

FORMULATING A MODEL TEMPLATE TO ANALYZE FOREIGN POLICY CRISES*

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Abstract

The literature, formed by the current theoretical and empirical discussions on the definition and analysis as well as the decision making process of foreign policy crises, seems to focus on establishing a common crises management model mostly disregarding difference in level posed by international and foreign policy crises. Scholars such as Charles Herman, Michael Brecher and Alexander L. George have worked through crises analyses and management strategies to come up with an explanatory connection between theory and practice. This paper is an outcome of a research project aiming to collect and classify Turkish foreign policy crises. Within a conceptual and theoretical approach, it targets to determine Turkey's crises management culture through a model template that can easily be applied to analyze various foreign policy crises. It attempts to determine what the dependent and independent variables are and how they influence the crises management.

Overview

This paper is based on the research project aiming to collect and classify and further to analyze Turkish Foreign Policy Crises (TFPC) during the republic period. The three-year research project is supported by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK). The scope of the project is set to accommodate collating the existing knowledge on the Turkish foreign policy crises, classifying them in accordance with the theoretical framework chosen and analyzing them within the aspect of foreign policy analysis. One other goal throughout the project is to lead discussions with scholars and subject matter specialists through national/international panels and conferences to share, discuss and disseminate the gathered knowledge. The project team has setup an official project website¹ where the accumulated information, lists of TFPC, findings on each specific crisis, crises analysis tables as well as a list of references are presented to users. The website has also a forum section to enable online exchange of information and lead discussions on the selected topics.

The project group has been studying to collect and classify Turkish foreign policy crises as well as researching individual crisis experienced during the republic period. The project, within its conceptual and theoretical methodology, also aims to determine Turkey's foreign policy crises management culture. This paper intends to discuss research methodology together with the findings of the project as to how original and inventive approach it suggests for foreign policy crisis studies.

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¹ “Analysis of Decision Making and Crisis Management Processes During Turkish Foreign Policy Crises” TUBİTAK 1001 project website www.tfpcrisis.org and www.tdpkizleri.org currently runs only in Turkish.

Neo-Classical Realism forms the theoretical background of the project. However in order to understand the core elements of analysis and management process of a unique crisis, deconstruction and reconstruction methodologies are also utilized. The project group, as well as political-military crises, chooses to include unique humanitarian ones within the study of foreign policy crisis. Depending on the structures and actors involved in the crises, by using available authentic data, the research attempts to determine what the dependent and independent variables are, how and to what extent they influence the overall crises management processes.

Producing the study model for the project has involved gathering, incorporating and extracting the necessary information from the existing sources. Works of scholars such as Charles Herman², Michael Brecher³ and Alexander L. George⁴ have paved the way when defining foreign policy crisis and assigning management strategies, as well as analyzing and explaining variables of foreign policy crises. The project group attempted to define a set of variables for full scale analysis of individual crisis. After crises analyses have completed, in order to further investigate the Turkish crisis management culture, variables are chosen to include a variety of parameters ranging from government type which managed the crisis, to outcome of the individual crisis.

Within the whole project study, general properties of crises, the structure of decision making mechanism, phases of crisis analysis, offensive/defensive crisis management strategies, effects of international system on the crisis management practices, effects of crisis on the foreign policy behavior of the involved parties as well as reflections on the future relations of the parties are being investigated.

The research group started their study in 2013 with the scholars and PhD candidates from Yıldız Technical University together with supporting scholars from other universities in Istanbul.⁵ The group initially proposed neo-classical realism as their theoretical study base and commenced studies to form common definitions of concepts used within the research. Main objective of the project was set as the Analysis of Decision Making and Crisis Management Processes During Turkish Foreign Policy Crises. Hence the approach for analysis required a definition of foreign policy crisis as the first step. Initial studies showed that there is no generally accepted meaning of the concept of crisis.

In the following section, the project study will be explained in more detail. The sections below will discuss how the definition of foreign policy crisis was optimized, what the rationale for choosing neoclassical realism was, the research methodology used as well as the foreign policy crises included within the research.

² Charles F. Hermann, **Crisis in Foreign Policy a Simulation Analysis**, Princeton University, 1969.

³ Michael Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, **A study of Crisis**, University of Michigan, 1997.

⁴ Alexander L. George (Ed.), **Avoiding War Problems of Crisis Management**, Westview Press, 1991.

⁵ The research project is managed by Fuat Aksu from Yıldız Technical University. Other scholars supporting the research project are Helin Sarı Ertan and Laçın İdil Öztürk from Yıldız Technical University, Gencer Özcan from Istanbul Bilgi University, Serhat Güvenç from Kadir Has University and Muhammet Ali Ağcan from Istanbul University .

Definitions and Framework

The research initiated by focusing on the definition of a foreign policy crisis. The research group investigated different approaches and definitions of foreign policy crisis. Surely various formulations of crisis definition can be associated with different approaches to international relations. Thus contending approaches of foreign policy analysis together with their assumptions were reviewed.⁶ This study approach placed decision making and crisis management process in the center within a neoclassical realist perspective. Hence definition and characteristics of a foreign policy crisis were adopted accordingly.

Foreign policy crisis and crisis management

Hermann defines a crisis with three basic characteristics; high threat, short time and surprise. He points out that a crisis is a situation that (1) threatens high priority goals of the decision making unit; (2) restricts the amount of time available for response before the situation is transformed and (3) surprises the members of the decision making unit when it occurs⁷.

However, the definition proposed by Brecher, though builds upon Hermann's definition, differs from that on five points.⁸ His study suggests (1) omission of "surprise" as a necessary condition; (2) the replacement of "short" time by "finite" time for response; (3) the recognition that a crisis may originate in the internal, as well as the external environment of the crisis actor; (4) the concept of "basic values", rather than "high priority goals" as the object of the perceived threats; (5) the addition of "higher-than-normal" probability of involvement in military hostilities.

The questions posited and the problems examined will define how the concept of crisis is formed. As the analysis focus of this study involves mainly decision making process, systemic and combined definitions of crisis⁹ are referred only when necessary. This research is mainly concerned with decision making hence the definition of crisis formulated for the research purposes involves situations which produces effects on foreign policy decision making process. In this way, the characteristics of a crisis are taken to analyze what the individual policy makers perceive and the attention is directed toward a situation which affects the decision process. Therefore our definition of crisis, rather than introducing a new aspect to the subject, is an attempt to integrate the existing definitions by softening and making humble additions to the existing variations to meet needs of foreign policy decision making process.

The research group defines a foreign policy crisis as a situation which:

⁶ Among these are the approaches which focus on group decision making, bureaucratic and organizational processes, rational choice, poliheuristic theory, game theoretic models...

⁷ Hermann, **Crisis in Foreign...**, p.29

⁸ Brecher, **A study of...**, p.3

⁹ For some other definitions see: Oran R. Young, **The Intermediaries: Third Parties in International Crisis**, Princeton University, 1967, p.10; Phil Williams, **Crisis Management: Confrontation and Diplomacy in the Nuclear Age**, Martin Robinson, 1976 p.25; Gilbert R Winham, **New Issues in International Crisis Management**, Westview, 1988 p. 4-5.

- may break out on any subject to occupy the foreign policy agenda of the decision maker,
- may develop instantly on very short notice or it can develop in a period of time,
- forces the decision maker to alter his priorities and basic values,
- causes the decision maker to perceive risk, danger or threat,
- obliges the decision maker to choose from the existing limited courses of action and make a decision, which in return, may cause a probability of military conflict with the adversary, but not necessarily on all occasions.

This definition is an attempt to enhance and soften the existing definitions in terms of time constraints, perceived threats (high/basic values) and more importantly probability of military hostilities. The study made so far has proved that this definition is appropriate for defining what a foreign policy crisis can contain in terms of content, threat and outcome. Findings have shown that there have been crises in which the perception was a threat against country's international prestige and sovereignty but the probability of military conflict or war was next to none.¹⁰ Though the threat to the basic values perceived to be very high, the probability of an armed conflict was not present. Another study showed that the "short" or "finite" time constraint was not always an urgent issue. A military-security crisis¹¹ was managed in long period of time though the demand which triggered the crisis was vital for the country. This enhanced definition of crisis also gives space for including both military-security crises and non-violent crises in the analysis.

Having defined the foreign policy crisis, the second step of the research progression dealt with crisis management literature. The project group reviewed and discussed various approaches to maintain the integrity and the consistency of the theoretical framework chosen. *"Crisis management is the practice of attempting to avoid an outcome in interstate relations that leads to violence or war, without abandoning at the same time one's position."*¹² This general definition was utilized as a base for the research study. Within the decision making approach, this definition requires the decision makers to pursue a crisis management strategy to preserve the interests of the nation which in most occasions present sharp conflict with the interest of other nations. The basic dilemma in crisis management is that there would be no crisis if parties were willing to abandon their objectives, but this can involve unacceptable costs to nation and/or their leaders.

A well managed crisis will stand out by de-escalation as a decline in perceived threat, time pressure and war likelihood, in the direction of non-crisis norm. As such, it denotes the end-crisis period and is characterized by decreasing stress for the decision makers.¹³ Success of the crisis management strategy may later be assessed in terms of gains and losses. George suggests a set of crisis management strategies in both defensive and offensive sense. Those

¹⁰ The project group has gathered 32 foreign policy crises which have kept the Turkish decision makers occupied throughout the republic period. The case of SS Lotus (1926) can set a good example for this statement. For legal case details see http://www.worldcourts.com/pcij/eng/decisions/1927.09.07_lotus.htm

¹¹ The Turkish Strait and Kars Ardahan case is another example in which short or finite time terms prove to be void.

¹² Gilbert R. Winham (ed), **New Issues in International Crisis Management**, Westview Press, 1988, pp.1-5.

¹³ Micheal Brecher, **International Political Earthquakes**, University of Michigan, 2008. p. 11.

strategies incorporate relative military powers and intentions of the opponents as well as the difficulties posed in following individual strategy.¹⁴ Works of Brecher on classification, phases and variables in crisis analysis, together with works of George on crisis management strategies, have been used as guidelines for the research project.

Neoclassical Realism as Theoretical Framework

Neoclassical realism combines neorealism's emphasis on the survival motivation of states, with classical realism's focus on the dependence of political leaders on domestic society for material resources and support for foreign and defense goals. The theory argues that over the long run, states will seek to maximize their international influence, power and security according to their material power resources and the constraints and opportunities presented by the international system. However state power still forms the central intervening unit-level variable explaining short-medium term temporal divergence from the dictates of international structure.¹⁵ This temporal divergence can be said to have elements of characteristics of decision makers when attempts made to analyze foreign policy in times of crisis.

Theoretical foundation of the research framework is based on neoclassical realism with the view that it examines the central role of the state to explain what conditions of internal characteristics of states intervene between their leaders' assessment of threats, opportunities and policies those leaders are likely to follow. Neoclassical realism identifies elite calculations and perceptions of relative power and domestic constraints as intervening variables between international pressures and states' foreign policies.¹⁶ Methodologically, neoclassical realism calls for an emphasis on descriptions that trace how relative material power is translated into behavior of actual political decision makers.¹⁷

The neoclassical realist framework offers a convenient ground for incorporating psychological factors like belief systems of decision makers as well as domestic and international constraints into the analysis of foreign policy behavior.¹⁸ Thus neoclassical realism aims to analyze the workings of systematic pressures and unit level variables such as domestic political structures and decision makers' perceptions as key influences on a nation's foreign policy.¹⁹

¹⁴ George, *Avoiding War...* : pp 377-395.

¹⁵ Tom Dyson, *Neoclassical Realism and Defense Reform in Post Cold War Europe*, Palgrave Mcmillan, UK, 2010, p. 120.

¹⁶ Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, "Neoclassical Realism and Resource Extraction: State Building for Future War" in Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro (eds.). *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p.28.

¹⁷ Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy", *World Politics*, 1998, Vol. 51, No. 1: p.168 .

¹⁸ For an example utilisation of neoclassical realist approach of foreign policy analysis, see Balkan Devlen, *Renegade Regimes and Foreign Policy Crises*, VDM Verlag Dr. Müller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG, Germany, 2008.

¹⁹ Balkan Devlen, Özgür Özdamar. "Neoclassical Realism and Foreign Policy Crises", in Annette Freyberg, Inan Ewan Harrison, Patrick James (Eds), *Rethinking Realism in International Relations*, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009: 136-164

Though neoclassical realism forms the theoretical basis of the research, to overcome the difficulties in determining threat assessment, strategy and resource extraction, domestic mobilization and policy implementation during individual crisis, guidance is obtained from other methodologies. In order to understand the core elements of analysis and management process of a unique crisis, deconstruction and reconstruction methodologies are also utilized.

The research methodology and findings

The research methodology firstly required defining the limits of the study both in historical perspective and crisis evaluation aspect. The group study necessitated clear-cut boundaries to keep the research meaningful and consistent within the goals of the study. The aims of the project described in the proposal involved :

- collating and classifying Turkish foreign policy crises within the republic period,
- surveying and analyzing the decided crises in terms of type, parties involved, resolution and management methods,
- discovering the Turkish foreign policy crisis management patterns is possible.

Setting the goals as such led the research study to exclude the crises before the year 1923, as this year marks the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Since the aim calls for analysis of foreign policy crises, the international crises in which Turkey involved indirectly and/or remotely were not included. The collated crises presented a variety of time frames to include periods before, during and after the Cold War period. The enhanced crisis definition availed the project group to study political-diplomatic crises, interstate military-security crises as well as humanitarian crises.

A thorough literature review formed the first step of the research studies. In order to make sure that all foreign policy behaviors of the country which could be classified as a foreign policy crisis were included, available national and international sources were carefully scanned. This process favored more toward inclusion of some foreign policy events which were not listed by any other sources as foreign policy crises. Exclusion of any foreign policy event was meticulously carried out to make sure no important event was left out. The guidelines for inclusion and exclusion were derived from the enhanced definition of foreign policy crisis produced by the research group.

Listing Turkish Foreign Policy Crises (TFPC)

After discussions within the project group as well as with other scholars working on the subject matter, a provisional list of Turkish foreign policy crises was produced to include 32 crises. Though some of them could have been classified as protracted or simply recurring crisis, the research group chose to list them as separate crises. Reason behind was the fact that each crisis considered to be unique and required different initiatives to resolve or manage. Moreover, the factors affecting foreign policy analysis during individual crisis had to be taken into account; change of decision makers within the involved parties, change in regional balances, change and transformation in the international system.

When the list was completed and agreed on, each member of the research group was assigned two/three unique crises depending on the area of interest of the individual. This way each crisis would be investigated in detail and the parameters affecting the decision making process would be identified more clearly. The researchers utilized deconstruction and reconstruction methodologies when and if necessary to contribute to the crisis analysis parameters which were produced parallel to their individual studies.

The provisional Turkish foreign policy crises list produced by the research group is as follows:

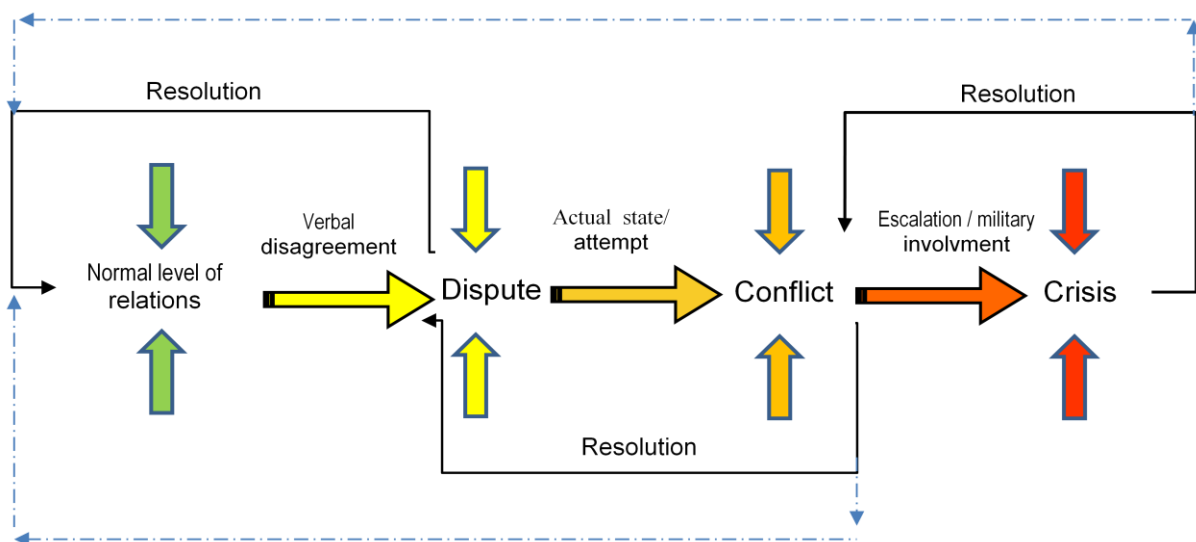
Pre-Cold War	Cold-War	Post-Cold War
➤ 1924 Mosul Land Crisis	➤ 1955 6-7 September Case	➤ 1991 Turkey-Armenia Nakhchivan Crisis
➤ 1926-27 The Case of SS Lotus-Bozkurt	➤ 1957 Turkey - Syria Confrontation	➤ 1992 TCG Muavenet Crisis
➤ 1929 Little Ararat Crisis	➤ 1958 Iraq Upheaval Crisis	➤ 1994 Aegean Sea <i>casus belli</i> Crisis
➤ 1935 Bulgaria-Turkey Crisis	➤ 1964 Johnson Letter Crisis	➤ 1996 Kardak / Imia Crisis
➤ 1936 Hatay / Sandjak Crisis	➤ 1963-64 Cyprus Crisis-I	➤ 1997 S-300 Missile Crisis
➤ 1942 MV Struma Crisis	➤ 1967 Cyprus Crisis-II	➤ 1998 Syria (Öcalan) Crisis
➤ 1945 Turkish Straits and Kars Ardahan Crisis	➤ 1972-73 Poppy Cultivation Regulation Crisis	➤ 2003 Sulaymaniyah “Hood” Crisis
	➤ 1974 Cyprus Crisis-III	➤ 2003- <i>Eastern Mediterranean Maritime Jurisdiction Areas Crisis</i>
	➤ 1974-80 NOTAM-FIR Crisis	➤ 2010 – <i>MV Mavi Marmara (Gazza Filotilla) Crisis</i>
	➤ 1974-76 Aegean Sea Continental Shelf Crisis-I	➤ 2011 - <i>Turkey-Syria Crisis</i>
	➤ 1981 Limnos Arming Crisis	➤ 2014 - <i>ISIS Hostage Crisis</i>
	➤ 1984 Western Thrace Crisis	
	➤ 1987 Aegean Sea Continental Shelf Crisis-II	
	➤ 1988-91 Iraqi Refugee Crisis	

This table reflects the provisional list of Turkish foreign policy crises. The last four crises listed in *italics* are classified as ongoing foreign policy crisis. The names and attributes to the crises are mostly derived from the events caused the problem. The ones which have already been included in the international studies and given generic names mostly coincide with the names given by the research team. Some of the crises listed above may have been given different attributions or named differently elsewhere depending on the nationality or may not even be counted as crisis at all. However, our definition of foreign policy crisis presents a well established ground to include them as they are listed. As a matter of fact, as the whole research methodology suggests, perception plays a great role in attributing “crisis” label to a foreign policy event as well as naming the crisis itself. As the research goes deeper

the generic names of some crisis may be subject to change depending on the core elements defined.

The list includes some crisis which seemed to re-occur and thus named accordingly.²⁰ They are listed separately in order to observe shifts of policy implementation as decision makers and international system change over the time. An important distinction was observed when attributing the “crisis” label to a foreign policy event. The research team utilized a hierarchy of severity of the problem or demands brought forward which causes a crisis. Though the terms “dispute” and “conflict” are used interchangeably by some scholars, the research team placed the terms in an ascending order in terms of seriousness of the problem and the means used by the actors involved.

The figure below illustrates the hierarchy proposed by the project work.



The above arrangement requires, against all existing difficulties in classification of a foreign policy event, that a *dispute* involves verbal claims of the parties on a specific matter which cannot easily be solved mutually. In a persisting dispute, political, legal or diplomatic means are not sufficiently utilized or the proposed resolution advisory is dragged out by one or all of the parties. When one party transforms its actions to actuality, then the situation may be said to become a *conflict*. In both cases, correct initiatives and solution advisories can diminish the tension one step back or even to normal relation levels. According to above model, while the dispute and/or conflict endures, the situation can become a foreign policy crisis if one party escalates the situation and the other party follows the same manner by action.²¹ This phase is evaluated as the *onset* of the crisis. It is presumed that generally when one of the parties in political/diplomatic conflict phase adds military means and methods to the actions it takes, the other party reciprocates in the same manner which in turn escalates the existing level of crisis.

²⁰ Crises related to Cyprus (1964, 1967, 1974, 1997 S-300) and Aegean Sea continental shelf (1974-1976, 1987) can also be categorized as protracted crises.

²¹ This is the reason why the foreign policy crisis related to Aegean Sea listed separately, rather than naming them as Aegan dispute.

Analysis Parameters and variables

Once the crisis list was produced and crises were named within the aspect set forth by the guidelines of the project framework, parameters and variables to be used in the analysis were determined. Since the framework of the study follows neoclassical realist approach which defines systematic pressures as independent variable and internal factors as intervening variables, the research group produced crisis analysis tables accordingly to cover both areas. Third party involvement, existing military alliances and the nature of international system were utilized as independent variables. As the systematic pressures must be translated through unit-level variables, such as, decision makers' perceptions and state structures, parameters like government type, identity of the leaders²² and domestic organizations/agents were included within the analysis tables to form intervening variables. The crisis analysis table are currently being improved by the inputs from the researchers as well as the theoretical studies covered. Sample parameters included in the integrated TFPC table are given below:

Name of The Crisis	Decision Makers		Foreign Policy Crisis Actors		Type of Crisis	Government Types	
	Turkey	Opponent	Turkey	X		Turkey	Opponent
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ President ➤ Prime minister ➤ Minister of Foreign Affairs ➤ Minister of Defense ➤ Chief of General Staff ➤ Ambassador 1 ➤ Ambassador 2 		As Per Individual Crisis		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Unexpected / instantaneous ➤ Protracted ➤ Pre-mediated ➤ Indirect ➤ Accidental ➤ Inadvertent ➤ Humanitarian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ One-Party ➤ Coalition ➤ Military ➤ Supra-Parties ➤ Minority Government ➤ Temporary Coalition ➤ Temporary Minority 	

Name of the Crisis	Duration of the Crisis		Event Triggering the Crisis		
	Start	End	Category of the event	Nature of the event	First reaction
	Date crisis triggered Date crisis ended		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Political ➤ Economic ➤ External change ➤ Other non-violent ➤ Internal challenge to Regime ➤ Non-violent military ➤ Violent ➤ Humanitarian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Protest ➤ Threat ➤ Accusation ➤ Subversive Activity ➤ Co-operation with adversary ➤ Abandoning diplomatic relations ➤ Breach of agreement ➤ Attrition ➤ Embargo ➤ Nationalization ➤ .. ➤ .. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ No respon-inaction ➤ Verbal Act ➤ Political Act ➤ Economic Act ➤ Violent Military Act ➤ .. ➤ .. ➤ ..

²² Leaders as important decision makers should be well understood to reach a complete behavior analysis. For a sample study see Thomas C. Wiegale et al. **Leaders Under Stress A Psychophysiological Analysis of International Crises**, Duke University Press, 1985.

Name of the Crisis	Characteristics of Crisis and Crisis Management					
	Triggering unit	Gravity of the crisis	Crisis Management Strategies			Level of Violence
			Adversary's	Turkey's	Management Technique	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ State ➤ Non-State 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Limited ➤ Political ➤ Economic ➤ Territorial ➤ Integrity ➤ Influence ➤ Grave Damage ➤ Existence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Blackmail ➤ Limited Reversible Response ➤ Controlled Pressure ➤ Fait Accompli ➤ Attrition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Coercive Diplomacy ➤ Limited Escalation ➤ Tit For Tat ➤ Test of Capacities ➤ Drawing Line ➤ Conveying Commitment And Resolve ➤ .. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Negotiation ➤ Jurisdiction/ Arbitration ➤ Mediation ➤ Non-Violent ➤ Non-Military Pressure ➤ Non-Violent Military ➤ Violent ➤ Third Party Support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ None ➤ Offensive Use of Force ➤ Exemplary Use of Force ➤ Minor Battle ➤ .. ➤ ..

Name of the Crisis	Third Party Involvement International Organizations		Third Party Involvement States		Outcome Of The Crisis		
	Organization	Intervention	State	Intervention	Characteristic	Form	Status
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ UN ➤ NATO ➤ EU ➤ League of Nations ➤ Council of Europe ➤ PCIJ ➤ Baghdad Pact ➤ ICJ ➤ .. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ None ➤ Inconclusive Negotiations ➤ Investigation ➤ Good Offices ➤ Condemnation ➤ Call For Action ➤ Mediation ➤ Arbitration ➤ Sanction ➤ Observer ➤ ... ➤ ... 	As Per Individual Crisis	As Per Individual Crisis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Victory ➤ Reconciliation ➤ Stalemate ➤ Ambiguous ➤ Defeat ➤ Tacit agreement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Official Agreement ➤ Semi Official Agreement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ <i>status qua ante</i> ➤ New Status On Agreement ➤ Tacit New Status ➤ Ambiguous

After investigating each crisis, the research group has been discussing the findings and filling out the integrated TFPC table for each crisis listed above. By making use of the table, researchers seek answers to the following questions:

- Who were/are the decision makers and relevant actors during each crisis ?
- How do they assess the threats and opportunities?
- How do they resolve any disagreement on the decision making during crisis management?
- What was/is the role of the leader as decision maker? Who decides the management technique?
- What is the influence of domestic factors on the decision making process?
- If the leader changes during a foreign policy crisis how does the decision making process and approach change?

After finding answers to these questions, the researchers will deal with another set of overarching questions on the leader behavior during the foreign policy crisis:

- If the leader is highly influential in foreign policy crisis management, does he/she present the same pattern of behavior during different crisis? Can we make any reference to a consistent behavior pattern or does the pattern change according to the context of the crisis?
- If the same leader displays similar/diverse behavior during similar/different crisis, how can this similarity/diversity be categorized?

Conclusion

The research project on the TFPC has been studying on collating, classifying and analyzing the foreign policy crises experienced during the republic period. Following the foreign policy analysis methods, a thorough political history investigation and literature review enabled the research group to produce a list of crisis. Utilizing neoclassical realist approach as the theoretical base of the studies, the research team produced an enhanced definition of foreign policy crisis. The study also attempts to include effects of leader perception into the decision making process by deconstructing and reconstructing the past and present foreign policy crisis when necessary. Main approach to investigate leader characteristics bases on the assumption that leader's foreign policy behavior can most easily be observed during the foreign policy crisis. Finding answers to research questions and producing a foreign policy crisis management pattern is still an ongoing process.

When the research project, which attempts to deal with TFPC from a wide perspective, has been concluded, producing a model peculiar to Turkish foreign policy decision making process will be possible. Investigating the unique characteristics the priorities of the leaders together with identifying the means and methods they use, will enable us to better understand the foundations of the Turkish Foreign policy dynamics. It will also be possible to find out whether there is a specific understanding of crisis management culture and evaluate how the crisis management process has functioned in different periods by different governments.

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