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## Chapter VI. TRADITIONAL HEALTH INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS (THICS)

Embarking on the relationship between traditional medicine and traditional health information and communication, this chapter presents a description of the Traditional Health Information & Communication Systems (THICS) available in Sukamiskin. Since Sukamiskin is located in a Sundanese culture area, the Traditional Health Information & Communication Systems (THICS) is discussed against the background of the Sundanese culture. The Sundanese cosmovision and way of life are highlighted and followed by a description of the concept of health maintained by the inhabitants of Sukamiskin in relation to socio-cultural factors. Representing a component of the traditional medical system, *ubar kampung*, which is widely available in Sukamiskin, this chapter proceeds with the description of *lalab*, a special diet of raw vegetables of the Sundanese people which is known for its health benefits. Finally, current utilisation patterns of the Plural Health Information & Communication System are illustrated in a way to assess the overall health information-seeking behaviour of the inhabitants of Sukamiskin.

### 6.1 Indigenous Sundanese Belief Systems

#### 6.1.1 The Cosmovision of the Sundanese People

According to Haverkort (1995: 456): *‘the concept of cosmovision thus refers to the way a certain population perceives the world cosmos; it includes the assumed interrelationship between spirituality, nature and mankind; it describes the roles of supernatural powers and the way natural processes take place, as well as the relation of man and nature, and it makes explicit the philosophical and scientific premises on the basis of which prevention in nature (as is the case in agriculture and health care) take places’*.

The Sundanese cosmovision or worldview can be illustrated from different perspectives including *i.a.* traditional poetry, enchantments, *tatanen* (‘agricultural traditions’) and the use of *pusaka* (‘weapons’). The Sundanese cosmovision entails a specific concern about the world order with special reference to the cosmovision’s mystical, spiritual and theological characteristics. The specific features of the Sundanese cosmovision have been subject to cultural development and have undergone certain changes over time. The cosmovision of the Sundanese people has been significantly influenced by several cosmovisions, such as the cosmovision of the *Baduy* which is considered the origin of the Sundanese cosmovision; the Hinduistic cosmovision which advanced as a result of the development of the Hindu Kingdoms in Java; and eventually the cosmovision of Islam.

The *urang sunda* (‘Sundanese people’) have long been accustomed to living their life in harmony with nature which is regarded as the basic system of the universe. As a consequence of this conceptualisation, the members of the Sundanese communities adhere to the old belief in a vertical communication, *i.e.* transcendent, and in horizontal communication which is described in the philosophy of *‘hirup nu hurip, hirup kudu nyontoan jeung picontoeun dan hirup kudu neundeun jeung ninggalkeun’*. The philosophy can be explained as follows:

#### *Hirup Nu Hurip*

The words say that life concerns effort and relate to questions of how to make life beneficial to the life of others, the social environment, the nation and religion, thereby emphasizing the self-development of social obligations.

#### *Hirup Kudu Nyontoan Jeung Picontoeun*

The essence of the words above refers to the understanding of the Sundanese people of an individual consciousness of time and its cycle as a determining force whereupon members of the old Sundanese communities, '*urang sunda lama*', are held in high esteem.

#### *Hirup Kudu Neundeun Jeung Ninggalkeun*

In conclusion, these words stress that any individual character should be visionary as well as responsible for oneself, for others and for the environment.

#### *The Old Sundanese Philosophy*

Within the particular worldview of the Sundanese communities, the understanding of the world has changed in accordance with the history of its existence (*cf.* Sumardjo 2003). The *urang sunda lama* ('old Sundanese people') are known as *tri tangtu* or *tilu inditan manusa Sunda*, which are forming the three main foundations of the Sundanese communities. To this day, the Sundanese people rely on *tri tangtu* throughout their everyday life (*cf.* Figure 6.1).

THE TRI TANGTU CONCEPTS				
<b>LAMUN HAYANG HIRUP SALAMET</b>  (If we want to life well)	<i>Hirup</i> (Alive)	<i>Euweuh</i> (Non-existent)	<i>Tekad</i> (Wants)	<i>Miang</i> (Go)
	<i>Nu hirup</i> (Living)	<i>Aya</i> (Existent)	<i>Ucap</i> (Words)	<i>Bajuang</i> (Fight)
	<i>Kahirupan</i> (Life)	<i>Euweuh deui</i> (Re: non-existent)	<i>Lampah</i> (Actions)	<i>Mulang</i> (Go back)

Figure 6.1 Schematic Representation of the *Tri Tangtu* Concepts.  
Source: Sumardjo (2003).

In general, the primary goal towards improving the quality of Sundanese community life can be achieved when the principle of *tilu iditanana* is embodied in the life of the individual. By achieving the principle, the six aspects of the Sundanese culture, *Sadrasa Kamanusaan Sundanya*, will be fulfilled (*cf.* Paragraph 6.1.2). Hence, each individual must act as a *ngertakeum bumi lamba* ('a whole human') and become a leader, who is visionary and trustworthy and able to *ngertakeun urang réa* ('prosper his people'). Since the Sundanese cosmovision contains both mythical as well as spiritual elements, the members of the Sundanese communities hold a strong belief in the afterlife. The cosmovision includes the concept of *lamun hayang hirup salamet laksanakeun tri tangtu dina kahirupan* which means if an individual craves to live a 'right' life, *khusnul khotimah*, then life should be lived in the way of *tri tangtu*.

In this way, a high quality of life can be achieved. Moreover, the Sundanese philosophy of life includes the objective to train humans always to be 'grateful' for the blessings which have been granted by the grace of God. The consciousness of the blessings of God is in line with the Sundanese people's general appreciation for the environment in which they live, as much in the material as in the immaterial universe. The old Sundanese communities are respecting the power of God, both vertically and horizontally, and have given rise to a new belief system which is accompanied by customs and social values.

The concept of *tri tangtu* relies on three indicators to measure the individual's balance, namely age maturity, intellectual maturity and emotional maturity. Hereafter, a combination of the indicators is referred to as *mesagi* which assesses the maturity of an individual's life concept between the abstract desires in his or her mind which are implemented through the three above-mentioned indicators. The *mesagi* can be visually depicted as a square, a triangle or a pentagon.

Furthermore, it is an idiom of maturity which is in accordance with the norms provided by *i.a.* the nation, religion and customs. The Sundanese people believe that when the three indicators are not balanced in rank, the patterns will not be balanced either.

The cosmovision of the Sundanese people is also applied in the government policies and economic strategies. The concept of *tri tangtu*, for example, is implemented in the governance structure and the layout of government buildings in the Pasundan region. The previous governance system in the region was known as *Rama-Resi-Prabu*, whereby *Prabu* is the implementer of governance systems, *Resi* is the law maker and *Rama* is the one responsible for noticing and evaluating food security and ongoing governance systems. The architectural layout of the government buildings continues to depict the concept of *tri tangtu* from the top until the lower levels of the building. Likewise, the Sundanese cosmovision is also visible in the economic value system of the Sundanese people. Besides, a triangular concept consisting of *melak – miara – ngala* is used as a philosophy in the cultivation of agricultural land, whereby the harvest will be successful if all the three indicators are fulfilled. The philosophy is also represented in the saying *wani-wani ngala lamun teu rumasa melakna* which means 'if it is not cultivated, it cannot be harvested'. Moreover, the cosmovision of the Sunda region plays an important role in the application of militant doctrines and values, such as loyalty and integrity in the everyday life of the Sundanese people. The similar concept of *nengah* which relates to the social values of the Sundanese people is expressed in the saying *nu melak kuring nu miara batur nu ngala babarengan* which means 'I planted, my friends maintained, then we share the harvest'.

Furthermore, Sundanese art also considers the three points of power in which harmony between the three points increases the quality of art. In general, Sundanese art is focused on transcendent rather than social communication which is not merely about the performance, but represents a form of art which is used as a medium to communicate with God, known as *kalangenan*.


	Up	<i>Para</i> (Roof space)	<i>Tepas</i> (Terrace)	Storage	The back of the <i>Para</i>
	Middle	<i>Imah</i> (House)	<i>Tengah imah</i> (The middle area of the house)	Human being area	<i>Goah</i> , the back of kitchen to store food supply
	Bottom	<i>Kolong</i>	Kitchen	Pets area	The back of <i>Kolong</i> usually utilised for fisherv

Figure 6.2 Schematic Representation of Household Appliances & Residential Systems  
Source: Kartiwa (2014).

The implementation of the principles and values of the particular Sundanese cosmovision in real life is embedded in the Sundanese culture and focuses on patterns of everyday behaviour and the use of language.

### 6.1.2 The Sundanese Way of Life

The main principle in the life of the Sundanese people refers to the way to live beneficially with respect to others and to nature. The concept of *hirupnuhurip*, which means giving benefits to others, is still highly esteemed by the Sundanese people. Ruhimat (2014) argues that among all ancient scriptures which he and other philologists have studied, there is no teaching which defies the theory. Thus, it is understandable that the Sundanese people are distinguished from the past, *bihari*, and the present, *kiwari*, while the purpose of life still relates to being someone who lives to contribute to nature: '*ngertakeun bumi lamba*'. Suryalaga (2010) explains that the objective to live according to the concept of '*ngertakeun bumi lamba*' is based on six aspects of the Sundanese culture, the *Sadrasa Kamanusaan*, which serve as indicators of the human moral:

- 1 MMT = *Moral manusia terhadap Tuhan- Hablumin-Allah* ('morality between humans and God - Hablumin-Allah'), marked by the quality of faith and submission;
- 2 MMP = *Moral Manusia terhadap Pribadi* ('morality between humans and oneself'), marked by the quality of human resources using the parameters of '*luhung ilmu*' ('intelligence/IQ'), '*jembar budaya*' ('emotional intelligence/EQ'), '*pengkuh agama*' ('spiritual intelligence/SQ'), and '*rancage gawe*' ('actual intelligence/AQ');
- 3 MMM = *Moral Manusia terhadap Manusia* ('morality among humans – socialising'), marked by the balance between human rights and safety;
- 4 MMA = *Moral Manusia terhadap Alam* ('morality between humans and nature'), marked by ecological awareness, whether in the *sager* or *kabir* world, and an increased awareness for geopolitical unity, *i.e.* regional wisdom and regional unity including the cultural region;
- 5 MMW = *Moral Manusia terhadap Waktu* ('morality between humans and time'), marked by the need for humans to have a mission, vision and strategy which are dignified, clear and measured to raise awareness of optimising one's life;
- 6 MMLB = *Moral Manusia dalam mencapai kesejahteraan Lahir-Batinnya* ('human morality to achieve physical and spiritual wealth'), marked by the awareness of living ethically and aesthetically, and within the common boundaries while having a sense of shame, fairness, honesty, reliability and sensibility (*cf.* Suryalaga 2010).

As listed in old Sundanese manuscripts, the Sundanese people tend to maintain nine different ways of life which are *Cageur*, *Bageur*, *Bener*, *Pinter*, *Teger*, *Pangger*, *Wanter*, *Singer* and *Cangker*. In this respect, an expression exists which states: *Cageurcan tangtu bageur, bageur can tangtu bener, bener can tangtu pinter, pinter can tangtu singer, singer can tangtu wanter, wanter can tangtu cangker* [1]. These nine different ways of life start with *cageur* and end with *cangker* whereby both terms are a reference to being healthy, and stress that when the body is healthy, people are ready to face any kind of challenge. In general, the Sundanese concept of the way of life concludes that every Sundanese individual should develop the following nine characteristics:

- 1 *cageur*: to have physical and inner health;
- 2 *bageur*: to be law abiding;
- 3 *bener*: to have a straight and true vision, mission and strategy of living;

- 4 *pinter*: to be able to overcome life-challenges well and properly;
- 5 *teger*: to have a strong personality;
- 6 *pangger*: to be consistent in making a commitment and to have firm, strong convictions;
- 7 *wanter*: to have a bold appearance with polite and confident manners;
- 8 *singer*: to have working ethos and skills; and
- 9 *cangker*: to have physical health and power and to be ready at all times.  
(cf. Ampera 2013)

The Sundanese people moreover adhere to several philosophies of life which are expressed in proverbs and maxims, and are concerned with several relationships: the relationship between humans and God; the relations between the individual, the community and nature; and the philosophy behind spiritual and physical contentment. In other words, the philosophies of life of the Sundanese people can be summarised as follows:

- the philosophies concerning the relationship between humans and God;
- the Sundanese individual life philosophy;
- the Sundanese philosophy of the relationship between individuals and the community;
- the Sundanese philosophy of spiritual and physical contentment.

Garna (2008) adds the following three local philosophies of life:

- *nyaur kudu diukur, nyabda kudu diungang* ('maintain control when saying something');
- *sacangeren pageuh, pangkek sagolek* ('be firm and never break a promise');
- *ulah lah ka purwadaksina* ('remember ones origins, remain simple and do not be arrogant').  
(cf. Garna 2008)

The traditional Sundanese ways and philosophies of life are forming a fundamental element in the Sundanese communities, such as Sukamiskin. However, the Sundanese principles and values described above are commonly appreciated and maintained by the older rather than by the younger inhabitants, who tend to lack the necessary knowledge, as it has not always been passed on by the previous generations.

## 6.2 Traditional Medical Concepts of the Sundanese People

### 6.2.1 Health and Illness in the Sundanese Culture

Winkelman (2009: 17) argues that the concept of health as part of a culture is visible in: '*concepts of desirable physical abilities, views of ideal, normal, and problematic physical conditions, preferred psychological dynamics, emotional states, and social relations, illness concepts and perceptions of symptoms and spiritual or metaphysical conditions and relations*'. Among the Sundanese communities, the concept of health refers to being physically and mentally healthy. On the basis of this concept, the Sundanese people apply specific patterns of behaviour which are directed at health promotion, disease prevention, and cure and recovery, to a number of activities including: choosing a suitable housing area while maintaining water reservoirs; choosing plants and trees which represent symbolic or functional elements; applying etiquettes towards nature, especially in farming and animal husbandry; and eating properly.

The Sundanese people view healthy living as a priority and place great emphasis on living in harmony with the universe, known in the Sundanese language as *ngertakeun bumi lamba* or in Islam as *rahmatan lilalamin*.

In general, the Sundanese concept of health is embedded in decisions of housing and food, as well as conservation of the natural environment. Farming patterns, for example, are based on the notion that the Sundanese people consider themselves partners and servants of God.

In this regard, farming practices, such as sowing, planting the field, manuring the soil and treating pests aim at ensuring harmony and communication between the elements of nature (*cf.* Kalsum & Kartiwa 2010). Similarly, research conducted in several Sundanese communities has shown that certain animals are kept in the vicinity of the houses and neighbourhoods while others, such as buffalos, are kept at a distance from the communities, largely for medical purposes.

The concept of health furthermore relates to the ideas of *tempat* ('place'), *lembur/palemburan* ('village'), *panyicingan* ('housing') and *kadaharan* ('food'). All ideas are in line with the expression, *poe teh kahirupan*, meaning the light or the sun is the source of life. At the same time, the concept of health is often associated with the source of illness. In the Sundanese culture, the sources of illness are either ordinary causes, such as weather conditions and other biological factor, or unusual causes which are provoked by the unseen, by other humans through *tenenung/teluh* ('magic'), by *dedemit* ('supernatural beings') or through *kasambet* ('being possessed' or 'in trance'). In other words, illness can be caused by elements of the mortal world such as people and the environment, as well as by elements of the immortal world.

The health concept of the Sundanese people is closely related to the ideas of the establishment of people's residential area and way of life. By consequence, the choice of housing and food is subject to a number of requirements.

Firstly, *tempat* ('place'), as the starting point, determines whether the place is suitable for establishing a neighbourhood. For this reason, the Sundanese people generally possess considerable knowledge about the indicators of a suitable residential area which includes the direction of the house and the degree of sloping. Thus, houses should be: (1) facing *ngaler-ngetan* ('the northeast'), rendering the terrain facing the northeast with moderately sloping contours, as it is considered to be the best place for settlement; (2) facing *ngaler* ('the north'), whereby the terrain is facing the north with northward sloping contours; or (3) facing *ngetan* ('the east'), a terrain facing the east with eastward sloping contours. The favourable direction of the house and the degree of sloping are believed to improve air circulation and cleaning of the house.

Following these considerations, the Sundanese people draw a sacred boundary within the residential area between the *lembur* ('clean') and *jarian* ('unclean') areas, with the latter referring to shower and sanitary facilities as well as to the 'unclean' areas in the west and north of the village. In general, the idea of a healthy environment refers to keeping the living areas clean. Once the place is identified as *pi-lembureun* ('suitable settlement site'), it will be defined as *paseuk bumi atawa paseuk bumi rewog tengtong atawa rawas gantung*, and will be marked with *kawung* trees, *jambe* trees or a kind of banana tree, such as *sewu*, *raja bulu*, *raja manggala*, *ambon* or *cau rendah*. These different markers do not only have a symbolic meaning, but also a pragmatic function, especially in relation to health.

Secondly, the *lembur* ('community'), which is defined as a neighbourhood with more than five household heads or more than five houses, needs to be established; a practice known as *lembur ngababakan*. Moreover, the establishment of such a community relies on the concept of maintaining *miaracai* ('water resources'), securing the prevention of water-borne diseases. Similarly, trees are playing a rather important role in the life of the Sundanese people, who

generally have considerable knowledge of the relation between the age of a tree and its moisture level. Practices of tree planting in the community and around the house are practiced on the basis of health considerations, where not all plants and trees are considered beneficial to human health. Planting trees with spines, for example, evokes the expression *matak loba pi katugenaheun* meaning that the person, who plants this tree, will suffer from heart problems. Trees, such as *dadap*, *teureup*, *mareme* and *kondang* which are known for their health-promoting characteristics are frequently found at *tampian* ('public wells'), while other trees, such as *hanjuang beureum*, *tiwu hideung*, *bambu koneng* and *bambu ampel* are found in the surroundings of the communities.

The different plants are also used as traditional medicine in a such a way that extracts from *bambu koneng* and *ampel* trees are used as eye drops, while the leaves and peelings of *teureup* and *dadap* trees which are known for their high water content are used as a rice base or binder whereas the scent of the trees can be applied to the treatment of fever. In the Sundanese communities, trees are generally multi-functional in terms of possessing various symbolic, cultural and health-related functions.

Thirdly, housing or *panyicingan* ('settlement'), more specifically a neighbourhood comprising two to three houses, has to be created. The Sundanese term for this particular type of housing, '*imah anu neggang tinu sejena*', describes a rather uncommon place of settlement where inhabitants are sometimes considered to have more *leber wawanen* ('courage'). Following this interpretation, *panyicingan* are occasionally of temporary use.

In general however, the Sundanese people believe that the location of a settlement and residential site as well as the shape of the house influence the fortune in terms of the *pati* ('death') and *kalakuan* ('behaviour') of each individual. A traditional Sundanese house is divided into three parts, namely: *kolong* ('space underneath'), the space for living or centre; and *para* ('roof') (cf. Figure 6.2). The division of the house into three parts not only follows the Sundanese cosmovision, but also takes into account considerations of health. For the purpose of promoting health, the central part of the house is commonly covered with a floor made from *palupuh* ('bamboo'), while the walls are made of *bilik* ('woven bamboo'). *Palupuh* and *bilik* allow the air and sunlight to easily enter the house, whereupon bacteria can be quickly eradicated. The *para* ('top') of the house offers space to cleanse the air from the upper part of the house, thus serving as an air filter from air coming from outside.

Fourthly, *kadaharan* ('food') is also required to be selected on the basis of health considerations. In the understanding of the Sundanese people, food not only serves the fulfilment of the need of hunger, but also represents a source of ancillary energy in life. Hence, food in all its varieties and ways of acquisition is considered to be a source of health. The Sundanese people distinguish between different varieties of food, such as *bongborosan / beubeutian* ('tuber group') which includes not only cassava, potato and sweet potato, but also *seuseupanan* ('steamed food'); *beubeuleuman* ('roasted food'); and, *pupucukan / lalaban* ('salads'). The Sundanese concept of *panyaraman* relates to specific normative rules with regard to food which are expressed in proverbs, such as *ulah dahar diburuan ortong dahar ririungan di golodog batur*. While '*ulah dahar diburuan*' is related to bacteria floating in the air, *tong dahar ririungan di golodog batur* describes an uncontrolled diet whereby people unintentionally eat food which should not be consumed. Such behaviour may be the source of a supernatural disease which is sent by a person.

The Sundanese people follow a dietary pattern which includes breakfast, lunch and a meal at tea-time, but excludes dinner, thereby avoiding fast food and meat. The breakfast which is generally light but high in *mumuluk* ('energy') may consist of *beuleum sampeu* ('roasted cassava'), *ulen beuleum* ('roasted glutinous rice'), *beuleum cau asak / atah* ('roasted ripe or raw

banana') and *pais beunyeur* ('sugar'). While lunches are generally heavy, the meals consumed at tea-time are light. The people moreover avoid meat in their diet and consume chicken only on special occasions, such as religious or farming events whereby the consumption of meat requires the *kokolot lembur* ('permission of the elders') which ensures the proper handling of the food (cf. Kalsum & Kartiwa 2010). In addition to the choice of housing and food, the health concept of the Sundanese people is also related to a number of *pamali* ('taboos'). According to the Sundanese Dictionary, the meaning of *pamali* refers to: '*our parents' prohibition for not doing an activity which has a bad impact*' (Danadibrata 2006: 489). In other words, *pamali* are somewhat disguised prohibitions and forbidden objects which must be respected since disobedience can have serious negative consequences. The various degrees of taboo of the Sundanese communities are: *buyut*, prohibition and *pamali* (cf. Rosidi *et al.* 2000: 139). *Buyut* can be further specified into the following three purposes:

- 1 to protect the purity of the human soul;
- 2 to protect the purity of an area/territory; and
- 3 to protect tradition.

Rooted in an eastern tradition, *pamali* was at times considered a form of social control, describing a system of rewards and punishments maintained by the Sundanese people. The system of *pamali* has a strong psychological dimension and corresponds to the different ways of dynamic human communication, including a vertical social macro-communication and a horizontal micro-communication as well as a vertical-horizontal-diagonal communication (cf. Effendy 1993). In view of these considerations, taboos appear to considerably affect individual human behaviour on a rather individual level.

Different types of *pamali* can be identified on the basis of a number of factors, such as: the delivery of a message in the family or group; a person's self-interest; one's entry into a different group or organisation; positive and negative attitudes; disobedience; a decreased commitment to an agreement; latent interest; and conflict (cf. Suranto 2010). While the underlying motives of taboos are generally clear, three different types of *pamali* can be identified: (1) *pamali* related to time; (2) *pamali* related to attitude consciousness directed at *i.a.* general ethics and natural conservation; and (3) *pamali* related to health consciousness.

The concept of *pamali* is applied in the Sundanese communities largely as a preventive step or strategy to make people conscious of the necessity of health by understanding its meaning. Although the significance of *pamali* has been declining over the years, a number of families throughout the research area continue to respect *pamali* by offering it as advice to the children. Although the members of the Sundanese communities have widely embraced modernity, original Sundanese values and norms are maintained to this day.

#### *The concept of illness from a Sundanese perspective*

In the Sundanese tradition, *sasalad* ('common illness') is generally caused by weather and other natural conditions as well as by an unhealthy body. Common illnesses are divided into: illnesses caused by physical and weather conditions, such as *i.a.* *muriang* ('fever'), *borok* ('ulcers'), *ceboreun* ('diarrhoea') and malaria; and illnesses caused by accidents including *i.a.* *murag* ('falling'), parts of the body accidentally cut by a knife or a *kakadek* ('sharp weapon') and collisions. The treatment for pain as the result of a fall involves *teu meunang ibur* ('non-information') of others within the first few minutes of the incident, and the first visit of the patient by a woman, as it would otherwise be harder for the wound to heal.

Apart from common illnesses, the Sundanese people identify a number of metaphysical diseases which can be provoked by human behaviour or by supernatural beings and *dedemit* ('ghosts'). Diseases caused by human behaviour are known as *pangheureuyan* whereas diseases caused by supernatural beings and ghosts through trance are called *kasambet*. Metaphysical diseases can result from elements of a place, *i.e.* *lalampahan* ('patterns of behaviour and actions'), and *dahar* ('elements of consumption'). In an effort to prevent diseases caused by such invisible forces, the Sundanese people perform the *Sukuran-sukuran Lembur* tradition which is known as the *Hajat Lembur* ceremony in Tasikmalaya and as *Seren Taun* in Sumedang. In this context, the Sundanese people distinguish between three different types of supernatural diseases:

1 *Kabadi*: 'ulah lalaku dina waktu kumapalang'

In order to prevent this type of disease, it is prohibited to work at times not permitted by rules set in accordance with the cultural tradition. The disease can be treated by the religious healer, *ajengan*, or the shaman, an expert in traditional medicine;

2 *Lalampahan*

This category describes the daily, notably negatively intended, activities of a person, such as inflicting pain or harbouring jealousy which can not only trigger prejudices, but also cast harmful magic (*teluh*). Treatment can be administered by the *ajengan*;

3 *Katarumpangan*

These are illnesses caused by the ignorant behaviour of supernatural beings.  
(Source: Interview with Kartiwa 2010)

## 6.2.2 The Influence of Islam on Health and Healing

The life and culture of the Sundanese people including the inhabitants of Sukamiskin is significantly influenced by the religious views and values of the Islamic faith. The Islamic worldview relates to the existence of the world as a whole, including the world from where people come and the world into which people proceed. This underlying idea is shown in three specific ways of interactive communication which, according to Islamic values, should be performed by humankind: (1) *hablum minallah*: interactive communication between humankind and God; (2) *hablum minannas*: interactive communication among humans; and (3) *hablum minal alam*: interaction between humankind and nature.

The three ways of Islamic communication bear resemblance to the concept of *tri tangtu*, the patterns of communication maintained by the *urang sunda lama* ('traditional Sundanese communities'). The first form of communication can be linked to the command of Allah (QS. Al-Dzariat: 56), by which worship is an interactive communication between humankind and their Creator. Furthermore, humankind must also have the ability to play their role in life as *Khalifah fi al-Ardhi* (QS. Al-Baqarah: 30; and QS. Al-An'am: 165) and to have the ability to prosper and to preserve the world as well as to spread mercy around nature (*cf.* Hidayatulloh 2013).

Among the Sundanese communities, the health care organisations frequently coordinate their activities with religious institutions whereby in the event of disaster or a pandemic, for example, clinics convey health information to the members of the community by using *bedug*, a specific type of drum, which is also used to call Moslems to prayer. Similarly, the *pesantren* cooperates with health centres, clinics and hospitals, in such a way that health information is exchanged and that students who are ill and cannot be dealt with in the *pesantren* are taken to a health care facility.

The influence of the Islamic values on patterns of health and illness behaviour maintained by the Sundanese people is moreover visible in local practices which are directed at health promotion, disease prevention, disease treatment and recovery. In general, the Islamic religion advocates health consciousness and prioritises and emphasises a high level of health which is increased through practices and campaigns of health promotion for preserving and enhancing the quality of life. In view of this understanding, work is regarded as a means, not only to achieve, but also to maintain a high level of health, whereupon people are encouraged to work even during episodes of illness. Similarly, religious doctrines place an emphasis on the maintenance of a high standard of personal and environmental hygiene as a way to promote health.

Practices of hygiene are frequently found in the *hadith* and other teachings of the Prophet which are spread by his advocates, and are set as good examples of promoting health. Recommendation on how to maintain high standards of hygiene include bathing in certain circumstances and regular cleaning of surroundings and household appliances as well as teeth, hands, mouth and other parts of the body.

Efforts of disease prevention similarly relate to the objective of the *Perilaku Hidup Bersih dan Sehat (PHBS)* ('Clean and Healthy Life Patterns Programme') which is directed at individuals and their social as well as natural surroundings. Furthermore, Islamic doctrines such as the *hadith* offer guidelines for precautions against diseases. In one *hadith*, for example, the Prophet orders his companions to stay away from infectious diseases or areas infected by a disease and to isolate themselves when an infectious disease is spread. Another *hadith* by Bukhari states: 'So when you hear of these infectious diseases contracted somewhere, do not enter the area and if somewhere there are contagious infectious diseases, do not go out or you run away from it.'

### **6.2.3 Ubar Kampung: Indigenous Health Promotion, Disease Prevention and Treatment**

*Ubar Kampung* is a term used by the Sundanese people to describe the indigenous system of Traditional Medicine (TM) in the Sundanese language whereby *ubar* means medicine and *kampung* means the traditional residential area. Based on these definitions, *ubar kampung* can also be interpreted as the medicine used by the Sundanese people in their traditional residential areas. The components of *ubar kampung* usually refer to spiritual and plant-based medicine, with the latter being cultivated by local farmers while the knowledge about cultivation and its application has been passed on in stories from generation to generation.

Based on personal experience, the stories generally contain indigenous wisdom about preserving nature in a way to bring health and wealth to the people (*cf.* Moektiwardoyo 2010). The inhabitants of Sukamiskin have maintained a vast knowledge and wide beliefs in the concept of *ubar kampung* over many generations. Living in close relation with the natural environment, any form of pain or disorder, often viewed as a disturbance which must be overcome, is connected to the natural elements, and supports the belief that healing is effected by the Creator through His nature (*cf.* Adnyana & Soemardji 2008).

Generally, *ubar kampung* is widely affordable and relatively easy to obtain. Its components are used for many purposes, such as the treatment of disease and rehabilitation; increasing the resistance of the body against disease; health promotion; and maintaining the balance and stability of the human body. *Ubar kampung* is typically applied to the treatment of common diseases in indigenous communities, such as infectious diseases, including *i.a.* inflammations and ulcers, and non-degenerative diseases of the back or neck pain caused by wear-and-tear on a spinal disc. Following the advance of modern medical technology, it has become common in

some cases to treat a number of degenerative diseases, such as hypertension, diabetes and cancer, with a combination of traditional and modern forms of medicine (*cf.* Moektiwaydoyo 2010).

The Sundanese people distinguish between two categories of treatment on the basis of *ubar kampung*: (1) *jampe-jampe*, referring to treatment with prayers and spells, used in the treatment of *i.a.* *jampe rieut* ('headache'), *jampe nyeuri beuteung* ('stomach ache') or *jampe budak ceurik anu teucipanonan* ('a child crying without tears'); and (2) treatments with potions.

Potions can equally be divided into two types, namely: (1) a direct potion consisting of unprocessed ingredients, and (2) the processed potion consisting of medicinal ingredients which are processed prior to being prepared as a potion.

Throughout the research area, treatment on the basis of the Sundanese tradition of *ubar kampung* is applied as follows:

#### *Remedy against diarrhoea*

The remedy consists of *guava* and *haremeng* leaves and the 'short' banana fruit. The *guava* leaves and banana fruits can be eaten straight away while the *haremeng* leaves can be eaten as *lalaban* ('salads').

#### *Remedy against headache*

The *Erythrina Variegata* or *dadap* tree bark which is considered cold is directly related to the aching head, and water from the bark is poured onto the aching part, known as *diceuceuhkeun*. Besides having a physical medical function, *dadap* also has metaphorical value.



Illustration 6.1 *Tanaman Obat Keluarga (TOGA)*  
in Sukamiskin.  
Photograph by W. Erwina (2010).

#### *Remedy against cough*

The water contained inside *bamboo* or dew from water which has been stored overnight is drunk as a remedy for cough.

In 1983, the Government of Indonesia launched a project called *Tanaman Obat Keluarga* (TOGA) ('Family Garden with Medicinal Plants'), as part of the *Pemberdayaan Kelompok Keluarga* (PKK), ('Empowerment of Family Welfare Movement') in an effort to support the national policy of stimulating practices of self-treatment with Medicinal, Aromatic and Cosmetic (MAC) plants in small gardens as an alternative source of health care with a view to reducing disease in local communities, as well as improving nutrition, conserving nature, replanting MAC plants and distributing profits and growths (*cf.* Slikkerveer & Slikkerveer 1995). The idea of *TOGA* involves the concept of *Berdiri diatas kaki sendiri* (*BERDIKARI*), meaning 'standing on one's own feet' and has encouraged practices of self-help of the people in providing sources of nutrition and medicine for the family while motivating the prevention of disease. Relying on the general availability and attainability of MAC plants in the communities, *TOGA* is closely linked to the concept of *ubar kampung* and has become an important philosophical principle in Indonesia since its independence (*cf.* Illustration 6.1).

Table 6.1 presents a list of MAC plants which are used as components of *ubar kampung* in Sukamiskin. Thereafter, a number of selected medicinal plants are depicted in Illustration 6.2.

Table 6.1 List of MAC Plants used as Components of *Ubar Kampung* in Sukamiskin.

No.	<i>Ubar Kampung</i>	Indonesian Name	Latin Name	Utilisation/Efficacy
1	<i>Babadotan</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Bandotan</i>	<i>Ageratum conyzoides</i> L.	Leaves: General use in traditional medicine
2	<i>Balingbing wuluh/ Calincing</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Belimbing wuluh</i>	<i>Averrhoa bilimbi</i> L.	Fruits: Hypertension, <i>Beri-Beri</i> , Diabetes, Vertigo, Cough Leaves: Influenza
3	<i>Cikur</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Kencur</i>	<i>Kaempferia galanga</i> L.	Roots: Coryza, Tetanus, Stomatitis, Cough, Tormina, Abcess, Hyperemesis, Muscular Sturdiness
4	<i>Cincau</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Cincau hijau</i>	<i>Cyclea barbata</i> Miers	Leaves: Dysentery, High Blood Pressure, Poisoning Roots: Fever, Enteritis
5	<i>Kiurat</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Daun sendok</i>	<i>Plantago major</i> L.	Leaves: Dysentery, Abscess, Scabies, Tormina, Diabetes, Trachoma, Distorsion, Menstrual Disorder, Albuminuria, Otitis interna
6	<i>Hanjuang</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Andong</i>	<i>Cordyline fructiosa</i> (L.) A.Chev.	Young Leaves: Eaten Roots (cultivated as a hedge or ornamental plant): Diarrhoea
7	<i>Honje</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Kecombrang</i>	<i>Etlingera elatior</i> (Jack) R.M.Smith.	Roots (used as dyestuff and cordage) Flowers: Perspiration, Depuration
8	<i>Jawer kotok</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Iler</i>	<i>Plectranthus scutellaroides</i> (L.) R.Br.	Leaves: Haemorrhoids, Abscess, Puerperalis, Tympanitis, Constipation Diabetes, Ulcer, Trachoma Roots: Colic
9	<i>Kahitutan</i> (*)	<i>Daun kentut</i>	<i>Paederia foetida</i> L.	Leaves: Eaten, general use in traditional medicine Fiber of Steam (used as cordage)
10	<i>Ki Kuda</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Kedondong laki</i>	<i>Lannea coromandelica</i> (Houtt.) Merr.	Tree (cultivated as hedge or roadside tree)
11	<i>Ki Oray</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Sambiloto</i>	<i>Andrographis paniculata</i> (Burm. F.) Nees.	Leaves/Whole Plant: Angina, Ulcer, Thyroid, Dystentery, Pruritus Mushroom/Cassava/Lobster Poisoning, Diabetes Insect/Snake Bites, Eczema, Apendicitis, Coryza, Trachoma, Diphthery
12	<i>Ki Sambang</i> (*) <i>/Tuyok</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Bunga tahi ayam</i>	<i>Aerva sanguinolenta</i> (L.) Blume	Leaves: Diaphoretic; Abscess, Colic, Nausea, Rheumatism, Cough

(Continued) Table 6.1

No.	Ubar Kampung	Indonesian Name	Latin Name	Utilisation/Efficacy
13	<i>Koneng (*)(**)(***)</i>	<i>Kunyit</i>	<i>Curcuma longa</i> L.	Roots: Apendicitis, Uteritis, Angina, Icterus, Asthma, Ulcer, Pruritus, Abscess, Rheumatism, Rhinitis, Colic, Constipation, Anaemia, Hypotension, Eczema, Febris puerperalis, Diarrhoea, Morbilli, Icterus, Leucorrhea, Scabies
14	<i>Koneng gede (*)(**)(***)</i>	<i>Temulawak</i>	<i>Curcuma zanthoriza</i> Roxb.	Roots: Convulsion, Haemorrhoids, Malaria, Diarrhoea, Anorexia, Helminthiasis, Anaemia, Varicella, Gastritis, Cholangia, Constipation, Eczema, Acne, Haematuria
15	<i>Kumis ucing (*)(**)(***)</i>	<i>Kumis kucing</i>	<i>Orthosiphon aristatus</i> (Blume) Miq.	Leaves: Diuretic; Angina (Adenoiditis), Epilepsia, Dysmenorrhea, Renal Calculus, Cholelithiasis, Urolithiasis, Dysuria, Diabetes
16	<i>Malati (*)(**)(***)</i>	<i>Melati</i>	<i>Jasminum sambac</i> (L.) Aiton.	Flowers: Flavour in food Leaves: Fever
17	<i>Kimalaka(*)(**)(***)</i>	<i>Meniran</i>	<i>Phyllanthus emblica</i> L.	Roots: Fish Poisoning Leaves: Menstruation problems, after childbirth
18	<i>Nangka walanda (*)(**)(***)</i>	<i>Sirsak</i>	<i>Annona muricata</i> L.	Juice of ripe fruit: Anorexia, Constipation, Waist pain, Gall Stones, Leaves: Cancer
19	<i>Saga areuy (*)(**)(***)</i>	<i>Saga kecil</i>	<i>Abrus precatorius</i> L.	Leaves: Diarrhoea, Cough, Angina, Tonsilitis, Aphthae tropicae, Haemorrhoids Seeds: Trachoma
20	<i>Seureuh (*)(**)(***)</i>	<i>Sirih</i>	<i>Piper betle</i> L.	Leaves: Antiseptic; Cough, Rheumatism, Nosebleed
21	<i>Cau (*)(**)(***)</i>	<i>Pisang</i>	<i>Musa X paradisiaca</i> L.	Fruits: Eaten
22	<i>Turi (*)(**)(***)</i>	<i>Turi</i>	<i>Sesbania grandiflora</i> (L.) Pers.	Latex of Leaves: Abscess, Ulcer Leaves: Pyrexia, Combustion Roots: Hemeralopia
23	<i>Jahe (*)(**)(***)</i>	<i>Jahe</i>	<i>Zingiber officinale</i> Roscoe.	Roots: Anti-inflammatory, Analgesic; Vertigo, Rheumatism, Phthisis, Pruritus, Cholera, Diphthery, Neurasthenia, Hyperemesis, Distorsion, Swellings
24	<i>Bawang bodas (*)(**)(***)</i>	<i>Bawang Putih</i>	<i>Allium sativum</i> L.	Bulb: Cough, Asthma, Hyperemesis, Otitis interna, Scabies, Pityriasis, Coryza, Pruritus, Insect Bites, Hypotension, Cholera
26	<i>Bawang bereum (*)(**)(***)</i>	<i>Bawang merah</i>	<i>Allium ascalonicum</i> L.	Bulb: Baby Fever

(Continued) Table 6.1

No.	Ubar Kampung	Indonesian Name	Latin Name	Utilisation/Efficacy
27	<i>Jambu kulutuk</i> (*)(**)(***)	Jambu batu	<i>Psidium guajava</i> L.	Leaves (source of tannin) Leaves, Barks and Roots: Dysentery, Gastritis
28	<i>Katuk</i> (*)(**)(***)	Katuk	<i>Sauropus androgynus</i> (L.) Merr.	Leaves: Increase production of breast milk
29	<i>Saledri</i> (*)(**)(***)	Seledri	<i>Apium graveolens</i> L.	Leaves: Hypertension
30	<i>Paria</i> (*)(**)(***)	Pare	<i>Momordica charantia</i> L.	Fruits and Seeds: Diabetes
31	<i>Jeruk nipis</i> (*)(**)(***)	Jeruk nipis	<i>Citrus aurantiifolia</i> (Christm.) Swingle	Fruits: Cough

Source:

(\*) Ibu Yanti, (\*\*) Bapak Hendi, (\*\*\*) Ibu Santi



*Seureuh (Sirih) (\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)*  
*Piper betle* L.



*Cincau (Cincau hijau) (\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)*  
*Cyclea barbata* Miers



*Kumis ucing (Kumis kucing) (\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)*  
*Orthosiphon aristatus* (Blume) Miq.



*Ki Oray (Sambiloto) (\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)*  
*Andrographis paniculata* (Burm. F.) Nees.



*Nangka walanda (Sirsak) (\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)*  
*Anona muricata* L.



*Malati (Melati) (\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)*  
*Jasminum sambac* Aiton.

Source: (\*) IbuYanti, (\*\*) Bapak Hendi, (\*\*\*) Ibu Santi

Illustration 6.2 Six Examples of MAC plants used in *Ubar Kampung* in Sukamiskin.  
Photograph by W. Erwina (2010).

As regards the use of the *Tanaman Obat Keluarga* (TOGA), the Sundanese people maintain certain patterns of behaviour which are directed at disease prevention as an important component of *ubar kampung*. Such practices include the selection of foods which are not processed but

contain freshly picked leaves, *lalab* and fruits. The *jambu batu* tree (*guava*), for example, is used as traditional medicine whereby the leaves as well as the fruits and seeds are applied in medical treatment. They contain not only tannin and the essential oil eugenol, but also fixed oil, resin, tannic matter, triterpenoid, malic acid and acid apple.

#### 6.2.4 *Lalab*: Raw Vegetable Dish of the Sundanese People

According to Unus (1987:1): ‘*The culture and knowledge of the Sundanese who are living in West Java is close to nature and its environment. Their daily lives even dissolve into the nature and environment*’. Indeed, nature is regarded as a source not only of life, but also of survival, whereby communal activities, such as food preparation and consumption are embedded in the peoples’ interaction with nature. Locally consumed varieties of food which are prepared on the basis of the components of the natural resources, such as plants and leaves, refer to *lalab*, *beubeutian*, such as *cassava*, white radish, fruits, the soft stalk of a coconut tree and *enau/kawung* used for vegetable soup. Leaves which are consumed as *lalab* include *i.a.* *daun mareme*, *daun kemangi*, *kangkung*, *seledri*, *daun putat*, *daun pepaya* and *daun/pucuk jambu mede* (*cf.* Surjadi 2006). Also, a number of specific plants, such as string beans, peas, peanuts, mung beans, chickpeas, *roay* (‘lupin beans’), *jaat* (‘winged beans’) and *paria* (‘bitter melon’), are used particularly for whole meals. Presently, however, the advent of globalisation shows a change in the choice of local food and beverages among the Sundanese people (*cf.* Surjadi 2006). Nevertheless, the Sundanese people maintain considerable, and notably integrated, knowledge of the different uses of indigenous plant resources for nutrition, health, medicine and beauty as well as of the toxicity of locally available MAC plants.

The various plants which are consumed as *lalab* consist of known and unknown, cultivated and wild plants growing in forests and highlands, around the fields, in gardens and on farms and around the house yards (*cf.* Unus 1987). The Sundanese Dictionary (1976) defines ‘*lalab*’ as raw plant parts which are consumed as a side dish with *sambel* (‘hot spicy sauce’) as it is a common accompaniment to *lalab* (*cf.* Unus 1987). *Lalab* generally consists of plant parts, such as seeds, roots, tubers, young leaves, twigs, shoots, fruits or flowers which are known to contain substances with great nutritional and beneficial health value, such as *i.a.* carbohydrates, fat, proteins, vitamins and minerals. Apart from plant parts, the use of *lalab* can also involve whole plants, such as the *buabok* plants, for example (*cf.* Osche & Brink 1931; Unus 1987).

Young leaves and shoots are known to be easily digested and can be consumed directly without being cooked. The parts of the plants most frequently consumed as *lalab*, however, are flowers and fruits. The use of *lalab* involves not only 18 kinds of young flowers and fruits which are distinguished by their unique colour and are known to taste better than ripe fruits, but also 17 kinds of other fruits. In contrast to the young flowers and fruits, ripe fruits which are consumed as *lalab* are generally recognised for their high content of proteins, vitamins and minerals. Seeds which can be cooked or eaten raw are similarly valued for their high nutritional value. The tubers and shoots which are commonly consumed as *lalab* are usually the parts of *kencur*, *kunci*, radishes, carrots and *bamboo*. Parts of the plants consumed as *lalab* also include the crusts of tubers. Although most crusts are used as cattle feed, a number of crusts, such as the *pisang tanduk* crust, the *pisang nangka* crust and the *ketela pohon* crust are also used in the local consumption of *lalab*.

Usually, *lalab* is added to a number of dishes with a view to balancing the nutrition and counterpoising the fats of grilled meals. In this way, *lalab* is primarily vegetarian and qualifies as a healthy dietary pattern (*cf.* Illustration 6.3). *Lalab* is typically consumed as a side dish to different types of food, such as *i.a.* fish and chili, and as a salad, in which *lalab* is combined

with, for example, lettuce, cucumber, basil, cassava leaf, papaya leaf and tomato. Furthermore, a number of special Indonesian dishes, such as *nasi goreng*, *pecel lele/ayam* and *gepuk*, are often combined with *lalab*. It is moreover a common habit among the Sunda and Indonesian people to eat *lalab* and other vegetables especially prepared for consumption with *lalab* together with peanut sauce. Examples of such dishes include *lotek*, *pecel* and *gado-gado* which contain *i.a.* string beans, cucumber, cassava leaves, banana buds, papaya leaves, edible riverine plants and

In addition to the use of *lalab* which are growing in the wild for food and medicine, several *lalap* are used as land markers, fences, avalanche blockades, green fertilizer and decorative plants (Slikkerveer & Slikkerveer 1995). Virtually all plants which are consumed as *lalab* are originally wild plants found in mountains, forests, fields, farms, gardens, and on the edge of villages and city parks. Table 6.2 presents a list of plants consumed as *lalab* by the research population of Sukamiskin, while Illustration 6.4 shows the most commonly consumed *lalab* in the research area. The food consumption in the Sundanese culture does not distinguish meals eaten at specific times, such as breakfast, lunch or dinner, or meals consumed by a specific age group.



Illustration 6.3 Example of *Lalab* Dishes.  
Photograph by Herryawan (2015).

Table 6.2 List of plants used as *Lalab* used in Sukamiskin.

No.	Indonesian Name	Sunda Name	Latin Name
1.	<i>Beluntas</i>	<i>Baruntas</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Pluchea indica</i> (L.) Caas.
2.	<i>Mentimun</i>	<i>Bonteng</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Cucumis sativus</i> L.
3.	<i>Kol</i>	<i>Engkol</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Brassica oleracea</i> L. var. <i>capitata</i> L.
4.	<i>Pepaya</i>	<i>Gedang</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Carica papaya</i> L.
5.	<i>Kecipir</i>	<i>Jaat</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Psophocarpus tetragonolobus</i> (L.) DC
6.	<i>Kangkung</i>	<i>Kangkung</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Ipomoea aquatica</i> Forsskal.
7.	<i>Kacang panjang</i>	<i>Kacang Panjang</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Vigna unguiculata</i> (L.) Walp.
8.	<i>Katuk</i>	<i>Katuk</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Sauropus androgynus</i> (L.) Merr.
9.	<i>Kencur</i>	<i>Cikur</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Kaempferia galanga</i> L.
10.	<i>Leunca</i>	<i>Leunca</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Solanum americanum</i> Mill.
11.	<i>Mangkakan</i>	<i>Mamangkakan</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Polyscias scutellaria</i> (Burm f.) Fosberg
12.	<i>Kemangi</i>	<i>Surawung/Selasih</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Ocimum americanum</i> L.
13.	<i>Kacang Biduk</i>	<i>Roay Katopes/Kacang Peda</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Lablab purpureus</i> (L.) Sweet
14.	<i>Terung</i>	<i>Térong engkol</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Solanum macrocarpon</i> L.
15.	<i>Labu</i>	<i>Waluh</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Cucurbita moschata</i>
16.	<i>Labu air</i>	<i>Waluh siem</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Sechium edule</i> (Jacq.) Swartz.
17.	<i>Genjer</i>	<i>Génjér</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Limncharis flava</i> (L.) Buchenau
18.	<i>Jengkol</i>	<i>Jéngkol</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Archidendron pauciflorum</i> (Benth.) I.C. Nielsen
19.	<i>Seladah air</i>	<i>Saladah</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Nasturtium officinale</i> R.Br.
20.	<i>Petai</i>	<i>Peuteuy</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Parkia speciosa</i> Hassk.
21.	<i>Kacang Buncis</i>	<i>Buncis</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i> L.
22.	<i>Pegagan kecil</i>	<i>Antanan alit</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Hydrocotyle sibthorpioides</i> Lam.
23.	<i>Pegagan Merah Besar</i>	<i>Antanan Bereum ageung</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Centella asiatica</i> (L.) Urban
24.	<i>Pegagan Putih Besar</i>	<i>Antanan Bodas ageung</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Centella asiatica</i> (L.) Urban
25.	<i>Singkong</i>	<i>Sampe</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Manihot esculenta</i> Crantz.
26.	<i>Kacang Tanah</i>	<i>Suuk</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Arachis hypogaea</i> L.
27.	<i>Eceng</i>	<i>Eceng</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Eichhornia crassipes</i> (Martius) Solms
28.	<i>Jonge Patah kemudi</i>	<i>Jongé</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Emilia sonchifolia</i> (L.) DC
29.	<i>Getang</i>	<i>Jotang</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Acmella oleracea</i> (L.) R.K. Jansen
30.	<i>Petai cina lamtoro</i>	<i>Peteui Cina</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Leucaena leucocephala</i> (Lamk.) de Wit.
31.	<i>Petai selong</i>	<i>Peteui selong</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Leucaena leucocephala</i> (Lamk.) de Wit.
32.	<i>Jambu mete/monyet</i>	<i>Jambu Médé/siki</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Ancardium occidentale</i> L.
33.	<i>Puring</i>	<i>Puring/Katomas</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Codiaeum variegatum</i> (L.) Rumph.
34.	<i>Saga besar</i>	<i>Saga gede</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Adenanthera pavonina</i> L.
35.	<i>Walangan</i>	<i>Walangan katuncar</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Eryngium foetidum</i> L.
36.	<i>Seledri</i>	<i>Saledri</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Apium graveolens</i> L.
37.	<i>Singkong</i>	<i>Daunsampe</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Manihot esculenta</i> Crantz
38.	<i>Sintrong Air</i>	<i>Sintrong cai (simtang)</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Erechtites valerianifolia</i> (Link ex Wolf) Less. ex DC
39.	<i>Sintrong</i>	<i>Sintrong tegal</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Crassocephalum crepidioides</i> (Benth.) S.Moore
40.	<i>Terung Pipit</i>	<i>Takokak</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Solanum torvum</i> Sw.
41.	<i>Tomat</i>	<i>Tomat</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Solanum lycopersum</i> L.
42.	<i>Jahe</i>	<i>Jahe</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Zingiber officinale</i> Roscol.
43.	<i>Kacang iris</i>	<i>Kacang Hiris</i> (*) (**) (***)	<i>Cajanus cajan</i> (L.) Mills



Genjer - *Limnocharis flava* (L)  
(\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)



Terong - *Solanum macrocarpon* L.  
(\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)



Daun pepaya- *Carica papaya* L.  
(\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)



Surawung - *Ocimum americanum* L.  
(\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)



Leunca - *Solanum americanum* Mill.  
(\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)



Waluh siem-*Sechium edule* (Jacq.) Swartz.  
(\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)



Tomat - *Solanum lycopersicum* L.  
(\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)



Daun waluh - *Cucurbita moschata*  
(\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)



*Kacang panjang hejo -  
Vigna cylindrica Skeels* (\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)



*Bonteng (Timun) - Cucumis sativusL*  
(\*)(\*\*)(\*\*\*)

Source: (\*) IbuYanti, (\*\*) Bapak Hendi, (\*\*\*) Ibu Santi

Illustration 6.4 The 10 Most Commonly Consumed *Lalab* in Sukamiskin.  
Photograph by W. Erwina (2014)

## 6.3 Traditional Sundanese Information & Communication Systems

### 6.3.1. Information & Communication among the Sundanese People

In Sukamiskin, communication is established in both languages, *i.e.* the mother tongue or local language, and Indonesian, the national language. The patterns of personal communication continue to rely on traditional communication systems available in the communities. Channels of interpersonal communication are used between *i.a.* parents and children; parents and other parents; spouses; grandparents and grandchildren, notably on a more distant level; and neighbours. In the wider community, interpersonal communication is moreover maintained between informal leaders, elders, the clergy and respected community members.

Communication within the Sundanese communities, however, is dominated by the use of non-verbal communication shown in the Sundanese concept of *Pancacuriga*. The indicators of this type of communication are *Silih Asih*, *Silih Asah* and *Silih Asuh*. Translated as the ‘five devices’ or ‘five types of knowledge’, the concept of *Pancacuriga* means that each kind of knowledge has its own meaning which can be a letter, a word, a picture, such as an icon, a symbol, a logo, a sign or a herald, a body movement, a ceremony, a ritual or even the entirety of cultural elements (*cf.* Suryalaga 2010a).

The five concepts of *Pancacuriga* are referred to as *silib*, *sindir*, *simbul*, *siloka* and *sasmita* and are as such used abundantly by the *dalang* (‘puppeteer’) in his puppet show. According to Suryalaga (2010a), the five concepts can be explained, notably in idiomatic English, as follows:

- 1 *silib*: something said indirectly by referring to something else or alluding;
  - 2 *sindir*: something said indirectly by using different expressions or allusions;
  - 3 *simbul*: a message delivered in the form of a symbol or icon;
  - 4 *siloka*: a message delivered in the subjunctive or in the form of aphorisms; and
  - 5 *sasmita*: a meaning related to feelings or aphorisms.
- (*cf.* Suryalaga 2010a)

According to this explanation, not all concepts of *Pancacuriga* can be regarded as examples of non-verbal communication. The concept of '*simbul*' focuses on patterns of body language and style, and involves social communication. The symbols and icons are used as formal and informal learning devices for children, adolescents and parents alike. As such, the symbols are interpreted as *i.a.* dance and theatrical movements, gestures when speaking and movements in rituals whereby all movements are generally maintained on a regular basis and in relatively generic symbolic forms.

Furthermore, the importance of non-verbal communication, as it is maintained by the Sundanese people in various situations, is expressed in the term *mbabas an jeung paribasa* and is referred to as high and low contact communication in communication science. The conceptualisation of high and low contact communication is known as *sisindiran* among the Sundanese people and comprises *rarakitan*, *paparikan* and *wawangsalan*. According to Suparli (2012), one example of non-verbal communication used in the Sundanese communities is illustrated by *budaya sindir-sampir* characterised by *sampiranana*, in which the main focus is not on the satirical comment, but on the covered meaning in the idiomatic sentence or *sampiran*. Apprentices, who demonstrate interest in mastering the patterns of non-verbal communication, are expected to have a positive character, often referred to as '*surti*' in the Sundanese language. Examples of '*Surti*' are: the apprentice who is able to feel empathy towards others (*bisa maca kahayang batur samemeh dipokkeun*); the apprentice who understands people's minds (*méré samemeh dipenta*); or the apprentice who becomes aware of his surroundings by donating to the needy of his own accord. The concept and value of '*surti*' are embedded in the cosmology of the Sundanese people and as such relate to the six aspects of Sundanese culture, *Sadrasa Kamanusaan*.

The social rules which exist in the Sundanese communities are expressed in numerous communication media, including well-preserved manuscripts and practices of folklore. Among others, the phrases *éntép seureu* and *undak usuk basa*, for instance, illustrate the rules of utterance which are subject to age, *i.e.*: '*levels of people who are invited to speak and people are talking about; particularly for older people, people of the same age, younger, colleagues, or just when meeting each other*' (cf. Interview with Suryalaga 2009). In this way, it becomes clear that the *undak usuk basa* act as means of expression of social rules among the Sundanese people in specific situations of the use of language. The social rules involved in *éntép-seureuh* are apparent in the specific processes of communication. In fact, the Sundanese people traditionally engage in the communication process through an introduction rather than through a direct revelation of ideas, and continue with an expression of contents and end with the delivery of a closing statement. In this way, the introduction and the closing are at times longer than the content itself. Besides language, other elements which reinforce the expression of social rules through the communicator in the process of delivering a message to the communicant include *anggah-ungung* ('body language'), and *mind parangi* ('facial expression') (cf. Suryalaga 2009).

In general, the Sundanese people believe that the formation of habits begins with a mental learning process, particularly through activities which are performed regularly in social life whereby language is used as the main medium of social interaction. The advantage of language is that it functions as a cultural recorder, rendering language an expression of the local culture. The organisation of language is practiced by the Sundanese people as a source of expression of social rules which must be implemented by the community, and is subject to changes over time. Conversations with the elderly have long been characterised by the use of smooth idioms and sentence structures as well as certain gestures, such as slightly bent shoulders which are humble and follow the patterns of hand movement. Nowadays, however, the rules for talking to an acquaintance of the same age as well as of both a young and old age, to a close friend or a newly

met colleague have become more flexible. Following an overall decline of the use of the ancient Sundanese language, the Sundanese language of today is used only on the subtle and standard level. The changes in the use of a number of *undak usuk basa* in people's everyday life are primarily caused by two aspects, *i.e.* *teu nyaho basa* ('ignorance of language conventions'), and *nga daban maneh* ('smoothing the path for oneself') (cf. Suryalaga 2009).

In view of the rules of social interaction between the Sundanese people themselves as well as between the Sundanese and non-Sundanese people, the level of the communicant and the situation of the communication tend to determine the level of language which should be used. The normative pattern of formal, standard language distinguishes between eight levels of the Sundanese language which should be used appropriately:

A. Polite language (*basalemes*):

1. very polite (*lemespisan*);
2. polite for others (*lemeskeur batur*);
3. fine to moderately private (*keur pribados / sedeng*);
4. clumsy (*lemes*), finely responsible (*panengah*);
5. *lemes* in the village;
6. polite for children.

B. Rough language (*loma*):

1. familiar, rough, neutral (*loma*);
  2. rough, rough once (*garihal / linings / songong*).
- (cf. Interview with Suryalaga 2009)

The type of common language which is currently used by the Sundanese people refers to the levels of *lemes keur batur* and *keur pribados / sedeng*.

### 6.3.2 Traditional Information & Communication Systems (THICS)

The Health Information & Communication Systems (HICS) in the Sundanese communities include a variety of sources which range from ancient manuscripts and expressions of art to a number of specific institutions. Ancient Sundanese manuscripts offer a great amount of local information on health and disease. Health problems are a major concern in these manuscripts which often define particular types of medicine for treatment.

Darsa (2011) lists 15 of these scripts as follows:

- 1 *Kapalsastra* ('Science and Medicine');
- 2 *Sarwa Wyadi* Literature ('Science of Various Diseases');
- 3 *Yaksami* Literature ('Pulmonary Medicine');
- 4 *Sarwosadawédya* ('Science of Various Treatments');
- 5 *Usadilata* Literature ('Medicinal Crop Science');
- 6 *Usadawédya* ('Medical Sciences');
- 7 *Sarpa Wisosada* Literature ('Medical Science of Poison');
- 8 *Sarwa Wydayanang Janapada* ('Various Diseases Society');
- 9 Animal fibers *Sarwa Wydaya* ('Notes on Various Animal Diseases');
- 10 *Kajamasosada* Literature ('Science of Hair Care');
- 11 *Sarwa Pārnosada* Literature ('Science of Various Severe Disease Medicines');

- 12 Library *Wydadikang Nirosada* ('Book of the Diseases without Cure');
- 13 *Gamyosadi* Literature ('Panacea Science');
- 14 *Ayurveda* Literature ('Medical Science');
- 15 *Sarwa Kusalasala* Literature ('Various Medical Sciences').

The information presented in the ancient Sundanese manuscripts has, however, remained largely unknown to many Sundanese people, including the majority of the inhabitants of Sukamiskin. Nevertheless, the elders in the communities often represent valuable sources of health information.

In addition to ancient manuscripts, communication among the Sundanese people is facilitated through expressions of art as part of the local culture. The inhabitants of rural areas commonly appreciate the use of traditional forms of art as media to convey certain messages which usually include the transmission of cultural values. In other words, expressions of art often entail a message which is implicitly and creatively inserted within the traditional medium (*cf.* Istiyanto 2008). While a number of traditional media, such as folk performances have continuously had a strong resonance in the community, others have been abandoned over time. In general, the dissemination of information through traditional folk art has remained rather popular among the audience.

Following this rather strong presence of the traditional media in the community, the dissemination of information through the mass media requires considerable effort, particularly in more pluralistic societies with a compound social system (*cf.* Rogers & Shoemaker 1971). In this way, a combination of communication techniques which includes existing traditional media is needed in order to transmit an important message. The government is encouraged to maintain a positive attitude towards folk media and to use them optimally not only as a means of entertainment, but also as an incentive for the achievement of national development goals. The traditional media are in fact readily accepted by the local community as they offer not only information in the local language, but also legitimacy, flexibility and a two-way form of communication.

Examples of traditional media used by the Sundanese people include a number of traditional communication tools, such as various *bamboo* percussion instruments, including the *kohkol*, *lisung* or *tutunggulan kohkol*, *bedog*, *iket* and *tektek ngeyeuk sereuh*. Each tool can convey messages through symbols which are familiar to the Sundanese people. The *bamboo* percussion or *kohkol*, for example, is usually sounded to inform the public of the death of a community member whereby the '*kurulung*' motive is hit three times followed by three times the *trung* motive; a disaster which struck an individual; a natural disaster; or the threat of a natural disaster.

Also known as *ketungan*, the *kohkol* is a kind of 'clappers' which functions as a command control for general information. When the news concerns illness, the heads of families usually gather at the sound of the clappers and then meet the elders, or the elders may decide to visit the sick person first. Similar to clappers, the *lisung* or *tutunggulan* is an information medium which can convey more varied messages, such as information regarding weddings or circumcision ceremonies as well as entertainment events (*cf.* Illustration 6.5 a & b).



Illustration 6.5 a & b: The *Lisung* (left) & *Kohkol* (right) are Traditional Media used by the Sundanese People. Photographs by Kartiwa & Fadli (2013).

The traditional media also include forms of traditional mass media, *i.e.* oral folklore and folktales which refer to a type of story often containing a message for the community. Table 6.3 presents several types of folklore and folktales which continue to exist in the Sundanese culture and are passed on orally from generation to generation.

Table 6.3 Folklore and Folktales in the Sunda Region.

No	Type	Example
1	Stories using vertical rhymes	<i>Lutung Kasarung, Mundinglaya in Kusumah</i>
2	<i>Salajur</i>	<i>Susuru Amongsari; Lembusari</i>
3	Fairytale / Fable	<i>Si Kabayan</i>
4	Legend	<i>Sasakala Tangkuban Parahu, Situ Bagendit</i>
5	Wayang (puppet)	Puppet, Smacking, <i>Beber</i> , Skin, Wing
6	<i>Uga</i>	<i>Uga Siliwangi Valey Cawuna, Bandung</i>
7	<i>Divisi</i>	<i>Divisi Siliwangi Pancaniti</i>
8	<i>Cacandran</i>	<i>Ku Heurin Bandung Tangtung</i>
9	<i>Paribasa</i>	<i>Bihari ngancik dikiwari, historian ayeuna sampeuru</i>

Source: Suryalaga (2010)

In addition to the traditional communication tools and folklore, the performing arts represent an example of traditional communication and information media in the Sundanese communities. Performing arts appear to have a primary function as a means of ceremony and a secondary function as a reminder for the community to come together, and a medium of communication

and interaction with prestigious and business value (cf. Caturwati 2011; Soedarsono 2011). The contents of the messages implicitly portrayed in the performing arts and conveyed through verbal and non-verbal symbols relate to religion, education, moral and governmental information, such as health, agriculture and social matters.



Illustration 6.6 *Wayang Golek* (Collection of the Sri Baduga Museum Bandung).  
Photograph by W. Erwina (2013).

In the Sundanese communities, the Health Information & Communication Systems moreover include a number of institutions which represent sources and mediators of information.

While performing arts can generally be categorised as speech, dialogue and lyrics, the following types of performing arts have also been observed in the Sundanese communities:

- 1 *Sandiwara Sunda*: a Sundanese play with stories taken from puppetry (*pewayangan*), everyday life, chronicles and *cerita desik*;
- 2 *Wayang Golek*: a three-dimensional wooden puppet-show with selected stories from *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* accompanied by the *gamelan*, the *pelog* and the *salendro* during the show (cf. Illustration 6.6);
- 3 *Gending Karesmen* (Sundanese Opera): a Sundanese traditional opera with stories taken from historical accounts/legends and dialogues in the form of sung poetry accompanied by dance movements;
- 4 *Degung*: a Sundanese traditional music and song performance accompanied by the *gamelan*;
- 5 *Longser*: a folk theatrical form with a people's favourite story and a social function containing dialogues, dance movements and song lyrics as well as occasional interactive dialogues with the audience whereby the messages included in the play are conveyed through the song '*Es Lilin*';
- 6 *Beluk*: a Sundanese song performed to celebrate the 40-day-old baby and sung on high notes by four persons in the evening while the texts are read by the *juru ilo*;
- 7 *Gondang*: a mini-Sundanese musical drama using tools, such as the *lesung* and *alu* accompanied by the sounds of *kecapi*, *gendang*, *goong* as well as voices of boys, and shouting to each other;

- 8 *Reog*: a performance played by men using different types of drums (*dogdog*) accompanied by dialogues, dances and humorous anecdotes in the messages;
- 9 *Calung*: a traditional musical instrument made from bamboo which is played by five persons, accompanied by dialogues, percussions, movements and songs;
- 10 *Pantun*: stanzas containing a particular story which is presented or read by a *juru pantun*, accompanied by the *kecapi* or Sundanese harp; and
- 11 *Blantek Sandiwara Parung Bogor*: a traditional musical play accompanied by tambourines, *tahyan* and strung pieces of metal known as *kecrek* (cf. Caturwati 2011).

Following the impact of Islam, the *pesantren*, for instance, has achieved considerable influence as a formal educational institution which teaches students the religious doctrines under the guidance of the clerics and the *ajengan*. The Sundanese scripts which are taught at Islamic boarding schools are known as the 'Old Sundanese Scripts'. These manuscripts are characterised by *i.a.* the use of *saeh* ('bark') material and stationery papers with pens made of plants and metal, as well as ballpoints, pencils and ink. The scripts are written in Arabic from the 16th century and *in pegon*, *i.e.* Arabic written in the Sundanese language from the 17th century, while the language used in the scripts also includes Sundanese words which have been absorbed from Arabic, Javanese and Malay languages (cf. Darsa 2011).

In order to promote health and to expand health programmes, the *pesantren* are collaborating with external agencies and participate actively in the events organised by the health centres or other organisations. Notification of crucial events, such as upcoming disasters as well as important information on obituaries and emergency calls, are usually received through the loudspeakers of the mosques or through the use of the *bedug* ('drum') normally calling for prayer. The *pesantren* represent the oldest boarding schools in Bandung with no communities settling in the area surrounding the school at the time of its establishment. By consequence, migrant communities which are settling in the area have naturally adapted their life in a way developed by the *ajengan* and have also been influenced by the philosophies of life taught at the schools, such as the creed 'the good man is one who knows his time' which represents an important concept of social life. In addition, members of the surrounding communities have great respect for the school and its students. Although the advent of modernity has introduced a number of changes in the life and culture of the communities surrounding the *pesantren*, the values of life advocated by the schools are still maintained and implemented in the curriculum.

The *pesantren* have also played a significant role in the dissemination of information regarding the use of traditional and religious medicine. The information has primarily been distributed by three descendants of *Ajengan 'mama'*, among them *Ajengan Dimiyati*, a famous physician (ca. 1920-1960), who used prayers and medicines derived from plants in his treatment of patients. The death of *Ajengan Dimiyati* brought the transfer of his knowledge onto his successors to an end, whereupon the *pesantren* started to offer new forms of treatment, such as medicines introduced by the Dutch. Nevertheless, several forms of medical treatment advocated by the *pesantren* to this day refer primarily to medicines derived from MAC plants.

In order to adequately obtain, seek and disseminate information or news specifically regarding health issues, the *pesantren* has also been using a number of different media, such as the Internet, Television and other communication devices including *i.a.* mobile phones and telephones. In general, the health concept maintained by the *ajengan* entails the activity of *wirid* which is included in the curriculum as obligatory for all incoming students at the time of their arrival. *Wirid* can be compared to yoga activities and is normally performed during breaks for meals three times a day, namely in the morning, afternoon and evening.

In addition to the *pesantren* which was established in 1818 in Cianjur, West Java and is still using the Sundanese language, schools have similarly become a source of public information (cf. Moriyama 2005). During the provision of formal education at different levels, including primary, secondary and higher education as well as college education, students are generally taught by teachers or lecturers, who have adopted the European educational system. These schools also use a substantial amount of Sundanese literature in the form of printed books categorised as a 'Sundanese Classical Library' which involves the use of paper as well as metal pens, ballpoints, pencils, ink, typewriters and printing presses. The scripts include the *Carakan*, *Pegon*, Latin and Sundanese languages, influenced by Arabic, Javanese, Malay, Dutch and other foreign languages. In this way, the *Pegon* script contains information on diseases and medical treatment. Between 1850 and 1908, books written in the Sundanese language used the Java script, Latin and the Arabic language called *Pegon*, while books about health, such as '*Wawancan Piwoelang Panoelak Panyakit Koelera*', for example, have been published using the Arabic alphabet. In addition to the schools available in the community, the *Taman Bacaan* ('Community Library') also represents an institution which offers information on various topics including health and disease. As the library has been established in response to the increase in the publication and sale of manuscripts and books, it appears to meet the general public desire for reading (cf. Moriyama 2005).

### 6.3.3 Utilisation of Health Information and Communication Systems (HICS)

The process of utilisation of information and communication is generally described as utilisation of information and communication in terms of any pattern of human behaviour which relates to sources and channels of information and communication, and includes active and passive forms of seeking and utilising of information (cf. Wilson 2000). The type of message which is transmitted largely depends on the physical, mental and spiritual demands, needs and wishes of the people seeking and utilising health information. The messages usually evoke ideas of health promotion, disease prevention and treatment and involve specific information on food, drinks and life style. Messages are usually delivered on the basis of different elements involved in the communication process and are conveyed either directly by applying the rules of verbal and non-verbal communication, such as *Lentong*, *Pasemon*, *Rengkuh* and *Surti*, or through the use of media tools including *i.a. beduk* and *kentongan*; or by means of the performing arts which are often used as channels for delivering specific forms of health information. In this way, the patterns of utilisation behaviour of health information and communication by the Sundanese people are a reflection of their cultural behaviour. As Winkelman (2009: 96) indicates: '*Cultural communication and social interaction in society and nonverbal cultural norms are concerned with priorities, and social and informational aspects of interaction involve posture, spacing, gestures, physical and eye contact, interpersonal space, tone of voice, and timing*'. In other words, patterns of communication behaviour are influenced by a number of factors of the local cultural system, such as family structure and roles, community institutions, health facilities organisations, education, as well as health beliefs and practices (cf. Winkelman 2009).

In view of the role of all these factors, the utilisation patterns of health information and communication by the Sundanese people relate to the concept of *rekés*. The concept of *rekés* attempts to guide the Sundanese people towards a way of life which has the quality of '*nu hurip*' achieved by expanding the *mandala* ('sacred area'). In other words, *rekés* is known as a way to purify the individual with a clean lifestyle and spirit which indicates that they are able to perform certain *rekés* actions, *i.e.* communication with God or transcendental communication.

While the concept of *rekés* continues to have a useful reputation in rural communities and remote villages, the members of the urban communities have also recently begun to revitalise this tradition, especially with regard to the *tarékah* ('medical systems') (cf. Interview with Suparli 2013).

In general, the Sundanese people begin their search for health information by consulting sources of information about health and *rekés*. Thereafter, they purify themselves while praying to God hoping to receive an *ilapat* ('clue') about their appropriate treatment which usually appears in a dream and becomes visible in the individual, that he or she is very devout. Following the appearance of this sign, the utilisation continues in accordance with the instructions received through the *ilapat*.

In the Sundanese communities, the process of utilising health information and communication generally takes usually place at two sources: (1) information retrieved from the family; and (2) information retrieved from the community. In the family, the principal keepers of health information are the parents while in the community, such information is predominantly provided by the community leader and the elders, the traditional healer or an indigenous institution. Patterns of such utilisation behaviour within the family generally involve the mediation of the parents, known as *kolot*. The parents select the child, who will receive the knowledge of health either directly from them or from a skilled person who will educate the child. Thereafter, the knowledge, customs and traditions, usually kept within the nuclear family, are passed down on to the child. In addition to the parents, grandparents similarly provide such a source of health information and communication within the family. In the case of the event of sickness in the family, the members usually consult the health knowledge and information retrieved from their parents. Medical treatment within the family is administered on the basis of the personal experience of the parents and initially practiced in the form of traditional home remedies. If the disease had never been experienced before by a family member, the parents will search and utilise the information about the appropriate medical treatment among people outside the family, such as neighbours, health experts or community leaders.

The utilisation behaviour of health information and communication within the community is usually executed by the younger members either from the *kokolot/sesepuh* ('community elders') or from the representatives of the indigenous institutions such as the *dukun* ('traditional healer') and *peraji* ('traditional birth attendant'). Apart from consulting the community elders, people also consult their neighbours and fellow community members, who have experienced similar diseases, in order to utilise the appropriate Health Information and Communication System (HICS). Practices of utilisation of health information and communication in the community tend to rely on the traditional institutions which are understood and accepted by the entire community. These institutions are not only represented by the above-mentioned *duke* ('traditional healer') and *peerage* ('traditional birth attendant'), but also by the *shaman* ('which doctor'), who acts as a traditional healer in rural communities and is known for the ability to treat both mental and spiritual diseases.

Although patterns of health utilization behaviour generally represent the response to an episode of illness, different preventive measures, such as the ceremonies occasionally performed by the Sundanese people in the rural communities as mentioned above, such as *sedekah bumi* in Kuningan, *sérén taun* in Banten, *hajaj lembur* and *nyangku* in Tasikmalaya are. In this regard, information about the prevention of diseases is primarily utilised by the older community members. Likewise, information and communication on health promotion are communicated regularly within both the family and the community. Parents commonly disseminate such health information to each member of the family by means of verbal or non-verbal communication. The community leaders usually circulate information about health promotion to the people in public

meetings which are held at special times, such as when there is a full moon to hold a *selamatan* ('ceremonial meal') for a new-born baby. Also Islamic religious leaders, *ulama* or *ajengan*, provide health information in their *pengajian* ('Islamic prayer meetings'), held at either regular or particular times. In addition, information and communication on health promotion is provided as part of the performing arts or through other information media. In general, the communicators of health information and communication possess great credibility among the community members, causing the information recipients to widely utilise and apply their information on many occasions.

## Note

- [1] The concept of *cageur*, translated as 'healthy' or 'health', is a fundamental necessity in the life of the Sundanese people which refers to a not only physical, but also spiritual condition which is closely intertwined with the Sundanese peoples' character, attitude to life and work ethic. Health education among the Sundanese communities usually begins with 'health promotion', *i.e.* the introduction of information on the parts of the human body which also includes the introduction of restrictions as simplified forms of taboos. The introductory phase of health education involves the dissemination of information on pregnancy, birth and children in different stages as well as socialisation, maturity and death. On the basis of such initial health-promoting activities, health education continues with efforts of disease prevention, namely by introducing types and cases of disease which have occurred in the family or in a particular community. Still within the scope of the preventive efforts is the introduction of the type of medicine and teaching, usually around the existing medicines in the community. The third stage relates to the curative/healing efforts which follow the tradition according to each cultural area (*cf.* Hazbini *et al.* 2012).