



## Changes in Poverty-fighting Tools: From “Traditional” to “New Tendencies”

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### Abstract

The issue of poverty and the fight against poverty has been one of the most important agenda items in the world for many years. Although the phenomena of wealth and poverty have existed in every period of history, they have never been separated by such deep disparities as they are today. Increasing income injustice has widened the gap between the rich and the poor and it continues to open further. Also, the concept of poverty has expanded so much in terms of content that it is not enough to express it with one definition. Absolute poverty, relative poverty, and human poverty are some of the terms used to detail the range and context of impoverishment. Besides, poverty is now subject to analysis from sociological, psychological or other perspectives. Considering this state of poverty, it is necessary to review the means of alleviating poverty. It is observed that the effectiveness of traditional tools has diminished in the fight against poverty, such as the World Bank when it first emerged. Therefore, there is a need for new tools to keep up with global developments. In this context, NGOs and development cooperation activities carry out important actions. This study aims to analyze the tendency to move away from traditional tools to new tools in fighting poverty. In this context, both tools will be examined within the framework of examples and theoretical discussions.

### Keywords

Poverty, fight against poverty, World Bank, development cooperation, NGOs

### JEL Classification

I32, I38, O19, F59

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## **Introduction**

Although poverty is a problem that people have faced since time immemorial, it has not been previously addressed from economic, sociological, political, humanitarian, and moral aspects as it is today. While it was a problem that people lived with and had to address in the past, today, poverty and its outcomes have gained a global dimension and become a problem common to the whole world. Undoubtedly, many economic and political factors affected this. Therefore, it is possible to say that local alleviation methods will be ineffective as a solution to poverty. The necessity of addressing poverty with the methods of alleviation that are planned from a multi-dimensional and global perspective has become clear in light of experience. It is possible to say that the poverty alleviation approach has developed a global character over the past 30 years. However, the practices that are shaped with the understanding of the neoliberal economy and traditional anti-poverty tools are criticized for their practical failures and the negations they cause, and they are preparing the ground for the emergence of new tools. It is very important to reveal what the new means of struggle are because it is not easy to achieve success in practical applications of studies that do not have a solid theoretical grounding. This study aims to review various practices, many of which are new and whose effectiveness in combating poverty is not yet exactly known. Therefore, this study aims to provide a theoretical contribution to the discussions on poverty alleviation.

In the study, after analyzing the concept of poverty as a global problem, tools of the struggle against poverty are discussed. In this context, traditional instruments of poverty alleviation such as the World Bank and the IMF are examined and official, private, and voluntary means of struggle that have come to the fore in recent years are discussed. Finally, some suggestions are put forward by evaluating all these tools and the process of change.

### **Poverty as a Global Problem**

Although such problems as inequality, hunger and famine have been faced in every period of human history, it is accepted that the phenomenon of modern poverty emerged as an effect of the global economic order. The fact that this new order strengthens repressive regimes in poor countries and makes these countries indebted to global capital actors has led to an increase

in injustice. On the one hand, absolute poverty, which is the condition of not reaching the minimum income level, has deepened, while on the other hand, there is an unfair consumption and distribution system where deep poverty is experienced (Karakas, 2008, pp. 398–408).

About 10% of the world's population, or 736 million people, struggle with extreme poverty. Especially in the Sub-Saharan Africa region, this ratio is seen to be around 40% of the regional population (World Bank, 2020). In terms of income distribution, 64% of the world's population own only 2% of the total world wealth; It is seen that a small segment that constitutes 0.8% of the world population own 48% of the total wealth (Shorrocks et al., 2018, p.5).

Poverty, which is accepted to have deepened with the neoliberal period, has gained a global dimension today. However, in relation to the global nature of poverty, traditional classifications such as absolute–relative poverty were inadequate in expressing poverty and the need to produce new classifications such as human poverty arose, so much so that it is meaningless to evaluate poverty within the borders of a country and comparative analysis between countries or regions is required. With the increasing communication opportunities with globalization, and the increase in humanitarian movements and voluntary activities, increasing public awareness plays an important role. The unfair distribution of income and resources around the world indicates that poverty is a global problem, not just a national problem. For this reason, the fight against poverty may be insufficient at the national level and the need arises to address the issue at the global level.

There are various views on the impact of globalization on poverty. However, these views are not directly related to whether globalization reduces or increases poverty, but are related to the positive and negative effects on poverty of some changes brought about by globalization. Some groups opposed to globalization express themselves in globalization, but with a new understanding, expressing that the negative consequences of globalization are experienced by a large mass of a given population and that the number of people who experience positive results is limited. These negative consequences are expected to increase as long as the globalization process continues. This seems to be about trying to solve the negative consequences arising from globalization while staying within the scope of globalization (Mutioğlu & Gözgülü, 2009, p.18).

Furthermore, poverty also emerges as a human rights problem today. According to the rights-based approach, every poor or rich person should be able to exercise their basic rights regardless of race, color, gender, language, religion, political opinion or ethnic origin. However, the obstacles caused by poverty that are encountered in accessing basic services for unemployment, low income, poor housing conditions, malnutrition, health, and education make it difficult for the poor to actualize their basic human rights. For this reason, there is a need for a human-rights-based understanding in the fight against poverty (Atanır, 2016, pp.15–27).

### **Approaches in Fighting Poverty**

There are many adopted approaches to combating poverty. These approaches can be addressed in three ways, such as revising and changing the current policies being implemented, rebuilding them with a radical change in the existing socioeconomic structure and making radical social reforms. According to another classification, the indirect approach expressing the reduction of poverty through growth; direct or direct approach that expresses programs and policies applied in basic subjects such as nutrition, health, education and the radical approach involving restructuring in the ownership of the means of production, the fight against poverty can be discussed in three main dimensions (Şenses, 2009, p.219).

It is also possible to classify anti-poverty approaches by associating them with the strategies and vision-related approaches required for globalization to be in favor of the poor. According to this, globalization refers to a new global institutional order that can be expressed with the concept of “grassroots globalization” or “globalization from below”. The “grassroots globalization” side of this order is formed by non-state organizations (such as NGOs). Organizations such as the World Bank, UN, WTO, NAFTA and GATT that work for the poor and produce strategies that can cure poverty constitute the “globalization from below” side (Mutioğlu & Gözgülü, 2009, p.19).

It is possible to classify anti-poverty policies under many other headings. Considering the global dimension of poverty, it is seen that policies to fight against poverty also differ. The poverty problem, which has deepened with the globalization process, is no longer a problem that can only be solved with national efforts, and has reached a point that should be evaluated with a multi-

faceted and multi-actor approach. Thus, individuals, states, private sector, NGOs and transnational organizations should act in cooperation in the fight against poverty (Aktel etc., 2007, p.18). In short, it becomes certain that the policies and programs that are implemented or need to be implemented should have a global character from now on. If look at the practice, it will be seen that many large organizations such as the World Bank or the UN are interested in this issue and are doing various studies.

The classification to be considered within the scope of our study will be “traditional tools” and “new tendencies”. Many factors are determining in the classification created such as the period these tools emerged, method they used and their success. In this context, it is possible to talk about the perception of poverty and policies of the World Bank and IMF, also known as Bretton Woods Institutions, among traditional tools. In addition, it is more appropriate to consider UN and UNDP within traditional tools, which have undeniable programs in combating poverty, such as Human Development Reports, Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals. As will be mentioned in following sections, the EU, OECD etc. Many institutions have the characteristics of traditional tools. Among the tools called “new tendencies” in fight against poverty, there are international voluntary humanitarian activities, the activities of wealthy individuals or institutions and official development aids of states. While there are activities carried out by these groups individually or in cooperation with each other, it is possible to talk about partnerships with traditional tools.

### **Traditional Tools in Fighting Poverty**

Traditional poverty alleviation tools basically emerged within the framework of neoliberal doctrine. The neoliberal doctrine, which forms the basis of the globalization process, assumes that everything will function better by removing the barriers to the market mechanism. In this way global welfare will increase and global social problems will be solved effectively. However, this assumption has not come true until now, and it does not seem possible that it will occur in the foreseeable future. Although a vitality has been observed in the global economic arena with the policies implemented, there has been no significant improvement in solving global social problems. Global poverty remains a major problem all over the world. The globalization process cannot

lead to the spread of welfare at the global level, it can be associated with the fact that the developments arising with globalization are not controlled, directed or regulated by various means (Büyükbaş & Ören, 2005, p.105).

When the poverty alleviation policies applied in developing countries are examined, it is seen that there are two traditional approaches. The first of these is the indirect approach, which is the method of combating poverty based on economic growth. Neoliberal economic policies are accepted as data and it is assumed that economic growth to be achieved through structural adjustment programs will solve the problem of income distribution and poverty. World Bank and IMF policies can be evaluated within this scope. The second method is the direct approach and includes in kind or cash aids, minimum income transfers and microcredit programs. In particular, in kind aids and cash aids are popular and they can be offered by governments, NGOs and private sector organizations or through various collaborations. In addition, some social funds offered by the World Bank to combat crises and deepening poverty stemming from neoliberal policies can also be evaluated within the scope of poverty alleviation (Doğan, 2008, pp.126-132).

Neoliberal globalization process has caused structural changes in the definition and practices of social policy. One of the first goals of neoliberal policies emerges as decreasing social policy expenditures made with the understanding of the welfare state. Social spending has been criticized on the grounds that it excludes the private sector, causes distortions in the labor market, causes rigidity in compliance with market conditions, destroys the enthusiasm of the unemployed to seek a job, is rent-oriented and nepotist, and that they are created in line with personal interests (Yaşar & Yenimahalleli Yaşar, 2012, p.74).

In recent years, it is seen that poverty is accepted as an personal matter in neoliberal approaches. Accordingly, approaches to poverty and the poor can be categorized into three categories. The first category includes those who can take their place in the market economy if they want, and get rid of poverty with measures such as education policies and various loans. In the second category, there are people who can alleviate poverty with certain social policies such as food aid and basic infrastructure services. In the last category, there are those who are excluded from these groups and those who cannot overcome the poverty problem with impermanent measures. It is emphasized that the

solution of the problem depends on the revival of economic growth. (Aktel etc., 2007, p.14).

Table 1

*Some Major Traditional Programs for Fighting Global Poverty*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Agency</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Contraction of social problems, political context</b>
Human Development Index (HDI)	UNDP	1990-	Alternative to one-dimensional economic indicator (GDP); indicators include average life expectancy, years of schooling and gross national income per capita; inspired by Amartya Sen’s “capability” approach; in 2010, the Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (HDI) was introduced, a distribution-sensitive index of human development
1\$-a-day poverty indicator	World Bank	1990-2008	Define poverty as the inability to attain a minimal standard of living; creates a global poverty line; comparability between countries through Purchasing Power Parities (PPP); calculated on basis of country studies
International Development Goals (IDGs)	OECD-DAC (Development Assistance Committee)	1996	Aimed to raise public support for foreign aid and poverty reduction in developing countries; goals drew on global summits in the 1990s; includes “reducing extreme poverty by half by 2015”; brought forth mainly by bilateral donors; precursor of Millennium Development Goals
Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)	United Nations	2000/2001	Defined eight goals for development; reiterated the International Development Goals with few changes; quantitative targets; with temporal horizon (2015), including halving 1\$-a-day poverty; goals informed by the concept of “human development”
Leaken Indicators	European Union	2001	Developed to monitor the success towards the Lisbon strategies’ social goals; coordinates European social policies under the “Open Method of Coordination”; includes indicators of poverty and social exclusion, low income, unemployment, education and health
1.25\$ ve 2\$-a-day poverty indicators	World Bank	2008-2015	Adjusted to poverty line of 1.25\$-a-day as a measure of extreme poverty (based on studies to poorest 15 countries); added a 2\$-a-day measure of general poverty (based on evidence on all developing countries)
Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)	United Nations	2015	Successor of MDGs; set of 17 goals with 169 targets (many quantitative), with temporal horizon (2030), including the eradication the extreme poverty measured by 1.25\$-a-day indicator (target 1.1 of goal no 1.); target 1.3.: “Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems...for all, including floors...”
1.90\$ ve 3.10 \$-a-day poverty indicators	World Bank	2015-	Raised the poverty line of 1.90\$-a-day as a measure of extreme poverty (based on studies to poorest 15 countries); raised the measure of general poverty to 3.10\$ (based on evidence on all developing countries). Derived from revised Purchasing Power Parities (PPP).

Source: Berten & Leisering, 2017, p. 159.

International actors in the fight against global poverty are in the most important place within the scope of this study. Considering the global dimension of poverty, the most prominent traditional institutions are Bretton Woods Institutions, UN and UN Development Program (UNDP) (Table 1). It is possible to add OECD and EU to these institutions. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are international organizations established as a result of the United Nations Monetary and Finance Conference held in the town of Bretton Woods in the USA in July 1944 in order to regulate the world economic and monetary system. Among these organizations, the World Bank has determined one of the main agenda items for developing countries since the 1990s as poverty reduction the main purpose of providing financial and other technical assistance has been accepted as poverty reduction. Considered as its twin sister, the IMF also has a significant impact on the global poverty problem through the macroeconomic structural adjustment programs it imposes on developing countries (Çeştepe & Genç, 2011, p156).

When the direct policies in combating poverty are examined it is seen that international organizations advocate reducing the role of the state in the economy in the light of neoliberal policies and that growth-based policies are brought to the fore due to budget constraints. According to organizations such as the World Bank and IMF, with the shrinkage of the state, it will be replaced by international organizations and non-governmental organizations; The activities of international aid organizations in reducing individual and social poverty will gain speed and importance (Zanbak, 2017, p.220).

In this context, especially the impact of foreign aid on poverty reduction is an important issue in recent years. It is seen that foreign aid arising from the Bretton Woods Institutions has been increasing since the 1990s. However, these aids are criticized on the grounds that they are a product of the the neoliberal approach. Again, it is accepted that many NGOs operating at the international level are in this direction. UNDP and the World Bank are among the organizations that are most concerned with the issue of poverty at the international level. OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) compiles the data on foreign aid provided by industrialized countries (Şenses, 2009, pp.253-258). Since this subject will be discussed in detail in the section of the study dealing with new orientations, this section will be limited with the main institutions.



The World Bank and IMF programs have proceeded in coordination and similar strategies have been followed. Structural Adjustment Facility (SAF) and Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) programs are designed for the poorest member states to help member states' governments overcome debt and resource problems. These programs, which have lower interest rates and long-term payment plans compared to other IMF programs, in a sense contributed to the International Development Association (IDA) of the World Bank. However, these practices, which were not very successful and were subject to serious criticism, were replaced by the Heavily Indebted Poor Country Initiative (HIPC) in 1996, which aimed to reduce the debt of poor countries. In this way, countries are enabled to spend less money on their debts and more on social spending. With the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) initiative created as a result of positive criticism, the IMF has transitioned to its strongest and most direct initiatives at the point of poverty reduction. The purpose of the PRSP is to divert the resources that were previously gone to serve a country's debt and to use them primarily towards social services, especially poverty reduction programs, such as health and education. Finally, the PRGF (Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility) has now taken its place as a replacement for previous preferential loans under the ESAF (Blackmon, 2008, pp.186-190).

According to the 1990 Development Report, an important document of the World Bank, while growth was accepted as a means of reducing poverty and improving the quality of life in the 1950s and 1960s, the remaining expenditures were restricted in the 1980s. The effectiveness of many public policies, excluding policies for the poor, has become questionable. In this report, it is stated that a strategy that has two elements equally should be followed in the fight against poverty. The first of these elements is to encourage the productive use of labor that unique wealth of the poor. This points to market incentives, social and political institutions, infrastructure and technology-based policies. The second element is to provide basic social services to the poor. Primary health care, family planning, nutrition and basic education services are particularly important. According to the report, these two elements reinforce each other and one is not enough without the other (World Bank, 1990, pp.1-3).

Another important point mentioned in the 1990 report is that even if these two elements are adopted, they will not be sufficient for various reasons and a large part of the poor in the world will continue to experience poverty. These reasons are shown as seasonal fluctuations in income, death, famine and macroeconomic shocks. For this reason, it was emphasized that this two-factor strategy should be supported by an overarching program consisting of well-targeted transfer expenditures and safety nets. The necessity for an inclusive approach emphasized here has gained a concrete character with the Inclusive Development Framework developed in 1999. With this document, current social policy activities underway are summarized and a series of recommendations have been made. Accordingly, international financial institutions should play a role as a stakeholder in the development process and poor countries should be directly involved in poverty reduction (Metin, 2013, pp.219-221).

In a study examining 77 countries benefiting from IMF-supported programs, it was emphasized that the effects of the programs in reducing poverty were limited or negative and that these programs should be shifted to areas such as education and health (Memiş etc., 2010, p.336). In another study in which the structural adjustment programs implemented by the IMF and the World Bank between 1980-1998 were analyzed, it was seen that countries with less structural adjustment credits had less deterioration in the situation of the poor compared to countries with high levels. Accordingly, higher loans reduce the share of the poor in total growth and consumption opportunities are restricted. In short, although growth is considered to reduce poverty, there is no clear evidence for structural adjustment programs to ensure growth and reduce poverty (Easterly, 2001, pp.1-15). In another study examining 86 low-income and middle-income countries between 1982 and 2009, it was stated that the costs related to the adjustment process were mostly covered by the low-income classes and that the poverty increased due to the increase in income inequality. In the study, it is stated that these negative consequences appear in the short term; However, it is stated that there are signs that short-term negative effects may disappear in the long term in the post-2000 period (Oberdabernig, 2013, pp.113-124).

The traditional approach accept the increasing poverty at national and global level as a situation that overshadows the success of the neoliberal system and

can mobilize the masses against the system and argues that action should be taken to prevent this danger. The World Bank, which has an important place in the fight against global poverty, is also accused and criticized for acting in a utilitarian approach (Koray, 2010, p.12). Chossudovsky criticizes the imposition of a cheap labor economy based on minimization of labor costs in developing countries as a result of these programs implemented by Bretton Woods institutions, strict monitoring and enforcement of policies, and the submission of prescriptions destroying the national economy by the IMF as practices that deepen poverty. These institutions are able to force the countries to re-determine their macroeconomic policies in line with their own interests through the "loan conditions" added to the loan agreements of the borrower countries. Practices such as trade liberalization, plundering and privatization of state enterprises, tax reform, privatization of agricultural areas, deregulation of the banking system, and liberalization of capital movements emerge as a result of these programs (Chossudovsky, 1999, pp.39-77).

Other criticisms of neoliberal policies: opening the weak economies of impoverished countries to the destructive competition of large international companies, privatization of the country's resources and making private capital superior to public capital, mobilizing all their assets to pay their foreign debts, removal of food subsidies by the IMF, reducing resources for education and health, opening up local agriculture to large international agricultural monopolies in line with the desires of the World Trade Organization, removing subsidies to agriculture, allocating agricultural lands to commercial products needed by the west, in short, it focuses on the arguments such as opening up poor countries to capitalist exploitation by organizations that follow these neoliberal policies (Başkaya, 2004, p.12).

For these reasons, although the World Bank and IMF, which define their aim to fight poverty, have made changes in their policies, it is seen that the criticisms against these institutions are still increasing. Among the criticisms made, those who can be regarded as moderate-reformist-rehabilitative claim that they are not against the existence of these institutions, but that there are mistakes, deficiencies and negligence in the policies implemented. Those who hold the opposite view and make radical-total rejection criticism see these organizations as part of the imperialist exploitation mechanism and claim that wealth is obtained at the expense of the poverty of underdeveloped countries.

Accordingly, policies are formed in line with the interests of developed countries that dominate these institutions, and underdeveloped country resources are channeled to developed countries under the name of structural adjustment programs (Memiş etc., 2010, pp.330-332).

Another important organization among the traditional means of struggle is UNDP, which is the main institution of the United Nations in combating poverty and which started its activities in 1965 and is the UN's program aimed at global development. The organization, which operates in 170 countries today, supports these countries in preparing their development policies, in terms of development of leadership skills and institutional skills, and helps to eradicate poverty, reduce inequality and exclusion. For these purposes, UNDP publishes annual Human Development Reports and sets sustainable development goals and ensures their monitoring (UNDP, 2020, July 12). Human development reports have attracted great attention since 1990, when they began to be published, and they continue to attract attention. On the basis of this interest, as mentioned above, the human development concept should be handled with a pluralistic approach on the basis of capacity. Including different problems in the field of development in the reports and evaluating many types of deprivation together and associating them with development is another source of interest. In addition, it has made an important difference with the measurement methods added to literature about poverty, which is mostly composed of theoretical studies (Metin, 2014, p.6319).

According to UNDP, human development has two aspects. The first of these is the formation of human qualifications such as health, knowledge and skills; the other is the use of these qualifications in productive activities, in the cultural, social and political sphere. According to this approach, earning an income is very important for people, but their lives are not just that. The phenomenon of development means more than the expansion of income and wealth. For this reason, the Human Development Index developed to measure human development in the 1990 report took into account three types of deprivation. These are life expectancy, literacy and the necessary income level for a good standard of living (UNDP, 1990, p.10-13).

This understanding of poverty is characterized by a multidimensional approach pioneered by Amartya Sen. According to Sen, poverty is the lack of social options and the inability of an individual or group in the society to reach

basic opportunities. The Human Development Index developed by UNDP is also built on this understanding and used as a meaningful indicator of the level of development. The Human Development Index is a summary measure of the average success of human development and measures factors such as GNP, life expectancy at birth, literacy rate, years of education and purchasing power per capita. The main emphasis here is that the development of people should be measured not only by economic growth but also by taking the aforementioned criteria into account (Şenkal, 2018, p.70). These criteria finally include ten indicators based on three dimensions as the Multidimensional Poverty Index: health, education and living standards. These are nutrition and child mortality under the heading of health; schooling year and number of enrolled children under the heading of education; under the living standards heading are cooking fuel, toilet, water, electricity, housing and property (UNDP, 2010, p.96).

The Millennium Development Goals are based on the UN General Assembly Declaration of September 8, 2000 (updated in September 2005 by the UN 60th General Assembly). The declaration was signed by a total of 189 countries with the participation of 147 heads of state and government (Ahimbisibwe & Ram, 2018, p.170). The basis of the Millennium Development Goals is the World Summit for Social Development held in Geneva in June 2000, which is one of the important summits organized to solve poverty problem in the world. At this summit, it was aimed to reduce poverty by half until 2015. Here, the main expectations on how to reduce poverty are increasing foreign capital investments, activating business activities, establishing cooperation between developmental non-governmental organizations, private sector and local governments (Şenkal, 2018, pp.63-64).

The Sustainable Development Goals, adopted in 2015 after the Millennium Development Goals, replaced the Millennium Development Goals that initiated global mobilization in 2000 to eliminate degrading poverty (UNDP, 2020, June 7). The Sustainable Development Goals were adopted as the “17 Sustainable Development Goals” by 2030, covering issues related to ending poverty, combating inequality and injustice, economic growth, energy, sustainable consumption and production, industrialization and climate change (Özbakır, 2016, p.7). Among these targets, the target directly related to our subject is the first with the title “Ending all kinds of poverty, wherever it may be”. Within the scope of this target, several main targets including the

complete eradication of extreme poverty by 2030 and the indicators to be used in reaching this target have been determined. While the Millennium Development Goals aimed to reduce poverty by half; it is aimed to eliminate poverty completely in the Sustainable Development Goals and also, sub-targets have also been diversified.

### **New Tendencies at Fighting Poverty**

Fight against global poverty. Since World War II, it has turned into a tool by states and international organizations and has a systematic structure. Until the 1980s, the fight against poverty remained within the framework of the welfare state understanding; until the 1990s, the struggle method carried out under the leadership of international organizations has been focused on economic development. With the realization that growth and development alone cannot be sufficient in combating poverty, the understanding of investing in human capital has gained importance. Today, international organizations accept that economic growth and development can only be sufficient in combating poverty with investments on human capital such as education and health (Zanbak, 2017, p.212).

Although economic growth is necessary for the reduction of poverty to be sustainable, it is not sufficient on its own. Even if the subject is examined with a narrow and income-based definition of poverty, it is seen that the deviations in the relationship between economic growth and poverty increase and inequalities are growing. For this reason, the necessity of applying social policies along with economic policies arises. Because social policies affect growth and distribution of resources as well as affect human development. As stated that as a result of the integration of social policies and economic policies, more productive and talented employees will emerge, for example, by focusing on health and education that will affect economic growth by high quality of goods and services. In addition, areas such as nutrition, social security, elimination of inequalities and social inclusion are among the areas where social policies have an impact on economic growth and development (Haan, 2007, pp.58-72).

In the context of trends in social policy, it is useful to reconsider development assistance in terms of certain points. First, the emphasis should be shifted from social policies to social development. Social development should be focused

on by improving the capacities of public institutions. Secondly, development agencies should also benefit from the integrated public policy making process and cost-benefit analysis should be done in the long term. Thirdly, the social policy framework should be broadened and NGOs and the private sector should also participate in the social policy presentation in addition to the role of the state in many areas. Fourth, social policy must meet the needs of the poor. Since the poor are not homogenous, social policies should be selected according to the characteristics of the needs group, timed correctly and flexible enough to respond quickly to challenges and emergencies. Fifth, social policies should include features such as easy access, accountability, providing feedback and participation, and a high level of quality and interest. Finally, the support of the people should be questioned within the framework of the aids provided in social policies and integrative policies that will provide wider public support should be targeted (Haan, 2007, pp.152-154).

In recent years, the globalization of social problems has led to the expansion of social policy to global dimension. In other words, as a result of the developments experienced, there has been a transformation from national level to global dimension in social policy and a new and different formation at supranational level is witnessed. While social policies were directed by nation states nearly 40 years ago, today some problems such as poverty that nation states have difficulty solving alone require action and struggle on a global scale. Therefore, the importance of global social policy is increasing. One of the important steps in the way of creating a global social policy is to focus international assistance on eradicating poverty and improving international cooperation by 2050. This process allows the private sector and non-governmental organizations to be recognized locally, nationally and globally (Şenkal, 2018, pp.31-130).

The dimensions of cooperation at the global level are also expanding. So much so that global cooperation manifests itself not only in terms of poverty or labor standards, but also in many other social areas. At the top of the global cooperation hierarchy are organizations such as the UN and its affiliates, development banks; policy-implementing bodies, including government, private sector, non-governmental organizations, media and national government agencies at the national level (Şenkal, 2018, p.205).

Indeed, much of development cooperation - including governments, non-

governmental organizations, or both - is planned ahead and has long-term goals such as improving access to healthcare and education, building infrastructure, or strengthening countries' capacity to run their own businesses. Different approaches are used to achieve these goals, including providing experts, equipment and training, grants and loans to developing countries. The range of actors is also diverse. Developed and developing countries and rich countries become donors. Many international organizations such as the World Bank, the United Nations, the Asian Development Bank or the OECD do not provide assistance, but work to improve development cooperation. In addition, many NGOs, religious organizations and private philanthropic initiatives also work in this field (Keeley, 2012, pp.11-12).

Studies have shown that in the last forty years, important socio-economic developments have taken place in the world, but this does not benefit everyone equally. According to most experts on this subject, the unfair distribution has increased due to the unequal economic and political structure at the international system. It is argued that the first world countries receive more than they give to the third world countries under the name of "aid and investment" and thus cause an increase in poverty (Şenkal, 2017, p.238). For this reason, it is seen that alternative practices have intensified in combating global poverty with the increasing public awareness in recent years. It can be said that especially international NGOs concentrate on this issue, and the private sector also carries out some studies.

When the structure of poverty is examined, it is seen that the subject is a wide area including social state, social policy and social security. For this reason, it is necessary to deal with the fight against poverty from a broad perspective. For this, it is necessary to involve local governments and non-governmental organizations in addition to the government. While public institutions generally act from social assistance and microcredit approach, local administrations and NGOs are seen to act on the basis of basic needs and social services (Açıkgöz & Yusufoglu, 2018, pp.151-153). Thus, these organizations can reach the areas of need more effectively than government institutions and produce solutions.

According to the view that has a rights-based approach in combating poverty, a method of struggle should be implemented so that the poor will not be deprived of their most basic human rights. Non-governmental organizations



emerge as an important actor in this struggle. Although the place of NGOs in the fight against poverty extends to the early 1800s, it has become more institutional and active, especially after the 2000s. With the aging population and shrinking employment areas, NGOs have gained more importance in recent years as a savior of the welfare states that are in crisis. Although it is accepted that the primary responsibility in the fight against poverty belongs to the state, it is accepted that civil society is also important in waging a rights-based struggle with the state (Atanır, 2016, pp.47-50).

In support of this view, it is also stated that the direct policies implemented in the fight against poverty today - such as public spending and poverty alleviation programs - are shaped in the light of neoliberal policies and are part of the proposals to reduce the role of the state in the economy. The gap arising from the downsizing of the state should be filled with international organizations and NGOs. In this case, participating in the activities of international aid organizations and turning to their aid is noticeably gaining momentum today. When the effectiveness of these activities is analyzed, the fact that the state, in addition to the NGOs, has an effective supervisory mechanism in matters such as wages and social security, shows that it can be more effective in reducing poverty. In other words, transparent policies that attach importance to participation in the fight against poverty and prioritize the benefit of society should be implemented (Zanbak, 2017, pp.220-225).

A new model applied by NGOs in combating global poverty is global civil society activities. Non-governmental organizations aiming to combat poverty are uniting under some higher organizations and aiming to be more effective. An example of these is Global Call to Action against Poverty (GCAP). GCAP is one of the world's largest civil society movements that has emerged with the goal of ending global poverty and inequality. Under the umbrella of GCAP, there are international NGOs, national NGOs, religious organizations, trade unions, various social movements and parliamentarians. The main purpose of GCAP is to support national governments and international institutions in realizing their commitments under the Millennium Development Goals and finally the Sustainable Development Goals (Gabay, 2013, p.2).

Corporate social responsibility activities of international companies can also be shown as another means of combating poverty that has been frequently encountered in recent years. In line with the sustainable development goals,

it is possible to talk about some of the activities of various companies in cooperation with states and NGOs. For example, in the field of technology and capacity building, Eskom, Volta River, Intel; Proctor and Gamble, Coca Cola, Novartis in healthcare; Husk Power Systems, GreenPoint Partners in environmental development; Cemex, The Bal Vikas Bank (Children's Development Bank) in finance; in addition, it is seen that international companies such as Hindustan Lever, Unilever, The Grameen Bank, Nike and Walmart are engaged in various activities in developing countries under the name of corporate social responsibility. As an example of private sector and public cooperation, UNICEF, World Health Organization, World Bank and various NGOs and GAVI organization, which has representatives from the vaccine industry of developed and developing countries and aims to provide vaccine-based health services in poor countries (Hulme, 2015, p.122).

Although the view that globalization increases poverty is widely accepted, globalization also plays an important role in the solution of global poverty. Intergovernmental and supranational movements that have gained momentum as a result of the globalization process play an active role in combating poverty. Leading intergovernmental organizations, particularly the World Bank, the United Nations, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as well as many other state, private and public foundations; academic institutes; philanthropic activities have spent time, money and effort to address global poverty for many years (Ballard, 2006, p.7). From this point of view, globalization is a cause of poverty as well as an important position for its solution.

There are disagreements between supranational organizations and most anti-globalization NGOs, which are the two main actors in combating global poverty. Groups that defend and oppose the imbalance of power between organizations such as the World Bank, IMF, the UN and the World Trade Organization accuse them expropriating labor and resources of poor countries for benefit of a few powerful and wealthy Western countries or companies. However, it is seen that organizations such as OXFAM, World Vision and World Wildlife Fund agree to cooperate with supranational organizations. It is said that these collaborations have an impact on the policies and actions of supranational organizations (Ballard, 2006, pp.91-93).

According to the neoliberal policies advocated by international organizations, the starting point of the struggle should be privatization. Accordingly, the

efforts of the poor and non-governmental organizations should be at the forefront in combating poverty, not the state. However, considering the differences between individuals, regions, countries and global areas, it is seen that poverty becomes more chronic. Civil society organizations cannot reach all of the poor and they are also very open to political influences. For this reason, the effective structure of the state as well as the civil society, having a controlling mechanism in matters such as wages, social security and working life will be more effective in reducing poverty (Zanbak, 2017, p.224).

The concept of “development cooperation”, which is one of the new tools in combating poverty, is used to express a multi-dimensional structure. Development cooperation, which basically refers to bilateral foreign aid provided by governments’ official development agencies, is a broad definition that includes special movements or multilateral aid. However, it can be seen that what is expressed in development cooperation in the literature is actually official development aid or foreign aid. Because, apart from the development aid provided by the governments, the amount of special aid and multilateral aid carried out in cooperation with higher organizations is quite limited (Kayagil, 2020, p.50). Therefore, this study will be based on official development assistance within the scope of development cooperation activities. Official development assistance is at the heart of the global partnership for development. ODA helps developing countries, including supporting their efforts to eradicate poverty and achieve development goals (United Nations, 2015, p.9).

Table 2

*Development Cooperation Types, Modalities and Instruments*

Type	Main modalities	Instruments (examples)
<b>OFFICIAL</b>		
Financial (and in-kind) transfers	Grants	General budget support Investment projects Core support to NGOs Contributions to Multilateral Institutions Multi-donors Funds (basket funds)
	Loans and equity (and quasi-equity) investment	Concessional loans Multi-donors Trust Funds <i>Aid for Trade (loans)</i> <i>Loans with lower concessionality than ODA</i> <i>Syndicated loans</i> <i>Equity investment</i> <i>Mezzanine finance</i> <i>Risk-mitigation instruments</i>
	International levies and some other innovative finance	Solidarity levy on airlines ticket Pilot advance market commitments for vaccines <i>Caribbean Catastrophe Risk Insurance Facility</i>
	Public-Private Partnership	GAVI Global Fund
	Public climate finance	Mitigation projects <i>Certified Emission Reduction Trading</i>
	In-kind transfer	Food aid Non-food commodities
Capacity support	Organizational and human resources	Decentralized cooperation University cooperation Institutions and capacity building programmes
	Technology coop'n	<i>Cooperation among research centers</i>
	Sharing policy experiences	Policy advice Capacity and institution building
Policy change	In-country	Scholarship programmes Refugees in donor countries Administrative costs Debt relief Promotion of development awareness
	Changing global rules	<i>Exceptions in TRIPS: transition period for LDCs concerning patent regarding pharmaceutical product</i> <i>Trade preferences (GSP): Reduction of trade duties</i> <i>Duty-free, quota-free for LDCs</i>
	Policy coherence	<i>Monitoring national improvements by the EC</i>
<b>PRIVATE</b>		
Financial (and in-kind) transfers	Private grants (NGOs and Foundations)	<i>Gates Foundation</i> <i>Oxfam etc.</i>
	Innovative finance	<i>Product RED</i>
	Public-Private Partnership	<i>GAVI</i> <i>Global Fund</i>
	Social impact investment	<i>Social Impact Bonds</i> <i>Global Innovation Fund</i>

Capacity support	Organizational and human resources	<i>Institutions and capacity building programmes, often at small scale</i>
	Technology coop'n	<i>Support for drug development and access</i>
Policy change	Social Corporate responsibility initiatives	<i>Better Factories (ILO) Tom's Shoes Starbucks</i>
	Fair Trade	<i>Fairtrade International</i>
		<i>European Fair Trade Association</i>

*Note: Italic is official Development Cooperation transfer but usually non-ODA countable.*

**Source:** Antonio & Glennie, 2015, p.5.

As can be seen in the table above, development cooperation activities can be classified into two main groups, official and private, and sub-groups such as aids, capacity support and policy support. The striking point here is that private activities have been increasing in recent years.

The resources transferred within the scope of development cooperation activities mainly consist of three types. The first of these is ODA. This type of aid is the privileged loans made directly or by multilateral organizations to the countries in need, aiming to improve the development and welfare of the recipient country and containing at least 25% grant element. The second type is other official movements. These are non-development or non-grant streams. The third type is private flows that involve foreign direct investment by companies (T.C. Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2015, p.x).

The first thing that comes to mind is the rescue efforts and emergency relief activities following disasters such as the 2004 Asian Tsunami disaster or the 2010 Haiti Earthquake. However, they represent a small piece of the development cooperation puzzle. A large portion of foreign aid is offered for national development, although a significant amount of ODA constitutes humanitarian assistance to cope with disasters and emergencies. Establishing roads, infrastructure, education, medical facilities, promoting gender equality, making national governments more effective, developing the private sector are among the activities carried out in this context (Hulme, 2016, p.23).

According to the data presented by OECD, the distribution of ODAs by sectors is rather fragmented. Social infrastructure and services had the highest share in the sectors with USD 43 billion (34%) in 2017. In this sector, the highest share belongs to the government and civil society aid and education aid. The second largest sector received economic infrastructure and services with US \$ 21 billion (17%). This sector was followed by humanitarian aid

activities, multi-sector aids, production sector aids and regulations on debts. The proportion of unallocated / undistributed aid was 17% (OECD.Stats, 2020, July 29).

In 2017, approximately USD 163 billion in ODA was made to all developing countries. Considering the distribution of this aid, Africa and Asia have the highest share. Accordingly, while the African region receives approximately 32% of the total aid with USD 52.8 billion; Asian countries received approximately 30% of the total aid with USD 49 billion. The least developed countries group has the highest share in ODA with USD 48.8 billion (30%). These countries are followed by low middle income countries with 27% and upper middle income countries with 9% (OECD, 2018, pp.266-282).

According to 2007 data, there are about 100 large (large) official donors, including bilateral agencies, international and regional financial institutions, and different United Nations organizations and agencies. Considering all small institutions, the total number rises to almost 200. 95 percent of the bilateral ODA is 23 members of the OECD-DAC; the rest is provided by 14 other countries. More than 90 percent of multilateral aid is provided by 15 institutions and the rest is provided by 150 institutions. Official aid and ODA are predominantly given to governments, and more than 180 countries are currently receiving official aid or ODA (Ridell, 2007, p.52).

In recent years, knowledge and understanding of ODA provided by rich countries has started to change. The rise of China and, to a lesser extent, other BRIC countries, and the development of mega-wealthy organizations such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation have been instrumental in this. In the past, poor countries had to accept IMF and World Bank policies and conditions before donors gave them ODA, and aid received from these “traditional donors” was adapted to rich country aid policies. Things have changed with the arrival of countries like China as donor and poor countries have gained the opportunity to receive their aid from “non-traditional donors” such as China as well as OECD countries. However, “foreign aid and state-sponsored investment activity” (FAGIA) has also begun to develop. However, it is difficult to determine to what extent this strain meets OECD / DAC definitions (Hulme, 2016, p.28).

## Conclusion

The issue of poverty and fighting against poverty has occupied the world agenda more than before, especially in the last thirty years. Among the main reasons for this is the deepening of poverty as a result of the increasing injustice in the distribution of income and other resources with the process called globalization. With this deepening, poverty has turned into a multidimensional deprivation in social, cultural and human terms beyond being deprived of a certain income. While some groups profited from the new global system that was formed, the vast majority of the rest proved to be harmful by becoming poor or their poverty exponentially. Even though this mass of damage has decreased gradually in the last thirty years, today 10% of the world population is still in extreme poverty. However, this refers to the income dimension of poverty. It is possible to state that poverty is at higher levels in humanitarian terms.

Therefore, the fight against poverty is expected to occupy an important place in the world agenda. However, the issue reached an important level in the 1990s and today it maintains its position in the agenda with different tools. It is possible to say that the effectiveness of traditional means of struggle, which gained speed in the fight against poverty in the 1990s, has decreased. While poverty has been the main agenda item of the World Bank for many years, it is only one of the items on the agenda today. It is possible to understand this from development reports. UNDP and OECD-DAC can be cited as examples of the most effective traditional tools today. UNDP stands out with its millennium development goals, sustainable development goals and human development studies. OECD DAC is also effective with its goals and statistics regarding development cooperation activities.

Today, the main development in the fight against poverty is through actors such as NGOs, public-private partnerships, regional and national development agencies, which are mentioned as new tools. In addition to the activities of international organizations such as the World Bank or UNDP, which are traditionally defined in the fight against global poverty, it is possible to mention many official, private and voluntary activities. It can be seen that microfinance practices, social responsibility activities and non-governmental organizations, ODA which offered by many regional and international multilateral organizations, bilateral development agencies and major non-state actors, have

been effective in combating poverty. Development cooperation activities, the importance of which is emphasized within the scope of our study, mainly refer to the official development assistance provided by national governments to poor countries. Substantially, ODA consists of financial payments to low-income or middle-income countries, mainly for development purposes and with high concession. These activities, which are usually coordinated through the official development agencies of the developed countries, are newer than other poverty alleviation tools. Although the first examples are encountered in the period after the Second World War, it is possible to say that the activities in today's sense were seen after 1990. With the Sustainable Development Goals set in 2015, the importance attributed to development cooperation activities has increased and the activities have accelerated further. However, it is observed that the amount of aid falls well behind the global targets. In terms of quality, it is seen that the aids mainly focus on social infrastructure and services, economic investments and humanitarian aid. It can be stated that there are no radical solutions in terms of combating poverty.

It is possible for new tools to be more effective in combating poverty compared to traditional institutions. Many factors can be effective in this. First, new tools do not only look at poverty as a financial problem. Thanks to their flexible structure, they can be more effective because they have a higher chance of intervening in the problem at its source. The positive response and support to the activities in the public opinion is greater. There is little thought of serving the neoliberal system as in traditional tools. Particularly, the possibility of public participation in the activities of NGOs can be a means of psychological and moral satisfaction against poverty. Social responsibility activities can also be evaluated in this respect. Rich nations can take an active role in combating poverty and become a part of the solution, with the aid provided through development cooperation activities. Thus, those who cause global income injustice and poverty are able to compensate. In short, it is very important to develop and encourage these tools. Here, traditional tools have to play a role in developing and guiding new tools. Thus, it will be possible for all tools to be more effective in combating poverty.



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