



Theoretical Approaches to Turkey's Foreign Policy

Enes ERTEKİN

Yüksek Lisans Öğr., Sakarya Üniversitesi, Ortadoğu Enstitüsü, Ortadoğu Çalışmaları,
enes.ertekin2@ogr.sakarya.edu.tr, ORCID ID: 0009-0009-2949-5039

Abstract

Foreign policy analysis constitutes one of the important fields of study of international relations. In this context, although there are many studies that analyze Turkish foreign policy according to decision-making models, no study has been found in the literature that explains the Euphrates Shield Operation, which Turkey launched in northern Syria on August 24, 2016, with the rational actor model. This study will try to apply the rational actor model, which is one of the mainstream theories of foreign policy analysis, into practice. To confirm this situation, the gains and possible risks of the operation will be analyzed. When the results of the operation are evaluated, it will be understood that the expected gains are more than the expected losses and the decision makers decide within the framework of the rational actor model.

Keywords: Euphrates Shield Operation, rational actor model, foreign policy analysis

Türkiye'nin Dış Politikasına Teorik Yaklaşımlar

Özet

Dış politika analizi uluslararası ilişkilerin önemli çalışma alanlarından birini oluşturmaktadır. Bu bağlamda karar verme modellerine göre Türk dış politikasını analiz eden pek çok çalışma olsa da literatürde Türkiye'nin Suriye'nin kuzeyine 24 Ağustos 2016'da başlattığı Fırat Kalkanı Harekatını rasyonel aktör modeli ile açıklayan bir çalışmaya rastlanmamıştır. Elinizdeki çalışma, dış politika analizinin ana akım teorilerinden olan, rasyonel aktör modelini pratiğe uygulamaya çalışacaktır. Bu durumu doğrulamak için harekatın kazanımları ve olası riskleri analiz edilecektir. Operasyonun sonuçları değerlendirildiğinde, beklenen kazanımların beklenen kayıplardan fazla olduğu ve karar vericilerin rasyonel aktör modeli çerçevesinde karar verdiği anlaşılabacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Fırat Kalkanı Operasyonu, rasyonel aktör modeli, dış politika analizi

Introduction

Contrary to the bipolar international system of the Cold War, the transformation of global politics in the 2000s gave regional powers such as Turkey more room for maneuver. However, a more effective foreign policy goal realized with the AKP government in Turkey has increased Turkey's interest in regional developments. In the period until the Arab Spring in 2011, Turkey developed its foreign trade with the Middle East countries and deepened its relations with the countries in its immediate geography within the framework of the zero problem policy with its neighbors. As a reflection of this policy, relations with Syria are an important example. In the Syrian Civil War, which took place after the Arab Spring, Turkey tried to put global powers into play in the first place, but this policy did not yield any results. After 2015, Turkey's Middle East policy has transformed as a result of various developments, especially the Syrian civil war, which undermine regional stability.

Although Turkey's operations in Syria have been examined in various contexts, no study has been found in the literature that has been analyzed using decision-making theories. In the present study, we will analyze the Euphrates Shield Operation with the rational actor model in order to close this gap. Therefore, the aim of this study is to apply theory to practice. Apart from this, considering the results of the operation, the main motivation of the operation stands out as the Turkish decision makers' seeing that the power vacuum to be created in northern Syria will be filled by terrorist organizations. In this context, the first independent variable of the research is security concerns and Turkey's desire to be at the Syria table. Secondly, the execution of this operation immediately after 15 July is important in terms of protecting the reputation and image of the Turkish Armed Forces. In other words, when the independent variables of the research and the results of the operation are evaluated together, it will be seen that rationality comes to the fore as a result.

Foreign Policy Decision Making

What is Foreign Policy Analysis Decision Making?

“Foreign policy making range from the dramatic to mundane. Leaders make decisions to go to war, make peace, form an alliance, establish diplomatic relations, implement a position on nuclear nonproliferation, impose economic sanctions or ratify global environmental agreements.” Foreign policy decision making studies focus on how decision makers decide to decision, how proceed to process of decision and which factors are influence to decision process. “Such studies examine how the decision makers take into account, how they choose the options, how they identify the tools in the light of their thoughts, how they perceive the event, how they evaluate the attitudes of other countries and how they predict the possible outcomes of the options, what kind of relationship exists between the decision makers and the decision makers. examines the factors affecting the donor.”¹

Factors which affect to decision makers it can be as considered key determinant. They are; decision environment, psychological factors, international factors and domestic factors. Taking all this into account, it can be said that; “foreign policy decision resemble a chess game. Moves-counter moves and subsequent moves and counter moves reaction to prior moves”.

“Foreign Policy Decision Making (FPDM) refers to the choices individuals groups and coalition make that affect a nation's action on international stage. It contain four components;

- identifying the decision problem
- searching for alternatives
- choosing an alternative
- executing the alternative”²

FPDM studies have been two general perspective. First one is rational model and second one is cognitive schools. “The rational model refer to as the ideal type like maximizing gain and minimize losses. Cognitive model, posit that the rational actor assumption is not realized in practice. More realistic interpretations of how human mind really works. Take into account;

- Time pressure

¹ Efgil Ertan “Dış Politika Analizi (Ders Notları)”, İstanbul, 2015

² Mintz Alex & Derouen Karl Jr. , “Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making”, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011 s.3-10

- Information gathering
- Ambiguity”³

The decision environment is also very important:

- “Time Constraints, nonholistic search, the use of simplified heuristic and SOPs and satisfying decision making
- Information constraints,
- Ambiguity, a situation can have multiple possible outcomes
- Familiarity, decision makers encounter a situation that is similar to one that they have seen or experienced before. Heuristic or SOPs and rely on prior acts.
- Dynamic Settings, decision maker changes in the process of the decision. Decision maker aware of all alternatives
- Interactive Settings
- Risk
- Stress
- Accountability”⁴

As can be seen from the above explanations foreign policy is an area which is dependent on complicated problems, goals and actors. Decision makers have to make decisions in a field full of unknowns. Although there have been different theories which explain foreign policy decision making, we will discuss it with the rational model.

Rational Actor Model

The rational model is the evaluation of goals and purposes, taking into account space and time. Decision makers could be seen as utilitarian in this theory. Decision makers identify the problems clearly and to determine the option which is the most useful. This situation is explained in Mintz and Derouen's study:

“The most widely cited foreign policy analysis approach is the rational actor model. This approach assumes that the main actor in foreign policy is a rational individual who can be relied on to make informed, calculated decisions that maximize value and perceived benefits to the state. The rational actor model relies on individual state-level interactions between nations and

³ Mintz & Derouen, “Foreign Policy” p.3-10

⁴ Mintz & Derouen, “Foreign Policy” p.15-37

government behavior as units of analysis; it assumes the availability of complete information to policymakers for optimized decision making, and that actions taken throughout time are both consistent and coherent. There are four main steps in the rational actor's decision-making process: identify the problem, define desired outcomes, evaluate the consequences of potential policy choices and finally, make the most rational decision to maximize beneficial outcomes."⁵

Rational actor model to rely on realistic paradigm:

"This realistic basis of the rational actor model gives decision makers It contains assumptions about the environment and other actors that help them focus. Accordingly, all states must make cost-benefit calculations about alternative courses of action. unitary actors. All states that make calculations in this way to develop and secure its interests through the acquisition and use of The state or official institutions acting on behalf of the state, with one voice It is a whole that speaks, has the same point of view, and pursues the same goals. decision makers, sets goals, assesses their relative importance, assesses the costs of each possible course of action and calculates the benefits and then the one with the most benefits and the least cost they choose"⁶

To summarize:

"Rational actor model is a linchpin of foreign policy decision making. A rational approach extensively used in foreign policy analysis today, expected utility theory. Rationality defines as a consistent, value-maximizing choice within specified constraints."⁷

The model to consist of 3 part;

"1-Actors are assumed to employ *purposive action* motivated by goal-oriented, not habit or social expectations

2-Actors display *consistent preferences* as manifested in the ability to rank the preferences in transitive order. (transitivity=outcome 1 is preferred over outcome 2, and 2 is preferred to 3, then 1 is preferred to 3) *you know your destination if you hope to get there

3-Utility maximization actors will select the alternative that provides the greatest amount of net benefits.

⁵ Mintz & Derouen, "Foreign Policy p.57-67

⁶ Güleç, C. "Dış Politika Analizinde Karar Verme Süreci ve Karar Verme Modelleri". Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi 3 (2018): 79-102

⁷ Mintz & Derouen, "Foreign Policy p.57-67

Set of steps in rational model

- Identify problem
- Identify and rank goals
- Gather information
- Identify alternatives for reaching goals
- Analyze alternatives by considering consequences and effectiveness (cost and benefits) of each alternative and probabilities associated with success
- Select alternative that maximizes chances of selecting best alternative as determined in step five
- Implement decision
- Monitor and evaluate”⁸

Despite rational model has easy to implement there have negative sides.

“The rational actor theoretical approach can be useful to understanding the goals and intentions behind a foreign policy action. However, critics of this model believe it does not account for instances when complete information may not be available, as well as the relatively subjective concept of rationality or factors that might inhibit rational decision making.”⁹

“As can be seen, not only the goals of individuals differ from each other; At the same time, decision makers get the right information, build the right model models, and set their own goals. faces a number of hurdles in reaching decisions that take it further. The rational model is only a simplification created under optimal conditions. being criticized for being seen; Therefore, the individual psychological processes that affect decision making. influence is also included in the process.”¹⁰

Syria Politics of Turkey

The capacity increase in Turkish foreign policy during the AKP period and the expansion of Turkish foreign policy have been to reduce its dependence on Western states. As Inat explains:

⁸ Mintz & Derouen, “Foreign Policy p.57-67

⁹ Norwich University Online, “ 5 Keys To Approches Foreign Policy Analysis”,
<https://online.norwich.edu/academic-programs/resources/5-key-approaches-to-foreign-policy-analysis#:~:text=Rational%20Actor%20Model,-The%20most%20widely&text=There%20are%20four%20main%20steps,decision%20to%20maximize%20beneficial%20outcomes>, 11.10.2017

¹⁰ Güleç, C. "Dış Politika Analizinde Karar Verme Süreci ve Karar Verme Modelleri

“In order not to remain in the position of a country that is content with what its Western allies see fit and often has to tolerate them, it needed to develop its own capacity and take the right attitudes towards the developments in its region.”¹¹

In line with this framework, there are three factors that allow the normalization and deepening of relations with Syria during the AK Party period. First of all, the will of the AKP occupies a large place at this point. “In this context, prioritizing the economy in foreign policy and cooperation on security has been an important step in the normalization of relations with Syria.”¹² At the second point, it can be said that global and regional developments have contributed to the deepening of Turkey-Syria relations. “Contrary to the Cold War years, the direct establishment of bilateral relations and the occupation of Iraq on the other hand increased the concerns of both countries about the stability of the region.”¹³ Finally, it can be said that the change in power in Syria at that time constituted an important point in the normalization of relations. Therefore, unlike previous years, “cooperation policies have come to the fore instead of a security-oriented approach in bilateral relations.”¹⁴

Turkey intensified its diplomatic traffic against the Syrian government in order to carry out reforms in the first place. On the other hand, with the start of the civil war, it has determined an open door policy for the influx of refugees coming to the border. Support for opposition groups can be seen as an example of active foreign policy during the AKP period, as opposed to Turkey's traditional policy of non-intervention. After the meeting on August 9, 2011, Turkey's new policy has been to take the initiative and support the opposition.¹⁵ At first, he tried to activate global actors, but could not get the support he expected in the international arena. After the plane crisis, the Syrian issue has become a security threat for Türkiye. In this context, it changed the rules of engagement against Syria.¹⁶ The inextricable situation in the Syrian civil war caused terrorist organizations to gain power in the region, and the authority vacuum formed especially in the north of Syria caused terrorist organizations to threaten Turkey from here. At this point, PYD/YPG and DAESH have been the biggest security threats Turkey has faced in Syria. Operation Euphrates Shield was Turkey's first operation against Syria, and as of the date

¹¹ İnat Kemal, “Türk Dış Politikasının Kapasitesinin Dönüşümü: AK Parti Dönemi”, Türkiye Ortadoğu Çalışmaları Dergisi, Vol:1, No:1, pp:1-24, Mayıs 2014

¹² Erdağ Ramazan “AK Partinin 15 Yılı, Dış Politika, İnat Kemal, Aslan Ali, ve Duran Burhanettin, Editör, SETA Yayınları, İstanbul, ss.-317-336, 2014

¹³ Hasan Duran, Adana Protokolü Sonrası Türkiye-Suriye İlişkileri, Ortadoğu Yıllığı, 2011.3 Maden Tuğba Evrim, Kriz Dönemlerinde Su Politikaları: Türkiye-Suriye, ORSAM, 2012 c. 4 s. 44.

¹⁴ Erdağ Ramazan “AK Partinin 15 Yılı” s.321

¹⁵ Erdağ Ramazan “AK Partinin 15 Yılı” s.317-336

¹⁶ Erdağ Ramazan “AK Partinin 15 Yılı” s.317-336

it was carried out, besides giving morale to the TAF, a message was also given to world politics. In the OES, which is the first of the operations against Syria, Turkey acted as an operation against the terror corridor formed in the north of Syria. As Yeşiltaş stated: “There is an obstacle to the creation of a corridor by preventing the YPG/PYD, the PKK's arm in Syria, from taking control of the east-west line in northern Syria. More importantly, Turkey wanted to gain a new position in the Syrian crisis with the OES.”¹⁷

Conjuncture Before The Operation

“A series of security risks that evolved in the process leading up to the OCC have revealed Turkey's military intervention in Syria as a necessity: First of all, DAESH's targeting of Turkey's metropolitan cities, especially by organizing suicide bombings, came at the top of the national security risks. The second is that DAESH controls a 100-kilometer border line in the Azez-Jarablus region in northern Syria. Because, thanks to the dominance it has established on this border line, it has become more possible for DAESH to target other border provinces and military points in Turkey's border line, especially Kilis. For this reason, Turkey has been in an effort to secure its own southern border by eliminating DAESH elements on the 100-kilometer border line between Azez and Jarabulus for a long time. Therefore, in line with this effort, Turkey ensured the security of the line between Azez and Rai (Çobanbey) by eliminating DAESH elements.”¹⁸

“Another problematic that paved the way for the OES is the PKK's change in strategy with the Syrian civil war, intensifying its terrorist activities, and its attempt to establish an autonomous geographical region in northern Syria through the YPG/PKK. In this direction, it should be kept in mind that the PKK, which won the support of the international coalition against DAESH, started a war of attrition against Turkey within its borders, thus trying to draw Ankara's focal point inside, thus expanding the geographical area it controls in the north of Syria and clinching its military power.”¹⁹

“As it will be remembered, the coup attempt by FETO elements was repelled on July 15, 2016, but this attempt revealed the fact that Turkey's national and international security architecture has become more fragile, in addition to DAESH and PKK. As a matter of fact, while FETO and PKK terrorism caused Turkey to divert its energies more inward, on the other hand, the

¹⁷ Yeşiltaş Murat, “Askeri, Stratejik ve Siyasi Kazanımlarıyla Fırat Kalkanı Harekatı”, SETA, <https://www.setav.org/askeri-stratejik-ve-siyasi-kazanimlariyla-firat-kalkani-harekatı/>, 24.08.2017

¹⁸ Yeşiltaş, Seren, Özçelik “Fırat Kalkanı Harekatı”

¹⁹ Yeşiltaş, Seren, Özçelik “Fırat Kalkanı Harekatı”

increasing DAESH-PKK conflict during the Syrian civil war led to the maximum increase in risks and threats to Turkey's national security. Elimination of the risks arising from the merging of these three vital security problems was made possible by the help of the OCC, primarily by eliminating FETO's elements in the security bureaucracy, which is in the strategic level decision-making mechanism, and then by taking advantage of the opportunities and opportunities of the international conjuncture offered by the anti-DEASH coalition. The gradual strategy pursued by Turkey in its simultaneous struggle with the three major security problems in question was briefly planned as follows: (i) Eliminating the PKK's armed force internally by military means and methods (ii) Eliminating DAESH's capacity to threaten Turkey (iii). Regaining the state's strategic flexibility by clearing it of FETO elements. In this context, OFC has targeted all actors and factors that may cause existing and various security vulnerabilities within and outside Turkey's borders by being performed in such a chaotic and complex environment of (insecurity) trust.”²⁰

“Turkey's initiation of Operation Euphrates Shield at a time when diplomatic contacts with the Russian, US and Iranian governments on the solution of the crisis in Syria are becoming more frequent, should be read as a strategic move carried out by Ankara for the transformation of military initiatives into political gains. While Turkey maintains its diplomatic contacts in order to fulfill the requirements of the argument that Syria's territorial integrity should be preserved, which it frequently voiced, on the other hand, it makes calculations to be effective in Syria after Assad by supporting the actors close to it struggling within Syria. Operation Euphrates Shield is an indication that Turkey has now adopted a paradigm in which it is directly engaged, like other external actors involved in Syria. When evaluated in this context, it can be said that Turkey's military operation, which started against Jarablus and is predicted to spread to a wider geography, will provide Ankara with a greater say in a political roadmap to be drawn in Syria in the coming period.”²¹

²⁰ Yeşitaş, Seren, Özçelik “Fırat Kalkanı Harekatı”

²¹ İsmail Numan Telci, “Türkiye'nin Suriye Politikasında Paradigma Değişimi: Fırat Kalkanı”, ORMER, https://ormer.sakarya.edu.tr/20,3,,164,turkiye_nin_suriye_politikasinda_paradigma_degisimi_firat_kalkani_is_mail_numan_telci.html, 27.08.2016

War Decision

Decision Options

If does not perform to the operation

If perform to the operation

PKK/PYD threat to occur in Northern Syria	Big blow to terror corridor ²²
Not being in Syria table like Iraq	Don't be at the Syria table
Questioning to Turkish Army Forces	Protecting the reputation of the TSK
International repression	Ease of international pressure due to the coup conjuncture
Refugee flow	Preventing the flow of refugees
Danger of ISIS	ISIS has been removed ²³
	Turkey has adapted to proxy war

Syria civil war has witnessed different stage. Depends on these stages Turkey's policy has changed. Because every stage had been different process and dimensions. When ISIS began to spread its influence, Turkey came under to its threat both from borderline and within border. Also when war began, Turkey encountered to refugee flow and this situation peaked with after ISIS came. Turkey sought to solve with international organizations and its allies who was Western. But Turkey realized that their interests diverged with them. That's point which was milestone for Turkey's policy at Syria. Because The U.S. wanted to use its proxy PKK/PYD who is terrorist organization after the fall of ISIS. After this stage, Turkey tried to implement strategic plans in line with comprehensive rationality. First of all, Turkey started to train the dissidents on its own. Secondly Turkey enacted the safe zone plan for the return of refugees and tried to balance the Westerners by using Russia. It can be said that Turkey has sustained rationality because of multidimensional policy which based on own interests.

As explained it, Turkey felt threats from both ISIS and PKK/PYD in northern Syria. As ISIS declined PKK/PYD filled its place. When the look from Turkey side, it could seen the PKK's terrorists would have power both Syria and Iraq. At the same time FETÖ who is terror

²² T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı, <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/51196/firat-kalkani-operasyonunun-amaci-teror-orgutlerinin-ulkemiz-icin-bir-tehdit-olmaktan-cikarilmasidir.html>, 02.09.2016

²³ Murat Yeşiltaş, Merve Seren, Necdet Özçelik, "Fırat Kalkanı Harekatı: Harekatın İcrası, İstikrarın Tesisi ve Alınan Dersler", SETA, 2017, <https://www.setav.org/firat-kalkani-harekat-harekat-in-ic-rasi-istikrar-in-tesisi-ve-alinan-dersler/>

organization in Turkey tried to coup at 15 July 2016. In this situation it can be said that Turkey felt serious security threat at the period.

Turkey in accordance with comprehensive rationality, calculated that the PKK would replace ISIS and started the operation against ISIS. Also calculated international law and political balances thus the operation settled in a legitimate bases. Turkish decision makers knew that Iraq example that's why it can be said that they used to analogy. Because when The U.S. occupied the Iraq, it was constituted a power vacuum and this power vacuum costed serious security threats for Turkey. First PKK terrorist organization has gained power from power vacuum second Turkey has never been in Iraq table which determined Iraq's future.

Another important aspect of the operation is that has done just after 15 July. In this context Turkish Army maintained its reputation and declared to still has power that would make operation. In terms of rationality, Turkish decision makers held strong their army and in 15 July conjuncture the international community did not oppose the action.

Operation Euphrates Shield was the first step of Turkey's others operations at the Northern Syria. It can be said that the operation did within long-term strategy. That's the another comprehensive rationality in the operation. If Turkey did not operate, the consequences would have been a serious security threat and a questioning of its regional power position. Therefore the decision of operation contains, five factor of rationality which are, fully defining the problem, setting goals, identifying all options, calculating the profit/loss of each option, and implementing the option that will provide the most benefit.²⁴

“Having cleared the Azez-Jarabulus line with the Euphrates Shield operation, Turkey made an offer to the United States for the Raqqa operation, another critical region under DEASH's control. The US aims to create a US influence zone under the control of PYD/YPG in post-DEAS northern Syria. However, Turkey's entry into the equation at this point and its success in the field complicated the situation. Turkey's experience of the accursed FETO attempt that took place on July 15, 2016 and starting the Euphrates Shield Operation, which requires coordination shortly after the TAF was adversely affected by this process, successfully clearing the terrorist organizations DEASH and PYD/YPG in the region simultaneously, especially in regional and has been far beyond the expectations of global powers.”²⁵ Also Turkey adopted proxy war in

²⁴ Ertan Efeçil - Mehmet Seyfettin Erol, “Dış Politika Analizinde Teorik Yaklaşımlar: Türk Dış Politikası Örneği, Barış Kitap, 2012, Ankara, s.-1-21

²⁵ Polat, D. Ş. “Türkiye'nin Suriye'nin Kuzeyindeki Askerî Harekâtının Amaçları ve Sonuçları”. Güvenlik Stratejileri Dergisi 16 (2020): 53-96

this case that's why we can say that it was a gain because of future goals of Turkey in the Middle East.

"The mission of the operation includes the principles of the stabilization operation as well as a national military operation that includes the coordination with international and local alliances, including the national and international military dimension and the humanitarian aid perspective. Stabilization efforts are handled multidimensionally and it is seen that they are also put into practice by the TAF in the context of the OES. The Turkish Armed Forces has initiated a multi-faceted 'construction' process by working in coordination with many state and non-state actors. In this sense, both the unique characteristics of the region and the strategic priorities of other actors in the post-operation period have shaped the process and management of stabilization in different ways. For Turkey, post-operation stabilization efforts ultimately consisted of joint stability functions. These basically consist of elements such as "Security", "Humanitarian Aid Support", "Economic Stability and Infrastructure", "Judicial Situation and the Establishment of Justice", "Food Supply", "Shelter Services", "Health Aid", "Education Services"²⁶ Thus Turkey put the operation on a legitimate basis. That's the important part of rationality in this operation.

"There have been different reactions from some states to the Euphrates Shield movement. In particular, the Syrian Foreign Ministry said that the operation was incompatible with international law, threatened the country's integrity and should be considered an occupation. Russia and Iran, two of the most important participants in the events in Syria, did not oppose the operation, but said it should be carried out in accordance with international law. Israel, meanwhile, has backed the operation because ISIS could threaten its borders. France was also one of the countries that supported the movement. Stressing that a coalition has been formed to fight ISIS, France has openly stated its support for Turkey's Euphrates Shield operation. The U.S. initially backed Turkey in its fight against ISIS, but later said it was concerned about clashes in areas cleared of terrorists. In general, Turkey's fight against ISIS as part of the Euphrates Shield operation has been described as "self-defense" outside of Syria."²⁷

²⁶ Murat Yeşiltaş, "Askeri, Stratejik ve Siyasi Kazanımlarıyla Fırat Kalkanı Harekatı", <https://www.setav.org/askeri-stratejik-ve-siyasi-kazanimlariyla-firat-kalkani-harekat/>, SETA, 24.08.2017

²⁷ Habibullokhon Yakubovich Azimov, . (2021). Emergence Of New Threats To Turkey's National Security During The Syrian Crisis: "Euphrates Shield" Movement. The American Journal of Political Science Law and Criminology, 3(01), 42–48. <https://doi.org/10.37547/tajpslc/Volume03Issue01-07>

Conclusion

As Efeğil said, “Historical and strategic studies do not reveal analysis of the competence of the decision or the rational decision making in the context of time, space and purpose. Therefore, such studies make some inferences without considering the conditions in which the decision was taken”²⁸. Considered in this context, as of the date of the operation, Turkish decision makers had been two options. If the operation did not take place, Türkiye would be exposed to a serious security threat. Therefore we can be said that Turkish decision makers predicted to rational decide because of both international and internal conjuncture and as the theory predicts, we see that decision makers had enough information about options. Together with, decision makers moved holistic and they used analogy when it necessary process as it is said in theory. If it is considered in terms of profit and loss option, it can be said that they applied the most profitable option. It can be said that they have calculated the options in front of them completely. As a result, Turkish decision makers evaluated two options and they chose the option that would bring maximum benefit. Therefore, in this case they acted suitable to comprehensive rationality.

²⁸ Efeğil - Erol, “Dış Politika Analizinde Teorik Yaklaşımlar: Türk Dış Politikası Örneği”

References

- Yeşiltaş Murat, “Askeri, Stratejik ve Siyasi Kazanımlarıyla Fırat Kalkanı Harekatı”, SETA, <https://www.setav.org/askeri-stratejik-ve-siyasi-kazanimlariyla-firat-kalkani-harekati/>, 24.08.2017
- İnat Kemal, “Türk Dış Politikasının Kapasitesinin Dönüşümü: AK Parti Dönemi”, Türkiye Ortadoğu Çalışmaları Dergisi, Vol:1, No:1, pp:1-24, Mayıs 2014
- Erdağ Ramazan “AK Partinin 15 Yılı, Dış Politika, İnat Kemal, Aslan Ali, ve Duran Burhanettin, Editör, SETA Yayınları, İstanbul, ss.-317-336, 2014
- Hasan Duran, Adana Protokolü Sonrası Türkiye-Suriye İlişkileri, Ortadoğu Yıllığı, 2011.3
- Maden Tuğba Evrim, Kriz Dönemlerinde Su Politikaları: Türkiye-Suriye, ORSAM, 2012 c. 4 s. 44.
- Norwich University Online, “ 5 Keys To Approches Foreign Policy Analysis”, <https://online.norwich.edu/academic-programs/resources/5-key-approaches-to-foreign-policy-analysis#:~:text=Rational%20Actor%20Model,-The%20most%20widely&text=There%20are%20four%20main%20steps,decision%20to%20maximize%20beneficial%20outcomes>, 11.10.2017
- Güleç, C. "Dış Politika Analizinde Karar Verme Süreci ve Karar Verme Modelleri". Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi 3 (2018): 79-102
- Efegil Ertan “Dış Politika Analizi (Ders Notları)”, İstanbul, 2015
- Mintz Alex & Derouen Karl Jr. , “Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making”, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011
- Murat Yeşiltaş, Merve Seren, Necdet Özçelik, “Fırat Kalkanı Harekatı: Harekatın İcrası, İstikrarın Tesisi ve Alınan Dersler”, SETA, 2017, <https://www.setav.org/firat-kalkani-harekati-harekatin-icrasi-istikrarin-tesisi-ve-alinan-dersler/>
- Polat, D. Ş. "Türkiye'nin Suriye'nin Kuzeyindeki Askerî Harekâtının Amaçları ve Sonuçları". Güvenlik Stratejileri Dergisi 16 (2020): 53-96
- Habibullokhon Yakubovich Azimov , . (2021). Emergence Of New Threats To Turkey's National Security During The Syrian Crisis: “Euphrates Shield” Movement. The American Journal of Political Science Law and Criminology, 3(01), 42–48. <https://doi.org/10.37547/tajpslc/Volume03Issue01-07>

Murat Yeşiltaş, “Askeri, Stratejik ve Siyasi Kazanımlarıyla Fırat Kalkanı Harekatı”, <https://www.setav.org/askeri-stratejik-ve-siyasi-kazanimplariyla-firat-kalkani-harekatı/>, SETA, 24.08.2017

İsmail Numan Telci, “Türkiye’nin Suriye Politikasında Paradigma Değişimi: Fırat Kalkanı”, ORMER,

https://ormer.sakarya.edu.tr/20,3,,164,turkiye_nin_suriye_politikasinda_paradigma_degismi_firat_kalkani_ismail_numan_telci.html, 27.08.2016

Ertan Efeğil - Mehmet Seyfettin Erol, “Dış Politika Analizinde Teorik Yaklaşımlar: Türk Dış Politikası Örneği, Barış Kitap, 2012, Ankara

T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı, <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/51196/firat-kalkani-operasyonunun-amaci-teror-orgutlerinin-ulkemiz-icin-bir-tehdit-olmaktan-cikarilmasidir.html>, 02.09.2016