

Traditional Infant Immunization in Buton Tribe Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia

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Abstract: This research aims to analyze the community attitudes and actions on dole-dole tradition that is still maintained by most communities in Buton Tribe, Southeast Sulawesi province, Indonesia. Geographically, it is located in the south of equator between 5.21°-5.33° South Latitude and between 122.30°-122.47° East Longitude. This research used qualitative research method with ethnographic approach that attempted to reveal the phenomenon of dole-dole tradition of Buton Tribe community through in-depth interviews and documentation on public figures, cultural observers and parents having babies. The results show that the informant's attitude on the preservation of dole-dole tradition is very good. All informants disagree if dole-dole tradition is removed and replaced with modern tradition and all informants think that this tradition should continue to be preserved because dole-dole tradition is the tradition of ancestors. Informant's action to preserve the dole-dole tradition will continue to be done by providing information to children, grandchildren or siblings to keep following the tradition and informants who do not follow dole-dole do not completely abandon this tradition.

Key words: Traditional immunization, traditional health care, community attitudes, community actions, local health

INTRODUCTION

Since long time ago, maintaining health has been performed by all communities in the world, starting from newborns to adults. Health care is still performed traditionally by society and generations. There are various ways by individuals in a society as a means to improve their health. One of them is to preserve the tradition that is considered as a positive factor to maintain health.

Along with the development of science and technology that brings a lot of changes in human life, both in terms of changes in lifestyle and social order including in the health sectors that are often faced in the issues that relate directly to the norms and culture embraced by the people who live in a certain place (Ahmad, 2012).

The relationship between culture and health is very close. One of the examples is a simple village community that can survive by means of specific treatment according to their traditions. Culture can form habits and responses to health and illness in every society regardless of its level. That is why, it is important for health workers to not only promote health but also make them understand about the occurrence of a disease and how to align the embraced belief or culture and the relationship to health. Local beliefs arise and develop in the locality with the background of different life, traditions, customs and

cultures, therefore, it can be ascertained that each local belief shows different characteristics from each other. In other words, local beliefs that exist in an area will not be the same as local beliefs existed in other areas. There may be a similarity as an expression of spirituality and form of practice of belief but any local belief will reveal its own distinctive features and characteristics. It is called as local belief because it is only embraced by local tribe or community. In fact, local belief is not growing and it is only embraced and practiced by the tribes that inhabit certain areas.

Tradition is a complex which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and others related to human capabilities and habits as society member. Selo Soemardi as quoted by Purwanto SU, states that culture is all result of creativity, initiative sense and work of human in the community (SU Purwanto). The word culture comes from Sanskrit language named bud daya which is a plural form of buddhi which means moral or intellect. Therefore, culture is defined as a case concerned with the moral or intellect (Jacobus, 2006). Meanwhile, according to Esten (1999), tradition is a hereditary habit of a group of people based on cultural values of the people concerned.

In the result of research from National Institute of Health Research and Development (Balitbangkes) of the Ministry of Health in Research Parade 2014, there is an interesting topic about traditions of the various ethnic

groups in Indonesia in treating health problems. Each culture has a variety of treatments to cure illness. It is different from medical sciences that think that the cause of illness is germs, then antibiotics are given and these medicines can kill disease-causing germs. In the traditional communities, not all disease is caused by biological cause. Sometimes they relate them to occult, magic, evil spirits or demons that disturb humans and cause illness.

Through the Health Ethnographic Research, Balitbangkeshas analyzed 32 ethnics from 1068 ethnic groups in Indonesia. For example is oyog tradition for pregnant women performed by Javanese ethnic in Dukuh Widara Village, Pabedilan Sub District, Cirebon District, West Jakarta. Oyog is commonly performed by midwife to pregnant women by shaking the belly of pregnant women since the pregnancy entered the third month until the ninth. According to the local people's perception, oyog tradition is beneficial to reduce a variety of complaints in pregnancy, gives confidence that the delivery will be smooth as well as provide comfort and a sense of calm.

While in Kaila Da'a ethnic in Wulai Village, Bambalamotu Sub District, in North Mamuju District, the delivery takes place at home with the help of topotawui, a term for shaman who can do all the healing of diseases including delivery. Topo Tawui blows the affected part and it is believed that the pain will disappear after that.

Southeast Sulawesi province has diverse ethnic namely, Tolaki tribe buton tribe, Bajo tribe, Javanese tribe, Ambonese tribe and Bugis tribes that have different beliefs and traditions. But an interesting aspect to study here is Buton tribe traditions in the area of Baubau City. Among many cultures found in Baubau city, there is one tradition of immunization on the newborn babies. The tradition is known as dole-dole. Literally, the word "dole-dole" means rolling around. This ceremony is intended for toddler as a series of giving a name to the child. According to Buton tribe belief, children who have been through this process will be protected from all kinds of diseases and considered as granting immunity so they are not easy to get sick just like immunization and treatment tradition at once if the baby is sick.

Based on preliminary data obtained in the traditions of Buton tribe, people believe that when infants or toddlers who have undergone dole-dole procession, positive suggestions will grow to the parents of infants. Parents will be assured that the baby will grow up healthy because the ritual is functioned as immunization. Evidently, the children who undergo dole-dole ceremony as a child will be less sick than children who have not

passed the ceremony or tradition. Dole-dole tradition has already considered as prevention performed by Buton tribe. This constructed belief has made less achievement of MCH services such as low immunization coverage in Baubau City, based on data from Baubau City department of health on immunization coverage in 2013 which is 80% while the target needs to be achieved is 90%. Community's belief of Buton tribe on dole-dole ritual tradition has already attached and become hereditary. They assume that the ritual is a necessity that must be implemented, because an assumption if they do not carry out this ritual then their children will get sick easily.

Parents/mothers knowledge in understanding dole-dole ritual, in fact is simply following the elderly regarding the ritual that becomes a tradition passed down from generation to generation within Buton tribe community. They do not fully understand the meaning of dole-dole ritual, particularly related to traditional immunization. Parents/mothers strongly agree to follow dole-dole tradition so that their babies are healthy. Also, there is a worry that if it is not done then the baby will be susceptible to disease. Consequently, all parents who have babies or toddlers doing dole-dole tradition now.

For that reason, this research aims to analyze community attitudes and actions on dole-dole tradition which is still maintained by most communities in Buton tribe, Southeast Sulawesi. This research is restricted to the community attitudes and actions on the traditional immunization alone and not examines other factors such as forming factors that influence the community attitudes and actions. What it means by attitude is a response (an opinion or assessment) of the community (informant) on dole-dole tradition and action is an effort of the informant to commit an act on the implementation of dole-dole ritual. The results of this research can be beneficial in providing knowledge to the society about tradition in healthcare. In addition, this research is expected to be the entrance for the government in maintaining public health, especially for infants.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This research was conducted in Baubau City, Southeast Sulawesi Province, Indonesia which is geographically located in the south of equator between 5.21°-5.33° South Latitude and between 122.30°-122.47° East Longitude. This research used qualitative research method with ethnographic approach that attempted to reveal the phenomenon of dole-dole tradition of Buton Tribe community through in-depth interviews and

documentation on public figures, cultural observers and parents having babies. Data processing technique used in this research was manual data processing. The data that had been collected and categorized was then analyzed and presented in narrative. Data analysis was conducted by grouping the results of qualitative interviews and field observations in accordance with the purpose of research and content analysis.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In this research, there are two variables examined in relation to the traditional immunization in buton community, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia.

Buton community attitudes on tradition: Attitude can be defined as feeling, thought and tendency of someone which is permanent in nature to identify the surrounding environment. Attitude can also be interpreted as a state inside the human beings which moves them to act in a social activity with certain feeling, also in response to a object, situation or condition in the vicinity. In this research, attitude is a response (an opinion or assessment) of the community (informant) on dole-dole tradition. Based on the interview results regarding a matter if dole-dole tradition is removed and replaced with a completely modern treatment or immunization, all of them disagree. Here are the interview results.

If like us buton tribe community will disagree if this tradition is removed. Although the era has advanced this tradition should not be removed (MZ, 48 years old, February 12, 2016).

The same thing is presented by WM, UY and FT informants who disagree if dole-dole tradition is removed and replaced with modern treatment or immunization. Here are the interview results. If it becomes like that I strongly disagree, because people has already believed the truth, because the children who have undergone dole-dole has already perceived the benefits. So, I disagree if it is removed (WM, 34 years old, February 10, 2016).

Disagree, because it has become the tradition of ancestors so we must preserve it not remove it (UY, 26 years old, February 8, 2016). Information obtained from informants who do not follow dole-dole tradition shows that they also disagree if dole-dole tradition is removed. Here are the interview results of each informant who do not follow the tradition. Disagree, because it has become a tradition of our ancestors, the tradition must be constantly continued to grandchildren so I disagree although until now I have not done this tradition (AF, 24 years old, February 14, 2016). The interview result from NF and SW informants shows that they also disagree if

dole-dole tradition is removed. Disagree, because it is bases on the habit of our ancestors. Until now it still is carried out and for me personally although I do not perform this tradition I disagree if it removed (NF, 26 years old February 15, 2016). Dole-dole tradition cannot be removed because it is the tradition of ancestors (SW, 30 years old, 16 Feb 2016).

The next available information is how informants' attitudes if many Buton tribe community become more reliant on modern treatment. From the interviews of informants, it is obtained that they assume it as up to each person. But they still continue to perform dole-dole tradition. Here are the interview results of each informant. I think it's up to them, up to their belief, if they have not convinced with dole-dole tradition it is up to them. However, I still carry out and maintain this tradition. (WM, 34 years old, February 10, 2016)

While we are still in Buton, I still maintain it. If many people have already left this tradition, it is a personal matter, it's up to them (HS, 26 years old, February 9, 2016).

From the research, the informants' attitudes that do not follow dole-dole how is the informant attitude if many buton tribe communities have more trust in modern treatment and the interview results of obtained informants who do not follow dole-dole have the same answer to the informants who follow dole-dole.

It actually depends on each individual but in my opinion it is good as well so that they do not fully depend on dole-dole in order to live in line with modern treatment. (SW, 30 years old, February 16, 2016)

In my opinion, dole-dole could not be removed, because until now people keep doing that and if people believe more to the modern, all is their personal rights. (NF, 29 years old, 2016).

Community actions on tradition: An action is performed solely by following tradition or habit that has become a standard. Someone acts because it has become a part of habits or routines. In this research, action is an effort of the informant to commit an act on the implementation of dole-dole ritual. Based on the information from informants about the action taken to preserve the tradition, most informants will continue to carry out and pass down the tradition to their children and grandchildren so that the tradition keeps survive. Personally, I still preserve it; in my family I still preserve dole-dole tradition. Later if it is possible pass it to my children, to my grandchildren or my descendants. I do not know until when since my descendants might not from the same tribe, they probably come from other areas that have different tradition but as long as it is on my living area, my descendants will keep preserving it (WM, years old, February 10th, 2016). I have

to remind especially for the next generation that dole-dole tradition still exists and must be preserved, so that the tradition is still maintained (RS, 34 years old, February 8, 2016). Insyallah while I am still alive I preserve it while if I am not here tomorrow, I have to leave it to my children so they have to carry out this tradition (FT, 34 years old, February 12, 2016).

After that, the information obtained based on informants' actions on modern treatment, based on the interview results, the overall informants choose to undergo dole-dole first for their children but the informants keep following modern treatment as a treatment way. Still we have to carry out both of them and if my children are sick, we go to a doctor first. We maintain the custom as well as go to the doctor (MZ, 48 years old, February 12, 2016). If my child is sick, the condition is usually examined by elderly like in pekilala (overlay) so, if Bisa is able to treat the pain we bring the child to her. But if it cannot be cured, we go to see a doctor (HS, 26 years old, February 9, 2016). If my child is sick, the dole-dole is looked first but we also see the doctor. It means that it is seen first by Bisa if it does not work we go to see a doctor (FT, 48 years old, February 12, 2016)

We can leave modern treatment, so we should remain consistent between dole-dole tradition and modern medicine, so we undergo dole-dole for our children but if they are sick we take them to the doctor (UY, 26 years old, February 8, 2016). Finally, the result based on informants' actions that do not follow the tradition on dole-dole tradition if informants' children get sick. Based on the interviews, informants as a whole choose that it is possible to follow dole-dole if their children are sick. First of all, I have to follow the medical. If for example there is no reaction in a week, I must find a way out and that is back to dole-dole (NF, 28 Years, February 15, 2016). It seems that it can be carried out well if medical science cannot cure, maybe I can choose dole-dole way (SW, 30 years old, February 16, 2016)

Buton community attitudes on tradition: Here, are the community attitudes if dole-dole tradition is removed and replaced with a modern tradition. It shows that if dole-dole tradition is removed and replaced with modern tradition, most mothers disagree. This attitude is not only influenced by knowledge alone but also the existing belief there and other factors such as norms in society, family values and social culture in which myth and community belief on supernatural powers are still very concerned. Based on the analysis it can be seen that the mothers feel compelled or there is an encouragement from the inside to advocate children and relatives to follow dole-dole tradition. There are some women who also say that this

tradition should not be removed because there are diseases that can only be treated through dole-dole process and they could not go through medical pathways so it makes them disagree with this statement. Some cases in the community that cause the mothers do not want to remove this tradition for instance is where children get sick in the hospital or get treated by a doctor, no disease is found children are examined. Moreover, people live in a village that has a long culture, therefore for health any possible way in healing either through medication or medical traditional is carried out together. From interview results with key informants who work as Bisa, they also suggest the patient to check their health to a nearby doctor or other health worker if the children are sick.

Notoatmodjo (2003) argues that attitude is a reaction that is still closed and cannot be seen directly. It can only be interpreted in the visible behavior. It can be interpreted by certain attitude toward specific object followed by a tendency to take action in accordance with the object. Azwar (2005) says that attitude that is gained through experience will cause a direct influence on subsequent behavior. The direct influence is more a form of predisposition behavior that will be realized if the conditions and the situation permits. According to Notoatmodjo (2007), attitude consists of three main components, namely: Trust or belief, idea and concept of the object, meaning how belief and opinion or thought of someone on objects). Emotional life or people evaluation on the object, meaning how the assessment (contained in emotional factors) of the person on the object). A tendency to act, meaning that attitude is a component that precedes action or overt behavior. Attitude is a square off to act or behave openly.

Those three components form a total attitude. In determining the total attitude, knowledge, thoughts, beliefs and emotions play an important role. Social attitudes are formed by the social interaction experienced by the individual. In the social interaction, a relationship that interplays between one individual with another individual is occurred. In this interaction, the individuals form a particular attitude on psychological object they faced. For example, based on the interview results given by informants both who follow the tradition or not, giving disapproval if this tradition is removed because it has been influenced by the beliefs and traditions that have been carried out hereditary. So the mothers disagree to remove this tradition and replace it with modern medical tradition, especially as this tradition has been giving a lot of positive effects according to the experience of the mothers who carry out this tradition. This view is in line with what Azwar (2005) says. Among the various factors that influence the formation of attitudes is a personal

experience, other people culture that considered important, mass media, institutions or educational institutions and religious institutions as well as emotional factors of the individual. These factors can be divided into internal and external factors. Internal factors include sex, age, education and experience. External factors include mass media, educational institutions, religious institutions and community.

Based on the analysis of mothers' attitudes if many Buton tribe communities have more trust in modern traditions they assume it as back to each person. They do not have a problem if a lot of people prefer the modern tradition but they will still follow dole-dole tradition. The mothers' attitudes in choosing dole-dole tradition are not because of limited access to modern services unlike the results of study by Bakshi *et al.* (2013). Based on this analysis, it shows that mothers have excellent trust on the benefits of dole-dole tradition. Thus, the mothers have a tendency to respond positively to this statement: the mothers do not have a problem if many people prefer the modern tradition but they will still follow this tradition. What they say is also aligned well with the informants who do not follow dole-dole tradition by saying that they do not have a problem and consider it as a personal right of each individual. This is also in line according to Allport in Notoadmodjo (2007), stating that belief and tendency to act is a central component of attitudes that can affect the attitude/reaction of the respondents.

Community actions on tradition: From the data collection and analysis, the mothers' actions to maintain the dole-dole tradition are found. If it seen from their answers, their reaction is that they will continue to keep this tradition by providing information to children, grandchildren or their siblings to maintain and preserve the tradition. Based on the analysis of the mothers who do not follow dole-dole tradition, it shows that if their children are sick, they will bring them to the hospital or doctor. But, if it does not give a good result, the mothers do not rule out the possibility that they will follow the tradition. The researchers also find that the mothers who do not undergo dole-dole actually have an intention for that, then since it requires substantial funds, she cannot be sure what is her action in the future whether she will do dole-dole or not.

From the results, the researchers find that there are mothers who keep following the modern and there is no mother who completely abandons this tradition. The observation results of the researchers during this research show that beliefs that exist in society on dole-dole tradition makes people tend to carry out this tradition and will continue to maintain it. This is

consistent with Glanz's statement in Edberg (2009) that says, belief can be one of the factors that make informants consider doing things that are important it is also in line with the views of Notoadmodjo who express belief and tendency to act as one of important components in influencing an individual to respond/act towards something.

The researchers also analyze that some of the informants carry out the tradition because they have an intention first which has already existed in them and coupled with a supportive environment so that this intention can develop into action in maintaining the tradition.

Based on this research, it indicates that indeed the mothers have had their own belief on the tradition carried by Bisa that will be influential in providing treatment for children. This is in line with what Sarwono (2004) says that attitude and community belief on the provider as health care providers become the reason of the community in considering health care. In this case Bisa can give trust to mothers on the prevention or treatment of accomplishments so the mothers have a good attitude and trust to Bisa and it makes them have the intention to rely the treatment or prevention of disease to Bisa.

It also in line with Glanz in Notoadmodjo (2003) who states that intention is determined by attitude and subjective norm. The component of attitude is the result of profit and loss considerations of such behavior and the importance of the consequences for the individuals. On the other hand, subjective norms or social component refer to a person's belief on how and what to think about people who are considered important and the motivation for someone to follow the thought. If the people who are considered important (the reference group) approve such action, there is a positive tendency to behave. According to the researchers' analysis, the mothers have had a certain belief about the tradition performed by Bisa, thus it affects informants' intention in carrying out the tradition performed by Bisa.

In this case, the mothers have been considering the advantages and disadvantages that they think will be obtained when doing dole-dole. That is why the mothers continue to preserve the tradition by passing it to their children, grandchildren and siblings because the informants think that there is a lot of profit on children if this tradition continues to be carried out. According to Sylvia (2011), the most effective process of socialization is a family because it has values and certain norms. The family as the first media in the socialization process has many roles, among others is exercise self-control, understanding of values and social norms as well as to

train children in studying the social roles. Therefore, if the family has carried out the tradition before then it will be socialization for their children and other families regarding dole-dole tradition. This is also similar to the view of Miller in Notoadmodjo (2003) that there will be the same behavior when two people respond equally to the same stimulus or cues.

Based on the analysis, the researchers show that a family socialization occurring strongly influences the family members to have their own beliefs on the activities undertaken by the family. In this case the researchers analyze the family activities in doing dole-dole tradition that make other families to have trust that the tradition is a right action and needs to be emulated.

Notoedirjo in Tamburaka (2012) says that family is social environment that closely related with someone. In that family, a person grew up, live, interact with one another and where values, thinking patterns and habits are formed. A complete and functional family that also capable in forming homeostasis will be able to improve the health of their family members and is likely to increase the endurance of the family members from the health problems of each family member. This is cannot be separated from the ability of each family member, especially parents in creating a climate to develop the homeostasis condition of the family to do the same as they do about dole-dole. This is also consistent with the theory of Reasoned Action stating that the reference group that includes the family inside can affect the individual intention in doing something, for example mothers who do not follow the tradition has intention if later their child will be undergo the dole-dole.

The researchers analyze that with the high number of mothers' family who advise them to carry out the tradition will give a huge impact on the mothers belief in doing dole-dole. The theory of Reasoned Action in Edberg (2009) stating that there are variables that can affect the intention of respondents to perform an action that is variable infrastructure, one of which is the cost. It is also stated by Green in Notoadmodjo that the contributing factors in the form of health facilities can affect person's behavior, namely expense issued in the health service. Here, dole-dole tradition which is carried personally requires substantial funds so a mother should be mutually call others people to raise funds together in order to carry out this tradition. The majority of mothers have the same action in maintaining the tradition and taking the modern treatment. This is due to the family support and trusts that make these traditions continue to preserve. In addition, the mothers' belief on modern medicine also makes them to keep doing the modern treatment. Bloom (1908) argues that behavior in the form of concrete action appears in the form of action on situations and stimuli

from the outside. This is consistent with Skinner's theory which is by facilities support and encouragement from the environment then the stimulus has the effect of the actions from these individuals (behavior changes). This is reinforced by theory of Reasoned Action which express belief, attitude and intention can affect person's behavior; intention (will) is the best predictor of behavior. It means that if you want to know what a person does, the best way is to know the intention of the person. The important concept in this theory is the focus of salience which is considering something that is considered important so that the mothers will perform an action that has a specific reason influenced by intention.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of data collection through interviews or in-depth interviews on the informants, the researchers make some conclusions and suggestions on dole-dole tradition at Buton tribe in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. Informants' attitude on the preservation of dole-dole tradition is very good. The whole informants disagree if dole-dole tradition is removed and replaced with a modern tradition, they think that this tradition should be continued to preserve as the tradition of ancestor. Informants' action to preserve the tradition will continue by providing information to children, grandchildren or siblings to keep following the tradition and the informants who do not follow this tradition do not completely abandon this tradition.

There is a shift in the behavior patterns in searching health services that not only dominate the modern health services/conventional (modern medicine) but also traditional health services. Promotion and development of traditional health care can be made more effective and innovative, therefore, people who are already open with any information can know and choose the health services that are used when they get health problem. The integration between traditional and modern health care should be addressed properly in terms of socialization and communication to the public, in order to avoid misunderstanding among the health care workers (both modern/conventional and traditional health care workers). It aims to reduce the risk of lack of health workers in dealing with health issues in the community.

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