

## Traditional versus Modern Therapies

THREE COMMUNITIES GENERAL			
Question	Salasaka	Zuleta	Ugsha
5.1 When do you go to a traditional healer/yachak?	<p>Never goes. When you don't know the cause of an illness, to get a diagnosis, usually with a cuy</p> <p>At the start of an illness or when the illness isn't serious* For feeling decaida<sup>1</sup>.</p> <p>For things like foot pain.</p> <p>To take a family member who is ill, like a child (this can often be for 'susto')</p> <p>Only to a midwife</p> <p>With loss of appetite and bad dreams, or with emotional problems like insecurity with a marriage.</p> <p>Doesn't really trust them.</p>	<p>For traditional Andean illnesses like malaire/espanto** At the beginning or with symptoms of an illness.* When you feel bad, with a pain. Never been.** Doesn't trust them. With an energy imbalance or bad dreams. When feeling decaido, or when the doctor can't cure you.</p> <p>For certain problems, like back pain.</p> <p>More often to the yachak.</p>	<p>When ill.* First to a traditional healer, if they don't cure you, then to a doctor; or vice versa.</p> <p>Never*, doesn't go; hasn't been; doesn't go now a Christian.</p> <p>When suffering from something like espanto . * Only to doctors.* Never gets ill so doesn't need to go to a doctor.</p>
5.2 When do you go to a doctor or a modern clinic?	<p>For a specific illness. When the illness is known/more advanced/the yachak can't treat it.** A bad accident., like fractures.* Never.* Doesn't need to. Feet hurt. When it can be afforded.</p>	<p>When the problem is physical, not spiritual. When the illness is more advanced or serious.* For things like a fracture or appendicitis. When the shaman can't cure you* For any illness.</p> <p>Depends on symptoms, for bad health.</p> <p>If you feel bad, for problems as with the</p>	<p>When you're ill** . When your body hurts. For a more serious illness*; for a hernia; When the illness is more advanced.**</p>

<sup>1</sup> 'Decaída' literally translates as being 'decayed', but can also mean 'down' in relation to someone being unwell. Here the term 'run down' is employed as an equivalent western term.

		prostate. To doctors sometimes, they use local remedies For more serious illness, or for a cough. For 'modern' illnesses like cancer or gastritis. Modern doctors don't help.	
5.3 Does the cost of treatment influence your decision to go to either a doctor/modern clinic or a traditional healer?	Money always a concern**. Yes*. Cost not an influence. The Sub-Centro de Salud is always free anyway.	Yes.** Yes, but if you have to go you have to go. Cost doesn't have an influence. The costs affects you but it's worth it because they (clinics) cure you	Yes, the cost influences you.** No, it doesn't. Doesn't know. It's very different depending on where you go.
5.4 Which do you believe is more reliable to treat illness?	The yachak/ traditional medicine & plants** Doesn't know*. The clinic/doctor.** Both.* Clinics for treating fractures.	Traditional medicine. Modern medicine, doesn't trust veracity of shamans. Doctors/clinics**. Both for different treatments. Both, depends on the illness.* The clinic, they have more effective remedies.	Both.* Only doctors**. Believes more in doctors as he sees any illnesses as being modern.
5.5 Do you think that doctors/clinics are more effective for treating some illnesses and traditional healers others? Please describe.	Don't know*. More confidence in medicinal plants. Yes*. Yes, hospitals are effective for surgery. Sometimes one, sometimes the other, you try both.* Yachaks for good luck in marriage etc.	Yes; first try a traditional healer, then a doctor; depends on the state of the soul's health or type of illness. Trusts more in modern medicine. Yes**. Yes, depending on the illness*	Yes**. Depends upon the illness*; traditional for traditional, modern for 'modern'.* Only modern doctors*. No. Depends on a person's belief.

\* frequently said. \*\* very frequently said

GALÁPAGOS RESPONDENTS	
Question	Responses
5.1 When do you go to a traditional healer/yachak?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) I went once when my daughter had <i>malaire</i>.</li> <li>2) I went once to find out who had stolen my bicycle.</li> <li>3) I go to the curandero when I am ill and when the doctor can't cure me.</li> <li>4) I go to the yachak to know my state of health, if I am healthy or with some illness.</li> <li>5) I have never been.</li> <li>6) Yes, I have gone with the desire to get better from an illness but they never cured me, and that's why I do not believe in shamans.</li> <li>7) I have never been, but my grandfather was a yachak.</li> <li>8) I went to a yachak out of curiosity and I go to the doctor when I'm ill.</li> <li>9) I've never been to a shaman; if I feel bad I go to the doctor.</li> <li>10) I have never been to a curandero/a and I'll never believe in them.</li> <li>11) I go, most of all when I [but might have meant people in general] feel run down.</li> </ol>
5.2 When do you go to a doctor or a modern clinic?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) When I am ill.</li> <li>2) When I am ill.</li> <li>3) Not asked/answered, although 5.1 suggests goes first to a doctor, then a curandero for the treatment of an illness.</li> <li>4) When I am physically hurt or in pain; I also go to the doctor when my bones hurt.</li> <li>5) For a medical check-up.</li> <li>6) When I have some flu symptoms, when I'm weak and I feel dizzy, I go to the doctor.</li> <li>7) When I have a symptom of some illness, I always go to the doctor.</li> <li>8) To get cured and to follow a treatment.</li> <li>9) I go when I get ill.</li> <li>10) I always go for a check up.</li> </ol>

	11) Generally when I suffer from some pain.
5.3 Does the cost of treatment influence your decision to go to either a doctor/modern clinic or a traditional healer?	<p>1) Money is always first. Well, the issue of money is much more when you want to follow a treatment in a private clinic. So, when you do not have much money (or nothing) we go to the hospital, where most things are free.</p> <p>2) Yes, money always affects you.</p> <p>3) Money always comes first, so it always affects you.</p> <p>4) Money always affects you.</p> <p>5) Money always affects you.</p> <p>6) Money always affects you.</p> <p>7) It depends. When you want to go to the doctor or a private clinic, you must first have enough money; however, if we go to the hospital the treatment is often free.</p> <p>8) Above everything else is money; money always affects you.</p> <p>9) Yes, money always affects you, wherever you want to go.</p> <p>10) Money always affects you.</p> <p>11) Money is always first, in whatever case.</p>
5.4 Which do you believe is more reliable to treat illness?	<p>1) Above everything I trust the doctor, then the yachak.</p> <p>2) The doctor.</p> <p>3) For me both are reliable, depending on the disease; both have the same degree of ability to heal based on their own knowledge.</p> <p>4) It depends on the illness. The yachak for some illnesses, the doctor for others.</p> <p>5) I have more confidence in doctors.</p> <p>6) For me, the doctor is more reliable.</p> <p>7) It depends on the person and their faith. I respect yachaks a lot because my grandfather was a healer. I also respect many of the doctors. Therefore, depending on the diseases, the two can have the same degree of confidence.</p> <p>8) I believe in the doctor, not the yachak.</p> <p>9) For me, the doctor.</p> <p>10) I trust in the doctor.</p> <p>11) I trust in doctors.</p>

5.5 Do you think that doctors/clinics are more effective for treating some illnesses and traditional healers (curandero/as) others? Please describe.

- 1) Yes, I believe in this. In reality, the doctors do not know to deep the evil that overwhelms the life of a person, for example, *malaire* and *espanto* can only be treated by the Yachak.
- 2) Evil eye or *malaire* can only be treated by the Yachak, but more difficult cases, for example a prostate infection, can only be done by a doctor.
- 3) Doctors cannot cure or treat cases of sorcery or witchcraft; only yachak can treat these cases. Doctors are experts in surgery issues.
- 4) Doctors are effective at treating cancer, but only the yachak can treat *malaire*.
- 5) Yes I believe that the Yachak can cure and / or heal what the doctors can't treat. And there are cases that neither can, neither the Yachak nor the doctor. For example, there are diseases that can not be detected by doctors and that healers can't see or advise you about either.
- 6) The yachaks can not cure to the same level as a doctor. Maybe yachaks can cure diseases like *malaire* and *susto*, but nothing more.
- 7) Since I was able to reason, I always dealt with the doctors, so I don't know anything about yachaks. Honestly, if a healer heals me of any illness, I can believe or trust him.
- 8) I have heard that only the Yachak can heal certain diseases, for which one must have a lot of faith. Despite this, I do not believe [it]; for me, everything is a doctor. The doctor can cure all diseases.
- 9) Only doctors can treat a fever; only healers can treat *malaire*.
- 10) Both are effective. The yachak / healer can cure what the doctor can not heal / treat. For example, a good yachak can cure a tumor that doctors often can not.
- 11) Both the doctor and the traditional healer are effective in the treatment of illness, depending on the disease or its severity.

Commented [EC1]: Note that sometimes answers are very contradictory. This is from someone who categorically states that he wouldn't trust a curandero.

<b>SALASAKA – RECORDED INTERVIEWS</b>	
<b>Question</b>	<b>Responses</b>
5.1 When do you go to a yachak or a traditional healer?	<p>12) I think I went some two months ago. I started to go to the healer when they advised me. For example, I lwent when your father left me to work and I thought I was going to be left alone with the children and he was with another woman, also other people told me that I should get a cleansing with a healer to come back to you and love you.<sup>2</sup></p> <p>13) I have been to a yachak to cleanse me with a cuy because I used to get uncontrollably drunk.</p> <p>14) I went once when I had lost my necklace of beads, only on this occasuon. I don't really have much faith in them.</p> <p>15) When I have no appetite and when I get bad dreams I go to a yachak.</p>
5.2 When do you go to a doctor or to the modern clinic?	<p>12) I go to the doctor when I have more serious illnesses or when I have srong pains, also you go to the doctor when you want to cure children [of illness].</p> <p>13) I do not usually go but lately if I've gone since my ability to see has reduced.</p> <p>14) I almost always go to the doctor for whatever disease.</p> <p>15) I've never been to a doctor because I have always treated myself with medicinal plants. Once I went to a doctor when I had a headache and a hemhorrhage, but they didn't want to attend me and neither did they heal me even though inspite of having taken out pints of blood. I cured myself with medicinal plants.</p>
5.3 Does the cost of the treatment affect you if you decide to go to the doctor/modern clinic or a traditional healer?	<p>12) You always have to have money should you go tio the doctor or the healer. For example, they say that when you go to the healer after the cleansing you have to pay to make it [the treatment] effective, if you don't pay there's no benefit (ie beneficial effect).</p> <p>13) You always have to see if you have the money. If I don't have it it's very hard to go.</p> <p>14) The money isn't important to me.</p> <p>15) Yes, money influences you in making these decisions, as much as for going to the doctor as the yachak.</p>
5.4 Which do you believe is more reliable to treat illness?	<p>12) I have faith in both of them, the doctor and the yachak.</p>

<sup>2</sup> Unclear if she is talking about her husband or to the interviewer, who's her son.

	<p>13) Depending upon the illness, I have believed that those who clean with cuys as well as the doctor are both reliable.</p> <p>14) The yachak is more trustworthy [though this contradicts 5.1].</p> <p>15) Because I am a practitioner of ancestral medicine I believe more in the <i>apus</i> (mountain spirits) because they have given me the wisdom and the medicinal plants.</p>
<p>5.5 Are doctors/clinics more efficacious for some illnesses and traditional healers for others. Please describe if so.</p>	<p>12) Both have the capacity to heal you or to treat illnesses well, obviously according to the type or class of illness.</p> <p>13) Doctors treat deafness and blindness. However, yachaks treat malare and evil eye. I think that neither one nor the other can see or treat a major illness.</p> <p>14) Both doctor and yachak can heal the same kind of illness I commented that there are currently no good yachaks. For example, in her time, my mother was one of the best healers so we did not need to go to a medical center if we had any ailments. On the other hand, doctors scare people with large machines and injections.</p> <p>15) Leaving us a little there, the only one who can cure all evils is the Jawamunda Jatun Taita [God of Heaven].</p>