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НАЦІОНАЛЬНА ІДЕНТИЧНІСТЬ В МОВІ І КУЛЬТУРІ

Збірник наукових праць

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КУЛ

ПОЕТИКА
ЛІНГВІСТ

Введення

1. *Поетика
тексті*

У своїй по
тілі літератури
іноземної, чу
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репліками, що
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пов'язані з лі
подаються в с
фонетичного
відторження
образом агрес

1.1. *Від піс*

Але як
трактуватися
політико-істо
образ росій
лінгвокульту
тенденції ре
радянський
позитивним,
насамперед,

1. Снуе

ВЗАЄМОДІЯ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИХ МОВ СУЧАСНОЇ ЄВРОПИ

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TIKA'S IMPACT ON TURKEY-UKRAINE RELATIONS

Abstract:

After World War II, relationship definition between states started to change; during bipolar system-based world, interdependence started to be crowned between states. Meanwhile, thanks to 'the Marshall Plan' implemented by US, showed 'foreign aid' concept would be a tool for diplomacy to states. At that time on, very first steps of 'foreign aids' as a concept used as direct financing application by developed countries to underdeveloped or developing countries. After years, 'foreign aids' concept got evolved and got diversified, in terms of content and the number of aid providing countries. After dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), new foreign policy opportunities aroused for Turkey; those newly independent Turkic states provided a foreign policy destination for Turkey. Thus, Turkey founded TIKA, in order to claim this opportunity through providing technical assistance primarily to those newly independent Turkic states of the Central Asian and South Caucasian Turkic states via TIKA. Later on, in line with the developments both in domestic politics and in the international arena, Turkish foreign aid started to reach other countries in different parts of the world. Undoubtedly, it is clear that TIKA's uniqueness and its having a pivotal role in Turkish Foreign Policy braced up from the 'Soft Power' concept. In this paper, its aimed to review TIKA's activities in Ukraine and its impact on Turkey-Ukraine relations.

Keywords: TIKA, Turkish Foreign Policy, Foreign Aids, Soft Power, Ukraine.

Introduction

Aftermaths of World War II echoed through countries by poverty, starvation and breakdown. Since 1945 in the international system, constituting sustainable peace sought in the concept of interdependency

which must arouse on a common agenda for the states and thanks to the success of Marshall Plan that common agenda established between states in the terms of foreign aids. In the literature of International Relations, foreign aid(s) generally explained as; “international transfer of capital, goods, or services from a country or international organization for the benefit of the recipient country or its population”. Through foreign aids, underdeveloped or developing countries overcome their domestic obstacles with the support of donor states for a better future.

However, after the dissolution of USSR, effectiveness of the foreign aids has become more important according to changing nature of the international system; switching from bipolar to unipolar/multipolar world order, many countries suffered more than ever in order to fit into the new world order. Furthermore, foreign aids’ nature also changed from “capital, goods or services” to “development” aids as well. Due to those events in the international system, Turkey also founded her development aid agency at 1992, as “Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA)”.

Since that date, TIKAs activities can be reviewed under two major periods; from 1992 to 2002 and from 2002 up to today. In the first period, TIKAs focused its activities on young Turkic states, in the manner of technical infrastructure aids and TIKAs completed 2241 projects during this period. In the second period, TIKAs quadrupled its projects between 2003-2011 years, when those projects focused on periphery states such as (1) Afghanistan- %20.61, (2) Bosnia-Herzegovina - %6.76, (3) Palestine- %5.47 and (4) Lebanon- %3.89. Concisely, TIKAs has changed the appearance of Turkey’s foreign policy and made it an active efficient actor in various far regions. Hence, TIKAs has constituted a unique place for Turkey in this manner. Undoubtedly, it is clear that TIKAs uniqueness and its having a pivotal role in Turkish Foreign Policy braced up from the ‘Soft Power’ concept. Now TIKAs acting as a locomotive institution for Turkish foreign policy and having activities through 150 different locations with 50 project offices; thanks to TIKAs activities around the world, at 2016, Turkey donated more than 6.5 Billion USD as foreign aid/humanitarian assistance and Turkey is 2nd of top donors in the world.[TIKA, 2016: 89] In this paper, it’s aimed to review Turkish Foreign Policy with perspective of foreign aids in general, and through activities of TIKAs in particular. After explaining TIKAs foundation and

role in Turkish foreign policy, which is connoted with ‘soft power’ concept, TİKA’s activities around different geographies will be reviewed.

Foundation of TİKA

After embracing ‘soft power’ concept and get to use ‘soft power’ tools in diplomacy, it widened the horizon of Turkish foreign policy. Considering its status as a peripheral state during the Cold War era, Turkey now has the vision of one of the central states of the international system regarding foreign policy actions in the global arena. This success in foreign policy is boosted by TİKA, one of the executive tools of Turkey's foreign policy in different regions and continents around the globe. In this way, foreign aid and humanitarian diplomacy are becoming key tools in states’ foreign policy agenda. Thus, TİKA constitutes a unique institution for Turkey in this manner. It is clear that TİKA’s uniqueness and pivotal role in foreign policy has been bestowed via the ‘Soft Power’ understanding in Turkish foreign policy. [Akıllı, 2016a]

Before reviewing TİKA’s operations in the Central and Eastern European region, it is essential to consider its roots, which date back to the early 1990s. After the dissolution of the USSR, the international system had to shift and reshape its structure due to the new world order that rose from the ashes of that bipolar world system. During this process, Turkey had to revise her foreign policy destinations according to the new opportunities around the periphery. For sure, this process gained momentum due to the newly emerged, cognate Turkic Republics after the dissolution of the USSR (Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan). As a result, Turkey sought out partnership opportunities according to mutual Turkic origin. Prior to the 1990’s, Turkey had very poor interactions with those states and their people. Many authors mentioned this type of low profile relationship status as a ‘consent to resignation’ from the region due to the dominant state identity of Turkey during that period – referred to as ‘western’ state identity arising from the Kemalist understanding of foreign policy and domestic politics. According to the western state identity understanding, Turkey’s sole foreign policy destination must be to the ‘west’ world only. In other words, regions such as Central Asia, the Middle East, the Far East, Latin America and the Caribbean etc. were intentionally ignored. As mentioned earlier, after the Cold War, Turkey also needed to revise her foreign policy understanding and state identity as well[Akıllı, 2016b].

Thus, Turkey expanded her ‘helping hand’ to cognate Turkic states at first in the manner of social, commercial, economic, educational and cultural projects and then to establish cooperation in various other areas. In order to coordinate and implement those operations in the region, TIKA was founded in 1992. Since then, TIKA’s activities can be reviewed under two major periods; from 1992 to 2002 and from 2002 to today. In the first period, TIKA focused its activities on young Turkic states, in the manner of technical infrastructure aid, and TIKA completed 2241 projects during this period. In the second period, TIKA quadrupled its projects between 2003-2011. These projects focused on other periphery states such as (1) Afghanistan- %20.61, (2) Bosnia-Herzegovina - %6.76, (3) Palestine- %5.47 and (4) Lebanon- %3.89 [TIKA, 2011a].

On October 24, 2011, with Decree Law Number 656, in order to enhance the technical partnership and coordination process, TIKA was reconstructed with “The Law on the Organization and Tasks of the Turkish Cooperation and Development Administration Directorate”, which was put into force on publication in the Official Gazette Edition no. 28103, dated November 2, 2011 [TIKA, History]. With this reconstruction process, TIKA’s activity area was enlarged to the whole globe, not being restricted only to the periphery or Turkic states as it had been before. These new activity areas brought new missions for TIKA: restorations of Ottoman legacies such as mosques, bridges, caravanserai(s) etc. These new mission changes imply a new general approach in Turkish Foreign Policy as well.

In addition, TIKA’s budget was increased nearly 10 times compared to the period between to 1992-2002 and in 2011 TIKA provided 1.273.000.000 USD total aid to many countries (TIKA, 2011b). Considering these facts, it is clearly seen that TIKA has a major meaning and role in Turkish Foreign Policy and the ruling of the AK Party. Öktem compared TIKA with its most powerful equivalent in the world: the German International Cooperation Community (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit-GIZ), which has endorsements amounting to 2.6 Billion USD per year. But TIKA has three times this amount according to 2011 data [Öktem, 2012, p. 85]. Nonetheless, Öktem implies that according to the ‘Pro Active Foreign Policy’ understanding of the Turkish Foreign Policy, TIKA widened its activity areas and services. He mentions that TIKA has a wide range of activity areas; from the Middle-

East to the Balkans, from Central Asia to Latin America, and also has a wide range of services/aids in education, health, and development etc. [Öktem, 2012, p. 85-86].

Soft Power-TIKA-Turkish Foreign Policy

Drawing on the conceptualization of soft power given by Joseph Nye Jr, the article studies two linked elements of Turkish soft power: *agents* and *behavior*. Turkey's soft power has gained importance thank to the gradual involvement of new state and non-state actors (*agents*) along with the adoption of novel frameworks, such as cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy and humanitarian diplomacy (*behavior*). [Akillı-Donelli, 2016: 162-163].

Power is one of the most central and yet problematic concepts in political science and international relations (IR), where it has a variety of forms, and features. In the most general sense, power may refer to any kind of influence exercised by objects, individuals, or groups upon each other[Dahl, 1968]. One of the most influential definitions of *power* remains that of Max Weber, who defines power as the “probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests”[Weber, 1967]. In other words, power is a ‘zero-sum’ game, either you win or you lose. According to the literature, the best way to materialize national interests is to use military and economic power elements with a view to forcing other actors to undertake a cost-benefit calculation. In summary, most actors pursue a ‘carrot and stick’ policy in their foreign policies[Oğuzlu, 2007]. However, in a post-modernist and globalized society, ‘soft’ power, which is based on a ‘value-based’ notion of power, become increasingly important compared to ‘hard’ power military and economic resources. With plenty definitions of *power existing in IR*, this work assumes one definition asserted by Joseph Nye Jr, who argues that power is “the ability to influence the behavior of others to get desired outcomes one want”[Nye, 2004: 4-5]. During last two decades Nye's concept of soft power became a widely known notion in International Relations dicipline literature and elsewhere; it is now a term used by scholars, policymakers, and others but in many different ways[Akillı-Donelli, 2016: 162-163]. The origin of the concept being deeply related to analysis of US power and foreign policy during the 1980s, when rejectionist theories and interpretation of the international order had strength in mainstream International Relations dicipline

debates[Nye, 2008a: 8-9]. The definition of soft power has been closely linked with Nye who first coined this term. The concept of “soft power”, which Nye mentioned in his book, “Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power (1990)”, strengthened by his *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004)”, and further elaborated in “The Powers to Lead (2008)”, is rooted in the idea that alternative power structures exist in international relations alongside with economic and military power. Soft power is neither an evolution or involution nor a substitute for hard power, it is simply another form of power. [Akıllı-Donelli, 2016: 162-163]

According to Nye, “the distinction between hard and soft power is one of degree, both in the nature of the *behavior* and in the tangibility of the *resource*” [Parmar-Cox, 2010]. Unlike the hard power, soft power explains fields of influence and attraction beyond military and economic indicators, it refers to a country’s social human capital. This is the reason why it is different from country to country[Akıllı-Donelli, 2016: 162-163]. Soft power is an autonomous form of power, which has its rules, features and characteristics, and “does not depend on hard power” [Nye, 1990: 10]. According to Nye, soft power could be better seen as a strategy for a country to gain its objectives without coercion or payments, but with attraction founded on culture, political values, and legitimate and moral foreign policy. Moreover, it helps to shape international institutions and policy agenda. To Nye soft power explains the “attractiveness of a country’s *culture*, political notions and policies”, the power of attraction, as opposed to the power derived from military force and economic sanctions. In sum, soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others, without the use of force, coercion or violence. That is co-opt people rather than coerce them[Akıllı-Donelli, 2016: 162-163].

As we have seen, the co-optive or soft power rest on *resources*, *behavior* and *agents* that hold them together. *Resources* are tangible or intangible capabilities, goods, instruments at disposal; *behavior* is the action itself, the manner or way to act, the conduct of *agent*. In terms of resources, soft power resources are the assets that produce attraction; and cooptive power can be seen in the attraction exerted by an agent through a certain behavior[Akıllı-Donelli, 2016: 163-164]. According to Nye, soft power of a country rests on three resources: its *culture* (in places where it is attractive to others), its *political values* (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its *foreign policies* (when they are seen as

legitimate and having moral authority). This is because “in international politics, soft power largely produced by resources of an organization or a country that relies on values expressed in its culture; thus, this expression reflects as an outcome both for internal practices and policies as well as relations with others.” [Nye, 2008b: 16]. Culture, education, arts, media, film, literature, higher education (universities, research centers, think tank, etc.), non-governmental organizations, tourism, platforms for economic cooperation and diplomacy are all soft resources to be used to produce and to feed soft power[Seib, 2009].

Another important feature of Joseph Nye’s theory, also useful to understand Turkish foreign policy agenda, is about the *agents* or *actors* that really hold soft power. The definition of hard and soft power given by Nye does not differentiate between agents either[Akıllı-Donelli, 2016: 164]. For many years international affairs has been understood in state-centric terms, and only recent studies consider non-state actors in terms of contributions and challenges to a government’s decision-making process[Snyder-Sapin-Hudson, 2003]. Even if Nye is commonly known as one of the fathers of interdependence theory[Carlsnaes-Risse-Simmons, 2000: 401-425], in his works there is a lack of attention given to non-state actors or agents. However, we can argue that institutions, large corporations, civil society’s organizations and movements, and even individual hold soft power[Nye-Donahue, 2000].

TIKA’s Activities in Different Regions by Numbers

In 2016, Turkey provided 7.943,3 Million USD for foreign aids[TIKA, 2016: 11]; that consists of bilateral development aids, development assistance and humanitarian assistances. Below there are countries that received top bilateral official development aids that Turkey have provided in 2016. Those countries are: Syria (5.851,23 Million USD), Somalia (59,63 Million USD), Palestine (43,12 Million USD), Afghanistan (32,69 Million USD), Bosnia-Herzegovina (30,29 Million USD), Kyrgyzstan (25,39 Million USD), Macedonia (18,96 Million USD), Kazakhstan (18,96 Million USD), Azerbaijan (14,24 Million USD) and Niger (11,91 Million USD).[TIKA, 2016: 19]

As mentioned at above, Turkey have provided foreign aids towards to world in many different regions. Considering to 2015-2016 years, Turkey have almost doubled the amount that have provided in 2015 at 2016. According to the TIKA’s report, mentioned regions are: Europe (2015: 222,9 Million USD-2016: 190,4 Million USD), America (2015: 19

Million USD-2016: 6,5 Million USD), Africa (2015: 183,4 Million USD-2016: -306,2 Million USD), Oceania (2015: 0,2 Million USD-2016: 0,5 Million USD), Middle East (2015: 2988,4 Million USD-2016: 5943,2 Million USD), Far East (2015: 6,1 Million USD-2016: 13,4 Million USD), South and Middle Asia (2015: 256,6 Million USD-2016: 191,5 Million USD), Asia regional (2015: 169,3 Million USD-2016: 0,1 Million USD), undistributed to regions (2015: 0 Million USD-2016: 198,1 Million USD) and total number of (2015: 3845,9 Million USD-2016: 6237,5 Million USD).

TIKA's Role in Turkey-Ukraine Relations

TIKA's presence in Ukraine can be sought back at 1997s, with the establishment of Crimean Program Coordination Office. At 2013, Kiev Program Coordination Office has been established and since 1997, more than 300 projects with a budget of 40 Million USD carried out by TIKa at Ukraine. TIKa's Program Coordination Office in Kiev is carrying out projects for the entire Ukraine, especially the social and economic integration of cognate and kin groups such as Crimean Tatars, Gagauz and Ahiska Turks in Ukraine. Furthermore, starting in 2011, thanks to the "Turkey-Ukraine High-Level Strategic Council" with the level of relations between two states further accelerated TIKa's projects, met rebuffed positive public opinion in Ukraine.

For instance, competition named "Charity Ukraine National Competition" there were 744 nominations in 22 different fields, including philanthropy provided by businesses, charity, collective volunteering, social underground projects, civil defense, media and charity conducted by non-governmental organizations. The TIKa Kiev Program Coordination Office, which was nominated in the "social assistance from abroad" category, where many countries, mainly China, Germany, Poland, USA, are nominated, won the third place. Below, TIKa's project between 1997-2015 has been summed: (TIKA-Ukrayna Proje ve Faaliyetler)

Main Projects and Activities (1997-2013)

1. Contribution to Autonomous Republic of Crimea Educational Infrastructure (2006 - 2013)

- Gaspra 3 Oktyabrskaya Secondary School Renovation Project
- Mayskoye Secondary School Renovation Project
- Old Crimea Secondary School Renovation Project
- Belogorsk Primary School Renovation and Equipment Project

- Yevpatoriya 18 Secondary School Construction Building Project
 - Kolbugino Secondary School Building No.2
 - Zuya 2nd General Education School Additional Building Construction Project
 - Canköy Vilayeti Zareçnoye Education Complex Annex Building Construction Project
 - Bahçesaray 2 General Education School Additional Building Construction Project
 - 2. Project for Housing for Crimean Tatars (1997-2007)
 - 3. Water Supply Projects in Cooperation with the Crimean Integration and Development Program (CIDP) (2000-2007)
 - 4. New Life of the Old Wells
 - 5. Restoration Project of Crimean Zincirli Medrese and Hacı Giray Han Turbesi (2005-2010)
 - 6. Project for the Removal of the Inventory of Historic Works in the Crimean Bahçesaray Balta Tiymez Cemetery (2005-2007)
 - 7. Carpentry Training Course Project (1994-1996)
 - 8. Embroidery Course Project (2001-2002)
 - 9. Pottery Art Training Project (2004-2005)
 - 10. Jewellery Art Development Project (2004-2005)
 - 11. Job Creation / Trikotaj Atelier Project for Ahıska Turks (2005)
 - 12. Crimean Tatar Ethnography and National Decorative Arts Museum Opening Project
 - 13. Crimean Hansaray Museum Protecting the Rare Handwriting
 - 14. Support to Gaspıralı İsmail Bey Library Project
 - 15. Turkology Project (2002 - 2013)
 - 16. The Project of Retrofitting and Restoring the Medical Facilities of the Enduring Folk Medicine Center
 - 17. Vilino Hospital's Heart Ultrason Device Supply Project
 - 18. Belogorsk Solid Waste and Packaging Waste Recycling Project
 - 19. Contribution to the Treatment of Chernobyl Children (2011-2013)
 - 20. Support Project for International Technical Assistance Organizations Forum (2013)
 - 21. Support Project for Investment and Foreign Trade Seminars of Autonomous Republic of Crimea Economic Development and Trade Ministry
 - 22. Support Project for the International Black Sea Economic Forum
- Projects and Activities (2014)***

1. Renovation Project of Kirove I-III Degree General Education School
- Support Project for Niçporporka Education Complex
3. Support Project for Kindergarten No. 265 in Kiev
4. Tarasa District Institutions Institutional Capacity Increase Project
5. Support Project for Schools in Kiev, Pereyaslav-Hmelniyskiy District
6. Support Project to Berezan City Lelechenka Kindergarten
7. Support Project for the No. 1 East Languages High School in Kiev
8. Project for the Treatment of Chernobyl Children in 2014
9. Hardware Support Project to Podol Consultation and Diagnosis Center
10. Cooperation with the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine "3. Global Area Restructuring: Historical Obligations and Challenges "Project
11. Turkey-Ukraine Relations Conference on Strategic Support Project
12. Support to the Islamic Cultural Center of Kiev
13. "Ismail Bey Gaspıralı: The Great Son of the Crimean Tatar People (Gaspıralı's 100th Anniversary of the Death)" Project Support Project
14. Support Project to Odessa I-III Grade 93 General Education Boarding School
15. Oleksandrivska Clinic Hospital Medical Bed Installation Project
16. Kiev City Svyatoşin District Consultation and Diagnosis Center Renovation and Equipment Project
17. Economic Modeling and Trade Policy Development Center Equipment Project
- Support Project for the 18th Turkish Language Symposium
19. Project for the Purchase of Ultrasonic Device in Kyiv 8 Children Clinic Hospital
20. Equipment Purchase Project for the Ukrainian Ombudsman Office
21. Kiev National Taras Shevchenko University Intensive Foreign Language Teaching Laboratories Renovation and Equipment Project
22. Turkish Instructor Support Project for Kiev National Taras Shevchenko University
23. Tarasa Education Complex Facade Thermal Insulation Project

24. Kazanka Humanities Jimnazyumu Renovation Project
25. Physical Therapy Equipment Supply to Yujnoukrainsk Regional Social Services Center
26. Nikolaev 3 Nolu Doğum Hospital Support Project
27. Remodeling project of Hristovka Village Water Wells in the Herson Region
28. Kazanka Reyon Health Center Support Project
29. Annex Building Construction of the Child Reanimation Department of the Kyiv Romodanov Neurosurgery Institute Hardware Application Project
30. Establishment of Crimean Tatar Coordination Offices
31. "Ukraine's Follow-up on the Rights of the Crimean Tatars as the Main Cause of Ukraine Road " Conference Support Project
32. Project for Purchasing Equipment to Schools in the Gagavuz Bulk Settlements
33. Tropinîh Clinical Hospital Neonatal Care Unit Equipment Project in Herson

Conclusion

TIKA's foundation was a step towards long forgotten cousins under Soviet regime, a step to empower cultural and state level bonds between newly founded Turkic states after the dissolution of USSR. With that step, it's expected that Turkey could forge close relations with those states through foreign aids and development projects; so, this attempt would open a new foreign policy destination for Turkey. Considering to historical events, indeed that step opened a new destination for Turkish foreign policy for this manner.

Since 1990s, Turkey using foreign aids as a tool for foreign policy. Hence, contrary to its starting origin, Turkish foreign aids, which focused only on Central Asia and South Caucasus towards to newly independent Turkic states, now reaching out all around the world through TIKa. From Bosnia-Herzegovina to Bishkek, from Kabul to Bogota; TIKa carries on activities over 150 different locations with 50 project offices. Thanks to TIKa's activities around the world, at 2016, Turkey donated more than 7 Billion USD as foreign aid/humanitarian assistance and Turkey is 2nd of top donors in the world.

At 2011, relations between Turkey and Ukraine reached its upmost state by establishment of the "Turkey-Ukraine High-Level Strategic Council"; after that time on, Turkey-Ukraine relations gaining momentum

and led TIKA to enrich its projects and activities in the Ukraine; which can be summed more than 300 different activities funded by more than 40 million USD budget. Furthermore, through this reach out not only towards to Ukraine but also to the World, friendship and security circles also grow and wraps around Turkey. Furthermore, being a major donor for foreign aids, also enhances Turkey's positive image abroad and empowers Turkey's 'Soft Power' capacity.