Research conducted in five interconnected villages on the Black Sea Coast of Turkey has shown that general cultural ideas about family and social relations combine with medical technologies and theories and techniques to shape health care practices. By studying the health care choices of patients and their families, cultural values can be observed in action. Studies of health care institutions in rural areas have typically treated traditional healing and indigenous theories of health as obstacles to be overcome in the pursuit of maximum health benefits for the patient. However, in the Black Sea village context, it can be said that they are also current in the wider Turkish context. The following aims to show the ways in which cultural standards for appropriate family behaviour determine the criteria by which clinical medical professionals and institutions are judged. The family is considered the primary care unit, and all other health care is judged by the standards of the family. Although there is no direct mention here of the interactions between patients and traditional healers, many instancies in which traditional healers were judged by similar standards have been observed.

"Looking after someone" (bakmak)
The first concept can be called bakmak, which translates simply as ‘to look’ but is used to imply a sense of ‘to look after someone’, ‘to watch out for someone’, or ‘to take care of someone’. In common parlance, the term expresses a sense of family responsibility. In the context of illness, the patient is expected to become passive, leaving to others the decisions about medical care. This expresses the idea that the family is the grammatical subject of the verb bakmak. The actions described by the term range from bringing a glass of tea and showing concern, to finding a medical expert and demonstrating ilgi, and compare them on this basis.

'Social influence' (torpil)
The third term is torpil, which can be translated as 'social influence', 'pull', or 'networking'. To get anything done which involves an official institution and the related bureaucracy, connections are crucial. Family connections are the most reliable and powerful forms of torpil, but almost any relationship can be drawn upon for influence. Addressing an unrelated person in family terms is a strategy used to build torpil. The term relates to what Jenny White calls a 'web of mutual support', 'reciprocity', 'indebtedness', and which she finds important in Turkish family relations and social interactions. In daily life on the Black Sea Coast, during contact with any government officials, be they police, school teachers, tax collectors, or doctors, torpil is crucial. Lack of personal connections can result in harsher penalties, longer waits, and bigger fines. In the pursuit of health care, torpil can have life-or-death significance. In sum, if a patient is to be taken to a health clinic or hospital, the family members responsible for the action bakmak will try to make the most of torpil in order to increase the chances of appropriate demonstrations of ilgi.

The state hospital and the family
A basic provincial state-run hospital in Turkey is not set up to provide the patient with the comforts of home. A hospital stay, unless it is an expensive, private room, means that family members feel obliged to bring food, sheets and towels, changes of clothing, and visit with the patient to pass the time. A patient who has no family in his or her institution is greatly pitied and often brought into the circle of a more fortunate patient with gifts of food and conversa-

The doctors and nurses in the hospitals realize the benefits that family visits can bring to the patient. They recognize the lack of re-

Notes
2. Ibid., 15.
3. Although the wealthy have been paying for care in private and foreign-run hospitals since the days of the Ottoman Empire, the national system was meant to provide free or inexpensive care for all citizens.

Ismail Onder

Indigenous Evaluations of Health Care in Turkey

In Turkish society, the family is judged in direct relation to family care at home. The strongest critics of hospital care are those who place great value on food and drink, wholesome food, cleanliness, and ilgi— which can be found at home. When hospi-

New cash-based health care
Recent years have brought about an increase in private clinical medical care throughout Turkey. Paying for health care has added a new role for the family. For example, the state must now take into account the efficiency of their care for the family. The lack of family care in the state has resulted in a rise in the number of patients who are left to fend for themselves. The state must now take into account the efficiency of their care for the family. The lack of family care in the state has resulted in a rise in the number of patients who are left to fend for themselves.