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LOCAL SCIENCE OF BUTON SOCIETY ABOUT THE PREGNANCY CARE IN BAUBAU CITY OF SOUTHEAST SULAWESI

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ABSTRACT
Local science about the pregnancy care for Buton people is a form of concern for pregnant women. This research aims to reveal the local science of Buton people towards the care of safe and risky pregnancies as well as treatment measures taken by pregnant women. The method used in this study is a descriptive qualitative method with data collection techniques using in-depth interviewing, observation, and documentation techniques. The results of this study indicates that the choice of pregnancy care for Buton people uses two types of services, namely medical services and sando services. Trust in sando is a manifestation of their culture towards a variety of restrictions and advice, while the medical services are needed during childbirth due to government regulations for the childbirth process using medical personnel. But in practice, sando as a non-medical worker is still involved in the childbirth process to give a sense of calm and comfort to the pregnant women is handled during pregnancy.

Keywords: pregnancy care, sando, medical services, non-medical.

INTRODUCTION
Humans are ritualistic beings characterized by the number of ceremonies carried out throughout their lives because they are considered important. The ceremony is intended so that in living a new life can feel happiness, reject danger, both real and magical. In anthropology, life cycle ceremonies are called crisis rites or rites de passage. In many nations, pregnancy ceremonies, birth ceremonies, naming ceremonies, haircut ceremonies, ear piercing ceremonies, teeth honing ceremonies, circumcision ceremonies, and others, are carried out to reject occult dangers that can arise when one switches from one life level to another (Koentjaraningrat, 1998: 92).

Marriage is one of the most important transition rates in a person's life cycle. The marriage system shows someone is mature and ready to live a new life in his life. According to Koentjaraningrat (1998: 93), marriage is a regulator of human behavior related to the sex life. Marriage restricts a person from having intercourse with an opposite sex other than a husband or wife. In addition, marriage also serves to provide protection to the children of the marriage, fulfill human needs for a marriage mate, fulfill the need for wealth and prestige, but also to maintain good relations with certain groups of relatives.

According to Haviland (1993: 77), marriage is a transaction and official contract between a man and a woman to live a new life and qualify for childbirth. After the occurrence of a marriage, the plan...
to have children is a very important plan and is one of the goals of a marriage. Children are precious treasure as the next generation or direct descendants, and then will live their life cycle from time to time just like their parents and so on.

The period of pregnancy is a very decisive period in the life of a mother to give birth to a perfectly healthy child, intelligent, and can be proud of by their parents later. Therefore, it is very important to keep ourselves during the pregnancy process. Not only the role of a mother to take care of the womb well and carefully, but the role of the husband and family, even the surrounding environment, participate to ensure the safety of the mother and the fetus she continues.

The magnitude of the participation of all parties is felt in the society who still hold firm to the values of trust inherent in their culture. Keeping pregnancy, according to the traditional society has a forms variety and unique ways, which are owned by a group of people according to the local science they have in common. Local science contains things that are considered important as long as the mother in pregnancy period up to the maternity process even postpartum.

Local science about the pregnancy period of a mother is not only owned by the mother, but everything is related to one another. According to Mayor (in Liliweri, 2014: 223), that science of a local society is science of "something" related to "other things" —the science that interlocking and rooted of tradition, spirituality, culture and people’s language — which is all is a matter of life. Because traditional science is a matter of life, there is wisdom to use traditional science in a good way, a kind of spirit so that its members can survive.

A pregnant mother usually gets more attention from all family members and even her neighbors. Although pregnancy, according to some people is normal, but all family members are generally aware that the nutrition of pregnant women must be considered as well as various taboos both in terms of food and daily behavior (Kasnodihardjo, 2013: 116).

According to Prawiroharjo (in Dewi, 2014: 144), dukunberanak are people who are considered skilled and trusted by the society to help childbirth and care of mothers and child according to the needs of the society. Society trust in the skills of dukunberanak relates to the cultural values of the local society. According to Mayasaroh (2013: 38), dukunberanak are part of ethnomedicine (traditional medical systems) which are still trusted by society in general. Dukunberanak (traditional midwife) always help women during pregnancy, accompany women during childbirth, until childbirth finished, and take care of the mother and baby and treatment after the postpartum period.

Based on the results of research conducted by Alwi (2007: 142), the society still strongly believes in traditional medicine so that modern medicine is carried out after traditional medicine. Traditional medicine is carried out by mothers in Comoros, prioritizing traditional medicine due to factors of trust and closeness with a shaman, so if they healed, there’s no need to look for a health worker. According to Suryaningsi (2015: 489), cooperation in medical and non-medical treatment is a mutually beneficial combination. On the one hand, it can cure and save patients and on the other hand, for non-medical people (shaman) great advantage because it is still useful in the modern life like now days so that trust in shaman still exists.

Buton society is one of the societal groups with cultural wealth that is still maintained until now. The culture they have influenced the daily life of the people. The variety of cultures that exist in Buton society shows that the existence of these cultures is maintained and preserved from generation to generation. With regard to pregnancy problems for mothers who are part of the indigenous society in Buton, they have guidelines for undergoing cultural processes during pregnancy period. Therefore, it is very important to reveal the local knowledge of the Buton society towards the handling of pregnant women in Southeast Sulawesi. Local science seen from the cultural aspect contains beliefs,
traditions, and behaviors that are in accordance with their cultural understanding regarding the handling of the problem of pregnancy until the childbirth process.

Based on this background, this study has the following problems: how is the local science of Buton people to care for a safe pregnancy, how is the local science of Buton people to care for a risky pregnancy and what actions are practiced by pregnant women to care for their pregnancy. The aims of this study was to analyze the local science of Buton people for the care of safe and risky pregnancies and to find out the actions practiced by pregnant women for the care of pregnancy.

METHODOLOGY

The research method used is a descriptive qualitative research method. The technique for selecting research locations was done purposefully that was in the Buton society in Baubau City, Southeast Sulawesi Province. The area was chosen as the research location because it is a residential area for Buton indigenous people, making it easier for researchers to obtain data in the field. For the selection of informants it is done by looking for informants who know and understand the things to be researched by paying attention to the indicators attached to the person such as status in society. The informants chosen in this study were those who had a deep science of the history of the research location, informants who were able to provide accurate information relating to the subject matter and some information about the condition of the population in the research location. In addition to these criteria, factors of ease of communication and cooperation were also considered in the selection of informants.

The data collected in this study consisted of primary data, namely direct data obtained from the field consisted of in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation. As well as secondary data, namely supporting data obtained from libraries, village offices, and relevant government agencies.

DISCUSSION

Local science of Buton people about the pregnancy care

The local science of Buton people about a mother’s pregnancy is a way or action that must be done or something that should not be done in her life during pregnancy, both for the pregnant mother herself and her husband, family and surrounding environment. The following is the owner of Buton’s local science about the pregnancy care owned by:

Shaman

Shamans are called sandos by Buton people. Sando is a person who has the ability / expertise to deal with problems of pregnancy that begin early in pregnancy, care for the pregnancy, until the time of childbirth and postpartum. In addition, other skills that can provide concoctions so that someone can get pregnant. This expertise is a local science of sando which is derived from generation to generation. Sando, who is specialized in dealing with pregnant women, is called ina. Ina is a call for older women or mothers as everyday calls for Buton people.

Based on sando glasses, if pregnancy care is not done well, the risk to the fetus and mother will be very large. Based on local sciences of sando, all treatment actions taken by sando are based on their experience in handling pregnant women. According to Sando Kudusiah (78 years), treatment is traditionally based on the culture of the society so that pregnancy care is filled with various ceremonies or rituals as a condition for a smooth childbirth and to get healthy children. Furthermore, it was explained that every incident or things that happens is out of the ordinary is the result of a trespass that occurred during treatment.
**Pregnant Mother**

Pregnant from the beginning to the birth process requires special care. For this reason, at the beginning of pregnancy, a mother has determined which *sando* will help her during the pregnancy care process. The selected *sando* will follow the development of the fetus in the womb with the frequency of pregnant women coming to do treatment in the form of massage on the fetus and mother. In addition, there are several treatment processes that are given *sando* in the form of bathing rituals and taboos during pregnancy period. To keep the condition of the fetus healthy and not having problems, pregnant women will follow every direction given and maintain themselves well by not violating the taboos given.

Based on current developments, giving birth by a shaman or *sando* is no longer permitted by the government, especially if you have to give birth at home. This condition was based on the Southeast Sulawesi health profile data in 2014, which showed that maternal deaths in Southeast Sulawesi Province were generally caused by bleeding and other causes such as urinary retention, bronchial asthma, tuberculosis, complications, toxic goiter, etc. Various factors are the cause of death such as from economic aspects, cultural influences, low visits to health workers during pregnancy, late referrals, late arriving at health care facilities causing death (Agusalim, 2015: 53). To anticipate the risk of death for pregnant women and their fetuses, treatment in the childbirth process must be done at the Community Health centers or assisted by skilled health personnel such as midwives or doctors.

The rules about the birth process must be assisted by midwives culturally seen by the Buton society as going against with their belief from generation to generation, which entrust the pregnancy until the birth process to a *sando*. To deal with the cultural problems of the society with the rules of the government, cooperation is carried out in the handling of pregnant women. Pregnant women can also check themselves and the condition of the fetus in two places, namely at Community Health centers or health facilities in Baubau city, and to *sando* that they trust for treatment during pregnancy.

**Husband**

In the view of Buton society, the husband keeps his wife’s womb by paying attention and maintaining the health condition of his wife and fetus. The husband has a role to assist in making decisions in the care of his wife’s pregnancy. A husband who determines the handling of pregnancy that is appropriate for his wife. Therefore, the husband must be able to make the best decisions for the safety of his wife and the child later.

The role of the husband in pregnancy care shows the husband’s responsibility towards his wife. Sometimes the wife is lazy to do an examination with the midwife, instead the husband encourages his wife to get a pregnancy check-up in the midwife. The wife feels comfortable with *sando* because she has been known and trusted for generations to handle the care of pregnancy in her family.

**Family**

Like a husband, the family also becomes a part of the pregnancy care of family members. The role of the family is to support, help every need for pregnant mothers in their family, and keep pregnant mothers from committing acts that can endanger the safety of their fetus. The family reminds if there is a behavior of a wife or husband that is contrary to the beliefs of the local society.

The family role is very helpful to remind each other and give advice about the pregnancy care that is being undertaken by members in a family. If in a household, one of the family members is first pregnant (first child), then the outpouring of attention the other relatives are more intensive to provide the best advice during the care period of her pregnancy. In addition, if the husband does not
have time to bring his wife to check the pregnancy to a midwife or sando, then the role of the relatives
is to accompany his family members to do the pregnancy care.

In addition, the family has a role to encourage to the family members who are pregnant to always
enjoy the process that is being lived well and happily until the birth process, so there are no problems.
Do not leave the culture that is in the family, the ritual processes during pregnancy are also very
important for pregnant women. Therefore, the role of the family is very important in the process.

**Surrounding Environment**

The environment also affects the pregnant mother during the treatment period. The surrounding environment shows a social relationship in the society, both with close relatives, distant
relatives, and living environment that is not relatives. All play a role in it, although not directly. The
point is that the environment is very supportive of fetal development and the psychology of a
pregnant mother. If the environment is created well, comfortably, away from conflict, far from
fighting, then indirectly affecting the health of the mother and her fetus to develop properly, there are
no problems in the womb. The stress level of a mother can affect the development of the fetus in the
womb.

The surrounding environment helps the pregnancy care with a willingness to help needed by
the pregnant mother. Help from the surrounding environment is by getting involved in ritual
activities when the fetus enters the age of seven months. All become part of the ritual and pray that
the birth process will run smoothly, there are no obstacles.

**Midwife**

Midwives are health workers (medically) provided by the government in helping the society
when caring for pregnancy and childbirth. The presence of midwives in the Buton society was
initially unacceptable because the society still entrusted the shaman/sando to care with the pregnant
mother starting from the beginning of pregnancy until postpartum. Because the government
explicitly requires pregnant mother to be assisted by midwives, so inevitably, midwives are involved
in it. At present, the cooperation between sando and midwives is well entwined. There is mutual
coopertion to help pregnant mother to give birth normally, healthy, and there are no problems with
the mother and fetus.

Midwives as health workers sometimes feel they are not involved during treatment, so it is
difficult to know the development of the fetus of a mother when giving birth. Therefore, information
from sando is very important to find out the condition of pregnant mother who will be handled.
Sometimes pregnant mother go to a midwife but are not organized, so there is very little information
obtained by the midwife when handling childbirth.

According to Susan (27 years old), as a health worker, sometimes there are many problems
faced when going to assist the childbirth process, one of which is the presence of a sando. If the sando
does not accompany during childbirth, a mother who will give birth feels fear and anxiety. Therefore,
every mother who will give birth will always be accompanied by a sando as a means of
encouragement and optimism for the mother.

**Local Science of Buton society about the risky pregnancy care**

One of the treatments for pregnant mother is not to violate the taboos that exist or be trusted
by the culture of the local society. According to Buton Society, taboos that exist for pregnant mother is
an action that can prevent problems or risks when entering childbirth. Therefore, the condition of the
fetus and the health of the mother are also influenced by their daily activities, what to do and what
not to do. Here are the taboos for pregnant mother, according to Buton people's beliefs:
• Do not take the things at an angle, or turn the body to the side without rotating the lower part of the body following it because it will be risk to the womb, which is the womb becomes tight.

• It is not permissible to rub both feet on the floor, then the womb will be disabled.

• It is not permissible to rub the palms of the hands, then the womb will be disabled.

• Not allowed to sleep on your back because it can make the womb tight.

• Don’t eat oily, so the stomach doesn’t get big (fat), and the mother’s body doesn’t get fat.

• Do not get up from the bed with the body facing upwards, must tilt left or right if you want to wake up because it can make the womb tighten or shift.

• Don’t eat crabs, the child born can go crazy

• Don’t eat squid, the child will belong comes out of the stomach (hard to get out of the stomach because it is slippery).

• Do not stand at the door, because it can block up the child to getting out of the mother's stomach when childbirth process.

• If you want to go out of the house, you have to go straight out of the house, don’t go back inside. So that the childbirth process is smooth, there are no problems.

• Do not wrap a towel or sarong on your shoulder or neck. Buton people believe that if you like to wrap something around your neck it can cause your fetus to get wrapped around the umbilical cord.

• You can’t hate people, the child cannot talk later.

• It is not permissible to flick/jewer the ears of children, later children born can be covered in ears.

• Cabinets in the room, its door must be open, cannot be locked when you want to give birth. It is believed that the child’s path later when out of the mother’s stomach can be smooth.

• Vehicles may not be locked. Similarly, parked vehicles cannot be locked.

• All tires must be removed. If there is an item bound, the bond must be removed so that the baby can come out smoothly, not difficult.

• Do not bow down your body when pregnant because it can block out your child from going out later.

• Cannot sleep in the morning. Morning sleep is believed to make the body become swollen (the local term is called bangka).

• Do not drink too much water because it can be a water twin.

• No sitting on the stairs because it can block the way the fetus is coming out.

• Going down the stairs must go down immediately, may not be too long on the stairs, can block the fetus from getting out quickly.

• Rice spoons should not be stored on top of rice place because they can close the way for the baby to come out.

• Not allowed to take a bath if the sky is red (at dusk) can be bleeding happen.
• Feet should not hang when sitting, feet must touch the ground or floor. Buton people believe that if their feet hang, do not let the baby in the womb go out because there is no way.

• Do not eat the banana heart because the baby is out of the womb is late.

• You cannot eat pineapple because you can miscarry later.

• If a pregnant mother has sarampah disease, then the mother must not wear a red shirt because it is likened to a disease that can cause bleeding.

• Do not eat jack fruit. Jackfruit has a lot of sap so that the people of Buton consider the sap of the jack fruit can be attached to the baby in the womb, so that when it comes out of the womb it is difficult, because it is sticky like sap.

These taboos apply to pregnant mother and have become a belief in Buton society for generations. A pregnant mother must protect herself from things that can endanger herself and her fetus. Doing the taboo things mentioned above is a risky action, which can endanger the safety of the mother and her fetus.

Pregnancy care actions

Treatment activities begin when a mother feels or knows she is pregnant. So he will go to the sando to behold, as a sign that the sando is responsible for the care of the pregnant woman. After that, pregnancy care in the form of massage can only be done during the womb age entering the fourth month. In the first, second and third months massage is not done because the womb condition is still weak, not strong. Sando only gives water filled with prayers (spells) and is given to pregnant mothers to drink it. The water is believed to be able to keep the womb healthy until the third month.

When entering the fourth month, massage is carried out from head to toe. The womb can also be massaged, but the massage is done slowly because it is still early, and fear of bleeding. Once a month is done massage until the seventh month. If enter the eighth month, massage is more routine, twice a month. But in that month, no massage on the womb had been done because it had been massaged before, so that the condition of the fetus was 'straight' (sando term). Massage is only done for pregnant mother to stretch or relax the tense veins due to stress waiting for the day of childbirth.

In addition to taking care of the sando, pregnant mother also go to the midwife. According to Sando Nursiah (62 years), sandos usually works with midwives. So every midwife has a companion, namely sando. They work together in caring with pregnant mothers. They exchanged information about the condition of patients/pregnant mothers they handled together. Sando also advised pregnant women to go to a midwife who is their partner in work. This shows that by working together, sandos and midwives share, there is no competition, for the safety of the mother and her fetus.

The existence of work partners between sandos and midwives is one of the efforts so that people do not hesitate to go to health workers because many people are afraid to go to a health worker (midwife) because in addition to ignorance of the price to pay or the patient's less open to talk to a health worker. If the sando directs the pregnant mother, even accompanying the pregnant mother to go to the midwife for a check-up, the pregnant mother feels calm doing it.

In addition to pregnancy care with massage and a check-up with a midwife, a safety ritual is also performed to make it easier later when undergoing childbirth. The Posipo ritual is a seven-month ritual performed by pregnant mother by bathing pregnant mother with the traditional rules of Buton. Posipo is held at the home of pregnant women. Pregnant mother sat facing the exit. Then sando bathes pregnant mother from head to foot. Buyung (crock) used are crock containing pennies. If it has been bathed, then the crock containing pennies is then solvable at the door. Solvable Buyung means that the
womb could open, at the time of giving the birth for the baby could come out smoothly, while the pakandekompomoh ritual is a nine-month ritual that is carried out when almost entering childbirth. The meaning of Pakande Kompomoh is to feed pregnant mother. Sando takes available food (by pinching each meal) and feeds it to pregnant mothers (disipo). After the sando finished giving bribes, continued by the mother-in-law, biological mother, and other mothers who were present at the event. The difference is, if the sando will give a bribe of all types of food and cakes served at the place, while the other mothers only give the bribe they want. The ritual is carried out for smooth childbirth; mother and baby are given safety.

The ritual of Posipo and Pakande Kompomoh is important because it is a belief of the people of Buton. If it is not implemented, it can endanger the safety of the mother and fetus. If do not have funds, it can be done simply without inviting people.

During the childbirth process, pregnant mother will be taken to the Community Health centers for medical treatment by the midwife. Sando will also be involved in it. Sando will give encouragement to pregnant mothers, while midwives will carry out the childbirth process. Sando helps the mother by giving a drink that is believed to be able to smooth childbirth, and provides massage to relax the tense veins due to stress facing childbirth. The existence of sando is very helpful psychologically in the mother in the process of childbirth.

Ari-ari the newborn baby will be given to the sando. Sando will take care of the ari-aribased on the culture of Butonpeople. Ari-ari according to the belief of the people of Buton is referred to as "baby’s brother". Ari-ari is washed and then given turmeric, salt, acid, brown sugar, shallots and wrapped in libo leaves.

![Figure 1. Libo leaves as a wrapper for ari-ari](personal documentation)

Libo leaves are leaves that are used to wrap the ari-ari that has been washed and given herbs that are believed to make the ari-ari stored in the attic / house will not smell.

Then the ari-ari is inserted into an old coconut whose contents have been removed but still left intact. The outer skin (coconut skin) was split in eight and the shell was cut in half, then the contents were removed. After that in the coconut shell, the ari-ari is wrapped in libo leaves. Then the coconut shell is put back together along with the coconut skin, which is split into eight put back together, then tied using ropes or rattan. Then the coconut is placed in a safe place, far from human reach, because when placed, it should not be tilted or shake.
Figure 2. Old coconut which has been filled with the ari-ari

Source: personal documentation

The figure 2 above shows aari-ari that has been wrapped in old coconut. As for when it inserted the ari-ari in coconut there are two types of old coconut. One coconut is filled with ari-ari, and then the other coconut remains intact. When the coconut containing the ari-ari is placed in the attic, the other coconut will be placed on the ground. According to the beliefs of Buton people, even numbers are good because they are not alone, but have a partner. Old coconuts containing pari-arimust not shake because if they shake they can cause the baby to be born with eyes to become squinted due to shaking.

Postpartum pregnancy care is also carried out by the pregnant mother with the help of sando. Sando will make a concoction to be drunk by mothers so that the womb become clean, the remnants of blood still in the womb can come out so the womb becomes safe or sterile.

The concoctions for postpartum mothers consist of bengkudu leaves, pomegranate leaves, guava leaves, sipulu leaves and wuluh star fruit leaves. The leaves are boiled, and drink the water three times a day.

The first day until the fourth day postpartum, the sando will continue treatment for the mother by bathing, using hot water while massage/using massage oil. The towel is dipped in hot water, then squeezed and wiped on the mother’s body.

Postpartum care is also done by boiling lemongrass leaves, beluntas leaves, and dried banana leaves. The three ingredients were boiled, and then the steam from the stew was used by mothers who had given birth to take care of the steam bath. Sarong cloth is used to cover the head, while sitting, face facing down and steam from the ingredients used to give the effect of freshness to the mother (diukup). Steam baths are carried out after 5 (five) days postpartum. Usefull for cleaning of dirt comes from inside the body.

To speed up recovery, if there is a wound at the time of childbirth, then a concoction of pomegranate seeds is made. Pomegranate seeds are shredded, and then squeezed so that it releases water. The water is drunk. Pomegranate seeds based on local science of Buton society are effective medicinal herbs that can quickly heal wounds caused by childbirth. In addition, it is recommended not to eat fish for 40 days to speed up the process of drying of wounds, and to cleanse fluids (vaginal discharge after childbirth).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Conclusion

Local science of Buton society regarding pregnancy care is obtained from generation to generation from their ancestors. The safe treatment of pregnancy is based on an understanding of the culture of the local people in Baubau City. Local science is carried out in accordance with their respective portions, starting from the science possessed by sandowho get their local science from their own parents and practices their knowledge from generation to generation in the Buton Society in
Baubau City. Then the local science possessed by pregnant mother them in the care of pregnancy that is safe for him. In addition, the role of husband, family, and the surrounding environment is very important for matters relating to the care of pregnancy. Health workers such as midwives are aware that the local science of the Buton society is important so that in order to facilitate safe care collaboration occurs in the handling of pregnant women between midwives and *sandos*.

Apart from safe treatments, there are also treatments that are risky for pregnant mother. The treatment concerns abstinence in the form of food or drink and behavior that can endanger the womb if it is violated. Culturally, to ward off bad things that can happen in the womb, a ritual is performed. The ritual is called the name *Posipoand Pakande Kompo Moh*, which was carried out during the seventh and ninth months of the womb. The goal is that the birth process can run smoothly, there are no problems, and the mother and baby are safe.

There are also actions practiced by pregnant mothers consisting of routine pregnancy care. The choice of care for pregnant mother consists of traditional treatments and modern treatments. Traditional treatment is done by getting a massage done with the *sando*and given drinks and concoctions with the power of spells or incantations in them. While modern care activities are carried out with the help of health workers, namely midwives to find out the condition of babies in the womb. For both treatments, it was carried out alternately so that collaboration between midwives and *sando* occurred in the handling of pregnant mothers. The aim is to be able to provide the best care for pregnant mother so that the mother and baby are safe.

**Recommendation**

The local knowledge of Buton society about pregnancy care is a local culture that deserves to be preserved so that the knowledge is not lost to the next generation. For government agencies, collaboration between traditional and modern care for pregnancy and childbirth must be maintained properly so that the presence of *sando* is not extinct from the culture of the Buton society.

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