

ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF RELIGIOUS SPIRITUAL ALTERNATIVE TREATMENT

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A B S T R A C T

In recent years, the phenomenon of alternative medicine has been widely discussed in various media on the case of religious spiritual alternative treatment. This treatment becomes one of the efforts undertaken by the community to solve health problems they are experiencing. This phenomenon has long been developed in a society that is considered very strong with the spiritual things. This study shows many factors that influence people in utilizing alternative treatments. Some factors include family factors, personal experience, economy and culture. This study aims to find out how the patient's health trust on alternative supernatural medicine with the help of Ustad seen from Health Belief Model Theory and theory of cognitive dissonance.

HBM is a cognitive model which means that individual behavior is influenced by cognitive processes in itself. This cognitive process is influenced by several factors: demography, socio-psychological, and structural. Demographics include class, age, gender. Sosisopsychological characteristics include, personality, peers, and group pressure. While the structural knowledge and experience about the problem. There are also 6 important aspects of Health Belief Model (HBM), which are perceived susceptibility, perceived severity, perceived benefits, perceived barriers, cues to action, and self efficacy. While the theory of cognition dissonance itself argues that dissonance is an uncomfortable feeling that motivates people to take steps to reduce the discomfort. The method used in this research is qualitative with ethnographic study approach which is more focused on the concept of culture and belief system. Snowball sampling is used as selection of respondents or resource persons method. Where the data will be obtained from the sources will be stopped when the authors find the data saturated. The

results of this study is an alternative treatment undertaken by the informants as these patients vary. Not only are there medical diseases that can be resolved medically, there is also a disease that is not known by the medical and also some who want to produce blessing or avoid a negative energy felt by the patient.

KEY WORDS : Ethnographic Study. Alternative Treatment, Health Communication, Health Belief Model; Cognitive Dissonance

INTRODUCTION

Background

The phenomenon of alternative treatment has become a topic that been discussed widely in recent years. This treatment becomes one way that people choose to solve their health problem. In Indonesia, alternative treatment is another choice when patient has done medical treatment. Alternative treatment has special place in Indonesian society, it means when patient has done any kind of treatments then they end up choosing religious spiritual alternative treatment.

Along with the development of medical and health technology, it doesn't decrease patient eagerness to come to alternative treatment places. Not often there's patient who is recovered and healed, there is also patient that doesn't get any significant change, and also there is patient that becomes dupe of alternative treatment. This kind of fraud presumption is hard to be revealed in Indonesia. It is because Indonesia is a law country in a positive ideology. That phenomenon also becomes a serious public attention. It is proven by news release from many medias about presumption of that fraud.

There are many cases of criminal fraud with many kinds of ways, both in rational way and also in irrational one. Those practices are considered to be very harmful to one side and not often the case is forced to be accomplished through criminal proceedings. The method of alternative treatment that is used by the society is usually not logical because it is very different and not appropriate with the concept of modern treatment, such as the use of animal to be transferred the disease, the use of supernatural power, water of prayer, etc.

Jauhari (2008) in his research shows that there are many factors that influence society in using alternative treatment. Those factors are experience, economy, and culture. That alternative treatment phenomenon is called etnomedisin. Etnomedisin is a belief and practices that are related with disease which are the result of the development of culture that is authentic, explicit, and does not come from any modern medical structure. (Anderson and Foster, 1986).

Anderson and Foster divide the kind of etnomedisin into two kinds, they are personalistic system and naturalistic system. Personalistic system is

a system where an illness is caused by an intervention of an active gen. That active gen refers to supernatural creature (ghaib or gods), creature which is not human (ghost, evil or ancestral spirit) or even human (witch or necromancer). While naturalistic system believes in a model of human body balance. Human will be healthy if the unsure of his body such as heat, cool, body liquid, yin and yang are balance (Anderson and Foster, 1986).

The term of alternative treatment itself is familiar to Indonesian since the old time. The use of alternative treatment through ustadz or (shaman) is not only done by villager/urban society but also by modern society. The representation of villager still believes in a strong culture and tradition. It goes without saying if they still use alternative treatment method, yet in fact there is also many modern society who does this kind of treatment, let's say officials and public figure.

In this research, researcher will focus only on the reason of personalistic system where in treatment of personalistic system there is a term which is known as shaman or witchdoctor. The phenomenon of this alternative treatment has happened and grown fast in the society since the old time and strongly considered has correlation with spiritual things. From this phenomenon, the researcher wants to know about how the patient's health belief, their thought or perception on their health behavior in doing alternative treatment by using the theory of Health Belief Model, dissonance cognitive and some concepts of motive.

In the study of health psychology, individual perception in doing and choosing health behavior are reviewed in the theory of Health Belief Model (HBM). HBM is an individual health belief model in determining a behavior whether to do or not to do a health behavior (Conner and Norman, 2005). Health Belief Model (HBM) is often considered as the main frame in behavior which has correlation with human health and has pushed the study of behavior since 1950-ish (Kirscht, 1988; Schmidt et al, 1990). This thing has made HBM as a model which describes someone's consideration before they behave healthy. Therefore, HBM has a function as a preventive model (Stanley and Maddux: 1986).

HBM is a cognitive model which means an individual's behavior is influenced by a cognitive process within himself. That cognitive process is influenced by some factors such as demography, socio-psychology, and structural. Demography is included class, age, gender. The characteristics of socio-psychology are included personality, peers, and community pressure. While structural is experience and knowledge about problem. There are six important aspects that are raised in this Health Belief Model. The first, Perceived Susceptibility is someone's belief with considering that having illness or disease is a result from doing something in the past. Perceived Susceptibility also means as perceived vulnerability which means the vulnerability that felt which refers to the possibility of someone having

illness. The second, Perceived Severity, subjective belief in illness spreading is caused by behavior or believing in how much dangerous is an illness so that they avoid unhealthy behavior in order not get sick. This means believing in the severity which an individual could get. The third, Perceived Benefits, is a belief in luck from a method, which is recommended to decrease the risk of illness. In summary it means a luck perception has positive correlation with healthy behavior. An individual who is aware with that luck will continue doing healthy behavior. The fourth, Perceived Barriers, is a belief about the value of behavior which is done. It means barrier perception or the decrease of comfort in leaving unhealthy behavior. The fifth, Cues to Action, fasten the action that makes someone needs to take action and do real action to do healthy behavior. The last, Self Efficacy, is someone's belief to persuade the situation or feel confident with the health behavior that is done. Self-Efficacy is divided into two; they are outcome expectancy such as receiving good response and outcome value such as receiving social value.

Then cognitive dissonant, is someone's feeling when they find themselves doing something which is inappropriate with what they know, or having an opinion that is inappropriate with another opinion that they believe in (West and Turner, 2013:137). Human brings many kinds of cognitive unsure or elements within himself, such as: attitude element, perception, knowledge, and behavior element (Morrison, 2013:98). This theory enables two elements to have 3 different relationships with each other: Consonant, Dissonant, or Irrelevant. Consonant relationship is between two elements when the two elements are balance with each other. Dissonant relationship means the elements are not balance with each other, while irrelevant relationship is when the elements don't implicate anything to each other (West and Turner, 2013:137-138).

Three factors that can influence the level of dissonant that is felt by someone they are, (1) concerns level, (2) number of dissonant which is influenced by dissonant ratio, (3) dissonant level which is influenced by rationality (Zimbardo, Ebbesen, and Maslach in West and Turner, 2013:140-141). Situation that can push the dissonant appearance they are: (1) when making decision; (2) obedience that is done; (3) getting into new community; (4) social support; and (5) effort (Morrison, 2013:100). Someone can decrease dissonant with; (1) decreasing our dissonant belief importance; (2) adding consonant belief; or (3) omitting dissonant with certain way (West and Turner, 2013:142).

While motive itself, is used to support the theory of cognitive dissonant. Motive that is discussed in this research is biogenetic motive and socio-genetic motive. Biogenetic motive is a motive that comes from needs of human for their survival biologically (Gerungan, 2010:152). The second motive s socio-genetic motive is a motive to determine someone in shaping his social behavior. Socio-genetic motive is a motive that been learned by humans and

comes from cultural environment where they live and grow. This motive doesn't grow by itself, but based on social interaction with people or a cultural result from where someone lives.

Methodology

Research method that is used in this research is qualitative, with ethnography study approach. Ethnography is used to observe human's behavior relates to communication technology development in certain social setting and culture. Ethnography research method is considered to be able to get more information from wide sources. With the technique of "observatory participant", ethnography becomes a unique research method because it requires researcher direct participation in a certain society or social community. The other uniqueness is because this method is the root of Anthropology's birth which is condensed with community study.

Not as lucky as discourse analysis, case study and semiotic. In all this time not many certain books which discussed about ethnography research method in communication, especially in Indonesia. This method has not widely adapted yet by researcher in communication study, even though its contribution is recognized enough in providing reflection about society and technology development.

Ethnography is one of qualitative strategy research where the researcher needs to observe a cultural community in a native environment in a long period in collecting main data, observing data, and interviewing data (Cresswell, 2014: 20). The process of the research is flexible and it usually grows based on condition in responding life reality that is faced in the field (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999 in Creswell, 2014: 20).

The collecting data itself is done by interviewing some informants who are met also document of observation's result which is written in descriptive narrative as a note of some things that are got from the field. This direct interview is supported by a voice recorder to make the data process that is got from the informants is easier.

R E S U L T A N D D I S C U S S I O N

This research is involved three informants who give their life experiences when they were doing alternative spiritual treatment. In this research, the writer writes names with initial in order to keep the informants' privacy. Those informants are 2 women and a man. Two women with initials LN and IP, while the man with initial MP. Those three informants come from different places and do the treatment also in different places. But the same thing is they are also patient of spiritual alternative treatment. The unique thing is those three informants have different problems related in that spiritual treatment.

LN came not to cure the physical illness that she has, but to “cure” let’s say make many customers come to her business place.

LN, a woman 34 years old, has a café in one place in Purwakarta, West Java. Her café business was started since 2015. In the beginning of its opening until the first three months, the café she has was lack of customers. LN’s friend recommended her to come to spirual therapy place. In the first time, LN refused to come to spiritual treatment place because she thought that kind of treatment used the help of ghost or evil. Then, after being told by her friend that that spiritual place was done by kyai or preacher and the processed was through prayer and ruqyah, at the end LN did it because she has thought that there was a negative energy that was stuck in her business place.

The first time LN came to kyai’s treatment place in Subang. LN was being ruqyah and prayed, after that she’s bathed with water of flower. LN’s reaction was throwing up and in the kyai’s opinion; LN was under a spell or got a black magic. In the kyai’s opinion, that black magic or witchery was done by someone who didn’t like LN opened a café, so that made her café was lack of customers. The throw up was a black magic form that has been taken out from LN body. The kyai said that the black magic worked by making LN face looked as if it’s disgusting and ugly and made the customers unwilling to come.

Then the treatment method that was done to repel the black magic’s negative energy in LN’s café was by using water and salt that were prayed by the kyai. The technique was by pouring the water and the salt three times in every corner of her café. This process must be done three times and she also had to visit that treatment places to get the result. This thing made LN was addicted to come to kyai every time she gets some troubles in her business, and also as a motivation for her to continue doing treatment to kyai. The cost to do this treatment is quite expensive, because every visit to have consultation and treatment, it costs about Rp 300.000. But the cost doesn’t decrease LN’s willing and effort to come to have consultation and treatment. The result of the treatment, in LN’s opinion, is proven worked after three visits to have treatment. Her café now is crowded by customers.

IP’s story is different with LN that does alternative treatment to make her café visited by customers and far from negative energy, IP was having a strange illness that couldn’t be found by doctor. She’s been having her illness for about 3 years. She felt his pain around her stomach, breast and head. In her stomach he felt like his stomach was being stabbed, while in her breast he felt like being beaten and detained until she felt out of breath. The last the pain was like vertigo. She felt those things when it came to maghrib or night.

IP, 32 years old, who is working in a government area had come to some doctors and hospital, but every time she’s being examined (perhaps because it’s afternoon), doctors didn’t find any illness in her body. Her family believed that IP’s illness was from a black magic and then recommended IP to

come to spiritual a therapy place. Different from LN who came to a kyai, IP came to a shaman/witchdoctor. Since her living place is near from a famous witchdoctor. In the first time she was unwilling to come because she's a civil servant and prioritizes something that is logic than magic, but because her family who were afraid of something worse would come and also the feeling of curious in IP herself, she then decided to come to the witchdoctor who's near with her house.

After visiting to the witchdoctor place, IP got a quite surprising result. The illness that she's been having for several years was a "gift" from someone. The other surprising thing was that the sickness was a "moving sickness" from someone who was having a medical sickness. In a spiritual treatment world like this, moving the sickness could be done by moving it from the human body to animal or another thing such as an egg.

The method that was done by the witchdoctor were spells and Sudanese prayers to Sang Hyang Widi. IP said that the witchdoctor still believes in Sunda Buhun, thing that is more like Jawa Kejawen. That thing could be seen through his practicing place that was full with relic things and incense in certain places. Those spells were said into a bottle that was brought by IP. After the spells were done, the witchdoctor asked IP to drink and wash her face with the water. The next step was IP was given a thing which looked like a black talisman/ charm that must being rubbed onto the pain every time she felt it. Besides that, the witchdoctor required IP to be massaged by him. When being massaged, IP was asked to come to a certain room and his family not allowed entering. At the first time she was afraid since she is a woman and the witchdoctor is a man and was required to do massage in her pain which are stomach, breast and head. The worries came when she had to be massaged in her breast, but because of her big willing to recover, in the end she didn't care her worries and her embarrassment. The witchdoctor said, if she wanted to have a total recovery, she had to have the spells and massage every Friday night and be done after maghrib prayer. That thing was done in a month and IP committed to do that. After a month she felt a positive impact from that spiritual alternative treatment. The pain in her stomach, breast and head were never been felt anymore until now.

MB is a man, 61 years old, who's having stroke since 2011 in Palembang. The first time he had stroke, he had an inpatient for a month to have a medical treatment in a hospital. After having a medical treatment, MB also had had many treatments medically and spiritually (alternative).

Many choices of methods in curing stroke that he's having made MB chose alternative treatment with spiritual approach which was his first experience in having a treatment. From many of those, MB had massaging treatment with prayers in treatment method which was done four times by an ustadz. He knew the first introductory way in alternative treatment practice by a spiritual approach was from a friend of him when MB still worked.

The first meeting was in MB's house when the meeting actually was only to say greetings and talk about the illness he's having. The conversation then came into his friend's influencing MB and made him want to know directly about a treatment that he's listening to. As a beginning, the ustadz just did massage in his legs and hands that got a partial paralyzed. The ustadz then said payers that he said silently (just lips moving). What the ustadz did then could convince MB directly through what MB felt that time. The warm on his left hand and legs were considered influencing him and made him felt comfortable though the way of massaging was very hard and painful.

The second meeting was in the next three days after the first meeting. On that day, that ustadz brought oil that he got from a teacher where he learned and got knowledge about alternative treatment. The oil that the ustadz brought was green from Arab, even he didn't know what it's made of. The treatment practice was done by using the oil to massage MB's body that's considered as bloodstream and neural flume for the treatment process. In doing his practice, the ustadz kept saying something silently while he's massaging, this was a question for MB. The ustadz said that he only read Al-Quran verses, but he didn't explain what verse that he read silently.

What happened to MB then very influenced him in believing that alternative treatment. MB felt a great warmness that become heat in his body part that's being massaged by the ustadz by using the green oil and made MB screaming painfully and shedding tears a little bit because what he felt was a great pain. Yet MB felt that was the impact of the treatment, when after the pain that he felt then soon decreasing. The thing that made MB believed more was his friend's saying that the ustadz never massaged him that hard but he felt so much pain that made him tearing. There was also small screaming from his mouth, both the ustadz kept talking silently. After it's done, the ustadz said that the next meeting was next week according to the schedule that's been arranged together. It's because the blood stream and the neural flume couldn't be massaged too often because it would make the other parts coagulate. Before the ustadz's leaving he promised MB to bring water and it had to be drunk by him for his recovery.

The next week, the third meeting was held and the ustadz brought the water which was promised. The water was in a 1500ml bottle with a paper inside and Arabic letters on it for MB's recovery. At that time, MB asked what the effect and impact from that Arabic letters but the ustadz answered that recovery was only by The Giver's will. Since that time, then came distrust from MB himself, but the treatment kept going as planned. After the massage was done, the ustadz advised him to drink the water after he did the 5-time-prayer.

After one week apart, the last meeting was held, the ustadz asked what MB felt after doing treatment with him. MB just said subjective experiences at that time, but MB stopped to do the treatment because couldn't bear the pain

that he felt while he's been massaged and asked him to stop for a while. When it's needed, MB will call the ustadz, but he never does that anyway.

In this discussion, the researcher will write some things that were found from the result into tables based on HBM theory aspects, cognitive dissonant and motive concept.

a. Health Belief Model and Patient's Behaviour of Religious Spiritual Treatment

Name (Initials)	Aspects of Health Belief Model (HBM)					
	Perceived Susceptibility	Perceived Severity	Perceived Benefit	Perceived Barriers	Cues to Action	Self Efficacy
LN	She has thought that there was a negative energy that was stuck in her business place.	She believe that the longer negative energy remains in the café, it will lead to bankruptcy	After being told by her friend that that spiritual place was done by <i>kyai</i> or preacher and the processed was through prayer and <i>ruqyah</i> , she believes that will keep away the negative energy from her	She feels worried if she does not do the treatment with <i>ruqyah</i> and prayers and bath flowers, the negative energy will re-appear to interfere with the cafe business and herself	Then the treatment method that was done to repel the black magic's negative energy in LN's café was by using water and salt that were prayed by the <i>kyai</i> . The technique was by pouring the water and the salt three times in every corner of her café. This process must be done three times and she also had to visit that treatment places to get the result	After getting the treatment and feeling successful, LN felt confident because of the response from consumers who turned to be a lot of coming to the café.
IP	IP was having a strange illness that couldn't be found by doctor. She's been having her illness for about 3 years. She felt his pain around her stomach, breast and head	Her family believed that IP's illness was from a black magic and then	Her family recommended IP to come to spiritual a therapy place.	The method that was done by the witchdoctor were spells and Sudanese prayers to Sang Hyang Widi. The witchdoctor required IP to be massaged by him. She was afraid since she is a woman and the witchdoctor is a man and was required to do massage in her pain which are stomach, breast and head.	The worries came when she had to be massaged in her breast, but because of her big willing to recover, in the end she didn't care her worries and her embarrassment.	The witchdoctor said, if she wanted to have a total recovery, she had to have the spells and massage every Friday night and be done after <i>maghrib</i> prayer. That thing was done in a month and IP committed to do that. After a month she felt a positive impact from that spiritual alternative treatment. The pain in her stomach, breast and head were never been felt anymore until now

MB	MB is a man, 61 years old, who's having stroke since 2011 in Palembang. He had an inpatient for a month to have a medical treatment in a hospital	Families also felt worried if MB's stroke disease will be more severe, so MB sure to try the treatment	MB had massaging treatment with prayers in treatment method which was done four times by an <i>ustadz</i> . He knew the first introductory way in alternative treatment practice by a spiritual approach was from a friend of him when MB still worked	At first he believes that if not do the massage will impact the decrease of his condition and stroke will be longer suffered. So he felt the need to do the massage for 3 times	What happened to MB then very influenced him in believing that alternative treatment. MB felt a great warmness that become heat in his body part that's being massaged by the <i>ustadz</i> by using the green oil and made MB screaming painfully and shedding tears a little bit because what he felt was a great pain. Yet MB felt that was the impact of the treatment, when after the pain that he felt then soon decreasing.	The third meeting was held and the <i>ustadz</i> brought the water which was promised. The water was in a 1500ml bottle with a paper inside and Arabic letters on it for MB's recovery. At that time, MB asked what the effect and impact from that Arabic letters but the <i>ustadz</i> answered that recovery was only by The Giver's will. Since that time, then came distrust from MB himself. MB stopped to do the treatment because couldn't bear the pain that he felt while he's been massaged and asked him to stop for a while. When it's needed, MB will call the <i>ustadz</i> , but he never does that anyway
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b. Cognitive Dissonance Tabel of Religious Spiritual Treatment Patient

Name (initials)	Perseption	Action	Knowledge	Behavior
LN	She has thought that there was a negative energy that was stuck in her business place.	She refused to come to spiritual treatment place because she thought that kind of treatment used the help of ghost or evil	She want to come after being told by her friend that that spiritual place was done by <i>kyai</i> or preacher and the processed was through prayer and <i>ruqyah</i>	This thing made LN was addicted to come to <i>kyai</i> every time she gets some troubles in her business, and also as a motivation for her to continue doing treatment to <i>kyai</i> .
IP	IP was having a strange illness that couldn't be found by doctor. She's been having her illness for about 3 years. She felt his pain around her stomach, breast and head	The first time she was unwilling to come because she's a civil servant and prioritizes something that is logic than magic	Her family who were afraid of something worse would come and also the feeling of curious in IP herself, she then decided to come to the witchdoctor who's near with her house.	The worries came when she had to be massaged in her breast, but because of her big willing to recover, in the end she didn't care her worries and her embarrassment.
MB	MB is a man, 61 years old, who's having stroke since 2011 in Palembang. He had an inpatient for a month to have a medical treatment in a hospital	Many choices of methods in curing stroke that he's having made MB chose alternative treatment with spiritual approach which was his first experience in having a treatment.	The conversation then came into his friend's influencing MB and made him want to know directly about a treatment that he's listening to.	MB stopped to do the treatment because couldn't bear the pain that he felt while he's been massaged and asked him to stop for a while. When it's needed, MB will call the <i>ustadz</i> , but he never does that anyway.

c. Motives Table of Religious Spiritual Treatment Patient

Name (Initials)	Motives	
	Biogenetic Motive	Socio genetic Motive
LN	Want to avoid the distress that hit her and her place of business. He felt himself threatened	The motive of did this alternative treatment was followed by LN for hearing advice from her colleagues who had also done the treatment
IP	IP wants to get healing related strange diseases that attack and feel at certain times.	Her family who were afraid of something worse would come and also the feeling of curious in IP herself, she then decided to come to the witchdoctor who's near with her house.
MB	Want to get healed after a month's inpatient in hospital there's no changed	MB had massaging treatment with prayers in treatment method which was done four times by an <i>ustadz</i> . He knew the first introductory way in alternative treatment practice by a spiritual approach was from a friend of him when MB still worked

CONCLUSION

There are many kinds of alternative treatments that were done by the informants as patients. It's not only talking about physical illness that can be cured medically, but also there's also illness which is unknown by medics and also to get blessing or get off from negative energy that's felt by the patient. Based on perceived susceptibility, patient feels strange illness (LN and IP), while MB because of having stroke so they considered themselves are susceptible. Based on perceived severity, patient believes that he will get worse if he doesn't come to spiritual alternative treatment. Based on perceived benefits, patient gets many kinds of methods that are similar they are; giving prayers through methods, even it is massaging, ruqyah, or bathing with water of flower where patient takes the method because it's considered can heal him. Based on perceived barriers, there is worry relates to the treatment method that end up to cues to action where patient chooses to do that method because he wants to recover even the method is not match with his framework. Besides that, the next effect happens in self-efficacy where patient is addicted because feel satisfied with the result but there is also patient who stops like MB's case.

In perception, LN and IP believed that the illness they felt was strange, while MB felt after got stroke he wanted to recover. In attitude, LN and IP refused to do alternative treatment at the first time, while MB was interested

to choose alternative treatment beside of many kinds of treatments. While by knowledge, every patient was told different treatment methods in different places. Behaviorally, LN became addicted with alternative treatment, while IP felt uncomfortable at the first time with the massage because of the gender differences, but because she wanted to recover, she took it at the end, and MB decided to stop the treatment because it didn't heal him but only gave him pain when he's been massaged and also distrust issue to the ustadz. While by motive, biogenetic motive is talking about the willing to recover in patient himself and socio-genetic motive is because there's impulse from friends and family around the patients.

Suggestion relates to this research is, it's better for reader who wants to do alternative research to differ or sort wisely the decision to do that treatment. Firstly, see who does the treatment and find some testimonials from others that have come to that place. The thing that needs to be worried about is if there will be fraud on behalf of alternative treatment. This alternative method has so many methods and seems to be ingrained or deeply rooted in Indonesia because it's talking about the culture of Indonesian since the old time.

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