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**FINAL REPORT FOR USAID
GRANT NUMBER DAN-5053-G-00-1035-00
CONTRIBUTING FACOTRS IN CHOICE OF ETHNOBOTANICAL
TREATMENT FOR ILLNESS IN JAMAICA**

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The final report is divided into three parts: (1) a summary of the research conducted in the last two sites investigated during the month of June 1992, Chapelton in the Clarendon Parish and St. Margaret's Bay in the Portland Parish; (2) a summary analysis of all six sites; and (3) a section on works in progress.

PART ONE: SITE REPORTS

1.0 CHAPELTON, CLARENDON PARISH

The town of Chapelton is situated in Clarendon Parish, 13 miles north-northwest of the Capital May Pen and 51 miles from Kingston. In 1985 the Chapelton Hospital (built by slaves from Sutton) was down-graded by the Health Ministry to a Type III (extended) clinic but is still referred to as the Chapelton Community Hospital. Even though it is an extended clinic it has a 24 hour service for emergency and maternity cases. Spauldings Hospital which is 24 miles away is the receiving hospital.

In spite of being down-graded the Chapelton Community Hospital is still perceived by the community to be a hospital. Scores of people turn up daily and are screened before seeing the doctor. The commitment of the doctor is such that even if patients are screened out of the list, he usually sees all the people who turn up at the hospital for treatment.

In addition to the hospital there are four health centers in and around Chapelton. The "nanas" (lay mid-wives) and community health aides are to be found in the more remote areas. The largest clinics are for diabetes and hypertension, two of the major leading chronic illnesses in Jamaica. The incidence of running belly (infant diarrhea) is a major health problem for children. According to the Ministry of Health Officer in May Pen, running belly declined in mid-1991 but increased again in Nov/Dec of that same year.

The Ministry of Health is also attempting to improve the dental health care. They have expanded the dental clinic and are targeting the schools. Each school is allocated a day at the clinic.

It was also reported that there is a high incidence of mentally disturbed people in the Chapelton area. This is attributed to the ex-mayor of Mandeville's drive to rid his very clean and attractive town of wandering madmen. Allegedly the ex-Mayor collected the vagrants in a truck, took them to Chapelton and left them there.

Traditional healing is also practiced in Clarendon Parish and in the Chapelton area. Specific references were made to the **nanas, obeahmen, herbalists, church healers, and healers** (types unspecified). The multi-dimensional scaling revealed a series of interesting results some of which correspond to other data collected and some new findings.

1.1 PRACTITIONERS

The MDS on practitioners revealed two major groupings: **Supernatural (Spiritual and Occult)** and **Biomedical/Book Learned** (See MDS One). The **spiritual cluster** included mother healer, church mother, revivalist, church healer, spiritual healer and Lord. The Lord is associated with all illnesses and is perceived to be the primary physician and, therefore, is the first consulted. The **occult healers** included reader, seer, iniquity worker, bush doctor and balmist. As occurred in Hagley Gap, again the bush doctor was linked with the iniquity worker (obeah). The seer and reader were identified as the same, i.e., able to tell you if there was something wrong with you. As one respondent said, they will come to you and tell you, "I can read you up." Some respondents said that if a doctor could not tell you what was wrong, you would go to a reader/seer to see where the sickness came from. Balmist was linked with the spiritual/occult realm.

The **biomedical/family** grouping associated with natural illness consisted of: old people, mother, nanna, doctor, nurse, health aide, druggist and scientist. The first division in this cluster was the group of nana, mother, and old person from the others. These are often the first people consulted when there is an illness. In the second cluster is the doctor, nurse and health aide, i.e., the **trained biomedical practitioners**.

The third cluster consisted of the druggist and scientist. The scientist is somewhat distant from the group and its linkage with the druggist may reflect its ambiguous status. The **drug store** (versus **pharmacy**) is where a person goes in order to obtain medicine prescribed by an obeah man or scientist (an occult healer). The term scientist is also ambiguous. Some people associate it with the chemist/biologist of hospital-type research and others associate it with the "book learned" (deLaurence) occult healer who has achieved an elevated status (as MDs do also) because (s)he has book knowledge.

During the pile sorting the respondents tended to fall into dichotomous groupings of believers and non-believers in terms of belief in the obeah associated practitioners. However, the comment made by one respondent reflects a common sentiment, "If you believe in it, it can happen to you. Belief kills and belief cures." This same respondent attributed belief in the occult to his friends but not to himself.

1.2 ILLNESSES

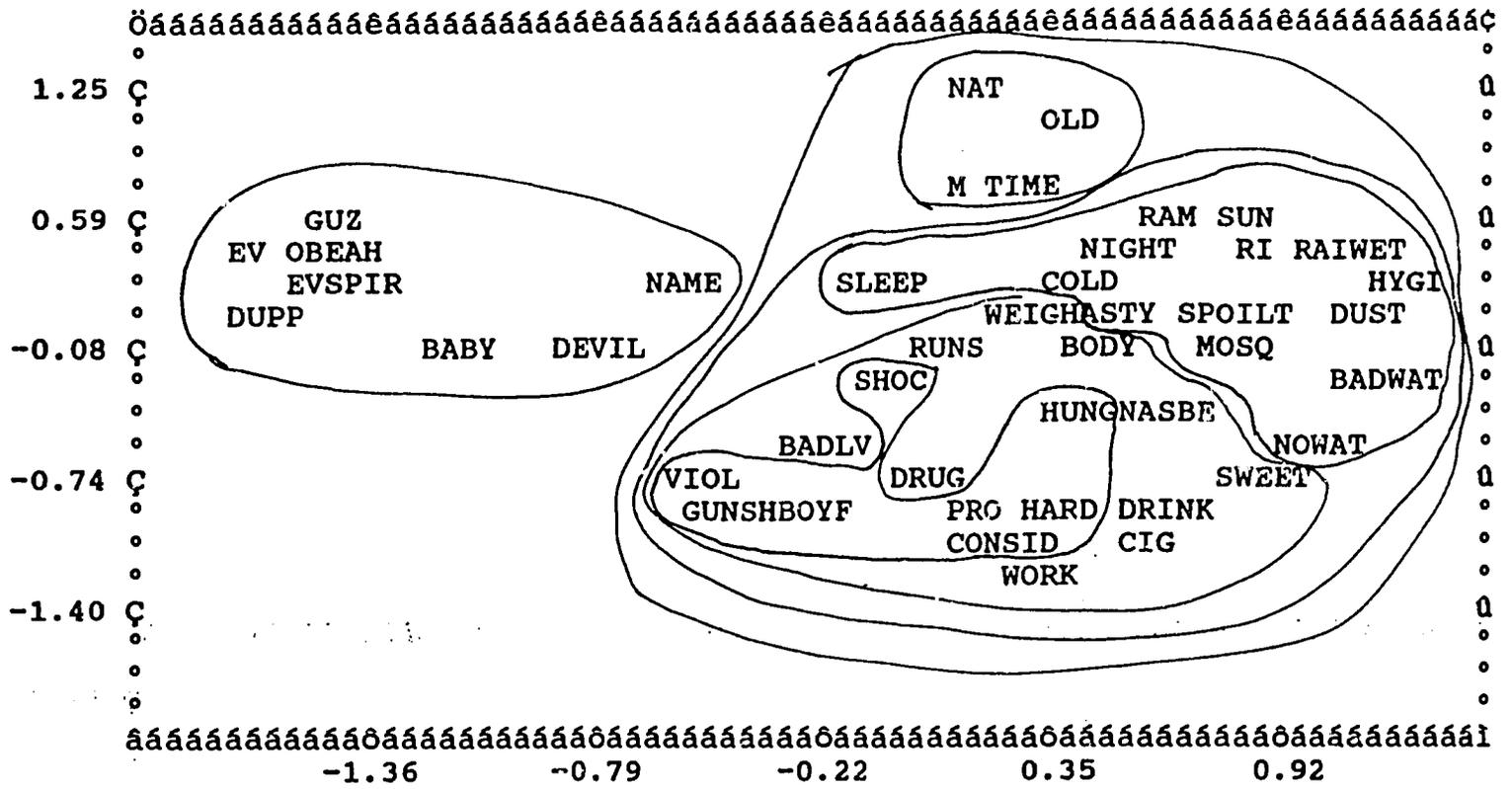
The MDS for illnesses is quite complex but seven basic clusters can be distinguished: **spiritual illnesses, psycho-social, external injuries, internal illnesses, ear/nose/throat, acute/endemic and chronic** (See MDS Two).

The **spiritual illnesses** were duppy sick, spirit sick, and nerves. **Psycho-social** problems include madness, woman problem, STDs and stoppage of water. **External injuries** included sores, bruises, chops, shotgun wound and cuts. **Internal problems** included low feeling, weak blood, low belly pain, malnourish, gas, belly sick, gastroenteritis, running belly, belly ache, diarrhea, and vomiting. The **ear/nose/throat** category includes pneumonia, bronchitis, asthma, teeth, ear and eye problems. **Endemic illnesses** include rash, chicken pox, headache, sinus, fever, cold and flu. The last category includes the **serious or chronic illnesses**, cysts, growths, flesh pain, muscle pain, joint pain, arthritis, God sick, natural illness, old age, cancer, HBP, diabetes.

Traditional medical beliefs were prevalent. For example, one respondent reported being "spirit sick." Three additional duppy anecdotes were recorded. Distrust of modern medical techniques was expressed by many respondents. Several people commented on eye disease. They stated that they would rather let their eyes deteriorate than scrape the eyeball. As one respondent put it, "Nobody allowed in the eye."

1.3 CAUSES

Causes clustered into seven basic groups (See MDS Three). The first category was the **occult** and consisted of the following causes: wrong naming of child, duppy play with baby, guzum, evil doings, obeah man, obeah, duppy, and evil spirit. The second category is causes associated with **exposure to environmental factors**: dust, cold, night air, rain, rain wet you, and sun. The third category is basically concerned with **germs**: river germs, no water, germs, spoilt food, bad water, and mosquito. The fourth category was **life style consequences**: nasty behavior, nasty, hygiene, and sleep around. The fifth was **psycho-social or life stresses**: gunshot, violence, shock, hunger, boyfriend problems, problems, consideration, hard times and hard work. The sixth grouping is **bad habits**: too much sweet, drink too much, cigarette



MDS THREE: CHAPELTON ETIOLOGY

smoking, drugs, bad living, don't care body, and overweight. The final category is causes that result from **old age** or **natural course of life**: malfunction of organ, time just come, runs in family, old age and natural.

One of the things that has remained consistent throughout all of the sites is that the causes and illnesses are grouped and discussed in a causal relation. There were also a number of different explanations of the what different terms meant; for example, time just come (your destiny/just hanging out/anything having to do with religion/age), sleep around (no where to sleep/when you sleep with somebody else's woman/sleep with a lot of women), and wrong naming of child (picked the wrong name/bastard child).

1.4 TREATMENTS

The treatment MDS consisted of four main groupings: **doctor's medicine, home remedies, occult medicine** and **stress reduction** (See MDS Four). The **doctor's medicine** included plenty water, ORH, liquid medicine, drip, antibiotics, injection, pills and tablets.

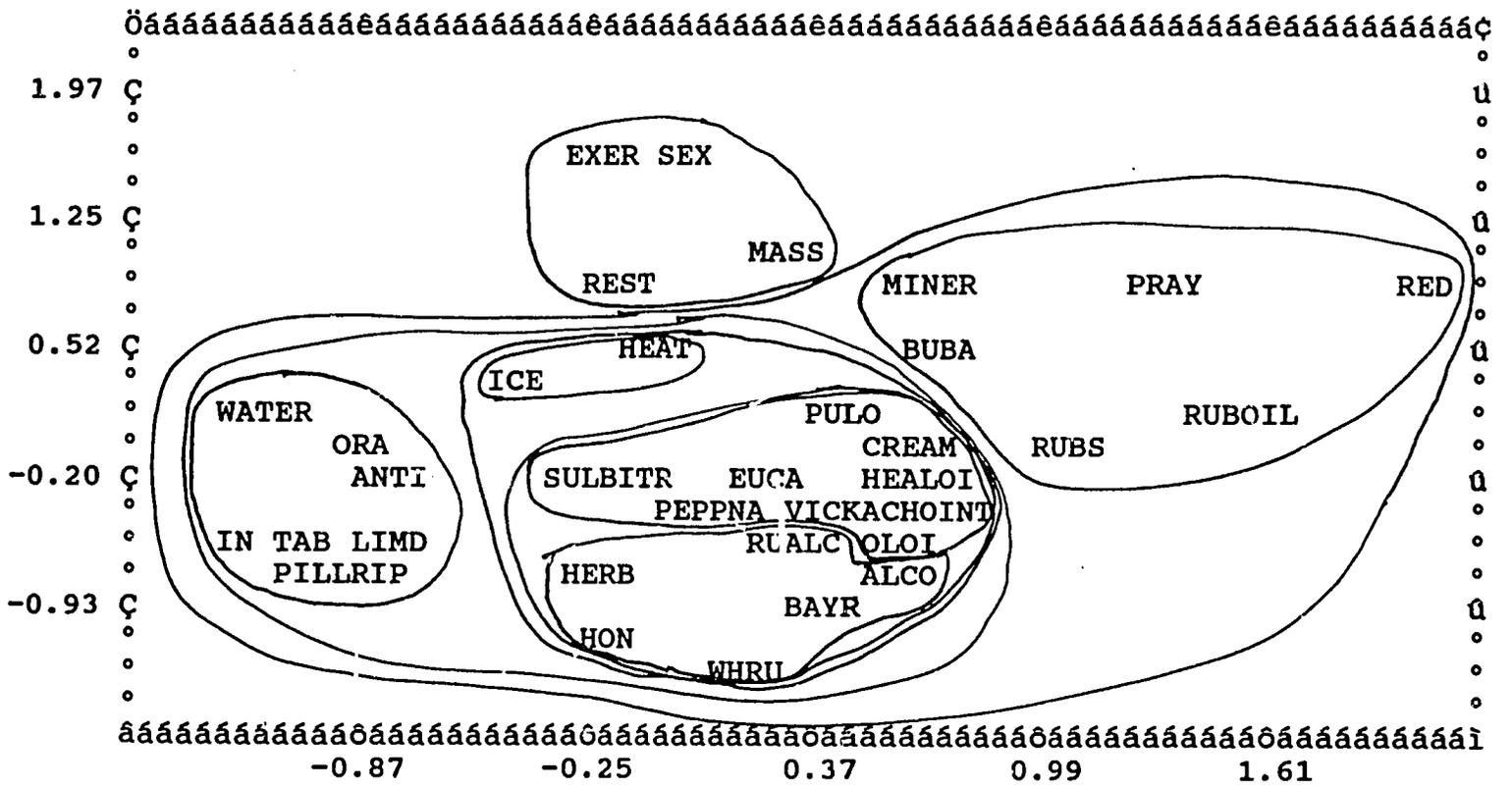
The second group of **home remedies** included cold ice, heat, senna pad, peppermint, sulphur bitters, cream, purple lotion, eucalyptus, olive oil, canadian oil, ointment, healing oil, rubbing alcohol, kananga water, vicks, herbs, bay rum, alcohol, white rum, black coffee and rum, lime and salt, honey and honey and lime. **Occult treatments** included mineral water, prayer, red bag, bush bath, rubbing oil, and rubs. The last group consists of **stress reduction or tension releasing treatments**: sex, exercise, massage, and rest. [Everybody gave a knowing laugh at the sex card.]

It was frequently noted by respondents that if a person believed in the bush teas they would try them first. The registered nurses interviewed supported the use of the bush teas. The most extensive discussions with respondents revolved around bush teas revealing again an extensive general knowledge of the bush among the population.

An interesting note in the area of traditional beliefs is revealed in the observation made after several visits to the community hospital. There is a high incidence of patients and in particular babies being clothed in red. Red is the color worn by spiritual healers when performing healing rituals. Red is the color said to "run duppies" (evil spirits) and prevent them from playing with the babies. A number of women wore a red "thread" bag under their blouses to "ward off duppies."

1.5 ETHNOBOTANICALS

The ethnobotanicals were divided into three major groups (See MDS five): herbs for **blood, skin and hair** which included tuna, sinkle bible, breadfruit leaf, sour sop leaf, cashew, tambrin leaf,



MDS FOUR: CHAPELTON TREATMENTS

worm bush, gully root, and coconut water. The second group was for belly and natural disorders. The last group consisted of the major cold bushes.

It was noted that many of the bushes had multiple uses. Many people had a favorite herb which would be their "capital" bush. Education and age seemed to have a bearing on knowledge, the old, uneducated, and unemployed were the most knowledgeable. Some said, "almost all the herbs had a use", and "God made it so, He made it for a reason." Many of the herbs were used as food and spices in addition to their curing roles.

Some bushes are used for spiritual illnesses, e.g., spirit weed and sweet basley are used to ward off duppies. But they are also good cold bushes.

General impressions indicate that there might be a correlation between the age, education, and employment of respondents and their belief in folk medicine. The older people, who were not educated or did not have a job, believed in or were more knowledgeable in the folk medicine. Young people who were unemployed or uneducated also tended to have strong belief in folk medicine but did not necessarily have an extensive knowledge of the bush teas. People who were educated (at least secondary school) or were gainfully employed, in spite of age, believed more in biomedicine and revealed less knowledge of folk medicine. Young people (20 and younger) in general seemed to have less knowledge of folk medicine. [Note: sociodemographic analysis of the data should be completed by June 1993.]

People in general were open and enthusiastic about sharing their information and as could be expected older people seemed to reflect a seasoned understanding of the information.

2.0 ST. MARGARET'S BAY, PORTLAND PARISH

St. Margaret's Bay is a small fishing/farming community about 10 miles from Port Antonio located in the Portland Parish. Farming takes place in the hills above St. Margaret's and fishing occurs along the shoreline. The men do most of the farming and the fishing and many women are higglers. Many people go to work in Port Antonio in government jobs or private industry such as furniture building and tailoring. The foods grown by the farmers include yams, mangoes, dasheen, bananas, ginger, breadfruit, carrots, tomatoes, cucumber, etc.

The health care facilities in St. Margaret's Bay include a Type I clinic (for pregnant mothers only) located up the hill in Mt. Pleasant and also a Type I clinic by the Post Office on the main seacoast road. For major health care people go to Port Antonio to the hospital, clinic, or pharmacy approximately 6 miles away. There is also a clinic in Hope Bay, ten miles away.

Problems encountered at the hospital and clinics are the same as elsewhere including a long extended waiting period, anywhere from 3 to 6 hours to all day long.

The waiting time and the expense are two major issues for people in the community concerning biomedical health care. If acutely ill, transportation also becomes a major issue as it may cost several hundreds of dollars to get private transportation to go to the hospital.

The private doctor is another health care resource but a visit to the doctor costs \$100 for a consultation, and up to \$600 if there is need to treat a "real complaint". Most people do not carry health insurance. If one takes a bus to Port Antonio for health care then it will cost only about \$4 to \$8. But in the event of an emergency it will cost up to \$300 by taxi to get to Port Antonio. Even when people go to see the doctor they are not always able to afford the medicine as it is too expensive. The bush is the first recourse for most people in the area and the doctor is sought out only if the problem persists.

In addition to the Port Antonio hospital there is also a mental health clinic. In an interview with Mr. Monroe, who directs the program, he noted that few people come in with a complaint of "duppy on them" as the perceived cause of their illness, although he was able to think of two who had recently done so. Compliance for treatment is better for the older people while the young people tend not to come regularly or at all.

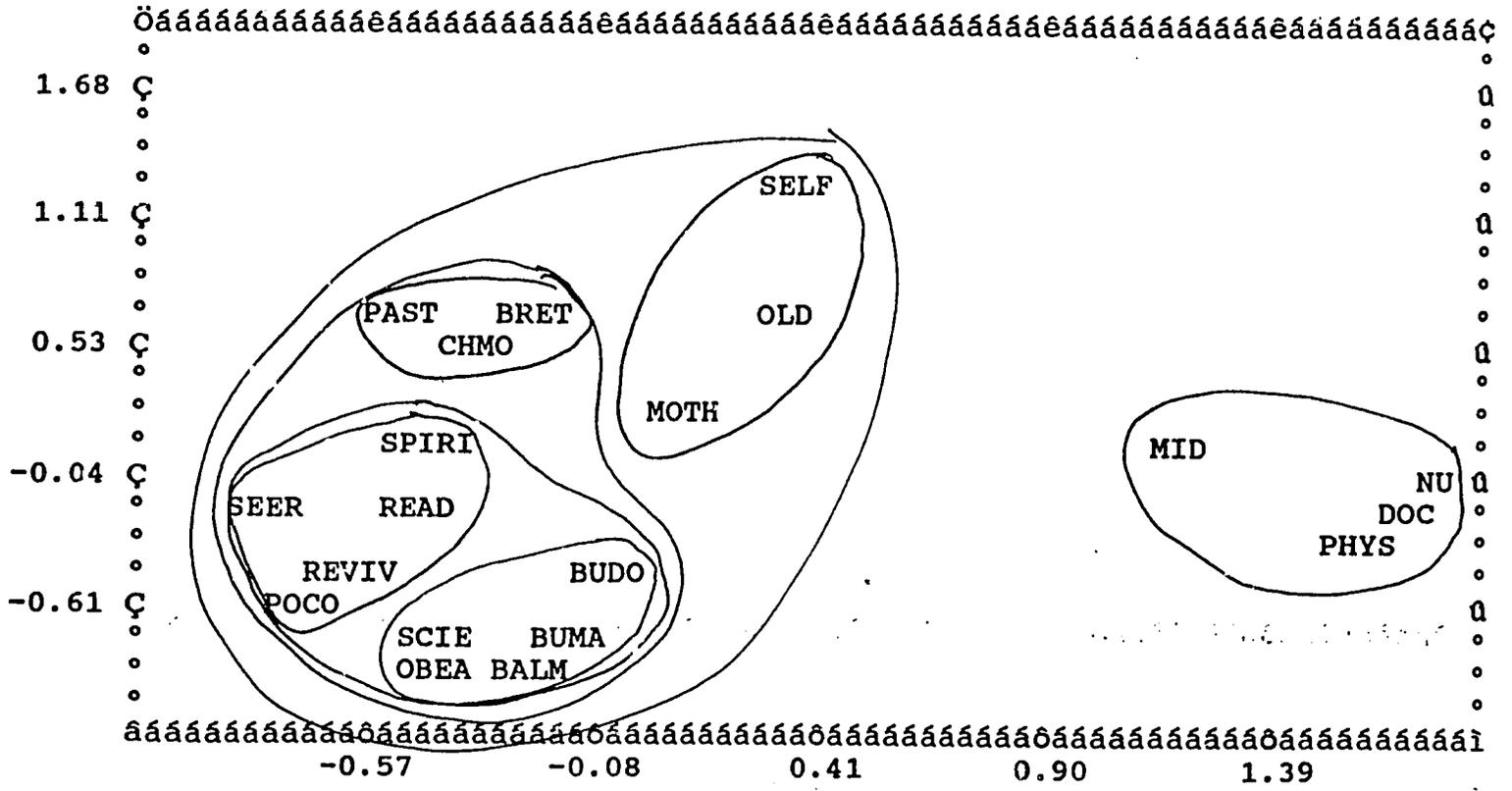
Following is a summary of the MDS for Port Antonio: practitioners, illnesses, causes, treatments, and bush teas.

2.1 PRACTITIONERS

The practitioners in St. Margaret's Bay clustered into five clusters (see MDS Six). The first major cluster included two sub-clusters: 1) **biomedical** - doctor, nurse, physician and midwife (nana); and 2) **family/ community** - self, old people, biological mother. The second major cluster included the **supernatural healers** and consisted of three sub-clusters. 1) **denominational church** - pastor, brethren, church mother; 2) **spiritual healing** - spiritual mother, revivalist, pocoman, seer and reader; and finally 3) **the occult** - bush doctor, bush man, science man, obeah man, balmyard healer (mentioned but not actually found in the area).

The poverty in the area has resulted in people relying more on family and elders in communities and bush teas as a first recourse rather than biomedicine.

There was a high level of denial concerning the use of obeah; however, in spite of this denial five healers, referred to by respondents as obeah workers, were frequently mentioned by people



MDS SIX: ST.MARGARET'S PRACTITIONERS

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in the community and we were encouraged to interview them.

Interviews were conducted with three of the five healers mentioned by the respondents (Brother Mack, The Captain, and Brother Herbbie) and with the family and community members of one other, Sister Mack, who was away at a funeral. Three of the healers were Revivalists, Brother Mack in St. Margaret's, The Captain in Shrewsbury, Sister Mack in Mooretown. Brother Herbbie near Annatto Bay was the older brother of two brothers known throughout the island for their "iniquity work". He referred to himself as a "healer" but people in the community referred to him as an obeah man or scientist.

The Captain and Sister Mack, while Revivalists with congregations, were perceived to be associated with the occult by respondents. One factor which may attribute to this designation besides their status as Revivalists is that they extract objects, e.g., pins, money, live rats, bugs, broken bottle, lint, nails, etc. from their patients. One common sentiment is that in order to deal with obeah you have to know obeah.

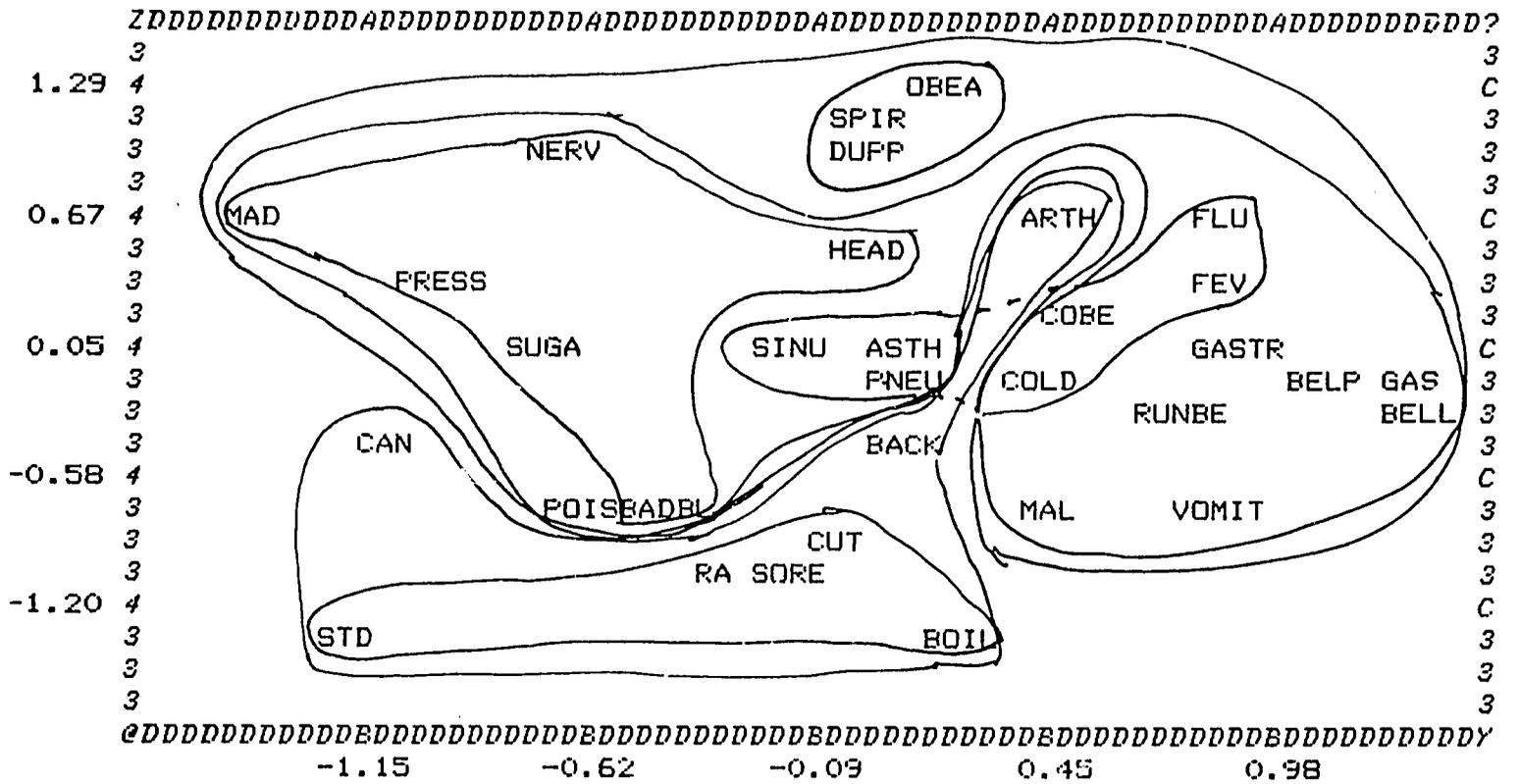
In addition to Brother Mack, there were two other Revival healers interviewed in St. Margaret's. Brother Mack and Sister Ivy had churches but no congregations to speak of. Sister Rezna was the only one who appeared to have a fully operational congregation and had healing services every Wednesday night. The night we attended the service there were approximately 25 people in attendance.

Also similar to what has been found in all of the other sites, the spiritual healer and obeah man were the primary health care givers for duppy sick. For madness it was the MD and spiritual healer people sought out for help.

An innovative project The Rio Grande Community Development Project in the Port Antonio area has recently added a medical component which has as one of its objectives to begin basic training of midwives (nannas) - particularly in hygiene and sanitation issues. The "nanna" is a "family health care provider" and is folk trained.

2.2 ILLNESSES

The clustering of illnesses was somewhat complex. There were six basic groups (See MDS seven): 1) **age related** - arthritis, back pain, and cancer; 2) **lesions** - STD, sores, rash, cuts, boil; 3) **occult** - obeah, duppy, spirit, 4) **cold related** - cold in belly, fever, flu, asthma, pneumonia, cold, sinus; 5) **nerve induced** - bad blood, pressure, sugar, madness, nerves, headache; and 6) **belly sickness** - poison, malnutrition, belly ache, belly pain, gas, gastroenteritis, running belly, and vomiting.



MDS SEVEN: ST.MARGARET'S ILLNESSES

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The illnesses are once again perceived in causal relationships with each other. For example, if the rain wets you, you can get a cold, and the symptoms from that cold can give you flu; STD can come from having a cut and the germ gets in the cut, and this leads to a rash, or sores and boils.

Sugar and pressure were prevalent in the community. A report in The Daily Gleaner identified sugar as the fifth most common cause of death in Jamaica. It occurs in 12% of the population over 40. From the point of view of people in the community, "sugar and cancer are inside the blood and can give you bad blood." Demons can cause anything, including sugar and cancer.

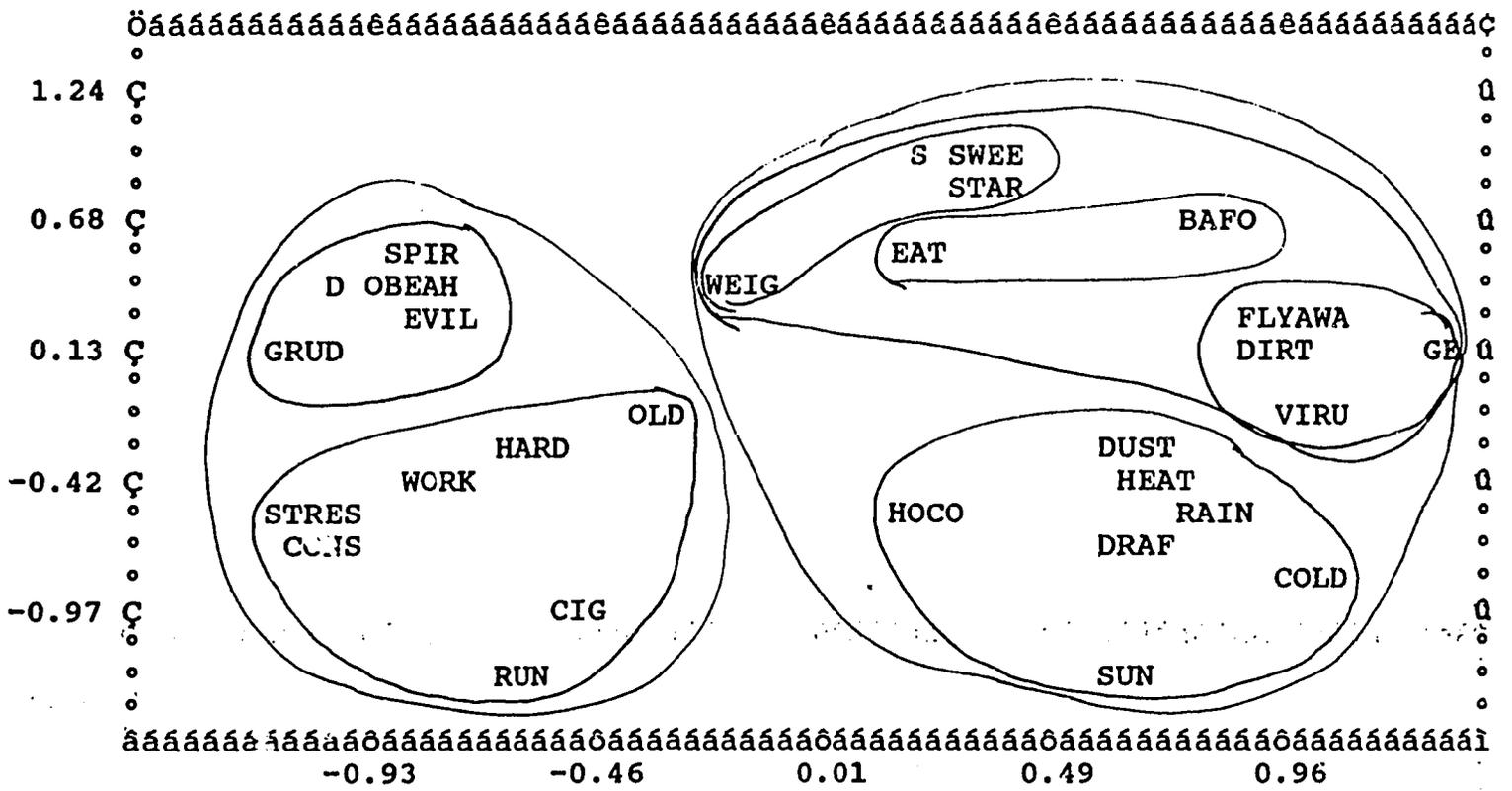
Many people commented that bush teas cannot help a person with sugar and pressure and that you need tablets or injections in order to be helped. Eating too much starch and eating too much salt were associated with sugar and pressure. Runs in the family and nerves were given also as causes of pressure.

AIDS does not seem to be prevalent in this area. The first cohort of AIDS carriers in Jamaica were the migrant farmers who came to the United States for work. The community response to AIDS victims is to shun them. Perceived ways of getting AIDS include "touching the person" or "being around the person" or through bestiality. The five most common areas where AIDS is said to now be prevalent are the tourist areas of Port Antonio, Ocho Rios, Kingston, Montego Bay and Negril. Most people see AIDS as incurable and that the person suffers a great deal. Precautions are not being taken, however, as indicated by a high rate of STD's.

2.3 ETIOLOGY

The etiology clustered into five basic groups (See MDS eight): 1) occult - spirit, duppy, obeah, evil spirit, and grudge, 2) life conditions - stress, consideration, work hard, hard times, old age, cigarette smoking, and runs in family; 3) environmental - hot then cold, dust, heat, rain, drift, cold, sun; 4) eating habits - overweight, too much sweets, too much starch, not eating right, too much salt, and the last group 5) associated with germs, virus, dirty things, flies, dirty water.

The predominant causes are runs in family, not eating right, and dirty things. Runs in the family did not always have a genetic interpretation but rather an environmental overtone, i.e., because people lived in the same house and environment they were susceptible to the same illnesses. Following the usual pattern, evil spirit and obeah were the primary causes of duppy sick and madness. Dirty things and germs were usually equated.



MDS EIGHT: ST.MARGARET'S ETIOLOGY

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2.4 TREATMENTS

Treatments clustered into four basic groups (See MDS nine): 1) the **supernatural** - spell, obeah and prayer; 2) **preventive** - swim in the sea, exercise, rest; 3) **ingested orally** - coconut water, tablets, tonic, bush juice, bush tea, cold bush, wash out, honey and lime, bissey; and 4) **external rubs** - bush bath, warm water, cold water, white rum, rub, vicks, olive oil, healing oil, ointment, kerosene.

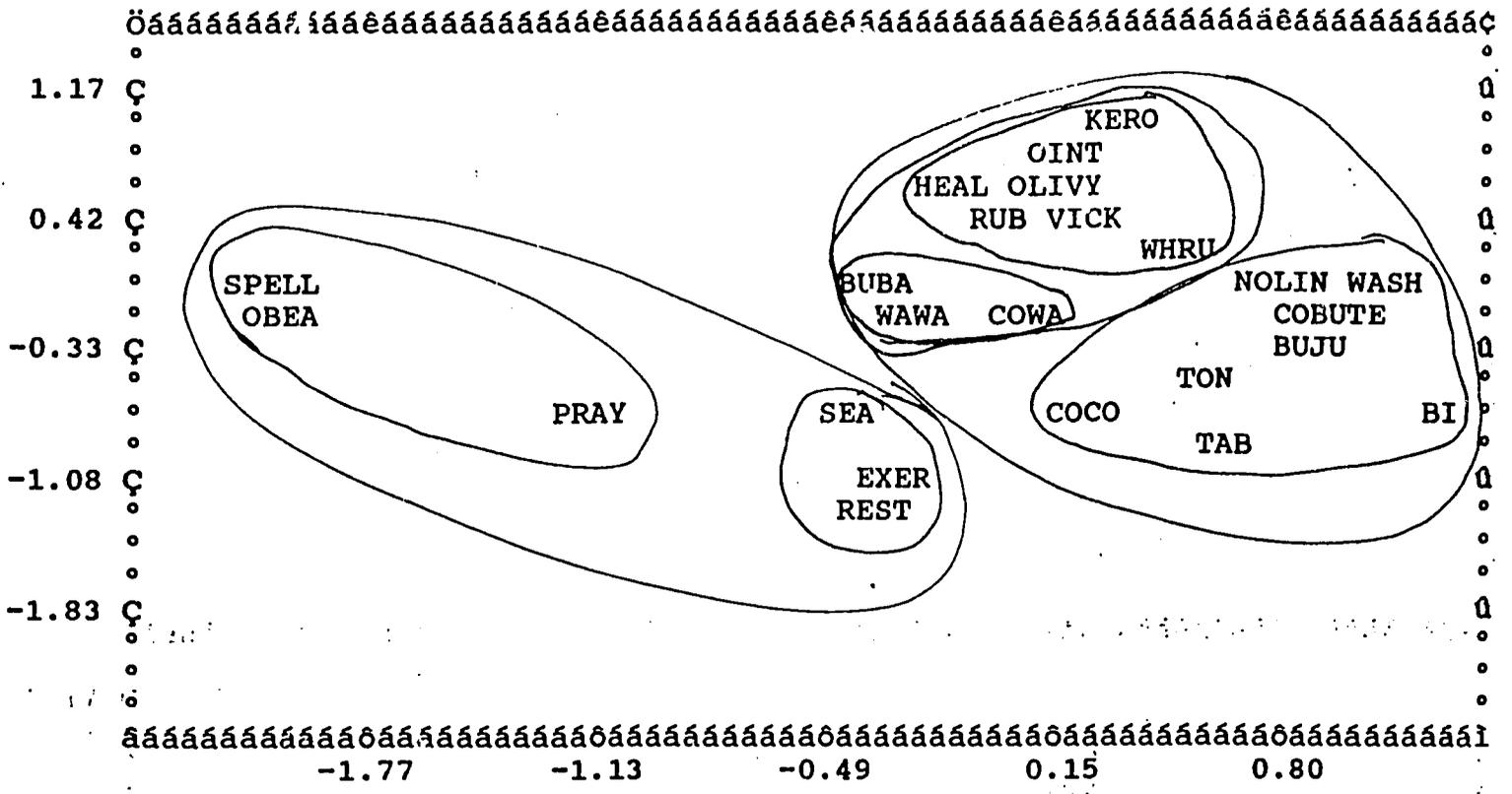
Rubs are used for skin problems. Olive oil is used primarily in spiritual healing and is used as a rub or a few drops may be added to consecrated water and drunk.

The primary complaint about doctor's treatments at both the clinics and private offices was the expense and the time required to get medicine. In some instances medicines may take from several days to several weeks to get from hospital pharmacies due to the shortage of medicine.

2.5 ETHNOBOTANICALS

The bush teas fell into seven groupings (See MDS ten): 1) **tonics (associated with nerves)** - strong back, chainey root, sarsaparilla; 2) **tonics (associated with "washout")** - comfrey, sinkle bible, tuna; 3) **panaceas** - ganja and sour sop; 4) **belly pain and gas** - cerasee, ginger, pepper elder, black wis, and peppermint; 5) **colds, skin rashes and sores** - basel, fresh cut, jack in a bush, and king of the forest; 6) **cold bushes** - fever grass, marigold, lime, search me heart, quaco bush, arealia, John Charles, ram goat dash along, ranger, susumba, red water grass, rats ear, leaf of life and tree of life; and 7) **generally unknown** - baby blood, pauvon, jumwod, racha, mayna, elder flower, devil horse whip, and vervine.

Due to the economic conditions the majority of the people treat themselves with the bush teas or home remedies first. It is only with lingering or acute illness that the doctor will be called on. Once again the multiple uses of the herbs was evident.



MDS NINE: ST.MARGARET'S TREATMENTS

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PART TWO: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
SUMMARY OF MDS AND DISPLAY FOR ALL SIX SITES

This section provides a preliminary analysis of the five domains and posits typologies for four of the five domains: illnesses, practitioners, etiology and treatments. The typology for the ethnobotanicals is to complex to construct at this time due to the multiple uses of the herbs.

3.0 ILLNESSES

The majority of illnesses across the six sites are classified as natural (See Typology on Illness). There are eight subdivisions in this category. In the discussion to follow, the terms used by respondents in the six sites are used in the listing of the illnesses. All six sites reported supernatural illnesses which were either spiritual or occult.

Natural illnesses consist of the following sub-categories: (1) eyes, ears, throat; (2) stomach; (3) colds and viruses; (4) skin related problems; (5) age related; (6) chronic; (7) sexual; and (8) psycho/social.

Eyes, ears and throat revealed a number of terms associated with sight problems, dark sight, dark eye, bad eye, catarract, glaucoma, pink eye. Toothache and headache were sometimes associated with nerves.

Stomach problems revealed a plethora of terms: belly ache, belly pain, belly sick, pain in belly, belly hurting, belly trouble, cold in belly, sour belly, running belly, bad belly, worms, gas, vomiting. In addition to specific belly terms there were other stomach related illnesses and some of the terms are biomedical terms: ulcerated stomach, bilious, gastroenteritis, diarrhea, vomiting. Food related illnesses include molly gripe and fluxed complaint, food poisoning, and malnourish (low feeling and weak blood).

Colds and viruses also refer to a range of illnesses: fever, flu, cold, asthma, pneumonia, bronchitis, lung problems, relapse, and sinus (teeth problems, cold in belly, cold in blood, and headache).

Skin problems was the second largest complaint and included: (1) leg and foot - leg sore, bad foot, sore foot, swelling; (2) lesions - boils, sores (STD), cuts, abscess, bruise, chop; and (3) rashes - rash (bile), bad skin, chicken pox, mumps, measles.

Age related illnesses were classified as deep sick, God sick, natural, old age (flesh pain, muscle pain), arthritis (back pain, joint pain), growth, and cyst.

Chronic illnesses included pressure and sugar (which were always equated), heart problems (shortness of breath), stroke, nerves, bad blood, cancer, and tumor.

Sexually related illnesses referred to big seed, blocked tube, stoppage (of water), VD or STD (pressure was linked with STD) and woman problem.

And finally, **psycho/social illnesses** which concerned primarily madness (woman problem, STD, stoppage), nerves, headaches, stress, nervous breakdown, and fits.

The **spiritual illnesses** consisted of god sick (usually associated with chronic illnesses but perceived to be sent by God or that only God could cure, e.g., pressure, sugar, cancer, and arthritis). **Spirit sickness** includes duppy sick (or spirit sick) and spiritual trouble.

The **occult illnesses** are those associated with obeah (duppy sick, and flying evil), psycho/social (madness and nerves), and accidents. There is overlap between the occult and natural illnesses. Madness and nerves can be either, depending upon the perceived etiology.

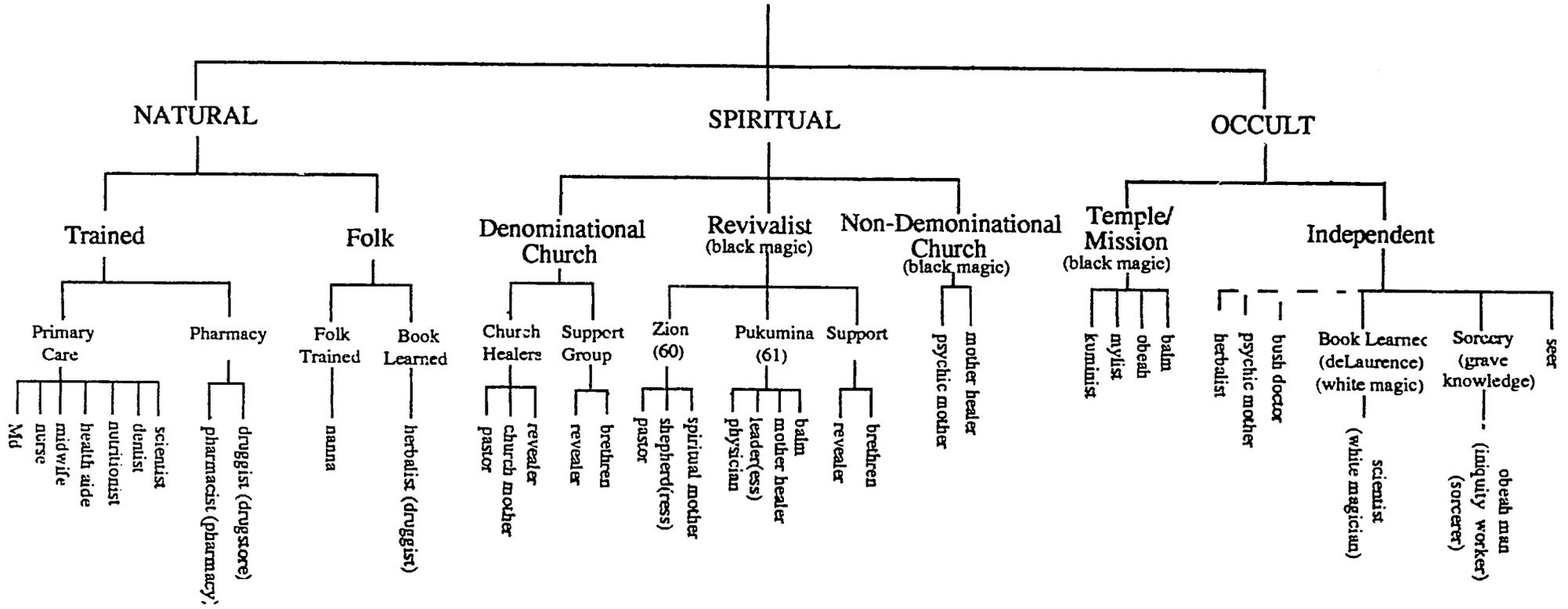
4.0 PRACTITIONERS

Based on the MDSs from the six sites the following preliminary typology of practitioners can be posited for Jamaica (see Typology of Practitioners). The three major types of practitioners are natural, spiritual and occult. Each of these divisions is further divided into sub-categories some of which cross-over between the natural and supernatural. The division of practitioners to treat **natural illnesses** is composed of two divisions: **trained** and **folk**.

Two categories of trained practitioners are recognized. The primary health care givers, **medical doctors, nurses, midwives, health aides, nutritionists, dentists and scientists** (university trained chemist), are the practitioners who deliver health care from both private and public health institutions and offices.

The pharmaceutical practitioners include, the **pharmacist** (university trained) and the **druggist** who runs the drug store (may or may not be university trained). It should be noted for many people in Jamaica there is a distinction made between a pharmacy and a drug store. The **pharmacy** is the place a person goes to have a doctor's prescription filled and the **drug store** is where a person goes to have the obeah man's prescription filled. Often a drug store section can be found in a pharmacy and will have a wide variety of soaps, powders, perfumes, oils, candles, etc. to effected the needed cure (cf Appendix A for a partial list of some items found in drug stores in Kingston).

PRACTITIONERS



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The second sub-category under **natural** is **folk** and includes the **nanna** who is folk trained and the **herbalist** who is book learned. The **nana** is usually an older woman in the community who has received a calling from God or who has served an apprenticeship to another midwife in the community and delivers children and provides health care for childhood illnesses. She often has a rich knowledge of the bush teas which she uses to aide her in both her deliveries and pediatric care. She has been described as the base of the community health care system. Also in this sub-category is the **herbalist (druggist)**. The herbalist is a person who primarily has learned his/her trade from reading books (for example, Jethro Kloss's - **Back to Eden**) in addition to other knowledge learned from elders and other members in the community.

The second division is the **supernatural** division and is itself divided into two major sub-categories: **spiritual practitioners** and **occult practitioners**. The spiritual category consists of three basic groupings of practitioners: **denominational**, **Revival**, and **non-denominational**. Both **denominational** and **Revival** practitioners place the Lord as the primary healer through whom they affect their healing. Various labels were used to identify healers in both the denominational and Revivalist traditions with cross over between both. The differences are somewhat subtle and not absolute but some patterning was discerned.

In the **denominational churches** church healers were most often referred to as **Pastor**, **Church mother**, and **Revealer**. In some churches the **brethern** were seen as instrumental in affecting the cure through supportive prayer. The term **revealer** appears in both areas, i.e., church healer and support. A person can be a **revealer** in that (s)he is able to "read you up" or "tell you if you have a spirit on you" but cannot effect a cure; or the **Pastor** or **Church Mother** may be both a **revealer** and a **healer**. This holds true for the **Revivalists** as well.

In the **Revival** tradition the healers are usually referred to as **spiritual healers**. However, different labels are used to refer to the healers depending upon whether they are associated with the '60 **Revivalists** (**spiritual mother**, **shepherd(ress)**, **pastor**) or the '61 **Revivalists** (**balm mother helaer**, **leader(ess)**, **physician**). (See Jennifer Vest's MA thesis for a detailed discussion of the **Revival Tradition** in Jamaica and the role of the **spiritual mother** within it.) There is also the support group of the **brethren** and **revealer**.

Both the **denominational** and the **Revivalist** healers have the common characteristic of receiving their powers from the "Holy Ghost" or from either an Old or New Testament figure or and Arch Angels. This is one of the characteristics which distinguishes them from the **non-denominational** healer.

The category of **non-denominational healer** consists of **Psychic Mothers**, and **Mothers Who Heal** or **Mother Healers**. A **Psychic Mother** is one who has the gift of foresight and can "read you up" and will write out a prescription to take to the Drug Store but she does not operate in connection with any given church.

A **Mother Healer** is one who has received her powers from the supernatural world but not from the "Holy Ghost" or other biblical source. In the one community where field work was conducted the main source of power was from the mermaids who represented a syncretism of the European mermaid and the African water sprite.

The third major division is the **Occult** which consists of practitioners who are concerned with illnesses perceived to be caused by the means of sorcery (**obeah**) or witchcraft. Occult healers may have established Temples or Missions and the practitioners are often associated with **Myal**, **Kumina**, and **Balmyard healers**. If the practitioners work independently they may be referred to as a **scientist** if he is book learned and in this instance it means that he is a disciple of the deLaurence traditions, or an **obeah man** who is perceived to be more dangerous than the **scientist** from the point of view that he has "grave knowledge".

The terms **psychic mother**, **bush doctor**, and **herbalist** were all used as equivalents of **obeah man** by several people. This overlap of terms appears to come in part from some of the practices used by some of these healers which place them on the fence between the two realms. For example, there is a Revival healer interviewed in one community who has the alleged ability to extract objects from individuals that have been magically placed there by an **obeah man**. The **revivalist** was labeled by people in the community we were working in as an **obeah man** and it appears part of the reasoning behind this is that a person has to know **obeah** in order to undo its effects. And as was mentioned above the **psychic mother** would send people to the **drug store** which is for **obeah**. The inclusion of the **bush doctor** in this grouping appears to be dependent upon whether the practitioner used drums (drums are associated with the invocation of spirits).

The degree of knowledge an individual had of the folk medical system also seemed to influence the the classification of the **herbalist** and **bush doctor** to the area of the occult. Several people (mostly educated and/or strongly inclined to biomedicine) characterized "all that bush" as being associated with **obeah**.

In addition to these two groups there is the third, the **Revealer** or **seer** or **reader**. These practitioners function similarly to the **Revealer** in the spiritual division. They can see if you have a "**duppy**" on you or if someone has put **obeah** on you. In some cases the **seer** is capable of capturing the **duppy**.

The typology of spiritual and occult healers also has an overlay of categorization from the perspective of the healers themselves which assigns the different groups of healers according to the type of magic practiced. There are three basic levels of magic, **white magic** which is associated with deLaurence, **black magic** which is associated with the Afro-Christian religious sects, and **sorcery** which is associated grave knowledge.

5.1 DISPLAY - PRACTITIONERS

As noted above the predominant first choice of practitioner is the medical doctor. In Chart ONE the total percentage of type of practitioner across site is given.

CHART ONE

	MEDICAL DOCTOR	SPIRITUAL HEALERS	OCCULT HEALERS
1)	72 (88%)	8 (10%)	2 (2%)
2)	24 (29%)	13 (16%)	45 (55%)
3)	11 (13%)	39 (48%)	32 (39%)

Total percentage of first, second, and third choices of practitioners across the six sites: N = 82

Examination of the results for Display provides insight into how different illnesses are perceived and which practitioners are attributed what degree of confidence in being able to treat the various types of illnesses selected. One fact consistent throughout all of the sites is that the Medical Doctor is the first physician of choice for all illnesses except those that are classified as supernatural illnesses, in particular **duppy sick** or **spirit sick**. In the event that the illness is of a supernatural origin the Medical Doctor is not perceived to have any ability to treat it. The Medical Doctor as first choice is not however to be completely unexpected. The folk practitioners and respondents alike reported that it is the law in Jamaica that a person go to see the doctor first. There is no such formal law in Jamaica. Perhaps what the practitioners are reacting to is the prohibition against practicing **obeah** and against practicing medicine without a license. Because of this requirement on the part of practitioners that all their patients must go to the doctor first it makes the second and third choices of practitioner interesting as it indicates perceptual aspects of the illness.

The display for Hagley Gap reveals that the **Bush Doctor** is the predominant second choice of practitioner and that he is viewed as being most likely to likely to be able to treat the illnesses. In Hagley Gap the **Bush Doctor** is equated with the **Obeah Man** and the

Herbalist is also associated with obeah thereby indicating that there is an association of illness with obeah.

HAGLEY GAP PRACTITIONERS

COLD	MD	(-0.05)	BUDO	(1.31)	HERB	(1.86)
DARK	MD	(0.09)	HERB	(2.83)	BUSH	(3.25)
FEVE	MD	(-0.04)	BUSH	(1.93)	HERB	(2.18)
FOOD	MD	(-0.15)	BUSH	(2.20)	HERB	(2.62)
GAS	MD	(0.03)	BUSH	(1.52)	HERB	(2.42)
HEAD	MD	(0.18)	CHMR	(2.96)	PAST	(2.94)
NERV	MD	(-0.06)	BUSH	(2.09)	HERB	(2.58)
PAIN	MD	(-0.15)	PAST	(2.79)	BUSH	(2.87)
PRES	MD	(-0.06)	BUSH	(2.25)	HERB	(2.93)
RASH	MD	(-0.15)	BUSH	(2.05)	HERB	(2.22)
RUNB	MD	(-0.15)	BUSH	(2.11)	HERB	(2.44)
SORE	MD	(-0.15)	BUSH	(1.99)	HERB	(2.32)
SOUR	MD	(0.39)	BUSH	(2.08)	HERB	(2.29)
SUGA	MD	(-0.15)	HERB	(1.97)	BUSH	(2.61)
WOMA	MD	(1.52)	PAST	(3.14)	CHMR	(3.28)
FITS	MD	(0.26)	BUSH	(2.53)	HERB	(2.84)
GOD	PAST	(2.59)	CHMR	(2.60)	MD	(3.19)
SPIR	CHMR	(1.03)	PAST	(1.99)	SCIE	(2.29)
DUPY	CHMR	(0.93)	BUSH	(1.37)	PAST	(1.67)
CHOP	MD	(-0.15)	HERB	(2.81)	BUDO	(2.92)

ILLNESSES:

CHOP; COLD; DARK EYE; DUPPY SICK; FEVER; FITS; FOOD POISONING; GAS; GOD SICK; HEAD CRAZY; NERVES; PAIN IN FOOT; PRESSURE; RASH; RUNNING BELLY; SORE FOOT; SOUR BELLY; SPIRIT TROUBLE; SUGAR; WOMAN PROBLEM

PRACTITIONERS:

BUSH DOCTOR; CHURCH MOTHER; HERBALIST; MEDICAL DOCTOR; PASTOR; REVEALER; REVIVALIST; SCIENCE MAN; SEER

The second site, Woodside, was unusual in that the mermaid lore was very strong and several of the healers were said to have been given their gifts of healing from mermaids. A common sentiment gleaned from the ethnographic work was that all healers were said to be able to either "kill you or cure you." This helps explain the close clustering of all the practitioners in the MDS. In reading the display for Woodside the second practitioner of choice was the bush doctor. In Woodside the herbalist and bush doctor were equated and tended to be associated with book learned and natural healing. The Church Healer was linked with the spiritual practitioners and Mother Healer was the general term used to designate healers whose gifts were received from the mermaids. Unlike Hagley Gap the second practitioner of choice was a natural healer rather than occult.

WOODSIDE PRACTITIONERS

NERVE	MD	(0.13)	BUDO	(2.68)	CHHE	(3.40)
COLD	MD	(0.17)	BUDO	(1.60)	CHHE	(3.48)
RUNB	MD	(0.10)	BUDO	(1.66)	MRHE	(3.46)
PRESS	MD	(0.17)	BUDO	(2.28)	CHHE	(3.36)
SUGAR	MD	(0.23)	BUDO	(2.72)	CHHE	(3.64)
ASTH	MD	(0.21)	BUDO	(2.40)	CHHE	(3.39)
GAS	MD	(0.18)	BUDO	(2.18)	CHHE	(3.84)
ARTH	MD	(0.44)	CHHE	(3.34)	BUDO	(3.35)
ACCI	MD	(0.22)	CHHE	(3.59)	BUDO	(4.20)
BADEYE	MD	(0.16)	CHHE	(2.86)	BUDO	(3.43)
MAD	MD	(0.89)	OBEA	(2.37)	CHHE	(2.53)
SPIRIT	OBEA	(1.04)	CHHE	(1.79)	MRHE	(1.97)

ILLNESSES:

SPIRIT ON YOUR; ACCIDENT; BAD EYE; NERVES; COLD; RUNNING BELLY; PRESSURE; SUGAR; ASTHMA; ARTHRITIS; GAS; MADNESS

PRACTITIONERS:

MEDICAL DOCTOR; CHURCH HEALER; BUSH DOCTOR; OBEAH MAN; READER; MOTHER HEALER

In Newell/Treasure Beach the bush doctor and herbalist were equated and discussed primarily in terms of natural healing. However, some respondents saw work with the bush to be associated with balm. Balm was in general linked with the occult because of the use of drums and spirit possession. The predominant practitioner of second choice was the bush doctor which reflects an underlying perception of illness as natural.

NEWELL/TREASURE BEACH PRACTITIONERS

ARTH	DOC	(0.26)	BUDO	(2.71)	CHMR	(3.91)
ASTH	DOC	(0.38)	BUDO	(1.99)	BALM	(3.59)
BADS	DOC	(0.22)	BUDO	(2.43)	MRHE	(4.10)
COLD	DOC	(0.40)	BUDO	(1.81)	BALM	(3.23)
DIAR	DOC	(0.30)	BUDO	(2.51)	CHMR	(3.93)
GAS	DOC	(0.41)	BUDO	(2.46)	CHMR	(4.08)
NERV	DOC	(0.47)	BUDO	(2.36)	BALM	(3.65)
PRES	DOC	(0.28)	BUDO	(2.76)	CHMR	(4.09)
SORE	DOC	(0.75)	BUDO	(2.15)	BALM	(2.46)
SUGA	DOC	(0.55)	BUDO	(2.85)	BALM	(4.00)
MAD	DOC	(2.13)	BALM	(2.23)	BUDO	(3.07)
SPIR	OBEA	(1.29)	BALM	(1.61)	MRHE	(2.35)

ILLNESSES:

ARTHRITIS; ASTHMA; BAD STOMACH; COLD; DIARRHEA; GAS; MADNESS; NERVES; PRESSURE; SORES; SPIRIT ON YOU; SUGAR

PRACTITIONERS:

BALM; BUSH DOCTOR; CHURCH MOTHER; DOCTOR; MOTHER HEALER; OBEAH MAN

August Town, a community which is part of Kingston, revealed a very strong inclination towards biomedicine. This was due in part to its close proximity to the University clinic and hospital. The scientist is the second practitioner of choice for most of the illnesses. Scientist in August Town was associated with the university trained chemist or other type of medical practitioner. The herbalist is clearly associated with the natural folk tradition.

AUGUST TOWN PRACTITIONERS

LUNG	MD	(0.22)	SCI	(3.64)	PAST	(3.85)
SUGAR	MD	(0.31)	SCI	(3.66)	PAST	(4.16)
PRES	MD	(0.34)	SCI	(3.59)	PAST	(3.93)
STD	MD	(0.36)	SCI	(3.53)	PAST	(4.38)
EYE	MD	(0.27)	SCI	(3.52)	PAST	(4.26)
COLD	MD	(0.30)	SCI	(3.30)	HERB	(3.31)
STRESS	MD	(0.44)	PAST	(3.05)	SCI	(3.53)
BODYIN	MD	(0.18)	SCI	(3.68)	HERB	(4.08)
BSKIN	MD	(0.44)	HERB	(3.54)	SCI	(3.71)
DUPY	PAST	(2.67)	OBEA	(3.22)	SPIRM	(3.24)
GAS	MD	(0.34)	HERB	(3.51)	SCI	(3.51)
BELYE	MD	(0.18)	HERB	(3.44)	SCI	(3.63)
POIS	MD	(0.18)	SCI	(3.18)	HERB	(3.28)
GSIK	PAST	(3.10)	MD	(4.09)	SPIRM	(4.46)

ILLNESSES:

LUNG PROBLEMS, SUGAR, PRESSURE, STD, EYE PROBLEMS,
COLD, STRESS, BODY INJURY, BAD SKIN, DUPPY SICK,
GAS, BELLY SICKNESS, POISON, GOD SICK

PRACTITIONERS:

SPIRITUAL HEALER, MOTHER, OTHER ENTASER, PABER, MHERBBALET,
YARD HEALER.

Chapelton is another community which has had a strong tradition of biomedical care as reflected in the first and second choice of MD and nurse respectively for all natural illnesses. Respondents also placed very strong emphasis on the spiritual aspect of healing. This is evident in the role of the spiritual mother as the third practitioner of choice for the natural illnesses, and as the first practitioner of choice for the occult or spiritual illnesses.

CHAPELTON - PRACTITIONERS

ARTH	DOC	(.34)	NUR	(2.13)	SPIRH	(3.37)
ASTH	DOC	(.45)	NUR	(1.94)	SPIRH	(3.39)
BELYS	DOC	(.42)	NUR	(1.77)	SPIRH	(3.27)
COLD	DOC	(.33)	NUR	(1.62)	SPIRH	(3.50)
EYE	DOC	(.23)	NUR	(2.57)	SPIRH	(3.77)
HEAD	DOC	(.50)	NUR	(1.54)	SPIRH	(3.37)
HBP	DOC	(.26)	NUR	(1.27)	SPIRH	(3.94)
MAD	DOC	(.95)	NUR	(2.60)	SPIRH	(2.79)
RASH	DOC	(.31)	NUR	(1.82)	SPIRH	(4.23)
SORE	DOC	(.57)	NUR	(1.16)	SPIRH	(3.19)
SUGA	DOC	(.39)	NUR	(1.46)	SPIRH	(3.48)
WEAK	DOC	(.26)	NUR	(1.66)	SPIRH	(4.16)
DUPY	SPIRH	(2.10)	MOHE	(2.92)	SCIE	(3.08)
SPIRS	SPIRH	(2.04)	MOHE	(3.33)	SCIE	(3.54)

ILLNESSES:

ARTHRITIS, ASTHMA, BELLY SICK, COLD, EYE PROBLEM, HEADACHE, HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE, MADNESS, RASH, SORES, SUGAR (DIABETES), WEAK BLOOD, DUPPY SICK, SPIRIT SICK.

PRACTITIONERS:

DOCTOR, NURSE, SPIRITUAL HEALER, MOTHER WHO HEALS, SCIENTIST, INIQUITY WORKER (OBEAH), BALM YARD HEALER

In Saint Margaret's, a seaside community, the second practitioner of choice is the bush doctor who is strongly associated with the occult. This community also had the largest number of occult and spiritual healers that people in the community referred us to.

ST. MARGARET'S BAY - PRACTITIONERS

BADBL	DOC	(0.43)	BUDO	(3.30)	PAST	(4.38)
BELLY	DOC	(0.37)	BUDO	(2.90)	SPIRT	(3.94)
COLD	DOC	(0.80)	BUDO	(2.18)	SPIRT	(4.59)
HBP	DOC	(0.07)	BUDO	(2.28)	SPIRT	(4.40)
MALN	DOC	(0.57)	BUDO	(3.71)	PAST	(4.92)
RUNBEL	DOC	(0.50)	BUDO	(2.53)	SPIRT	(4.65)
SUGAR	DOC	(0.07)	BUDO	(2.30)	SPIRT	(4.78)
SORE	DOC	(0.17)	BUDO	(2.26)	SPIRT	(3.99)
MAD	DOC	(1.11)	SPIRT	(2.02)	OBEA	(3.91)
DUPPY	SPIRT	(1.63)	OBEA	(2.20)	BUDO	(2.52)

ILLNESSES:

BAD BLOOD, BELLY PROBLEM, COLD, HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE, MALNOURISHMENT, RUNNING BELLY, SUGAR (DIABETES), SORES, MADNESS, DUPPY SICK;

PRACTITIONERS:

DOCTOR, BUSH DOCTOR, PASTOR, SPIRITUAL MOTHER, OBEAH MAN

6.0 ETIOLOGY

The etiology for illness is also divided into two major divisions: **natural** and **supernatural** (see Typology of Etiology). The **natural** division has two major sub-categories, **biomedical** and **folk**. The **biomedical** is sub-grouped into **environmental**, **heredity**, **psycho-social**, and **bad habits**. The **folk medical** causes are grouped into **environmental**, **age** and **personal**. The **supernatural** is divided into **spiritual** and **occult**.

Environmental causes have the greatest perceived effect on health. Biomedical environmental causes include (1) **germs** (dirty things, virus, etc.), (2) **water** (dirty water, bad water, no water); (3) **insects** (flies, mosquitoes) and (4) **animals** (rats, cats, etc)

In the folk category for environment the causes are due to: (1) **exposure**, which includes **natural elements** such as **air** (wind and draft), **sun**, **water** (rain and night dew), **dirt** (dirt, dust and marl) and **change in environment** such as hot then cold, too much heat, too much cold.

The second major category under **biomedical** is **psycho/social** causes. These include causes associated with the **cost of living** and **personal** causes. The cost of living etiology fell into **mental causes** (stress, consideration, shock, madness) and **physical causes** (overwork, hard times, hunger).

The folk category corresponding to this is **personal** and refers to people who display **nastiness** as a personality characteristic.

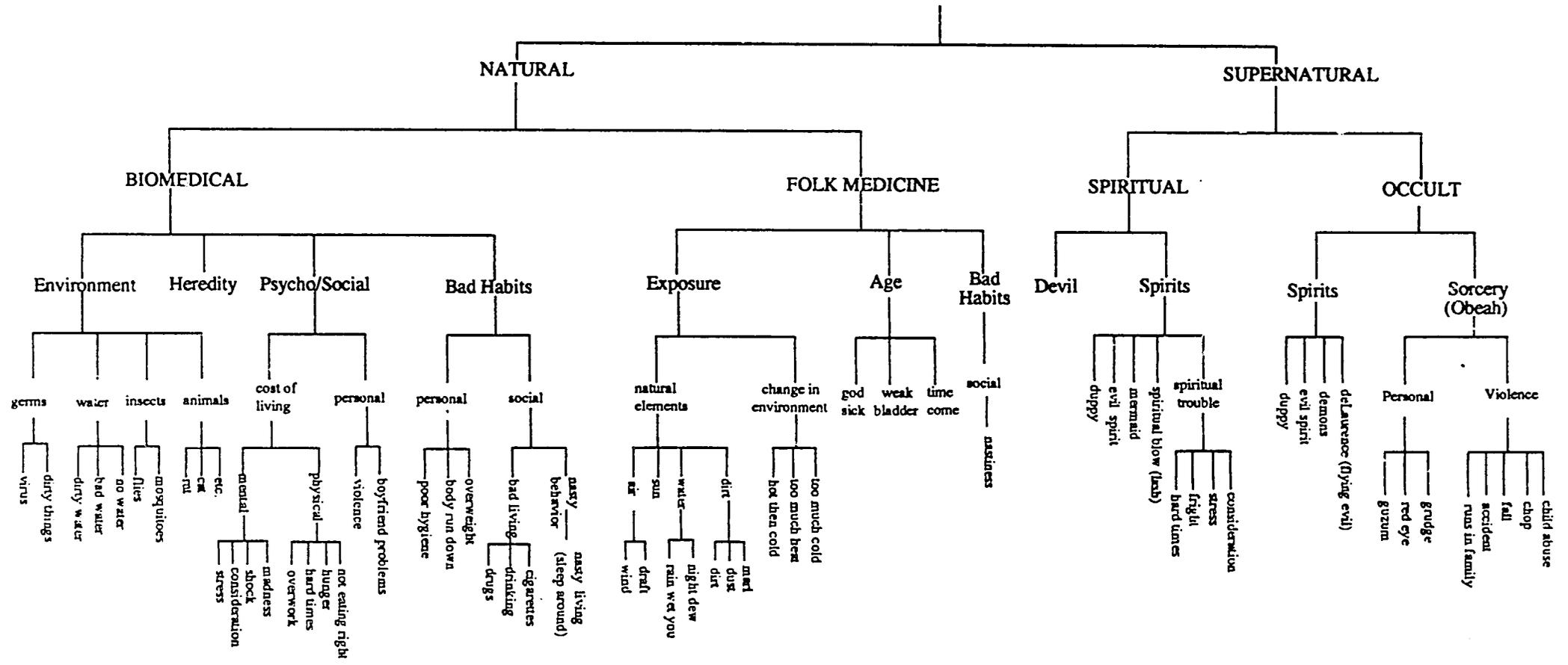
Age is the third factor. The **biomedical age** factor refers to **heredity**. The **folk** etiology is usually associated with **chronologic old age** (time come, weak blood, and malfunction), and **God sick** (a folk descriptor for some types of chronic illnesses).

The fourth category under **biomedical** is **bad habits** which include both **personal** (poor hygiene, body run down, and overweight) and **social** (bad living such as drugs, cigarettes and drinking, nasty behavior such as nasty living or sleeping around, and the folk category is **nastiness**).

The **spiritual** division of the **supernatural** illnesses includes the devil and spirits as primary causes. Spirit causes include **duppy**, **evil spirits**, **spiritual trouble**, **spiritual blow or lash**, and **spiritual trouble** includes **consideration**, **stress**, **fright**, and **hard times**. Some of the causes in the **spiritual** category overlap with the **occult** and **psycho/social** categories under **occult** and **natural** illness.

Duppy sick may result from an **obeah** man setting a **duppy** on a person (**occult**) or a person may accidentally bump into a **duppy** (**spiritual**). In addition to **duppies** there are also other types of

ETIOLOGY



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evil spirits which can attack a person. Consideration, stress, fright and hard times are sometimes perceived to be spiritual tests and therefore classified as such.

The occult division consists of two sub-categories: (1) spirit which includes duppies, demons, evil spirits and deLaurence flying evil (associated with a U.S. Chicago based occult organization); and (2) sorcery which is further sub-divided into personal or individually initiated including guzum, red eye and grudge and violence or events perceived to be caused as a result of sorcery or witchcraft, e.g., accidents, falls, chops, child abuse.

6.1 DISPLAYS - ETIOLOGY

The overall results for all six sites for first, second, and third choice of perceived etiology are shown in Chart TWO. Natural causes are the perceived etiology of illnesses 84 to 86% of the time. Chart Two demonstrates the percentages for each of the environmental factors as well as the occult which accounts for 14 to 16% of perceived causes. Environmental and Psycho/Social causes are widely recognized as major contributing factors to illness in Jamaica. The high percentage for occult etiology corresponds to the high percentage of second choice of practitioner as occult.

CHART TWO

	<u>ENVIRONMENT</u>	<u>PSYCHO/SOC</u>	<u>OCCULT</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>BAD LIVE</u>
1)	30 (37%)	25 (30%)	16 (20%)	7 (8%)	1 (5%)
2)	33 (40%)	14 (17%)	14 (17%)	13 (16%)	8 (10%)
3)	27 (32%)	16 (19%)	16 (19%)	8 (10%)	17 (20%)

Total percentages of first three choices of perceived etiology across the six sites. [NOTE: Choices 1 & 2 - N = 82; Choice 3 N = 84 due to double causes in two cases.]

Within the environmental grouping 14/30 (47%) of the perceived causes were folk environmental causes in the first choice, 15/33 (45%) for the second choice, and 14/27 (52%) for the third. In the bad living sub-category 4/8 (50%) were folk causes for the second choice and 3/17 (18%) for the third.

Hagley Gap has the highest percentage of illnesses perceived to be caused by occult factors, 40%. This may be correlated with the remoteness of the community and the lack of access to medical facilities and the strong tradition of spiritual healing in the community due to a nationally renown Spiritual Healer who has been

dead for some time now but whose influence is still very present in the community.

HAGLEY GAP ETIOLOGY

COLD	RUN	(-0.17)	RAI	(1.12)	RED	(2.55)
DARK	BAD	(0.62)	RED	(2.07)	RUN	(2.09)
FEVE	BOD	(0.93)	SUN	(2.24)	RED	(2.48)
FOOD	GER	(0.78)	CON	(1.15)	DIR	(2.56)
GAS	RED	(3.37)	BAD	(3.43)	RUN	(3.44)
HEAD	SUN	(0.35)	RED	(0.36)	SPI	(2.45)
NERV	RUN	(0.78)	SUN	(1.07)	BOD	(1.53)
PAIN	SPI	(-0.39)	ACC	(-0.32)	CON	(2.99)
PRES	SUN	(2.54)	RUN	(3.51)	RED	(3.56)
RASH	BOD	(-0.51)	RUN	(1.68)	BAD	(2.17)
RUNB	DUP	(0.92)	DIR	(1.49)	RAI	(1.68)
SORE	DUS	(-0.11)	DUP	(-0.08)	BOD	(0.26)
SOUR	BOD	(-0.26)	RUN	(1.08)	GER	(2.59)
SUGA	RUN	(1.27)	DUS	(3.33)	GER	(4.02)
WOMA	CON	(1.92)	GER	(2.80)	DUS	(3.93)
FITS	ACC	(0.39)	DIR	(1.26)	DUP	(2.30)
GOD	DUP	(4.01)	RUN	(4.53)	BOD	(4.59)
SPIR	SPI	(0.80)	DIR	(1.14)	RAI	(1.46)
DUPY	RED	(0.99)	ACC	(2.45)	BOD	(3.15)
CHOP	ACC	(-0.67)	CON	(4.10)	RUN	(4.44)

ILLNESSES:

CHOP; COLD; DARK EYE; DUPPY SICK; FEVER; FITS; FOOD POISONING; GAS; GOD SICK; HEAD CRAZY; NERVES; PAIN IN FOOT; PRESSURE; RASH; RUNNING BELLY; SORE FOOT; SOUR BELLY; SPIRIT TROUBLE; SUGAR; WOMAN TROUBLE

ETIOLOGY:

ACCIDENT; BAD MIX; BODY RUN DOWN; CONSIDERATION; DIRTY THINGS; DUPPY; DUST; GERMS; RAIN WET YOU; RED EYE; RUN THROUGH FAMILY; SPIRIT; TOO MUCH SUN

Chapelton and Treasure Beach/Newell have the highest percentage of illnesses caused by environmental factors (including biomedical and folk), 50%. These two communities both have good access to medical facilities.

CHAPELTON - ETIOLOGY

ARTH	RAWET (1.99)	HATIM (4.12)	BADLV/GERM (4.44)
ASTH	RAWET (1.91)	GERM (3.75)	NAST (4.12)
BELYS	GERM (0.03)	NAST (0.90)	EVSP (3.35)
COLD	RAWET (0.01)	GERM (1.38)	NAST (2.73)
EYE	GERM (1.22)	NAST (2.43)	CONSID (3.08)
HEAD	CONSI (-0.31)	HATIM (0.95)	BADLV (2.31)
HBP	CONSI (-0.06)	HATIM (1.15)	BADLV (2.58)
MAD	CONSI (0.23)	HATIM (1.08)	BADLV (2.28)
RASH	GERM (0.20)	NAST (0.92)	BADLV (3.37)
SORE	GERM (0.07)	NAST (0.59)	BADLV (2.91)
SUGA	BADLV (3.79)	HATIM (4.00)	NAST (4.70)
WEAK	HATIM (3.19)	BADLV (3.31)	GERM (3.46)
DUPY	EVSP (1.39)	OBEA (1.92)	BADLV (3.96)
SPIRS	EVSP (1.56)	OBEA (2.28)	BADLV (4.05)

ILLNESSES:

ARTHRITIS, ASTHMA, BELLYSICK, COLD, EYE PROBLEMS, HEADACHE, HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE, MADNESS, RASH; SORES, SUGAR (DIABETES), WEAK BLOOD, DUPPY SICK, SPIRIT SICK;

ETIOLOGY:

RAIN WET YOU, GERMS, CONSIDERATION, BAD LIVING, EVIL SPIRITS, HARD TIMES, NASTINESS, OBEAH

NEWELL/TREASURE BEACH ETIOLOGY

ARTH	CONS (0.89)	HOCO (2.66)	NOEA (2.68)
ASTH	DIRT (0.32)	HOCO (1.97)	CONS (2.00)
BADG	HOCO (0.18)	DIRT (1.90)	OBEA (1.97)
COLD	OBEA (0.39)	NOEA (1.42)	HOCO (1.70)
DIAR	NOEA (-0.02)	OBEA (2.38)	BORN (2.69)
GAS	NOEA (1.26)	BORN (1.39)	CLIM (2.43)
NERV	DIRT (1.83)	CLIM (2.80)	CONS (3.98)
PRES	CONS (0.21)	HOCO (2.17)	DIRT (2.32)
SORE	DIRT (0.01)	HOCO (1.83)	OBEA (2.74)
SUGA	DIRT (2.00)	BORN (3.89)	HOCO (4.04)
MAD	BORN (0.33)	CLIM (1.27)	CONS (3.06)
SPIR	HOCO (0.30)	CONS (1.76)	OBEA (1.78)

ILLNESSES:

ARTHRITIS; ASTHMA; BAD STOMACH; COLD; DIARRHEA; GAS; MADNESS; NERVES; PRESSURE; SORES; SPIRIT ON YOU; SUGAR

ETIOLOGY:

BORN WITH IT; CHANGE IN CLIMATE; CONSIDERATION; DIRTY WATER; HOT THEN COLD; OBEAH; NOT EAT RIGHT

Saint Margaret's and August Town which are both very depressed areas are almost evenly divided between environmental and psycho/social factors with AT showing a 25% occult factor.

AUGUST TOWN - ETIOLOGY

LUNG	MARL (0.74)	GERM (2.84)	RAIN (3.10)
SUGAR	RUNS (1.87)	POEAT (2.68)	POHY (4.50)
PRES	CONS (0.86)	RUNS (3.22)	VIOL (3.32)
STD	GERM (1.74)	POHY (3.18)	RUNS (3.94)
EYE	GERM (2.30)	MARL (2.70)	VIOL (2.96)
COLD	RAIN (0.57)	MARL (2.33)	CHEN (2.91)
STRESS	CONS (0.03)	VIOL (2.93)	CHEN (4.34)
BODYIN	VIOL (0.46)	GERM (4.13)	MARL (4.73)
BEKIN	GERM (1.50)	POHY (2.27)	MARL (2.84)
DUPY	DUP (1.51)	CHEN (5.02)	VIOL/CONS (5.15)
GAS	POEA (0.25)	POHY (4.41)	GERM (4.77)
BELYS	POEA (0.24)	GERM (0.39)	POHY (0.63)
POIS	VIOL (3.30)	GERM (3.53)	POEA (4.08)
GSIK	RUNS (4.49)	CONS (4.76)	POEA (4.92)

ILLNESSES:

LUNG PROBLEMS, SUGAR, PRESSURE, STD, EYE PROBLEMS, COLD, STRESS, BODY INJURY, BAD SKIN, DUPPY SICK, GAS, BELLY SICKNESS, POISON, GOD SICK

ETIOLOGY:

MARL DUST, GERMS, RAIN WET YOU, RUNS IN FAMILY, POOR EATING HABITS, POOR HYGIENE, CONSIDERATION, VIOLENCE, DUPPY, CHANGE UP ENVIRONMENT

ST. MARGARET'S BAY - ETIOLOGY

BADBL	GERM (0.64)	DIRT (1.75)	RUNS (2.09)
BELLY	GERM (0.77)	DIRT (0.81)	NOEA (1.30)
COLD	RAIN (0.25)	GERM (2.29)	DIRT (3.04)
HBP	CONS (0.61)	NOEA (1.56)	RUNS (2.93)
MALN	NOEA (.016)	DIRT (2.94)	GERM (3.11)
RUNBEL	NOEA (0.78)	DIRT (0.84)	GERM (0.87)
SUGAR	NOEA (0.55)	RUNS (2.49)	GERM (4.63)
SORE	DIRT (0.84)	GERM (0.85)	EVIL (3.76)
MAD	CONS (0.65)	EVIL (1.35)	OBEA (1.79)
DUPPY	EVIL (1.20)	OBEA (1.23)	RUNS (5.01)

ILLNESSES:

BAD BLOOD, BELLY PROBLEM, COLD, HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE, MALNOURISHMENT, RUNNING BELLY, SUGAR (DIABETES), SORES, MADNESS, DUPPY SICK;

ETIOLOGY:

GERMS, RAIN WET YOU, CONSIDERATION, NOT EATING RIGHT, DIRTY THINGS, EVIL SPIRIT, RUNS IN FAMILY, OBEAH

Woodside has psycho/social factors accounting for 50% of the causes of illnesses. This may be partly attributed to the fact that it is a retainer community with primarily elderly and young people.

WOODSIDE ETIOLOGY

NERV	CONS (0.58)	OLD (1.51)	NOEA (2.51)
COLD	RAIN (-0.16)	HOCO (0.12)	DIRT (3.88)
RUNB	DIRT (0.16)	NOEA (1.96)	HOCO (3.88)
PRES	CONS (0.35)	OLD (1.97)	NOEA (2.30)
SUGAR	NOEA (1.22)	OLD (3.74)	CONS (4.48)
ARTH	HOCO (1.87)	OLD (2.34)	RAIN (2.73)
GAS	NOEA (0.10)	OLD (3.77)	HOCO (4.42)
ASTH	RAIN (1.63)	HOCO (2.80)	DIRT (4.24)
ACCI	CONS (2.37)	DUPY (2.93)	MERM (3.57)
BADE	OLD (1.05)	DIRT (1.76)	NOEA (2.73)
MAD	CONS (-0.07)	DUPY (1.48)	MERM (3.22)
SPIRIT	DUPY (0.60)	MERM (3.06)	NOEA (4.67)

ILLNESSES:

SPIRIT ON YOU; ACCIDENT; BAD EYE; NERVES; COLD; RUNNING BELLY; PRESSURE; SUGAR; ASTHMA; ARTHRITIS; GAS; MADNESS

ETIOLOGY:

DIRTY THINGS; MERMAID; HOT THEN COLD; CONSIDERATION; NOT EATING RIGHT; DUPPY; OLD AGE; RAIN WET YOU

7.0 TREATMENTS

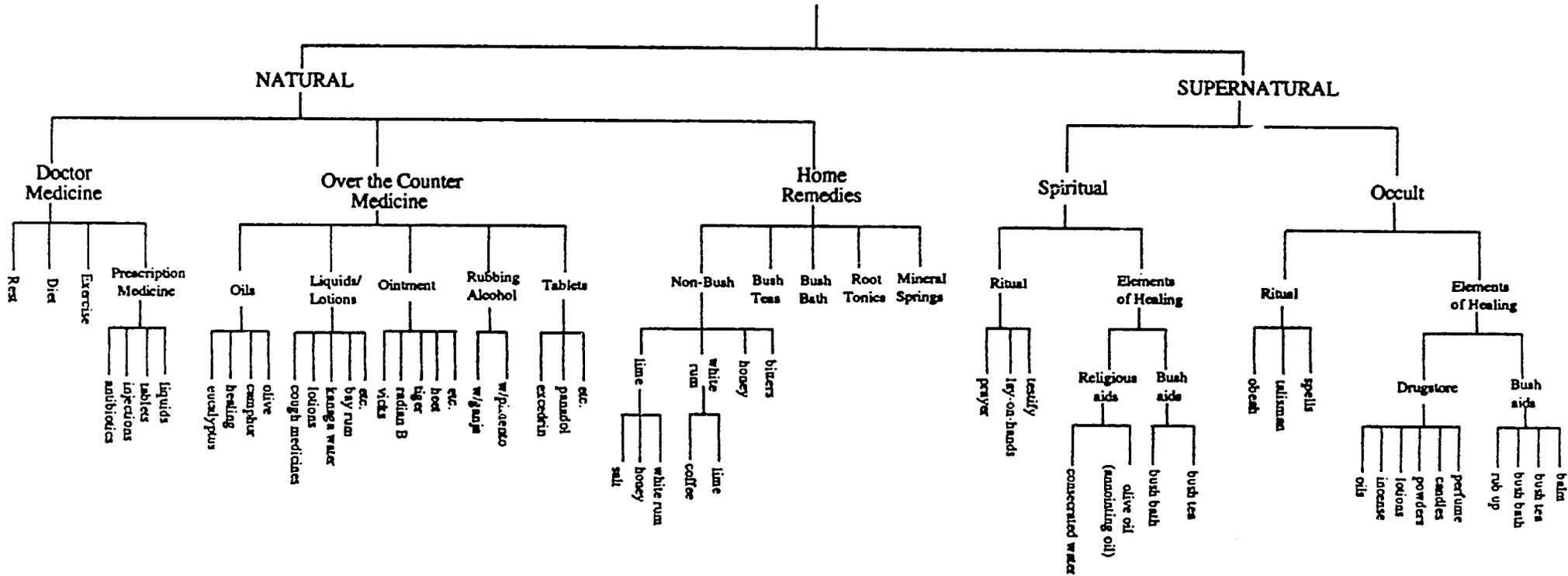
The treatments follow the same division as the illnesses, etiology and practitioners, **natural** and **supernatural** (see Typology on Treatments). The **natural** remedies are further sub-divided into three major categories: **doctor medicine**, **over the counter medicine** and **home remedies**. The doctors medicine includes **rest**, **diet**, **exercise**, and **prescription medicine**. Prescription medicine includes **tablets** or **pills**, **injections**, and **antibiotics**.

Over the counter medicine includes oils (e.g., eucalyptus, camphor, healing, and olive), **liquids and lotions** (e.g., purple lotion, kanaga water, bay rum), **ointments** (e.g., vicks, radian B, tiger, heet, wintergreen), **rubbing alcohol** (with pimento or ganja added at home) and **tablets** (e.g., excedrin, panadol, etc).

The third category under natural medicine includes **home remedies**. These include **non-bush** (lime, white rum, honey, bitters, etc.), **bush teas**, **bush bath**, and **root tonics**. **Mineral Springs** is also a frequently mentioned remedy. The springs are natural mineral baths found in several places in Jamaica that are alleged to have healing powers.

Under the **supernatural** division there are two sub-categories of remedies, those used by spiritual healers and those used by occult healers. Spiritual healers use rituals involving **prayer**, **laying-on-of-hands**, and **testifying**. During these rituals the practitioners may use **consecrated water** and **olive oil** to affect the cure and some practitioners use the **bush bath**. It is not uncommon to find that the practitioners will also recommend **bush teas** to the

TREATMENTS



2/10

parishoners after a service. The type of bush is often revealed to them by the Holy Spirit or the practitioner's messenger during the ritual.

Occult healers also use rituals to effect their cures which involve the use of obeah, talismen, and spells. The elements that are utilized by the obeah practitioners include aids from the drugstore including incense, oils, lotions, powders, candles, perfume, etc. and bush aids including rub ups, bush bath, bush teas, and balm.

7.1 DISPLAY - TREATMENTS

The pattern of choice of natural and supernatural treatments follows a similar pattern to that of choice of practitioner. For the most part the first medicine of choice in all the sites is from the natural division although it might not be the doctor's medicine but rather a home remedy. Also the same as in the choice of practitioner it is seen that the choice of medicine for the illnesses perceived to be of a supernatural etiology is also of the supernatural realm.

CHART THREE

	DOCTOR MEDICINE	HOME REMEDIES	SPIRITUAL	OCCULT
1)	57 (70%)	9 (11%)	9 (11%)	7 (8%)
2)	30 (37%)	23 (28%)	16 (20%)	13 (15%)
3)	18 (22%)	28 (34%)	22 (27%)	14 (17%)

Total percentages for first, second and third choices for treatments across all six sites: N = 82

Doctor medicine is the predominant treatment of first choice. The second and third choices are more evenly divided among the four possibilities with the supernatural accounting for approximately one third of the choices and home remedies approximately one fourth.

In Hagley Gap the predominant treatment sought is also in the natural division for all but five of the illnesses which are perceived to be of an occult etiology (woman problems, fits, god sick, spirit sick, duppy sick, and chop) and for one illness not perceived to be of an occult cause rash.

HAGLEY GAP TREATMENTS

COLD	BUT	(0.37)	TAB	(0.43)	LIR	(0.63)
DARK	PRE	(0.70)	PRA	(1.75)	DOS	(1.82)
FEVE	TAB	(0.20)	LIQ	(1.35)	LIR	(1.41)
FOOD	PRE	(0.84)	LIQ	(1.24)	PRAY	(1.69)
GAS	PRE	(0.52)	LIQ	(0.93)	TAB	(1.13)
HEAD	TAB	(1.43)	PRA	(1.66)	PRE	(1.94)
NERV	PRE	(0.54)	TAB	(0.80)	PRA	(1.21)
PAIN	PRE	(0.60)	TAB	(0.68)	PRA	(1.29)
PRES	PRE	(0.81)	TAB	(0.89)	PRA	(1.45)
RASH	BUB	(0.60)	PRE	(0.80)	LIQ	(1.62)
RUN	PRE	(0.69)	LIQ	(0.88)	DOS	(1.25)
SORE	PRE	(0.40)	DOS	(0.97)	TAB	(1.16)
SOOR	PRE	(1.25)	LIQ	(1.43)	DOS	(1.67)
SUGA	TAB	(1.77)	DOS	(1.97)	PRE	(2.00)
WOMA	PRE	(1.84)	PRA	(1.85)	TAB	(2.39)
FITS	PRA	(1.60)	PRE	(2.05)	TAB	(2.40)
GOD	PRA	(1.96)	CON	(3.48)	PRE	(3.90)
SPIR	PRA	(1.62)	BUB	(2.44)	INC	(2.70)
DUPY	BUB	(1.06)	PRA	(1.92)	CON	(2.08)
CHOP	DOS	(0.72)	TAB	(1.17)	PRA	(1.76)

ILLNESSES:

CHOP; COLD; DARK EYE; DUPPY SICK; FEVER; FITS; FOOD
POISONING; GAS; GOD SICK; HEAD CRAZY; NERVES; PAIN
IN FOOT; PRESSURE; RASH; RUNNING BELLY; SORE FOOT;
SOOR BELLY; SPIRIT TROUBLE; SUGAR; WOMAN PROBLEM

TREATMENTS:

BUSH BATH; BUSH TEAS; CONSECRATED WATER; DOCTOR SHOP;
INCENSE; LIME AND WHITE RUM; LIQUID MEDICINE; OILS AND
POWDERS; PRAYER; PRESCRIPTION; TABLETS; TONICS

In Woodside the first treatment of choice is from the natural side for eight of the twelve illnesses. But for three of the illnesses which are usually classified as natural in the MDS for this village, **pressure**, **sugar** and **bad eye**, the first medicine of choice is **obeah**. This reflects a discrepancy between first choice of practitioner and first choice of treatment.

WOODSIDE TREATMENT

NERV	TONIC (0.58)	BUTE (1.05)	PRAY (3.75)
COLD	TONIC (0.12)	OBEA (1.51)	BAYR (2.51)
RUNB	PILL (0.16)	BRAY (0.17)	BUTE (4.61)
PRES	OBEA (1.96)	BAYR (3.88)	OILS (4.05)
SUGA	OBEA (0.33)	PRAY (1.97)	OILS (2.31)
ARTH	OILS (2.80)	BUTE (4.24)	PRAY (4.43)
GAS	BUTE (1.63)	PILL (1.87)	TONIC (4.51)
ASTH	PILL (1.22)	TONIC (3.74)	OILS (4.48)
ACCI	PILL (2.37)	TONIC (2.93)	OBEA (3.61)
BADE	OBEA (1.76)	TONIC (2.73)	PRAY (2.81)
MAD	BUTE (2.34)	OBEA (2.73)	PRAY (4.42)
SPIR	PRAY (0.59)	BUTE (3.08)	PILL (4.67)

ILLNESSES:

SPIRIT ON YOU; ACCIDENT; BAD EYE; NERVES; COLD;
 RUNNING BELLY; PRESSURE; SUGAR; ASTHMA; ARTHRITIS;
 GAS; MADNESS

TREATMENTS:

BAY RUM; BUSH TEA; OBEAH; OILS; PILLS; PRAYER; TONIC

In Newell/Treasure Beach the doctor's medicine is the first medicine of choice for all illnesses perceived to be of a natural cause. The second preferred treatment is the home remedy and bush tea both of which are perceived to be very effective in the treatment of illness. Even the third choices are perceived to be effective in the treatment of illnesses.

NEWELL/TREASURE BEACH TREATMENTS

ARTH	DOME (1.06)	PRAY (2.65)	RUB (2.67)
ASTH	DOME (0.31)	HOME (1.97)	BUTE (1.99)
BADS	DOME (0.17)	BUTE (1.90)	HOME (1.97)
COLD	DOME (0.38)	HOME (1.41)	BUTE (1.69)
DIAR	DOME (-0.03)	HOME (1.38)	BUTE (2.37)
GAS	DOME (0.33)	BUTE (1.25)	HOME (1.26)
NERV	DOME (0.20)	PRAY (2.17)	HOME (2.32)
PRES	DOME (-0.00)	HOME (1.82)	PRAY (2.75)
SORE	DOME (0.30)	BUBA (1.75)	HOME (1.77)
SUGA	DOME (0.10)	HOME (2.26)	PRAY (2.89)
MAD	PRAY (1.83)	HOME (2.79)	BUBA (3.13)
SPIR	PRAY (1.78)	BUBA (2.00)	RUB (2.81)

ILLNESSES:

ARTHRITIS; ASTHMA; BAD STOMACH; COLD; DIARRHEA; GAS;
 MADNESS; NERVES; PRESSURE; SORES; SPIRIT ON YOU; SUGAR

TREATMENTS:

BUSH BATH; BUSH TEA; DOCTOR MEDICINE; HOME REMEDIES;
 PRAYER; OIL; RUB UP; TONIC

In August Town the doctor's medicine is the first and second choice for all illnesses perceived to be of a natural cause.

Unlike the other sites the third choice is not given much weight in general as to effectiveness against illness.

AUGUST TOWN TREATMENTS

LUNG	PILL (1.07)	INJ (1.17)	GANJ (4.29)
SUGAR	INJ (1.05)	PILL (1.26)	GANJ (4.75)
PRES	PILL (0.94)	INJ (1.39)	GANJ (4.72)
STD	INJ (0.48)	PILL (0.99)	PURPL (4.81)
EYE	PILL (1.70)	INJ (2.25)	GANJ (3.48)
COLD	PILL (1.35)	HONLI (1.75)	INJ (2.09)
STRESS	PILL (1.12)	INJ (1.45)	GANJ (4.75)
BODYIN	INJ (0.92)	PILL (1.17)	PURPL (2.32)
BSKIN	PILL (1.25)	INJ (1.28)	FURPL (1.98)
DUPY	F&M (3.28)	RUB (3.67)	HOIL (4.55)
GAS	PILL (1.34)	INJ (2.88)	GANJ (4.33)
BELYS	PILL (1.15)	INJ (1.51)	GANJ (4.35)
POIS	BIZ (0.75)	INJ (1.29)	PILL (1.71)
GSIX	INJ (4.63)	PILL (4.45)	F&M (4.46)

ILLNESSES:

LUNG PROBLEMS, SUGAR, PRESSURE, STD, EYE PROBLEMS,
COLD, STRESS, BODY INJURY, BAD SKIN, DUPPY SICK,
GAS, BELLY SICKNESS, POISON, GOD SICK

TREATMENTS:

BIZZY, HONEY AND LIME, PURPLE LOTION, INJECTION,
PILL, FRANKINCENSE AND MYRRH, HEALING OILS, RUM,
GANJA, VICKS, RUB UP

In Chapelton the doctor's medicine is the first medicine of choice for all illnesses perceived to be of a natural cause. The second choices of treatment are almost evenly divided between the spiritual (prayer) and the occult (bush batns and rubs).

CHAPELTON - TREATMENTS

ARTH	TABS (0.27)	RUBS (1.94)	PRAY (2.07)
ASTH	TABS (0.34)	PRAY (2.11)	HERB (2.95)
BELYS	TABS (0.77)	HERB (1.24)	PRAY (2.70)
COLD	TABS (0.68)	HERB (1.19)	PRAY (2.83)
EYE	TABS (0.40)	PRAY (1.90)	OLOIL (3.85)
HEAD	TABS (-0.03)	PRAY (1.97)	HERB (3.49)
HBP	TABS (0.01)	PRAY (2.13)	HERB (2.82)
MAD	TABS (0.58)	PRAY (1.34)	BUBA (3.58)
RASH	TABS (0.50)	BUBA (2.23)	RUBS (2.43)
SORE	TABS (1.28)	BUBA (2.13)	HEOIL (2.66)
SUGA	TABS (0.16)	PRAY (2.79)	HERB (3.32)
WEAK	TABS (0.74)	HERB (3.12)	PRAY (3.60)
DUPY	PRAY (1.89)	BUBA (2.52)	OLOIL (3.58)
SPIRS	PRAY (1.75)	BUBA (2.67)	OLOIL (3.38)

ILLNESSES:

ARTHRITIS, ASTHMA, BELLYSICK, COLD, EYE PROBLEMS, HEADACHE, HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE, MADNESS, RASH, SORES, SUGAR (DIABETES), WEAK BLOOD, DUPPY SICK, SPIRIT SICK;

TREATMENTS:

TABLETS, PRAYER, HERBAL TEA, BUSH BATH, OLIVE OIL, HEALING OIL, RUBS

In Saint Margaret's the first choice of medicine is of the natural division but is a mixture of home remedies and doctor's medicine. The second choice reveals a preference for bush remedies, i.e., tonics, and cold bush for natural remedies and occult remedies for supernatural illnesses.

ST. MARGARET'S BAY - TREATMENTS

BADBL	TONI (0.62)	TABS (0.63)	COBU (3.24)
BELLY	TABS (0.06)	COBU (1.39)	TONI (2.47)
COLD	COBU (0.03)	TABS (1.11)	TONI (2.07)
HBP	TABS (0.24)	TONI (2.21)	PRAY (3.75)
MALN	TONI (0.58)	TABS (1.71)	PRAY (4.60)
RUNBEL	TABS (1.44)	TONI (2.82)	COBU (3.01)
SUGAR	TABS (0.08)	TONI (2.42)	PRAY (3.67)
SORE	TABS (1.18)	BUBA (1.62)	OLIV (2.60)
MAD	TABS (0.79)	PRAY (1.03)	OBEA (2.47)
DUPPY	PRAY (0.38)	OBEA (1.28)	BUBA (1.69)

ILLNESSES:

BAD BLOOD, BELLY PROBLEM, COLD, HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE, MALNOURISHMENT, RUNNING BELLY, SUGAR (DIABETES), SORES, MADNESS, DUPPY SICK;

TREATMENTS:

TABLETS, TONIC, COLD BUSH, BUSH BATH, PRAYER, OBEAH, OLIVE OIL, RUB

8.0 ETHNOBOTANICALS

The multiple uses of ethnobotanicals and the diversity of knowledge of and familiarity with the bush teas among the respondents makes it very difficult to do a typology for the bush teas and tonics at this point. In future research we will return to the healers with approximately 50 of the most commonly used herbs and ask them to do a multiple-level pile sort to establish a clearer understanding of the typological classification of the herbs, how they are used in treatment and what similarities and differences exist in usage and nomenclature among healers from one community to another.

In spite of the difficulty of being able to construct a typology of herbs there are some interesting uses of herbs that appeared across the six sites according to the displays. Perhaps one of the most striking aspects is the overall high ratings for the herbs in terms of belief in their ability to treat illnesses.

Also across the sites there are some common uses of herbs. For example, ginger and mint are commonly used for gas, breadfruit is commonly used for high blood pressure, leaf of life is used in the treatment of spiritual and/or occult illnesses. Cerasee, comfrey and ganja are considered by many to be "capital" bushes and are perceived to be panaceas. Sinkle Bible (Aloe vera) is another capital bush that is used for numerous types of illnesses.

HAGLEY GAP - ETHNOBOTANICALS

COLD	LEAF (-1.26)	CORU (0.53)	JACK (0.68)
DARK	COMF (3.77)	GANJ (3.83)	RICE (4.24)
FEVE	FEVE (-0.95)	CORU (-0.62)	GANJ (0.95)
FOOD	GING (4.46)	NUT (4.63)	CORU (4.98)
GAS	GING (-0.81)	CERA (3.03)	GANJ (3.07)
HEAD	LEAF (4.21)	GING (4.60)	BRED (4.68)
NERV	BRED (3.04)	GANJ (3.27)	CERA (3.30)
PAIN	GANJ (3.89)	COMF (4.32)	GING (4.59)
PRES	BRED (2.03)	COMF (2.72)	CERA (3.24)
RASH	CERA (0.39)	RICE (1.42)	GUAC (2.85)
RUN	RICE (2.32)	GING (2.71)	CERA (2.97)
SORE	RICE (1.39)	CERA (1.63)	GUAC (3.64)
SOUR	GING (1.88)	RICE (2.38)	CERA (2.47)
SUGA	CASH (2.81)	GANJ (2.91)	GING (3.08)
WOMA	CERA (3.36)	RICE (3.72)	GANJ (4.01)
FITS	NUT (4.18)	CORU (4.59)	GING (4.84)
GOD	LEAF (4.28)	GING (4.34)	FEVE (4.37)
SPIR	NUT (3.76)	CORU (4.64)	FEV/GAN/JOHN (4.77)
DUPY	NUT (3.69)	LEAF (4.36)	JOHN (4.47)
CHOP	RICE (0.62)	CERA (2.46)	GUAC (2.61)

ILLNESSES:

CHOP; COLD; DARK EYE; DUPPY SICK; FEVER; FITS; FOOD POISONING; GAS; GOD SICK; HEAD CRAZY; NERVES; PAIN IN FOOT; PRESSURE; RASH; RUNNING BELLY; SORE FOOT; SOUR BELLY; SPIRIT TROUBLE; SUGAR; WOMAN PROBLEM

ETHNOBOTANICALS

BLACK COFFEE AND RUM (CORU); BREADFRUIT LEAF, CASHEW BARK, CERASEE, COMFREY, CHAINNEY ROOT, FEVER GRASS, GANJA, GINGER, JACK IN A BUSH, JOHN THE CONQUEROR, LEAF OF LIFE, NUTMEG, QUACO BUSH, RICE BITTERS

WOODSIDE ETHNOBOTANY

NERV	COMF (1.81)	CHAIN (2.42)	BRED (2.51)
COLD	LEAF (-1.15)	LIME (-0.56)	SINK (2.74)
RUNB	COMF (2.18)	LIME (2.57)	CERA (2.99)
PRES	BRED (0.75)	LIME (2.01)	COMF (2.29)
SUGA	COMF (2.86)	CERA (3.25)	SINK (3.63)
ARTH	COMF (3.29)	GANJ (3.82)	LIME (4.05)
GAS	MINT (-0.58)	COMF (1.63)	CERA (2.53)
ASTHMA	GANJ (2.20)	COMF (2.25)	LEAF (2.86)
ACCI	COMF (4.16)	SINK (4.47)	GANJ (4.54)
BADE	COMF (3.12)	GANJ (3.25)	SINK (3.80)
MAD	GANJ (4.70)	LIME (4.86)	LEAF (4.97)
SPIR	LIME (3.58)	LEAF (3.71)	MINT (3.88)

ILLNESSES:

SPIRIT ON YOU; ACCIDENT; BAD EYE; NERVES; COLD;
 RUNNING BELLY; PRESSURE; SUGAR; ASTHMA; ARTHRITIS;
 GAS; MADNESS

ETHNOBOTANICALS:

BREADFRUIT LEAF, CERASEE, CHAINEY ROOT, COMFREY, GANJA, LEAF
 OF LIFE, LIME, MINT, SINKLE BIBLE.

NEWELL/TREASURE BEACH ETHNOBOTANICALS

ARTH	LIFE (3.12)	SOUR (3.28)	COCO (3.70)
ASTH	GANJA (0.47)	LIFE (2.00)	ROSE (3.17)
BADS	COCO (1.94)	CERA (2.35)	CHAIN (2.56)
COLD	LIFE (0.31)	LIME (1.28)	GANJA (2.74)
DIAR	COCO (-0.26)	CERA (2.91)	LIME (3.52)
GAS	MINT (-0.41)	ROSE (2.94)	COCO (3.60)
NERV	CHAIN (4.50)	LIFE (4.58)	VERV (4.84)
PRES	CHAIN (2.42)	COCO (2.76)	SOUR (3.44)
SORE	COCO (0.80)	LIME (2.08)	SOUR (3.87)
SUGAR	ALOE (0.61)	CERA (0.83)	VERV (0.89)
MAD	LIME (4.63)	ROSE (4.83)	GANJA (4.90)
SPIR	CERA (2.02)	ALOE (2.63)	COCO (4.09)

ILLNESSES:

ARTHRITIS; ASTHMA; BAD STOMACH; COLD; DIARRHEA; GAS;
 MADNESS; NERVES; PRESSURE; SORES; SPIRIT ON YOU; SUGAR

ETHNOBOTANICALS:

ALOES, CERASEE, CHAINEY ROOT, COCONUT WATER, GANJA,
 LEAF OF LIFE, LIME, MINT, ROSEMARY, SOUR SOP, VERVINE

AUGUST TOWN - ETHNOBOTANICALS

LUNG	GANJA (3.37)	COMF (3.79)	CERA (4.22)
SUGAR	CERA (2.24)	GANJ (4.49)	COMF (4.56)
PRES	GANJ (4.03)	CERA (4.43)	FEVE (4.48)
STD	CERA (5.11)	SEMCO (5.16)	COMF (5.16)
EYE	GANJ (2.12)	COMF (4.78)	CERA (4.92)
COLD	FEVE (0.62)	GANJ (1.73)	COMF (2.47)
STRESS	IRISH (3.59)	GANJ (4.64)	CERA (4.71)
BODYIN	GANJ (4.11)	CERA (4.46)	TUNA (4.40)
BSKIN	CERA (2.28)	TUNA (3.61)	GANJ (3.92)
DUPY	COMF (4.88)	CERA (4.98)	FEVE (5.04)
GAS	GING (-0.12)	CERA (1.82)	GANJ (2.02)
BELYS	CERA (1.06)	GANJ (2.44)	FEVE (2.65)
POIS	GANJ (4.53)	TUNA (4.80)	CERA (4.82)
GSIK	CERA (5.01)	FEVE (5.05)	COMF (5.05)

ILLNESSES:

LUNG PROBLEMS, SUGAR, PRESSURE, STD, EYE PROBLEMS,
COLD, STRESS, BODY INJURY, BAD SKIN, DUPPY SICK,
GAS, BELLY SICKNESS, POISON, GOD SICK

ETHNOBOTANICALS:

TUNA, IRISH MOSS, SEMI-CONTRACT, SEARCH ME HEART, MOON
D'ECLIPSE, RAM GOAT DASH ALONG, GANJA, COMFREY, CERASEE,
FEVER GRASS, GINGER

CHAPELTON - ETHNOBOTANICALS

ARTH	CERA (2.93)	SINK (3.22)	SOUR (3.34)
ASTH	SPIR (1.23)	LEAF (3.67)	SINK (3.78)
BELYS	CERA (-0.40)	MINT (0.24)	SINK (2.19)
COLD	LEAF (-0.10)	SPIR (1.63)	SINK (2.09)
EYE	IRIS (3.08)	LEAF (3.09)	SINK (4.00)
HEAD	LEAF (3.03)	COCO (3.44)	BREAD (3.92)
HBP	COCO (0.11)	BREAD (2.50)	SOUR (3.05)
MAD	SPIR (3.79)	SOUR (4.83)	CERA (5.09)
RASH	CERA (.052)	SINK (1.77)	COCO (3.97)
SORE	CERA (1.83)	SINK (2.29)	LEAF (3.77)
SUGA	CERA (2.19)	COCO (2.19)	SOUR (3.64)
WEAK	IRIS (1.42)	CERA (2.13)	SINK (2.78)
DUPY	SPIR (1.88)	LEAF (3.46)	MINT (4.23)
SPIRS	SPIR (2.89)	LEAF (4.10)	COCO (4.18)

ILLNESSES:

ARTHRITIS, ASTHMA, BELLYSICK, COLD, EYE PROBLEMS, HEADACHE,
HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE, MADNESS, RASH, SORES, SUGAR (DIABETES),
WEAK BLOOD, DUPPY SICK, SPIRIT SICK;

ETHNOBOTANICALS:

CERASEE, COCONUT, SINKLE BIBLE (ALOE VERA), SOUR SOP, SPIRIT
WEED, MINT, LEAF OF LIFE, BREADFRUIT LEAF, AND IRISH MOSS.

ST. MARGARET'S BAY - ETHNOBOTANICALS

BADBL	CERA (-0.19)	SINK (0.69)	CHAIN (2.71)
BELLY	CERA (-0.70)	GANJ (0.10)	SINK (1.36)
COLD	LIFE (-0.32)	RANG (-0.31)	SINK (1.13)
HBP	SOUR (2.72)	KING (2.81)	SINK (3.74)
MALN	SOUR (2.68)	CHAIN (2.68)	SINK (3.41)
RUNBEL	SINK (3.16)	CERA (3.26)	LIFE (3.65)
SUGAR	CERA (2.52)	SINK (2.83)	KING/SOUR (4.10)
SORE	SINK (1.87)	CERA (3.34)	LIFE (4.07)
MAD	SOUR (3.93)	KING (4.63)	CHAIN (4.95)
DUPPY	LIFE (4.61)	GANJ (4.86)	KING (4.92)

ILLNESSES:

BAD BLOOD, BELLY PROBLEM, COLD, HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE, MALNOURISHMENT, RUNNING BELLY, SUGAR (DIABETES), SORES, MADNESS, DUPPY SICK;

ETHNOBOTANICALS:

CERASEE, LEAF OF LIFE, SOUR SOF, SINKLE BIBLE, CHAINEY ROOT, PEPPER ELDER, GANJA, KING OF THE FOREST, LIME, RANGER

PART THREE: WORKS IN PROGRESS

9.0 BOOKS

At present the writing on two books has begun. The first is by Arvilla Payne-Jackson and Mervyn Alleyne and is titled **FOLK MEDICINE: ALTERNATIVE HEALTH CARE SYSTEMS IN JAMAICA**. The book consists of two parts. Listed below is the table of contents. (Greenwood Press has asked to consider it for publication).

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PART TWO

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ETHNOBOTANICALS AND THEIR MEDICINAL APPLICATIONS

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The second book is a thorough and extensive treatment of the ethnobotanicals used in folk medicine. The title of this book is **Ethnobotanicals and Their Medicinal Uses in Jamaica**. This book will be co-authored by Dr. George Sidrak, Dr. Arvilla Payne-Jackson, and Dr. Mervyn Alleyne. It represents a culmination of many years of work by Dr. George Sidrak and incorporates the data collected by Drs. Payne-Jackson and Alleyne over their years of work in Jamaica. This book will contain information on over 300 medicinal plants used in Jamaica and Samples One and Two display the main format of how the data will be displayed. Further work is needed in this area in order to collect representative samples from the eastern end of the island as the data collected to date

are primarily from the western and parts of central Jamaica. There will be a line drawing made of each plant. (Cambridge University Press has asked to review the manuscript when it is completed.)

9.1 PRESENTATIONS

In addition to these two books, six presentations were made at conferences during the year presenting findings from the research: 1) **Alternative Medicine in Jamaica**, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad (Fall 1991); 2) The George Beckford Memorial Workshop in Woodside, Jamaica (November 1991); 3) The Allied Health Conference in Washington, D.C. (February 1992); 4) The Applied Anthropology Meetings in Memphis, TN (March 1992); 5) The Middle Atlantic Conference for Latin American Studies in College Park, MD (April 1992); and 6) The Eastern Sociological Meetings in Alexandria, VA (April 1992).

Invited presentations on the research in the upcoming months include **The Torch Club** in Washington, D.C. (October 1992) and The University of Puerto Rico, Mayaguez (November 1992).

9.2 ARTICLES

The following articles are in preparation for publication. **Etiological Variations in Illnesses in Six Communities in Jamaica** (to be submitted to the Caribbean Quarterly); **A Feature Analysis of Healers in Jamaica** (to be submitted to American Anthropology); **Categorization of Illness and Variations in Treatment in Six Jamaican Communities** (to be submitted to Medical Anthropology Quarterly); **The Efficacy of Eighteen Commonly Used Jamaican Ethnobotanicals** (to be submitted to Ethno-Pharmacology); **Mermaid/Merrymaid: An Example of Syncretism** (to be submitted to Jamaica Journal) and **Age, Class and Transportation as Factors in Health Care in Six Communities in Jamaica** (to be submitted to Human Organization).

9.3 MASTERS THESES

In addition to the above work one Masters Thesis has been completed (Spring 1992) by Ms. Jennifer Vest (See enclosed manuscript). Mr. Nigel Fanfair in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Howard University is currently working on a Master Thesis using data from the 1991-1992 USAID grant. He is working on "The Impact of Social Variables on Health Care in Two Jamaican Communities" (the anticipated date of completion is May 1992).