

Care For Life From The Worldview Of The Zenú Population, 2022-2023

Mara Mercedes Osorno Navarro¹, Bleidys Estefany Mercado Bertel², Karina Paola Buelvas Almanza³, David Galván Borja⁴

Abstract

Introduction: *The Zenú indigenous culture represents a set of historical memories, their customs reveal the evolution of their own culture, being health considered for the ethnic group as "good living", harmonious balance between nature, territory, spirituality, and healthy coexistence, among the members of society, seeking survival, well-being, fulfillment, always highlighting the uses and customs of the territory* **Objective:** *To understand the care of life from the worldview of the Zenú population in the years 2022 and 2023.* **Materials and methods:** *It is a qualitative research with ethnographic design, participant observation was used for collection, and recorded in-depth interviews, were analyzed with coding and categorization tools. Eight interlocutors were interviewed with 10 cases, 5 observations in emblematic sites and sacred places of the Zenú indigenous population in the reservation of the department of Córdoba.* **Results:** *For the Ethnic Group, the care of life is framed in the meaning of interculturality, of the Ancestral Legacy, in the rootedness of Nature and Territory. Likewise, the feeling of life is found in ensuring good nutrition, good living, with the desire to achieve integral social well-being and with the belief of counteracting spiritual diseases. The findings found in this ethnic group make visible the Inequalities and Social Injustice of this vulnerable group.* **Conclusions:** *the meanings of the care of life expressed by the interlocutors is rooted in their traditions, ancestral knowledge and interculturality, the findings reveal that health invites to design promotion and prevention actions that integrate knowledge, to receive contextualized care, with permanent and continuous care, within the territory with a family and holistic approach, Differential approach, managing diversity, addressing the real needs of the ethnic group.*

Keywords: *Indigenous culture, Traditional medicine, Health conditions, Indigenous peoples.*

Introduction

There are about 476 million indigenous people living across 90 countries, belonging to more than 600 unique peoples today. Indigenous people comprise just over 5 per cent of the total population and 40 per cent of the rural population in Latin America and the Caribbean (2)

¹PhD student in public health CES University, master's degree in public health, university teaching specialist, nurse, associate professor at the University of Sucre.

²Master's Degree in Public Health from the University of Sucre, economist, auditor at the Medical Diagnostic Center of the University of Sucre.

³PhD candidate in microbiology and tropical health from the University of Cordoba, Master in Public Health from the University of Sucre, specialist in quality management and health auditing, Pharmaceutical chemist, professor at the University of Sucre.

⁴Master's Degree in Public Health from the University of Sucre, specialist in occupational risk management, speech therapist, professor at the University of San Buenaventura Cartagena.

The Colombian Caribbean coast is home to the most numerous indigenous peoples such as the Wayuu and the Zenú, the Zenú people, located in the reservations of San Andrés de Sotavento, Department of Córdoba and Volao, in the Urabá Antioquia. Now, for the Zenú ethnic group, health is considered as "good living", that harmonious balance between nature, territory, spirituality, and healthy coexistence, among the members of society, seeking survival, well-being, plenitude, the magnificent, the sublime, always highlighting the uses and customs of the territory (11), obviously the knowledge, Ancestral skills and practices have made the care of life, the conservation of ethnicity, a very interesting phenomenon, precisely because of its special way of approaching disease processes and preserving health, using ancestral wisdom and the care of life inherited from generation after generation (12).

It is interesting to note that the Zenú worldview is transmitted in each family and provides knowledge of medicinal plants, protection of health against evil, to cure many disharmonies, in the same way they are turned to when they have problems (13), thus carrying out ancestral practices of promotion and contributing to the maintenance of health. as well as the prevention, diagnosis, improvement or treatment of physical, mental and some spiritual diseases, such as the evil eye, the wind of zeta and others. The effectiveness of the traditional health system is evident, much of the strength and survivability of the Zenú people is due to each ancestral practice carried out in their territory before being referred to Western doctors (13). In the case of the Zenúes, these practices are influenced by traditional medicine, their own health systems, cultural traditions, and the dynamics of the territory. Understanding these diverse perspectives is critical to developing more effective caregiving approaches, thereby generating cultural literacy (14).

The worldview of the care of life of the Zenú ethnic group is a subject little studied in Colombian indigenous groups, relevant in the field of public health, where interculturality is pertinent, the contextualization of territories with the active social participation of the members of the community from the perspective of the actor, thus the objective of this research of Understanding the care of life from the worldview of the population is born Zenú in 2022 and 2023

Materials and methods:

In the present study, a qualitative approach was taken into account, necessary to understand daily life, social exchanges, their relationships, analysis of their lives, from the perspective of the participants in a natural environment, (fine and weis) with the purpose of examining the way that individuals perceive and experience, the phenomena that surround them, delving into their views, interpretations, and meanings (84). With an ethnographic design framework, indispensable to examine social dynamics, culture, traditions and customs, revealing the situation of people, their thoughts and knowledge of ancestors and ideologies from the voices and expressions of the participants. To collect the information, techniques such as participant observation and in-depth interviews were used, as described below:

In the Participant Observation, 5 emblematic sites of the Zenu ethnic group were taken into account, describing the characteristics of their environment, natural and built environment, flora, fauna, housing conditions and territorial dynamics. For the in-depth interviews, feelings, perceptions, subjectivity were considered, leaving behind the judgments, notions of the researchers, guided by some participation criteria over 18 years of age, who had signed the informed consent, the interlocutors lived in the community of San Andrés de Sotavento, and Tuchin Córdoba, with an average age of 42 to 72 years. They played different roles, they were leaders, Traditional Doctors, health authorities, caregivers. For the selection of the sample, theoretical sampling was taken into account, which allowed us to choose people who met the necessary characteristics to increase the level of understanding of the categories that emerged during the analysis. As the need arose to

obtain more information, new participants were chosen, who responded to the needs of the theoretical sampling, reaching a total sample of 8 interlocutors interviewed with 5 participant observations (21 cases), at which time theoretical saturation was obtained, that is, a state in which the categories no longer find new elements. neither in its properties nor in its dimensions.

The fieldwork was carried out from April 11, 2022, to June 12, 2023, supervised and always following the laws of self-government of the Zenú people, in which 360 minutes of audio recording were used with the permission of the interlocutors and the Zenú ethnic group. The analysis of the information was systematized under the Microsoft Word program, for the recording and control of everything observed during the visits, that is, the photographs, recordings and notes in the field diary to have an order and control of the detailed information. Regarding the analysis of the data obtained for the interviews, a transcription was made in Microsoft Word, the open coding of the different data segments was carried out to identify the descriptive categories, a comparison of categories was carried out, this analysis was supported with Microsoft Excel software (version for Windows). A category interaction was made for regrouping that ultimately resulted in axial coding

This research took into account ethical considerations present in resolution 8430 of 1993 of the Ministry of Health of Colombia, in the 2013 declaration of Helsinki of the World Medical Association. The present study was classified as low-risk research, however, its authorization was obtained through the informed consent of the participants.

Results

In the following lines, the results of the participant observation in specific important sites of the Zenú people and the product of one of the categories resulting from the intersubjectivities of the participants will be presented

The interlocutors in the study had the following characteristics: (sociodemographic characteristics)

Table 1. Sociodemographic characteristics. In original language: Spanish

PARTICIPANTES	EDAD	SEXO	OCUPACION	NIVEL ACADEMICO	N° DE HIJOS	ESTADO CIVIL
1	72	F	PARTERA	PRIMARIA	5	VIUDA
2	53	F	MADRE CUIDADORA	NORMALISTA	3	UNION LIBRE
3	55	M	COORDINADOR DEL SISPI	AUDITOR MEDICO	1	UNION LIBRE
4	63	M	AUDITOR MEDICO	SALUBRISTA	3	CASADO
5	57	M	MEDICO TRADICIONAL	INGENIERO AGROINDUSTRIAL-PSICOLOGO	10	CASADO
6	47	M	MEDICO TRADICIONAL	ESTUDIANTE INGENIERIA AGROINDUSTRIAL	3	UNION LIBRE

Observation #1.
 GENERALITIES OF THE ZENÚ PEOPLE.
 April 11, 2022.
 Tour of the reserve.
 Place: San Andrés de Sotavento.

Upon entering the field of study, it is observed that most of its inhabitants live in the rural and dispersed rural areas, the houses are mostly of the artisanal type, made with their own materials extracted from cane poles, arrow, palmita, and without floors, the rooms are divided by fabric walls, it is evident that the number of rooms is not adequate for the number of people who inhabit, they have no natural gas, no sewerage, no drinking water, no garbage collection service; Some homes have electricity service, there is no evidence of minimum sanitary conditions, likewise, few shelters or hamlets do not have a telephone signal, the tertiary roads are in poor condition, and there is no internet connectivity. The kitchens are open-air ranches, food is cooked on a wood stove, the work area is characterized by a wooden table called (troja) where they wash their dishes after using them and eating as a family.

There is evidence of a community space called maloca, which is a physical space in which the ethnic group holds meetings, parties, gatherings with wise grandparents, traditional indigenous authorities and cultural events, there is no evidence of infrastructure of health centers or posts.

As far as the family is concerned, most households are made up of an average of nine members, two-parent, large, extended, where there are households made up of mothers and fathers with children and those children live there with their wives and children and other relatives. A patriarchy is evidenced, where the will of the male sex is almost law, women's work is made invisible, since they must dedicate themselves only to domestic work, the heads of households are mostly executed by men.

It is important to highlight that the care of children under two years of age is carried out by their mothers, over two years of age, they attend the CDI Child Development Centers, some children between 7 and 11 years of age do not send them to schools because of the geographical distance, but other times they do so because being in the institution, they are guaranteed food, a "mouthful of food" as NE put it, a 53-year-old indigenous mother caregiver, because it is often difficult to get it.

The economy of the heads of the household is informal, most of the men who work do so by the day, often by the hour, not being well paid. The education of these heads of household reaches up to the second grade of primary school, the absence of the native language was also observed, only an older indigenous leader was heard to speak a few words in what they believed was their native language. What an inhabitant of the Zenu people who was in the observed site undoubtedly affirmed is that strong indigenous legacy, which they bring inherited from the Finznúes, especially in their cultural and spiritual world, where curanderismo prevails to treat their own illnesses (spiritual and physical) as an essential source of care for life. good living and survival. Survival is understood as the capacity for resistance that the Zenú people have had to go through.

Its inhabitants narrated the importance of the relationship that exists between the indigenous people and the territory, which is so strong that it is synonymous with struggle, resistance and survival throughout history, since the Spaniards. 500 years ago, they came and took over the land, gold and all the cultural wealth that existed, the Zenues have been survivors, warriors of a struggle that began to be evident since the 1970s, when they were not taken into account as an indigenous movement, but as a peasant movement, having a common struggle. to fight for the lands that were stolen by the whites or the so-called "CHUMPOS" who were the landowners who did not respect the limits of the reservation.

From that struggle of these leaders that intensified in the years of 1994 to 2000, this very common phrase in indigenous slang was born: "an Indian without land is not an Indian" because in those lands there are stories that feed the origins, the beliefs, they are symbolic spaces, such as that of the sacred sites. El Peñón, La Piedra Mamita, Arroyo de Mocha, Cerro San Antonio, Cerro de Tofemen (which regained importance in the pandemic, because it was the place where the Zenú Indians were going to spend their COVID-19 quarantine), evidencing the harmony and balance that exists between the inhabitants, nature and the territory; A territory that not only allows them to grow food for their nutrition and economy, but also, in these fertile lands, medicinal plants are planted

that cure their own diseases such as the "ceta wind", the "snake bite", the "evil eye", among others.

Even in these territories, the marginalization, discrimination and vulnerability that exist between the "whites", who are those who inhabit the urban area, and the residents of the rural areas, who are the native Indians themselves, is visible, a testimony that Mr. NZM, former chief of the Zenú indigenous people during the period 1998-2000, affirms at the IX Festival of Traditional Medicine.

Before, you were ashamed to say that you were an Indian, because you were attacked and they called you an Indian like babilla, an Indian like a snake, an Indian like an iguana, they said the Indian is not worth a 'na' (nothing) and by the way you were afraid because there were armed actors in the territory that destabilized the organic structure of self-government, the law of origin and autonomy. One was the focus of threat by paramilitary groups who were always interested in our lands, but not to cultivate them, but to hide, displacing us and leaving us without land, so one was forced to deny their roots, their origins, and today we have more rights, we are taken into account, the State watches over us. Indigenous peoples are now recognized by international and national organizations such as the International Court of Human Rights, the ILO, the Colombian State, and the Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC), which promulgate and enforce laws for the protection of indigenous rights.

The above testimony is contrasted with what Mr. AVA, a 55-year-old Health Authority told on 09/04/2022, who evidenced the wave of violence and currently counts it to highlight the courage that the Zenú people had to rise up and fight for the defense of their territories, ancestral wisdom and the constant struggle to defend their rights:

"Life was the last thing that the Zenúes began to lose, the only thing we had left, first we lost our dialect, our riches, our territory and with that loss, a large part of our customs."

"The Zenúes lost our memory."

"We've lost everything."

"There are many stories of the deaths of our indigenous brothers but without a doubt, there were some atrocious crimes that marked the history of the Zenú people, one of them was the death of the chief HAM in 1998, who was killed after a threat received a few days after the elections where he was chosen as the highest authority of the Zenú people. death that had been preceded by that of OT, an indigenous leader of great importance in Tuchín, promoter of the land seizures, whose grave was desecrated in the night hours by strangers who took out the coffin and set it on fire."

"Another death that remained impregnated in the history of our Zenú people was the assassination of the indigenous leader and former governor of the BRP reservation, a 50-year-old woman living in the community of Bajo Grande, a tireless fighter for the indigenous cause, her fiery temperament led her to distance herself from other indigenous leaders by forming a separate ranch. along with a large group of followers, one Saturday night masked men entered the house of the leader and forcibly removed her, in the early hours of Sunday morning they found two bodies on the road that leads from Chinú to San Andrés at the Mocha Bridge."

Indigenous leaders maintain that there are three major factors that unleashed the wave of violence in the reservation, the most important being land tenure in the region that includes the municipalities of San Andrés de Sotavento, Momil, Purísima, Ciénega de Oro, and Chinú; The other factors were political power and public denunciations.

OBSERVATION #4

June 21, 2022. IX Festival of Traditional Medicine.

Place: Tuchín – Córdoba.

In this emblematic event held annually in the Zenú ethnic group, in which the most recognized traditional doctors, main authorities and the community in general participate; The participating doctors explain the importance of traditional medicine, curious diseases, "cons" as a method of prevention for the supposed diseases. In their speech, they stated the following:

Traditional medicine of the Zenú people.

The 57-year-old traditional doctor **JTM**, an agro-industrial engineer and psychologist, says:

"In the life of the Indians, everything in the world has spirit, food, states of human life (such as pregnancy, childbirth, puberty, menstruation, death), excess (whether of alcohol or sex), strong feelings (such as love, rage, envy), the spirits of "the mountains" and the dead"; that is, Man is always entangled and entangled in a web of factors and events that influence his well-being in this world."

The Zenus distinguish three kinds of diseases: the Diseases of God, the Curious Diseases, and the Damages. Within the category of God's Diseases, they subsume natural diseases such as influenza, tuberculosis, amebiasis, these can be treated with medicinal plants found in the courtyards of houses such as, for example, chamomile or peppermint, and ultimorrial. The cure of curious diseases of spiritual origin is the exclusive task of specialists of traditional medicine, that is, of healers; "Curious" or "rare" diseases are caused by the spirits of the mountains, charms, and the spirits of humans who died a "bad" or violent death.

Curious diseases.

Through stories from the attendees of the event, an indigenous mother, NE caregiver, said that contact with the spiritual world of water can bring illness and death. Especially for the "Moorish" or unbaptized children, because they are persecuted by spirits from the underworld, when the mothers pass with their "pelaitos" along the streams or bring water from the wells, they smoke them with tobacco or "casarilla" prepared during Holy Week (Good Friday at 12 noon); leaving the water, They say the child's name so that his soul doesn't stay.

Another of the rites of this ethnic group is what is commented in this place by NE "persecution of living water" which refers to a type of prevention of the danger of waters (streams, dams, wells), this means that children cannot approach alone and must be accompanied by a caregiver, it consists of children never going alone to the wells, since "Chimpines" (a playful man less than 20 cm tall with his feet backwards) want to play with them, invite them to the water and end up drowning them, which is why the wells "are always outside" the villages. In addition, both children and adults cannot rest under the leafy "shade", the "cold" of large trees at midday, as the "shadow" or soul of humans would be lost. "At twelve o'clock in the day, the evil spirits hide under large trees or in basins of living water, fleeing from the clarity of the sun", encountering the charms and "Chimpines", in which case the children "get scared", crying they return home, they cannot sleep, they get a headache, dizziness or fever.

The traditional doctor or rezandero "composes" the sick child, who due to loss of soul and fright is suffering from "heat", for example, with a bath of the "black head", a "fresh" plant, without cooking. They pray to the child, moisten him with tobacco or husk "of Good Friday", thus curing "the love of the mountains". Many times the parents return to the place where the child stumbled upon the "shadow" (dead, spirit of the mountain),

sweep into the air with barbasco brooms calling his name to bring back the soul (this ritual is called the broom chant). To prevent the extraction of the soul by mountain spirits, they baptize the children; the prayer-givings "bless them" on the first Friday of Lent, they make "bracelets" on Good Friday at noon. These precautions also serve as insurance against the evil eye.

The ceta or bad wind.

Mr. **SAR**, a traditional doctor honored at the festival of traditional medicine, recounts the importance of the healer or traditional doctor in curing the ceta wind or the bad wind, the spiritual disease that no doctor or specialist can cure. The ceta is the most curious disease within the Zenú reservation, the most dangerous because it is as if it were an "evil spirit" that takes over people, the healers say that it is an evil force dominated by demons and that they are handled by people with pacts with the devil, which on many occasions are lost souls of the dead in a violent way, And they look for those people they loved in life, or those who hurt them. It is also said that they are the dead who fall in love with the living or come for some very dear family member (they want to take them) and look for them to possess their soul, these lost souls rest every day under the large and leafy trees and if one passes or rests under the shade of a tree that spirit is embedded in one, causing "vomiting, headache, dizziness, fever, it gives them everything."

The ceta is cured by means of sacred plants, and is diagnosed by looking at the urine. Another method of diagnosis is that the curious person wears a "security" in the pockets of his trousers (composed of certain plants, "prepared" on the seven Fridays of Lent). When he is visited by a patient suffering from the keta, this security "burns like a candle." The treatment can last up to eight days and includes intakes and baths of "fresh" plants, both from the "leaf" and from the "wind root" (called "ceta") or from the "ashtray". The plants to "treat the ceta wind" are plants "of the bush" where the same spirits that produce it live. The ceta is cured in a special way, the person cannot remain alone or have contact with people other than his family nucleus until he is free of the evil spirit. The "ceteado" is taken care of, isolated in a room so that not everyone enters, perfumed people, people with anger or people who did the sexual act, are forbidden to enter the area where the patient is, since otherwise the patient gets sick and can die.

The Cons: Method of Prevention of Suspected Diseases.

The traditional doctor **SRA**, in his account explains the importance of the contras as a method of prevention for the supposed diseases, in his intervention he states the following:

The Cons are the so-called ancestral drinks, composed by the same traditional doctors, using sugar cane, macerated with yeast that is transformed into guarapo and fermented, producing a liquor that will serve as a conductor of the properties of healing plants. Ancestry has discovered that the combination of this and plants has the potential to heal problems on a physical, mental, emotional and spiritual level. The curious know a considerable number of plants that have the power to protect people against damage, one of these is the famous three "corals", red seeds of the "cantagallo" bush that grows in the swamps, these convert the bad energy and rage of any enemy into good intentions. However, for this, the traditional doctor must prepare the ideal combination of plants along with secret rites and prayers. The doctor blesses the person by means of a pink liquid on the arms, the nape of the neck, the forehead and the mouth, invoking prayers and prayers to establish safety.

Another method of security observed in the territory has been the prayer with a rat killer every Friday of Lent, and on the last Good Friday at noon a complex prayer is made to close the security, this frees the person from all envy and all evil desire of the people

around him, children are also taken during these Fridays to insure them against the evil eye and on Good Friday A mate made of seeds found in the indigenous territory, such as a bull's eye, is tied to a red ribbon and rests on the neck or wrist.

Treatment of diseases.

Traditional doctors classify the damage as "hot" illnesses. After the cold, "one feels as if frightened" follows the phase of "heat", of fever, the man "is on fire". "The plants that can combat sorcery are mountain plants, generally "fresh" and "bitter", such as the "cruceto" and the "cedrón", roots that they bring from the mountains of the "Cerro de Tofeme" and found in indigenous territory. They scratch the root and add "the sourness" of the sour orange, the tangerine, the guava, the Turkish lemon and the Creole lemon, they put it in a pound of oil "blessed by the holy spirit", in the middle of a handkerchief, they take out a drop of what constitutes the purgative (vomitive). The sick person must take the purgative very early in the morning, often (as a rule) the same plants that fight sorcery fight the same ceta wind.

According to an account by **JT** the traditional doctor Zenú, at the festival of traditional drink he stated that: the subject of medicinal plants, each plant in this earthly space has its function, you have to do the interview of the cow, I get up, I milk it and release the cattle and I go after the cow all day and I write down in a notebook everything that the cow does and eats, at 8 o'clock he got up and ate a vine, at 9 o'clock he drank water, at 11 o'clock he ate a plant that I didn't know and I'm going to see what it is; Animals also guide us, so to that extent animals also guide us on which plants work for certain things, plants are always for good.

Although they are often used for bad things, for example, the guasimo is one of the most spiritual plants there is for protection but it is also used to do harm, for example the Indian azar that is placed in front of the house as protection but is also used to make crooks, the aloe vera has its special connotation of protection, So I have to see that I'm going to heal if I'm going to heal body, soul, if I'm going to heal emotions or spiritually, for example the flu is a physical disease and I control it with plants of territory oregano, totumo orange lemon, and hot drinks like ginger.

Cancer is an emotional disease that is normally a disease that the body generates because the person has many emotional conflicts and the person thinks they transcend very quickly, so the universe does them a favor and sends them lupus or cancer so that it goes away little by little, for example, I am a person who at home has anger and I don't say anything and I get a little cough and even that I don't spit and I don't say what it is, I don't rest and this is important and more so for women, for example, you had a father who was rude to you, he mistreated you, he humiliated you and if you continue with that anger in your left breast a cyst will appear, and if that anger rises more it becomes cancer and finally a mastectomy, If my husband has been a bone of the head I separate from him, but I don't forgive him, then I separate from him but the resentment continues, then I end up without a breast, so we have to understand that not all plants serve to heal all kinds of diseases.

We work with cold plants and hot plants, cold plants cure hot diseases and hot plants cure cold diseases, example, the flu is a cold disease, I cure it with a hot plant, first point of a healer to know what kind of disease he is going to cure. Some plants in their DNA are written to what they are for and they are energy regulating plants, for example, the porthole or fusillo which is an energy regulating plant, if I have a sugar problem I place it as a necklace and it regulates my high sugar, if a little stylus is buried in my arm, I scratch the porthole, make a pastica and put it on." "The other plant is the calabonga, this plant makes a lot of sense in the Embera world, the Embera canes will always have calabonga, it

regulates blood pressure and helps to lose weight placed in the navel, but not taken in some parts you have seen people who have died because they have swallowed it.

In a second phase, in-depth interviews with 8 interlocutors were initiated, an open coding stage and line-by-line microanalysis was carried out, adding comments in, where concepts, prepositions, of each of the interviews were identified. The recorded interviews had a duration of 40 to 60 minutes of recorded audio; a total of 2,176 open codes resulting from the data collected were reported. Additionally, the codes were compared with each other, relationships were established between them, regrouping them by similarity and leading to the construction of 18 descriptive categories. And according to the data analyzed, a new guide of questions emerges to follow the next phase, and new participants are selected to follow the information collection process.



Figure 1: Microanalysis- open coding. Regrouping of codes - descriptive categories.

After obtaining the open codes, similarities, similarities and differences of each of them were compared, regrouping them into boxes in Excel where the descriptive categories emerge. In this process, new questions arose and the characteristics of the new interlocutors to be questioned.

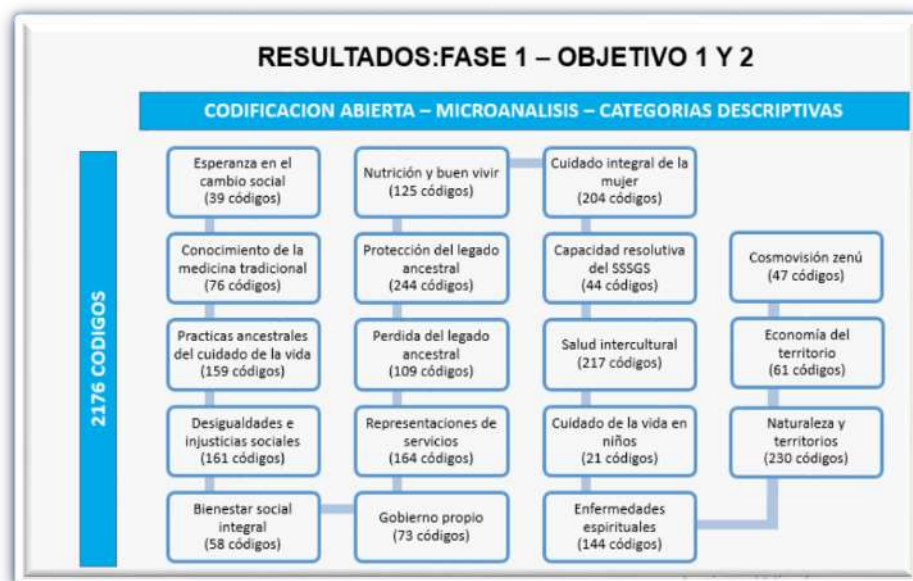


Figure 2: Results of 18 descriptive categories. In original language: Spanish

Subsequently, axial coding was carried out, which consisted of making relationships and interactions between the descriptive categories, always questioning the data, generating 7 analytical categories, of which the central axis of the same, intercultural health, was discussed

Codificación axial - categorías analíticas. Terminando la segunda etapa se hicieron diagramas que representaban interacciones y relaciones entre las categorías dando a conocer la influencia entre una categoría y otra.

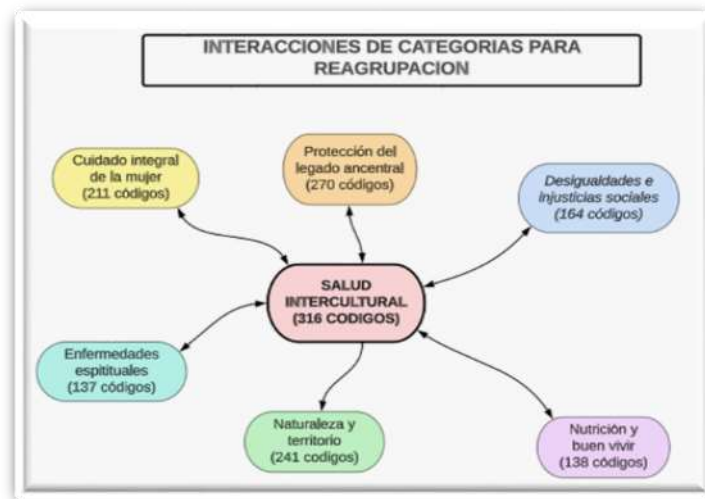


Fig 3. The following describes one of the analytic categories resulting from axial coding. In original language: Spanish

Intercultural health, articulation of ancestral and Western knowledge.

The intercultural health of the Zenú people is the processes where ancestral knowledge is integrated with Western knowledge, for this it is necessary for the ethnic group to train biomedical officials regarding the therapeutic resources of traditional medicine, to develop an information system on the effectiveness of mixed treatments (traditional and Western medicine). It means that all health professionals must know the characteristics of the Zenú ethnic group, its own identity, where each institution in the territory articulates the two knowledges, When talking about traditional and ancestral medicine, experts in the ethnic group are moved by the discomfort of the health of its inhabitants, they recognize and respect the knowledge of their ancestors.

In this sense, it is important to continue educating the new generations with ancestral knowledge with health care, it is pertinent that Western doctors articulate knowledge with traditional doctors to favor comprehensive and holistic health care. In this way, the intercultural health of the Zenú ethnic group exchanges allopathic and traditional knowledge, by resorting to ancestral medicine as a legacy, using plants as a means of healing, generating capacities to create new healing remedies. The relevance of this ancestral legacy points to the prevention of diseases with medicinal plants, with the belief of their healing properties, in the pleasure of work and the confidence that in the variety of medicinal plants health discomforts can be treated, healing any ailment in the body, soul and spirit.

This information is contrasted and reaffirmed with an observation made (at an event in the indigenous council of San Miguel, called the festival of the traditional drink), the traditional doctor JTM, ratifies that plants have an important connotation if they are

managed as they deserve, with positive measures to favor the health of the community, such as the fact of blessing the crops. By holding festivals alluding to it, they therefore manifest the conviction that animals are a valuable guide in the choice of the best plant for its function and benefit for the good of body and spirit. It is imperative for them to use plants such as oregano for earache, basil as a digestive treatment; peppermint drinks for stomach pains in children, as well as the mixture of spices for the creation of home treatments; The relevance in the cure of diseases lies in the proper treatment of plants, in the respect of their use and preparation, so that they do not change their properties, in this lies the efficiency and effectiveness of the treatment.

On the other hand, the findings reveal that intercultural health indicates the design of promotion and prevention actions that integrate knowledge, in the same way as receiving timely attention in the same community, within the territory with a family and holistic approach, addressing the real needs of indigenous people, managing ethnic diversity (indigenous, mestizo and white) with assertive communication. Humanized treatment and preferential attention, generating trust, with special care full of love, with permanent and continuous attention.

In addition to the intervention of personal well-being with which the virtue of warding off evil or providing good is attributed as a solemn act to cultural rootedness, the work of midwifery is highlighted, an outstanding ancestral practice in the ethnic group, which has been questioned by health authorities who consider that a home where such work is carried out is not a safe place for such activity. She has been helping to give birth to children of the ethnic group for years, she considers herself a promoter of life who without technology, or resources and with a disability that has afflicted her for years, fulfills a task that is almost extinct among the indigenous peoples surrounded by Western medicine. She provides care to pregnant women from the beginning of pregnancy and offers them personalized, humanized care and a family approach until childbirth and puerperium. She says that if pregnant women came to her from the beginning of the pregnancy, the maneuver would be carried out without any risk to the mother and child pair. She performs difficult obstetric maneuvers, relieves pain and inflammation in the hip due to the growth of the fetus, comprehensively manages most of the pathologies that can occur during pregnancy, performs a kind of perinatal control month by month, incredibly never attended to a perinatal or maternal death and ensures that she attends the birth without obstetric violence. For this occupation, the most important thing is that her patients are well, as a 72-year-old ancestral midwife assures us in the following story:

"For me, in my work, health is the most important thing that a pregnant woman can create, being completely healthy, detached from all kinds of diseases, physical decay, tranquility, peace. She has a good harmony in her pregnancy and in her delivery. A healthy child is born, she has a normal delivery, she doesn't have a headache. Don't worry, that girl goes to normal delivery.

Article 74 of Decree 1953 of 2014 (Public Function, 2014), is defined as the set of policies, norms, principles, resources, institutions and procedures that are based on a conception of collective life. Ancestral wisdom is a fundamental axis to guide this system. This was said by the councillor in intercultural health of the Zenú people.

"With the indigenous EPS it is a way for the indigenous peoples to begin to operate by their own and customs in those uses and customs, there is traditional medicine, so eee does not have the resources because the traditional EPS do not have that UPC difference, then it is logical that if with the disappearance of Manexca the sispi is excessively slowed down because we cannot strengthen our traditional medicine, especially in ancestral knowledge." (E-1 VPA)

The SISPI was created in order to safeguard their roots and knowledge in health, they do not have a state budget to strengthen it, therefore, they point out that they do not have the resources to reinforce indigenous ancestral practices. They do not have their own EPS where they are treated in a special way, with an intercultural approach where they have a differential UPC, and the differential approach contemplated is respected, the Zenú people cry out to the state for intervention to be able to have and maintain an intercultural health

system where it articulates the General Social Security System in Health (SGSSS) with the SISPI and in turn this is strengthened, They say that they have worked with their fingernails to maintain the little ancestral legacy that they still maintain, their interests are aimed at maintaining a health with an ancestral approach before the Western one and that the medicine that reaches their territories is traditional.

As stated by the health authority (E-1AVA), they want to prepare themselves medically and ancestrally in therapeutic resources to be able to attend to cases where traditional medicine cannot intervene; This requires education to transmit ancestral knowledge to their communities and at the same time training biomedical officials in knowledge, based not only on the integrality that characterizes them as a community where they do holistic work, integrating the family and the environment in search of preventing evils but also on the need to combine knowledge to create healing remedies based on plants. All this to reduce the need to seek Western medicine due to the ancestral loss of their allopathic and traditional knowledge.

The Zenú community has preventive measures to promote health in the community, the festivities in which a crop is solemnized to avoid the appearance of diseases are part of promotion and prevention factors to favor health in the community while avoiding the appearance of chronic non-communicable diseases.

They recognize that there must be a way to unite traditional and ancestral medicine, in order to preserve the knowledge of their community, educating doctors in traditional knowledge that respects their beliefs and these in turn only attend to cases where the intervention of technology or Western specialists is really needed.

Discussion

The intercultural health of the Zenú ethnic group has been contrasted with other studies such as the one by Cardona-Arias entitled Link between miscegenation and health in a medical system 2018, (86) in this study it was found that at present the traditional system is supported by Western medicine, however, there are many dimensions that they fail to address such as the spiritual part, social, historical, and environmental, the latter have been intervened from the resources of the indigenous culture, so they consider promoting more the use of their knowledge in health to recover cultural roots, as a complement to Western medicine (86).

In this research, the intercultural health of the Zenú ethnic group shows the relevance of interpolating ancestral knowledge with Western medicine, which would mean the advancement and visibility of customs, the recognition of their own legislation and government as an ethnic group. Undoubtedly, from the subjectivities of the protagonists, the findings indicate that intercultural health is the central axis of their good living, accompanied by the richness of ancestral medicine as a cultural legacy when it comes to healing with the plants planted in the lands of their territory, as well as with drinks prepared by expert practitioners at the time of performing ceremonies and symbolic rituals around healing and healing of the bodies of believers. This becomes a holistic work by integrating each member of the family, the culture, the territory and its natural environment, an added value that accentuates the need to seek ancestral medicine.

Another study by Membrillal from the Department of Bolívar (96), emphasizes the cultural legacy in terms of spiritual medicine because it is an inheritance of oral transmission, and from generation to generation, it has great relevance in the worldview of life and health of the indigenous people, specifying the remedy for each of them with different plants. ointments and prayers to treat them. Likewise, the indigenous people perform ceremonies with their own identity with elements for spiritual and physical healing, with leaders who have conducted their knowledge in a particular and personal way, making it exceptional.

Another relevant contribution of this research is the sadness expressed by the indigenous people of the community with the liquidation of the indigenous EPS a few years ago, because they have lost the opportunity to have their own health system with inclusive comprehensive care, differential in accordance with traditions, an issue similar to what was expressed by the authors of the ONIC. (National Indigenous Organization of Colombia) 2017, which reject, denounce and call on the indigenous peoples of Colombia, especially the 47 indigenous associations and organizations of the ONIC to accompany the brothers of the Zenú people, to defend life, the fundamental right to efficient intercultural health (87).

Likewise, in another study entitled "Reflections and challenges of the territories of the Zenú people", by the author Otero (88), he refers to significant advances that have allowed certain favorable changes for these peoples, where the intention is to preserve and make visible the local, maintaining its validity in the global context within the framework of an ethnic-cultural mutualism; valuing the rootedness of their own identity, in order to project themselves towards other knowledge, other technologies produced by other human groups within the framework of interculturality, in search of an articulation that allows the development of explorations in other spaces, of the ways that other communities have to see the world, understand it, produce and transmit their knowledge, within the framework of hybridity.

Regarding the ancestral legacy of the Zenú people, this research reported on the great challenge that this indigenous community currently has for the preservation of its ancestral wisdom. The innovation and new technologies that have arrived in the territory have strongly displaced their indigenous culture and the Western culture of development has taken on greater strength, as well as homogenization. In this sense, with regard to education, for example, a conventional education is given to all children and adolescents in the territory, as offered by the State, with knowledge guided by the Ministry of National Education with the essence of Western education, having few educational institutions in the region such as that of the Álvaro Ulcue Chocue Educational Institution with education with an ancestral approach (88). therefore, the education and protection of their legacy is only the responsibility of their parents and community; This demonstrates the importance of the implementation of projects and programs by national entities to safeguard the ancestral legacy of the Zenú people.

In consideration of the ancestral practices of caring for life, in a study carried out by García et al. (89), it is shown that the younger generations are unaware of the customs and traditions of the Zenú ethnic group, which becomes a negative factor in terms of the preservation of cultural identity, the ancestral practices of millenary cultures of the Zenú indigenous people. by virtue of factors such as the invasion of Western culture and the lack of pedagogy to transmit knowledge both in the reservation and in the Indigenous Educational Institutions.

In correspondence to the intercultural health of this research, the relevance of the care of the Zenú woman is evidenced, similar to what was proposed by Muñoz et al. (92), who highlight the preservation of the cultural care of the family and the recognition of medical medicine, allowing to elucidate the health personnel as passive and little committed actors. The agents aspire to the recognition of local health practices and their incorporation into health systems, to strengthen intercultural and institutional care as a complement. The traditional indigenous medical system goes beyond some of the functions conventionally assigned to medical knowledge in the context of Western society, insofar as it responds to the disease as a holistic problem, which allows for work in which the indigenous person, his family and the community are integrated, according to the severity of the disease. in harmony with natural and spiritual resources (92).

The ancestral practices of caring for life use medicinal plants as a source of therapeutic treatment. Although their use has been displaced by the emergence of chemical synthesis, peasant and indigenous communities still use them as a daily practice due to their effectiveness and cost, since they are grown in the courtyards of homes and are managed as living pharmacies (93).

This study of the Zenú ethnic group of Córdoba is similar to that found by Montes-Castro et al. (94), a study that was able to verify that the determining factors of adherence to health services are related to social and cultural factors such as the lack of access roads, travel time to appointments, lack of money for transportation and preference for joint care with their midwives. complementing with a bipartite setting with spaces that allow interaction with practices of traditional indigenous medicine in a safe way, such as intercultural signage, Multicultural Infrastructure, Recreation of spaces for traditional medicine practices, Healthcare personnel trained and sensitized in the Zenú culture, Application of models of care, promotion and prevention adapted to the Zenú worldview.

They also describe a joint care with midwives in which it is recommended to include individual actions of traditional indigenous medicine, with the purpose of being part of a new model of care for Zenú indigenous mothers; At this time, this activity is provided only in the Indigenous IPS of the municipality of Tuchín, (Department of Córdoba, Colombia), where consultation and accommodation are provided. It is suggested that the following additional activities be implemented in all IPS where prenatal care is provided to Zenú indigenous people or training of midwives, continuous training by health personnel for traditional indigenous medicine personnel (midwifery, sobandero, herbalist and traditional doctor). It is also important to establish new points of care for traditional medicine in non-indigenous institutions in order to attract more mothers to the programme or extramural activities of induced demand with midwifery accompaniment to identify mothers who, because of their beliefs, refuse medical care and thus attract them to the programme (94).

Conclusions

Ancestral knowledge is present in the care of the life of the Zenú people, despite the fact that the environment and the health system in which they are linked does not take into account their traditions for health care. For them, "good living" is the central axis, in which their traditions, ancestral knowledge, traditional medicine, together with plants have a fundamental role to take care of the health of all the people of the territory.

The characteristics of the territory and culture of the Zenú people were related to the conservation of health, in which their traditions and ancestral knowledge are in favor of it. In the care of life, traditional doctors and shamans are a primary pillar, they are the ones who have all the knowledge for the cure of the physical and spiritual diseases of the community, in the same way the Zenú woman has an important role in the preservation of health, since she is the caregiver during the illness and the midwives solve minimal problems at different stages of pregnancy, advising from their ancestral knowledge and bringing the children of the community to life.

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