



SIGn Journal of Social Science

E-ISSN: 2745-374X

jurnal.penerbitsign.com/index.php/sjss/article/view/v5n1-03

Vol. 5 Issue 1: June – November 2024

Published Online: November 28, 2024

Article Title

The Role of Sanro Pammana in the Traditional Healthcare System of the Bugis People: A Case Study of Birth Rituals and Maternal and Infant Care

Author(s)

Hilda Anjarsari*

Universitas Tadulako, Indonesia || hildaanjar221@gmail.com

*Corresponding Author

Abd. Kahar Muzakkir

CV. Social Politic Genius (SIGn), Indonesia || muzakkir.abd.kahar@gmail.com

Muh. Zainuddin Badollahi

Universitas Tadulako, Indonesia || muhhammadzainuddinb@gmail.com

Busro Busro

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati, Indonesia || busro@uinsgd.ac.id

How to cite:

Anjarsari, H., Muzakkir, A. K., Badollahi, M. Z., & Busro, B. (2024). The Role of Sanro Pammana in the Traditional Healthcare System of the Bugis People: A Case Study of Birth Rituals and Maternal and Infant Care. *SIGn Journal of Social Science*, 5(1), 32-49. <https://doi.org/10.37276/sjss.v5i1.386>



This work is licensed under a [CC BY-4.0 License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)

ABSTRACT

This research aims to examine the role of the Sanro Pammana within the traditional healthcare system of the Bugis People, particularly about birth rituals and maternal and infant care, as well as to identify the challenges they face amidst the currents of modernization. Employing a qualitative approach and ethnographic methods, data were collected through participant observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis in Sanrobone and Bila Villages, Bone Regency, South Sulawesi. Data analysis was conducted inductively to describe and understand the observed phenomena. The findings reveal that the Sanro Pammana plays an essential role in the maternal and neonatal health of the Bugis community, serving as a central figure who possesses profound local knowledge and wisdom regarding pregnancy, childbirth, and postpartum care. The traditional healthcare practices performed, including the ma'cerra wettang and mappassili rituals, reflect the holistic worldview of the Bugis People, integrating physical, spiritual, and socio-cultural dimensions. Trust in the Sanro Pammana is deeply rooted in tradition and positive community experiences. However, their existence is currently challenged by the forces of modernization, such as shifting preferences towards modern healthcare services, limited regeneration, a lack of formal recognition, lifestyle changes, and environmental degradation. Nevertheless, the Sanro Pammana continues to persist and demonstrate a capacity for adaptation amid changing times, indicating the importance of efforts to preserve and develop traditional healthcare practices as integral components of the cultural heritage and healthcare system of the Bugis People.

Keywords: Birth Rituals; Bugis People; Modernization; Sanro Pammana; Traditional Healthcare.

INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, the coexistence of traditional and modern medical systems is undeniable. As a nation with a rich cultural heritage, Indonesia possesses a wealth of traditional medicine deeply embedded in the lives of its people. This traditional medicine system, transmitted across generations, not only reflects local understandings in responding to health issues but also represents the belief systems embraced by the community, often initially intertwined with animism and mystical perceptions. Over time, interactions with Indian, Chinese, Middle Eastern, and European cultures further enriched the characteristics and methods of traditional medicine, including through religious approaches. In many cultures, childbirth is regarded as a sacred event, perceived as a tribute to a higher power (Crowther, 2017). According to Ohaja and Anyim (2021), traditional birth practices often involve rituals accompanied by prayers, dances, and songs as a form of reverence for the power of spirits or deities.

Despite the significant penetration of the modern medical system, traditional medicine continues to demonstrate its enduring presence and remains a significant choice for many Indonesians in their efforts to maintain well-being. Susanto (2004) highlights that traditional medicine serves not merely as a healthcare provider but also as a source of holistic guidance for life. The persistence of this traditional medicine is even acknowledged by the state through Minister of Health Regulation Number 15 of 2018, which defines Traditional Healthcare Services as treatments and/or care based on empirically inherited experience, which are deemed accountable and align with prevailing norms within the community.

Previous researchers have widely conducted research related to birth rituals. Prior studies have employed three analytical categories to understand the practice of birth rituals. *First* is the social and cultural perspective, which views traditional birth practices as cultural practices of great importance to the community (Sychareun et al., 2009; Busro & Qodim, 2018). Within this framework, traditional birth practices are seen as sacred and crucial in maintaining cultural identity. *Second* is the health perspective, which recognizes that traditional birth practices and knowledge can offer certain health benefits. In a study by Musie et al. (2022), collaboration between traditional birth attendants and midwives expanded the reach and improved community healthcare outcomes. Another finding, based on research by Withers et al. (2018), reveals that many women, especially in Asia, continue to practice various traditional beliefs and practices during pregnancy, childbirth, and the postpartum period. Such traditional knowledge systems can make women hesitant to access medical services. By acknowledging and respecting these traditional beliefs, healthcare providers can be better positioned to provide culturally sensitive care. It behooves service providers to understand, respect, and integrate cultural interpretations of childbirth and the needs of women and their families into their practice.

Within the pluralistic healthcare landscape of Indonesia, the Bugis People of South Sulawesi stand out with their distinctive and enduring traditional healthcare system. For the Bugis People, health is a holistic concept, encompassing physical, psychological, social, and spiritual dimensions. The harmonious balance between these dimensions is the basis for achieving a healthy state. Traditional healthcare practices, particularly those related to the human life cycle, such as birth and maternal and infant care, occupy a vital role within the social and cultural fabric of the Bugis People. Birth practices and rituals have become an integral part of the culture of the Bugis People. Among the Bugis, traditional birth practices are customarily led by a ritual specialist, the *Sanro Pammana*, who uses traditional health knowledge to guide and facilitate the birth process. These birth practices are considered essential for preserving their cultural identity and are understood as part of the individual's journey through life.

Within the dynamic interplay of the Bugis traditional healthcare system, the *Sanro Pammana* emerges as a key figure, particularly in maternal and neonatal health. The *Sanro Pammana* is not merely a "traditional birth attendant" in the conventional sense but a revered and trusted figure with intricate knowledge and skills related to pregnancy, childbirth, and postpartum care. In birth rituals, the *Sanro Pammana* presides over the proceedings, applies traditional knowledge, and safeguards the well-being of both mother and infant, encompassing both physical and metaphysical realms. They are believed to possess a connection with the supernatural world and act as mediators, supplicating for safety and health on behalf of the mother and child.

Although there are various types of *Sanro* within the Bugis People, each with their respective specializations, the *Sanro Pammana* possesses an unparalleled

authority and specific role in maternal and newborn health. This unique position makes the *Sanro Pammana* a compelling subject for in-depth anthropological inquiry, especially amidst the rapid currents of modernization that potentially threaten the continuity of traditional practices. Unlike other *Sanro* who may focus on customary law, weaponry, or the arts, the *Sanro Pammana* dedicates its expertise to facilitating the birthing process and ensuring the mother and infant's health, which are fundamental aspects of community survival and cultural reproduction. Birthing practices within the community also embody a profound religious dimension (Sered, 1991; Callister & Khalaf, 2010; Crowther, 2017; Busro et al., 2020). Viewed through this lens, the traditional birthing practices of the Bugis People are considered a spiritual and maternal experience undergone by a woman, perceived as an integral part of the life journey. Existing research indicates a gap in understanding regarding traditional birth practices among the Bugis People, especially concerning the role of the *Sanro Pammana* in guiding and facilitating the birth process. Therefore, further research is imperative to fill this knowledge gap and foster a more nuanced understanding of cultural diversity and health in Indonesia.

Numerous previous studies have corroborated the existence and practices of traditional healthcare within the Bugis community. These studies have, for example, highlighted the role of the *Sanro Pammana* in accompanying mothers throughout their pregnancy up to the performance of traditional post-natal ceremonies for the newborn (Rahmawati & Sani, 2016). In addition, the significant role of religious leaders and *Sanro* in general in perpetuating health traditions has also been documented (Rudhi, 2018; Rahmani & Zakiyah, 2023).

However, studies that specifically document and analyze the role of the *Sanro Pammana* in the context of birth and maternal and infant care remain scarce. Existing studies tend to focus on general aspects of the traditional healthcare system without giving adequate attention to the specific and complex role of the *Sanro Pammana* that distinguishes them from other types of *Sanro*. This gap in the literature motivates and underscores the urgency of this research, which seeks to delve into and elucidate the crucial role of the *Sanro Pammana* in safeguarding the health of future generations of the Bugis People.

This research will address this lacuna in the literature by centering the study on the role of the *Sanro Pammana* as the principal actor within the Bugis traditional healthcare system, specifically concerning birth rituals and maternal and infant care. Through meticulous documentation and analysis, this research endeavors to comprehensively understand how the *Sanro Pammana* enact their role, their specific knowledge and skills, and how these practices are embedded within and given meaning by the Bugis cultural context. Beyond mere documentation, this research will also investigate how the role of the *Sanro Pammana* adapts and negotiates amidst the penetration of the modern healthcare system.

Based on the preceding discussion, this research aims explicitly to describe and analyze traditional healthcare practices, particularly those associated with birth rituals, among the Bugis People. Furthermore, this research also explores and analyzes the role of the *Sanro Pammana* in maintaining the health of mothers and newborns, including their embodied knowledge and skills. Finally, this research will identify and analyze the challenges faced in sustaining and developing traditional healthcare practices, including the continued existence of the *Sanro Pammana* in the context of modern healthcare practices. The findings of this research are anticipated to make a significant contribution to the scholarly literature, particularly within the field of medical anthropology, and also to serve as a foundation for the development of healthcare programs that are grounded in local wisdom and cultural sensitivity, which in turn can enhance the quality of life and health status of the Bugis People, especially mothers, and infants.

METHOD

This research employs a qualitative approach, utilizing an ethnographic method to describe and analyze, in detail, traditional healthcare practices, particularly the role of the *Sanro Pammana* within the Bugis community in Bone Regency, South Sulawesi. The selection of ethnography is predicated on its aim to understand social phenomena from an emic perspective, that is, by examining the values, beliefs, and practices enacted by the local community within the context of their everyday lives (Hicks et al., 2018). Through this method, the researcher will focus on direct observation and meticulous documentation of the community's life and culture as they relate to the role of the *Sanro Pammana*, especially concerning birth rituals and maternal and infant care.

The research will be conducted in two villages within Bone Regency: Sanrobone Village and Bila Village. Sanrobone Village was selected for its reputation as a place of residence for prominent and respected *Sanro Pammana*. Meanwhile, Bila Village was chosen for its rich history and traditions in traditional healthcare practices. These two villages are believed to offer a comprehensive view of the *Sanro Pammana's* role within the Bugis People's healthcare system.

Data will be collected through three primary techniques: participant observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis. Participant observation will be carried out by immersing the researcher in the community's daily activities, including attending and observing birth rituals presided over by the *Sanro Pammana*. The ethnographic method involves in-depth data collection through participatory observation, interviews, and analysis of documents or cultural artifacts relevant to the research topic. In-depth interviews will be conducted with *Sanro Pammana*, traditional leaders, pregnant women, women who have recently given birth, and other relevant community members to elicit information about their knowledge, experiences, and perspectives regarding the role of the *Sanro Pammana* and traditional healthcare practices. The analysis of documents, such as records or local literature about the

Sanro Pammana and traditional healthcare practices, as well as relevant cultural artifacts, will also be undertaken to supplement the primary data.

The collected data will then be analyzed using an inductive approach. The analytical process will begin with thoroughly examining the field data, including observation notes, interview transcripts, and relevant documents. These data will subsequently be organized and categorized to identify patterns, themes, and meanings embedded within them. Through this iterative process, the researcher will construct interpretations and develop a comprehensive understanding of *Sanro Pammana's* role within the traditional Bugis People's healthcare system (Whitney, 1960).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Traditional Healthcare Practices in the Context of Childbirth among the Bugis People

The Bugis People of South Sulawesi embrace a holistic conception of health that extends beyond the physical dimension, encompassing spiritual, social, and cultural aspects. Within the Bugis cosmology, health is perceived as a manifestation of a harmonious equilibrium between these dimensions, transmitted intergenerationally and expressed through diverse traditional healthcare practices. Childbirth, as a pivotal event in the human life cycle, is not merely understood as a biological process but also as a socio-cultural phenomenon imbued with intricate values, norms, and rituals.

In the context of childbirth, the local knowledge of the Bugis People is articulated through a sequence of rituals performed to ensure the safety and well-being of both mother and infant. *ma'cerra wettang*, which translates to "cleansing the stomach," is a significant ritual performed during the seventh month of pregnancy (Dennis et al., 2007). This ritual entails massaging the pregnant woman's abdomen with a special oil concocted from natural ingredients and reciting prayers. This practice is believed to optimize fetal positioning, facilitate the delivery process, and provide a protective shield against disturbances from malevolent entities. Beyond *ma'cerra wettang*, the *mappassili* ritual is also customarily performed during the same gestational period, particularly for primiparous women, as a form of purification and supplication for safeguarding the well-being of both mother and fetus. For the Bugis People, these rituals are not only perceived as traditional medical endeavors but also as vital cultural celebrations. As recounted by Hariyani:¹

"When I was six or seven months pregnant, the traditional elders came to perform rituals. Those who are more financially able, usually hold a thanksgiving ceremony, inviting neighbors to their homes. There is a recitation of prayers and a ritual throwing of blessed cakes and fruits."

¹Results of an Interview with a Member of the Bugis People, Hariyani, on January 1, 2023.

This account underscores that pregnancy and childbirth are significant events, communally celebrated while upholding ancestral traditions. Furthermore, the traditional practices of the Bugis People also exemplify a synergy between the utilization of natural elements and engagement with the supernatural realm. Applying herbal remedies, such as betel leaf to cleanse the uterus and mitigate postpartum bleeding, as well as cinnamon and ginger to stimulate lactation, represents profound ethnobotanical knowledge. Similarly, bathing infants with water infused with a blend of spices demonstrates an understanding of the efficacious properties of natural ingredients in preserving health. Concurrently, the rituals conducted, the prayers recited, and the convictions regarding the agency of supernatural entities underscore the salience of the supernatural dimension in the Bugis People's conception of health.

Beyond their function as medical practices, health traditions and birth rituals among the Bugis People are underpinned by robust socio-cultural values. The principle of *siri' na pacce*, which accentuates the significance of self-respect (*siri'*) and social solidarity (*pacce*), constitutes the moral bedrock that shapes the community's perception of health and illness. *Siri'* impels individuals to uphold the honor and dignity of their families, including through the maintenance of their health, while *pacce* manifests as care and empathy towards others, realized through collective action and communal support during times of health-related challenges (Rusman et al., 2023). Other values, such as *sipakainge* (mutual reminding), *sipakatau* (treating each other humanely), *sipakalebbi* (mutual respect), *taro ada taro gau* (consistency between words and deeds), *malilu sipakainge, mali siparappe, rebba sipatokkong* (mutual assistance in virtuous endeavors) further enrich the constellation of local knowledge that molds the health ethos of the Bugis People (Agustang, 2011). Indeed, the recognition of the efficacy of traditional health services has been integrated into health development policies, with traditional health services acknowledged as a distinct function within the management structure of the health sector (Gitawati, 2009).

The interplay between tradition and modernity in the context of health among the Bugis People is manifested in the collaborative engagement between midwives and traditional healthcare practitioners, which in this instance can be exemplified by the role of the *Sanro Pammana* (Sumitro et al., 2021). This collaboration formally acknowledges traditional medicine's enduring presence and vital role within the community's healthcare system while simultaneously representing an endeavor to integrate local knowledge with the modern healthcare system. Thus, traditional healthcare practices within the context of childbirth among the Bugis People embody a rich cultural heritage imbued with profound values and local knowledge. The complexity of this traditional knowledge system, which interweaves physical, spiritual, and socio-cultural dimensions, persists and

is actively practiced in the face of modernization. The continued existence of these practices elucidates the significance of local knowledge in safeguarding health and ensuring the continuity of the community while also illustrating cultural resilience in navigating the currents of social change.

B. Sanro Pammana: Their Role and Function in Maternal and Neonatal Health

Within the cosmology of reproductive health among the Bugis People, the *Sanro Pammana* occupies a pivotal position as the figure entrusted with safeguarding the well-being of mothers and infants. The role of the *Sanro Pammana* cannot be simply reduced to that of a “traditional birth attendant” through a Western biomedical lens; rather, it transcends such a label, positioning them as custodians of local knowledge and wisdom, inherited intergenerationally, encompassing physical, psychological, and spiritual dimensions. The existence of the *Sanro Pammana* constitutes a tangible manifestation of a holistic traditional healthcare system deeply embedded within the socio-cultural tapestry of the Bugis community.

The *Sanro Pammana*'s involvement is initiated from the nascent stages of pregnancy, signifying their proactive engagement in overseeing the reproductive health of Bugis women. During the gestational period spanning from four to nine months, the *Sanro Pammana* provides abdominal massage services, believed to optimize fetal positioning and mitigate the risk of complications during childbirth. Beyond physical intervention, the *Sanro Pammana* also prepares and administers *mappassili*, ritually-infused water, to the expectant mother. This practice underscores the spiritual dimension inherent within the Bugis health cosmology, where *mappassili* is believed to confer protection against malevolent entities and facilitate a smooth delivery. The *mappassili* ritual is deemed essential during pregnancy. The *Sanro Pammana* performs rituals as part of antenatal care, including bathing, washing, and reciting prayers to promote an uncomplicated birth. In this context, Indo Russa articulated:²

“I have served as a Sanro for an extensive period. I acquired this knowledge from my mother, as she, too, was a Sanro Pammana in our village. My mother always impressed upon me that if I were to become a Sanro Pammana, I must always be meticulous in my care for pregnant women, for it concerns the lives of two individuals. Hence, since assuming the role of Sanro Pammana two decades ago, I have consistently provided care to expectant mothers. When a pregnant woman reaches four months of gestation, she typically begins to visit my home for abdominal massages, and this continues until the ninth month of pregnancy. Following the birth, I do not simply relinquish my responsibilities, as I continue to care for the infant until they reach 40 days of age. When the pregnancy reaches seven months, I generally recommend that the expectant mother undergo the mappassili ceremony. Subsequently, when the baby is born, if

²Results of an Interview with with a Sanro Pammana, Indo Russa, on January 1, 2023.

I am attending the birth, I employ traditional methods. I customarily use scissors to sever the umbilical cord, then I bind it with a cloth, after which I cleanse the infant through bathing and present them to their mother. My duties do not cease there; it is not only the newborn who requires care but also the mother, who is in dire need of attention. Therefore, I also tend to the mother, administering herbal remedies, providing massages, and advising her to abstain from consuming specific foods to expedite her recovery.”

Newborns in Sanrobone Village and Bila Village receive postpartum care from both medical personnel and the *Sanro Pammana*, with midwives undertaking the clinical procedures of severing the umbilical cord and bathing the infant. In contrast, infants born with the assistance of a *Sanro Pammana* are typically under their complete care from birth, encompassing attending to the umbilical cord, bathing, and even providing comprehensive newborn care for 40 days. The most salient distinction between midwives and *Sanro Pammana* lies in their respective approaches to umbilical cord care and the instruments employed. Midwives utilize scissors that have undergone prior sterilization, whereas *Sanro Pammana* employs scissors that have not been sterilized. Moreover, midwives administer umbilical cord care using alcohol and betadine bandages (or wound healing ointments), while *Sanro Pammana* solely relies on a specific type of string during their care regimen. The string used by *Sanro Pammana* is a cotton string commonly known as mattress string pieces of three varying sizes.

At seven months of gestation, the *Sanro Pammana* presides over the *mappassili* ritual, a traditional ceremony imbued with profound symbolic significance. During this ritual, the *Sanro Pammana* bathes the expectant mother with water infused with a specialized herbal concoction while simultaneously reciting prayers. This act is intended to purify the mother's body and spirit, invoking protection and well-being for both mother and fetus. *Mappassili* embodies the harmonization of the sacred and profane realms to maintain maternal and neonatal health. The authority of the *Sanro Pammana* becomes even more pronounced during the processes of childbirth and postpartum care. The *Sanro Pammana* is the principal attendant, offering physical and emotional support to the laboring mother. Post-delivery, in specific Bugis communities like Sanrobone Village and Bila Village, the *Sanro Pammana* collaborates with midwives, with midwives taking charge of specific medical procedures such as severing the umbilical cord, while the *Sanro Pammana* attends to bathing the infant and providing holistic care to the mother. Conversely, in other communities, the *Sanro Pammana* retains complete authority over labor and postpartum care, encompassing umbilical cord management, infant bathing, and comprehensive care for both mother and infant for 40 days. This divergence in practice illuminates the dynamic and varied internalization of *Sanro Pammana's* role within Bugis society.

In the context of umbilical cord care, an interface can be discerned between the *Sanro Pammana's* traditional practices and the midwives' modern medical practices. Midwives employ sterilized instruments and modern pharmaceuticals, whereas the *Sanro Pammana* utilizes conventional scissors and cotton strings of three distinct sizes for umbilical cord management. While the *Sanro Pammana's* practice might be perceived as carrying potential risks from a modern medical standpoint, it mirrors local knowledge and deeply-held beliefs validated over time within the Bugis cultural framework.

The practices surrounding placental care in Sanrobone and Bila Villages encapsulate the intricacies of the Bugis People's beliefs concerning the placental entity. In numerous cultures, the placenta is regarded as the infant's "twin sibling" and is accorded profound respect. Prevalent practices encompass the interment of the placenta within the family compound, accompanied by rituals and the lighting of lamps, in addition to the suspension of the placenta beneath the house's roof. The latter practice is intertwined with the conviction that the placenta will mysteriously vanish after several years, interpreted as an auspicious omen. The heterogeneity of these practices underscores the nuances and variations in the manifestation of the Bugis People's beliefs concerning birth and the cycle of life.

Transcending their roles as traditional healthcare practitioners, the *Sanro Pammana* serve as custodians of local knowledge and pillars of community well-being. Their functions extend beyond the confines of the medical domain, encompassing roles as advisors, spiritual companions, and guardians of social harmony. The *Sanro Pammana* furnishes comprehensive guidance to expectant mothers and their families, not solely about the physical facets of pregnancy and childbirth but also addressing psychological, social, and spiritual dimensions. Consequently, the *Sanro Pammana* contributes substantially to the holistic health and well-being of the Bugis People.

Therefore, the *Sanro Pammana* occupies an indispensable role within the traditional healthcare system of the Bugis People, particularly concerning maternal and neonatal health. The knowledge, skills, and local wisdom embodied by the *Sanro Pammana* represent invaluable cultural assets in preserving health and ensuring the continuity of the community. A comprehensive understanding of the *Sanro Pammana's* holistic role is paramount in integrating local knowledge with the modern healthcare system, striving towards attaining optimal health outcomes for the Bugis People.

C. Challenges and the Future of Traditional Healthcare Practices amid Modernization

The healthcare landscape in Indonesia is undergoing a significant transformation alongside rapid modernization and advancements in medical technology. Amidst these currents of change, traditional healthcare practices,

including those performed by the *Sanro Pammana* within the Bugis community, are confronted with complex challenges. Despite the modern healthcare system offering a plethora of advancements in the diagnosis and treatment of diseases, the enduring presence and role of the *Sanro Pammana* persist, indicating a compelling dynamic between tradition and modernity within the healthcare context.

One of the primary challenges confronting *Sanro Pammana* is the shifting preference towards the modern healthcare system, dominated by the biomedical paradigm. The biomedical approach, with its emphasis on biological aspects and pharmacological interventions, is often perceived as more efficacious and scientific than traditional healthcare practices' holistic nature. This perception is further reinforced by advancements in medical technology that proffer swift and quantifiable solutions, which, in turn, can erode community trust in traditional medicine, including the expertise of the *Sanro Pammana*.

In practice, the *Sanro Pammana* also fulfills a therapeutic role, possessing knowledge of the medicinal properties of plants and treatments within the healthcare system for pregnant women. Over time, the *Sanro Pammana* has remained an integral part of the Sanrobone and Bila Villages community, particularly concerning public health. Their existence must contend with the present in a new configuration of life, individually and collectively, referred to as the "new era" in the conceptual framework of Hall and Jacques (Muis & Puji, 2020). The continued existence of the *Sanro Pammana* can be attributed to several factors. *Firstly*, consolidating access between Sanrobone and Bila Villages and modern medical facilities necessitates a relatively long travel time. Consequently, residents are conditioned to rely more heavily on the readily available *Sanro Pammana*, which is nearby. *Secondly*, it is a matter of personal preference or comfort for pregnant women and their families, where there exists a considerable reluctance to utilize midwives or modern health services for childbirth. Part of this reluctance stems from issues of self-confidence and perceived competence when dealing with intimate matters. Therefore, even with medical personnel in their settlements, mothers often consult the *Sanro Pammana* over modern medical personnel. It is deemed essential for a woman to visit the *Sanro Pammana* regularly during the eighth and ninth months of pregnancy. During these visits, *Sanro Pammana* meticulously and attentively tends to the expectant mother. In this regard, Indo Russa stated:³

"As a Sanro Pammana, I naturally face numerous challenges, particularly now that modern medicine has become so advanced, and there are prohibitions against home births for pregnant women. Violations can result in fines, and this ultimately impacts me as a Sanro Pammana because fewer individuals seek our services. However, on a positive note, there is a government program aimed at supporting Sanro Pammana.

³Results of an Interview with with a Sanro Pammana, Indo Russa, on January 1, 2023.

We, the Sanro Pammana, are required to undergo training and attend informational sessions pertaining to the care of pregnant women and postpartum care, especially concerning the sterilization of instruments used during childbirth and umbilical cord cutting. Furthermore, the long-standing trust of the community has been a major asset for us, the Sanro Pammana, in our continued existence. Their continued reliance on our services to this day is also intertwined with our cultural traditions as Bugis People."

The conviction of the residents of Sanrobone and Bila Villages is sustained by the strong communication networks among them, creating a highly interactive environment. It is especially true when the efficacy of *Sanro Pammana's* services is disseminated through word-of-mouth. Consequently, there is no need for the *Sanro Pammana* to solicit or encourage residents to seek their help actively. Conversely, residents endeavor to validate their choices based on the experiences of others. The selection of traditional birth attendants for childbirth exemplifies the potent role that traditional medicine practices play for the Bugis People. Confidence in the *Sanro Pammana* is further bolstered by accounts of negative experiences with modern healthcare providers. Moments during childbirth assistance, such as internal and external examinations where the hands of doctors or midwives repeatedly touch the genitals or even enter the birth canal, contribute to the aversion towards modern healthcare practices. Additionally, information regarding the use of forceps, along with the presence of sharp instruments like scissors and needles in modern childbirth practices, further distances some individuals from choosing the authority of modern medicine.

Although the biomedical paradigm is increasingly prevalent, resistance to modern medical interventions remains evident, particularly within communities that uphold traditional values, such as those in Sanrobone and Bila Villages. The comfort and trust established over a prolonged period with the *Sanro Pammana* are primary factors. The personal and cultural intimacy fostered between the *Sanro Pammana* and patients provide a sense of security and comfort that often proves challenging to replicate within the impersonal nature of modern healthcare services. Moreover, positive experiences passed down intergenerationally, fortified by oral traditions regarding the efficacy of the *Sanro Pammana*, contribute to shaping positive perceptions and reinforcing the legitimacy of traditional practices within the community.

Contrasting between traditional and modern practices manifests in the procedures and instruments employed. For instance, the internal examination procedures commonly performed in modern medical practice are deemed invasive and transgress the boundaries of privacy within the Bugis cultural context. The utilization of medical instruments such as forceps, scissors, and needles is likewise perceived as foreign and intimidating, ultimately alienating a segment of the

community from modern healthcare services. These disparities underscore the clash between differing values and practices within the two healthcare systems, contributing to the reluctance of some individuals to transition to the modern healthcare system.

Beyond cultural and perceptual factors, traditional healthcare practices and the existence of the *Sanro Pammana* are also constrained by structural and institutional challenges. The dearth of formal recognition and concrete support from the government, reflected in the limited budget allocation and the absence of inclusive policies, poses a significant impediment. Furthermore, the regeneration of the *Sanro Pammana* constitutes a complex predicament that jeopardizes the continuity of traditional healthcare knowledge and practices. The waning interest among the younger generation in learning and inheriting this local wisdom, coupled with limited access to formal education on traditional medicine, potentially precipitates the loss of knowledge and skills transmitted intergenerationally.

Modernization also significantly impacts traditional healthcare practices through lifestyle shifts, consumption patterns, and environmental degradation. The transition towards dietary patterns dominated by processed foods and sedentary lifestyles contributes to the rise of various degenerative diseases, which often prove challenging to manage with traditional approaches that hinge on herbal remedies and healthy living. Moreover, environmental degradation and climate change contribute to the diminution of biodiversity, including medicinal plants that serve as essential ingredients in the *Sanro Pammana's* traditional medicine. The scarcity of these raw materials poses a tangible threat to perpetuating traditional healthcare practices.

Consequently, the *Sanro Pammana* and their traditional healthcare practices are contending with many intricate challenges in this era of modernization. These challenges emanate from shifting healthcare paradigms, the dominance of the biomedical system, and structural, institutional, and environmental factors. Nonetheless, the local knowledge embedded within the practices of the *Sanro Pammana* retains its relevance and significance within the context of the health of the Bugis People.

D. *Sanro Pammana* and the Future of Traditional Medicine in the Modern Era

Amidst the increasingly powerful currents of modernization, the *Sanro Pammana* as traditional medical practitioners within the Bugis community, particularly in Sanrobone and Bila Villages, persists despite numerous challenges. Their continued presence reflects a complex dynamic between tradition and modernity, where traditional and modern medical systems interact and, at times, intersect. This phenomenon indicates that the *Sanro Pammana* are still trusted and relied upon by the community, especially in the context of general maternal

and neonatal health and family health. This trust is deeply rooted in the Bugis community's belief that the *Sanro Pammana* not only possesses competence in addressing physical health issues but also embodies wisdom in the spiritual and social dimensions that influence individual well-being. The presence of traditional health practitioners in the Bugis community is still quite strong despite the influence of modern healthcare (Badollahi & Hasbi, 2018). Although modern health services such as hospitals and clinics are now available, *Sanro Pammana* is still trusted as a protector of the health of mothers and newborns and as a guardian of family health in general. It can be attributed to the belief of the Bugis community that *Sanro Pammana* not only deals with physical health problems but also spiritual and social health problems.

Sanrobone and Bila Villages represent communities that still maintain their trust in the *Sanro Pammana* amidst advancements in the medical field and shifts in societal paradigms. Most practicing *Sanro Pammana* are over forty years old, indicating that this profession is still dominated by the older generation and suggesting a slow regeneration process. In their practice, *Sanro Pammana* integrates magical-religious approaches with the utilization of traditional remedies. Prayers and special incantations, essentially supplications to the divine, are applied in the healing process. The strong belief in *Sanro Pammana* in these two villages is also closely related to customs still imbued with animistic nuances, affirming the important position of traditional medicine and inherited traditions in the lives of the community.

The legitimacy of the *Sanro Pammana* in Sanrobone and Bila Villages originates from within the community itself, grounded in empirical experience and their success in handling various health issues, particularly those related to pregnancy and childbirth. Although *Sanro Pammana* is often viewed negatively by outsiders, especially by those in modern medical circles, the local community steadfastly maintains its trust. For the community, the choice to utilize the services of *Sanro Pammana* reflects their autonomy and right to determine health choices that align with their beliefs and traditions. It demonstrates that the legitimacy of the *Sanro Pammana* does not hinge on external recognition but rather on trust and internal acceptance within the community.

Within traditional societies, knowledge, including health knowledge, is customarily transmitted intergenerationally through processes of learning and inheritance between generations. The *Sanro Pammana*, as an integral part of the local cultural system, also bequeath their knowledge and skills to succeeding generations. Incantations and prayers, which constitute essential elements in their practice, are believed to possess magical powers and form part of the cultural heritage that is preserved and perpetuated. Information related to traditional health, including that practiced by the *Sanro Pammana*, is predominantly held and

developed by each ethnic group, resulting in variations in traditional medicine practices that align with local wisdom. Despite certain similarities in some aspects with modern medical treatment, the *Sanro Pammana's* practices possess unique characteristics, distinguishing them from professional medical personnel.

The *Sanro Pammana's* approach to healing is holistic, extending beyond merely addressing physical symptoms. They concoct a variety of traditional medicines derived from leaves, roots, and tubers, reflecting a profound ethnobotanical knowledge. Moreover, this approach also incorporates spiritual and psychological dimensions, manifested through rituals, traditional musical accompaniment, dances, and the recitation of incantations to instill tranquility and harmony within the patient. In the context of maternal health, the *Sanro Pammana* also provides guidance and counsel regarding dietary restrictions, such as the prohibition against consuming eggs for postpartum mothers. Although these recommendations may diverge from the perspectives of modern medicine, which emphasize the importance of animal protein intake, these practices remain integral to the belief system and local wisdom, as alluded to in the research of [Nurhikmah \(2009\)](#) and [Ija \(2009\)](#).

The existence of the *Sanro Pammana* in the modern era is not without its challenges. One of the most significant challenges pertains to regeneration, where the lack of interest among the younger generation in continuing these traditional medicine practices threatens the continuity of knowledge and local wisdom. On the other hand, the *Sanro Pammana* are also confronted with the issue of inadequate formal support and unclear regulations governing traditional health practices. Nevertheless, efforts to maintain and preserve the practices of the *Sanro Pammana* are still being made, both by the indigenous community and by the *Sanro Pammana* themselves. It demonstrates an awareness of the importance of safeguarding cultural heritage and local wisdom amidst the currents of modernization.

Thus, the *Sanro Pammana* and the traditional medicine they practice are at a crossroads between tradition and modernity. The sustainability of their existence depends on their ability to adapt to the changing times while preserving the values and local wisdom that form the foundation of their practices. A comprehensive understanding of the role, challenges, and potential of the *Sanro Pammana* in the modern era is crucial, not only for preserving cultural heritage but also for formulating appropriate strategies for integrating traditional medicine into the broader healthcare system in order to achieve optimal health outcomes for all segments of society.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Based on the findings and preceding discussion, it can be concluded that the *Sanro Pammana* plays an essential role in the traditional healthcare system of the Bugis People, particularly within the context of maternal and neonatal health. They are central figures entrusted with profound local knowledge and wisdom about pregnancy, childbirth, and postpartum care. The traditional healthcare practices performed by the *Sanro Pammana*, including the *ma'cerra wettang* and *mappassili* rituals, reflect the holistic worldview of the Bugis People regarding health, encompassing physical, spiritual, and socio-cultural dimensions. In carrying out their role, the *Sanro Pammana* integrate empirical knowledge of traditional remedies with spiritual dimensions, manifested through prayers and incantations. The trust in the *Sanro Pammana* is deeply rooted in tradition and reinforced by positive community experiences, especially in Sanrobone and Bila Villages. However, amidst the rapid currents of modernization and the penetration of the modern healthcare system, *Sanro Pammana* faces various challenges. Shifting community preferences towards modern healthcare services, limited regeneration, and a lack of formal recognition and support are among the factors that threaten the continuity of these traditional healthcare practices. Furthermore, changes in lifestyle, dietary patterns, and environmental degradation also exert significant implications. Nevertheless, the *Sanro Pammana* remains relevant and continues to exist, demonstrating a capacity for adaptation and negotiation in the face of changing times.

Based on the aforementioned conclusions, several strategic steps are recommended to ensure the continuity and relevance of the *Sanro Pammana* and the traditional healthcare practices they perform. *Firstly*, a comprehensive effort is needed to enhance understanding and appreciation within the community, especially among the younger generation, regarding the values of local wisdom embedded in the practices of the *Sanro Pammana*. *Secondly*, the regeneration of *Sanro Pammana* needs to be encouraged through a structured mechanism while respecting existing traditions of knowledge transmission and considering the possibility of integration with formal education. *Thirdly*, formal recognition and concrete support from the government, including clear regulations that protect traditional healthcare practices, are urgently needed. *Fourthly*, a harmonious integration model between traditional and modern healthcare systems should be pursued, emphasizing mutual respect, complementarity, and empowerment principles. *Fifthly*, environmental preservation, particularly the conservation of medicinal plants that constitute the raw materials for traditional remedies, needs to become a shared concern. Through these measures, it is hoped that the *Sanro Pammana* and Bugis traditional medicine can be sustained and improve community health outcomes while enriching the nation's cultural heritage.

REFERENCES

- Agustang, A. (2011). *Filosofi Research: Dalam Upaya Pengembangan Ilmu*. Sarwah Press.
- Badollahi, M. Z., & Hasbi, A. (2018). Etnografi Ruang Instalasi Gawat Darurat (IGD): Relasi Dokter dan Pasien di Rumah Sakit Umum Kota Makassar. *Etnosia: Jurnal Etnografi Indonesia*, 3(2), 250-267. <https://doi.org/10.31947/etnosia.v3i2.5154>
- Busro, B., & Qodim, H. (2018). Perubahan Budaya dalam Ritual Slametan Kelahiran di Cirebon, Indonesia. *Jurnal Studi Agama dan Masyarakat*, 14(2), 127-147. <https://doi.org/10.23971/jsam.v14i2.699>
- Busro, B., Yuliyanti, A. Y., Syukur, A., & Rosyad, R. (2020). Theological Dimensions in Memitu Rituals in Cirebon. *Patanjala: Journal of Historical and Cultural Research*, 12(2), 227-242. <https://doi.org/10.30959/patanjala.v12i2.636>
- Callister, L. C., & Khalaf, I. (2010). Spirituality in Childbearing Women. *The Journal of Perinatal Education*, 19(2), 16-24. <https://doi.org/10.1624/105812410X495514>
- Crowther, S. (2017). Childbirth as a Sacred Celebration. In S. Crowther & J. Hall (Eds.), *Spirituality and Childbirth: Meaning and Care at the Start of Life* (pp. 13-29). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315389646-2>
- Dennis, C.-L., Fung, K., Grigoriadis, S., Robinson, G. E., Romans, S., & Ross, L. (2007). Traditional Postpartum Practices and Rituals: A Qualitative Systematic Review. *Women's Health*, 3(4), 487-502. <https://doi.org/10.2217/17455057.3.4.487>
- Gitawati, R. (2009). *Gambaran Pemanfaatan Pengobat Tradisional dan Hubungannya dengan Akses Pelayanan Kesehatan di Indonesia*. Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Bio Medis dan Farmasi.
- Hicks, D., O'Dowd, M., & Corbett, M. (2018). Researching in the 'Cultural Interface': Working Between Non-indigenous and Indigenous Research Paradigms. In D. Kember & M. Corbett (Eds.), *Structuring the Thesis: Matching Method, Paradigm, Theories and Findings* (pp. 97-106). Springer Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-0511-5_10
- Ija, M. (2009). *Pengaruh Status Gizi Pasien Bedah Mayor Pre Operasi Terhadap Penyembuhan Luka dan Lama Rawat Inap Pasca Operasi di RSUP Dr. Sardjito Yogyakarta* [Magister Thesis, Universitas Gadjah Mada]. Repository UGM. <https://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/penelitian/detail/41712>
- Muis, E. W., & Puji, H. B. (2020). Menjaga Sehat, Menjaga Adat Praktik Pengobatan Tradisional Tumpuroo dan Pelestarian Adat di Hukaesa-Laeya. *Jurnal Masyarakat dan Budaya*, 22(3), 271-287. <https://doi.org/10.14203/jmb.v22i3.1064>
- Musie, M. R., Mulaudzi, M. F., Anokwuru, R., & Bhana-Pema, V. (2022). Recognise and Acknowledge Us: Views of Traditional Birth Attendants on Collaboration with Midwives for Maternal Health Care Services. *International Journal of Reproductive Medicine*, 2022(1), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1155/2022/9216500>

- Nurhikmah, N. (2009). *Hubungan Perilaku Ibu Berpantang Makanan Selama Nifas dengan Status Gizi Ibu dan Bayinya di Kecamatan Banjarmasin Utara di Kota Banjarmasin* [Magister Thesis, Universitas Gadjah Mada]. Repository UGM. <https://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/penelitian/detail/42482>
- Ohaja, M., & Anyim, C. (2021). Rituals and Embodied Cultural Practices at the Beginning of Life: African Perspectives. *Religions*, 12(11), 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12111024>
- Rahmani, D. I., & Zakiyah, N. (2023). Analisis Hukum Islam terhadap Tradisi Makkatte Khitan Anak Perempuan Bugis. *Bustanul Fuqaha: Jurnal Bidang Hukum Islam*, 4(3), 517-531. <https://doi.org/10.36701/bustanul.v4i3.1076>
- Rahmawati, R., & Sani, M. A. M. (2016). Transformasi Budaya Islam di Kerajaan Bone pada Abad ke XVII. *Jurnal Adabiyah*, 16(1), 26-43. <https://doi.org/10.24252/JAd.v17i116i1a3>
- Regulation of Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 15 of 2018 on the Implementation of Traditional Complementary Health Services (Bulletin Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia of 2018 Number 940). <https://peraturan.go.id/id/permenkes-no-15-tahun-2018>
- Rudhi, R. (2018). Persepsi Masyarakat Tentang Maccera Aqorang di Desa Barakkae Kec. Lamuru Kab. Bone. *Sulesana: Jurnal Wawasan Keislaman*, 12(1), 76-98. Retrieved from <https://journal3.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/sls/article/view/5670>
- Rusman, R., Junaidi, M., Hidayat, R., Badollahi, M. Z., & Hapsa, H. (2023). Cultural Heritage and Social Adaptation: The Internalization of Paddisengeng Values by the Bugis-Bone Ethnicity in Masamba Village. *SIGn Journal of Social Science*, 4(1), 52-68. <https://doi.org/10.37276/sjss.v4i1.334>
- Sered, S. S. (1991). Childbirth as a Religious Experience? Voices from an Israeli Hospital. *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 7(2), 7-18. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25002152>
- Sumitro, S., Oruh, S., & Agustang, A. (2021). Eksistensi Nilai Sosial Budaya Ndeu Paki Oi Mbaru Pada Masyarakat Donggo Kabupaten Bima. *Jurnal Ilmiah Mandala Education*, 7(4), 199-204. <https://doi.org/10.36312/jime.v7i4.2432>
- Susanto, A. S. (2004). *Pengantar Sosiologi dan Perubahan Sosial*. Bina Cipta.
- Sychareun, V., Phengsavanh, A., Hansana, V., Somphet, V., Sysouvanh, S., & Menorath, S. (2009). *Cultural Beliefs and Traditional Rituals about Child Birth Practices in Lao PDR*. The Asian-Pacific Resource & Research Centre for Women (ARROW).
- Whitney, F. L. (1960). *The Elements of Research*. Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Withers, M., Kharazmi, N., & Lim, E. (2018). Traditional Beliefs and Practices in Pregnancy, Childbirth and Postpartum: A Review of the Evidence from Asian Countries. *Midwifery*, 56, 158-170. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.midw.2017.10.019>