

Full Length Research Paper

Value system and malnutrition in Coastal and Lowland Sasak communities¹

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Cultural value system includes a social standardization in certain communities. The meaning itself is a reflection of the value system. The meaning then shows the extent of a value system applied by members of the social system in their daily life. This paper will analyze the meaning of feeding toddlers and pregnancy. By assuming the system of cultural value through the meaning that triggers the occurrence of malnutrition case in two Sasak communities, and by using paradigm of post-positivism research, the purpose of this research is to know the difference in value system's overview of both Sasak communities through the process of pregnancy, birth, and parenting. The results of the research show the meanings that trigger malnutrition case in Sasak communities, among others, the meanings of maternal in pregnancy, child and number of children, breast milk and complementary feeding, and the toddlers condition when sick.

Key words: Value system, Sasak, malnutrition, East Lombok.

INTRODUCTION

Cultural value system includes a social standardization in certain communities. The elements that must be understood within a cultural value system are: by understanding history, the social context that becomes a vital measure, and the different elements that make a culture. To understand the cultural value system, there are two important matters that need to be answered: First, what is the real purpose or meaning of each behavior and artifact that arise from each community? Second, what is the function of the behavior and artifact for the community? Understanding culture means making an observation (Honigmann, 1963). According to Durkheim, ideas or values are not personal and unlimited to you; with scale coverage, ideas or values involve all those who are in a certain group, because they are bound by togetherness;

concepts become an important instrument in every stage of change. Through values, then meanings will be communicated (Honigmann, 1963).

According to Suhardjo (1989) in Khomsan et al., (2009), each society has a cultural value system - a set of values and traditions that becomes the patterns of thought and feeling as expected by the community later Cultural value system teaches people how to behave and make an effort in meeting their biological basic needs, including when a person can and cannot eat certain foods, food taboos, and so forth. According to Tan. et al. (1970) in Khomsan et al. (2009), cultural value system also plays a role in providing social values on food; some foods have high social values, and conversely, certain foods at certain social community have lower social values. For

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example, rice is considered to have high food social value compared to other carbohydrate sources such as, cassava and corn.

Meaning itself is a reflection of a value system. Meaning then shows the extent of a value system applied by members of the social system in their daily life. This paper will analyze the meaning of feeding toddlers and pregnancy as well as understanding all forms of prohibition (taboo) in Sasak communities. Some assumptions boom malnutrition case that occurs in Sasak communities both in coastal and lowland areas.

Nutrition plays an important role in human life cycle. Malnutrition does not only start after the child is born into the world, but when the child is in the mother's womb. Malnutrition in pregnant women can make the baby to have low weight gain and may also reduce the level of intelligence of the child later. In infants and children, malnutrition can cause growth and developmental disorders, and if it is not treated early, it can continue into adulthood.

As a developing country, the problem of malnutrition remains a serious problem in public health. Based on medical research, the prevalence of lack of weight gain in children under two years old is 24.9 percent. This prevalence value is in diversity. One of the regencies that have not reached the improvement target of malnutrition case is East Lombok, whose prevalence just has reached 25.5 percent (Indonesian Department of Health, 2007).

The first assumption underlying this research is Weber's theory on the meaning of social action (in this case the malnutrition of parents and toddlers). We will understand the rationality that makes parents to allow their children have poor nutritional status. The social values either in Coastal Sasak or rice cultivation areas contribute significantly to the main cause of malnutrition and undernourishment.

The constructed values are also closely related to the ecological differences faced by the two communities of coastal ecology and rice cultivation area. Parents' rationality will be analyzed in the form of understanding and interpretation of consumption and feeding patterns, as well as prenatal care, postpartum, and breastfeeding in relation to malnutrition and undernourishment in Sasak tribe associated with Hindu value, nuclear family's role (kurenan), relatives' role (sorohan), using traditional means to care for babies, with its risk of infant death.

Therefore, based on the description that has been described previously, the research problem which will be reviewed more is, "how the real value system of coastal and lowland Sasak communities plays a role in the meaning of mother and toddler, especially in the process of pregnancy, birth, and parenting".

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research has a post-positivism paradigm, that allows the use of two types of research, namely quantitative and qualitative research.

Quantitative data are needed to explain the income level of farmers and fishermen of Sasak communities and their sources of income. While qualitative data are needed to explain social phenomena in terms of research on the construction of subjectivity "key informant" (the observed), research on the construction of livelihood system which is built by farmers and fishermen households of Sasak communities.

The primary data consist of quantitative data obtained directly from the selected respondent households using questionnaires. Qualitative data were obtained from key informants purposively selected due to their role in the community and deep understanding of the topic being studied. The quantitative data on malnutrition and undernourishment were obtained through structured interviews with the help of questionnaires to selected respondents. The data were from a normal nutritional status. Qualitative data were obtained by in-depth interviews with guided questions and FGD was done to obtain a view of the related parties, and the local community regarding malnutrition. The secondary data were obtained from a number of relevant agencies such as government agencies (Department of Health, both provincial and district levels), and private bodies (NGO); they were about the policies that have been set to reduce malnutrition, and their impact on malnutrition itself.

The research was conducted in two different communities located in coastal and lowland areas in East Lombok Regency, NTB Province. The villages in the coastal area are Gili Belek Backwoods, Paremas Village, and Batu Nampar, Jerowaru Sub-district, East Lombok Regency, while villages in the lowland area are Kotaraja and Loyok Villages, Sikur Sub-district, East Lombok Regency. The research is conducted from March to May 2012; previously, research was conducted in December 2011. The unit of analysis is the household of Sasak communities in coastal and lowland areas.

RESULT

Pregnancy is a boon to every woman or household. Pregnancy means sustenance and sign of life cycle in a generation. In the beginning, Sasak people considered pregnancy as sustenance; therefore, when a woman is pregnant for the first time, the family will make a ceremony. "Beretes" ceremony is a salvation ceremony for the first pregnancy of a Sasak woman. In the ceremony, a small salvation is conducted: "lontar Juarsah" (which contains the story of a woman named Juarsah) is read in front of the pregnant woman by wrapping a yarn to her stomach. When the story gets to the part of Juarsah birth, then the yarn is cut and the woman is bathed in her yard (Department of Education and Culture, 1997). The ceremony is held to mark the family's request to God in order to have safe delivery of the baby.

Safe pregnancy of a Sasak woman does not finish at the salvation traditional ceremony. A Sasak woman who gets pregnant is required to pay attention and avoid things that are forbidden. It is ranging from food to her behavior during pregnancy. Sasak people believe that the soul reflection of child can be reflected when a mother is pregnant.

Based on the data in Table 1, most mothers both in coastal (59.1 percent) and lowland (53.3 percent) areas see pregnancy as a sustenance from the Almighty. For

Table 1. The meaning of pregnancy for mothers in Coastal and Lowland Sasak Areas, 2012.

| The meaning of pregnancy for mothers | Communities | | | | | |
|--|-------------|------------|----------|------------|----------|------------|
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
| | Quantity | Percentage | Quantity | Percentage | Quantity | Percentage |
| A sustenance from Allah SWT | 26 | 59.1% | 24 | 53.3% | 50 | 56.2% |
| A surrogate from Allah SWT | 11 | 25.0% | 10 | 22.2% | 21 | 23.6% |
| A thing of joy/A situation which is certainly expected by every married couple | 7 | 15.9% | 11 | 24.4% | 19 | 21.1% |
| Total | 45 | 100% | 45 | 100% | 90 | 100% |

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012.

Table 2. The meaning of Ante Natal Care (ANC) for mothers to midwives / doctors in Coastal and Lowland Sasak Areas, 2013

| The meaning of Ante Natal Care (ANC) for mothers in midwives / doctors | Communities | | | | | |
|--|-------------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
| | Quantity | % | Quantity | % | Quantity | % |
| An activity that has to be carried out to follow the development of fetus | 29 | 65.9% | 41 | 91.1% | 70 | 78.7% |
| Something to do in case of serious complaints, such as stomach cramps and bleeding | 8 | 17.8% | 1 | 2.2% | 9 | 10.0% |
| It is done if a TBA can no longer treat | 6 | 13.7% | 3 | 6.7% | 1 | 1.1% |
| As a supportive care by TBA | 2 | 4.5% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.2% |
| Total | 45 | 100% | 45 | 100% | 90 | 100% |

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012.

coastal household, the presence of a child is also defined as an additional worker. The findings in the field show that children, from toddlers to adults function as workers and household income sources. Each selected household has an average number of children ranging from three to seven.

Among the Sasak people, a "belian" (Traditional Birth Attendant/TBA) gains a very privileged position and is highly trusted by the people for being able to treat mysticism diseases. However, over time, the role of TBAs is slowly being replaced by medical staffs such as, midwives, paramedics and doctors who specialize in ante natal care (ANC) and birth process. Table 2 shows pregnancy taken care of medically.

Based on the data in Table 2, most of the pregnant women in the lowland area (70 percent) ANC is an activity that should be done by mothers to follow the development of fetus, while mothers and toddlers in coastal area (65.9 percent) also have the same notion about ANC activities. A total of 17.8 percent of pregnant women in the coastal area consider that ANC is done only if serious complications or pregnancy disorders occur. From the data in Table 3, it shows that although the role of TBAs has been slowly reduced in pregnancy, mysticism remains a core competency that can only be done by the TBAs. A total of 13.7 percent of pregnant

women in the coastal area and 6.7 percent in lowland area do ANC medically only if the TBAs can no longer treat them.

Table 3 also shows that although the role of TBAs is now being reduced in addressing complications of pregnancy and childbirth process, it cannot be denied that the TBAs remain trusted by every pregnant mother in dealing with issues related to diseases because of spirits and mysticism. A total of 24.4 percent of pregnant women in coastal area reveal that TBAs can protect pregnant women from spirit, and 64.4 percent of pregnant women consider TBAs as assistance of medical practitioners. Assistance here means that there are special ceremonies to avoid diseases that cannot be done by doctors or nurses; and the cleaning of the new born baby. Similarly, in lowland area, 84.4 percent of pregnant women also define the TBAs as supporter of the Ante Natal Care (ANC).

To the Sasak people, pregnancy is also vulnerable periods for women with mental disorder. This can interfere with the fetus and the mother. Sasak people believe that *Belian* or shamans are highly privileged and trusted by the public because they are able to cure mental disorder (personalistic disorder). *Belian* is value-oriented, dominated by substantive rationality which moves on the realm of beliefs. They are believed to use charms to treat

Table 3. The meaning of Ante Natal Care (ANC) for mothers through traditional birth Attendants/TBAs in Coastal and Lowland Areas, 2013.

| The meaning of Ante Natal Care (ANC) for mothers through TBAs | Communities | | | | | |
|---|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
| | Quantity | % | Quantity | % | Quantity | % |
| It is a must to be done for the fetus safety in order to avoid the influence of spirits | 11 | 24.4% | 4 | 8.9% | 15 | 16.7% |
| As a supportive care by midwife / doctor | 29 | 64.4% | 38 | 84.4% | 66 | 73.3% |
| It is more important and reliable than the treatments performed by midwife / doctor | 2 | 4.4% | 2 | 4.4% | 4 | 4.4% |
| It provides safety to the childbirth process occurs | 2 | 4.4% | 1 | 2.2% | 3 | 3.3% |
| Expensive treatment than midwife | 1 | 2.2% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.1% |
| Total | 45 | 100% | 45 | 100% | 90 | 100% |

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012.

diseases that threaten the fetus in the womb; therefore, the panacea is not medical drug but the spell of Belian. Sasak people believe that beliefs and magical things cannot be separated from the role of a Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs). The TBAs are a local term for Sasak people who are able to provide traditional treatment and help the Ante Natal Care (ANC) and birth process. According to Lila, a Midwife, currently the trend of Loyok people for labor activities are rarely handed by the TBAs. Today, people are more likely to hand over responsibility of labor and ANC process to midwives who are appointed by the government, because they are trusted by the community to handle pregnancy complications such as eclampsia. However, it does not mean that the TBAs are completely eliminated in the community. As the people strongly believe in "magic" and "spirit", the TBAs are still very important role in assisting mothers during pregnancy and childbirth process. Sasak people believe that "black magic" can harm pregnant mothers, and the TBAs are trusted and "most qualified" in protecting the mothers and fetus from spirits' disturbance.

According to Ina 'Jasi'ah who has three years experience as a TBA acknowledges that the types of ANCs given usually to pregnant women, among others, "air jampi-jampi" (water spells), "jeringo" (a type of plant roots like ginger that is pinned to a pregnant woman's dress and that of her baby), and talisman of yarn that is potluck tied with small wooden ornament as a bracelet in the hands of mother and baby. There is also "Oroh-orohan" or pregnancy massage which makes the pregnant women to relax and control the position of the baby in the stomach to avoid breech.

TBA is actually required just before birth or precisely when it begins before birth. The TBA then give water spells so the baby can easily pass through the birth canal. After the water breaks, which is a sign that the labor activity will begin immediately, then medical midwife does her job. After the baby is born and the birth process is complete, postpartum maternal and baby care are

taken back to TBA. The TBA has a responsibility to wash the blood stained clothes mother, bath the baby, care for the placenta and do the ritual of planting the placenta at home. The planting of placenta in clay botok (nemek) at home indicates that the child will not go far from home, and if the child does later in life, he/she will never forget to go home to his/her parents and hometown. The TBA also takes care for the mother, when the baby's umbilical cord falls roughly a week after birth; or when the fire on top of the placenta is out, the TBA takes a medicine to the mother. A month after the birth, the task of TBA is completed. TBAs also help mothers and children in carrying out "peraq api" or "mate api" which means shutting down or extinguishing a fire or stove in the umbilical cord. TBAs tasks finish after the "peraq api" ceremony.

The next stage after a mother underwent nine months of pregnancy is childbirth and parenting. Child itself has a significant meaning for every household. In this paper, the child meaning is suspected to be the cause of the toddler's malnutrition case that occurred in four research sites. The meaning itself can be the tool to understand what type of rationality is as a base of child bearing. Meanwhile, the rationality will reflect the kind of belief behind the child bearing in Sasak lowland and coastal area. Here are shown the results of the tabulation data on the meaning of child in two different areas: Coastal and Lowland Sasak.

Based on the data in Table 4, it shows that 40 percent of mothers in coastal area see a child as an asset or the future savings of family. It has different meaning with mothers in Lowland area who see a child as sustenance from the Almighty. This difference in meaning is understood as a form of households' response to ecological conditions encountered. Children in the coastal households are considered as household workers who are expected to contribute to family income.

Based on the data in Table 5, the number of children in coastal area tend to be more than the number of children

Table 4. The meaning of child for mothers in Coastal and Lowland Areas, 2012.

| The meaning of child for mothers | Communities | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------|------------|----------|------------|----------|------------|
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
| | Quantity | Percentage | Quantity | Percentage | Quantity | Percentage |
| Sustenance from Allah SWT | 9 | 20.0% | 22 | 48.9% | 31 | 34.4% |
| A surrogate from Allah SWT | 16 | 35.6% | 12 | 26.7% | 28 | 31.1% |
| Asset/ future savings of family | 18 | 40.0% | 9 | 20.0% | 27 | 30.0% |
| View of the parents success | 1 | 2.2% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.1% |
| Perfection of life | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 4.4% | 2 | 2.2% |
| Life Motivator | 1 | 2.2% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.1% |
| Total | 45 | 100.0% | 45 | 100.0% | 90 | 100.0% |

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012.

Table 5. Number of children in household which has malnutrition and normal nutrition in Coastal and Lowland areas, 2012.

| No of children | Household which has malnutrition | | | | Household which has normal nutrition | | | |
|----------------|----------------------------------|-----|---------|-----|--------------------------------------|-----|---------|-----|
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Coastal | | Lowland | |
| | n | % | N | % | n | % | n | % |
| 1-2 children | 12 | 40 | 25 | 83 | 9 | 60 | 11 | 73 |
| 3-4 children | 8 | 27 | 5 | 17 | 5 | 33 | 4 | 27 |
| >=5 children | 10 | 33 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 30 | 100 | 30 | 100 | 15 | 100 | 15 | 100 |

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012

in the households of Sasak in lowland. For example, malnutrition case of toddlers in coastal area where the proportions of households that have five or more children are 33 percent. Meanwhile, for lowland households, the dominant household (83 percent) is having a number of one to two children. When it is compared with the toddlers' normal nutritious household, the tendency is the households that have a relatively small number of children. It is no doubt that the toddlers' normal nutritious households in coastal area still shows a tendency to have children over four. According to Salimar (2010), the number of children affects household food expenditure level, which means it affects the nutritional status of children if the household has minimum income.

For children aged 0-24 months is a period of rapid growth and development and when babies at this age do not get food nutritional needs, it could lead to disruption of both growth and development at this time or later. To achieve optimal child development, mothers should give breast milk exclusively to their infants until 6 or 24 months old, and continue to give breast milk until 24 months old or more. Complementary feeding provided should be made off cheap and easy food (Dardjito and Suryanto, 2009).

The giving of breast milk and complementary feeding in

this research is influenced by the mother's meaning of the role of breast milk and complementary feeding. Tables 6 and 7 display the meaning of mothers through breast milk and complementary feeding.

Based on the data in Table 6, 68.9 percent of mothers see breast milk as a source of health for children. In lowland area, mothers also have similar meaning. The reality shows that breastfeeding by mothers, especially in the coastal area is more than two years, and no attempt to wean their toddlers, so the quality of the breastmilk decreases and does not become a viable source of nutrition for the toddlers. Breastmilk quality is also influenced by the mother's food consumption patterns. In the lowland area, mothers consume vegetables as a complementary to rice, but less protein. While on the coastal area, the busy mothers who earn a living every day, besides taking care of domestic problems, eat foods potluck with fish protein as complementary to rice, but less vegetables.

Then, based on the data in Table 7 53.3 percent of mothers in the coastal area see food as a source of child's health. Similarly in lowland area, 75.6 percent mothers see food as a source of child's health. Unfortunately, the meanings of toddler foods have not created mother's perception of the quality of food. Mothers only notice

Table 6. The meaning of breast milk for Infants in Coastal and Lowland Areas, 2012.

| The meaning of breast milk for Infants | Communities | | | | | |
|---|-------------|------------|----------|------------|----------|------------|
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
| | Quantity | Percentage | Quantity | Percentage | Quantity | Percentage |
| The main nutrition intake for the baby's growth | 11 | 24.4% | 19 | 45.2% | 30 | 34.5% |
| For a healthy child | 31 | 68.9% | 24 | 53.3% | 55 | 61.1% |
| contain substances that are not easy to make a child sick | 3 | 6.7% | 1 | 2.4% | 4 | 4.6% |
| A form of the mother's affection for her child | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 2.4% | 1 | 1.1% |
| Total | 45 | 100.0% | 45 | 100.0% | 90 | 100.0% |

Sources: primary data, processed in 2012.

Table 7. The meaning of food for toddlers in Coastal and Lowland Areas, 2012.

| The Meaning of food for toddlers | Communities | | | | | |
|---|-------------|------------|----------|------------|----------|------------|
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
| | Quantity | Percentage | Quantity | Percentage | Quantity | Percentage |
| As a source of energy for growing children | 11 | 24.4% | 10 | 23.8% | 21 | 24.1% |
| For child health | 24 | 53.3% | 34 | 75.6% | 58 | 64.4% |
| To ensure children do not easily get hungry | 10 | 22.2% | 1 | 2.4% | 11 | 12.6% |
| Total | 45 | 100.0% | 45 | 100.0% | 90 | 100.0% |

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012.

Table 8. The meaning of complementary feeding for mothers in Coastal and Lowland Areas, 2012.

| The meaning of complementary feeding for mothers | Communities | | | | | |
|--|-------------|------------|----------|------------|----------|------------|
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
| | Quantity | Percentage | Quantity | Percentage | Quantity | Percentage |
| To help the growth of children | 28 | 31.1% | 29 | 32.2% | 57 | 63.3% |
| To ensure children do not easily hungry | 14 | 15.6% | 14 | 15.6% | 27 | 31.2% |
| An effort to save | 3 | 3.3% | 2 | 2.2% | 5 | 5.7% |
| Total | 45 | 50% | 45 | 100.0% | 90 | 100.0% |

Sources: Primary data, processed in 2012.

that the child should eat every day, but the type is not necessarily noticed by the mothers. Instant foods such as instant noodles and snacks are considered by mothers as decent food given to their children.

To achieve optimal growth and development, mothers should give breastfeeding within 30 min after birth, exclusive breastfeeding until a baby is 6 months old, and complementary feeding from the age of 6 to 24 months or more. Provision of complementary feeding to children is an effort to reduce malnutrition case.

Based on the data in Table 8, mothers in coastal area see complementary feeding to toddlers as an effort to help the growth of children. As many as 31.1 percent of mothers see the provision of complementary feeding as efforts in the growth of the children, then 15.6 percent of

mothers see complementary feeding as an effort to ensure children are not hungry. Similarly with mothers in Lowland Sasak area, as many as 32.2 percent of mothers see complementary feeding as the provision to help the growth of toddlers. While 15.6 percent of mothers see that children do not easily get hungry. Mothers who see complementary feeding is given to ensure children do not easily hungry become a problem for toddlers. In reality, it is found that infants aged 1-2 months are given soft food by their mothers or grand-mothers. Soft foods are usually in the form of crushed rice. The food is usually in the form of milled rice first. It is worse if mothers and grandmothers do not have time to do rice mill before cooking; rice is usually crushed by mothers or grandmothers directly by chewing food that will be given to the baby. After making

Table 9. Caring for sick babies by mothers in Coastal and Lowland Areas, 2012.

| The meaning of caring for sick baby | Communities | | | | | |
|---|-------------|------------|----------|------------|----------|------------|
| | Coastal | | Lowland | | Total | |
| | Quantity | Percentage | Quantity | Percentage | Quantity | Percentage |
| As mother's responsibility | 13 | 28,9% | 11 | 24.6% | 22 | 53,5% |
| Father's responsibility | 2 | 4.4% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.3% |
| Grandma's responsibility | 1 | 2.2% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.1% |
| As responsibility of the entire members of the family | 10 | 22.2% | 13 | 31.0% | 23 | 26.4% |
| Avoid children to not getting worse to lose their lives | 8 | 17.8% | 6 | 14.3% | 14 | 16.1% |
| A form of affection from parents towards their children | 11 | 24.4% | 15 | 35.7% | 26 | 29.9% |
| Total | 45 | 100.0% | 45 | 100.0% | 90 | 100.0% |

Sources: primary data, processed in 2012.

sure the food is pulverized, the food is then given to the baby. The unhygienic complementary feeding is known by the Sasak people as "pak – pak".

Malnutrition in toddlers is a complex and complicated problem that cannot be solved with a single and simple solution. Theoretically, this problem arises by involving many determinants that are interconnected. Inadequate food intake and the presence of disease in toddlers are direct causes of the occurrence of malnutrition case interplay. Malnutrition in toddlers causes illness (Maigoda et al., 2009). The data in Table 9 show how mothers care for their sick baby.

Table 9 shows the taking care of a sick child in coastal area. 28.9 percent see caring for children as mother's responsibility, 24.4 percent of mothers show affection to their children, and 22.2 percent of mothers in the coastal area see maternal care as a form of obligation and responsibility of the entire members of the family. While in lowland area, as many as 35.7 percent of mothers care for their sick children; they see it as a form of affection towards their children. 24.6 percent see baby care as mothers' responsibility.

DISCUSSION

From the foregoing description, cultural value orientation shows a very large role of mothers in the process of pregnancy, birth and parenting. Cultural value orientation shows two roles of social life. First, cultural values have meaning. For most people, meaning is given by religion. Second, cultural values give us the rules of social action (Ensiklopedia Modern Social Thought). Malnutrition is very synonymous with culture, identity, and the vulnerability of the traditional practices which are faced with social changes in a society. This is partly as a result of their participation in the global economy through the production of commercial crops for the Lowland Sasak people, and commercial fishery commodities for Coastal Sasak people.

In the hypothesis, which we adopt that "certain" cultural

value orientation in Sasak people plays a role in the occurrence of malnutrition case in both coastal and lowland Sasak communities. It means that culture mediates the actions especially for a mother who has a toddler (which is the focus of this research); it also includes cultural feeding of children as early complementary, ie when the baby is a month old in ways where unhygienic administration also triggers the emergence of malnutrition case. Orientation is given to every household in both Coastal and Lowland Communities to meet economic needs; also mothers think when their baby is crying it means he is hungry, which causes early feeding in those communities. In some cases, "Pakpak" is given to children by their mothers to reduce the hassles in the supply of baby food, and also it is as a habit. Instant feeding in the form of instant noodles, light snacks and sweets later become a habit, because the mothers are no longer able to provide special food for their children. Instant food then becomes the best solution when the mothers are busy making a living. This phenomenon is often found by the mothers in a busy coastal area which makes a living in helping their husbands. In addition, food for children is not a priority for a mother; the proof is in the provision of Pakpak rice, and the bad thing is, children are only given rice with a little water and salt. Foods containing protein sources are rarely given. As we know, if a child is not getting protein, then it is most likely the child will lack protein which can result in "marasmus" and "kwarsiorkor" diseases. If there is only a little money, mothers would provide food in the form of instant noodles to their toddlers.

Some mothers reveal that children's foods are not prepared specifically, because the foods which are eaten by their toddlers are same with that of adults. If father works hard for a living, then his children only get the mediocre food. In fact, from the observations result, the average households have chickens and ducks, whose eggs can be consumed by toddlers. If the child is reluctant to eat, the mother does not force him to eat, instead she follows her child's desire to enjoy instant unhealthy snacks. On the coastal area, as previously

disclosed, as the child is defined as an economic asset of household, the number of children tends to be relatively more numerous, and there is no spacing of their children. This causes the older child not to get a lot of attention and has received domestic burden to take care of her/his baby sister and help parents to make a living, among other *menciro*, opium, and so on. Children in coastal area who are weaned are also not given formula milk as breast milk substitutes it; children are only given food potluck and very less nutritional composition. The mothers also consume less decent food, so the quality of their breastmilk produced is also low for their toddlers' development.

Based on the description above, mothers and toddlers' nutrition is linked to the cultural value orientation of the Sasak people, because nutrition is determined by what you eat, how it is processed, and how the toddlers are fed. Types of food materials selected and consumed by a group of people are inseparable from the meaning, knowledge, and beliefs of the Sasak people.

Based on Weber's theory, the social action in caring for toddlers is caused by the different forms of rationality on the coast and rice cultivation area. In coastal areas, parental care cannot be separated instrumental rationality associated with the mechanism of efficient household. This matters because of the household efforts to sustain life in the midst of difficulty. While in the rice cultivation area, parental care cannot be separated from the fact that the toddler family is very fragile due to rampant divorce and remarriage, early marriage, *ngerorot* and '*nurut nine*', making the child to suffer from malnutrition and undernourishment. It has been described that the root cause in the rice cultivation area is not separated from the role of the strong cultural values of Sasak. Thus, the act of caring for toddlers is based on the rationality of strong value-oriented. The emergence of rationality differences between Sasak coastal and rice cultivation area is due to the influence of acculturation of Bugis Bajo and Sasak culture and it is no doubt that it is because of the influence of ecological adaptation by toddlers' households of Sasak coastal and rice cultivation area. This is reflected from the value orientations that are closely associated with the root causes of malnutrition and undernourishment. Cultural value orientation is divided into three parts such as the belief systems and mythologies of Sasak coastal communities and rice cultivation area, knowledge systems and original technologies which are related to poor nutrition and undernourishment, as well as institutional and local associations that are effective in the treatment of malnutrition and undernourishment. In the belief systems and mythology of Sasak people, either Sasak coastal or rice cultivation area, their belief is still colored by Islam *Wetu Telu*, and respect to Mr. Guru; but *tuse/a* mythological, baby-eating creatures are more trusted by the Sasak rice cultivation area attached to Islam *Wetu Telu*. While coastal Sasak tend to believe mythology in the form of the conquest of

coastal Sasak to the marine creatures that are symbolized with the ability to cause disaster and disease. Dewi Rengganis mythology, and *Bau Nyale* are very strong in Sasak community; because of Islam *Telu Wetu* socializes the mythological values in the puppet activity and the parents socialize their children. This mythology then triggers many early marriage cases and divorce-re-marriage phenomenon. Meanwhile at the coast, the strong influence of Bugis and Bajo reduces the rate of marriage and divorce which is a taboo especially in Bugis society. In addition, life is more difficult in coastal area than in rice cultivation area. Next, it brings up the knowledge system and different technology treatments, so that personalistic etiology is submitted to *Belian*. The strong belief with the scent of mystic also encourages abstinence or taboo and suggestions for pregnant women and toddlers against the logic of medical treatment system. Meanwhile, the belief of coastal Sasak has been acculturated with the beliefs of Bugis Bajo people, especially in the activities of quack medicine and terminology *Sandro*. At the coast, personalistic treatment includes the power of spells, healing massage and water. The form of taboo for women is more symbolized on the woman's relationship with marine; infants and sea. Therefore, abstinence is so much rooted in the deep belief system on sea magical power.

Conflict of Interests

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

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