Relational Sociological Analysis of Uncertainties: The case of COVID-19 In Turkey

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ABSTRACT
The main research problem of this study is that due to the uncertainties experienced, rationality has been replaced by feelings like morale panic and not all of the precautions will be applied by 55%, although it is known to be 90%. The main purpose of this article, Turkey and all experienced Covidien-19 (Corono virus) from the effects of a new virus in the world, is to examine the sociological basis of the news (reports) in the Turkish media. The concepts of "uncertainties", "turning point" and "liminality" in social relations and values, classified by Harrison White (1992), constitute the theoretical basis of this relational sociological study. The research questions, in which the article was sought in the critical analysis of the media, were formed on the basis of this theoretical framework. Uncertainties in social relations and values have been tried to be revealed through political discourse analysis of pictures and messages (Van Dick, 2016). Research findings revealed that the news in the media related to COVID-19 virus caused attitudes and behaviors similar to those observed in previous bird flue (2005) and pig flue (2010) outbreaks in Turkey. In other words, while ontological insecurities lead to irrational reactions (morale panic) with the contribution of the media, serious measures, such as curfews of people over 65, are not taken too seriously despite all warnings of the Minister of Health and Science Committee. On the other hand, it can be said that the authoritarian tendencies towards broader measures such as the curfew proclamation in the whole country have increased.

Key words: Relational sociology, ambage, ambiquity, contingency, turning point, liminality, COVID-19, pandemic.

INTRODUCTION
As Will Hutton and Antony Giddens (2000) and later Slovoj Zizek (2019;2020) have highlighted, the end of globalization based on the free market mechanism, independent of any regulation, has come to an end. It is replaced by another globalization that is sensitive to crises and outbreaks, based on evidence that we are interdependent, and accepts the priority of collective action. The need for global coordination and cooperation has also emerged in the recent Corona-19 virus crisis. Before
anything else, the motto America is over. Because, according to Hutton (2020, which states that America can be saved thanks to global cooperation and coordination, Corona-19 virus outbreak did not show the inadequacy of globalization based solely on the market economy. Moreover, it has revealed that the boundaries imposed by nationalist populism and closure within national borders are more deadly. Nationalist populism is outdated today in terms of insisting on the complete independence of the state. According to him, this vitalist view should be abandoned. Instead, Zizek's defense is a comprehensive communism. In fact, in recent days, the UK health authorities have announced that they have not performed the necessary quarantine and test procedures due to system failure. They went even further, claiming that 75% of the population had a risk-filled preference, such as carrying COVID-19 virus and gaining immunity. Although they wanted to apply a model called Controlled Herd Immunity, they gave up in a short time.

In fact, this vitalist approach of the UK is an inhuman view of the strongest survival. How will the decisions be made when the "three wise expert man protocols" in the site are implemented? To whom will the respiratory support devices, which are very important in the last stage of coronavirus, be allocated when hospitals are inadequate? Questions such as will inevitably be asked. The answer is that inevitably the elderly and sick will lose their priority in these decisions, will not be admitted to hospitals and will be left to die. Here Zizek makes a very humanitarian suggestion. According to him, the countries that are fighting should find money to buy respirators and diagnostic kits to combat coronavirus, just as they are budgeting for armament. Instead of acting cruel, Zizek may be able to choose a re-designed communist regime and this system may make people happy. On the other hand, Zizek (2020) underlines that the communist regime in China did not bully while quarantining the whole country, and that the public succeeded in participating voluntarily.

While Zizek has always been criticizing capitalism, he is known for his delight in touching the human spirit with a Lacanian approach. He is a philosopher who is frequently criticized by leftists, although he wants to save mankind from the darkness of the capitalist system. Although he says I am not an utopist, he is optimistic when pointing to communism. However, it is also among the claims that it sometimes causes meaning shifts when using the concept of communism. With a Hegelian dialectical and Lacanian approach, his interpretation of today's events is received with interest all over the world, and his discussion with Canadian journalist Peterson is followed by paying thousands of dollars.

According to Zizek (2020), paradoxically, communism in China will force us to invent a new communism on the basis of trust in society and science after the experience with coronavirus. Because as the corona virus spreads we will ultimately make a choice: Either we will accept the barbaric logic of the survival principle of the strong, or we will implement it by inventing a new communism with global coordination and cooperation.

One of the important points that Zizek underlines is panic. The media is increasing the panic by bubbling news all over the world. Giving examples from his own youth, in Yugoslavia, when Tito is said not to do panic during his time, he expresses with a Lacanian analysis what he thinks the regime is in big panic. In fact, what he wants to say is that because panic is emotionally based, it causes loss of rationality, that is, the severity of the situation. However, today we are not in a position to waste time by panic. The situation is extremely serious. Zizek also rightly criticizes that
we did not panic when the main panic is required, such as SARS and EBOLA. Because necessary precautions have never been taken in these outbreaks. It was just ignored, when it happened, faded and not taken seriously.

There are many reasons to think that the concept of panic at a social level rather than psychological and individual level is to be met to some extent with the concept of “moral panic”. For example, in Cohen (1972) and his Folk Devils and Moral Panic, who carried out the first important work on moral panic, panic is considered as a processual phenomenon, emerging over time. Cohen (1972), by establishing a relationship between panic and hegemony, examines the ruling elites pressure on foreign immigrants. The study examining the relationship between media and moral panic, which is important for our topic, was Critcher (2008), the author of the book "Moral Panics and the Media". Also known as the Attributional Model, Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (1994) Moral Panic: Social Construction of Deviance, as well as their later moral panic work, is important because it shows the basics of panic in terms of sociology (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 2011).

The biggest criticism brought to moral panic studies is that they treat panic as “irrational societal overreaction”. When a situation is said to be described as moral panic, it is inappropriate social behaviors such as missed and unhealthy decisions (Crichton, 2004; Garland, 2008; Falkof, 2018). The conceptual weakness, ideological inadequacy and excessive simplification features of the models on panic are often voiced. All the basic work on moral panic (Young, 1971; Cohen, 1972) is always based on tracking problems and is therefore processual. Young's (2009) study of the source of moral panic and the process of returning from fantasy to reality is for the same purpose.

Those who worked on morale panic after them were criticized for doing superficial studies with less attention to the topic they were interested in. Unfortunately they are far from discussing the issue in detail and depth. For example, most panic studies are related to problems in adult or adolescent women's sexual lives. It is possible to talk about Johannesburg / South Africa (Walker, 2017) about the maternity of adolescents who are living as a result of unwanted pregnancies, who earn their lives by selling their body, and about the moral panic studies about AIDS (Hunt, 2011). In addition, there are studies that can serve the purpose of a folk devil, seeking the causes of the problems with a concept of “Risk Society” (Ulrick Beck, 1992) such as technology, state power, “corporate capitalist culture” and in a sense, serving to search for a scapegoat.

As Flores - Yeftal et al. (2011) stated, digital technologies and culture are closely related to moral panic theory. Because "cyberspace information" can spread rapidly, creating morale panic directly. According to a recent study by Hier (2018) on this issue, digital communication networks and social media platforms are reshaping the formation of moral panic by creating new forms of relationship. For example, it is no longer an imperative that the elite, who had certain power in the past, became the source of news. In addition, there is a rapid spread of messages that cannot be compared with the old ones. On the other hand, digital media has changed the effects of moral panic. Instead of top-down news, communication is established on digital platforms where casual and ordinary people are the producer and consumer of messages. According to some of the views on this issue, the panic culture initiated by the social media excludes and punishes those who have deviated behavior (Ingraham and Reeves, 2016).
On the other hand, disadvantaged groups in every society are empowered through social media. Achieving the power to create moral panic with pluralist media platforms is no longer just a privilege of sovereign powers (Ingraham and Reeves, 2016). Fearful episodes are spreading rapidly in the world of relationships as "digital wildfires" as Hier (2018) puts it. The news is no longer flowing unilaterally, but is being built in mutual interaction. This is also an important indicator that the traditional world of communication has been reshaped (Crichton, 2004).

The culture of fear has been used by governments since 1964 as a means of political repression to ensure national security, especially the Brazilian authoritarian system (Alves, 1982). In addition, in America, Gerbner and his friends (1980) have revealed a relationship between fear of crime and media consumption. So the media gains importance because it has the power to create a worldview that is different from the reality. The most important studies on horror culture are very valuable in the horror culture studies of the works titled "Politics of Fear: Beyond Rigth and Left" and "Culture of Fear: Risk Taking and the Morality of Low Expectation" by Frank Furedi. It would not be wrong to say that it provides contributions. Also here, Altheide (2002) and his work "Creating Fear, News and the Construction of Crisis" gain importance in terms of our subject because they reveal the relationship between media and fear very clearly. In addition, Altheide's (2009) subsequent works are related to the fact that moral panic is not a sociological concept but a folk discourse and is a contribution in this field.

The relationship between moral panic and the culture of horror, that is, the disproportionate and extreme reactions to the events and the results it has created, were opened to discussion by Critcher (2011) as a theoretical turn to moral panic. According to him, morale panic is a piece that makes sense of the chaos of the late-modern world. This point concerns, in a larger context, more often pervasive and free floating concerns such as horror culture and morale panic, unlike the Risk Theory put forward by Ulrick Beck regarding environmental threats. Fear may also declare "scapegoat outsider" to be used by hegemonic forces. The culture of fear is also extremely important, as it leaves us incapable and weak in protection from danger.

Bauman (2006) is a sociologist who is also known for his fear studies. His famous work, "Liquid Times: In the Age of Uncertainty" (2007), is about the highest level of contemporary fears, "existential uncertainty" and their emergence. At this point, Critcher's (2003; 2011) seeing "moral panics" as part of understanding the complexity of the late modern era in which we are in understanding fear is also a valuable interpretation.

For the famous British sociologist Antony Giddens (1991), heightened sense of fear should not be dismissed as the standard features of our time. When Altheide (2002) says that the media boasts of horror discourse, it is not quite unfair. Because pervasive communication, symbolic awareness and expectations about risks and dangers are always central. In fact, as the internet becomes more widespread, we hear many conflicting claims or claims about politicians, families, friends, press bosses, experts, members of subcultures, and we begin to fear these. Today, we are all extremely afraid of the possibility of a terrorist attack or carcinogenic foods, global warming, economic stagnation, migration, corruption, racism, terrorism and wars, the flu pandemic and COVID-19. As Falkof (2017; 2018) points out, all this repeats constantly in the discourse of media and politicians physically or online reinforces our sense of insecurity.
All these become the determinant and object of moral panic. As an symptom or indicator of the culture of fear, “moral panic” is a widespread social and media formation. Undoubtedly, the underlying conditions are the conditions we are in. It should not be forgotten that fears are often caused by uncertainties. However, they are rarely directed by anonymous groups that are scattered in everyday life (Critcher, 2011).

According to the literature, the causes of our concerns are not visible (invisible). It is interpreted in sociology with “alienation” (Seeman, 1959; 1975; Kasapoglu, 1982/1999) as a concept based on features such as meaninglessness, powerlessness, normlessness, and social and cultural isolation.

Examples of the pandemic process and “COVID-19 Epidemic” we experience in the alienation of society to science and technology are examples. During the pandemic process, many doctors who are experts in the World Health Organization, Ministry of Health, Scientific Committee, Turkish Medical Association, infectious and epidemic diseases provide information about the pandemic to the society through the press. Inconsistencies, uncertainty between the information and researches about pandemic create an insecure environment. The contradictions that occur in science after a while cause alienation of society to science. The alienation that emerged in the society during the pandemic process can be mostly associated with the principles of "meaninglessness", "powerlessness" and "social isolation".

As Bauman (2007) points out, we begin by looking for what will replace these existential fears, and replace them by panicked by the many homeless people around us who do not have job security in the capitalist system. As Udvarhelyi (2014) notes, being homeless in Hungary is therefore considered a crime. Like this homeless or the poor, we don't know what we are actually substituting for our real fears, we don't even realize it most of the time. This unawareness is actually even more important and dramatic. Because all mechanisms are useless except to obscure the causes of our fear (Falkorf, 2018). "Existential" and "ontological insecurity" are always used to express our fears. Especially in understanding the effects of COVID-19, there is a clear message that the uncertainties experienced all over the world cause vital insecurities, and that nation states cannot solve this problem, and that globalization should be around science again. People are in need of trust. Uncertainties are an issue that identities avoid. Harrison White (1992; 1997) gains importance in this context. His uncertainty conceptualization is already the theoretical basis of this study.

H. White (1992), who is known for his relational sociology studies, argues that in his work “Identity and Control”, people escape from uncertainty situations and try to control the uncertainties in their lives. As a relational sociologist, he finds the existing concepts inadequate and uses the word “identity” instead of the individual or human. White also defines three types of uncertainty by rejecting dualities and essentialism.

According to White et al., (2007), among the participants who observe networks and meanings in the first and second levels or terms, there are two concepts in examining the aforementioned uncertainties: These concepts are "ambage" and "ambiguity". Ambage is uncertainty in social relations, ambiguity is uncertainty in meaning. On the other hand, there is a third uncertainty. This is called "contingency". In summary, there are three types of uncertainty (White et al., 2013:138-139).
a) Ambage: uncertainty in relation
b) Ambiguity: The ambiguity of meaning
c) Contingency: Imitation is the case where random / probable variables are used. This uncertainty situation is external to the system.

Another important concept in terms of our topic is "turning points". Because "uncertainties" arise in "turning points" that allow to make strategy or game changes in identities according to increases or decreases in various forms such as ambage, ambiguities or unexpected situations.

Here, as Bourdieu (1983) expresses for each identity, a new turning point emerges as the "space of possibles" change. "Space of Possibles" refers to the cultural space. Contrary to Kant’s universal values, cultural values indicate that they have changed from society to society. Remember that Bourdieu points out "distinctions" in class analysis (Bourdieu, 1984). Because the taste of each class is different. The problem is not only economic differences, but cultural capital and social differences. For instance, social capital is the wealth and diversity of social networking.

In this context, the "social relationship" and the dynamics of meanings also encompass the strategies of identities seeking saefety footing. It is especially important that in all occurrences, White and his colleagues (2013) describe it as "disciplines". In this theoretical framework, disciplines are the forefront for the regulatory duties. Because turning points always appear in the concrete conditions of disciplines. Strategies and games developed by identities provide sociologists with ways to measure uncertainties.

There are many studies on uncertainty (Beckman et al., 2004; White, 2010; White et al., 2013). As mentioned earlier, White (1992, 2008) classifies them as three kinds of uncertainty faces: "ambage" in social relations, "ambiguity" in meaning, and "contingency" external to the system.

**Ambage**

This is the uncertainty that arises entirely within the framework of social relations. According to White (2008), the word originates as winding or indirect, or roundabout. In terms of relational sociology, it shows how social roles are performed and enforced. The Ambage also tells how social relations are created, how they are suspended, and how they are terminated. As pointed out by Goffman (1959), there are anticipations and promises for each role as well as avoidance of their fulfilment. Ambage is a concept used to describe situations in which expectations of a role are not fulfilled (cited in White et al., 2013:139).

White and his friends (2013:139) especially examine how the market works. The roles of the parties involved in the market, such as the current staff and the newcomers to the market, are clearly defined. Officers in charge are a guarantee of ensuring market order. The uncertainty here is about how the actors involved in the market are performed or practiced rather than what the role requirements are. Interpretation of how to perform or play the role has to do with strategy. Therefore, how to establish the bonds of social relations requires a perspective to be taken or terminated. For example, officers in a particular market may try to raise the market in price war. In Turkey, for example, politicians are always increasing tension in the electoral process.
For White and his colleagues (2013:139), the practice depends on the strategies of different actors. The regulatory authorities involved in this are also included. Officers in today's free markets are also obliged to provide infrastructure for monitoring changes in the bond price for new entrants to the market. In summary, for each identity, the “ambage” is the answer to the question: "Do the others fulfil the needs of their role, or are there any failures or limitations in meeting the role requirements?"

**Ambiguity**

According to White (2008;37; 2011:139), ambiguity is an uncertainty that appears entirely in "cultural context". This uncertainty is about the meanings as well as about the rules. Because the rules express the meaning of the environment. Ambiguity arises in the interpretation or meaning of which particular signals or markings belong to which rules. Ambiguity is not "ambage", forcing it to comply with rules. Communication is established in the marketplace with signals. Marks or signals are the most important source of both ambiguity and its reduction. For example, the meaning of the price drop in the telecommunications market is quite uncertain. Companies may also lower their prices to increase prices in other products, and there is now a decline in uncertainty. Because companies may want to reach new consumers by lowering prices with a new strategy. The ambiguity for each identity can be summed up by the question: What do the others want when they are in action or talking?

Ambage and ambiguity are two dynamics that progress one after the other. For example, when a new identity is included in the social network, it will try to understand the current environment. This will cause discomfort in the role expectations of those already in the relationship network.

**Contingency**

According to White et al. (2013:140), the state of being unexpected or coincidental is related to the probability of survive at a certain level. These possibilities are observed by identities in other identities’ of social networks.

Unexpected uncertainties arise from external influences on the social network. However, ambage and ambiguity may also be effective in the event of unexpected or uncertainty arising from chance. For example, as in the case of telecommunications, what is the chances of success for new entrants to the market? Likelihoods for a newly organized market are compared with similar markets. These anticipations reveal the investment of each actor as a result of competition and cooperation with other actors. Standing or anticipated probabilities of life also affect expectations about future relationships. In this context, "Game Theory" tells us about the traces of our expectations about the future (Dasgupta, 1988). Expected life possibilities can translate into an imbalance between them through significant influence on the reputation of the identities, by reducing the ambage (Dasgupta, 1988). For each identity, contingencies can be summed up by the question: "How can other identities still exist in the present situation? What are the situations in which they are absent or will they gain different status in future time?" In Turkey, for example, Syrian immigrants entering the market and working at lower wages will reduce the bargaining power of current domestic workers. Similar situations have been mentioned in Europe. In many countries governments ignore foreign or illegal workers.


Turning Points

"Turning points" arise when the change is effective on one of three different uncertainties. The turning points are actually understood as a result / output of the change in the space of possibles. The importance of chan change can not be determined apriori. In fact, the changes in uncertainty are at different levels and can be described as "unpredictability" and "irreversibility". Whilst unpredictability refers to the uncertainty between successive events or actions, irreversibility is the persistence of outputs (White et al., 2013:140). In fact, some changes are both more predictable and reversible than others. For example, a birthday celebration can be foreseen because it is predictable, but it can not be celebrated at the end of the day because it is irreversible. The poker game is reversible and unpredictable. Routines can be both predictable and reversible. Similarly, it is known that historians describe historical processes by constructing events such as beginning, development and conclusion in a consecutive manner (Bearman et al., 1999). In the process of this casing, the authors agree that the meaning of the events is determined by the position of the events in the network as they follow each other. Incorporation or removal of some events is not always, but sometimes, changes the narrative and meaning of other events.

The space of possibles is variable for different segments of society. For example, in Turkey, physicians have lost their prestige after the performance system and have become both worker and target of violence in health system. Foreign immigrants such as Syrian refugees also put their lives at risk for freedom. The immigrants we see as relatives in the past are now strangers who we do not know where they will end up. But even in the short term, immigrants / refugees can begin to live humanely once the balances change in the Middle East.

Their robustness is as important as the unpredictability and irreversibility of events. In addition, White and colleagues argue that the final definitions can be made ex-post after the events have taken place. Although these factors provide useful conceptual frameworks for ex-ante studies, uncertainties are always in question. For example, when competitive firms in the market, or others, perceive small changes in pricing strategies as a price war, nobody knows how this affects the market. In fact, as Abbott (2001) points out, the turning point does not always appear; but it has the potential to appear every second.

Liminality:

This concept is about being both like this and being between two. Here it is useful to address the concepts of “ambivalence” (Connidis and Mc Mullin, 2002) as well as “liminality” as two useful concepts in understanding and explaining the subject in the context of rejection of dichotomies. Similar to liminality ambivalence, as is known, is to have complex feelings about a relationship or object. It emerges in many intertwined social relationships. It is also the product of complex relational experiences and has transformative power (Connidis, 2015).

RESEARCH PROBLEM

The emergence of the COVID-19/Corona virus began on December 31, 2019, with the reporting of pneumonia cases in Wuhan city, Hubei Province, China. Findings compatible with fever, shortness of breath and pulmonary pneumonia were detected in cases. The factor of the pneumonia cluster detected on 31 December 2019 was identified on January 7, 2020 as a new coronavirus (2019-nCoV) that has not been previously detected in humans. After this date, the increase in the number of cases has started and it has started to spread that it has an infectious feature. Turkey’s Health
Ministry General Directorate of Public Health (2020) prepared by the "2019 Guide to Health Care Workers in disease-NCover", Covidien-19’s origin is still under investigation based on the information presented. However, the available data point to wild animals (bat, snake, etc.) illegally sold in the Huanan Seafood Wholesale Market. According to the available data, the impression is that the rate and fatality rate of the patients who progress slowly are not too high. However, in the following period, it may differ depending on the changes that may occur in the genetic structure of the virus. At present, the time to infect, the incubation time and the time the virus can withstand the environment is not clearly known. After COVID-19 was detected, it was not limited to the region where it was located, the number of cases increased gradually and there were intercontinental notifications.

The emergence of COVID-19, uncertainties related to the epidemic, especially the routes of transmission, spreading rate, treatment and deaths cause individuals to have difficulty in maintaining control. In addition, the conceptual confusion in the pandemic process, namely political discourse, non-governmental organizations (WHO), scientists and the inconsistency of the news in the press, is compatible with the principle of "meaninglessness" defined as the inability of people to understand what is happening around the process of alienation.

According to Furedi (2001), the culture of fear causes the person to make himself depressed, turning even a simple disease into an epidemic, bringing these facts to a culture that constantly exaggerates risks. When fear becomes dominant in societies, the dynamics that cause fear are exaggerated and their solutions begin to be ignored. In this case, it is thought that the language used in creating a culture of fear and turning it into important risks is the most important factor. According to Jones and Peccei (2004), political leaders try to master the discourses by using the media because there is an important relationship between language use and persuasion of the society and staying in power. The uncertainty in discourses prevents one from establishing a meaningful relationship, interaction and communication with others.

Although the emergence of a pandemic seems like a natural problem, it appears as a social problem in terms of its effects and consequences in the society. In this case, Mills’ (2000) statement should be regarded as a 'public problem' rather than a 'personal distress', which closely concerns sociology. The most frequently encountered risks arise in the field of health recently. The 2019-nCoV epidemic, such as mad cow, then bird flu, and pandemic A flu, causes anxiety and fear in communities.

According to Furedi (2001), the common point about the disease is systematic exaggeration of the extent of the danger. Especially the media play an important role in shaping the way society perceives risk. While the media explains and emphasizes certain crimes or diseases, it increases the public’s sense of danger about these problems. Since many people obtain information about risks through the media channel, not because of their personal experience or knowledge, the way this information is conveyed determines the way people perceive the problem.

According to Bourdieu (1998), television shows more than what should be shown while performing the information process, or does it in a way that makes it meaningless or gives meaning to the subject in a way that never corresponds with the truth, thus hiding the facts. The biggest political danger for the use of television is its 'real effect'. The "real effect" of television is the power to
mobilize them by creating a number of groups. For example, incidents such as traffic accidents, epidemics, xenophobia may exacerbate strong emotions through television and cause social reactions to arise. According to Bourdieu, it is one of the goals of struggles on a global scale to ensure that people create some conflicting subsections in society. In this way, new categories of perception are created and imposed on society. Television plays a decisive role in this struggle.

The most obvious example of the 'real effect' of television in the field of health; COVID-2019 epidemic news can be given intensely. The pandemic discourse is exaggerated with the news or public spots in the media, which causes uncertainties in the society to settle the culture of fear and increase alienation. Therefore, all measures will be taken extensive cuts in Turkey at high rates (95%) in spite of knowing they are in real-life applications (55%). In addition, there are those who state that they do not worry at a rate of 33%. However, it is a known fact that anxiety gives fight power to reduce anxiety. Because we can overcome anxiety only if we have a certain or reasonable anxiety. In contrast, carefree people are not aware that they pose a risk to society.

Bourdieu (2000: 21-22) describes symbolic violence as a silent complicity of those who are exposed to it and those who practice it. Symbolic violence is a form of violence that is practiced on both sides to the extent that it is not aware that they are applying it or being exposed to it. The media plays a very important role in the emergence of symbolic violence, just like the law. Because media tools are mostly exposed to commercial pressures, because of the pressure they are exposed to, they apply pressure to all other areas. Television, especially reaching large masses in the society, is one of the tools that symbolic power is most used in making its world view dominant and creating the desired perception. However, it would not be correct to explain the impact of the risk with a single media, personal experiences, the magnitude of the risk, insecurity and increased knowledge are also important factors.

The way in which the risks caused by the COVID-19 virus outbreak are given, the news is frighteningly exaggerated, the source and frequency of the news may cause changes in responses. This situation may also have an effect on the sense of “trust” that the society has in the face of mass problems.

The main purpose of the study is to reveal what are the types of uncertainty that cause alienation in the society, mostly in the form of normlessness and avoiding measures. Within the scope of the main purpose, answers to the following questions were sought:

a) What kind of news causes different uncertainties? In other words, how can the relationship between news and uncertainties be shown?

b) How do the contradictions and uncertainties in the news texts in the media related to pandemic affect the social relation and meaning network?

**IMPORTANCE AND LIMITATIONS**

Increasing “uncertainties” with global health risks bring the need for “trust”. Systematic examination of the increasingly exacerbated (950,000 cases and 50,000 deaths) health disasters covering nearly 200 countries such as COVID-19 based on the basic concepts of relational sociology makes it valuable. The study is important in terms of keeping the subject up-to-date and critically examining the impact of the media on the change of health risks. The findings of the study were prepared through the news texts in the printed media. This is the most important limitation of the

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study. In the study, the periods in which COVID-19 virus outbreak was highest were analyzed. However, the process is still ongoing.

In addition, the authors’ research on Bird Flue (Kasapoglu et al., 2009) and then Pig Flue (Akbal, 2016) provided great advantages in understanding and interpreting the Corona-19 pandemic. In this way, the fact that the careful reader in the field has the opportunity to compare increases the importance of the study (Kasapoglu, 2017).

Method
According to Bourdieu (1992), "the real is relational" and the structure of the relations regulates the interaction relations and the habitus that appear in a concrete way in the field. All the elements that are related in a real relationship space must be conceptually related through their internal dynamics. The relational approach sees the relationship between the situation and the units as a superior dynamic in nature, not a static bond between stationary essences but an open process (Emirbayer, 1997: 289).

In the pandemic process, which has a dynamic structure and unplanned, uncertainties in the network of relationships are quite high. In order to understand the uncertainties highlighted in the problem of our study, Harrison White et al., "A Relational Approach About Turning Points and Possibility Areas: Different Forms of Uncertainty (2013)" and "Identity and Control (1992)" are used.

In the study, the pandemic was considered as a process. The Coronavirus appeared on 31 December 2019 in Wuhan, China, Hubei Province. On January 7, 2020, it was identified as a new coronavirus (2019-nCoV) that has not previously been detected in humans. In this study, the periods that the pandemic began to spread around the world (January 10, 2020 and March 31, 2020) were analyzed.

The entire universe of the study is news sites used in internet journalism. The sample consists of news texts related to the epidemic of the “www.sozcu.com.tr” site, which ranks first in internet journalism, based on the international independent digital measurement company SimilarWeb between 2019-December and March 31, 2020.

The study, carried out using the basic concepts of relational sociology, is mainly a Political Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk, 1993). Because all the news about COVID-19 in the media is politically constructed, it is inevitable to be criticized. It should not be forgotten that the rhetoric of both the government and the opposition, which are widely available in the media, are mutually political. Because both the power holding power and the wide groups that stand against it definitely produce political discourses while fighting in their own interests. Here, there is a power struggle of the parties against class, ethnic and regional inequalities in the society and they are in the interest of political discourse analysis. On the other hand, it is not possible to claim that the COVID-19 pandemic is independent of the manipulation of power, although scientific discourse is dominant to some extent. Because it is the Minister of Health, even if it is on behalf of the Scientific Board that appeals to the society every evening. In other words, he is a chosen politician.

On the other hand, the relational sociological view sees both positivist and interpretive methodological approaches to be used together. This study has a hybrid structure both as a kind of...
documan analysis and a non-reactive research (not directly in contact with the examined). For example, with a positivist terminology, the universe is news in the January-April 2020 range. In contrast, the sample is a theoretical or purposeful sample with interpretive terminology (Neuman, 2006). The selected news and pictures are representations purely for research purposes (Ambage-Ambiguity-Contingency).

**FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

In the findings section of the study, three types of uncertainty, namely “ambage” in social relations, “ambiguity” in terms of meaning and “contingency” from outside to the system, were examined. Then, using the concepts of “turning point” and “liminality”, identities emerging as well as uncertainties regarding the pandemic were analyzed.

**Ambage: Uncertainty in Social Relations**

According to White et al. (2013) ambage, as stated earlier, is a type of uncertainty that emerges within the framework of social relations and shows how social roles are performed and enforced. Ambage also clarifies how social relationships are created, how they are suspended and how they are terminated. Ambage is a concept used to describe situations where the expectations of a role are not met.

![Figure 1. Corona Virus Bans.](www.sozcu.com.tr, 22.03.2020)

COVID-19 detected in many countries is also seen in Turkey on March 10, 2020. In order to prevent the number of cases from increasing, many measures have been taken by the government and the bans have started to be implemented. The main measures taken due to the outbreak and prohibitions put into practice:

- a) The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry announced that picnics and barbecues are prohibited in parks and promenade areas.
- b) People aged 65 and over with chronic illnesses are restricted from leaving their homes.
- c) Military farewell amusements where citizens came together in crowded groups were prohibited.
- d) All restaurants with drinks and pastry shops and similar workplaces have started to serve only without giving permission to customers to sit down.

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e) The activities of the barber, beauty salon and hairdressers were stopped until a second announcement.

f) Horse racing organized by Jokey Club of Turkey has been postponed.

g) The Presidency of Religious Affairs announced that the mosques will be closed on Friday and Kandil night to prevent the measures taken against the spread of the corona virus.

h) Football, handball, volleyball and basketball leagues are all postponed.

i) The Presidency of Religious Affairs announced that the mosques will have a pause in performing prayers with the community for a while.

j) Primary school, secondary school, high school and universities were on vacation.

k) Theater, cinema, concert hall, wedding hall, restaurant, cafe, casino, pub, tavern, coffee shop, cafe, cafeteria, country garden, hookah cafe, internet cafe, game rooms, indoor playgrounds, tea garden, association restaurants, amusement park, swimming pool, Turkish bath, sauna, hot spring, massage parlor, spa and sports centers were closed.

l) The arcade permits of the soldiers were suspended temporarily.

m) Public officers are restricted from going out of Turkey.

n) The use of masks and gloves was made compulsory for market shopping.

Due to the Coronavirus epidemic, government officials reveal how social roles are executed (how they are forced to enforce), how social relations are suspended, and prohibitions with penal sanctions. However, the current government is also informed that the practices/coercions in social relations will disappear after the pandemic process ends. However, as Goffman (1959) points out, it is a natural process to avoid in fulfillment of roles as well as every role expectation.

Figure 2. "Police Warns Picnickers With Drone: Don’t Go Out On The Street.”

In the news text presented in Figure 2, although the picnic practice was prohibited with the COVID-19 outbreak, people had picnics in the park areas. It is stated that the people were warned by the police drone because it violated the ban. In other words, some groups of society experience problems in meeting their role requirements. The number of cases and number of deaths on day 12 of the outbreak in Turkey is increasing. However, social relations continue intensely. People do not comply with social isolation measures.
As the scientists point out, the Corona virus epidemic affects the elderly and chronic patients defined as risk groups more negatively and even causes death. According to WHO, the majority of those who lost their lives due to the epidemic are elderly and chronic patients. Turkey Statistical Institute of 9,1% of the population according to the 2019 survey constitutes the population aged 65 and over. For this reason, the curfew was introduced for the elderly in order to minimize the fatal consequences of the epidemic and the number of cases. If the ban is not followed, a fine of 3.150 TL will be imposed under the Law on Misdemeanors. The basic needs of individuals over 65 years old and chronic patients will be met by the officers through telephones 112, 155 and 156.

In order to prevent the spread of epidemics and deaths in the society, the government has set out how social roles should be exercised (enforced) in individuals over 65 years old and chronic patients. In the news texts presented in Figure 3 and Figure 4, it is emphasized that despite the
curfew and fines, individuals over 65 years of age do not fulfill their social roles. The gendarmerie and police teams commissioned for the implementation of the ban, fined many individuals over the age of 65 and direct them to their homes. However, individuals avoid meeting the expectations of the role by stating that they do not know about the epidemic, and the reasons as shown in the identity of their ages. However, in many cities, it is seen that sitting benches are collected or surrounded by wire fences in order to provide social isolation of individuals over 65 years of age. Despite all the precautions taken, individuals over 65 years old come together in the same areas and do not suspend their social relationships. Ambage is mostly involved in “curfew” due to major disruptions in meeting the role requirements.

Figure 5. "Escape from Quarantine: Police Caught and Brought."

Figure 6. "The Woman Who Carries Corona Virus Has Escaped From The Hospital."

Another area in which ambage is heavily seen is that individuals over the age of 65 who are being treated in hospitals due to the Corona virus outbreak escape from the quarantine area or they want to be with their relatives who are treated by not fulfilling their role expectations and resort to violence. Figure 5 is about a patient who escaped from quarantine in Turkey. In Figure 6, the news
text of a patient escaping quarantine in Austria is presented. This indicates that individuals all over the world do not fulfill their social roles. Another area in which social roles were suspended by the government due to the epidemic was the interruption of the Friday prayers for a while in the mosques with soldier hopping ceremonies where citizens came together in crowded groups. However, ambage is considered to be quite high in both matters.

Military ceremonies is a practice that has become the custom in Turkey. Despite the prohibition of soldier farewell ceremonies by the Ministry of the Interior, young groups do not fulfill their role requirements. Nevertheless, despite the extent of the epidemic, no measures are taken in the bus terminals that are sent off by soldiers, and the ban on “social isolation” is violated by people of all ages. Face to face social relations are not suspended due to the outbreak. Social identities create disruptions in meeting the role requirements, despite the severity of the outbreak and sanctions.

Corona virus outbreak in Turkey as well as seeing many institutions after the onset of Presidency of Religious Affairs also how enforcement of social roles (strain to be applied) brought a ban on taking some precautions issues. There have been official warnings that mosques will be open, but
the Friday Prayer, which has a sacred meaning, will not be performed by the congregation. The religious area, which is one of the most important elements of culture in the society, is considered to be the most difficult area to suspend social relations. In the news presented in Figure 8, it is seen that instead of performing the requirements of the social roles that identities are compelled to implement, they avoid these requirements and cause disruptions in meeting the role requirements. However, the religious area is among the main actors of ambiguity, which emerged in the "cultural framework".

The main purpose of identities emerging in a society in chaos situations is to create a “footing”. To this end, they try to gain control over other identities by shaping identities, social roles, values and rules. For this reason, social relations can be suspended, and how it can be executed can be pointed out. However, it is almost impossible to isolate social relations. Individuals over 65 are trying to eliminate uncertainties in order to create their own footing. Therefore, they do not meet the requirements of role expectations or cause disruptions. This situation is thought to cause ambage to be quite high compared to other types of uncertainty in the case of outbreak.

**Ambiguity: Uncertainty in Meaning and Values**

According to White (2008) ambiguity indicates uncertainties in the network of meanings. It explains the uncertainties arising from the way an identity that occurs in uncertainty, interprets language or signals in a particular environment. Ambiguity is also related to the rules. Because ambiguity arises in understanding which rules belong to certain signs. Corona virus outbreak occurred in the world towards the end of December 2019. Corona before starting to spread viruses countries, Turkey has begun to take measures on many issues related corona viruses. January and February in Europe, Middle Asia, America begin seeing corona virus, the first cases in Turkey March 10, 2020 from "Umrah visit" was also seen among the returnees. It is noteworthy that the government, which has taken measures in many areas and institutions of the society since the Corona virus epidemic started to appear, has not taken any measures regarding the visit to Umrah. Because it is thought that changing the rules (meaning) of worship, which is considered sacred by the whole society, will cause reactions and fluctuations in the society.

![](image)

**Figure 9. "Umrah Visits Are Suspended.**

The identities that emerge in this situation put the rules / meanings into action in accordance with the field of religion in order to create their own footing or trustworthy situation, as did the Directorate of Religious Affairs.

In Figure 9, it is stated by the Presidency of Religious Affairs that Umrah applications will not be received until a second announcement and the return dates of the visitors in Umrah will be made on the planned date. 10330 people who return to Turkey on March 15, are taken under quarantine in dormitories of 16 provinces, mainly in Ankara and Konya. Religion, which is an important part of the culture, presents the signs of its own rules to the society despite all warnings of the Ministry of Health in the Corona virus epidemic. While the Ministry of Health takes action to warn for the Corona virus outbreak, the Presidency of Religious Affairs expresses the meaning of the environment in a different way, using different signs. Although there are cases of Corona viruses in many countries of the world, Umrah visit tours continued from October 2019 to March 2020 by the Directorate of Religious Affairs.

While the pilgrims who returned after March 15, 2020 were quarantined, no quarantine was implemented for those who returned earlier than that date. Indeed, the first cases in Turkey, is a person who is returning from Umrah visit. Following the emergence of the first positive case, the Presidency of Religious Affairs started to comply with the 14-day quarantine rule of the Ministry of Health. Against the rules of the Ministry of Health, the actions of the Presidency of Religious Affairs reveal ambiguity in terms of meanings. In accordance with White's (2008) definition, ambiguity takes place in the field of religion, which is in a completely cultural frame. In the cultural framework, ambiguity emerges between the values that society attributes sacred meanings and the rules of science.

![Figure 10. "They Were Sent Home: They Will Pay Attention."
Resource: www.sozcu.com.tr, 16.03.2020.](http://dx.doi.org/10.14738/assrj.74.8116)
not go out and accept visitors for 14 days. In the face of public chaos, identities responsible for public administration take action by providing preventive measures to create safety situation. The religious identity, on the other hand, acts by reckless rules in the opposite position of the actors. In an environment of chaos, it indicates the ambiguity between the rules of two different strong identities.

The news in Figure 11 is the response of the Presidency of Religious Affairs to the claims that the Friday prayer will not be performed in congregation. It is observed that the Turkish Public Administration, which has started to take measures against the epidemic since the beginning of the Corona virus epidemic, has not been able to implement measures and prohibitions on religious matters only. Because, the Presidency of Religious Affairs, which is one of the important identities of ambiguity, seems to have maintained its rules in the religious field without changing the extent of the epidemic. However, the closure of mosques has also been added to the banning practices that increased with the number of cases in 191 and the onset of deaths within a week. However, despite the ban, on 27.03.2020 the President of Religious Affairs performed Friday prayers with a small number of people. If the reason is to resolve people’s grief, at a single point in Turkey was announced as allowing the continuation of Friday prayers. While he acts, he ignores the rules (signs) of other identities. It also paves the way for other identities to perform similar practices. Despite the epidemic and accompanying measures and prohibitions, the rules of the religious sphere are strictly enforced. The ambiguity is quite high in the signs / rules / actions of identities in this field for the prevention of outbreak.

According to Durkheim (1995), religion is a system of prohibited beliefs and practices about what is sacred in a society different from other phenomena. All symbols, rules and practices / prayers in the religious field are considered sacred by individuals belonging to that religion. The group gathered around this holiness actually points to the community at the same time. Because the unity of religion also indicates the need to be a member of a group (other than minorities). It has a compelling effect on the members of the society with the power it gets from the community.
Changing the meanings of religion, rules / symbols / practices, which is a dogmatic field, may cause chaos by not conforming to the basic values of the society. The Presidency of Religious Affairs, which is an important identity in the field of religion, can also lead to ambiguity in the rules that must be obeyed about the epidemic with its actions to protect the safe condition of the worshipers.

**Contingency: External Uncertainties**
According to White (2008), contingency occurs by being influenced by external factors to the social network. However, ambiguity and ambiguity can also be effective in case of unexpected or contingency. In case of uncertainty, it is necessary to look for the presence of external identities. Here, contingency emerges by being influenced by external factors to the social network.

![Figure 12. "Corono Virus paved the way for the order of 3 billion dollars." Resource: www.sozcu.com.tr, 13.02.2020.](image)

Corona virus epidemic creates contingency in many countries affected by the epidemic to varying degrees, especially in the economic field. The chaos caused by the epidemic in social life reveals the uncertainty in China’s export market, which is defined as the third biggest power of the world in the field of production, and the possibility of importers to move to other countries, namely new
identities. However, how contingency emerging new identities (countries to export) will exist in the current situation, their disappearance or gaining new status is uncertain.

Figure 12 in the news in text, then the corona virus outbreak in China, the global apparel giants began to price surveys in Turkey, if the virus left unchecked within four weeks about 2-3 billion order from China is suggested that registration in Turkey. The current situation in Turkey, social relationships and meanings of the corona virus is a new identity revealed contingency caused by the network. However, it is uncertain how this new identity will be a network of social relationships and meanings with other identities.

In the news text in Figure 13, it is emphasized that the corona virus epidemic, which emerged in China as a country with a national income of 14.1 trillion dollars and 16.4 percent of the global income, has the potential to shake the real economy. News text in the current global economy and Turkey's economy is focused on four main topics and contingency effects:

1. Oil and fuel prices are falling.
2. Gold and dollar are rising.
3. Stop to the planned visit to China and 30 thousand Chinese tourists coming to Turkey from China can not come (about a $ 30 million loss)
4. Export to China is decreasing.

Instead of the possibilities planned by China on a global scale, the Corona virus outbreak is creating new identities, and these new identities create contingency both globally and locally. However, like other countries of the outbreak, how to change their status after the identity seen in Turkey will be affected and in what way is uncertain.

In the news text in Figure 14, another contingency caused by the corona virus epidemic is indicated as the hygiene and protection products and the increase in their prices. The culture of fear created by the corona virus has led individuals in the community to take preventive measures. Demand for the mask is increasing, which is the most effective means known in respiratory diseases. This situation causes the manufacturers of mask and hygienic substances to emerge as a new identity
and to join the network of social relations and meanings. It is uncertain how and when the status of these identities will emerge.

**Turning Points**

According to White (2013), “turning points” emerges when the change is effective on ambage, ambiquity and contingency. The change here can have features such as unpredictable and irreversibility. However, in all cases, the unpredictability and irreversibility is not valid. Routines, historical events, strategies of identities can be predicted in pandemic situations.

According to Bearman et al. (1999) turning points are changes in the meaning of events that interrupt the link between successive events. As Bourdieu (1993) says “field of possibless” for each new identity, a new turning point emerges.

Identities are going to make new strategy changes according to the increase or decrease in any of the uncertainties we define as turning point, amabage, ambiquty or continingecy. In other words, uncertainty in social networks and semantic networks also affects the strategies of identities trying to achieve control.

Identities try to discipline uncertainties in order to achieve control, that is, to create safety footing. According to White (1992), the concept of discipline appears in different arrangements in the strategy game. However, both strategies and uncertainties are extremely important in the search for safety footing for identities.

The turning point for the Corona virus outbreak is “vaccine”. Together with the Corona virus outbreak, all three of White's uncertainty types (amabage, ambiquty, and continingecy) show their effectiveness in social life. As the state of uncertainty increases, identities are seeking strategy to achieve control. Contingency, especially in the economic field, pushes identities more to change strategy. The discipline type in which Contingency is seen as the most dominant is “interface disciplinary”. Interface discipline is similar to the commitments made to maintain production quality (White, 1992). Identities in the interface discipline depend on external factors. The Corona virus outbreak in China pushes the Chinese economy into a great recession and causes it to decline. All balances in the market are changing on a global scale. While China's export rate has decreased significantly, countries importing from China are also looking for new markets. For this reason, vaccination studies, which we consider as a turning point with the support of other countries, especially the Chinese government, have started.

Turkey also entered the effects of the pandemic vaccine and drug efforts were initiated in March 2020. These are also important as turning points.
In Figure 15, it is suggested that the Ministry of Health Vaccine Institute has started the vaccination studies against the corona virus. Identities create a big change in field of possibles to create safety footing and control, and begin vaccination efforts to eliminate uncertainties.

Corona virus outbreak is described as the turning point vaccine studies, along with Turkey, began in China, Russia, France, Germany and America. In addition, countries make commitments according to the interface discipline by giving the date of the vaccine (several months / one year) in order to establish a safety footing in the markets. Considering the new identities in the field of possibles, countries and scientists who carry out vaccination studies, we come up with new social relations.

In the news text presented in Figure 16, information about a new treatment method of Gaziantep University for corona virus is given. According to the report, it is planned to start the treatment
method that will be provided by transplanting the plasma to be taken from patients with coronavirus and recovering by the end of April 2020.

One of the most important features of the turning point in dealing with uncertainty is “disconnection”, that is, the change takes place. With the vaccine, medication or new treatment methods, people will be disconnected from the virus and the area of available possibilities will change. The predictability of the vaccine at the turning point is possible due to previous pandemic processes.

**Liminality**

According to Turner (1988), liminality is the case where ambage is the most and ambiquity is the least. In the event of a liminality, roles are known and accepted, but their implementation is suspended due to the crisis situation. The bases of social roles are also questioned in times of crisis. Turner uses the concept of “drama” when explaining equality. Drama is defined as an incompatible social process in crisis in social life. The harmonious social process takes place in four basic phases: Disobedience (non-compliance), crisis, repair / rectification and reintegration. In the period of turmoil in social life, it first appears as a process of disobedience to social relations. With the increase of disobedience, the crisis process begins and the characteristics of staying on the threshold are seen. With the crisis, the system is directed towards the repair process and its features remain on the threshold. Finally, discordant groups that show disobedience become integrated.

When the Corona virus epidemic began to emerge in Turkey, has begun to deteriorate harmony in social relations network that specific roles in the existing order. Turner describes this process as social drama.

![Figure 17. "Man Resisted in 78 Years: I Didn't Hear Corona Virus." Resource: www.sozcu.com.tr, 23.03.2020.](image-url)
In the news text presented in Figure 16, it is explained by the Ministry of Interior that citizens over the age of 65 are prohibited from going out on the streets due to the epidemic of the corona virus, while individuals over 65 who are trying to go to the park resist police teams and journalists. In Figure 17, it is stated that individuals over the age of 65 are hiding in order not to be punished when they see the police teams. On March 21, 2020, it was announced by the government that individuals over the age of 65 were prohibited from going out, and that they would be punished with a fine of 3,150 TL if the rules were not followed. However, despite banning practices, it is observed that in many cities, this rule has not been followed, even though sanctions and sitting benches in parks have been lifted, individuals over 65 have been on the streets. The measures taken and prohibitions due to the increase of the corona virus outbreak in Turkey increases their disobedience and switches to the crisis.

In Figure 18, it is suggested that the family returned from Umrah visit was locked in their house by their other neighbor living in the same apartment. With the increasing number of cases and the speed of spread in the Corona virus outbreak, the crisis process is undertaken and individuals are
suspended from their existing social roles in order to protect themselves from the virus with increasing fear. In addition, the social roles of existing (government, institutions, etc.) and all emerging identities (NGOs, scientists, etc.) are questioned. Liminality emerges at this stage. Cases and risk groups (individuals over 65 years old, chronic patients) affected by the corona epidemic are quarantined and their social roles are suspended. However, they are marginalized by healthy groups. In Turner's words, in crisis / drama, masks are removed and statuses are left. Individuals and risk groups (individuals over 65 years old, chronic patients) with corona virus remain on the threshold. In other words, they are located somewhere between the beginning and the end of the process. Those who carry the Corona virus remain on the threshold until reintegration is achieved. In the event of a crisis, liminality increases, so ambage is the most common.

The fact that the corona virus outbreak is not known when it will end causes uncertainty in the social relations network, namely the crisis and compliance problems. Identities are looking for a footing to control the crisis. At this stage, which is defined as repair / straightening by Turner, the liminality continues, but the space of possibles starts to change for the footing. With the start of vaccination and drug studies, the repair / rectification process is entered.

The Corona virus outbreak is currently identified at the repair / rectification stage. With the vaccine being found, the state of staying on the threshold will disappear and the uncertainties in the social relations network will decrease and the suspended social roles will begin to enter the process of re-integration.

**CONCLUSION**

The period we are in sociologically brings with it many uncertainties. The main reason for this can be explained by the concepts that define modernity. As a matter of fact, Taylor (2017) addresses the concepts that define modernity in three groups: First of all, the greatest achievement of the modern world, 'individualism' means that people have the right to be free and to make their own choices and to determine their lifestyle by breaking from the pre-owned religious thoughts and hierarchical order. Another concept of modernity is the gaining importance of the “instrumental reasoning” (Adorno), which is the indicator of maximum efficiency. Instrumental reasoning primarily points to the importance given to technology and shows the most economical use of tools. Finally, the emphasis is on liberation. Liberation, which is among the achievements of modernity, is actually limited by the structures of technological and industrial society, and structures lead individuals to live in the plane of intellectual reason. As a result of excessive individualization, alienation in the public sphere increases and individuals’ control over politics decreases.

Individualization (loneliness) brought together by the basic concepts of modernity, disconnection from traditional, increase of temporality and alienation, loss of continuity of values, resemblance of societies, and increase of risks and concerns. The concept of risk cannot be considered independent of the concept of trust and uncertainty. Because risk brings uncertainties, uncertainties can turn into crisis and cause searches for an environment of trust. According to Furedi (2001), the uncertainties caused by the risks feed the fears and cause the culture of fear and the establishment of this culture in the society. The pandemic, which has been identified as one of the most important global risks in the past, increases its effectiveness in a short time together with the culture of fear.
The Corona virus epidemic, which is the main focus of our study, occurred in Wuhan province of China in December 2019 and started to spread in a significant part of China and in other countries in a short time like two months. The corona virus epidemic, which has a very high spreading rate, caused a crisis in many areas, especially in health, on the world scale, through the media of fear and the media, which is one of the most effective tools for this culture.

As a result of the crisis caused by the Corona virus and the turmoil created in the society, uncertainties increase in the social relations and meanings network or in cases that occur by chance, and the transition to the crisis is accelerating. First, the uncertainties in the social relations network defined by White (2008) as amabage are related to social roles and how these roles are performed. Existing and new identities are emerging to provide footing and control during the crisis. Because of the Corona virus outbreak, administrators, non-governmental organizations, scientists, social media are the emerging identities. Public administrators, who had the most effective role during the crisis, take some measures and implement prohibitions to prevent the epidemic from increasing. At the top of the measures and prohibitions are individuals over 65 years old and chronic patients who are defined as the risk group in epidemic, curfew, avoiding crowded environments, flexible working hours, public places such as places of worship and restaurants, and a break from education. However, the suspension of social relations, the enforcement of social isolation and social roles as desired by the administrators cause individuals to fail / avoid the role expectations in the society and to experience problems.

Anbage also affects the ambiguity that White (2008) defines as the uncertainty in the network of meanings. Because social relations cannot be thought independently of meanings. Ambiguity are uncertainties about meanings and rules that arise in the cultural framework. Identities emerging in the Corona virus outbreak act to provide control and create footing, present the rules and express the meaning of the environment while taking action. In the event of a crisis caused by the epidemic, there are uncertainties in the meaning of the rules laid down in society by the administrative identity.

Ambiguity emerges in the religious field, one of the most important areas of culture. While the curfew was imposed on individuals over the age of 65 to prevent the epidemic and places such as parks, restaurants, and beauty centers were closed, the Presidency of Religious Affairs did not impose any restrictions on Umrah visits, and no quarantine method was applied to groups returning from Umrah at first. It is not acceptable here that Saudi Arabia has not officially reported the Corona virus incident. Because, as it is known, most Muslims in the world live in China. While it is known that the Chinese also visited pilgrimage intensely, those who organized and planned these visits should not take risks. In addition, despite the closure of the mosques, the prayer of Friday was held in a certain mosque by the President of Religious Affairs.

Identities are in search of new ways to establish a footing, that is, to provide control. The most important concept in shaping new quests, “vaccination and drug studies”, is defined by White (2013) as a turning point. With the completion of vaccination studies, Corona virus will break and lose its effectiveness. In this case, identities will try to be harmonious in their social relationships to ensure integration.
When the process is considered as a whole; the Corona virus outbreak crisis, which started anywhere in the world and became a global epidemic, does not end due to uncertainties in the society. They try to control the identities for footing of the identities that emerged by chance and the uncertainty in the network of social relations and meanings revealed by the crisis process. It can be said that as a result of footing by eliminating the uncertainties, that is, controlling the epidemic, the process of eliminating the crisis will be shortened, and the movements of identities will emerge in ensuring social integration.

In order to put the results of this article in a broader framework, it is necessary to touch upon the recommendations of some sources, for example, according to WHO, for “One Health”, all countries must come together in the whole world. According to some others, global communist measures are needed for humanity to survive. In her new book, S. Zizek (2020) also suggests "global communism against corona". In fact, no one can deny that we urgently need a global health system, although he does not think that communism will triumph.

On the other hand, writer Yuval Noah Harari (2020) is the representative of the opposition. According to him, democratic countries such as Japan, Taiwan and Korea have also been successful in fighting the virus. Thus, he accuses Zizek of going too far. The important point here is whether it is actually paradox to ask states to use more power over us to help our citizens. In fact, Zizek accepts that this is a paradox.

Because, like the last pandemic, states use more power in society with the help of science. For example, they impose a curfew, they set a 1.5 m distance rule for social isolation. By looking at these, we can say that the managers’ both public and private sector are also in panic.

According to Zizek, communism is not only a form of government, but a perspective to protect and glorify human life: This is a deep perspective for international cooperation, market intervention, and mobilization of thousands of people. He says that it doesn’t matter who does this, but the measures to be taken have a political meaning. In this study, it should be underlined in this context that Van Dijk (1993) is a suitable and appropriate choice in the implementation of the Political Discourse Analysis.

As Zizek has stated, states are taking measures and cooperating for the pandemic. However, the important thing is their coordination. This cannot be said to be easy. However, something must be done in order for our civilization to survive. Zizek is quite right when he emphasizes that we need activists like Julien Assange more than ever. As it is known, Julen Assange is a publisher and a radical activist. There are those who criticize him as often as those who defend him. Even the Pentagon in the US is afraid of him, although he is accused of endangering people's lives by publishing international confidential information. If we do not want the barbarism, which is shown as for humanity, to be used on the masses of new oppression, Zizek thinks that the new communism is the only option. His views seem to continue to attract the attention of large groups. Both Julien Assange and Slavoj Zizek, who expressed their thoughts fearlessly, at least not to remain silent, are a glimmer of hope in the construction of our common future and our exit from the horror tunnel.

Turkey's Scientific Committee also recommends that the government, the restriction is to leave the house as an example of “aggressive social isolation”. Since the curfew is not declared, it is not very
effective on people. As Zizek has stated, these prohibitions have been strictly enforced in China with the cooperation of the people. As a result, it can be said that society has been disciplined under the communist regime.

In contrast, cultural differences should not be forgotten. After the death of 108 people in 30 provinces in Turkey, the governor has the authority to take the necessary measures in each province. National and international travel is prohibited. It is ensured that the people comply with restrictions. It is observed that the public is not eager to sit at home and tries to pierce the bans at every opportunity. However, it has been mapped with some information technology possibilities that the issue of “ontological insecurity and fears of death” increases as the opportunity to work at home and digital media use increases in the middle classes with high educational level. As Velocity's company (2020) shows with a colored map, the residential areas that go up the street are the areas where the lower middle classes people have to go to work every day. Sociological analysis of the subject is important in terms of revealing the class dimensions of the problem. Unlike previous studies in the world literature, the moral panic is not great in Turkey. It can be said that this situation occurs with the effect of cultural factors as well as the number of people who fall ill and die much lower than Europe and America. Because God's discretion is above everything. People believe in Discretionary Deity.

One third of the population in Turkey is to say” I’m not worried about Covidien-19”. However, it should be remembered that anxiety, albeit to a certain level, is an important step towards overcoming anxiety. Combating pandemic requires a disciplinary approach. Three steps are important in the fight against uncertainties socially and psychologically: 1) Correct information 2) Action / work plan 3. Solidarity. To reduce uncertainties, it is necessary to access reliable and accurate information first. An action plan should be made about what to do next. Then, it is important to make solidarity in terms of making decisions together, increasing the examples of goodness, asking for sake, and ending resentments. We should make action plans to combat social isolation such as housework, repairs, skill-mastery. According to psychologists, it is necessary to name the way we feel, and then follow the trio of knowledge-action-solidarity. Also, young people should be careful. There should be no virus source or transporter for the community. Solidarity of the state, local government and civil society gains importance.

On the other hand, to mention some predictions about the future, the first is that everyone is sick and the living is immune. The second is that everyone is vaccinated, but it seems difficult to start immunization before 18 months. The third is that the virus mutates and disappears. It would actually be a chance for COVID-19 to pass unexpectedly like SARS. The important thing is for the state to take all kinds of measures. Closing the borders, linking urban transportation to the permit, testing as much as possible, supporting the public economically are important steps. However, it is necessary to take into account not only economic but also psychological and social costs of staying at home. For example, home for women has started to become dangerous. Because women are the most victims of closure. Domestic violence has increased. Women's associations criticize women for having to choose between health and safety. Associations require the government to establish a support board for violence against women and to open special services in hospitals for women who have experienced violence. Likewise, all kinds of precautions should be taken to prevent the health of all healthcare professionals, from physicians to technicians to cleaning workers. If this is a fight like a war, maximum effort must be made to prevent the frontline from collapsing.
Finally, all kinds of home care (including health, education, nutrition including leisure time activities), violence against women and the elderly, and sustainable projects for the disabled should be implemented as soon as possible. Being able to say "this will pass," is of course the most important for our mental health. Turkey has 322 deaths as of April 1. But we must remember that there might be Turkey's darker days.

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