

## Concepts of Health and Illness

<b>THREE COMMUNITIES GENERAL</b>			
<b>Question</b>	<b>Salasaka</b>	<b>Zuleta</b>	<b>Ugsha</b>
4.1 Is there a word that means 'health'?	<i>Cushilla cuasi. Allillagani (or alligani?). Alligani. Healthy. Allilla. Life. Allicausy. Alli – health, has no illness. Allhilla – well-being. Asisya. To live well. Allí mi gañí/Allimigani Well-being, everything well. Allí chungí – well-being, everything well. Pain free; in relation to the environment. Live healthily.</i>	Healthy, well. Well-being*. Life*. Health*. Life in equilibrium; balance/harmony. Animated. To be well. Live healthily. In two senses: one is related to your spiritual/mental health, the other with your physical health.	'No'. Life*. Health*. Well-being*. Health given by God. Doesn't know. Well in body and soul.
4.2 How do you explain that someone is healthy?	<i>Cushi cuasi. Happy and fit for work. Healthy, happy and humorous. Enthusiastic/happy for work/with everything. Good spirit/energy. No pain, illness, well-being. Well fed. Manifestly happy. Able to converse well.</i>	'Healthy'. Spiritual and physical health in balance. Going about life easily. Contented, well-being. Able-bodied*. Animated*. All life conditions optimal. No illness. Good mood, humour. Happy. With vitality. Everything feels 100%. Appearance of good health.	In good spirits*. Healthy. Can work. Enthusiasm for life. Well. Healthy. Everything in the body is well. Able-bodied and willing to work*. No physical pain. Good physical condition. No appearance of physical or mental illness.
4.3 What is health? (as a concept)?	Well; health; well-being; without illness; life; happy with the whole family. Protects people and animals. Gives enthusiasm for life in leisure and work. The power of living beings. A person's happiness. Good living. Energy to do everything. Well-being of life for everyone. <i>Alli Susana, our life (nuestra vida)</i> . Being well and active..	Harmony. Life* Good life. 'Health'. Universal concept which includes all the family. A vital force that protects you. To be well. Well-being. Basis of being human, able to work.	Good spirit. Healthy*. Enthusiasm for life. Able-bodied (to work) *. Happy. Given by God. Well-being*. Life. Without any illness. To be physically well with the whole body functioning.

4.4 When do you lose your health?	When you don't take care of yourself (life). When you die, get sick/ill or have an accident**. When you get some physical pain. The cold; poor diet/malnutrition*. It just happens. When you are in a state of 'hucha' – sin. When we misalign with the environment e.g. disrespecting nature and not eating well.	When you get ill, unwell*. Lose balance, harmony. With an illness or accident, ie physical, not spiritual. Get sad. Malnutrition. Bad culture, like modern life <sup>1</sup> . Stress*. Disempowered, low morale. Get run down*. Die*. Body doesn't work anymore. Overwork*. Poor diet**. Organs degenerate. Passing of time, age.	When you die. Go to God. Only God knows. Poor diet. When we are ill.
4.5 What is the origin/the causes of illness?	Ill health through modern life and chemical contaminants*. Poor diet**. Not looking after our bodies. Lack of well-being in the body, through poor diet, or through microbial infections. The wind. Natural causes. Evil spirits. <i>Malaire</i> , change of temperature. When we destroy nature. When we replace the indigenous diet with that of the mestizo. Not having regular 'cleansing' with a <i>yachak</i> (or a doctor).	Various causes. No underlying reason. Lack of balance, harmony in the body or the life. Change of climate; work or diet. Modern life with chemical pollution*. Malnutrition/poor diet*. Bad culture, like modern life. Other illnesses and accidents. Bacterial/viral infections. Witchcraft. Not looking after yourself. Alcoholism. Stress*. Not getting timely treatment. Overwork.	Poor diet*. Overwork*. Worry. Drinking alcohol. Divine punishment. Stress. Contamination of food with chemicals.
4.6 What are the most common illnesses in your family or community?	Flu**. Stomach ache*. Cough*. Headache*. Foot pains. Cancer. Diarrhoea. Alcoholism. Drug addiction. Stress*. Family problems. <i>Malaire</i> .	Flu**. <i>Malviento</i> . Stomach ache*. Headache* Body pains. Depression ( <i>decaido</i> ), Physical injuries. Diabetes. Cancer. Liver problems. Heart murmur. Intestinal infections.	<i>Malaire*</i> , <i>espanto</i> , <i>cuichig</i> . Flu*. Coughs*. Stomach ache. Headache. Colds.
4.7 When do you know that someone is ill?	Seeming 'run down'**. Loss of appetite*, pale, weak and without the energy/strength/enthusiasm to work*. Body temperature and weakness. Unable to talk. Only when	Through symptoms. Physical manifestations. Run down**, wearing old clothes etc. Unhappy. With pain. Using <i>cuyes</i> for diagnosis, or you ask them ( <i>curandero</i> ). Outward appearance and	Physical appearance, symptoms. Run down**. Through talking with them. Only God knows. No enthusiasm to get out (walk). No enthusiasm to work or eat. Negative spirit (depressed?)

<sup>1</sup> Respondents occasionally repeated the same answer for different questions, as here and 4.5 which follows.

	<p>someone tells you. Through diagnosis with candles. Through symptoms. Fever. Don't want to go out, can't get about. Pale and thin, although you can't tell internally. Manifestly sad. Sad or angry.</p>	<p>behaviour. Depressed, no desire/energy to work*, activities. Some illnesses are hidden, others visible. Loss of appetite*. Low spirited, depressed, demoralized. Weak. Low spirited.</p>	
<p>4.8 How do you see a sick person? That is to say, is illness related in any way to identity?</p>	<p>When they cry. When they have no enthusiasm for anything. Stressed. From drinking alcohol excessively. In Salasaka, there is a stereotype that indigenous Salasakas are drunks (excess alcohol users). Not related to identity. Someone is sick because of a problem with their children or family.</p>	<p>No relation to identity. If a person is always sick it's because they have done bad things. An unhappy person. Yes, but uncertain in what way. Physically deteriorating.</p>	<p>Not able-bodied. Changes all your body. Loss of appetite, can't work. Doesn't know. Run down*. Fever. No enthusiasm for life. No enthusiasm for work. No enthusiasm to walk. Physical appearance. Pale.</p>
<p>4.9 Is illness a condition that can be changed?</p>	<p>Yes**. By looking after the body. With faith* in the mountains, medicinal plants* and <i>yachaks</i>. Following a doctor's or specialist treatment*. With changes to healthy living. Sometimes yes, sometimes no. With medicinal plants/herbal teas*. With faith, but with advanced illness they are hard to cure completely. Through living regular lives; preparing healing drinks.</p>	<p>Yes. Can be changed. Especially with your attitude. Praying or offering to Gods/spirits to protect you (in the past). Go to the doctor for a cure*. Sometimes yes, sometimes no. Yes, with care and treatment*. With medication. With treatment, if the illness isn't far advanced.</p>	<p>Yes*. With appropriate treatment*. No. Through praying to God. Doesn't know. Yes, the mind can dominate the body.</p>

\* frequent; \*\* very frequent

## GALÁPAGOS RESPONDENTS

Question	Responses
4.1 Is there a word that means 'health'?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) To live healthily</li> <li>2) For me health is to have a healthy life.</li> <li>3) Life.</li> <li>4) To be well and healthy.</li> <li>5) To live healthily.</li> <li>6) For me, health is to live without illness.</li> <li>7) I summarise this as to live healthily.</li> <li>8) To live healthily.</li> <li>9) To live well.</li> <li>10) To live well.</li> <li>11) Health is life.</li> </ol>
4.2 How do you explain that someone is healthy?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) When you're close to someone you know if they're ill or in good health. When you don't know them you can't say.</li> <li>2) It's not possible to affirm the health of someone from the outside. Nowadays, everyone has some sort of illness.</li> <li>3) When a person doesn't have any illness; when we know someone we can say when they are healthy, but when you don't know them you can't. Not even the doctor can say in a simple way that we are ill.</li> <li>4) Through a medical check-up or when you see them looking strong.</li> <li>5) I can't identify someone's state of health.</li> <li>6) Honestly, I cannot put together a value judgment saying if someone is healthy.</li> <li>7) Someone who doesn't have an illness.</li> <li>8) Energetic, happy.</li> <li>9) You can only know through a doctor's check-up.</li> <li>10) Looking carefully at their eyes and seeing [if] they are run down.</li> <li>11) I see they are healthy through their positive and happy attitude.</li> </ol>

<p>4.3 What is health? (as a concept)?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) To be or to live healthily.</li> <li>2) I maintain the same as before, to have a healthy life.</li> <li>3) To live healthily.</li> <li>4) What I said before, to be well and healthy.</li> <li>5) As I said before, to live healthily.</li> <li>6) As I said at the beginning, health is to live without any illness.</li> <li>7) I maintain [again] the concept of health to live healthily.</li> <li>8) To live without illness.</li> <li>9) To live well.</li> <li>10) To live without illness.</li> <li>11) As I already said, health for me is to live well.</li> </ol>
<p>4.4 When do you lose your health?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) When you get ill.</li> <li>2) You lose your health when you get ill.</li> <li>3) We are all destined to lose our health by getting ill or dying.</li> <li>4) Getting old gives you many illnesses.</li> <li>5) Many times you do not know when we have already lost or lose our health, suddenly we are already sick, that's when we no longer have health.</li> <li>6) We lose our health when we don't treat ourselves.</li> <li>7) When I get ill.</li> <li>8)When you contract disease through contagion.</li> <li>9) We lose our health when we die.</li> <li>10) When you don't eat well and when you die.</li> <li>11) When someone doesn't go to the doctor for a diagnosis.</li> </ol>
<p>4.5 What is the origin/the causes of illness?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1)There are several causes, for example, by contagion, some diseases are hereditary and others appear through age.</li> <li>2) The wind, and infections between people or from animals.</li> <li>3) From contaminated air and environment.</li> <li>4) When we feed ourselves inadequately and when we do not take care in the sun or the cold.</li> <li>5) Consuming food grown with too many chemicals; also poor diet.</li> <li>6) Through water and food with too much fertiliser.</li> <li>7) Bad diet and through not eating enough.</li> <li>8) We contract diseases through the bacteria that circulate in the air, also by the cold, and by contact with sick people.</li> </ol>

	<p>9) Bad diet; through eating food products contaminated with a lot of chemicals and fertilisers.</p> <p>10) When we eat fruits harvested with too much fertilizer, for example, the bananas we buy in supermarkets. It's important to remember that we ate food without chemicals.</p> <p>11) Bad diet, over work and also age.</p>
<p>4.6 What are the most common illnesses in your family or community?</p>	<p>1) Coughs and allergies.</p> <p>2) Cough and headache.</p> <p>3) Coughs and witchcraft.</p> <p>4) Cancer, gastritis, painful bones and also blindness.</p> <p>5) Flu and colds.</p> <p>6) Cough and appendicitis.</p> <p>7) Flu and cough.</p> <p>8) Coughs, flu and cancer.</p> <p>9) Coughs, flu and cancer.</p> <p>10) Appendicitis, cancer, AIDS, flu, fever, gastritis.</p> <p>11) We get a lot of flu in my family.</p>
<p>4.7 When do you know that someone is ill?</p>	<p>1) When you see that they are in pain, covered or protected with something (mask or glasses), or also when you see them hospitalized.</p> <p>2) When you talk with them, or when you see them looking run down.</p> <p>3) Looking carefully at their eyes; when you see them looking rundown or even walking in a dizzy way.</p> <p>4) When you see them looking run down.</p> <p>5) As before, I can't tell the state of a person's health.</p> <p>6) When they cough or are covered up/seem run down.</p> <p>7) When you see them thin, with yellow skin and weak.</p> <p>8) When you see them [looking] run down.</p> <p>9) When you see them in hospital.</p> <p>10) Through seeing through their eyes [that they look]run down, but you don't know to what depth.</p> <p>11) When they lack motivation, are run down or lacking enthusiasm.</p>
<p>4.8 How do you see a sick person? That is to say, is illness related in any way to identity?</p>	<p>1) I believe that if there is a relationship. For example, mestizos have healthier teeth. On the other hand, the Salasakas (indigenous) have damaged teeth.</p> <p>2) I believe that indigenous Salasaka people are healthier than mestizos.</p> <p>3) Illness is directly related to cultural identity; in this way we indigenous people are stronger and less sick than mestizos who are delicate and ill.</p>

	<p>4) Whether mestizos or indigenous, we are all the same. In spite of that, I could say that the indigenous Salasakas are healthier.</p> <p>5) Illness doesn't distinguish the cultural origin of people or family; we all get sick of the same type of disease with the same or different degree of intensity.</p> <p>6) No-one is safe from illness, whether we are indigenous or mestizos. But I must admit that we indigenous people are healthier. The Salasakas we get sick of more 'venerable' [veneras] diseases and the mestizos more acute diseases.</p> <p>7) Disease does have a lot to do with identity. It is common to see mestizos who become ill with cancer and diabetes. On the other hand, the Salasakas indigenous people only got sick with flu and cough.</p> <p>8) Disease has nothing to do with or has no relation to cultural identity.</p> <p>9) We can all catch diseases, for example, you can get a cough or a headache going out without a hat on a sunny day, being either a Salasaka or a mestizo.</p> <p>10) Indigenous Salasakas are healthier than the mestizos.</p> <p>11) For me there is no relationship between disease and indigenous cultural identity. Diseases affect all people to the same degree.</p>
4.9 Is illness a condition that can be changed?	<p>1) If we can change, taking care of hygiene and food has to be healthier. And all this has to come from the parents.</p> <p>2) Yes we can always get better by going to the doctor</p> <p>3) Yes, by getting medicinal plants.</p> <p>4) Yes, we can get better with treatment.</p> <p>5) Yes, following a doctor's treatment.</p> <p>7) Yes, following treatment with the doctor.</p> <p>8) Yes, with [good] hygiene.</p> <p>9) It's difficult but yes, through medical treatment.</p> <p>10) Yes, we can change it through following treatment with the doctor, but not all.</p> <p>11) Yes. Always by looking after ourselves and by following medical treatment.</p>

**SALASAKA – RECORDED INTERVIEWS**

Question	Response
4.1 Is there a word that means 'health'?	12) To live healthily. If we are ill we don't even want to eat and this isn't good. 13) Don't know. 14) To be pain free. And involved with [interrelated] the environment. 15) [Comment by the interviewer Jorge Caisabanda] 'In this question it was asked, what do you understand by ally kawsay (living well)? It is very possible that it is addressing a different concept of health. She answers: "for me the ally kawsay is to live with joy and sadness. We live in constant communication with our loved ones."
4.2 ¿How do you explain that someone is healthy?	12) When they [are able to] talk very well with us. 13) Someone who walks happily. They salute [you] with firmness and health. 14) It's someone who is well fed. 15) When you see him walking happily, or when you have a happy conversation, you can conclude that the person is healthy and without any disease.
4.3 What is health? (as a concept)?	12) To live well and be active. 13) Not having a sick body. 14) Not asked/Answered 15) Not asked/Answered
4.4 When do you lose your health?	12) When you don't have any spirit, when the body feels heavy or when you have a big pain. 13) Don't know. 14) When we misalign with the environment. For example, when we disrespect nature and when we do not eat well. 15) When we have sorrows or problems in our homes or when we lose someone dear to us illnesses start to appear causing the loss of health and from here disease originates.
4.5 What is the origin/the causes of illness?	12) These illnesses originate in our own bodies because we don't cleanse ourselves frequently enough with [the services of] a yachak (or it could be go to the doctor). 13) It comes in the wind. 14) When we destroy nature. When we replace the indigenous diet with that of the mestizo. 15) see 4.4
4.6 What are the most common illnesses in your family or community?	12) <i>Malaire</i> . It's very bad when you have this illness, you don't want to eat, walk, lie down or talk. 13) Cancer, alcoholism and recently I've started to hear drug addiction too. 14) Cancer, tumors, these are mortal [don't think that these are the most common illnesses though?] 15) Stress and family problems.



<p>4.7 When do you know that someone is ill</p>	<p>12) When they talk [as if they are] <i>decaido</i>, sad or in pain, or annoyed, you ask the person directly why they are like that and they share their trouble with us.  13) They walk 'decaidos', not able to talk.  14) Physically one could see it, when one sees a healthy person suddenly [becoming] pale, skinny. But internally we could not know.  15) When we see them walking sadly, when we see them sad in a conversation, we generally assume that the person is sick or suffering some pain or has some discomfort.</p>
<p>4.8 How do you see a sick person? That is to say, is illness related in any way to identity?</p>	<p>12) When you see someone close up who's ill you try to help asking how they are or preparing some form of curative drink or also suggesting some recipes that can clean them. But when nobody helps us we are alone, enduring the pain. It may be that in some places there is a kind of disease and not here. For example, in the area of mestizos there may not be any kind of disease [that is] here in Salasaka itself, because we do not live very cleanly.  13) To those who drink alcohol to excess, we say they get ill because they drink alcohol. In Salasaka, there is a stereotype that indigenous Salasakas are drunks.  14) As soon as a sick person is seen, they are directed to the ordinary health center. Almost no-one goes to a yachak anymore. Also, in the village of Salasaka there are no trained healers.  15) We assume that person is sick because of a problem with their children or their family. [ie not properly answered].</p>
<p>4.9 Is illness a condition that can be changed?</p>	<p>12) We can prevent diseases by living cleanly. Or, as soon as we have some pain, preparing a healing drink straight away.  13) Through following a doctor's treatment.  14) Yes, through educating us, by investigating the healing functions of plants and then applying them.  15) If the person wants to be healed s/he has to have faith. We can help you by making clean what is malaire or mal de ojo [evil eye]. But already well-advanced evil is difficult to heal in its entirety.</p>