OXFAM

FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES ON BEYOND GDP IN ASIA

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Executive Summary

While Asia now accounts for 50% of global GDP and demonstrates rapid economic growth, especially in China, India and across South-East Asia, this supposed prosperity has come at a high cost.[1] It has fuelled displacement, environmental depletion and labour exploitation, and is often subsidized by unpaid care and domestic work, which is disproportionately performed by women. Despite rapid GDP growth, inequality within and between Asian countries remains high – India's richest 1% hold 40% of the country's wealth,[2] for example, while social spending in South Asia lags far behind global averages.[3] The consequences are stark: life expectancy of the average person in Bangladesh and India is approximately 10 years less than that of the average person in Japan and South Korea.[4]

A shift beyond GDP is essential – not to reject growth outright, but to prioritize sectors that enhance wellbeing, reduce inequality and drive a just transition away from fossil fuels. The Global North must curb resource use and abandon 'green growth' myths. Meanwhile, the Global South may still require growth to meet basic needs. This means challenging narratives and policies of scarcity, which advocate that there are not enough public resources to realize rights and sustainable development for all, and instead embracing narratives and policies of 'radical abundance' – scaling back destructive industries (like fossil fuels and fast fashion), and prioritizing investments that redress inequalities particularly to redistribute resources and make public investments in housing, healthcare, decent work, renewables, transport and education.[5]

This paper argues that any transformative alternative to GDP must address inequality, promote justice and be:

- **Feminist**, prioritizing social, political and economic equality and justice for all, and tackling the intersecting systems of oppression that women and marginalized genders and groups encounter as a result of entrenched norms and power dynamics;
- **Ecologically just**, centring ecological resilience and harmony with the environment as core principles for long-term wellbeing; and
- **Decolonial**, challenging Global North-centric assumptions of development and redressing or confronting the historic, colonial origins and continuous patterns of injustice and dispossession.

The analysis explores critiques and alternatives around these three pillars but recognises that they are inextricably linked: for an approach to be truly feminist, it must be both ecologically just and decolonial and vice versa. At the same time, these struggles must be embedded within wider struggles of economic and social justice that strive for a fairer and more equal society. For the purposes of the paper, these pillars are explored as distinct categories for a more detailed analysis.

Endless economic growth is driving structural injustice and ecological breakdown

The GDP-centric growth model ignores inequalities, particularly along lines of gender, while relying on women's unpaid and underpaid labour to sustain economic output. Women in Asia perform 80% of unpaid care work, yet GDP fails to recognize this essential labour.[6] In South Asia, women spend up to 11 times more time than men on unpaid labour.[7] Under austerity-driven policies aimed at maintaining GDP growth, public services are cut – forcing women to take on even greater caregiving loads, acting as shock absorbers by subsidizing the market economy with their unpaid labour to meet the needs that increase where public services are cut (such as health and social care).[8]

Economic growth is inextricably linked to resource extraction, greenhouse gas emissions and ecological destruction.[9] Six of nine planetary boundaries have already been breached,[10] yet GDP-driven economies continue to expand fossil fuel production, deforestation and industrial activities that accelerate climate breakdown. GDP fails as a measure of progress because it does not distinguish between harmful activities, like fossil fuel expansion, and beneficial investments, such as education or healthcare. In South-East Asia, oil and gas investment is set to more than triple from US$9.5 billion in 2022-2023 to US$30 billion in 2024-2025, boosting GDP while disregarding environmental and social costs.[11] As a result of its pursuit of economic growth, India, one of the world's fastest-growing economies, faces a severe pollution crisis that negatively impacts long-term public health.[12] Much of its emissions come from producing goods for global consumption in wealthier countries, highlighting the Global North's disproportionate role in ecological degradation.

Neocolonial expansionism is the political engine behind the growth paradigm in Asia

Designed by white men in the Global North, GDP reflects and perpetuates a colonial, neoliberal capitalist vision of progress – it is individualistic, extractive and blind to collective wellbeing.[13] Northern economies enjoy high GDP based on their economic strength, while ignoring their reliance on outsourced pollution and emissions, cheap labour and resource extraction from the Global South. Wealth built on colonial exploitation persists today, reinforcing global inequalities while GDP remains the dominant measure of economic success.[14] It has contributed to the marginalization of alternative and Indigenous ways of valuing progress and wellbeing – including principles that prioritize

care, reciprocity, solidarity and environmental stewardship – as more central to society than the economic value of the market economy.

Asia's growth-centric economic model has been driven by Western colonialism and neocolonial expansion. Historically, colonial powers extracted raw materials and exploited labour to fuel their own industrialization, as was the case with Britain's cotton monopoly in India and European-controlled rubber plantations in South-East Asia.[15] Today, this exploitation continues as Global North corporations offshore production to the Global South, where cheap labour (especially women's labour) and resources sustain Northern consumption while draining US$10 trillion annually from the South.[16] This export-led model prioritizes foreign demand over domestic needs, making economies vulnerable to global market volatilities. Export-driven industrialization, a key driver of GDP growth, thrives on cheap, precarious labour, often by relying on a highly feminized workforce. Over 80% of women in non-agricultural jobs across South Asia work informally, without basic rights, reinforcing a model where GDP expansion depends on suppressing wages and ignoring labour protections.[17]

International financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) further entrench this growth paradigm. IMF-imposed austerity (often linked to achieving GDP growth) weakens public services, increases women's already large and unequal unpaid care and domestic workloads and disproportionately harms feminized labour sectors.[18] The ADB, of which the USA and Japan are the largest shareholders,[19] funds large-scale infrastructure over decentralized, sustainable development – often displacing communities and degrading ecosystems.[20]

Powerful government actors and intergovernmental platforms focus on growth, while alternative objectives are explored by less powerful ministries

Governments across Asia are beginning to explore alternatives to GDP, yet the dominant state actors – particularly finance ministries and central banks – continue to prioritize economic growth over social and ecological wellbeing. Ministries focused on human rights, gender and social justice lack the political and financial power to challenge this agenda.[21] Even when gender-focused policies are implemented, they often reinforce growth-centric models (such as by promoting women's entrepreneurship) rather than addressing structural inequalities like labour rights, social protection and unpaid care work.

Regional economic cooperation further entrenches the growth-first model. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the most

important intergovernmental platform in Asia, states that accelerating economic growth is one of its primary objectives (alongside peace and security issues).[22] This priority can be seen in agreements like the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, which focuses on trade liberalization without considering which sectors should grow or shrink for equitable development.[23]

'Beyond GDP' alternatives exist in Asia, but fail to meaningfully challenge GDP in their implementation

Despite increasing recognition of the need for alternative indicators, GDP remains central to economic decision-making across Asia. While wellbeing metrics exist, their influence on economic decision-making is minimal, with most serving only as diagnostic tools or as supplementary tools to GDP.

We have observed the following range of implementation of beyond GDP alternatives across Asia, from the least effective to the most effective end of the implementation spectrum:

Minimal integration: Some countries collect social data (e.g. Pakistan's Social and Living Standards Measurement) but fail to synthesize it into actionable wellbeing metrics.

Diagnostic uses: Indices like India's Social Progress Index (SPI) highlight inequalities but are not prioritized in policymaking. GDP remains the dominant policy objective.

Targeted policy application: Thailand's Human Achievement Index (HAI) has informed policies for minority ethnic groups, but without broader economic integration.

Incorporation into economic decision-making: Bhutan's Gross National Happiness (GNH) Index is one of the few indices influencing economic decision-making, such as through integration into resource allocation formulas.

Full adoption and primary objective: No country has yet made wellbeing metrics the primary framework for economic decision-making.

An evaluation of beyond GDP alternatives in Asia

Beyond GDP metrics should prioritize far greater equality and align with feminist and decolonial values while challenging the systems of power and narratives that are holding GDP in its dominant place. They need to prioritize a radical reduction in inequality and include indicators that

capture the concentration of income, wealth, assets, information and power but also inequalities in the quality of education, health, housing, employment and social security. Furthermore, GDP alternatives must comprehensively measure well-being, sustainability and social progress and include the voices of marginalised groups. Keeping this focus, this paper evaluates existing beyond GDP alternatives in Asia across three dimensions, exploring the extent to which they are feminist, ecologically just and decolonial. While these dimensions are inextricably interlinked, reviewing them separately allows a deeper analysis for the purposes of this paper.

A feminist evaluation of beyond GDP alternatives in Asia

A feminist economics framework prioritizes gender justice by addressing both economic and social structural inequalities; gendered division of labour and women's disproportionate role in unpaid labour; and women's unequal access to basic amenities, decent work and food and nutrition. Unlike GDP, which focuses on growth regardless of distribution, a feminist economic approach reorients to focus towards well-being and equity. It evaluates progress through multi-dimensional indicators such as access to income-augmenting assets and abilities, access to decent work, equitable distribution of time between paid and unpaid work and access to social protections. It also takes into account wider indicators that determine women's social, political and economic outcomes, including measures to address sexual health and reproductive rights, prevention of gender-based violence, meaningful political participation and equitable access to land, inheritance and property rights.

Current beyond GDP metrics in Asia often overlook unpaid care work and fail to capture intersectional inequalities across gender, class, ethnicity and region. While some indices, such as India's SPI and Bhutan's GNH Index, track gender disparities in political representation and education, they do not fully integrate economic and social deprivations faced by women and marginalized groups.

An ecologically just evaluation of beyond GDP alternatives in Asia

A truly ecologically just economic framework must go beyond GDP by capturing the long-term connections between ecosystems, human wellbeing and resource sustainability; prioritizing planetary boundaries over economic expansion; accounting for the unequal burden of environmental harm on Indigenous peoples, local communities and marginalized cohorts of populations, including women and children; and shifting from valuing ecosystem services to preserving ecological integrity.

While many beyond GDP indicators in Asia – such as the Malaysian Well-being Index (MyWI), India's SPI and Thailand's HAI – include short-term environmental measures like air quality and forest cover, they fail to address the underlying systemic drivers of ecological collapse, including carbon emissions, large-scale resource extraction and biodiversity loss. Some indicators, like the Korean Quality of Life (KQoL) Indicators, track climate change awareness but do not drive policies that fundamentally challenge fossil fuel reliance or extractivist economic models.

A decolonial evaluation of beyond GDP alternatives in Asia

A decolonial economic framework must account for historical injustices such as dispossession of land and people, resource extraction and the ongoing effects of neocolonial practices, including exported emissions and exploitative trade relationships. Metrics like the Sustainable Development Index attempt to challenge the Global North's growth-driven model by incorporating ecological overshoot into development measures.

However, decolonial approaches remain largely absent in Asia, with most wellbeing metrics focusing on cultural engagement rather than addressing global economic asymmetries. Existing alternatives, such as Malaysia's MyWI and the Korean KQoL, include indicators on community belonging and cultural participation but fail to challenge North-South economic imbalances or reflect traditional worldviews from Indigenous peoples and local communities. Bhutan's GNH Index integrates subjective wellbeing, offering a more localized approach, but evaluations of subjective wellbeing must be cautiously interpreted: reported satisfaction can stem from social conditioning, where people have low expectations of government support for basic wellbeing and thus accept their circumstances.

Opportunities to advance the beyond GDP agenda, particularly with feminist allies in Asia

Shifting beyond GDP requires a more equitable distribution of decision-making power and requires building wider alliances among groups advocating for common goals. Feminist organizations across Asia have long criticized GDP and foreign direct investment-led and export-oriented growth models for ignoring gendered aspects of wellbeing, undervaluing care work and exacerbating economic inequality. Groups like Sri Lanka's Feminist Collective for Economic Justice highlight how growth-centric policies, austerity measures and international financial institutions systematically undermine women's rights, weaken social

protections and exclude Southern feminist perspectives.[24]

This research mapped feminist civil society organizations in Asia to understand which movements and organizations are critical of the relentless pursuit of growth and GDP, and how to integrate the beyond GDP agenda into existing feminist demands for economic justice in the region. Based on that analysis, we identified the following synergies:

Region	Feminist organizations are focusing on issues of…	Post-growth and beyond GDP advocacy can be incorporated into these demands as…
South Asia	Championing women's labour rights and decent work for women employed in low-wage, precarious and/or informal work.	Precarious work conditions in South Asia are driven by a neoliberal, growth-oriented system in which global gendered and racialized divisions of labour allow the Global North to profit from women's repressed and precarious labour in the Global South.
East Asia	Addressing structural barriers to paid labour force participation and the rights of migrant domestic workers.	These agendas share an understanding that women are contributing to economic output, yet face exploitative or discriminatory conditions that are ignored in the pursuit of growth.
South-East Asia	Challenging growth-oriented extractivism and environmental injustice.	Ecological devastation is primarily driven by a conventional economic model that pursues growth and output at the expense of sustainability.

Pathways for the future

Civil society organizations and social movements can:

- Build alliances across feminist, anti-inequality, climate, labour and social justice movements to reject growth-centric models and push for a wellbeing economy.
- Connect beyond GDP advocacy to local struggles, including extractivism, labour rights, strengthening public services and economic inequalities, to ground alternative frameworks in existing demands across people's movements in Asia.
- Engage with progressive movements and academic and student activism to embed beyond GDP approaches in economic curricula and activism.
- Collaborate with international institutions such as the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, which is feeding into the UN's efforts to develop beyond GDP metrics, based on an outcome from the 2024 UN Summit of the Future and its resulting Pact for the Future (Action 53).

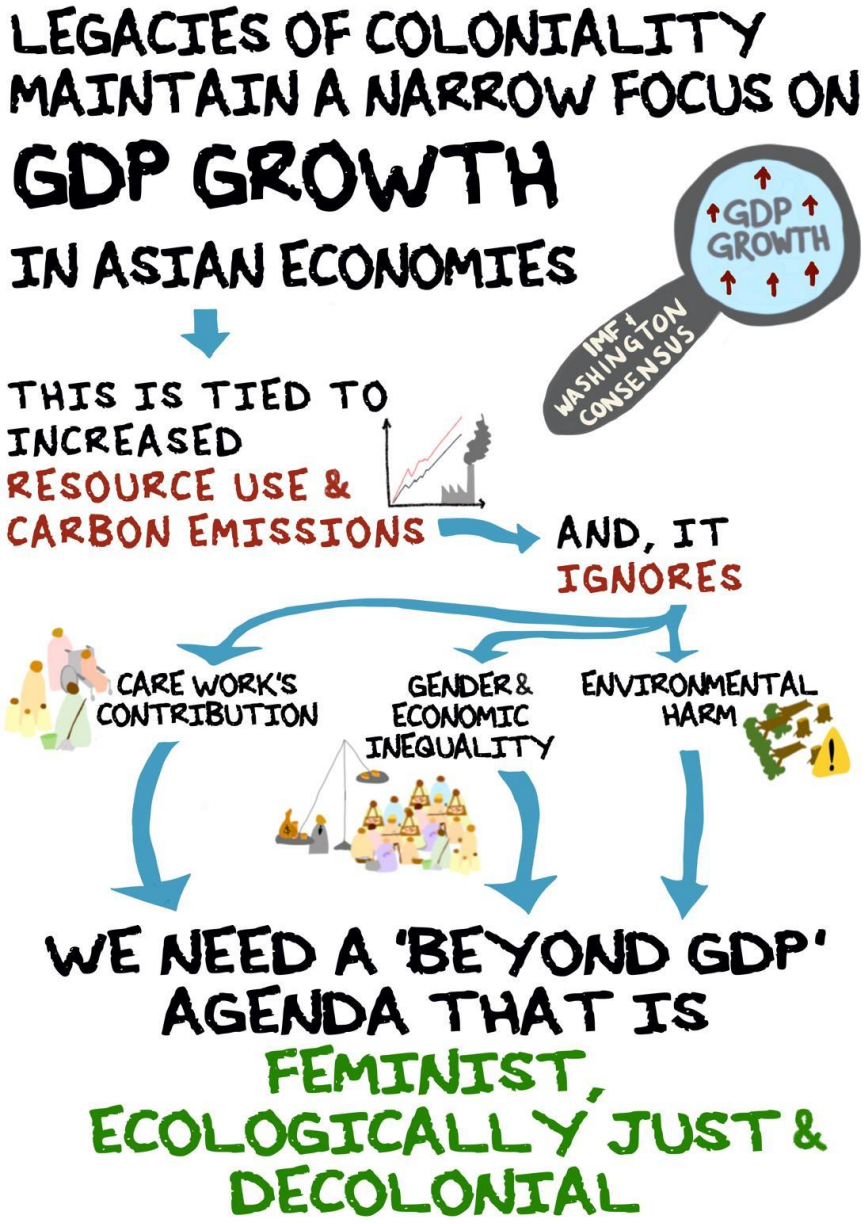
- Champion beyond GDP frameworks at high-level forums, such as the Commission on the Status of Women and Beijing+30; the Financing for Development Forum; the Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change; Asia-Pacific Climate Week; the ASEAN Civil Society Conference; and the ADB Annual Meeting, all of which have opportunities for civil society participation.

Governments in Asia can:

- Engage meaningfully with civil society and people's movements, including feminist movements and Indigenous communities, to develop metrics that reflect their concerns and priorities and draw on their expertise.
- Strengthen cross-ministry cooperation between economic decision-makers and ministries focusing on gender, environment, social, economic and labour rights to prioritize wellbeing over GDP growth.
- Invest in research and capacity-building to support the development of beyond GDP alternatives. This may include capacity-building for statistics and rights-oriented ministries, so that they have increased resources for the data collection necessary to create and implement beyond GDP alternatives.

International financial institutions can:

- Increase Global South decision-making power at the IMF by reforming quota formulas, which currently prioritize GDP and disadvantage the Global South.
- End financing for development projects that are narrowly focused on GDP growth, particularly where negative gendered, or other equity and ecological impacts are severe.
- Advance fiscal reforms to fund wellbeing economies, including through global wealth taxes, ending corporate tax abuses, and debt cancellation for Global South countries.


LEGACIES OF COLONIALITY MAINTAIN A NARROW FOCUS ON
GDP GROWTH
IN ASIAN ECONOMIES
GDP GROWTH
IMF + WASHINGTON CONSENSUS
THIS IS TIED TO INCREASED RESOURCE USE & CARBON EMISSIONS
AND, IT IGNORES
CARE WORK'S CONTRIBUTION
GENDER & ECONOMIC INEQUALITY
ENVIRONMENTAL HARM
WE NEED A 'BEYOND GDP' AGENDA THAT IS
FEMINIST, ECOLOGICALLY JUST & DECOLONIAL

Notes

[1] Nakaso, H. (2015). Asian Economy: Past, Present, and Future Keynote Address at the Securities Analysts Association of Japan International Seminar. [online] Available at: https://www.boj.or.jp/en/about/press/koen_2015/data/ko150424a1.pdf; IMF. (2025). GDP based on PPP, share of world. [online] Available at: https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/PPPSH@WEO/OEMDC/ADVEC/WEOWORLD/APQ

[2] Mahendru, A., Gomes, K. Dutta, M., Ranjan Mishra, N. & Ranjan Mishra, P. (2023). Survival of the Richest: The India Story. Oxfam India. [online] Available at: https://d1ns4ht6ytuzzo.cloudfront.net/oxfamdata/oxfamdatapublic/2023-01/India%20Supplement%202023_digital.pdf?kz3wav0jbhJdvkJ.fK1rj1k1_5ap9FhQ

[3] World Bank Database. (2024). Domestic general government health expenditure (% of GDP) | Data. [online] Available at: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.GHED.GD.ZS

[4] World Health Organization. (2025). World Health Statistics: Life expectancy and Healthy life expectancy Data by country. [online] Available at: https://www.who.int/publications/b/78420

[5] Hickel, J. (2019). Degrowth: A theory of radical abundance. [online] Available at: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/59bc0e610abd04bd1e067ccc/t/5cb6db356e9a7f14e5322a62/1555487546989/Hickel+-+Degrowth%2C+A+Theory+of+Radical+Abundance.pdf

[6] International Labour Organization. (2018). Care Work and Care Jobs for The Future of Decent Work. [online] Available at: https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/wcmsp5/groups/public/%40dgreports/%40dcomm/%40publ/documents/publication/wcms_633135.pdf

[7] UN Women. (2019). Progress of the world's women 2019–2020: Families in a changing world. [online] Available at: https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2019/Progress-of-the-worlds-women-2019-2020-en.pdf

[8] Mies, M. & Shiva, V. (1993). Ecofeminism. London: Zed Books.

[9] Hickel, J. & Hallegatte, S. (2021). Can we live within environmental limits and still reduce poverty? Degrowth or decoupling? *Development Policy Review*, 40(1). doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/dpr.12584

[10] Richardson, K., Steffen, W., Lucht, W., Bendtsen, J., Cornell, S., Donges, J. F., Drüke, M., Fetzer, I., Bala, G., von Bloh, W., Feulner, G., Fiedler, S., Gerten, D., Gleeson, T., Hofmann, M., Huiskamp, W., Kummu, M., Mohan, C., Bravo, D. & Petri, S. (2023). Earth beyond six of nine planetary boundaries. *Science Advances*, 9(37). https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.adh2458

[11] Selvaraju, K. (2024). Offshore gas boom in Southeast Asia: $100 billion forecast by 2028. [online] Available at: https://www.rystadenergy.com/news/offshore-gas-boom-in-southeast-asia

[12] Mele, M. & Magazzino, C. (2020). Pollution, economic growth, and COVID-19 deaths in India: a machine learning evidence. *Environmental Science and Pollution Research*, 3(28). doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11356-020-10689-0

[13] Butt, A.P., Berkhout, E., Zaghbour, C.M., Bush, A., Verma, R. & Pheko, L.L. (2023). Radical Pathways Beyond GDP: Why and How We Need to Pursue Feminist and Decolonial Alternatives Urgently. [online] Oxfam. Available at: https://policy-practice.oxfam.org/resources/radical-pathways-beyond-gdp-621532/

[14] Hickel, J., Dorninger, C., Wieland, H. & Suwandi, I. (2022). Imperialist appropriation in the world economy: Drain from the global South through unequal exchange, 1990–2015. *Global Environmental Change*, 73(102467). [online] Available at: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S095937802200005X

[15] Broadberry, S. & Gupta, B. (2005). Cotton Textiles And The Great Divergence: Lancashire, India And Shifting Competitive Advantage. [online] Available at: https://www.lse.ac.uk/Economic-History/Assets/Documents/Research/GEHN/GEHNConferences/conf6/Conf6-BroadberryGupta.pdf; Drabble, J.H. (1967). The Plantation Rubber Industry in Malaya up to 1922. *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* vol 40. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41491906

[16] Hickel, J., Dorninger, C., Wieland, H. & Suwandi, I. (2022). Imperialist appropriation in the world economy: Drain from the global South through unequal exchange, 1990–2015. *Global Environmental Change*, 73(102467). [online] Available at: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S095937802200005X

[17] UN Women. (2015). Progress of the world's women 2015–2016: Transforming economies, realizing rights. [online] Available at: https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2015/POWW-2015-2016-en.pdf

[18] Reality of Aid. (n.d.). CSO Aid Observatorio. Available at: https://realityofaid.org/cso-aid-observatorio/ (Accessed 08 June 2025)

[19] Asian Development Bank. (2020). Annual Report 2020. [online] Available at: https://data.adb.org/media/7886/download [Accessed 16 Jan. 2025].

[20] Resurreccion P.B. & Elmhirst, R. (2012). Gender and Natural Resource Management: Livelihoods, Mobility and Interventions. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781849771436; Banking on Renewables. (2025). Fact Sheet: Assessing the Asian Development Bank's progress on just energy transition. [online] Available at: https://re-course.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/Fact-sheet_Assessing-the-Asian-Development-Banks-progress-on-just-energy-transition.pdf

[21] UN ESCAP. (2015). Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Asia and the Pacific: Perspectives of governments on 20 years of implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform For Action. [online] Available at: https://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/publications/B20%20Gender%20Equality%20Report%20v10-3-E.pdf

[22] European Parliament. (n.d.). Overview: Association of Southeast Asian Nations. [online] Available at: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/fd/04_asean-generalin/04_asean-generalinfo.pdf

[23] Kimura, F., Thangavelu, S. & Narjoko, D. (2022). RCEP and East Asian Regional Integration, in Kimura, F., S. Thangavelu and D. Narjoko (eds.), *RCEP: Implications, Challenges, and Future Growth of East Asia and ASEAN*. Jakarta: ERIA, pp.1-13. [online] Available at:https://www.eria.org/uploads/media/Books/2022-RCEP-Book1/5_Ch.1-RCEP-and-East-Asian-Integration.pdf

[24] Sri Lanka Feminist Collective. (2024). International Women's Day: Sri Lankan Women Demand Democracy, Economic Justice and Freedom. [online] Sri Lanka Feminist Collective. Available at: https://www.srilankafeministcollective.org/_files/ugd/06bf48_7eafbdc7ee4c40809bff15eb1d4b1fca.pdf

Oxfam Discussion Paper – November 2025

Discussion Papers are written to contribute to public debate and to invite feedback on development and humanitarian policy issues. They are 'work in progress' documents, and do not necessarily constitute final publications or reflect Oxfam policy positions. The views and recommendations expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of Oxfam.

This paper was written by Arimbi Wahono, Manickam Valliappan, Mariam Moussa, Sze Vei Leong with input from Myrah Nerine Butt, Rachel Noble, and Alex Bush.

For more information, or to comment on this paper, email myrah.nerine@oxfam.org

© Oxfam International November 2025

Published by Oxfam GB for Oxfam International in November 2025. DOI: 10.21201/2025.000107.

Oxfam GB, Oxfam House, 2600 John Smith Drive, Oxford, OX4 2JY, UK.

Cover photo: Artwork by Sara Khan

About Oxfam

Oxfam is a global movement of people who are fighting inequality to end poverty and injustice. We are working across regions in more than 70 countries, with thousands of partners, and allies, supporting communities to build better lives for themselves, grow resilience and protect lives and livelihoods also in times of crisis. Please write to any of the agencies for further information or visit www.oxfam.org.

Oxfam America (www.oxfamamerica.org)
Oxfam Aotearoa (www.oxfam.org.nz)
Oxfam Australia (www.oxfam.org.au)
Oxfam-in-Belgium (www.oxfamsol.be)
Oxfam Brasil (www.oxfam.org.br)
Oxfam Canada (www.oxfam.ca)
Oxfam Colombia (www.oxfamcolombia.org)
Oxfam France (www.oxfamfrance.org)
Oxfam Germany (www.oxfam.de)
Oxfam GB (www.oxfam.org.uk)
Oxfam Hong Kong (www.oxfam.org.hk)
Oxfam Denmark (www.oxfam.dk)
Oxfam India (www.oxfamindia.org)
Oxfam Intermón (Spain) (www.oxfamintermon.org)
Oxfam Ireland (www.oxfamireland.org)
Oxfam Italy (www.oxfamitalia.org)
Oxfam Mexico (www.oxfammexico.org)
Oxfam Novib (Netherlands) (www.oxfamnovib.nl)
Oxfam Québec (www.oxfam.qc.ca)
Oxfam South Africa (www.oxfam.org.za)
Oxfam KEDV (www.kedv.org.tr)
Oxfam Pilipinas (www.oxfam.org.ph)

OXFAM