

Shaping Positive SRHR Narratives in Asia and the Pacific:

A toolkit to support
advocates and allies





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Summary

The toolkit advances positive narratives in support of sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), based on the insights and experiences of campaigners and advocates across the region of Asia and the Pacific.

Who is this for?

If you are working to advance sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) and bodily autonomy and find your work challenged by harmful narratives, this toolkit is for you. Whether you communicate through conversations, communities, or content, and whether you work at the grassroots or in multilateral advocacy, you will find some useful ideas to adapt to your context, based on the experiences of your peers.

What is it based on?

The research methodology behind the toolkit is based on elicitation interviews, language analysis and creative workshops. It focuses on the link between public narratives and policy impact. We followed narratives wherever public debate is happening: from mainstream media and parliamentary speeches that demonstrate how these narratives influence policy makers to YouTube videos, podcasts, and online comments that give an insight into how these narratives spread through public conversation.

How to use it?

You can read through a summary of the analysis of the harmful narratives we are contesting or you could skip straight to the four suggested positive narratives with potential, with short example texts and tips which we invite you to use as a starting point to adapt for your context.

Introduction



The toolkit was initiated by the Asia Pacific Alliance for Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights, International Planned Parenthood Federation East & South East Asia and Oceania Region, and FP2030 Asia - Pacific Hub, and in partnership with the Planned Parenthood Association of Thailand (PPAT), to contribute to the generation of positive narratives for civil society partners, focal points and allies to support them in their work advancing SRHR— including improving access to modern contraceptives— across Asia and the Pacific, with a focus on marginalised and oppressed groups.

The Asia and the Pacific region has witnessed a concerning rise in anti-rights and anti-gender messaging, spread by a variety of actors and institutions. New narratives are needed for advocates to use that resonate with the diverse communities and constituencies across the region, to build understanding, tolerance and support of people and their right to bodily autonomy.

The toolkit focuses on recommendations for how to most effectively move the public debate about SRHR rather than on how to most effectively persuade a decision-

maker in direct dialogue or through technical language to use in policymaking. This initiative can be seen as a first step in narrative building. However, the toolkit has limitations in terms of scope and priorities:

- Asia and the Pacific is a diverse and complex region offering unique perspectives. The toolkit does not aim to be a comprehensive survey or to offer one-size-fits-all solutions. Instead, it highlights a small sample of public discourse on SRHR from different contexts, illustrating the rich differences that influence individuals' experiences.
- It is essential to acknowledge the rich diversity of languages present in the region, each carrying unique cultural contexts and meanings. However, this project is limited by its English-language framework, which may not fully capture the nuances of local dialects and perspectives. This limitation underscores the need for ongoing dialogue and collaboration with local communities to ensure that discussions on SRHR are both relevant and accessible.

Methodology

This toolkit was based on research and creative collaboration with allies across the region:

- **Elicitation interviews** with 12 experts and allies, from researchers to community civil society organizations (CSOs) to faith-based advocates. The core focus of the interviews was to understand what the narrative landscape for SRHR was in different contexts, how it affected interviewees' strategy and audiences, what narratives against SRHR are harmful, and what positive narratives allies had attempted to spread or would like to test in the future.
- **Language analysis** of over 35 sources—including political speeches, quotes in newspaper articles, podcasts, and social media comments—to ensure that the analysis and creative solutions are based on real examples from across the region. It was important that this analysis not only look at harmful narratives but also examples of positive narratives which allies were attempting to spread, because the purpose was to unearth the language ingredients—the morals, metaphors, and protagonists which make up framing—for the creative stage.
- **Creative workshops** with 20+ SRHR advocates from community, national, and multilateral-focused organisations. As a group, we discussed which harmful narratives we most wanted to counter, which positive language ingredients had the most potential, and tested out two high-pressure scenarios to practice how we might adapt those ingredients to support positive narratives in our own contexts. The priorities and ideas from these workshops formed the four potential positive narratives in this toolkit.

What are we up against?

Harmful narratives against SRHR

Most of the existing research into SRHR narratives, and much of the attention of the participants we spoke to, has been focused on the harmful narratives against SRHR. This project aimed to move beyond reactive analysis to focus on the proactive, positive narratives that our movement can put into action. However, to do so in a way that counters or preempts harmful narratives, we need to first analyse the language ingredients in harmful narratives to make sure we are inoculating our audiences against them and not unintentionally reinforcing them.

Seven elements of anti-SRHR narratives were identified as most harmful, identifying the language ingredients within them that we needed to counter:

'Against our culture/religion'

As one interviewee put it — “the dilemma always comes down to religion” —but that does not mean that it must be an unmoving monolith that squashes all possibilities. As many interviewees pointed out, religious rhetoric is often the justification for other arguments (“Religion is a vehicle for people to say things that they would not be able to say otherwise.”). Sometimes ‘immorality’ and ‘sin’ are seen as a vehicle for plain disgust and othering; ‘heresy’ or ‘losing the Islamic/Christian character of our nation’ is a byword for alarm at the changing pace of society; and ‘families as blessing from heaven’ is a religious flavour for other more secular concerns.

By identifying the main drivers underneath a religious argument, it opens up possibilities for countering those fears without having to confront religion itself.

Arguments that claimed SRHR was ‘against our culture’ (whether or not they also mentioned religion) were identified most commonly by participants as the priority harmful narrative to focus on. The most damaging attacks often have a little bit of truth to them. The dilemma reported by some participants was that SRHR work often does involve trying to change some aspects of traditional culture and so rebuttal responses are stuck between either denying the attack or arguing that change can be good in some cases.



'Protect the children'

The narrative that SRHR in general and comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) in particular is a threat to children was found across multiple contexts. It could be outright opposition to any kind of ‘immoral’ content being taught, but it was more commonly, and damagingly, misinformation or exaggeration about “too much being taught too young”. So one dilemma for advocates is whether to respond by fact checking that misinformation or reframe our response completely.

The metaphor of ‘purity’ vs ‘infection’ was commonly used, and this gives us a clue that potential counter-narratives need to reframe the conceptual understanding of childhood away from the binary of a static and ‘pure’ state that can be ‘infected’ by knowledge.

'Equality has gone too far'

Different variations of this attack claim either that women’s rights have advanced at the expense of men, or “excessive protection of [LGBTQI] minorities” has disrupted society for the majority, or that feminism is going further than most women themselves want.

Participants reported that part of the threat of this narrative is that it is an easily shareable appeal online, especially among young men, with stories of ‘victimised men’ proliferating. One dynamic reported is that the trope that “women can’t stop talking” bounced between households and social media conversations to such an irritating degree that “it then makes us angry which then makes us less effective at making our arguments”.

‘Protect women’

An emerging tactic identified in some countries is to cynically claim to be opposing SRHR in order to protect women (e.g. regarding sex-selective abortion, or women-only safe spaces) or other marginalised groups. For example, the “third gender” Khwajasira community in Pakistan who some anti-SRHR voices claimed to be ‘defending’ against ‘imported’ transgender rights.

‘Cohesion vs individualism’

While many anti-SRHR arguments have a tone of ‘anti-modernity’, a specific explanation of SRHR’s supposedly damaging effects is the attack that it promotes individualism at the expense of community cohesion. The angle could either be that the focus on minority rights is in itself detrimental to the ‘community’ (i.e. majority) or that the fact that those rights are contested meant that arguing for those rights is the ‘divisive’ act.

Advocates reported that the way allies communicate does not help this dichotomy: *“A lot of SRHR is framed in an individualised way”* talking about ‘they’ (individual women’s rights) compared to the way the opposition talk about ‘us’ (the community/society/family) being destroyed by these deviant individuals.

‘Foreign import’

An anti-SRHR narrative that has been used across the world—which was also observed in Asia Pacific—is the attack that gender, feminism, and SRHR are foreign imports. This was sometimes a general attack on the principles of SRHR, and sometimes specific accusations against pro-SRHR groups. This is done via clampdowns on domestic CSOs international funding, or documenting the presence of INGOs (*“they created a whole book documenting how the LGBT movement grew in our country, targeting the role of foreigners e.g. Dutch embassies”*). A couple of interviewees mentioned it was not helped by the SRHR sector’s focus on English terminology and *“white western feminism”*.

‘Demographic decline’

There was a distinction between this argument being made for religious or cultural reasons (having a larger family is something to be proud of), for individual circumstances (the economic security of having more children) or for more civic/nationalistic demographic reasons (nations, or even groups within nations, needing both numbers for political power and younger workforce for their economy).

Positive Narratives

Below are four options of different positive narrative approaches, with short example texts and tips on how to adapt them. These texts are not meant to be simply copied, pasted, and translated—they are a collection of core ingredients based on the analysis and ideas of this initiative, which **we invite you to use as a starting point to adapt** and make your own messaging.

These approaches are deliberately characterised to show what following a specific approach could look like in a short paragraph. You may want to combine certain elements from different approaches together.

The suggestions follow a similar structure to make it easier to compare and contrast when deciding if and how to adapt them:

1. **Opening framing:** An opening which emphasises the core narrative approach and attempts to connect with shared values.
2. **Secondary framing:** A more specific second sentence that makes clear what we are actually talking about. With many of our audiences, we may have to do a preliminary job of educating people about what SRHR actually looks like in their real life. In order to be consistent, these examples have focused on contraception and abortion, LGBTQI+ rights, and comprehensive sexuality education, but various SRHR campaigners and advocates may want to focus on just one or two, or even other topics such as gender-based violence, etc, but could still use a similar overall approach.
3. **Endings** They all end with an ask that needs to be about more than just individual behaviour change but also about system change. Therefore, they slightly echo each other in talking about 'laws, policies, services'.

They are all under 100 words—as what matters in framing messages is to prioritise what is said, in what order, and what is left out. It also means it can fit in the limited space of many communications platforms and audiences' attention, but the structure could be expanded to fit longer formats and include more angles and nuance.



'Someone You Love'

Interviewees raised that SRHR is too often framed by allies in an individualistic way. In comparison, the harmful narratives often framed SRHR as a threat to the community and family, and even more specifically as a threat to "your daughter, your sister". The counter-narrative to this is to emphasise that relational connection with family members, friends, and community members as a pro-SRHR argument.

There is evidence of this relational framing approach being successful in multiple contexts around the world, from "a woman you love might need your yes" in the Irish abortion referendum, "everyone loves someone who had an abortion" in the USA elections after Roe v Wade was overturned, to the stories emphasising mothers, sisters, and daughters in the Green Wave Movement in Argentina and other Latin American nations. As the example below shows, this approach has also been tried in this region, but there is a lot of room for it to be trialled more.



Some participants were enthusiastic about universalising the experiences and needs of women's rights (for example), partly to raise audience's understanding and "not just think in light of their own culture", but also as an example, so it was possible "to see an alternative to patriarchal culture".

Sample narrative from our communities

MY ABORTION LIFELINE

Real Narratives of Life-Saving Abortion Experiences across India



"The lifeline of abortion care for mothers and parents:

- *Monarani's struggle for choice: A rural mother's story*
- *Dreams uninterrupted: How a mother from Ranchi took control of her life through the abortion lifeline*
- *Of shared dreams and aspirations: Nirmala's story of receiving spousal support in navigating her abortion experience"*

Collection of stories from CommonHealth's Lifeline campaign to mark International Safe Abortion Day 2024.



Participants who work in social behaviour change communications reported that this approach is quite effective in conversation-based communications in communities.



Some suggested that this collective community approach could even be framed as "the right to be loved" which appeals to universal values.

Example text with tips on how to adapt it:

We want our siblings, parents, and children to live safe, happy, and free lives. We would support a sibling who wanted to be with a partner they love, a parent who just could not continue with another pregnancy, or a sibling/child / parent who needed to know how to keep themselves safe in their relationships. So we need our government's laws, policies, and public services to care for the people we love the same way we do.

- The **opening framing** here emphasises the importance of SRHR via the importance of our personal connection with relatives we love, rather than via an abstract category of people who need protection from the state.
- The **secondary framing** could be tailored depending on the context. In different contexts around the world, SRHR campaigners and advocates have successfully emphasised either 'safety', 'happiness', 'freedom', or reclaimed the frame of 'life'.
- **'Sibling' or 'sister'?** In this core text we began with gender-neutral descriptions but it is always more emotionally stronger to be specific, so where appropriate we would recommend specifying a specific relationship with more detail, to humanise the person, their relationship and choices.
- **Why is it 'another' pregnancy?** To help those using these narratives in more restrictive contexts, the abortion example used here was someone who has already been a parent, because that has often been seen to be the most sympathetic and eye-opening case that can start to challenge mindsets without immediately raising defensive reactions of more sceptical audiences. In different contexts and with longer campaigns this could definitely be swapped with other examples. The key, for the purposes of this potential positive narrative, is to emphasise the audience's relationship with the example person in question.

'Universal values': One idea raised by interviewees on how to respond to the 'foreign import' narrative is to emphasise the universalism of the challenges ("it's not a Western agenda but something that impacts all over the world - teenage pregnancies, etc"). With increasing evidence that similar narrative approaches have been effective in multiple regions (both for and against SRHR), there is some logic in making that argument explicit in our messaging itself. However, we need to be careful as the concept of 'universalism' has historically been used to advance a Western-centric standard of human nature. A benefit of this approach—if applied selectively and mindfully of that history—is that it could reclaim and publicise the more tolerant approach many Asian societies took towards sexuality and genders before colonialism actually introduced a more restrictive system. This isn't about copying the West, it's about remembering who we were before colonisation. (See: "Part of our culture" below on an alternative way to emphasise this.)

Sample narrative from our communities



PACIFIC BEAT →

Vanuatu's rainbow community endures further marginalization in the face of Government anti-gay stance

Tue 17 Sep 2024 at 10:00pm

"So we would like to engage in cultural dialogues that respect our Christian and Melanesian traditions while advocating for rights. And this can be a powerful strategy, highlighting that align with universal values of love, acceptance, and human dignity cultural identities that may foster community buy in."

Pacific Sexual and Gender Diversity Network CEO, Isikeli Vulavou speaking to [ABC's Pacific Beat podcast](#).

'Our Diverse Families'

Reclaiming 'family values' from the anti-rights narratives was commonly cited as a worthwhile goal, but there was a large variety (and some difference in opinion about effectiveness) between different ways of doing this in practise:

- There was an emphasis on illustrating the **diversity of families**, sometimes using this representation as an indirect response ("*we did not respond to the attacks but at the same time we made social media posts showing different kinds of LGBTQI, single-parent families, etc*")
- **Family happiness:** In the Philippines campaign for the SOGIE equality bill, based on the insight from focus groups that the top 'hopes & fears' among the top Filipino target audiences were to do with family, the 'happiness' framing that the campaign was using was adapted to "the family is happier with equality".
- Metaphor of **society as a larger family**: a very interesting example given from a faith perspective but which could be used at large was "*We can have levels of dissent [within progressive and conservative parts of the church] —just like in a family—but we do not disown our fellow family members.*"
- There was also the grammatical discussion on whether the anti-rights use the singular 'the family' but we could more effectively use **the plural 'families'** (this may seem trivial but potentially important—[see this study on the impact of using 'genders' compared to 'gender'](#))

Example text with tips on how to adapt it:

Whether we are raised by a single parent, by grandparents, by joint families or chosen families—families in [our country] come in different forms and we all deserve respect. We should respect a woman's choice to have the family that is right for her, to have children or not, to respect people who want a family with the person they love, and to teach children to respect all families. We all understand that no two families are the same. So our laws, public services, and policies should respect all the different families we have in [our country].

- In a real-life application you may not want/need to repeat the word 'families' quite so much as this core text! But it is useful to be intentional about a framing choice like using 'families' over 'family' and stick to it.
- **'Diversity' and 'Equality'** - while "diversity" is our understanding of what we want to convey through this message, the word itself has become toxified in many contexts. Here we suggest using more accessible language to spell out what diversity means and looks like rather than try and persuade people with the term itself.
- How explicit to be about families such as same-sex parents depends on the context of what is possible. The key is to not single them out as some 'specially protected minority category', but in a sentence that frames them as just one more expression of the range of families to which we all belong to.
- **'Respect' or 'love'?** The secondary framing we have chosen here is 'respect', which fits the overall approach emphasising tolerance, but there are clear opportunities in some contexts and campaigns to combine with the 'someone you love' approach and say instead "we all deserve to be loved."

Sample narrative from our communities



PANTAY

29 August 2024 · 🌐

Mas happy ang pamilyang Pilipino 'pag may equality. #HappyEquality 🌈

"Filipino families are happier when there is equality"

A [facebook post](#) by PANTAY

(Philippine Anti-Discrimination Alliance of Youth Leaders).

'Safety'

One idea floated in interviews was that comprehensive sexuality education (CSE), and by extension SRHR, could be reframed as *"parents fighting for the rights of their children."* This could be combined with the approach that some campaigns (see below) have tried to emphasise the reality of young people's lives (e.g. 'they are having sex, they will continue, so we should protect them').

Although we are not aware of any quantitative message testing done in the Asia Pacific region on this topic, comparative testing done in other regions has tended to show that in countries where CSE has already come under attack, "parents wanting safety for their children" framing has been one of the most effective ways to defend CSE. That is why we are suggesting a potential positive narrative that taps into the protective, parental instinct but emphasises the frame of 'safety' rather than the potentially disempowering frame of 'protection'.

Sample narrative from our communities



Abort The Stigma - Gender Reversal Video (XY is Pregnant) Part 1

"Like many others, our only exposure to sex was through porn and word of mouth from friends."

'Gender reversal' [campaign video](#) showing the consequences of sex without education in a typical abortion stigma story but told from the male point of view, by Reproductive Rights Advocacy Alliance Malaysia.



Participants who implement CSE echoed that this fits well with the content itself as "when speaking to children, we talk about 'good touch/bad touch' and help protect them against abuse".



Some participants reported that they had found this angle was effective when talking to decision makers, but that when talking to communities emphasising families was more effective.

Example text with tips on how to adapt it:

As parents/ guardians/ educators we understand that keeping children safe means helping them learn and giving them tools to navigate the world. We cannot pretend that young people are not interested in sex, love, relationships, their bodies, and their identities. Our laws, our education system, and our communities need to work with us to help keep all of our children safe in this modern world.

- This counter-narrative obviously suits CSE most directly, but it could also be used as an entry point to justify all other aspects of SRHR, in a response to how CSE is often attacked as a way to taint many aspects of SRHR. A more generalised version of this messaging that has been tested in other regions says instead: *"...we all want to be safe to walk the streets with our partner, have access to contraception and safe abortion care, and for our children to be taught safety in relationships."*
- **'As parents'?** We should not let those pushing harmful narratives monopolise claiming to speak for "concerned parents", we should embrace talking as real people with families of our own. If it is not appropriate to claim to be 'parents', this can be tweaked to be more talking about 'our children' as a collective community.
- **'Learning' over 'education'?** The word education implies a passive relationship with an external 'educator', which can sometimes reinforce the anti-rights attack of 'grooming propagandists'. The word learning has a more proactive connotation that centres the young person themselves and implies exploration and learning from mistakes yourself in a safe environment.

'Our Community'

'Part of our culture' A hotly discussed tactic was the approach of showing that actually being pro-SRHR is a part of local cultures, whether in response to the 'against our culture' anti-rights narrative or simply asserted in our proactive communication.

This approach was talked about by participants more than they could confidently point to it being tried out in communications, although one reported that it was already potent in their private advocacy work. This initiative highlights a few examples that are already in the public domain to explore indigenous language and indigenous traditions that prove a pre-colonial and post-colonial heritage of pro-SRHR traditions across the region.

Sample narrative from our communities



"For us here in the Pacific, MVPFAFF+ is the term that we are taking back. MVPFAFF+ stands for Mahu, Vakasalewa, Palopa, Fa'afafine, Akavai'ne, Fakaleiti (Leiti), Fakafifine, ... [Pride] is a year-round celebration of us, our identity, who we are, who we have always been, and who we will continue to be. So live your truth, live your pride, and love your local MVPFAFF+."

[Instagram video](#) from Youth Oceans.

Sample narrative from our communities



"The idea that elected politicians — even at the local level — can censor access to books about queer families under the guise of religion is breathtaking. Queer families are everywhere and LGBT people are in our multicultural communities and have always been."

Patricia Karvelas (TV presenter) in an [opinion article](#) for ABC News.

Example text with tips on how to adapt it:

In [our country], community comes first, and that means caring for everyone in our community. We will not let anyone divide us: whether it is because of who we are and who we love, whether and when we have children, or how we want to protect ourselves and our families. We do not leave anyone behind in our communities, so our government's laws and policies must not either.

- This needs the most customising of the four approaches because it is heavily dependent on finding a **recognisable cultural value** that will be familiar enough to its audience. For the sake of this core text, the connotation of mutual aid was chosen because a number of different countries across the region can claim to have cultural pride in this tradition - for example in the Philippines activists might cite 'our Bayanihan spirit', or 'NamJai' in Thailand.
- In this core text we give examples of the different members of a community with a slightly vague allusion to LGBTQI people, women's family planning and CSE— but the power of this approach is to give culturally recognisable references to specific groups such as an affectionate term for older women (which most cultures in the region have), or like the Khwajasira community in Pakistan.
- It is important not to tone down too much the second sentence which emphasises the **'resist division'** approach. Otherwise this narrative could risk talking about community cohesion without making clear what the threat is that we should be rallying together as a community against.

'Resist Division': Another approach to counter the narrative of 'individualism vs. community cohesion' was to robustly point out that it is in fact the opposition to SRHR which is trying to divide societies and that this goes beyond just gender, LGBTI, or other identities. In the global strategic communications conversation among progressives, this 'race-class-gender narrative' has gained ground as a response to polarisation and disinformation: that we need to point out who is driving that polarisation and with what motivation, in order to more effectively 'innoculate' our audiences to these attacks and disinformation.

Sample narrative from our communities



"Women's liberation cannot be separated from the broader political and economic liberation of all people. Our struggles are shared. Our freedom is collective."

Press conference of the "Narir Dake Maitree Yatra" (Women's Call for Solidarity March) coalition, quoted in Bangladeshi newspaper The Business Standard.

Conclusion

The most important recommendation this toolkit can make is **do not spend too much time agonising about a single, perfect counter-narrative. It is important to just try adapting and testing some of these approaches yourself.**

Some other ideas that came up in the interviews and workshops which are relevant to putting this into practice:

- Language justice: While this project begins as a regional collaboration and so the discussions and toolkit are in English, the approach of using a language analysis in native languages can hopefully be replicated in your local language so that you are inspired by the language ingredients that peers in the rest of the region are using. You can construct your own language's versions of the message ingredients, rather than simply translating from these English texts. As identified earlier, this project is one of several ongoing initiatives that acknowledge the colonial legacies in the majority of Asia Pacific countries, which form part of our identity and are the cause behind lost identities. These legacies are part of our fight to recapture our identity and language through this work.
- These narratives are more impactful when used in collectives i.e. cross-movements, alliances, networks, community mobilizing, etc.
- The toolkit should be used hand-in-hand with gender and reproductive justice approaches.

Appendix:

Resources to adapt this toolkit for yourself

- This is a template version of the **language data coding spreadsheet** that was used in the language analysis, with some tips and examples left in [MAKE A COPY - language data coding sheet - Asia-Pacific Narratives Project](#)
- This is a resource about **“How to do low/no-budget message testing”** specifically geared towards SRHR campaigners [Anonymised Copy of Message Testing on low/no Budget](#)

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