

# Capturing the Ripples: Addressing the Sustainability of the Impact of Social Marketing

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## ABSTRACT

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This article reports the development and implementation of a social marketing campaign that was designed to address the interactions between employment seekers and employment providers in the Republic of Maldives. The campaign was implemented in an environment of negative mindsets among young people toward skill-based training and occupations. This in turn has resulted in employers preferring an expatriate workforce, leaving large numbers of Maldivian youth unemployed. Social marketing was used as a device to valorize the notion of work and career by promoting affirmative and positive attitudes toward work. A part of the overall strategy was a career counseling program which followed the campaign to build on this valorizing effect and provide a contextually grounded structure and system for making effective career choices. Based on the data gleaned from these interventions, the article examines the relative and combined impact of social marketing and career guidance on the targeted behaviors and attitudes. In its conclusion, the article discusses the role that social marketing could play along with a partner intervention to effect long-term behavioral and attitudinal change.

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## Introduction

Social marketing, since its inception in the 1960s, has grown to cover an extensive area of influence and has addressed issues that have ranged from philanthropy and

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charity (e.g., Small, Lowenstein, and Slovic 2003), environment and sustainability (e.g., Cialdini 2003), to gender equity (e.g., Schwartz 1994) and child abuse (e.g., Stannard and Young 1998). However, as indicated by the extensive review presented by Stead et al. (2007), a large preponderance of reported social marketing programs seem to have focused on issues that surround health. This has been with specific reference to public health concerns such as AIDS, substance abuse, nutrition, obesity, physical fitness, family planning, cardiovascular risk, and similar problems. Social marketing efforts that have addressed attitudes and behaviors related to issues such as employment and career development do not figure prominently in the literature.

Our second observation is with reference to the impact of social marketing on targeted attitudes and behaviors. Reviews of social marketing interventions provide evidence to show that interventions that use social marketing principles can be effective (e.g., Stead et al. 2007). However given the multi-modal nature of typical social marketing interventions, it has been difficult to isolate what it is about a particular social marketing program that had an impact and caused change (e.g., Hornik 2001). It has also been pointed out that where an impact is evident, it is difficult to ascertain whether this is the result of specific aspects of the intervention, the combined effects of the intervention along with other program (Morrison 2001) or to secular trends (Wolff 2000). Our survey of the literature pointed to the possibility that investigations into the impact of social marketing have drawn data from social marketing per se. Reports on social marketing being implemented “in tandem” with other interventions seem to be few and far between. The present article defines its objectives from these two observations.

Our objectives are twofold. The first is to present the development and implementation of the “Yes” social marketing campaign that addressed motivational issues surrounding livelihood, employment, and career development among young people in the Republic of Maldives. The second is to provide snapshots from the data available to us to examine the relative and combined impact of social marketing and career guidance on behavioral and attitudinal change.

### **The Maldives: A background**

The Maldives is a small island developing nation comprising 1190 small coral islands, located in the Indian Ocean, southwest of India and Sri Lanka. The population of this island nation is 298,968 (Statistical Yearbook of Maldives 2006) distributed across 197 inhabited islands. Some islands have fewer than 1000 people, while the capital island of Male’ has over 100,000 people residing in an area of approximately 4 square kilometers (Statistical Yearbook of Maldives

2006). Young people between the ages of 15 and 24 years account for almost 25% of the population (Statistical Yearbook of Maldives 2006). The number of students completing school in 2006 was 6,577 (Seventh National Development Plan 2006–2010).

Traditionally, the Maldivian government has been the primary employer in the country. However, in the past decade this has changed as there are not sufficient jobs in the government to meet the employment needs of young people who are ready to be employed. The private sector job opportunities mainly fall under highly professional or skilled employment. Skilled job opportunities are not taken by Maldivians. This seems to result from prevailing socio-cultural factors that foster negative mindsets and do not allow the pride of young Maldivians to accept skilled jobs. These jobs are then taken by an expatriate labor force. The employment of expatriates has grown rapidly from 29,201 (in 2001) to 51,639 (in 2006), a 77% increase over a 5-year period (Castley 2006). This leaves a large number of Maldivians unemployed. It is against this background that the government of Maldives identified career guidance and social marketing as possible mechanisms to address the crisis of a skills orientation to employment in the country.

### **The “Yes” Social Marketing Program**

By definition, social marketing is the use of marketing principles and techniques to influence a target audience to voluntarily accept, reject, modify, or abandon an attitude or behavior for the benefit of individuals, groups, or society as a whole (Kotler, Roberto, and Lee 2002). With this definition as the broad guideline, the following steps were undertaken to formulate the program.

#### **Literature search and formative research**

A review of existing reports and earlier studies indicated the following. Arulmani (2004) found that while a high value was placed on education, young people in the Maldives tended to demonstrate a lower orientation to exercising control over the trajectory of their lives and that their motivation to create opportunities for themselves and engage with career development tasks was weak. Young people seemed to respond with indifference to career development tasks and exhibited a strong tendency to give up in the face of barriers to career development. Voluntary unemployment seemed to be preferred to taking up a job that did not match expectations. Other reports (e.g., Castley 2006; United Nations Development Program 2005) indicated that occupations requiring manual effort (blue-collar jobs) were not preferred. Training programs that offered skills development opportunities for such occupations (e.g., masonry, electrical wiring, turning,

fitting, carpentry, boat building and repair, waiter/waitress) tended to be actively avoided, although these employment sectors are currently booming in the Maldives (Arulmani 2004; Castley 2006). An examination of family networks and parental attitudes revealed that the young person is cushioned by a family safety net which provides basic necessities and thus shields the young person from the harsh realities of unemployment (Castley 2006). Young people's attitudes toward available training programs indicated that they preferred "trendy courses" that had a high "social prestige" which did not necessarily reflect market demand (Castley 2006). Information pertaining to employers' attitudes also provided interesting insights. Reports (e.g., Male' Youth Employment Survey 2003; Arulmani 2004; Castley 2006) have consistently indicated that employers perceive Maldivian young people as not having a mature attitude to work. They were in fact reticent to employ Maldivians and described them as showing low levels of commitment to job roles and duties. The present social marketing effort further examined these reports as a part of its formative survey. Both quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative (street corner interviews with young people, focus group discussions with students, parents, teachers, and administrators) techniques were used to examine and validate these key indications in the literature (Abdulla 2006). These data guided the formulation of our social marketing strategy.

### **Market segmentation and identification of target groups**

We identified four target segments based on this review and research. Segment 1 comprised adolescents and young people. This segment was broken down into young people and school students from grades 7 to 12, including young people who had left school at grade 7 and above, and who were unoccupied or unemployed. The segment also included young people who were employed but needed skills training. Segment 2 was made up of parents of the adolescents and youth previously described. Segment 3 comprised employers in the Maldives. Training providers in the Maldives were also targeted and made up Segment 4 of the target group.

### **The marketing mix: A comment on price and place**

Four domains of influence, namely, product, place, price, and promotion have been identified around which a balanced social marketing strategy could be planned (e.g., Smith 2001). The focus of this article is primarily on the interplay between the promotion and product aspects of the program and these components are described in detail in the forthcoming sections. Price and place were more or less predefined in this context. Hence, we only comment on these variables briefly.

*Price* in social marketing terms refers not only to monetary cost. It describes barriers that a target audience must overcome to benefit from a social product (Smith 2001). In the Maldivian context, accepting the messages of the marketing program potentially required the young person to place less emphasis on the possibility of obtaining a prestigious (albeit low paid) government job. It also called for taking the risk of depending on personal resources for career development and the willingness to start small and face difficulties at the beginning of one's career. Strongly entrenched mindsets such as these proved to be barriers to the young Maldivian's self-mediated career development. The marketing program had to address these fundamental attitudinal issues that were a part of the fabric of the Maldivian orientation to employment and career development.

The notion of *place* in social marketing terms refers to structural provisions within the system through which the marketing program's products could reach the target audience (Smith, 2001). This social marketing program was part of the government's overall strategy to address the issues surrounding employment in the country. To that extent it was already located within a government ministry. The program under discussion initiative took care to position the program within a section of this ministry that was closest to the target audience and best equipped to deploy the program. Place need not be limited only to location but also to the quality of service and training of service providers (Smith, 2001). The Yes program included career counseling as one of its integral activities. Further details are described in later sections.

### **The promotion**

*Promotion* is the dimension of social marketing that includes aspects of marketing such as decisions on messages, communication methodology, outreach advertising, and education of the target audience (Smith, 2001). The following section describes the promotion in detail.

### ***Formulation of objectives***

The literature search and our formative research previously reported pointed to the overwhelming necessity for creating a positive and affirmative image of work and career development. Accordingly, the campaign identified four key areas that it would address (Abdulla 2006):

- Draw the target audiences' attention to the present labor market situation in the Maldives.
- Encourage young people to engage in training opportunities and develop skills that would prepare them for the world of work.

- Encourage young people to take charge of their lives.
- Encourage employers and training providers to value and offer opportunities to the Maldivian labor force.

### **Brand building**

In order to influence the identified negative attitudes and behavior of the target audiences, a strong identity and an original concept had to be created. It had to be something that the young target group could relate to and at the same time something which the older and more traditional target groups would accept. The core objective therefore, was to “brand” work and career development with a spirit of freshness and affirmative action. To achieve this, the name of the existing government-sponsored skills development program, namely, Youth Employment Skills was adapted. A brand “Yes,” which is an acronym for Youth Employment Skills was created which embodied the values and beliefs that this social marketing campaign advocated. In creating the brand “attitude branding” was given the highest priority. “Yes” was branded as a positive attitude towards life and of empowerment. “Yes” was portrayed not to have boundaries, but demonstrating relevance to all target groups.

The first step in brand formulation was to create a slogan and logo to represent “Yes.” Going back to the finding that attitudes of apathy and low motivation characterized young people’s attitudes toward work, the phrase “*Because I can*” was added to “Yes.” The slogan “*Yes because I can*” therefore was conceptualized to be a positive and empowering statement that encourages young people to take control of their lives, engage in opportunities, and build their lives. This statement was presented to small samples of young people who represented the final target group, government officials, heads of Maldivian Employment Sector Councils, and training providers. Responses indicated that to the young person, saying “*Yes because I can*” implied a positive attitude, a willingness to learn and take responsibility for self. The statement was presented for approval in various meetings with government officials and heads of the different Maldivian Employment Sector Councils. To them, the statement reflected empowerment and effecting change in one’s community. A prospective Maldivian employer indicated, for example, that the statement meant saying “Yes... because I can hire and create opportunities for Maldivian youth.” In similar vein, responses from training providers to the statement indicated sentiments such as “...because I can train and make training attractive and relevant to Maldivian youth.” These responses indicated to us that the statement evoked the sentiments of affirmation upon which the strategy was based.

FIGURE 1

## The “Yes” Campaign Logo and Slogan



The next step was to create a logo to represent the “Yes because I can” slogan. A variety of images were tested. The human “fingerprint” emerged as the most attractive to all target groups. Responses to this image indicated that the target audience perceived it as representing the self and individuality as well as self-empowerment. Figure 1 presents the final logo and slogan that the campaign endorsed.

The logo and slogan were designed to communicate that personal identity is at the core of the concept and that career development is related to finding yourself and becoming “you.”

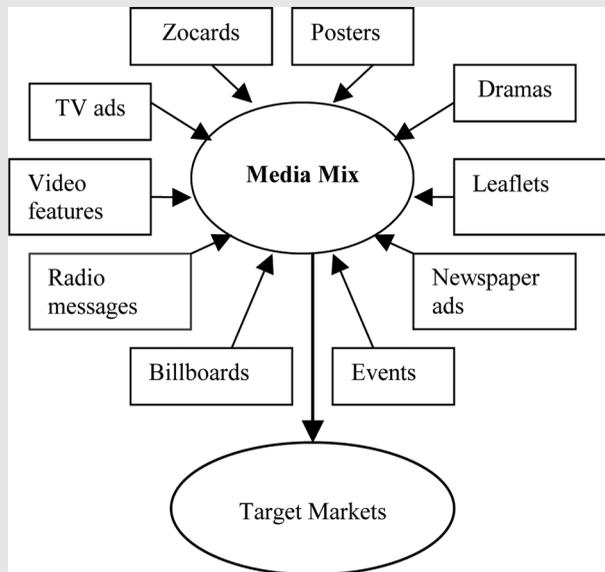
### **Marketing materials**

Based on intensive pilot testing, a variety of marketing materials were created around the “Yes because I can” concept to reach the different target groups of the campaign and heighten the feelings and images embodied by the slogan (Abdulla 2006). Figure 2 below presents the media mix that was established to pursue the objectives of the campaign.

The following mechanisms were established as the main platforms of information exchange and interaction between the target markets and the relevant ministry within the government.

FIGURE 2

## The Media Mix for the “Yes” Campaign



- A toll-free number: as a source of information for the target groups on career guidance, training programs, and employment opportunities.
- The “Yes” website: a dedicated website to provide information on career guidance, training, and employment opportunities.

### ***The campaign***

Strong’s (1925) attention, interest, desire, and action (AIDA) model of communication was used to develop and implement the campaign. Table 1 presents an overview of the marketing strategy and campaign activities that over a period of 9 months took the target audiences through all the stages of this approach. All communications were bilingual (Dhivehi – the Maldivian vernacular and English). All communications carried the “Yes” logo and slogan.

The campaign element of the “Yes” social marketing program drew to a close on completion of the activities previously described. At this stage, the “Yes” identity had been promoted across the nation and the link between the values espoused by “Yes” and employment skills and career development had been presented to the target groups. However, it is the impact of the campaign that

TABLE 1

## Implementation of the “Yes” Campaign within the AIDA Framework

AIDA COMPONENT AND OBJECTIVE	MARKETING TOOLS	MARKETING ACTIVITY
<p><i>Attention:</i> Create awareness of the issues surrounding employment in the Maldives.</p>	<p><i>Introductory print and video material:</i> statistics of the number of school leavers every year, the percentage who continue into higher education, the large percentage of school leavers who are left doing nothing.</p>	<p><i>National launch:</i> Television spots on Maldives national network; advertisements in all national newsarticles; distribution of print material in youth “hangouts.”</p>
<p><i>Interest:</i> Generate interest by presenting Yes as a “cool” and “trendy” brand; arouse curiosity to find out what Yes represented.</p>	<p><i>Zo cards:</i> free postcards – a new advertising medium in the Maldives. The idea was to introduce something trendy for the young target market in the Maldives to stimulate their interest.</p>	<p>Nationwide distribution of Zo cards on the streets, schools, and youth hangouts by young people wearing Yes T-shirts; full page advertisements in all the local newspapers; airing of the TV clip on the Maldives national network.</p>
	<p><i>Newspaper advertisements:</i> carrying the theme “Your future is at your fingertips.”</p>	
	<p><i>Television clip:</i> a 15-second video showing a teenage school girl with a group of friends writing the word “Yes” on the TV screen.</p>	

All three devices introduced the toll-free number and website, announced the incentive of winning an ipod and invited the audience to call or log on.

*Desire* Inspire young people and their parents by portraying how small beginnings and ordinary jobs can lead to bigger and successful ventures; evoke the desire to access the sources of information, namely, the toll-free number and the website.

Maldivian *role models* from different employment sectors were identified, interviewed, and the story of their careers were made into motivational print and video and radio material. Material was also produced based on the stories of "ordinary" Maldivian young people who were starting out on a career.

*Action:* Move the target audience toward development activities by seeking career guidance and skills training.

Information-oriented communications through Zo Cards, TV, and radio clips. Newspaper articles that presented information about employment sectors, counseling opportunities, and employment opportunities.

TV and radio broadcasts on the national networks, feature stories in the newspapers, and distribution of print material.

(Continued)

TABLE 1

**Continued**

AIDA COMPONENT AND OBJECTIVE	MARKETING TOOLS	MARKETING ACTIVITY
Provide a platform to exchange information between potentially employable youth, their parents, training providers, employers.	A series of national Yes events.	Three national events were held that blended youth-friendly activities (e.g., fashion show of Maldivian work costumes, live music shows), with career development activities that brought employers, training providers, and young people together; an interesting activity that was designed to provide a strong behavioral connotation to saying “Yes”, was the invitation to all those who attended the events to say “Yes” by putting their fingerprints on a Yes billboard. After the whole board was filled with fingerprints, a transparent sticker was removed to reveal Yes on the board.

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is of prime concern. The long-term objective of the marketing strategy was to address the negative mindsets and attitudes towards career development common among young people in the Maldives. Young people were the main target group of the campaign. But it also targeted parents, training providers, and employers. The crucial long-term objective was for young people and their parents, as well as employers and training providers to feel and believe that they were partners facing a common challenge (Abdulla 2007). Therefore the importance of carrying forward the branding and identity created by the “Yes” campaign was central to the effectiveness of the entire strategy. Failing this, the impact of the social marketing effort was at risk of being depleted and perhaps even self-terminating (Abdulla 2007).

It is in reference to this long-term social and behavioral change issue that we would like to highlight the deeper impact of the campaign. “Yes” branded work, employment skills training, and career development with a special identity and character uniquely suited to the Maldivian ethos. The “Yes” campaign in effect set off a ripple of freshness and positive orientations toward work and employment that was felt across the nation. Further details on the nature of this impact are provided in the section on analysis of impact. It is in capturing these ripples perhaps that the long-term sustainability of impact could be ensured.

### **The Career Counseling Component**

The *product* within the social marketing frame of reference could be the commodity, behavior, or service that the program is promoting (Smith 2001). A systematic career development program was implemented upon the platform created by the “Yes” campaign. This service could be described as an important *product* of the program and was drawn from the Career Preparation Process Model (Arulmani and Nag-Arulmani 2004), a comprehensive system of guidance designed for the developing world context. The model addresses self-awareness, understanding the world of work, developing career alternatives, and career-path planning. A particularly relevant aspect of this model to the Maldivian context is that it focuses on career beliefs and attitudes toward career choice. The model was adapted to align with the “Yes” theme and accordingly was branded as “*Yes for Career Choices*”. Specific career development teaching-learning materials were developed for the Maldives based on the “Yes” vision. All career counseling material carried the “Yes” slogan and logo and “Yes” career exploration activities gravitated around affirmative action for personal growth and development. The counseling system was designed to “unpack” the values promoted by the “Yes” campaign and sharpen their connotations at the behavioral and attitudinal levels.

For example, the program begins with worksheets that stimulate discussion on what it means to say “Yes” and how saying “Yes” means dealing with negative career beliefs and barriers to self-mediated career development. The counseling program extensively uses the fingerprint as a behavioral cue. Students make pictures with their fingerprints and use their fingerprint to discuss the uniqueness of their identity and the importance of taking responsibility for personal growth.

A total of 78 high school teachers, social workers and youth workers were selected from around the country and trained in the “Yes”, for Career Choices methodology. This training was imparted through a 110-hour certificate course delivered over 10 days.

### **Social Marketing and Career Guidance: The Interface**

Reviews of the impact of careers services have consistently indicated that counseling and guidance remain notional until they connect with local realities. If theories of career development and the interventions that emerge from these theories are to be meaningful, they must be attuned to the ways of thinking and living that compose the fabric of a society (e.g., Watson 2004; Arulmani 2006). In “branding” work with a positive and proactive spirit, the “Yes” social marketing campaign directly impacted attitudes and behaviors toward work, livelihood, and career development. At a deeper level, it created a framework for the implementation of career counseling. In imbuing the notion of work with a contextually relevant identity, it gave the careers program a clearly defined entry point and a distinctive framework for the implementation of guidance and counseling services. It was into these ripples that were spreading across the nation that the career counseling component was introduced.

Going back to the four P’s that social marketing uses as its framework, the foregoing provides a description of how the “Yes” program addressed the question of *price* (negative attitudes toward self-mediated career development) by creating a specific *promotion* (the “Yes” campaign) to provide a framework for the deployment of a specific *product* (the “Yes” for career choices counseling program), where *place* was identified through predetermined government machinery.

It is important, however, that the nature of the social marketing-career guidance interface in this context is clarified. Social marketing and career guidance are independent disciplines with their own characteristics and methodologies. Therefore while they worked in symbiotic partnership, they also retained their unique characteristics. While career counseling aligned itself thematically with the “Yes” concept, other components of the program were delivered in a “standardized” manner. For example, career counseling activities such as interest inventories,

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aptitude tests, developing career alternatives, and career-path planning were executed as they would have been in any other developing world context. At the most immediate level the “Yes” campaign created a framework for the formulation and delivery of a careers service. But at the deeper level, it gave the counselee a reason to plan, seek counseling, and engage with the process of self-discovery for personal development. It is this quality of the interface between social marketing and career guidance that we analyze below.

### **The “Yes” Campaign: Analysis of Impact**

The “Yes” campaign was not intended as a piece of research. It was an intervention program. Hence our data analyses are based upon *post hoc* examination of government surveys conducted prior to the “Yes” campaign, data from the formative research conducted for the campaign and post-campaign follow-up data.

### **The Sample**

Our data is presented from two separate samples. The first is drawn from a survey conducted to understand young people’s attitudes toward work and career as a part of the government of Maldives’ Integrated Human Development program (IHDP) executed in 2004 (Arulmani 2004). This project provided career guidance, but it did not include any social marketing inputs. The “Yes” campaign was implemented 2 years later (2006–2007) through the Employment Skills Training program (ESTP). The second sample group was drawn from the ESTP upon which the “Yes” campaign was trial-tested and followed up (Abdulla 2006, 2007). The government had identified “focus islands” for the implementation of both these projects. We studied the impact of the social marketing campaign through a series of studies with grade 10 students who were one of the target groups. Schools were randomly chosen on every “focus island.” In these schools, all grade 10 students, both boys and girls, participated in the study.

### **Variables and tools**

Based on data from the IHDP and ESTP, both attitudinal and behavioral variables were identified as targets for the “Yes” social marketing initiative.

### **Behavioral variables**

We report two specific behaviors that the campaign attempted to foster as indicative of behavioral change. The first was that the target audience would access information offered on the “Yes” website. The second was that the target audience would make enquiries on the “Yes” toll-free number.

**Attitudinal variables**

Career belief is a construct used in careers research to describe the conglomerate of attitudes, opinions, convictions, and notions that cohere together to create mindsets and beliefs underlying people's orientation to work and career (Krumboltz 1994; Arulmani 2006). Irrespective of their accuracy, career beliefs exert facilitative or inhibitive influences on individuals' decisions and actions as they attempt to develop and implement career goals.

The present study used the Career Belief Patterns Scale (Arulmani and Nag-Arulmani 2004) to examine career beliefs among the sample under study. This is a 13-item standardized scale designed to tap the following:

- beliefs about *self-worth* that would inhibit the individual from engaging in career development activities;
- orientations to the future that inhibit the motivation to *persist* toward a career goal;
- beliefs that could inhibit the motivation to develop skills and acquire *proficiency* for a career.

Higher scores on the scale indicate higher levels of negativity toward career development. The maximum score on this scale is 39. While the scale does yield subscores for the three factors it measures, the present study reports only the composite score.

**Methodology**

To measure behavioral changes effected by the campaign, namely, the target groups' engagement with the "Yes" website and the toll-free phone service, the "Yes" website was designed to record hits on the website and a system of recording toll-free calls was formulated and counselors logged the calls in a standardized manner. A count of the frequency of website hits and calls on the toll-free number was used as indicative of the target groups' behavioral response to the "Yes" campaign.

To examine changes in career beliefs, a pretest post-test, quasi-experimental design was used to compare changes in attitudes toward work and career. Since our interest was to understand the relative impact of social marketing and career guidance as stand-alone activities versus the combined impact of these two interventions on attitudes toward work and career, the data available to us was queried as follows:

- Study 1: Does career guidance alone have an impact on attitudes toward work and career?

- Study 2: Does social marketing alone have an impact on attitudes toward work and career? Is the combined impact of social marketing and career guidance any different from the isolated deployment of these interventions on attitudes toward work and career?

### **Findings related to behavioral changes**

The government of Maldives has maintained a website dedicated to employment and career information. Comparison of the hits received by the “Yes” and government websites 1 month after the “Yes” campaign was launched provided insights into the behavioral change effected by the campaign. The government website receives an average of 30 hits per month. In striking contrast, the “Yes” website received 49,075 hits during the month after it was launched. At this point in the program, we were unable to separate unique from repeat visitors since the website was not so designed. It may, however, be noted that access to the internet in the Maldives is not easy. Most internet users would have to go to an internet café on their island to gain paid access. Against this background, the contrast in the sheer number of hits between the existing website and the “Yes” website is significant. We further argue that unique, one-time visitors could also be indicative of the interest that the “Yes” campaign evoked among a target group that is known to be apathetic, often expressing helplessness for self-mediated career development activities.

Since a toll-free service dedicated to employment and career development does not exist in the Maldives, we are unable to provide a comparative analysis. An examination of the log sheets however, indicated that the toll-free number received a total of 2,251 calls in the first month after the campaign was launched. Of these, 93% of the calls were unique, first-time calls that were motivated by the “Yes” campaign. Repeat calls were from those who had further questions. Eighty-three percent of the calls were from segment 1 of the target group (adolescents and young people). Parents and adults made up 7% of the calls and 5% of the callers were employers and training providers. Five percent of the calls were prank calls from boys who wanted dates with the telephone operators!

### **Findings related to attitudinal changes**

#### ***Study 1: The impact of career guidance***

The sample for this study comprised grade 10 students who were a part of the IHDP survey executed in 2004. The total number surveyed was 352 of which 172 (48.9%) were males and 180 (51.1%) were females. The Mean age of the sample was 14.93 years (SD = 0.68).

The entire sample was assessed for its career belief status on the Career Belief Patterns Scale (CBPS) at Time 1 (T1), soon after which all members of the group were offered a career guidance program at Time 2 (T2). A total of 161 individuals accepted the invitation and came in for guidance. They were reassessed for their career beliefs on the CBPS immediately after the careers intervention. The rest of the group, a total of 191 individuals, did not come in for the program. In order to examine the impact of career guidance on this sample, we categorized the group that did not come in for career guidance as the control group (N = 191) and the group that received the intervention as the career guidance only group (N = 161). Our findings were as follows.

At T1 (prior to the career guidance intervention) the career guidance only group obtained a Mean score of 33.04 (SD = 1.97) on the CPBS, while the control group obtained a Mean score of 32.91 (SD = 1.82). The difference between CBPS Mean scores was not significant,  $t(350) = 0.65$ , ns).

At T2 (immediately after the careers intervention) the career guidance only group obtained a Mean of 29.57 (SD = 1.87), which is lower than the score it obtained before the career guidance intervention. This indicates a decrease in negative career beliefs. A comparison of T1 and T2 Mean scores of the career guidance only group confirms that the change in the negativity of career belief was significant,  $t(160) = -23.26$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ).

Our first question was: Does career guidance alone have an impact on attitudes toward work and career? The information gleaned from Study 1 indicates that career guidance by itself does have a statistically significant impact and contributes to the reduction of negative career beliefs.

### ***Study 2: The impact of career guidance and social marketing***

The sample for this study was drawn from the ESTP through which the “Yes” campaign was conducted. CBPS data was collected at T1 before the social marketing and careers guidance interventions began, and again at T2 after the interventions were completed. The responses of a total of 291 grade 10 students comprising 159 boys and 132 girls were examined. This sample was subdivided into three groups in order to focus on our next two questions, namely, the impact of social marketing *alone* on career beliefs and the *combined* impact of social marketing and career guidance on career beliefs. The rationale for this grouping is provided below.

All three groups were assessed at T1 on the CBPS before the social marketing intervention. The “Yes” campaign was then implemented as described above and the entire nation was exposed to its various components.

Soon after the campaign, a number of schools requested that career guidance be conducted for their students. One school was randomly selected and is presented as a case study school for this study. A career guidance program closely similar, but not identical to the one offered in Study 1, was implemented. The main change in the career guidance program was that the career information offered in Study 2 (2006) was more updated than information offered in Study 1 (2004). All 214 grade 10 students from this case study school participated in the study.

Given the large numbers, the students of this school were randomly divided into two groups. A total of 109 were initially seen for career guidance and the remaining 105 students were seen after the weekend 2 days later. In effect, therefore, for a period of 2 days, there were 105 students within this sample who received the social marketing inputs but not the career guidance inputs, while 109 received both social marketing and career guidance inputs. This “pause” in the program offered us a window of opportunity to conduct Studies 2 and 3. Study 2 considered the group that received the social marketing inputs (SM group) only and Study 3 looked at those who had received *both* the social marketing and careers interventions (SMCG group). For the SMCG group, the T2 data was collected immediately after the careers guidance workshop. For the SM group, a CBPS administered immediately before their career guidance was considered as the T2 data. The CBPS scores of all grade 10 students from a comparable school had also been collected before the “Yes” campaign was launched in the country, at the same time as the T1 data of the SM and SMCG groups were collected. This data is presented as the control group data for these studies. The Mean CBPS scores of the SM and SMCG groups at T1 and T2 and the control group at T1 are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

### Mean CBPS Scores of the SM and SMCG Groups at T1 and T2

GROUPS (N)	MEAN (SD) AT T1	MEAN (SD) AT T2
SM Group (105)	33.28 (1.77)	28.67 (2.45)
SMCG Group (109)	32.72 (2.37)	19.41 (1.93)
Control Group (77)	33.15 (1.82)	—

A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) of Mean CBPS scores at T1 for the three groups, namely, the SM, the SMCG, and control groups, was not significant ( $F(2, 288) = 2.20$ , ns). In other words, all three groups were comparable in their career belief scores at T1.

We next looked at the impact of the two interventions under study, namely, the social marketing only intervention and the social marketing with careers guidance intervention. The SM group that received social marketing only, showed significant changes in career beliefs at T2 [ $t(104) = 14.91$ ,  $p = .000$ ]. The SMCG group that received the combined intervention of social marketing and career guidance also showed significant changes in careers beliefs at T2 [ $t(108) = 51.47$ ,  $p = .000$ ]. As indicated in Table 2, a comparison of the career belief scores obtained by the SM group and the SMCG groups shows that both have changed significantly with the two different forms of intervention. We also examined the difference in the CBPS scores between SM and SMCG groups at T2. The difference in scores between the two groups was found to be significant [ $t(212) = -30.68$ ,  $p = .000$ ]. The CBPS Means at T2, as shown in Table 2, indicate that the extent of change in career beliefs is greater in the combined SMCG group when compared to the SM only group.

Our second question was: Does social marketing alone have an impact on attitudes toward work and career? Information from Study 2 indicates that the “Yes” social marketing campaign by itself did have a statistically significant impact on career beliefs and contributed to the reduction of negative career beliefs.

Our third question was: Is the combined impact of social marketing and career guidance any different from the isolated deployment of these interventions on attitudes toward work and career? Information from Study 2 indicates that the combined impact of the “Yes” social marketing campaign and the career guidance intervention had a statistically significant impact on the reduction of negative career beliefs. An examination of the CBPS scores indicates that the group that received the combined intervention recorded the lower CBPS Mean score at T2.

### **Study 3: Effect size**

While the statistics previously reported indicate the significance of the impact of the different interventions, we were also keen to examine the *extent* to which each of the conditions contributed to the samples’ change in work attitudes. We therefore looked at the data from Studies 1 and 2 to understand the relative impact of the interventions on career beliefs. The construct of effect size has been used to conduct meta analyses of intervention outcomes, whereby outcomes are

TABLE 3

### Glassian Effect Sizes Indicating the Impact of the Three Interventions on the Career Beliefs of the Groups Under Study

GROUPS (STUDY)	GLASSIAN EFFECT SIZE
Career Guidance only (Study 1)	-1.85
"Yes" Social Marketing campaign only (Study 2)	-2.46
"Yes" Social Marketing campaign and Career Guidance (Study 3)	-7.55

quantified for comparison with each other (Oliver and Spokane 1988; Kidd and Killeen 1992). We used the Glassian effect size (Glass, McGaw, and Smith 1981) to examine the impact of the career guidance and social marketing interventions. It may be noted that high scores on the CBPS indicate a higher level of negative attitudes. Hence, effect sizes with negative values indicate a *decrease* in negative career beliefs. The results are presented in Table 3.

As indicated in Table 3, the maximum effect size for an intervention is seen when social marketing is combined with career guidance.

### Discussion

Career counseling has generally been shown to have positive effects and the question of whether career counseling works, is no longer asked (e.g., Oliver and Spokane 1988; Kidd and Killeen 1992). Similarly, the relevance of social marketing to effecting behavioral and attitudinal change is well established (e.g., Stead et al. 2007; Andreasen, 1994). However, the same reviewers point out that the long-term effects of these interventions are sometimes equivocal. It is also well known that over time, the effects of some interventions fade and wear away. While the data presented above suggests that "effects" have been recorded both by the social marketing and career guidance interventions, of particular interest is the markedly larger effect size recorded by the combined influence of social marketing and career guidance. It is the combination of a social marketing initiative and a career guidance intervention employed in tandem with each other that has had the strongest impact on the attitudes targeted. One without the other seems not to have had as significant an effect. Each of these interventions is a specialization that has had its own unique effect in impacting attitudes

related to career choice and employment. Going back to the social marketing model of a marketing mix, the “Yes” campaign *promoted* a positive and affirmative image of work and drew the attention of the target audience to the *product* of the program, namely, career counseling. In this context, career counseling was, in effect, a standard career development program that had been adapted to map onto the “Yes” vision. The parameters of the studies reported do not allow for a comment on the long-term impact of this coming together of promotion and product. The evidence cited above, however, suggests that it is in the *reciprocity* of the interactions between a promotion and a product that the potential for long-term sustainability could lie.

Having said this, we would like to present a further proposition. The argument that bringing interventions together has better effects has been made (e.g., Oliver and Spokane 1988) and to some extent is a tired one. What it is about the combination is perhaps worthy of further discussion. We use the constructs of “valorization” and “surplus value” to discuss the dynamics of the interaction between the social marketing and the career guidance intervention reported in this article. While these concepts emerged originally from Marxian theory, and in this sense, carry purely economic and political overtones, they have been adapted and used in other social change discourses (e.g., Kendrik 1994). Valorization is a French word that means “to make useful” and “add value.” “Surplus value” is value created that is beyond the cost of the effort which was invested to create that value.

When effectively deployed, the effects of social marketing do not just appear to have the effect of “adding value” to the concept being endorsed. The “Yes” campaign reported above did not stop merely at valorizing career development. In creating an ambience of affirmation toward self-mediated career development, the campaign brought forth “surplus value” that we earlier referred to as the “ripples” which persisted across the nation after the campaign reached its completion. This “surplus value” provided a “setting” for a systematic career guidance program to be perceived not only as something attractive but also as a necessary and useful service. It gave the target audience a reason to seek career guidance. When deployed within this ambience, career guidance seems to have capitalized on the “surplus value” and had its strongest impact.

We propose, therefore, that social marketing is most effective when it has a “partner intervention” that can “capture” the “surplus value” created by social marketing and thereby achieve the momentum that is necessary to effect sustained change. We further argue that it is not merely the coming together of social marketing and a “partner intervention” that effects change. It is in effect

the smooth implementation of a mechanism, whereby a social marketing promotion is so designed that it fully primes a “partner intervention” to carry the effort forward toward sustainability in the long run. The absence of a mechanism to capitalize on the “surplus value” created could in fact underlie the reasons for poor outcomes and attrition of the gains that follow a social marketing campaign. Our argument points to the possibility that it is not the combination that matters. We suggest instead that rather than *combine*, an effective social marketing approach would be designed to *overlap* with a partner intervention. Social marketing’s contribution would culminate with the baton being passed on as it were, to the partner intervention. It could indeed be that it is in the optimizing of a mechanism whereby the ripples created by an effective social marketing strategy are captured, where answers to long-term sustainability could lie.

### **Conclusion**

A key target of the “Yes” social marketing campaign was to imbue career development with freshness and affirmative action. The following vignette of a young Maldivian who had gone through the entire program provides an apt illustration of the arguments we have presented. This young 18-year-old who was not doing very well in school and who was at high risk in becoming indifferent to his career development said: “I saw Yes on TV. Then I had career guidance in my school. I learned from career guidance what it means to say “Yes, because I can.” I realized that I would do well in careers that require physical fitness and stamina. I also learned that there is Dive Master course. I took the course. Now I am a Yes graduate!”

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