his feeling bad and he always wanted to go out of the house. After consulting with the dukun, the dukun said to him that the magic was blown through the wind. Even though his paralysis illness had already been recovered, he still feel restless, because the magic still stayed in his body. So, firstly the magic should be driven out, in order that he could feel well, The dukun said to him that such magic could not be recovered by doctor.

In the case of Abdul mentioned above, when it was analyses, the influential factor was Abdul’s restless, but if there was no Abdul’s restless, and Abdul would not go to the dukun for healing his illness. And also the perception of his illness which Abdul believed and justified by the dukun would disappear. The dukun’s opinion in the perception, understanding and belief of Abdul’s illness was very dominant. So, it can be said that the opinion embedded in patients knowledge is indoctrinated or formed by the dukun.

The patients knew two categories of illness, namely, (1) The causes of illness can directly be seen, and (2) The causes of illness cannot directly be seen. The phenomena of illness which can been seen directly are such as hurt by stone, hurt by broken glass, hurt by knife, and broken bone caused by falling down from the roof. Such illness can be handled by himself or he or she goes to the doctor for medical care. These kinds of illness are regarded as usual illness in their socio-cultural. The illnesses which their causes or their phenomena are not directly seen such as suddenly vomiting blood, suddenly getting paralyses and so on. Such illnesses are regarded “strange”, because the causes are unknown. So these such cases are always related to their beliefs such as illness are caused by magic, by supernatural creatures or spirits. Foster and Anderson (1986) call the etiology of personalistic disease.

The illnesses belong to the second category, they call them “strange” illnesses. These such illnesses can only be healed by dukun according to their socio-cultural knowledge.

This was the second case of the patient called Hj. RT. She said that she believed dukun, because there was illness that could not be recovered by doctor, and also there was illness could not be healed by dukun. The illness which could be healed by dukun was the illness caused by magic, while the illnesses which could be recovered by doctor such as hurt can be seen by accident, broken bones, but the broken bones were better recovered by dukun, because their crooked bones were not clearly seen. But today, it depends on us, where to go for a recovery of our illness. Usually we call the strange illness, but we bring our illness to doctor or hospital, well, who knows it well be recovered, so it depends, come in, any where, the important thing, our illness can be recovered.
The patients said that what they did, especially they looked for medical services for the illness which they suffered from, they had already known the medical system, that they needed to visit. In their cultural knowledge of different medical system, they know one of them can help them at the time they need it. Their choice of medical services is closely connected with their perception, understanding and belief about the illness which they suffer from.

The Bugis-Makassar, in Makassar City, who had already experienced the dukun’s medical services confessed that the illnesses which were handled by dukun such as the illnesses caused by magic, supernatural creatures, spirits of the killed persons, the collided persons, the women who died when they gave birth, and suicide persons. That is why, if some one will pass the location where some person died, one should be careful and says a certain prayer to protect oneself from the spirit’s attack or disturbance. This is one of their beliefs. Besides this, they also believe that there is a certain time they should go into the house or they should not stay scattered outside the house by magrib (evening) and after down until the sun rises and at midday (noon). They believe that at that time the evil spirits will scatter any where. Then, when we are going to sleep, firstly we should say prayer to protect our selves from the magic sent by some one to us, because the magic will be sent by some one to us at the time when we are sleeping or unconscious.

The illnesses which are caused by the spirit of the dead persons who died was not properly can be called kapinawangngang, that is, the spirits of the dead persons which can enter into our bodies which, cause to be ill or we suffer from stomachache or itching. Besides that, there is also called kajakallang, that is, a belief, where the spirit snares the person which causes one to be ill, the sign of the patient is the blue colour appears in his neck or in the whole of his body.

The Bugis-Makassar who live in Makassar City, believe that the illnesses mentioned above, especially, who have already experienced the dukun’s healing said that these illnesses can only be recovered by dukun. This belief has already handed down from generation to generation, so this thought has been embedded in their cognition; Even though all the patients have never seen the spirits or supernatural creatures, out they believe the existence of the spirits. When there are illnesses such as the above cases, their belief or their cultural knowledge will be reference to take step for further medical treatment. In the traditional medical system, the dukun’s services are more suitable and easy to understand based on their cultural knowledge. As Alwy (1991) says that the sources of traditional medical treatment such as the dukun’s medical system is still maintained based on cultural factor, and is still functions in the communities, because the dukun’s medical treatment is easy to understand and to believe by patients who need medical treatment. So, their medical treatment is familiar with the patients’ cultural knowledge which has long embedded in their society.

3.2 Dukuns’ Beliefs in Relation to their Role and Function

In this explanation, the informant disclosed some information about the beliefs of the Bugis-Makassar dukuns in Makassar City in connection with their role and function as the healers in the traditional medical system.

The Bugis-Makassar dukuns believe that not all the people can have the expertise as himself. If some one wants to become a dukun, he should have a strong spirit (sumangge), and he should apply his expertise when he has already had the knowledge and skill. However, only the qualified person can become a dukun that can be given an expertise or the know how as a dukun. Generally, a man who wants to be a dukun should be tested before, because he sometimes feels stress or as a foolish man for some days, even until some months. Also, there is a would be dukun has got disaster, that is a member of his family is dead. When he has passed this test, the expertise of dukun can be given to him, and he should promise to help any one who comes to him who needs his medical service. If he does not want to do it, this is fatal to him. He will be sick or any calamity will fall on him. So, the Bugis-Makassar dukuns believe their role and function should actually be applied property.

The Bugis-Makassar dukuns believe that their role and function will exist forever, because the illnesses, based on their beliefs, will increase in number, even the new illnesses also appear in the society this matter will happen, because many people do not care about ancient habits, norms and cultural values, taboo, people can not differentiate between man and women, children do not appreciate their parents, so God curses them by them with different illnesses.

The Bugis-Makassar dukuns are always optimistic with their role and function, even though the number of doctors will increase with their sophisticated knowledge and skills, but the dukuns are still needed, because the dukuns knowledge skills are obtained from sacred nature, that is from God-dream-Their knowledge and skills are better, because the illnesses come from God, that is why, we intake to God for a recovery of the illness. And only the dukuns who know how to contact God, supernatural creatures, satanic, genies, and the spirits of the dead persons who can bring illness to human beings.
One day the writer visited the dukun called HM in his practical room. At that time he was diagnosing a patient who was suffering from the paralysis. He massaged from the patient's feet until his lips, while he was massaging his patient, he talked to the writer, he said: "Every part of the body has its owner, if one part is sick that should be healed is the owner of the ill part, so, the dukun persuades the owner of the ill part to be healed. If the part of the leg is ill, this part should be healed not the hand. Each part has its owner, even though its service is only one, that is God, and each part of the body has its own name. When one of the parts is sick, the name of the ill part should be mentioned in the magic formula. Further the dukun says to the writer that if we are blind why we cannot see or hear, though we have eyes or ears. The reason is because the owner of the part is not in his place, so we try to persuade him in order that he returns to his own place as usual. The doctor does not know this such case, that is why. The dukun roles will exist for ever as long as the human beings live in the world. That is so, the HM dukun ends his story”.

Beside that, the dukun believe that their expertise is only used for the people who need it. If their role and function as traditional healers or their expertise is used to enrich themselves, for example, they ask for high payment or asking for payment, the dukun believe that their expertise will have no magical power or it will not be effective any more. If they do so, their expertise can be taken over by God or by other creatures who gave them. That is why, for each service, the dukun has never asked for a payment. Especially, the patient's gift is voluntarily given or the patient gives the gift to the dukun sincerely. HM dukun said that if there was a patient who was for end to pay, it was better he or she did not go the dukun who asked for the payment for his medical service or any dukun who has decided the certain amount of payment, it was better you did not go the dukun as such to get his medical service, because the dukun's expertise possibly was not effective anymore.

In Makassar City, the Bugis-Makassar dukuns believe that the causes of illnesses can be related to the etiology of personalistic and naturalistic disease (Foster and Anderson, 1986). Foster and Anderson say that the etiology personalistic illness is the system where the illness is caused by the intervention of an active agent which can be the unseen creatures or Gods, the creatures but not the mankind such as ghost, ancestor's spirit, or evil spirit and black magician.

The Bugis-Makassar people categorize some active agents such as invisible creatures or supernatural beings who are not able to be the causes of illnesses:

First, the invisible creatures are categorized by the dukun who live in the marapettang world (heaven). These creatures are regarded as the holy invisible creatures. If these holy invisible creatures from marapettang are regarded as the causes of illness, which fall upon mankind. In this such case, the process of healing of the patient should hold the sacred ceremony as though we serve the king with full dedication called puakasisiwaang to persuade the holy creature in order that he will get out from the patient’s. These holy creatures are called Tinayak, Lamayang, Lamacang, Izana; Lacer; dan Inacebu.

Second, there are also the invisible creatures who live in the Pammassareang world, that is, the world between the heaven and the earth. The invisible creatures belong to this category are mankind who died improperly and their souls enter the invisible world and they live in the pammassareang world, because their souls are refused by the marapettang world. The souls who live in the pammassareang world are the souls of the persons who were killed, the suicide persons, the children were thrown away by their mothers, their spirits are called paddengeng, pahnunjung, dapa, and cibiu.

3.3 Dukun and Patient

There were some patients who become informants said that the dukun's medical service was still needed, because there were some illnesses only dukun could recover as put for ward by HJ.MR who said: “I often go to the dukun to heal my illness, because the doctor’s medical treatment needs high costs and sometimes the illness is not recovered, while the dukun's medical service can recover the illness and the cost is not too much. It depends on us how much money we want to give the dukun.

So, that is why, the role and function of dukun still exist as healers among the Bugis-Makassar communities, because the cultural view points between the dukun and patients are relatively similar.

The information which is given by dukun to his patient is easily understood, so the patient believes that the dukun is the only healer who can recover his or her illness: when the patient's illness is not recovered, the dukun is easy to say that the patient, does not obey the dukun's advice. For the patient, this matter is regarded as usual matter. So, the patient will say, maybe, this dukun is not suitable to my illness and my illness is better to bring to doctor for medical treatment.

So, this situation for patients, especially the Bugis-Makassar people regard the dukun's explanation as usual matter, but this situation is not found among the doctors or modern medical experts. However, the
existence of dukun as traditional healer is truly suitable to what Alwy (1991) says that the sources of traditional medical treatment are still maintained, because the different cultural factors still function in the Bugis-Makassar communities. Also, the traditional medical treatment which is done by dukun is busily understood and believed by the patients who need medical services, because the dukun’s medical treatment is familiar to the patients based on their cultural knowledge and beliefs which have long embedded in their communities.

4. Conclusion
The Bugis-Makassar dukuns still exist to do their traditional medical services for the patients in the communities, especially, for the Bugis-Makassar people, because their cultural knowledge and skills are closely related to the beliefs of the patients about the etiology of illness which the patients suffer from. They regard that their expertise should be applied to any patient who needs medical service based on the agreement between the giver’s expertise and the receiver’s expertise. The dukuns also have the opinion that there are many illnesses caused by certain active agents such as supernatural being or invisible creatures can only be recovered by dukuns. According to dukuns, such illnesses can not be recovered by doctors or any modern medical system, because their expertise is not suitable to these kinds of illnesses.

There were some happenings which the dukuns had experienced to obtain their expertise which made them strongly believe to maintain their role and function in the communities the patients have the cultural pattern which they use to categorize the function and role of the dukun as the part in the system of illness recovery and treatment. Also, the patients have opinion, understanding, and belief about the etiology of illness which only can be recovered by the role and function of dukun. For example, the illnesses which are caused by the supernatural agents. Then, there is another reason, why the dukun is still functional, because of the economic factor, that is, the payment which the patients give to the dukun depends on their ability and willingness, and there is also a sincere belief between patient and dukun.

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