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Social movements to support choices for unintended pregnancy: A choices network case study

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Abstract

This study examines strategies and factors that enabled Thailand's Choices Network to increase access to quality services for women with unintended pregnancies, addressing how social movements can navigate cultural resistance around sensitive reproductive health issues. A qualitative case study was conducted using participatory observation and in-depth interviews with twenty-one key informants. Data were analyzed through social movement theoretical frameworks combining new social movement theory, resource mobilization theory, and political process theory. Six key strategies emerged: undercurrent tactics working within conventional systems, meaning deconstruction and identity reconstruction, knowledge-based advocacy, strategic partnerships, targeted public communication, and legal rights mobilization. Critical success factors included establishing a strong, diverse organization, partnering with government agencies, combining all pregnancy options under a "pro-voice" framework, evidence-based approaches, strategic adaptation to political contexts, and leveraging adolescent pregnancy concerns as policy windows. The movement succeeded by reframing abortion from a moral to a health issue and working collaboratively within existing systems rather than through confrontation. Reproductive rights movements can enhance effectiveness through diverse partnerships, innovative digital communication, and collaborative governance arrangements linking civil society with government stakeholders.

Keywords: Access to safe abortion services, Reproductive health, Social movement, Unintended pregnancy.

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1. Introduction

Unintended pregnancy has been shown to adversely impact women's quality of life, leading to poor birth outcomes and significantly correlating with illness and/or mortality due to unsafe abortions. Recent global data highlights that unintended pregnancies resulted in approximately 61% of all abortions worldwide [1]. The World Health Organization

estimates that 45% of all abortions are unsafe, with the majority occurring in developing countries, causing numerous women to suffer injuries, disabilities, and death, approximately 23,000 per year [2]. These concerning statistics underscore the importance of addressing the issue of unintended pregnancy as both a public health priority and a reproductive rights concern [3].

In Thailand, abortion data is not systematically collected, but it is estimated to be around 300,000 cases per year, including unsafe abortions. This costs the state approximately 100-152 million THB for medical treatment due to health complications and results in an unnecessary mortality rate of 300 per 100,000 population [4]. Therefore, unintended pregnancy and unsafe abortion are considered major national health problems. Several studies across various countries suggest that restrictive abortion laws and policies make access to safe abortion difficult [5, 6]. This forces many women with unintended pregnancies to risk their lives seeking solutions through different abortion methods, most of which are unsafe, due to financial constraints and lack of accurate information [7, 8].

Previously, there was a movement to revise abortion laws in Thailand. However, these efforts were unsuccessful given the society's mindset that tied abortion to moral and ethical aspects, perceiving abortion as mothers killing their children, while stigmatizing pregnant women as promiscuous. This led a group of activists advocating for safe abortion to develop different ideas and frameworks, shifting the focus from revising laws to emphasizing women's health [9, 10]. The stigmatization of abortion in Thailand reflects similar patterns observed in other cultural contexts, where moral judgments often supersede considerations of women's health and bodily autonomy [11, 12].

Consequently, the "Choices Network" was formed in 2007 as a movement to drive access to option services for unintended pregnancy, including safe abortion and quality continuing pregnancy options. The network aims to protect rights, provide healthcare management, and offer social welfare services for women with unintended pregnancies. This approach aligns with the growing global recognition that reproductive justice frameworks should encompass a spectrum of choices beyond the binary pro-choice/pro-life debate [13, 14].

Over the past decades, the Choices Network has played an important role in helping many women access quality and safe option services. This is reflected through Thailand's abortion surveillance report during 2011-2017, where the number of patients with severe abortion complications performed by non-medical personnel continued to decline. In 2011, there were 19.0% of patients with complications, and in 2017, the number decreased to 6.2%, with no deaths reported [15]. Such improvements demonstrate the potential effectiveness of coordinated multi-stakeholder approaches that include both civil society organizations and government entities [16, 17].

To contribute to knowledge on this issue, this paper examines the Choices Network movement's strategies and relevant factors that helped increase access to quality health and social services for women with unintended pregnancies. The study was analyzed based on social movement theoretical frameworks, combining new social movement theory [18] resource mobilization theory [19] and political process theory [20]. For a more comprehensive analysis, the concept of reproductive rights was applied to provide context-specific perspectives on this unintended pregnancy movement [21, 22].

2. Methods

This study employed a qualitative case study approach, which provides the depth and contextual understanding necessary for examining complex social phenomena [23, 24]. The Choices Network was selected based on the following criteria: first, it reflects the nature of social movements according to theory; second, it is a clear movement organization that supports option services for unintended pregnancy in terms of operations and goals; third, it plays an important role in today's context; fourth, it operates with a long-standing presence; and fifth, it demonstrates achievements or progress resulting from the movement.

Data collection combined literature reviews, participatory observation, and in-depth interviews with twenty-one key informants who were members of the Choices Network. This triangulation of methods strengthens the validity of findings through data collected from multiple sources [25, 26]. Key informants were divided into two groups: a key informant group with an overall movement role and a key informant group with roles as service providers for women with unintended pregnancies. This latter group consisted of sexual health information providers, option counseling providers, safe medical abortion providers, and pregnancy care providers.

All collected data were systematically analyzed by organizing, categorizing, and correlating issues, concluding, and interpreting according to the conceptual framework, and explaining their linkages to theory [27, 28]. A triangulation method was used to verify data validity and credibility. This methodological approach aligns with established practices in qualitative research that emphasize the importance of systematic analysis and verification procedures [29, 30].

This study adhered to research ethics and was certified by the Committee for Research Ethics (Social Sciences), Mahidol University, certification no. 2017/087.0404.

3. Results

3.1. The Choices Network's Operations

The Choices Network is a social movement organization formed by a group of people who played roles in assisting and solving unintended pregnancy problems from different sectors: civil society, government agencies, and academia. This multi-sectoral collaboration reflects contemporary approaches to addressing complex social issues, where diverse stakeholders contribute different perspectives and resources [31, 32]. Collectively, these actors drove the movement to protect rights and support access to abortion services for women with unintended pregnancies through various operations.

The network began its work by creating a mutual learning exchange space between different member organizations via regular meetings. Later, this evolved into pushing for service delivery management and policy changes, which led to more

standardized services. This progressive evolution from knowledge sharing to policy advocacy demonstrates the dynamic nature of social movements as they respond to changing contexts and opportunities [33, 34]. For example, the development of option services for unintended pregnant women was integrated into the hospital's one-stop crisis center (OSCC) under the Ministry of Health. This became the first contact point to provide option counseling and referral services.

Other developments driven by the network and its partners included option counseling and empowerment training, which was developed as a capacity-building mechanism for service providers; an option services network that linked option counseling providers with abortion services units; a 1663 hotline number for AIDS and unintended pregnancy; a referral safe abortion network, which was developed in partnership with healthcare personnel to provide safe abortion services called the "RSA network (Referral System for Safe Abortion)"; and advocacy for an abortion medication, Medabon®, to be registered and reimbursed by the National Health Security Office (NHSO). These diverse initiatives illustrate the multi-pronged approach necessary to address reproductive health issues comprehensively [35, 36].

In addition, to increase access to option services, different assistance and support initiatives were established by the network. These included setting up a fund for economically disadvantaged women with unintended pregnancies and working to revise abortion laws to create structural changes. For the continuing pregnancy option, various services were offered by the Choices Network's members, albeit mainly as charitable work. This included providing shelter during maternity and postnatal care, temporary childcare, vocational training, foster family arrangements, and child adoption management. This comprehensive approach acknowledges that reproductive justice requires supporting women regardless of their pregnancy decisions [13, 37].

Table 1.
Key Operational Initiatives of the Choices Network.

Initiative	Description	Main Collaborators	Outcome
Option services integration	Integration of services into hospital one-stop crisis centers (OSCC)	Ministry of Health, public hospitals, NGOs	Standardized first contact point for counseling and referral
Capacity building	Option counseling and empowerment training for service providers	Healthcare professionals, counselors, NGOs	Improved quality of services and reduced provider stigma
1663 Hotline	Hotline providing information on AIDS and unintended pregnancy	AIDS Access Foundation, healthcare providers	Increased access to information and counseling services
RSA Network	Referral system for safe abortion services	Healthcare professionals, hospitals	Coordinated network of safe abortion providers
Medabon® advocacy	Efforts to register and obtain reimbursement for abortion medication	Concept Foundation, WHO, NHSO	Medical abortion option available and subsidized
Financial support	Fund for economically disadvantaged women	Donor organizations, community groups	Reduced financial barriers to accessing services
Continuing pregnancy support	Shelter, childcare, vocational training, and adoption services	Faith-based organizations, social services	Support for women choosing to continue pregnancies

3.2. The Movement's Strategy

The Choices Network's diverse operations required different strategies to achieve its goals. According to the study, all strategies were applied within the conventional system, based on compromise, without disrupting or opposing the state [38, 39]. Each strategy was adapted to changing situations and contexts as follows:



Figure 1.
The Choices Network's Movement Strategy.

1. Undercurrent strategy. This strategy was used mainly within the operational area by proactively working with key mechanisms while maintaining minimal public exposure. In many countries, social movements on unintended pregnancy and abortion face social resistance because these topics are negatively projected, with linkages to maternal values and moral standards [12, 40]. Learning from past movement experiences to amend abortion laws in Thailand, the Choices Network was careful not to cause conflict against certain social mindsets and belief systems. Reframing the issue to focus on women's health enabled the network to achieve many concrete results. For example, an integration of option services into public hospitals' one-stop crisis centers (OSCC) was achieved through collaboration between NGOs, pilot hospitals, and local government organizations. This created better and more appropriate services, which were further implemented at a policy level by one of the network members to be integrated within public hospitals across the country. This approach reflects the strategic use of "insider tactics" that some social movements employ to achieve institutional change [41, 42]. Other strategies based on the conventional system included submitting petitions and participating in public policy processes, such as the National Health Assembly.

2. Meaning deconstruction and identity reconstruction. This strategy aimed at creating a new social understanding of abortion within reproductive health aspects and as a health right that should be accessible to all women. This began with option counseling training for service providers, a learning process that helped many to change their negative attitudes and provide services with more understanding and without prejudice. Talking with and deeply listening to the life stories of women with unintended pregnancies revealed their struggles to determine their destiny, struggles that were complex and could not be judged as right or wrong under a strict moral framework. These voices formed new experiences and helped reconstruct a new definition of responsible motherhood that extended beyond simply raising a child to making informed abortion decisions when needed, based on individual capacity and readiness to raise a child with quality. This new definition challenged a dominant social mindset that linked abortion to moral aspects and stigmatized women who had, or decided to have, abortions. The use of narrative and experiential learning to transform attitudes aligns with research on effective stigma reduction strategies in reproductive health contexts [11, 43]. Recognizing overlapping social dimensions that caused women to suffer from unintended pregnancies, whether as a result of economic disadvantage, abandonment by male partners, physical abuse, contraceptive failure, or lack of sexual bargaining power, helped broaden perspectives and allowed people to see these women as victims of social structures rather than moral failures [44, 45].

3. Knowledge-based movement. This movement strategy relied on academic knowledge and working experience to design approaches consistent with each problem situation. The combination of explicit and tacit knowledge was used as a communication tool that led to changes at individual and policy levels. At an individual level, this helped participants understand the phenomenon based on shared facts. At a policy level, this allowed policymakers to develop broader perspectives and recognize the complexity of the problem that needed to be addressed, rather than being restricted by specific moral or gender norms. The strategic use of evidence in advocacy work has been identified as particularly effective when addressing contentious issues like reproductive rights [46, 47].

4. Partnership building. The Choices Network's operations were driven through partnerships with various organizations and networks, both existing and newly established ones. For example, the partnership with the AIDS Access Foundation increased access channels by developing an existing 1663 AIDS hotline to include unintended pregnancy option counseling services. The collaboration with the Concept Foundation and the World Health Organization (WHO) helped conduct a pilot study on medically induced abortion in hospitals. Subsequently, the network successfully advocated for this abortion drug formula to be approved and registered in the national system. Additionally, the RSA network was established as an important partner in providing safe abortion services. The strategic importance of such partnerships has been documented in literature examining successful social movements, particularly those addressing health and rights issues [31, 48].

5. Public communication. This strategy was adopted during the latter period of the network movement (2015). Initially, the Choices Network focused primarily on the operational area that resulted in policy changes and the provision of option services. Later, the network's public communication was improved to facilitate access to services, which helped create public awareness and understanding. Examples of public communication included organizing a "pro-voice" forum to create dialogue on abortion issues, as well as symbolic activities in public areas on International Safe Abortion Day. Other communication channels were organized through mass media, social media, and published documents to provide knowledge and information on reproductive health, contraception, unintended pregnancy, and option services. However, these efforts reached only a limited number of people, since the network did not acquire enough public communication space, and mainstream media did not see the importance of this issue. The challenges of communicating about abortion in public spaces reflect broader issues of reproductive stigma that constrain public discourse [49, 50].

6. Exercising legal rights. This strategy was used in advocating to amend the criminal code section 301, which criminalized women who had abortions, with the exception in section 305 that allowed an abortion performed by a doctor due to women's health reasons or from being raped. The network considered laws aimed at punishing women who choose to deal with their reproductive situations as violations of reproductive rights. This movement gained momentum when the Council of State began amending section 305, coinciding with a major event: the arrest of one of the RSA network's doctors for performing medical abortion services. Together with the RSA network, a petition was filed to the Constitutional Court, calling for the interpretation of sections 301 and 305 as having constitutional legitimacy issues. The Constitutional Court subsequently ruled in favor of the petition and demanded that the laws be improved. The new laws were successfully amended and enacted in February 2021, marking significant progress for the abortion law movement in Thailand—a change that had not occurred before. Similar legal advocacy approaches have been documented in other contexts where reproductive rights movements have successfully challenged restrictive laws [6, 51].

Table 2.
The Choices Network's Movement Strategies.

Strategy	Key Elements	Theoretical Connection	Examples from the Network's Activities
Undercurrent strategy	Working proactively with key mechanisms with minimum public exposure	Insider tactics [41]	Integration of option services into public hospitals' OSCCs
Meaning deconstruction and identity reconstruction	Creating new social understanding about abortion; redefining responsible motherhood.	Framing processes in social movements [52]	Option counseling training for service providers; using women's voices to develop new narratives.
Knowledge-based movement	Using academic data and working experience to design approaches.	Evidence-based advocacy [46]	Combining tacit and explicit knowledge to inform policy advocacy
Partnership building	Collaboration with various organizations and networks.	Resource mobilization [19]	Partnerships with AIDS Access Foundation, Concept Foundation, and WHO
Public communication	Creating public awareness and understanding	Communicative action [53]	"Pro-voice" forums; activities on International Safe Abortion Day
Exercising legal rights	Advocating for legal reform	Legal mobilization [54]	Filing a petition to the Constitutional Court, supporting an amendment to the criminal code.

3.3. Key Factors

- Being a strong social movement organization, the Choices Network is a diverse organization with plural identities. Collectively, it comprises up to 80 organizations with differences in terms of ideologies, working culture, and expertise. Moreover, it includes women who have had abortions as the problem-owners. Despite its diversity, the network was united and driven by the same goal, while differences were strengthened through various learning processes. For example, regular network meetings provided a space for organizational learning exchanges. This constituted an opportunity to share information, knowledge, assistance, and brainstorming for solutions. Furthermore, training sessions on option counseling and empowerment were offered to members. The experiential learning process gained through training helped create changes from within and enabled members to align their

views and perspectives about the problems based on shared facts. Accordingly, this reflected the network's ability to mobilize important resources: human resources with varying expertise, a wide range of explicit and tacit knowledge, solidarity among member organizations, and funding from domestic and international sources. Although most funding sources did not see the importance of this issue, the network continued to raise financial resources despite the difficulty. These elements suggest that the Choices Network was a strong social movement organization with a proven ability to mobilize resources to drive its work effectively. The importance of organizational strength in social movements has been widely documented in the literature, particularly in contexts where the issues being addressed face cultural resistance [19, 34].

- Partnering with government agencies. This network's strength clearly differed from other social movements. It entailed close collaboration with government agencies, particularly public health organizations, at both policy and operational levels. The partnership between the Choices Network and the public sector went beyond collaborating to deliver services; it involved collectively driving social structural changes. Each organization's capacity and strength were effectively utilized, creating a space that linked policymakers and operational actors to exchange views on each other's work. On one hand, this helped increase the public sector's capacity to provide services and care for citizens; on the other hand, it also strengthened civil society's ability to manage activities and achieve goals. Such collaborative governance approaches have been identified as particularly effective in addressing complex social issues that require multi-sectoral responses [55, 56].
- The movement that combined all options for unintended pregnancy. The Choices Network did not exclusively work on abortion, but also helped women with unintended pregnancies to continue their pregnancies with quality support. This differentiates it from many societies where pro-life groups advocating for the right to life often clash with pro-choice groups advocating for women's right to terminate pregnancies. Interestingly, the Choices Network positioned its movement between pro-life and pro-choice approaches, centering women's voices. This was defined as "pro-voice," a women-centered approach that reduced the intensity of the abortion movement to a matter of making choices, which helped minimize conflicts and opposition from those who disagree with abortion. Based on this approach, the Choices Network's movement was able to collaborate with organizations working on abortion and those supporting continuing pregnancy. Although both groups had different perspectives, particularly Christian organizations with pro-life and anti-abortion concepts, various learning processes within the network enabled all parties to understand the problem from the same foundation while upholding a common goal: providing life options for women with unintended pregnancies. This strategy respected women's decisions as the problem-owners, who were empowered to make choices based on their diverse life conditions. This approach aligns with emerging perspectives in reproductive justice that emphasize supporting women's autonomy and decision-making across the spectrum of possible pregnancy outcomes [13, 14].
- Knowledge-based movement. Being a knowledge-based movement was considered both a movement strategy and an instrument to design movement approaches. Several advances were made using a combination of explicit knowledge from academic data, tacit knowledge from the working experience of movement activists, healthcare and social service providers, as well as knowledge from exchanging experiences with other networks from different countries that were adapted to the Thai context. The strategic use of diverse knowledge sources has been recognized as particularly important for movements addressing complex issues that intersect with cultural and social norms [51, 57].
- Working strategically. The Choices Network strategically designed and adapted its work to changing contexts and opportunities. To illustrate, the network began its movement shortly after a coup d'état in 2006. The social and political context at that time was conflict-ridden. Therefore, it was not conducive to driving sensitive topics within society since they could be linked to politics and generate strong resistance. Under this context and learning from previous unsuccessful movements, the Choices Network began its work informally, reframing the issue to focus on women's health and rights to access all unintended pregnancy options as a strategy to reduce social friction. The network proactively worked with key mechanisms, both individual and organizational, to develop option services with minimal public exposure. Later, when society became more receptive to this issue, the network adapted its strategy to acquire more visibility in public areas to create better public understanding. These operations were flexible and dynamic, strategically designed to match the context and situation, which clearly contributed to the progress of the movement. This strategic adaptation to political opportunities is consistent with political process theory, which emphasizes the importance of context and timing in movement success [20, 58].
- The prevalence of adolescent pregnancy as a social phenomenon. Since 2010, adolescent pregnancy has been an ongoing social issue in Thailand, where adolescent pregnancy rates have been among the highest in Southeast Asia and worldwide [59, 60]. This phenomenon led society to increase awareness and perceive the importance of unintended pregnancy as a social issue that should be addressed. Several advances were made because of this awareness; for example, the Act for Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention and Solution was successfully enacted in 2016. This act was utilized as a reference tool to drive government mechanisms toward action. Available working channels aimed at improving the adolescent pregnancy situation were also utilized to drive policies and services for unintended pregnancy. For example, abortion and semi-permanent contraceptive services originally only for the adolescent group were successfully advocated to be included in state medical benefits, ensuring equal access for women of all ages. This strategic utilization of public concern about a specific issue to advance broader policy goals represents a form of "issue expansion" that has been documented in other successful social movements [61, 62].

Table 3.
Key Success Factors of the Choices Network Movement.

Success Factor	Characteristics	Theoretical Framework	Impact on Movement Effectiveness
Strong social movement organization	Diversity with unity; effective resource mobilization; inclusive of problem owners.	Resource mobilization theory [19]	Enabled sustained action despite limited resources
Partnership with government agencies	Collaboration at policy and operational levels	Collaborative governance [55]	Facilitated institutional change and service integration
Combined approach to unintended pregnancy	"Pro-voice" approach encompassing both abortion and continuing pregnancy support.	Reproductive justice framework [13]	Reduced opposition and broadened coalition base
Knowledge-based movement	Integration of academic knowledge and practical experience	Knowledge mobilization [51]	Enhanced credibility and effectiveness of advocacy
Strategic adaptation	Responsive to political context; evolving tactics	Political process theory [20]	Enabled progress despite challenging political landscape
Utilization of adolescent pregnancy issue	Leveraging public concern about teen pregnancy	Issue expansion [61]	Created policy windows for broader reproductive health reforms

3.4. The Movement's Challenges

- Society's negative attitudes towards unintended pregnancy and abortion remain significant factors preventing women from accessing option services. These negative attitudes cause several adverse implications: social stigma on women in crisis and abortion service providers, restrictive laws and policies, and relevant personnel refusing to provide services because they do not want to commit what they perceive as an abortion sin. Despite having clear policies within public hospitals' one-stop crisis centers (OSCC), the services provided in each hospital largely depend on individual service providers' attitudes. Often, the provision of medically safe abortion services cannot be publicly advertised because some responsible authorities and service providers fear social resistance. The persistent challenge of stigma remains significant in many contexts despite legal and policy reforms [11, 12], highlighting the need for interventions that address cultural and social barriers to implementation of services [49, 63].
- Constraints on necessary resources. Since unintended pregnancy and abortion were portrayed negatively, seeking financial resources for the movement was relatively difficult. Additionally, a lack of participation from the younger generation was challenging. This limited the network's ability to gain new and wider perspectives amidst dynamic technological advancements. Therefore, it is essential to engage next-generation activists and actors to embrace the network's ideology and continue its work in the future. Resource constraints are a common challenge for social movements addressing stigmatized issues, particularly those related to reproductive rights [19, 64].

Table 4.
Challenges Faced by the Choices Network and Potential Solutions.

Challenge	Manifestations	Impact on Movement	Potential Solutions
Negative societal attitudes	Stigma towards women and providers; resistance to service provision	Limited service availability; underground services	Continued efforts in meaning reconstruction, targeting influential social institutions
Resource constraints	Difficulty securing funding; limited young generation participation	Sustainability concerns; limited innovation	Diversifying funding sources; strategic engagement with youth through digital platforms.
Implementation gaps	Variability in service quality across providers	Uneven access to services	Standardized training, monitoring and evaluation systems
Limited media visibility	Insufficient public communication space	Restricted public awareness	Strategic use of social media; partnerships with sympathetic media outlets.

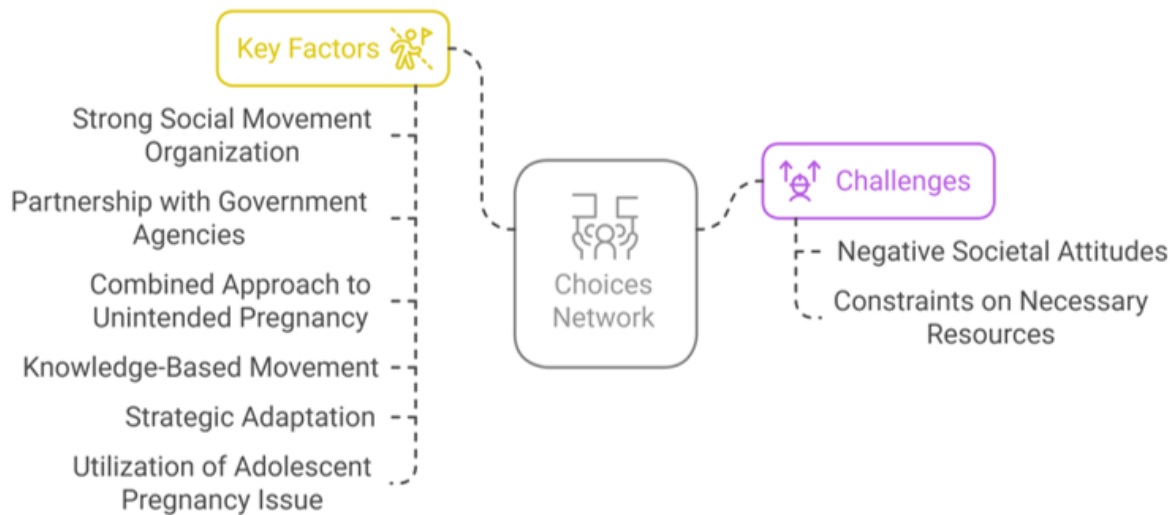


Figure 2.
The Choices Network's Movement Strategy.

4. Discussion

The social movement's success in achieving its goals depends on three main sufficient conditions: the social movement organization, resource mobilization, and the movement strategy [19, 34]. Based on the Choices Network's case study, all three conditions were found to be effective. Most importantly, mobilizing the public sector's active participation at a policy level was helpful, a significant phenomenon in Thailand's social movements that rarely occurred. This is consistent with other findings suggesting that collaboration between feminist networks and public sector organizations is a key factor in driving public policy progress on abortion issues [65, 66]. Furthermore, this multi-sectoral approach aligns with recent scholarship on effective governance arrangements for addressing complex social problems [32, 55].

Considering the political process theoretical framework, changes in social and political contexts provided the movement with several opportunities within the conventional system, which increased the movement's negotiating capacity [20, 58]. For example, the amendment process of the Criminal Code Section 305 by the Council of State presented a window of opportunity for the Choices Network to refocus and successfully push for new abortion laws. Meanwhile, the network created its own political opportunity by advocating for the Act for Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention and Solutions, which was successfully enacted. This became a framework and an instrument for several government agencies to act on unintended pregnancy issues. The strategic recognition and utilization of such policy windows have been identified as crucial for social movements seeking institutional change [67, 68].

According to the study, the Choices Network's movement relied on the conventional system as a main approach, based on compromise and non-disruptive principles that contributed to significant progress. This differs from the new social movement theory's explanation, which suggests that movements struggle outside conventional systems or battle without relying on state mechanisms [18, 39]. Such frameworks are criticized for inconsistency with reality because struggles involving aspects such as acceptance of new social identities and values require endorsement by law and state recognition to achieve legitimacy [69, 70]. Therefore, the relationship with the state cannot be entirely severed, as exemplified by the Choices Network movement. This aligns with studies on social movements addressing gender-based legislation, which found that participating in conventional mechanisms during movement processes is an important factor for success [71, 72]. Resource mobilization theory explains that social movements partnering with the public sector can create changes in wider political contexts, allowing them to participate in conventional systems that lead to changes in state rules and policies [19, 53].

Nevertheless, the Choices Network's operations were consistent with new social movement theory when applying civil rights as a fighting strategy to ensure women's reproductive rights are respected. Rather than seeking to usurp state authority, this battle involves creating new meanings for what the movement demands [61, 73]. This involved deconstructing abortion's meaning and reconstructing the identity strategies of women with unintended pregnancies. A pro-voice approach, based on women's voices and experiences, was utilized to create a new mindset that recognizes each woman with an unintended pregnancy as an individual with complex and diverse life conditions. Therefore, each woman should have the freedom to choose and make decisions based on her specific situation [13, 47]. While safe and quality services are required to support those choices. This focus on discursive and cultural change as a precursor to policy and legal reform is consistent with theories of cultural framing in social movements [52, 74].

5. Recommendations

New social movements emphasize seeking partnerships to build negotiating power [32, 75] which was a key factor in the Choices Network movement's success. To move forward, partnership building that includes diverse groups of actors should be forged, while collaboration between different sectors should be established and strengthened. For example, partnering with mainstream media to communicate and build positive attitudes towards unintended pregnancy and abortion issues would broaden reach and impact. Furthermore, educational institutions can play a role in enhancing knowledge and

understanding of important topics such as gender, bodily autonomy, and progressive sex education that incorporates knowledge on managing unintended pregnancy situations. Likewise, complex moral thinking that recognizes abortion in broader aspects should be fostered among healthcare providers to help them realize that this is about women's reproductive health, which is a part of medical treatment. These recommendations align with research on effective strategies for destigmatizing reproductive health services [11, 12].

Another key success factor within the resource mobilization framework is the availability of media resources and activists' capability to use them to raise awareness about the importance of the movement's goals to gain public support [76, 77]. Previously, the Choices Network has not been able to acquire sufficient public communication space, leading to limitations in funding and young-generation participation. Innovative communication tools that are convenient and publicly accessible, such as social media, should receive more attention. It is important to develop communicators who understand the movement's goals and are capable of producing effective social media content. Broader perspectives on gender, reproductive health justice, along with social justice, and useful medical data on safe abortion technologies should be part of the main content to create positive perceptions and attitudes towards unintended pregnancy and abortion. The strategic use of digital media for advocacy on stigmatized issues has been documented as particularly effective for reaching younger audiences and creating alternative narratives [78, 79].

Consequently, factors that prevent access to option services for women with unintended pregnancies would decrease, leading to an improved quality of life through increased access to quality pregnancies and safe abortions. These improvements would contribute to broader reproductive health and rights goals, including the reduction of maternal mortality and morbidity associated with unsafe abortion [2, 7].

Table 5.
Recommendations for Strengthening the Choices Network Movement.

Recommendation Area	Specific Actions	Expected Outcomes	Supporting Evidence
Expand the partnership base	Engage with mainstream media; collaborate with educational institutions.	Increased public support; improved knowledge dissemination	van Tulder and Keen [32] and Pleyers [75]
Enhance digital communication	Develop targeted social media strategies; train youth communicators.	Broader reach; engagement of younger supporters	Mattoni and Treré [77] and Earl et al. [79]
Strengthen evidence base	Document the impact of services; conduct research on implementation gaps.	Improved advocacy tools; enhanced service quality	Storeng and Béhague [46] and Erdman et al. [47]
Address provider stigma	Develop provider-focused interventions; promote ethical frameworks.	Increased service availability; improved quality of care	Atuhaire et al. [63] and Kumar et al. [12]
Diversify funding sources	Explore innovative funding mechanisms; build donor coalitions	Sustainable resources; increased independence	Edwards et al. [19] and Tsulukiani et al. [64]

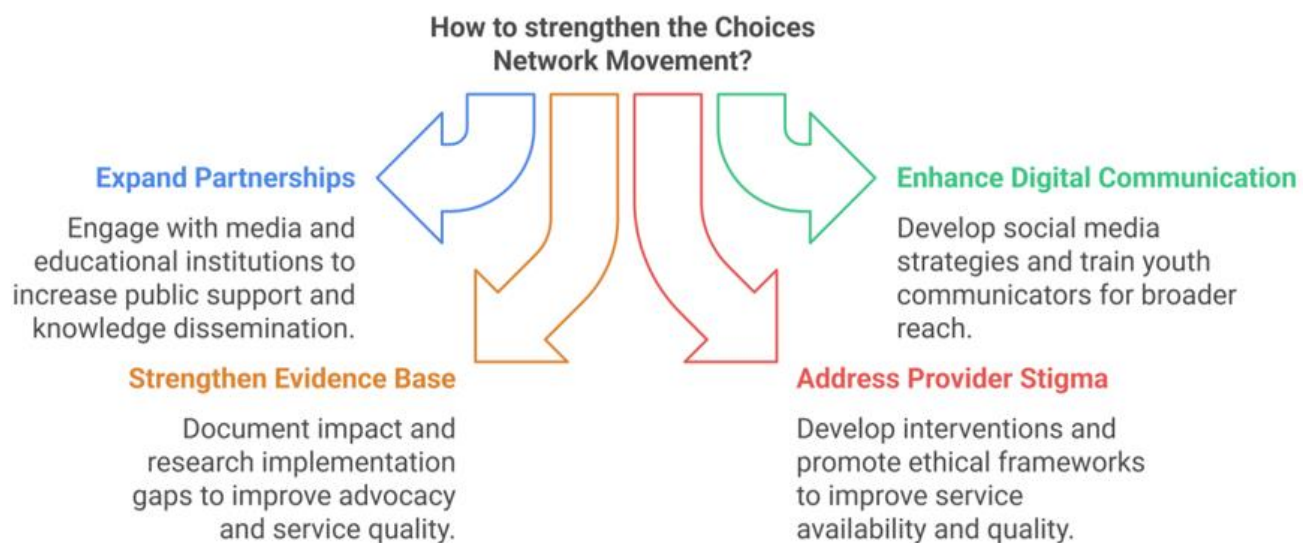


Figure 3.
Recommendations for Strengthening the Choices Network Movement.

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