

## THE IMPACT OF THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AGENDA ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF NATIONAL POLICIES OF COMMODITY PRODUCING COUNTRIES

*In 2015, as a response to global challenges, the members of the United Nations (UN) designed the Sustainable Development Goals they intend to achieve by 2030. The transition to a green economy is at the core of the global sustainable development agenda. Such an approach includes the introduction of sustainable production and consumption patterns, increased use of renewable energy sources, and carbon footprint reduction in production chains. In particular, the countries that export fuel and energy resources are under pressure due to the plans to stop using hydrocarbons as a fuel source. Subsequently, a new technological paradigm will put additional pressure on the countries that export mineral resources. Thus, it is appropriate to examine how commodity producing countries integrate the principles of sustainable development in national policies. We analysed the countries that are largely dependent on the export of fuel and energy resources as well as the countries that export mineral resources. Then, we assessed the participation of these countries in key international initiatives for sustainable development. Finally, we summarised and systematised the approaches of the examined countries to introduce sustainable development principles into national strategies and policies. Examination of the international experience allows making the following conclusions. Commodity producing countries consider the global sustainable development agenda as an opportunity to improve the national economy and implement the reforms necessary for further development. In this case, the global agenda is an additional argument to substantiate the necessity of reforms for the national elite. In the field of sustainable development, there is a trend towards strengthening the regulatory role of the state, which combines direct control measures and measures aimed at the establishment of the green national economy.*

**Keywords:** green economy, sustainable development concept, global initiative, economic development pattern, structural transformations, development policy, national strategy, national programs, national plans, socio-economic development, commodity producing countries

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### Introduction

The current stage of development shows that the global agenda more strongly influences national economic policies [1, p. 111; 2, p. 13]. Of particular interest is the part of the global agenda aimed at strengthening and disseminating the concept of sustainable development, which substantiates the transition of countries to a green economy. The spreading and strengthening of the concept of sustainable development lead to changes in the structure and functioning principles of the world economy and international markets [3, p. 1]. This transformation affects national economic processes, spreading further across regional economies.

Russia is also influenced by the global sustainable development agenda [4, p. 114–115; 5, p. 130–131]. For example, in December 2019, the Russian government approved the National Activity Plan for the First Stage of Climate Change Adaptation until 2022<sup>1</sup> (hereinafter the National Plan) to implement the Climate Doctrine and ensure the fulfilment of Russia's international obligations under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and other international treaties. The National Plan involves

<sup>1</sup> About the approval of the National Activity Plan for the First Stage of Climate Change Adaptation until 2022. The Decree of the Russian Federation Government No. 3183-r dated December 25, 2019. Retrieved from: <http://government.ru/docs/38739/> (Date of access: 06.03.2020).

the development of sectoral (until September 30, 2021) and regional (until May 10, 2022) action plans for climate change adaptation.

New plans need to be integrated into the existing national policy and implemented sectoral and regional strategies. Risks to the national economy are related to technological development, which is the basis of the existing industrial production [6, p. 1771], as the fight against climate change focuses on the establishment of low-carbon industries and the transition of existing industries to low-carbon technologies. This process of building a “green industry” is one of the objectives of the green economy embedded in the concept of sustainable development.

Additionally, it is internationally accepted that the main source of carbon emissions is the production of electricity using hydrocarbon fuel. Therefore, there is a call for national governments and industrial enterprises to reduce its consumption by switching to alternative energy sources and increasing energy efficiency.

Thus, following the global initiative that encourages countries to establish the green economy, commodity producing countries face new challenges as they have to adopt new technologies to modernise their industrial sector, adjust their energy policy and review the revenue sources.

In this regard, from theoretical and practical perspectives, it is advisable to examine government policies of commodity producing countries and their strategic decisions to strike a balance between meeting the requirements of the global sustainable development agenda and tackling national issues.

### **Methods and Materials**

The research focuses on exploring the experience of commodity producing countries in incorporating the principles of sustainable development and green economy into their national strategies and policy. The outcome of the analysis is the characteristics of the countries showing the impact of sustainable development and green economy on their national strategies.

As far as methods are concerned, we used historical and systemic approaches to examine the experience of commodity producing countries.

The study relies on information publicly available on the official websites of the United Nations (UN), the governments of the examined countries, and international organisations. We analysed strategic planning documents, statements, national plans and programmes, laws and regulations, as well as relevant statistics. Additionally, we studied analytical reviews, economic publications on sustainable development and green economy issues, and made our own calculations.

### **Results**

**Green Economy: a new concept of economic development and a new growth driver**

In the second half of the twentieth century, the opinion prevailed that the existing economic pattern caused crises, which began to arise in various social spheres. This pattern is characterised by irrational capital allocation across economic sectors: its main criterion for making investment decisions is economic efficiency, which does not consider the environmental and social impacts<sup>2</sup>. Irrational capital allocation results in the strengthening of economic sectors adversely affecting the environment and people, subsequently leading to a series of crises [7, p. 117–118].

It has been acknowledged that the existing economic pattern has exhausted its potential nowadays; it needs to be changed to ensure sustainable development of society [8; 9, p. 15–16]. This has given rise to green economy ideas aimed at ensuring the movement of national economies towards more sustainable production and consumption by equally considering economic, environmental and social factors in the process of investment decision-making<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, issues related to the shift of industrial production towards a new technological paradigm, which allows avoiding crises, are at the core of green economy and its underpinning concept of sustainable development [10, 11].

The shift in industrial production requires structural transformations, which should revive unstable national economies. In fact, this is a scheme to improve the economy [12, p. 299–301; 13, p. 37–38]. The main sources and the improvement algorithm have been determined at the international level. During the UN negotiations, countries have agreed to prioritise ten economic sectors. At least two

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<sup>2</sup> Green economy. Reference document for consultations at the ministerial level. Retrieved from: [http://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/21593/K0953813.R\\_GCSS\\_10\\_Add\\_1.doc?sequence=9&isAllowed=y](http://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/21593/K0953813.R_GCSS_10_Add_1.doc?sequence=9&isAllowed=y) (Date of access: 10.02.2020).

<sup>3</sup> The future we want. Rio+20. The UN Conference on Sustainable Development. 2012. Retrieved from: <https://rio20.un.org/sites/rio20.un.org/files/a-conf.216-l-1-russian.pdf> (Date of access: 10.02.2020).

percent of the global gross domestic product (GDP) should be invested in greening these sectors [14, p. 4]. This agreement is expected to give public and private actors an incentive to redirect capital flows<sup>4</sup>.

The globally disseminated concept requires government actions as it involves fundamental changes in the existing economic pattern [15, p. 83–84; 16, p. 17–18]. Considering their peculiarities, countries should develop their own strategies, establish institutions, identify funding sources and choose appropriate tools to ensure the success of the improvement algorithm [17, p. 9–10; 18, p. 42].

### **The main characteristics of commodity producing countries selected for analysis**

The examined countries include Nigeria, Indonesia, Malaysia and India with a share of fuel and energy exports in total exports accounting for 90 %, 28 %, 18 % and 16 %, respectively, as well as Brazil with a 8.89 % share of fuel and energy exports and a 14 % share of ores and metals exports in total exports and Chile, which has a significant share of ores and metals exports in total exports (58 %)<sup>5</sup>.

The policy of transition to the new economic pattern is strongly influenced by factors determining the nature and development conditions of the examined countries. Therefore, at first we analysed the main approaches of the countries to developing their domestic decision-making system, i.e. a historically developed form of state structure.

It is noteworthy that collective bodies have the power of making strategic decisions in three out of six countries, namely, India, Nigeria and Brazil. In three other countries, including Indonesia, Malaysia and Chile, strategic decisions are made solely by the head of state (president) or prime minister. Countries also differ greatly in terms of the distribution of authority to shape development policy. For example, the development of such a policy in India falls within the competence of parliament while in Indonesia, Malaysia and Brazil it is the responsibility of the functioning government (ministries). In Nigeria and Chile, these powers are entrusted to dedicated structures (national economic council, secretariat for development planning and coordination).

Then, we compared the main indicators of social and economic development of the countries. Comparison results led us to the conclusion that the examined countries had both considerable differences and similarities in terms of social and economic challenges. For example, the issues of combating poverty and improving people's well-being are relevant for all countries. As for economic challenges, maintaining inflation at an acceptable rate is still an urgent problem. The countries demonstrate unstable growth rates of foreign direct investments and differ greatly in GDP growth rates.

Interesting findings were made as a result of studying the gross value added structure of the examined countries by types of economic activity. The contribution of mining to gross value added turned out to be much lower than the share of commodity exports in the total volume of exports in all the countries.

Therefore, we came to the following conclusion. Although the commodity sector is crucial for the accumulation of foreign exchange earnings, it does not play a pivotal role in building the economic foundation of the analysed countries.

To identify factors influencing the establishment of national development priorities, we compared indicators of the Global Competitiveness Index published in the Global Competitiveness Report (hereinafter the report)<sup>6</sup>.

The World Economic Forum has been publishing the Global Competitiveness Report annually since 1979. It ranks countries based on the Global Competitiveness Index (GCI). The GCI is a synthetic index reflecting the ability of countries to ensure economic growth in a free market and depending on the efficient use of natural and labour resources, workforce productivity, as well as the quality of goods and services.

After studying the report, we concluded that the countries differ significantly in institutional and infrastructure development, macroeconomic stability, maturity of financial markets and favourable

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<sup>4</sup> Towards a Green Economy. Pathways to Sustainable Development and Poverty Eradication: a Synthesis for Policy Makers. Retrieved from: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/index.php?page=view&type=400&nr=126&menu=35> (Date of access: 10.02.2020).

<sup>5</sup> Indicators. Fuel exports (% of merchandise exports); Ores and metals exports (% of merchandise exports); Manufactures exports (% of merchandise exports). Retrieved from: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator> (Date of access: 24.06.2019).

<sup>6</sup> The Global Competitiveness Report 2017–2018. Retrieved from: <http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GCR2017–2018/05FullReport/TheGlobalCompetitivenessReport2017%E2%80%932018.pdf> (Date of access: 24.06.2019).

conditions for business and innovation growth. There are leaders (Indonesia, Malaysia, Chile), average performers (India and Brazil) and a country, which lags behind in all aspects of development (Nigeria).

Consequently, it should be assumed that the development of institutions, infrastructure and financial markets, as well as macroeconomic stability are crucial when planning a national strategy and development policy. It is reasonable to agree that pressing development problems can affect the preferences and nature of addressing sustainable development issues in the national agendas.

### **The specificity of addressing green economy issues in the National Agendas and their Role**

In spite of differences in international competitive capacities and social and economic development, the examined countries demonstrate similar approaches to incorporating the principles of sustainable development and green economy into their public policy.

The countries begin with elaborating national strategies, plans and development policies aimed at achieving sustainable development goals. They establish government structures responsible for achieving sustainable development goals. Then, a package of specific measures is developed. These measures are crucial to kick-start the integration of sustainable development principles into political, economic, financial and investment decision-making.

National governments consider the transition to a green economy an important tool for ensuring long-term sustainable development. Therefore, this issue is included in all major strategic planning documents. Besides, the examined countries are developing separate sector- and industry-specific plans to entrench sustainable development and green economy goals as national development priorities.

Generally, we should point out that national governments have demonstrated their active role in the development and adoption of national sustainable development strategies. Companies have shown initiative in the development and adoption of voluntary principles of responsible business conduct and responsible investment.

Attention should also be paid to the following fact. Behind the rhetoric of sustainability, there is a pragmatic goal to find sources of funding for the national economy improvement. The trend towards sustainable development and green economy is considered innovative, and, in this context, established sources of funding are considered alternative.

### **The countries' involvement in key international initiatives for sustainable development**

Realizing the need to consider environmental and social factors in their activity and business processes to stay competitive [19, 20], companies and financial institutions of the examined countries seek to move to sustainable practices by adapting advanced foreign experience through participation in key international initiatives. Various international initiatives (Table) are popular among companies and financial institutions in all or the majority of the examined countries<sup>7</sup>.

All the examined countries are participating in the United Nations Environment Programme Finance Initiative (UNEP Finance Initiative) targeting the financial sector (mainly banks and insurance companies). Brazil (13) and Nigeria (8) lead in the number of participants. There are two participants from India. Malaysia and Indonesia have one participant each. Chile is involved in this initiative through five supporting institutions.

The Global Compact, another UN initiative, is much more popular among companies. Brazil is also leading here in both the total number of participants and the number of active members and participants from the financial sector (842, 656, and 40 respectively). India (306, 237, 5) and Nigeria (127, 94, 11) are lagging far behind Brazil. Malaysia has the smallest number of participants in this initiative. Only 23 Malaysian companies out of 35 participants are actively engaged in the initiative, while none of the participating Malaysian companies belong to the financial sector.

All the examined countries subscribed to the Principles for Responsible Investment. Brazil has the largest number of signatories to the Principles for Responsible Investment (49 companies). India (6), Indonesia and Malaysia (with 5 participants each), Chile (4) and Nigeria (3) are lagging far behind it.

Companies from the examined countries also use instruments of voluntary environmental disclosure developed by international non-profit organisations or partnerships, such as the Carbon Disclosure Project (CDP). It is a non-profit partnership of the largest international financial institutions, which maintains an international database of greenhouse gas emissions from companies. However, not

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<sup>7</sup> Data on the number of companies and financial institutions participating in international sustainable development initiatives discussed below are provided as of 18 November, 2019.

**International initiatives: organisations and number of participating companies**

No.	Financial initiative	Brazil	India	Indonesia	Malaysia	Nigeria	Chile
1	The International Capital Market Association (ICMA)	member	member	member	member	member	member
2	The Sustainable Banking Network (SBN)	participant since 2012	participant since 2016	participant since 2012	—	participant since 2012	participant since 2016
3	The UNEP Finance Initiative (UNEP FI)	13	2	1	1	8	5*
4	The UN Global Compact <sup>**</sup> : the total number of participating companies	842	306	82	35	127	76
	out of them active participating companies	656	237	69	23	94	68
	out of them financial sector companies	40	5	3	0	11	10
5	The UN Principles for Responsible Investment (UN PRI)	49	6	5	5	3	4
6	The Global Reporting Initiative (GRI)	10	12	5	5	4	6
7	The Carbon Disclosure Project (CDP)	48	242 / 650 <sup>***</sup>	36 <sup>****</sup>	32	9	107
8	The Climate Bonds Initiative (CBI)	9	— <sup>*****</sup>	1	1	1	1
9	The Sustainable Stock Exchanges Initiative (SSE Initiative)	1	2	—	1	1	1
10	The Equator Principles (EP)	5	1	—	—	2	—
11	The Principles for Sustainable Insurance (PSI)	11	18	—	1	2	—

## Notes:

\* Chile is involved in the UNEP Finance Initiative through five supporting institutions: Finis Terrae University, Chilean Association of Investment Fund Administrators (ACAFI), Acción Climática, FinteChile, GovernArt.

\*\* The UN Global Compact official website data. Retrieved from: <https://www.unglobalcompact.org/what-is-gc/participants/> (Date of access: 18.11.2019).

\*\*\* 242 is the number of companies providing information for the assessment / 650 is the number of companies reporting in compliance with the CDP requirements, 2018.

\*\*\*\* The total number of participants who provided information at the CDP request for the period 2012–2018 within the framework of the following programmes: “Forest”, “Climate Change”, “Supply Chain”, “Water”.

\*\*\*\*\* We did not find fully verified information about CBI partner companies from India. At the same time, the issuance of green bonds by the State Bank of India in 2018 was certified by the Climate Bonds Initiative and complied with the standards of this organisation.

Source: compiled by the authors.

all the companies participating in this initiative voluntarily disclose information about their carbon dioxide emissions. For example, only 242 out of 650 Indian companies provided data for assessing their compliance with the CDP requirements for the 2018 reporting season. A similar situation was in Indonesia. According to the official CDP website, many Indonesian organisations did not provide data at the CDP request in 2018. Only 36 companies submitted the requested information<sup>8</sup>.

The examined countries have demonstrated an interest in initiatives promoting and developing standard rules for green bond issuance. All the countries have joined the Climate Bonds Initiative Partner Programme. They are also members of the International Capital Market Association, which has developed voluntary standards of green bond issuance (Green Bond Principles).

Other initiatives have attracted fewer participants from the examined countries. Besides, some countries have not supported some of the mentioned initiatives. For example, Malaysia has not joined

<sup>8</sup> Search and view past CDP responses. Retrieved from: [https://www.cdp.net/en/responses?filters%5Bcountries%5D%5B%5D=Indonesia&filters%5Bstatuses%5D%5B%5D=No+response&filters%5Byears%5D%5B%5D=2018&page=1&per\\_page=5&queries%5Bname%5D=&sort\\_by=project\\_year&sort\\_dir=desc](https://www.cdp.net/en/responses?filters%5Bcountries%5D%5B%5D=Indonesia&filters%5Bstatuses%5D%5B%5D=No+response&filters%5Byears%5D%5B%5D=2018&page=1&per_page=5&queries%5Bname%5D=&sort_by=project_year&sort_dir=desc) (Date of access: 22.02.2020).

the Sustainable Banking Network, which is an alliance of financial regulators and banking associations of emerging markets that have expressed support for the integration of sustainable development principles into financial practice. Another country in South-East Asia, Indonesia, has not joined the Sustainable Stock Exchanges Initiative (SSE Initiative), and Indonesia and Chile have not adopted the Equator Principles and the Principles for Sustainable Insurance so far.

Despite that, the trend towards greening the national financial systems of the examined countries is clearly seen. The countries are participating in key international initiatives for sustainable development and green investment, benefiting from the adoption of advanced experience they lack. Simultaneously, they are cautious about adopting voluntary commitments, principles and standards, which should signal to other participants in the initiatives that implemented projects, investments and financial transactions meet certain standards. Additionally, they can allow these countries to enter new markets.

### **Systematisation of the countries' approaches**

The integration of sustainable development principles into national strategies and policies is influenced by two factors: (1) the impact of international institutions and processes in the field of sustainable development, (2) the understanding and interpretation of sustainable development principles in the context of resolving national development issues.

Addressing economic, environmental and social issues as interrelated is central to the policy of Brazil. In the 2000s, national authorities began taking active steps to deal with pressing problems and develop a strategy of national development in accordance with sustainable development principles. They took steps to develop national strategic documents, laws and regulations on climate change, financing of sustainable development, and achievement of national goals of the global sustainable development agenda.

India has also been actively incorporating the principles of sustainable development into its national agenda [21, p. 67–72; 22]. The global agenda has been strongly influencing the elaboration of national development plans since the 2000s, as the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals, which were transformed into the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015, required the country to incorporate sustainable development principles into national economic planning<sup>9</sup>. India has integrated the Sustainable Development Goals into national five-year plans. Thus, the country has taken into account the guidelines of the global initiative. Based on pressing national development issues, the system of five-year plans and programmes has embraced its different elements in various dimensions.

Indonesia's transition to sustainable development and green growth is a priority issue in the national agenda. Green economy provides a basis for strategic planning documents [23; 24, p. 326]. The government pays special attention to climate change adaptation and mitigation, reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, natural disaster management and biodiversity conservation. Indonesia participates in key international initiatives for sustainable development and green investments, benefiting from the adaptation of advanced experience. It has considerable potential to boost its involvement in the process of developing a green financial system, which is proceeding apace internationally.

Malaysia also recognises the importance of cooperation and partnerships to achieve better development results<sup>10</sup>. The country has declared its commitment to sustainable development principles [25, p. 139]. Like India, Malaysia has integrated sustainable development principles into its five-year plans. It is implementing an active policy in key economic sectors chosen in accordance with national priorities.

Nigeria considers sustainable development as the unity of three dimensions: economic (economic liberalisation), social (poverty and gender equality) and environmental (greening the economy, combating climate change, etc.). The Nigerian government focuses on the environmental dimension of sustainable development, which can affect the success of dealing with other issues<sup>11</sup>. Nigeria participates

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<sup>9</sup> India's Voluntary National Review Report on the Implementation of Sustainable Development Goals. Retrieved from: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/16693India.pdf> (Date of access: 10.02.2020).

<sup>10</sup> Green Infrastructure Finance. Green Investment Climate Country Profile. Malaysia. Retrieved from: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/279514670\\_Green\\_Infrastructure\\_Finance\\_Green\\_Investment\\_Climate\\_Country\\_Profile\\_-\\_Malaysia](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/279514670_Green_Infrastructure_Finance_Green_Investment_Climate_Country_Profile_-_Malaysia) (Date of access: 10.02.2020).

<sup>11</sup> Implementation of the SDGs. A National Voluntary Review. Retrieved from: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/16029Nigeria.pdf> (Date of access: 10.02.2020).

actively in international and regional initiatives and projects in the field of sustainable development. Nigerian financial institutions are also actively involved in international financial initiatives.

Developing public sustainable development policy, Chile uses all possible instruments to ensure progress in achieving these goals: the creation of specialised institutions, the approval of long-term strategies and action plans, and the establishment of partnerships to solve specific problems in various areas, directly influencing the country's progress in sustainable development. Regarding its commitment to sustainable development, Chile shows consistency in policy-making<sup>12</sup>.

The conducted research explicitly indicates that sustainable development issues play a key role in the countries' national agendas. Goals and objectives established within the framework of the global sustainable development agenda are the top priorities in national strategic documents. Considering these goals, countries develop their national action plans and establish priority areas of development and government support for the sectors of the national economy. The examined countries focused on improving national economies in accordance with a new technological paradigm. Each country has identified its strategic priorities, key economic sectors and planning time frames and begun developing instruments to achieve strategic priorities through establishing relevant institutions and specifying funding sources. Consequently, there is a whole range of national policies and strategies with the ultimate goal of achieving sustainable development of the national economy.

### **Conclusion**

We hypothesised that the analysis and summary of the experience of commodity producing countries in the development and incorporation of approaches based on the global agenda for sustainable development and green economy into national strategic plans would demonstrate opportunities for national development, which allowed considering individual peculiarities of the countries. This hypothesis was confirmed by the research findings.

First, we examined the mechanisms of public policy development used by the countries to implement their national priorities in funding sustainable development through establishing their own strategic initiatives (long-term strategies, programmes, action plans, roadmaps). Additionally, we analysed the involvement of the countries in the most widespread international initiatives.

All the examined countries have adopted long-term strategic documents defining their national priorities in financing sustainable development. In recent years, national governments have not only been actively developing their own initiatives, but have also been supporting those initiatives that come from the business community and civil society organisations. This has resulted in a variety of initiatives in the examined countries aimed at achieving sustainable development goals. Simultaneously, countries are actively involved in the implementation of international initiatives, under which they assume obligations to achieve certain goals and fulfil them consistently while maintaining their own national interests.

Thus, we can conclude that, recently, the examined countries have become more active in implementing sustainable development initiatives both at the national and international levels.

Second, taking selected countries as an example, we analysed the elements of public policy aimed at establishing favourable conditions in national financial markets to attract finance to sustainable development projects. Despite a variety of approaches, three groups of instruments are usually used to achieve these goals: (1) fiscal policy measures, (2) support for corporate responsibility initiatives, environmental programmes and energy efficiency programmes, (3) financial market regulation measures to attract investment.

Therefore, we have concluded that there is a general trend towards strengthening the regulatory role of the state in sustainable development, which combines direct control measures and measures aimed at the establishment of green national economy.

Third, we summarised and systematised the approaches of the examined countries to the development of policy in financing sustainable development.

The experience of the examined countries shows that policy integrating the principles of sustainable development and green economy is aimed at long-term changes in the structure of the national economy, contributing to energy- and resource conservation and increased share of high-tech goods and services. Simultaneously, countries are shaping favourable conditions for green investments in

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<sup>12</sup> Chile: Taking Action for Sustainable Development. Retrieved from: [https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Chile\\_Government.pdf](https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Chile_Government.pdf) (Date of access: 10.02.2020).

national industrial markets. They are also restructuring financial markets to boost the number of green finance instruments, which leads to increased investment in the development of green technologies.

Based on the above, we can conclude that countries consider the global sustainable development agenda as an opportunity to improve the national economy and implement national reforms, which have become urgent due to pressing development problems. In this case, the global agenda is an additional argument to substantiate the necessity of reforms for the national elite.

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