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Ethnomethodological Evaluation of the COVID-19 Process

Coşkun Sağlık* iD

Abstract

The sudden change in the existing order due to the COVID-19 pandemic caused chaos and confusion. The uncertainty and anxiety caused by chaos and confusion necessitated the reconstruction of the social order in accordance with the pandemic conditions. Therefore, we should consider the sudden change of the social order and its reconstruction when evaluating the COVID-19 pandemic in a sociological context. Since these two processes are ethnomethodologically significant, the aim of the study is to interpret the social changes that occurred during the COVID-19 process within the framework of ethnomethodology theory. Various examples provide an ethnomethodological evaluation of Türkiye's reactions to the COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent re-establishment of social order. This article analyzes, using ethnomethodology concepts, the irrational reactions of people in a life without rules due to the sudden disruption of the existing order by COVID-19, the helplessness of social institutions in the face of the pandemic, and the reconstruction of social order with rational rules to lessen anxiety and chaos.

Keywords: COVID-19 pandemic, ethnomethodology, ethnomethodological evaluation, social order

* PhD candidate. Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University, Institute of Graduate Programs, Ankara, Türkiye.
  Email: csaglik49@gmail.com, ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2255-6715

1. Introduction

Pandemics have a long history in the presence of humanity and have caused both major ruptures and brought human life to a standstill. Pandemics such as plague, smallpox, Spanish flu, and COVID-19 have affected many parts of the world. For example, the plague swept across Rome and Europe, decimating the population with hundreds of millions of deaths (Frith, 2012). The Black Plague, which began in Sicily in October 1347, wiped out 30 to 60 percent of Europe's population (75–200 million) (Hays, 2009; Samaddar, 2020). Smallpox and many other epidemics that Native Americans were not yet familiar with brought about the end of some civilizations on the continent. In the two hundred years following the discovery of America between 1451 and 1506 alone, the indigenous population declined by about 95% (Diamond, 1997/2002). At least 100 million people are known to have died from the influenza diseases of the 20th century, including Spanish flu, Asian flu, and Hong Kong flu (Breitnauer, 2019; Denney, 2006; Keck, 2019). Major epidemics like plague and influenza also had historical consequences, such as the beginning of the Middle Ages, the collapse of feudalism, severe famine, and the early end of wars.

The COVID-19 pandemic is one of humanity's greatest disasters. The COVID pandemic, which emerged in late 2019 and began to spread in early 2020, has spread faster than other pandemics because of the intense human interactions brought about by globalization. People have experienced isolation and limited social interactions due to this pandemic, which has affected almost every corner of the world. According to December 2023 data, the COVID-19 pandemic affected over 700 million people and caused approximately 7 million deaths. (Worldometer, 2023).

Civilizations have sought a cure for the COVID-19 pandemic, like other pandemics in history. However, today's information society, similar to the Middle Ages, called upon the medical world, not the churches, to stop the plague. The begging was not to God but to science. Regardless, as the ideologized form of science in the capitalist order has become cumbersome, scientists' helplessness has come to light, just like priests' helplessness. However, the difference lies in the continued perception of science as a panacea, with no other viable solution to halt the pandemic.

The unimaginable dimensions of the pandemic, which have drastically changed and affected people's daily life practices, necessitated the establishment of a lifestyle with new rules designed according to the pandemic and a compulsory adaptation process. In this context, the main issue that concerns us in terms of the content of our study is the change and reconstruction of the social order during the pandemic process. For this reason, an important question is how the COVID-19 pandemic—in the form of an ethnomethodological explanation—sociologically affects humanity. We can evaluate the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on human life in two ways. The first is the sudden change in social life with the emergence of the pandemic and many problems with this change. The second way is the creation of a new order to eliminate the uncertainty caused by the pandemic, as the effect of the pandemic reached serious levels and continued for a long time. In other words, both the

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sudden change of the social order and the reconstruction of the social order constituted two important impact dimensions of the pandemic process.

Therefore, the study evaluates the COVID-19 pandemic by considering these two dimensions. Within the framework of ethnomethodology theory, which operates within a sociological context, we evaluated the sudden change of the social order and its reconstruction during the pandemic process. Ethnomethodology, in its interpretation of the disruption of the established order and its subsequent reconstruction, aims to elucidate people's responses to uncertainty and their rational, prudent actions while restoring order. Ethnomethodology bases social order on individuals' rational performances, which they reconstruct at every moment. Therefore, it is crucial to use ethnomethodology to comprehend the changes brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic in society and how individuals reestablished the new order in response to these changes.

In this context, our study consists of the theory and concepts of ethnomethodology, ethnomethodological studies on the pandemic, and ethnomethodological interpretation of the sudden change and reconstruction of the social order caused by the COVID-19 pandemic in Türkiye.

2. Ethnomethodology Theory and Ethnomethodological Studies on the Pandemic

Among the founding representatives of ethnomethodology, especially Harold Garfinkel, are Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann. However, it is mostly Garfinkel's achievement that this theory gained a separate autonomy in the world of science. In developing this theory, Garfinkel benefited from Parsons' analysis of human action and Alfred Schutz's philosophical writings on the foundations of sociology. Garfinkel does not benefit from Parsons' theoretical solution to the problem of order but from his analysis of human action. In doing so, he analyzes action as Schutz sees it "as experienced by the actor in the world of everyday life." (as cited in Cuff et al., 1998, p. 148). Therefore, he argues against the Parsonsian theory that structures determine action and finds a phenomenological perspective more plausible.

Ethnomethodology has taken the basic principles from phenomenology theory. In other words, ethnomethodology appears as a theory developed by Garfinkel by applying phenomenological ideas to social research (Atkinson, 1988; Davidson, 2012; Dowling, 2007; Maynard & Clayman, 1991; Torabi, 2010). However, its point of difference from phenomenology is the idea that, contrary to assuming the commonality of perception, ordinary actions in the continuous renewal and reorganization of the social order are worthy of investigation. In fact, ethnomethodology considers the social order as a constantly renewed fiction. According to ethnomethodology, there is no social order in reality, and since the members of society perceive an order, the social order appears to exist to them (Gönç Şavran, 2013). In this social order that seems to exist, ethnomethodology has undertaken the mission of examining the methods of daily life practices and stereotyped speech accepted by members of society without question. Although subject individuals unconsciously accept these stereotypes and reveal their sociality in their daily life practices according to these acceptances,

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it is ultimately the subject individuals themselves who reorganize and construct these stereotypes at every moment. The meanings of discursive stereotypes that individuals constantly create can be considered in a social context. Because if we can analyze the social context that is invisible in the words themselves in a mutual conversation, we can attribute a meaning to what is said (Giddens, 2013). This is precisely the starting point of ethnomethodology. However, in ascribing meaning to what individuals do and say, ethnomethodology theory does not see members as passive but rather as individuals who reconstruct everyday life at every moment. This construction process is seen as ordinary people's success in constructing everyday life. Focusing on everyday life, collective meaning-making, and the central importance of talk as a social process, ethnomethodology is reflected in all areas of sociological studies of everyday life (Linstead, 2006).

There are generally six fundamental concepts in ethnomethodology. Using these concepts, ethnomethodology scientifically demonstrated that everyday life is explainable and that the continuous construction of social order takes place. These concepts correspond to "practice/execution," "contextuality (indexicality)," "documentation method," "reflexivity," "explainability," and "member." The strategies of repetitive actions that constitute the construction process of everyday life are understood as *practice* or *performance* (Dennis, 2011; Doğan & Oral, 2020; Garfinkel, 1967; Pollner, 2012; Whitehead, 2019). All kinds of actions, expressions, behaviors, words, movements, rules, etc. vary according to their *context*. "At this point, what ethnomethodology tries to do is to evaluate everything in its own context." (Özsöz, 2007, p. 4). Because all values and meanings find their fulfillment depending on the situation (Mostowlansky, 2016; Swingewood, 2010). The *documentation method* is the interpretation of an image as a document, a sign, an underlying model or a stand-in for the underlying pattern (Garfinkel, 1967). It is the creation of patterns based on certain features, and then the interpretation of these features based on knowledge about the patterns created (Çetin, 2017). *Reflexivity*, which can be considered as the equivalent of the effect-reaction rule in ethnomethodology, can be described as the effect causing the reaction and returning the reaction to itself (Garfinkel, 1967; Allan, 2006; Gönç Şavran, 2013; Quéré, 2012). Finally, it is essential to note that ethnomethodology demonstrates that the social order is *explicable*, that society's *members* create the social world, and that each member contributes to constructing a "common culture" through their "common sense knowledge." (Barber, 2020; Dennis, 2011; Doğan & Oral, 2020; Meyer, 2019; Pollner, 2012).

Pandemics have been the subject of sociological research from an ethnomethodological perspective as they disrupt the existing social order and disrupt familiar routines. For example, Scambler (2020), using Garfinkel's concept of "breaching experiment," examined the reactions to the coronavirus in the context of fractured society in the UK, taking into account the various government policies regarding the pandemic. Again, Drury and Stokoe (2022) revealed the emergence of new norms during the pandemic through ethnographic observations (people's reactions to each other during walking and jogging and the reorganization of distance elements). How people create new norms according to the pandemic was evaluated within the framework of ethnomethodology theory. Kubacka et al. (2023) aimed to uncover the shift in people's emotions from fear to anger due to the pandemic's impact on daily routines in Polish society. This study is particularly helpful in understanding people's anger due to the constant

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vigilance towards routines designed in response to the pandemic. Mondada et al. (2020), on the other hand, identified the changes in people's verbal and physical greetings during the COVID-19 period (specific to Switzerland) through various video analyses. Arnado et al. (2022) utilized ethnomethodology theory to focus on the changes in Filipino Muslim and Christian worship methods and the importance of spiritual values in the pandemic. This study revealed that a distanced way of worshipping emerged during the pandemic and that a spiritual/spiritual-oriented population has an impact on resilience against crises. Jacobsen et al. (2021) investigated how the pandemic restricted holiday habits in Oslo/Norway and necessitated the development of holiday and entertainment concepts at home or close to home.

These studies examined various daily life practices and norms reconstructed in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, which disrupted the social order. The contents of these studies were analyzed using ethnomethodology theory and concepts. Generally, issues such as how old norms are abandoned and new norms are created for the disruption and reconstruction of social order and how the commonsense knowledge of the members of society ensures the reconstruction of order. The scope of the studies reveals both the reflections of ethnomethodology theory in social life and the fact that the pandemic necessitated necessary changes.

3. Ethnomethodological Evaluation of the Sudden Change in Social Order

The reflection of pandemics on many areas of daily life means that individuals' socially constructed order, routines, stereotypical behaviors, and actions undergo changes. This is because pandemic-level outbreaks, as widespread cases, are a phenomenon that every person can feel the effects of in their private and social lives. Given that the pandemic, a collective phenomenon, permeates many facets of social life and changes order, it is imperative to examine this phenomenon from a sociological perspective. Addressing the fragile nature of social life/order and the chaos, turmoil, and anxiety caused by disorder in individuals within the framework of ethnomethodology theory is important in understanding the change and reconstruction of people's social nature.

First, it should be noted that the social world is ethnomethodologically *explicable*. That is, both the construction process and the methods used by the individuals who carry it out are rationally discernible and revealable. The activities of members are visibly rational and reportable, and at the same time, the organization of ordinary daily activities is explicable (Garfinkel, 1967). In the same way, with ethnomethodology, it is possible to explain sudden and processual changes in social realities and the order that people create. We should note that this change does not signify the total annihilation of the social world. Instead, it refers to the sudden change of social order and routines and people not knowing what to do in the face of this complexity. Being able to explain the fears and anxieties created by sudden changes that cause this complexity and chaos (in other words, understanding the fragility of the social world) brings to mind an explanation equivalent to Garfinkel's *breaching experiments*. Because, during COVID-19, the pandemic threatened every corner of social spaces, forcing people to

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abruptly and unexpectedly change their existing order. This complex situation created fear and anxiety in people at first. For this reason, it is crucial to develop an ethnomethodological explanation of the fragile nature of the social world in order to comprehend the fear, chaos, and confusion that were initially created when the COVID-19 process began.

Garfinkel's breaching experiments explore the chaos that arises when a sudden and adverse intervention disrupts the orderly functioning of the social world, and how the members eventually reorganize this chaos. An example of Garfinkel's breaching experiments is when a professor disrupts the social worlds of students by exhibiting very strange behaviors different from his usual behavior after entering the classroom. After a while, students attempt to put the professor's behaviors into a meaningful framework and restore order (Wallace & Wolf, 1999/2018). Such experiments and similar situations are essential for ethnomethodology, which examines the methods by which people construct their social worlds.

In this regard, the COVID-19 process also became a case that started suddenly and spread rapidly, permeating every corner of daily life. Similar to Garfinkel's breaching experiments, the social world was subjected to a sudden disruption. The disruption of people's mental and objective worlds brought chaos, disorder, fear, and anxiety. At first, many people panicked in the face of the pandemic because the media portrayed the deaths frighteningly and viewed both other people and objects as germs. Practices that had always been routine were gradually forced to change. To prevent disease transmission and due to forced state intervention, people minimized close relationships. So much so that greetings, visits to neighbors, and all forms of intimacy were restricted. This unusual situation shocked the agreed patterns of human relations. Regarding the issue, Scambler (2020) described the COVID-19 process as a "breaching experiment" and stated that the cracks in society (such as inequality, stigmatization, and unemployment) have deepened even more because the pandemic has disrupted the existing social order. Scambler explained the issue through the concept of a fragmented society, stating that COVID-19 created a "natural experiment" effect in the United Kingdom, exposing the functional failures of state systems. In fact, the most important effect of COVID-19 is the unprecedented challenge it poses to the social order and systems created by people and states. COVID-19 dealt a severe blow to the routine order, which overlooked its flaws in execution. Thus, both the people and the state systems abruptly plunged into an unregulated and anxious existence.

In ethnomethodological terms, the COVID-19 pandemic, which caused a sudden change in the regular functioning of the social world, caused great turmoil in people because it changed the usual routines in the first place. The pandemic caught all countries, social institutions (particularly the health system), and members of society unprepared. People found themselves in great uncertainty, not knowing what to do in the face of a sudden change in social rules. Almost every member of society experienced this uncertainty. Because, being a *member* of a society means embracing society's usual order and routines based on ethnomethodology. Given that every society adheres to specific routines and that the COVID-19 pandemic has impacted all societies, we can conclude that this situation affects all members who have internalized the society's routines.

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People lived in confusion and chaos until new rules and social norms were established to restore the order that the COVID-19 pandemic's sudden and rapid spread had disrupted. This confusion and chaos, accompanied by fear and anxiety, led to numerous problems. Uncertainty-induced irrational human behavior has frequently caused the pandemic to spread even further. From an ethnomethodological perspective, while we can rationally explain people's social world construction processes and methods, the abrupt shift in social order and routines has supplanted this rationality with irrational human behavior due to uncertainty. Chaos and confusion have struck the cognitively structured construction patterns of human beings and thrown the individual into an environment without rules. Similar to Garfinkel's breaching experiments, the destruction of certain actional and cognitive trajectories plunges individuals into a state of confusion. In conclusion, COVID-19 confusion necessitated the establishment of a new order in cognitive space.

As previously mentioned, the COVID-19 pandemic, which impacted all members of society, instilled fear and anxiety in individuals, leading them to engage in irrational coping practices. Since these coping practices took place outside of a certain mental pattern in the face of an unexpected situation, the irrational state of the action occurred. The COVID pandemic had not yet compelled individuals to establish a new order through established methods. This means that although individuals, as members of society, rationally perform the routines they have established, it is inevitable that they will perform irrational acts in the event of a sudden disruption of these routines. Being a member of a society also entails engaging in the behaviors of other members. In other words, mimicking the collective actions of social groups helps individuals avoid psychological exclusion and anxiety. People in Türkiye experienced this psychological and sociological state during the initial stages of the COVID-19 process, following the announcement of the first restrictions on social interaction. For example, people who heard for the first time that there would be a curfew attacked bakeries and grocery stores out of fear of going hungry and thirsty, even though they were told that the curfew would be short-lived and that pastry shops would remain open (Euronews, 2020). Surplus products were even stored in homes. In a short period of time, the shelves of many markets were empty and there was a stampede in bakeries and markets due to the density. In such a situation, the pandemic infected more people due to the intensity of human interaction. It is obvious that such behaviors and actions are irrational.

This is important as it reminds us of *herd behavior/herd psychology*. Although Garfinkel emphasizes that there is a relationship between routines and rational action (Garfinkel, 1967) and rational choice theorists such as P. Blau, G. Homans and J. Coleman emphasize that there is consistency between preferences and rational action[1] (Wallace & Wolf, 1999/2018), it should be said that irrational action is more prominent when it comes to herd behavior. Indeed, since herd behavior is also attributed to the behavior of animal groups, irrationality gains more validity. Nevertheless, it should be noted that herd behavior emerges in two ways: rational and

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[1] It must be said that this issue is also controversial. The issue of whether the intellect or the will directs human beings more has caused serious debates among some theorists. For example, the Schopenhauerian understanding argued that reason is the servant of the will and that volitional acting (socially) has occurred in every period of history (Larrain, 2013). Moreover, the characterization of human beings as an ideological animal from the Althusserian point of view, and more of a volitional animal from the Schopenhauerian, Nietzschean and W. Paretoist point of view, reveals that human beings are not completely rational in their actions.

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irrational (Akın, 2017). Some authors refer to irrational herding behavior as limited rationality in the sense of acting under the influence of some emotions based on behavioral finance theory (Medetoğlu & Saldanlı, 2019), while others refer to it as rational stupidity or rational irrationality (Aktan, 2020). There is much evidence to characterize the flocking to markets and bakeries during the COVID period as irrational herd behavior. From an ethnomethodological perspective, we can rationally explain members' participation in the group and their adherence to its behavior, but it's irrational to act without thinking. From this, we can conclude that joining the group as a member is not always beneficial and that human actions are at least as irrational as they are rational.

In addition, we can say that people who do not know what to act when faced with a sudden change of order enter into a fierce struggle with each other for the distribution of resources that they think are scarce due to the anxiety of starvation. Here, we observe that those pursuing individual interests, such as obtaining necessary food from markets and bakeries as quickly as possible, unite around a shared objective and engage in a simultaneous fight to achieve it. These people, who look like a herd community from the outside, aim to grab the necessary food and take it home as soon as possible (BBC News Türkçe, 2020). The irrational, volitional human being's tendency to compete fiercely with its rivals and act before everyone else is similar to the arena of power struggle in the common habitats mentioned by Darwin. Indeed, life is an area for living things' power struggles, according to Darwin's "theory of evolution." (Çelik, 2011). However, this fierce struggle actually has no logical side. Because people fear starvation rather than the possibility of starvation. While primitive people struggled for scarce resources at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, modern people struggled with each other due to the fear of starvation. In this case, the struggle of primitive people for scarce resources corresponds to a more rational act than modern people. Therefore, while the rationality of even the methods people create in normal times is questioned, in the conditions brought about by the methodlessness caused by COVID, people have exhibited an irrational attitude.

The concept of *stigmatization*, particularly prominent in the COVID process, provides another example of irrational actions and attitudes, formed by social cognition. We can evaluate the concept of stigmatization through the ethnomethodological concepts of *documentation method* and *reflexivity*. Indeed, according to Garfinkel, the documentation method is ultimately reflexive (Gönç Şavran, 2013). Because people frequently perceive events and individuals based on the mental patterns they create. As a result of adhering to the patterns in their minds, individuals tend to assess the situations they encounter based on these patterns unless they deviate from them. The patterns in the mind force people to think in a specific direction, preventing them from thinking differently, even when the situations vastly differ from their initial perceptions. In some cases, thinking according to patterns leads to stereotyping and stigmatization. This stigmatizes certain segments of society, leading to a judgment process based on these stigmas.

People have also tended to stigmatize specific segments during the COVID period. While stigmatization is not exclusively associated with the pandemic process, we can assert that it manifests more prominently in these situations. Because there is a tendency to find a scapegoat for the damage to people's welfare, we witness that stigmatization occurs more frequently in

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situations where social comfort is in jeopardy, such as pandemics and migration. As Nuri Bilgin (2014) states in his book *Identity Construction*, it is a known fact that throughout history, societies have tried to explain disasters such as famine and disease that they could not cope with or the defeats they suffered by looking for scapegoats. For example, as a result of Syrian migration to other countries, individuals who were unwilling to share their prosperity unfairly stigmatized Syrians in their respective nations. The migration process stigmatized Syrians as scapegoats, while the COVID-19 process stigmatized Chinese as the disease's cause. However, the understanding developed towards both migrants and the Chinese is not a stereotype that suddenly emerges in such processes. We see that specific characteristics (for example, Syrians are traitors, dirty, and do not like to work; Afghans are hardworking and poor) are brought together, and a certain migrant profile is created in mind through the *documentation method*, and then an evaluation is made according to this profile, that is, the stereotype. Likewise, it is possible to say that stereotypes are formed as a sum of some characteristics attributed to the Chinese. For example, the Chinese eat all kinds of animals; they are dirty people, etc. Such discourses and stereotypes against the Chinese have gained validity both in Türkiye and other countries. One could argue that these discourses and stereotypes against the Chinese have become a form of belief. For example, John Cornyn, one of the US senators, stated that the Chinese are the cause of pandemics because they eat things like bats, snakes, and dogs and that the Chinese should be blamed for this (see Wu, 2020). According to Gee et al. (2020), assert that these discourses foster a specific stereotype and belief by linking disease to race. Because China is the center of cholera, plague, and leprosy, there has been a belief that the Chinese have been associated with the disease since ancient times. This belief has led to the attribution of certain characteristics to the Chinese. These characteristics bring to mind the ethnomethodological documentation method. Because during the COVID-19 pandemic, people reflected these beliefs and stereotypes about the Chinese. According to these beliefs and stereotypes about the Chinese, races are prone to certain diseases because they are biologically different. Therefore, society should exclude and isolate these individuals. This point is based on the renewal of the perception towards the Chinese during COVID-19. In reality, the fact that China was the epicenter of the COVID-19 pandemic led to the resurgence of old beliefs and stereotypes. Since the pandemic originated in China, the stigmatization of Chinese people as dirty and unclean, based on preexisting mental patterns, has become increasingly prominent during the COVID-19 pandemic. Because people scapegoated the Chinese, accusing them of causing the uncontrollable COVID-19 pandemic. (Gee et al., 2020).

In this regard, it is necessary to examine the content of some studies on Chinese stigmatization and racial discrimination. In their study, Devakumar et al. (2020) stated that discrimination against Chinese people increased after the spread of COVID-19 from Wuhan, China and that discrimination ranging from individual micro-aggressions or acts of violence to collective forms such as banning Chinese people from workplaces occurred. Edmond Ng (2020), on the other hand, stated that during the COVID-19 period, hate speech against the Chinese increased both in the media and in society (for example in France and the UK), the disease was seen as a fault of China, and racism and xenophobia increased in this context. On the other hand, Koller et al. (2021) found in their study that xenophobia against Chinese and Asian-looking people did not increase in Germany during the pandemic and that the

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perception of Chinese people did not change much, except that coming together with Chinese people caused some concerns.

Although the Chinese do not fall into the category of disadvantaged groups, it should be noted that disadvantaged groups such as migrants, beggars, the homeless, and those suffering from COVID-19 disease were also subjected to stigmatization during the pandemic (Türkiye Psikiyatri Derneği, 2020). Devakumar et al. (2020) assert that the COVID-19 pandemic, which has the potential to affect everyone, has disproportionately affected people in lower socioeconomic groups, those with limited access to health services or precarious jobs, and migrants. This is an example of how infectious diseases can lead to the stigmatization of individuals with unrealistic or distorted stereotypes due to the circumstances surrounding the disease (Ertem, 2020). Behind this kind of stigmatization are stereotypes that these people are dirty/microbial. For example, the idea that migrants, beggars, or people experiencing homelessness may be contaminated because they live in poor conditions has reflexively led to the stigmatization of these people. This mindset has led to the stigmatization of disadvantaged groups. Here again, we can refer to the *documentation method* from ethnomethodology concepts. Because disadvantaged groups are frequently vulnerable and live in poor conditions, there is a prevailing belief that they can catch and spread the disease more quickly. Migrants, people without housing, beggars, and other marginalized groups are often the first to be stigmatized during pandemics. For example, Liu and Wan (2024) found in their research in Taiwan that policymakers did not take migrants into account enough when drafting emergency measures and restrictions, despite the fact that they make up 6.3 percent of the population, and that policymakers demonized migrant workers and victimized migrant spouses. In this process, it has also emerged as a fact that migrant workers are seen as disposable commodities and sources of COVID-19 infections (Walter & Glas, 2024).

It should also be noted that social stigmatization also occurred against COVID patients, who were rare in the early stages of the disease (Al-Ghuraibi & Aldossry, 2022; Hargreaves & Logie, 2020; Wilandika et al., 2022). Indeed, Mahmud et al. (2021) found that infected and suspected patients are largely stigmatized through local hatred and eviction, forced quarantine, obstruction of burial, mistreatment by the hospital and local administration, family neglect, and shunning by relatives. However, in the later stages of the process, stigmatization against COVID-19 patients decreased as it was not possible to stigmatize everyone due to the increase in the number of patients (coming out of the disadvantaged group) and the spread of the pandemic. Here, *reflexivity*, one of the ethnomethodological concepts, comes to the forefront. In fact, reflexivity refers to the self-reflexive state of continuous cause and effect affecting each other, i.e., circularity. The previously discriminatory attitude towards COVID patients has expanded to include them, as the discriminators themselves have also fallen ill. Thus, reflexively, the cause affected the effect and the effect affected the cause. In other words, the idea of stigmatizing those who get sick (cause 1) led to an increase in the number of stigmatized people as the stigmatizers also got sick over time (effect 1), and since everyone couldn't become stigmatized (cause 2), the idea of stigmatizing patients gradually decreased (effect 2). However, the perception (stereotype) that migrants, homeless, and beggars are infected has persisted, as they have always been in the minority/disadvantaged group.

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It must be said that not only the people in the social sense but also state systems have undergone sudden changes in the face of this pandemic. In the end, just as people create a social order within the framework of social rules, they also put social institutions into regular functioning within the framework of certain rules. The disruption of the functioning of social institutions causes disruption of services. For example, among social institutions, health, and education have been the institutions that have undergone the most change in the face of this process and have obviously been the most affected. Since the treatment methods for COVID-19 disease are unknown and it is a disease encountered for the first time, both healthcare professionals and the routine functioning of healthcare institutions have entered into great uncertainty. The confusion and chaos caused the health system to collapse from time to time, and the deterioration of the health system caused mass deaths of patients. For this reason, the WHO Director-General declared a Public Health Emergency of International Concern on January 30, 2020, and published various regional plans to control the disease (WHO, 2023). The findings of Rathnayake et al. (2020) on the subject are important. According to the relevant study, during the first phase of the COVID-19 pandemic, WHO and other international health authorities focused their attention more on low- and middle-income countries, especially in Asia and Africa, due to their possible inability to control infectious diseases. Nevertheless, even the more advanced health systems have struggled to contain the pandemic. The most reliable health systems (e.g., the United Kingdom's National Health Service [NHS]) have eventually collapsed. In this context, the WHO Director-General's confessions on May 5, 2023 (WHO, 2023) revealed the severity of the situation. Below, we present the key highlights from the related statement.

- Health systems have been severely disrupted, with millions of people deprived of basic health services, including life-saving vaccines for children.

- It caused severe economic turmoil, wiping trillions from GDP, disrupting travel and trade, shutting down businesses, and driving millions into poverty.

- The closure of borders, restriction of movement, closure of schools, and millions of people experiencing loneliness, isolation, anxiety, and depression have caused serious social upheaval.

- COVID-19 has exposed and exacerbated political fault lines within and between countries. A flood of misinformation and disinformation has shaken trust between people, governments, and institutions.

- It has exposed the burning inequalities in our world, with the poorest and most vulnerable communities hardest hit and the last to access vaccines and other tools.

The most important of these explanations is that the COVID-19 pandemic revealed the fragility and weakness of countries' health systems. Because the collapse of the health system has shaken people's trust in the state and the medical world in general. The failure of the medical world and all countries in general to manage the pandemic process has led to reflexive reactions and public distrust of state institutions. The resulting distrust has reflexively led people to be skeptical of the developed vaccines and the given medicines. In fact, many patients refused to use the medication, even though doctors specifically recommended its use, because it could cause other side effects. Similarly, the emergence of anti-vaccine sentiment during COVID-19 is related to the loss of trust in governments and the healthcare system. In

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other words, it is a reflexive reaction to the disruption of social institutions' functioning in ethnomethodological terms. In fact, in 2019, the World Health Organization (WHO) recognized anti-vaccination as a global threat to the world. Khadafi et al. (2022) examined the anti-vaccination movement on Twitter in three countries (Brazil, the United States, and Indonesia). According to the results of this study, 69.2% of Twitter hashtags associated with the COVID-19 vaccine in Brazil were negative, while this rate was 59.4% in the USA and 62.8% in Indonesia. Another study on the same topic on Twitter revealed a 22-times increase in anti-vaccine supporters in Türkiye after COVID-19 compared to pro-vaccine supporters (Durmaz & Hengirmen, 2022).

In addition, inequalities in socioeconomic status and access to health treatment have emerged in almost every country, including Türkiye, due to the pandemic. Especially in this process, the problems of various disadvantaged groups such as low-income groups, vulnerable people, minimum wage earners and various health workers and migrants have deepened (Kocabaş, 2020; Meçik & Aytun, 2020). This is because these people have both suffered economic collapse due to the pandemic (those practicing professions that are not suitable for working from home) and problems in accessing health treatment due to health insurance and financial problems. Arber and Meadows (2020) found that, due to COVID-19, low-income groups in particular and poor countries in general have problems accessing health care, and that the number of infections and deaths is higher in low-income groups, disadvantaged groups, and poor countries. Some studies conducted in Türkiye have also yielded similar results. Çıtak (2021) found that the incidence of COVID-19 disease and related mortality was higher in low-income classes than in high-income classes, that there was a strong positive correlation between social inequality and COVID-19-related deaths, and that COVID-19-related hospitalization and mortality rates were higher in regions with racial/ethnic minority proportions, living in poverty and those with the lowest education levels. In another study, it was determined that during the pandemic period, individuals with low socio-economic status, poor and disadvantaged groups experienced various problems in many areas, such as the continuation of working life, maintaining income, access to health services, continuing education, and participation in social life (Obuz, 2023). All these results show that the COVID-19 pandemic has greatly affected the functioning of social institutions in Türkiye and the world, and that the disorganization of social institutions such as the health system and the economic system has further increased inequalities between classes in access to various services and financial resources.

4. Ethnomethodological Evaluation of Social Order Reconstruction

Humans cannot live in chaos and confusion under any circumstances. After interpreting and making sense of every disruptive disaster that befalls them, they have to rebuild the order according to the new conditions. Otherwise, they think that there will be no livable life because people want to carry out their daily routines without thinking and without experiencing anxiety-induced discomfort.

In this regard, people had to rebuild order in light of the COVID-19 pandemic. Which methods and how they use them in the construction process—that is, how they reconstruct

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the order—is important from an ethnomethodological point of view. Understanding how people reflect their practices on daily life while constructing the social world, and how these practices become routine over time, is also crucial. Ethnomethodologically, in order to understand the production, origins, affirmation, and presentation of rational acts, structurally differentiated organized practical activities of everyday life should be investigated and examined (Garfinkel, 1967). With the same logic, it is necessary to look at the reorganized structure of everyday life in order to understand the production, presentation, performance, and change of some practices that emerge during the transformation of disorder into order that comes with the COVID process. In other words, in order to know the meaning of some context-referential performances and doings, it is necessary to draw attention to the new order and the methods of constructing this order. For this, firstly, the construction process and construction methods of the order designed according to the pandemic should be subjected to analysis, and then people's practices should be evaluated according to this newly constructed order.

Since the pandemic is now a part of life, every practice must be evaluated and performed within the scope of pandemic measures. As a matter of fact, this obligation has become a collective obligation not only in the individual sense but also because it affects every member of society. Being collective necessitated the sanction power of the state. In other words, every wrong action against the pandemic was punished by the power of the state. So, how did the construction process of the new order against COVID take place, and what are the methods used in the construction process?

Firstly, people tried to understand this pandemic when it first emerged. They thought about the impact of the pandemic, how and why it was transmitted, its level of seriousness, its scope, what consequences it would have, and what disasters it would cause if it was not protected against the pandemic. This process is the process of *making sense* in the first place. In other words, it is an attempt to create a regular world by giving meaning (Schüttpelz, 2019). Subsequently, after people realized the seriousness of the situation, they tried to develop methods of protection against this pandemic. In other words, they went to *interpretation* after making sense. As a result of interpretation, people decided that methods of protection against the pandemic should be applied. They have tried to *create a new order* with the awareness that measures such as wearing masks, keeping social distance, and paying attention to cleanliness should be taken. Within the scope of protection measures, they reorganized the social world with a series of methods to be followed, including *mask*, *social distance*, and *cleanliness* rules, in order to prevent the spread of the pandemic (Sağlık Bakanlığı, 2020). The uncertainty/disorder and irrational behavior of people after the initial chaos caused by the pandemic necessitated the new order created collectively according to the pandemic as a result of understanding and interpretation of the existing situation and more rational behaviors shaped according to this order. In other words, they made situations or appearances understandable and rational (Atkinson, 1988). After these explanations, the production, execution, performance, change, presentation, and collective approval of some practices in the new organized order should be tried to be understood.

It is obvious that the COVID-19 pandemic has caused anxiety in people. Since it is impossible to live with anxiety, it has been inevitable to design a life according to the pandemic in the new

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order created. For example, first of all, people have normalized living with masks and made them a personal part of themselves (Kiriş Yılmaz, 2021). Just as socks are a personal item that must be worn and must not be forgotten, the mask has become an item that must be worn and must not be forgotten. Even in the photographs taken, people did not take off their masks and started to pose with them. As if it is a normal object that should be on the body. Going even further, even masks in colours suitable for the dress have started to be produced, as in wedding dresses (TRTHaber, 2020). On the other hand, while the use of masks was accepted by the majority of the people, it was rejected by some segments. However, pro-mask people reacted to anti-mask people in order not to disrupt the order created according to the pandemic conditions. People who did not wear masks began to be shamed and warned in public. In a way, public opinion was formed to protect the new rules. According to a study investigating public reactions to the COVID-19 mask requirement in the US (Rains et al., 2022), it was found that pro-mask people reacted violently to groups who refused to wear masks and showed their reactions, especially through social media tools such as Twitter. Although the mask rule has disappeared over time, the use of masks was adopted by society during periods when the pandemic was at serious levels. Both official and unofficial reactions were given to those who did not. Because it was understood that the rules should be respected in order to prevent the anxiety and chaos created by the destructive effect of the pandemic in society. In ethnomethodological terms, after the *making sense* and *interpretation* process of the community *members*, it was concluded that the rule of mask use should be mandatory, and these rules were tried to be protected after the rules of the new order were established.

Close human relations have been minimized due to the social distancing rule. In fact, curfews have been declared in most countries to restrict social relations in cases where social distance is not beneficial. Due to the restriction of social relations, cultural or daily life practices that people have been accustomed to for years have suddenly changed and gained a different dimension and have been redesigned due to the pandemic. For example, the greeting method has completely changed, and only distant gestures have begun to be made without contacting the limbs of the body. In a similar study conducted in Switzerland, it was observed that greeting styles changed during the COVID-19 period and new greeting practices (elbow/foot handshake, air hug) emerged in this process (Mondada et al., 2020). Such new greetings are intended to maintain the distance designed for the pandemic. Also, family visits have been compulsorily restricted and intimate relations between close relatives have decreased. In fact, most of the family visits were conducted through video calls instead of face-to-face communication (Faraguna, 2023; Straker & Choi, 2021). In addition, traditional weddings and religious worship in Türkiye have also changed during the COVID-19 period. Weddings, which were always held as a cultural element in Türkiye, have been cancelled, and for this reason, people have married only through marriage ceremonies without weddings (Tarhan, 2022; İçişleri Bakanlığı, 2020). Even religious worship, an important spiritual cultural element of conservative societies, has been redesigned. Since religious worship is a ritual practice carried out collectively, it was distanced due to the pandemic (Kaplan, 2022). For example, while people praying in the mosque were praying without leaving a space between them in the pre-pandemic period, this order changed with the pandemic, and people started to pray by leaving a distance of one or two people between them without following the rules of congregation

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(Çapcıoğlu & Kaya, 2021). However, it has not been possible for this act, which has been performed as a religious rule for years, to change in any other way.[2] In addition, the way religious worship is performed has become virtualized and has taken on new forms according to COVID-19. Not only Muslims, but also the worship of other major religions, have adopted the path of digitalization. Studies like Lorea et al. (2022) and Homewood (2022) have examined the ways of fulfilling various religious worships during the pandemic. The findings of relevant studies indicate that during the pandemic, religious worship has undergone a reorganization and has begun to take place through digital broadcasts. For example, new religious practices such as Facebook consultations with Chinese spirit mediums, televised mourning rituals of Muharram, Pentecostal tactile healing through Zoompartation, and Sufi dhikr through video conferencing applications have emerged.

The issue of cleanliness is another important rule. Although the issue of cleanliness reveals the human structure that paranoidly looks at every object as a germ at the beginning of the pandemic, this rule has started to relax over time and started to be done as a normal act of people. People started to pay much more attention to general cleanliness and pay more attention to personal hygiene, especially during the pandemic period. Reducing contact with objects and other people was done to minimise the risk of transmission of the microbe. Much more than the cleaning that is normally done has started to be done during the pandemic period and some people have reached the level of being a cleaning patient (Okray, 2021). Routine actions such as washing hands excessively and using disinfectants after touching each object have become commonplace. The fact that many people start washing their hands immediately after touching any object and adopt this situation as a routine rule is also among the behaviors acquired in the redesign of daily life. In addition, placing disinfectants at the entrance or inside of every closed space and ensuring that people use these disinfectants has also emerged as a rule made for the sake of cleanliness. Since the issue of cleanliness has become crucial during the pandemic, people have started to check whether the places they enter comply with hygiene rules and make decisions accordingly. For example, restaurants that pay attention to hygiene rules have become more preferred (Hoang & Suleri, 2021). Of course, this situation has also been valid in the preferences of other places. All these have been the behaviors and rules acquired in the reconstruction of daily life.

From an ethnomethodological and symbolic interactionist perspective, the formation of these new practices and their becoming consensual behaviors is important in terms of explaining how everyday life is constantly constructed and formed by people. According to the new conditions brought by the pandemic, everyday life has been reconstructed and rationalized by ethnos, that is, by agents, through different methods. This rationalized order has also been organized as a reordering of everyday life. Every practice has begun to take into account the risk of pandemic transmission. This is because every new social system, which is created by individuals with agreed rules, also causes a compulsory change in their acts and selves. In other words,

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[2] When Muslims pray in congregation, they take care not to leave a gap between them. They hold the belief that the devil will infiltrate the space between them. However, the pandemic necessitated the reorganization of religious practices. This is evidence that rational thinking takes precedence over religious thinking in the modern world.

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> The social conflicts among the individual members of a given organized human society, which, for their removal, necessitate conscious or intelligent reconstructions and modifications of that society by those individuals, also and equally necessitate such reconstructions or modifications by those individuals of their own selves or personalities. (Mead, 1972, p. 309).

Mead's statement emphasizes that the changes we make in the social order in which we live necessarily require us to make changes in ourselves (Low, 2008). The fact that new social systems created under pandemic conditions develop new behaviors in individuals can be attributed to the aforementioned reason.

It is noteworthy that the collective practices, which have become habitual because of the pandemic, have created behavioral patterns that have been approved and agreed upon by everyone. In other words, after a certain period of time after the pandemic, new agreed practices gained meaning due to the fact that people formed a new order. The reason for this is that people must necessarily act prudently in the face of the pandemic. This point is again important from an ethnomethodological point of view. Because "the object of examination of ethnomethodology is the commonsense activities of ordinary members of society" (Swingewood, 2010). In addition, these commonsense activities are a collective achievement for Garfinkel. According to Garfinkel (1967), all "logical" and "methodological" features of action, every feature of the meaning of an activity, its facticity, objectivity, accountability, and sociality, should be treated as a possible achievement of socially organized common practices.

In addition to the reflection of new practices acquired in the reconstruction of daily life on behavior, there are also other issues that gained meaning during the pandemic period. For example, the word "pandemic" has been reflected in the Turkish spoken language with COVID-19 and has become a widespread concept by being used continuously (of course with the English version) (Kaya & Sarıçoban, 2021). Previously, the word pandemic was a word that ordinary people did not use much in daily life and did not even know its meaning. However, with the pandemic process, this word gained meaning and was frequently used by all segments of the public. From an ethnomethodological point of view, the word pandemic has gained meaning as *context-referential*. Because while this concept was never used and mentioned before, it started to make sense during the COVID-19 pandemic, that is, within its own context. In the same way, another concept that brings the COVID-19 pandemic to mind when used is the concept of "curfew." While this concept, when used in normal times, brings to mind restrictions due to extraordinary political events, when used during the pandemic, it started to bring to mind the meaning of people being locked in their homes with compulsory state intervention. In the same way, this concept has become a concept that has gained meaning and is frequently used in its context, that is, during the pandemic period (see Google Trends, 2020).

Another issue that needs to be addressed ethnomethodologically is the highlighting of people and countries that take into account the seriousness of the pandemic. During the pandemic period, fighting the pandemic seriously and applying the rules seriously was seen as the most important element of preventing the spread of the disease and obviously the only way out (due to the lack of a solution to the treatment of the disease). Therefore, the continuity of the pandemic measures was taken as a principle. Since this issue is important, people and

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countries that maintained this seriousness in the later stages of the pandemic began to be shown as exemplary people and countries. For example, countries such as China and Germany, which took strict measures, were coded as exemplary countries (Deep Knowledge Group, 2020; Kaplıca, 2020), and likewise, people who meticulously follow the rules in society were coded as exemplary people. This situation brings to mind the *documentation method*, which is an ethnomethodological concept. Because people first found the best ways to fight Corona in their minds and created the best pattern of the fight against the pandemic by combining the characteristics of the coping mechanism. Afterwards, they evaluated the people who followed the rules in the best way or the countries that implemented the rules in the best way according to this pattern they created in their minds.

Not only interpersonal relations but also the functioning of state institutions have changed significantly and have been reconstructed according to new rules and regulations. As a matter of fact, state institutions are structures that make human interactions possible. For this reason, it is imperative to reorganize them in order to minimize interaction. During this period, most of the work in government departments, including the private sector, was carried out remotely or with fewer staff in the institutions. Legislation has even been prepared for the order reconstructed according to the pandemic. For example, in Türkiye, the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services (2021) prepared a guide on remote working, and the International Labor Organization (ILO, 2020) published a guide on remote working during and after COVID-19. Especially the health and education sectors were redesigned within the framework of new rules. Education was carried out in the form of distance education with digital tools. Almost all schools either conducted face-to-face education on certain days of the week or conducted it completely remotely. Examples of distance education have started to be implemented in different but similar ways all over the world (Adak & Koç, 2022; Aristeidou & Cross, 2021; Azhari & Fajri, 2021; Can & Köroğlu, 2020; Erzen & Ceylan, 2020; Mishra et al., 2021; Shevchenko et al., 2021). Students and teachers have continued education through digital media tools by setting up devices in their homes. Such decisions were compulsorily imposed on teachers and students by the state. In other words, the state tried to minimize the effects of the pandemic by using its authority to design its institutional rules according to the pandemic conditions. In addition, the health sector was hit hard by the pandemic. Since health services were disrupted to a great extent and treatment methods were largely incomplete, new rules were created according to the pandemic. Due to the high number of patients and the unknown treatment method, hospitals started to deal only with seriously ill patients. In addition, people who tested positive were allowed to rest at home instead of hospitalization. Since the risk of infection in hospitals was high, as few people as possible were treated in hospitals. Dental treatments were suspended during this period, and dentists were used as personnel in the fight against the COVID-19 outbreak. Treatment of non-fatal diseases was postponed as much as possible due to the pandemic. All these new rules were made to mitigate the impact of the pandemic and to rebuild the system according to the pandemic conditions.

However, although the seriousness of the pandemic and deaths was largely preserved in the minds at first, after a certain period of time, this situation began to seem normal to people. In the early times of the pandemic, people were terribly scared through the media, and through horrifying videos, the coronavirus was portrayed in a way that directly killed people (Radley et

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al., 2023). Naturally, people started to live in complete isolation in a paranoid state. So the level of seriousness has been much higher. However, over time, people began to see both the disease itself and deaths due to the disease as normal and to get rid of the paranoid situation a little.

As the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic began to decline by the end of 2022, the traces of the pandemic gradually began to fade from memory. The COVID-19 pandemic, which disrupted the normal functioning of life, was no longer a vital problem, deaths began to be considered normal, and the disrupted daily life practices were reorganized. For this reason, the practices, discourses, and thoughts that took place in people's lives during the pandemic period no longer made any sense. So much so that in some countries, restrictions imposed due to the pandemic started to be protested. With the lifting of COVID-19 procedures, people who got used to the new order started to oppose all kinds of sanctions that require restrictions. The reason for this is to prevent the rebuilt order from being disrupted again. Because any global risk that endangers human life has to be normalized after a certain period of time. This is necessary in order to live without anxiety and to forget the pain of death. For example, although approximately 1 million people die from HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS, 2023) and 10 million people die from cancer (WHO, 2022) every year, these deaths are considered normal, and people who die from these diseases are not questioned. Likewise, COVID-19 disease has become a part of human life and normalized like other diseases. As a matter of fact, living a carefree life without thinking in the established order of social life is a compulsory necessity in order not to remember death. Otherwise, it may become impossible to try to perform a life on the stage of life full of pain.

As a result, since the objective and mental world that people create operates within certain rules and order, the only remedy against the change of this order is to re-establish order and live without worry and thought. Since the habitual order of social life was disrupted due to the COVID-19 pandemic, people sought ways to re-establish order. They had to stop experiencing constant anxiety and put life into its normal or normalized functioning. In other words, both in periods when the pandemic maintained its seriousness and in normal periods when the pandemic was alleviated, people redesigned the social world according to the conditions with common consensus. In the ethnomethodological sense, the normalization of events and phenomena that disrupt order over time, the creation of new normals, and the creation of rules according to new normals are intended to reconstruct the social world and re-establish meaning.

5. General Evaluation and Conclusion

Ethnomethodologically, people's norms, values, and rules are not immutable objects, but constantly constructed realities. Because daily life practices are not strict mental doctrines and facts that are accepted by people as they are and transferred to other individuals unchanged. Therefore, the existence of an order is only possible through the rational and prudent activities of individuals who subject it to a continuous construction process.

However, individuals often do not think about whether the practices they perform are meaningful or not. In fact, they do not think much about changing and rationalizing these

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practices. They just continue to follow the rules of the previously established order as other individuals in the society do. Because people do not want to live in the disorder of a life with unclear rules that requires constant confusion and thinking. Although people continue to follow the socially agreed practices in the same way and do not think much about doing otherwise, they change the rules they inherited from their ancestors and the existing society in accordance with their own interests after a while and make new rules subject to their order.

The change of social rules generally occurs in a spontaneous manner. Individuals acquire new practices after thinking and interpreting the rules they inherited from their predecessors differently. As new practices become routine, rules undergo changes. However, spontaneous and evolutionary changes are not subject to a process that proceeds only in this way. Major social events, pandemics, or natural disasters in human life also upset the order of life and reshape social rules. For example, rebellions against the old order, such as the bourgeois uprising against feudalism and the emergence of secularism against scholasticism, change the future lifestyle to a great extent. However, such changes are the result of long-term and bloody processes. Since natural disasters and pandemics are sudden and more acute situations, people try to find immediate solutions to such situations. Therefore, the process of change and reconstruction occurs in a short period of time.

In this context, the COVID-19 outbreak is one of the phenomena that disrupted social rules and forced the reconstruction of order. The contagiousness of the disease, which rose with the intense human relations of the global world, struck a sudden blow to the social order. The stupor of the blow threw social life into great uncertainty in the first place. This pandemic, which disrupted the functioning of the social order, led to the restriction of human relations all over the world. The reflection of the restriction on all social environments made it essential to organize a life according to the pandemic. Therefore, the COVID pandemic has emerged in a way that both disrupts and changes order and causes the reconstruction of order.

Since the measures taken to prevent the contagion of the pandemic directly affect social life, the evaluation of the pandemic in a sociological context has a special importance. Because ultimately, the most basic rule of preventing the spread of the pandemic is the restriction of human relations. The efforts of the people, who lived their lives within the normal functioning of the old order, to correct their lives, which were dragged into chaos and chaos due to the pandemic, led to both traumatic events and the reconstruction of human relations at a different level. Therefore, the ethnomethodological interpretation of human reactions to the chaos and chaos created by the pandemic and the reconstruction of order after the pandemic is the main purpose of this study. Because in this way, it is possible to analyze both the irrational and rational aspects of people.

Pandemics are an issue that should be taken into consideration as they constitute a global risk. Because, as Beck puts it, although one side of modernity is perceived as a process of renewal, the other side represents a world of life full of risks (Beck, 1992). The fact that risk threatens everyone causes people to take new measures against new risks and to find ways to rebuild the order disrupted by risks. For this reason, the pandemic is serious enough to be the subject of research in both sociology and other disciplines. Improving health systems in the face of the pandemic, revealing the sociocultural and economic effects of the pandemic as it

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causes social outrage, protecting the rights of disadvantaged groups during pandemics and ensuring social sensitivity, especially with the support of the state, are research topics that should be taken into consideration in studies on the pandemic.

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