Global Map and Thematic Evolution of Social-Emotional Learning Research and Counseling Guidance in Primary Education: A Bibliometric Study 2020–2025

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Keywords:	Abstract
Social-Emotional Learning; School Counseling; Elementary Education; Bibliometric Analysis	*Social-emotional learning (SEL) and school counseling have become crucial components in elementary education to support students' psychosocial well-being, especially post-COVID-19 pandemic. This study aims to identify global trends and conceptual structures of SEL and school counseling research in elementary education during 2020–2025 through bibliometric analysis. Data were retrieved from Scopus Database using Publish or Perish with query: TITLE-ABS-KEY ("social emotional learning" OR "SEL") AND ("school counseling" OR "guidance and counseling") AND ("elementary education" OR "primary education"). A total of 224 articles were analyzed using VOSviewer to identify co-occurrence patterns and keyword mapping. Results revealed five main thematic clusters: (1) children's mental health post-pandemic; (2) technology-based social-emotional interventions in early childhood; (3) digital learning innovation; (4) teacher and counselor well-being; and (5) social justice in education. Publication distribution showed a peak in 2020 (n=68, 30.4%) reflecting academic response to pandemic impacts, followed by stabilization in 2023-2024 (n=22 per year). Global SEL research develops multidimensionally, integrating psychological, pedagogical, technological, and social value aspects. These findings confirm the importance of holistic approaches positioning emotional well-being as the center of children's learning. Implications for Indonesia include strengthening teacher capacity, adapting evidence-based policies, and integrating local cultural values in sustainable SEL implementation.*

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

Social-emotional learning (SEL) emphasizes the importance of children's ability to recognize and manage emotions, foster empathy, build healthy social relationships, and make responsible decisions (Frye et al., 2024). Complex social dynamics, high academic pressure, and increasing emotional problems in primary school-age children show the urgent need for an educational model that fosters a balance between the cognitive, social, and emotional realms. A number of empirical studies

reinforce this urgency. A meta-analysis of 213 SEL programs by Durlak et al. (2011) showed an increase in students' social competence and average academic achievement of 11 percentage points, accompanied by a decrease in problematic behavior in school. Follow-up findings from Taylor et al. (2017) proves that the positive impact of SEL is long-term because it strengthens empathy, emotion regulation, and sustainable social skills.

This view is in line with the global education policy formulated by UNESCO (2021), which places SEL as a key component of 21st century education, especially in efforts to restore psychosocial well-being post-COVID-19 pandemic. In the context of basic education, SEL acts as a scientific approach that encourages the formation of emotional resilience, psychological well-being, and character of learners holistically. This framework is based on the theory of social-emotional development developed by the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL), which has until now become a credible reference in the development of social-emotional well-being-based education policy and research (CASEL, 2023).

The development *of primary school counseling guidance* shows an orientation shift from a remedial approach to a developmental approach that emphasizes prevention and strengthening of learners' social-emotional character (Johnson et al., 2023). The function of counseling guidance is not limited to handling behavioral problems, but extends to the development of children's self-potential and social skills from an early age (Saragih, 2025). This paradigm shift is rooted in the theory of moral and social-emotional development that places elementary school as a crucial phase of personality formation (Erikson, 1963). Empirical research supports the strategic position of school counselors in strengthening the social and emotional dimensions of children. Study by Mulyaningsih et al. (2022) found that comprehensive tutoring programs in elementary schools directly contribute to increased learning motivation, social engagement, and decreased maladaptive behavior. Similar findings were revealed by Rose (2024), who emphasized that development-based counseling interventions are able to improve *school connectedness* and students' psychological well-being.

The data shows that counseling guidance services function as a key support system in the implementation of education oriented towards emotional and social balance. In the context of modern basic education, counseling guidance plays a role as a scientific vehicle that bridges children's academic and psychosocial needs, as well as the foundation for character formation that is adaptive to 21st-century social and technological changes (Santoso et al., 2022).

Basic education is the main foundation for the formation of children's character, social competence, and emotional intelligence that determines the direction of their development at the next level of education (Fatimatuz Zahro, 2024). At this stage, the learning process not only aims to transfer knowledge, but also to build critical thinking skills, empathy, and social cooperation that are the foundation for academic success and long-term psychological well-being (Igo & Rahman, 2023). Piaget's theory of cognitive development explains that elementary school-age children are at a concrete operational stage, where direct experience and social interaction are the main keys in the process of internalizing moral values and concepts (Hadi et al., 2025).

Empirically, research conducted by Darling-Hammond et al. (2020) shows that elementary schools that apply an integrated social-emotional learning approach have succeeded in improving academic achievement, discipline, and interpersonal relationships between students and teachers. Another study by Tazkia (2024) that confirms research conducted by Greenberg (2003) confirms that a basic education environment that supports children's emotional well-being significantly lowers stress levels, increases learning motivation, and strengthens positive relationships between teachers and students. Based on these findings, basic education plays a strategic role as a phase of building children's social-emotional capacity through pedagogical support that is structured, responsive, and based on scientific research, so that it becomes the starting point for the development of a strong national character and adaptive to global changes.

The Problem of The Study

The main problem that arises in the implementation of social-emotional learning (SEL) and counseling guidance in primary education lies in the gap between policies, teacher capacity, and the effectiveness of implementation at the school level. Although various countries, including Indonesia, have integrated character building and emotional well-being into national curricula, their implementation is often inconsistent due to teachers' limited understanding of the basic principles of SEL and development-based counseling approaches. This condition has an impact on the lack of optimal social-emotional support received by students, especially in elementary schools which are a critical phase in the formation of social and moral competence.

Data from UNICEF (2021) shows that more than 40% of primary school-age children in Southeast Asia experience emotional distress and learning anxiety due to a lack of psychosocial support in the educational environment. Research by Jones et al. (2014) also found that schools that have not systematically implemented SEL show lower levels of student involvement and emotional well-being than schools with integrated counseling programs. Fitriani's research (2025) shows that there is still a serious gap between the theoretical urgency of SEL and the practical readiness of its implementation in the field. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct a bibliometrics-based study to map the direction of global research and identify areas of conceptual and practical reinforcement so that the implementation of SEL and counseling guidance services in primary education can run effectively, relevantly, and sustainably.

Research's State of the Art

Scientific studies on the integration of social-emotional learning (SEL) and counseling guidance in primary education have shown significant developments in the last two decades, especially related to the effectiveness of programs and their impact on student well-being. Research by Durlak et al. (2011) proves that the SEL program applied systematically in elementary schools is able to increase average academic achievement by 11 percent and significantly reduce problematic behaviors. A follow-up study by Taylor et al. (2017) confirms the sustainability of the effects of SEL into adolescence, especially in building empathy and stable social skills.

Darling-Hammond et al. (2020) attribute the success of SEL implementation to teachers' emotional competence, which acts as a mediator between social-emotional learning and student academic achievement. On the other hand, research conducted by Tazkia (2024) shows that a classroom environment supported by positive emotional connections contributes greatly to a decrease in learning stress and an increase in students' intrinsic motivation. Meanwhile, the results of a bibliometric study by Aktoprak (2022) found an exponential increase in publications on SEL and primary school counseling in the period 1995–2021, indicating a global focus on psychosocial well-being. Based on these findings, it can be seen that previous research has confirmed the important role of SEL and counseling guidance services in building a healthy, effective, and emotionally well-being oriented learning climate for students at the primary education level.

Novelty, Research Gap, & Objective

The novelty of this research lies in a systematic approach based on bibliometric analysis that empirically maps global trends and conceptual directions of research on social-emotional learning (SEL) and counseling guidance in the context of basic education in the period 2020–2025. Unlike previous research that focused on the effectiveness of program implementation or psychopedagogical evaluation at the micro level, this study contributes at the macro level by identifying the conceptual structure, scientific collaboration network, and thematic evolution of SEL research at the international level.

The research gap identified is the limitations of previous research in integrating global literature maps to understand the relationship between SEL, school counseling, and the social-emotional well-being of elementary school-age children, especially post-COVID-19 pandemic. A number of previous studies, such as Durlak et al. (2011) and Taylor et al. (2017), have proven the positive impact of SEL on academic achievement and emotion regulation, but have not examined how global research directions develop and are distributed thematically and geographically. In addition, recent research tends to emphasize aspects of digital learning and student well-being separately, without integrating cultural, spiritual, and contextual dimensions that are highly relevant to Indonesia's condition as a country with high cultural diversity.

Therefore, the main objective of this study is to uncover a map of scientific knowledge, publication trends, and thematic clusters of global research on SEL and counseling guidance in primary education using *co-authorship* and *co-occurrence analysis* through VOSviewer. The results of the research are expected to make an empirical contribution in expanding scientific understanding of the integration of social-emotional education and evidence-based counseling services, as well as becoming a conceptual reference for the development of basic education policies and practices oriented towards the emotional well-being of students, especially in the Indonesian context.

METHOD

Type and Design

The bibliometric analysis approach was chosen to deepen the study of education and counseling guidance because of its ability to map the development of science systematically and data-based (Gull et al., 2025). This method is used to trace research trends, scientific collaborations, and conceptual maps that describe the thematic and theoretical direction of a field of study. In the context of basic education, bibliometrics provides an empirical overview of how themes such as social-emotional learning and counseling guidance develop in the global academic literature.

Analysis tools such as VOSviewer allow researchers to identify dominant keywords, citation networks, and patterns of collaboration between countries or institutions (Van Eck & Waltman, 2017). Several cutting-edge studies show the great potential of this method to assess research maturity and direct the future research agenda. For example, research by Moral-Muñoz et al. (2020) shows that bibliometrics are effective in evaluating publication growth and identifying fields of study that have experienced significant knowledge acceleration. In the realm of counseling guidance, a similar analysis was conducted by (2021) who found that bibliometric approaches help map the relationship between counseling practices, educational technology, and student well-being. These results confirm that bibliometric analysis is not just a statistical technique, but a methodological instrument that strengthens the objectivity and transparency of global data-driven educational research.

Data and Data Sources

This research data was obtained through a systematic search of scientific publications indexed in the Scopus database using Publish or Perish (PoP) software to collect article metadata relevant to the theme of social-emotional learning, school counseling, and elementary education in the 2020–2025 range. The selection of Scopus is based on credibility and broad multidisciplinary reach, thus allowing for a valid and representative bibliometric analysis of global trends.

The data collection process is carried out by applying standardized queries: TITLE-ABS-KEY ("social emotional learning" OR "SEL") AND ("school counseling" OR "guidance and counseling") AND ("elementary education" OR "primary education"), which generates a number of scientific publication datasets with information including author name, affiliation, title, year of publication, keywords, number of citations, and DOI. The raw data were then selected based on inclusion criteria that included reputable journal articles, English-language publications, and thematic relevance to the context of basic education. Data cleaning steps are carried out to avoid duplication and improve the accuracy of the analysis, according to the principles of bibliometric research described by Aria and Cuccurullo (2017). The final result in the form of a verified dataset became the basis for co-occurrence, co-authorship, and keyword mapping analysis to identify the conceptual structure and evolution of global research in the field of SEL and counseling guidance in primary education.

Data Collection Technique

The data of this study was collected using the systematic database retrieval technique through the Publish or Perish software with the main source Scopus Database. The search strategy used a combination of keywords: "social emotional learning" OR "SEL" AND "school counseling" OR "guidance and counseling" AND "elementary education" OR "primary education", with a publication time range of 2020–2025. The search results are then exported in .csv format for analysis using the VOSviewer tool, which allows the identification of keywords, terms, and research themes. This procedure ensures that the data collection process is objective, replicative, and based on verified scientific sources (Donthu et al., 2021).

Inclusive criteria include: (1) scientific articles published in Scopus indexed journals between 2020–2025, (2) using English, (3) focusing on SEL themes, counseling guidance, and basic education, (4) types of documents in the form of journal articles or review articles that have gone through peer review, and (5) having complete metadata (title, author, affiliation, keywords, and citations) for bibliometric analysis through VOSviewer. Meanwhile, exclusive criteria include: (1) conference articles, book chapters, or editorial notes that do not meet the standards of quantitative analysis, (2) research on secondary or higher education with no direct relevance to basic education, (3) articles that do not contain the main keywords in the title or abstract, (4) duplication of data from the initial import results, and (5) publications with incomplete metadata.

The data was collected using Publish or Perish (PoP) software with the primary source Scopus Database, as this database has high credibility and wide coverage of indexed international publications. The search strategy was designed using a combination of the keywords TITLE-ABS-KEY ("social emotional learning" OR "SEL") and ("school counseling" OR "guidance and counseling") AND ("elementary education" OR "primary education"), with a publication time limit of 2020–2025 to ensure the novelty and relevance of the data. This selection procedure results in a corpus of data that is valid, consistent, and globally representative, ensuring that bibliometric analyses reflect accurate scientific patterns. This systematic approach also strengthens the reliability of the research methodology and ensures the repeatability of the scientific process according to the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) standard.

Data Analysis

Data analysis in this study was carried out using VOSviewer software version 1.6.19, which is specifically designed for visualization and bibliometric mapping based on relationships between entities in scientific publications. This analysis approach is focused on two main dimensions, namely co-authorship analysis to identify collaboration networks between researchers and institutions, and co-occurrence analysis to map thematic linkages between keywords that describe the direction and focus of global research on social-emotional learning (SEL) and counseling guidance in primary education. The selection of VOSviewer is based on its ability to display the knowledge structure through a visual map that reflects the intensity of scientific relationships based on total link strength (van Eck & Waltman, 2017). Each node on the representation map indicates a specific entity—whether

authors, institutions, or keywords—while the distance and size of the nodes illustrate the frequency of occurrence and the strength of connectivity in the research network.

The analysis process is carried out by applying a minimum threshold of three occurrences per keyword to maintain relevance and avoid bias due to excessive data. The results of the analysis produced five main thematic clusters that reflect the dynamics of global research in the realm of SEL and counseling guidance, covering aspects of mental health, early childhood education, learning innovation, teacher welfare, and social justice in basic education. Based on the results of the mapping, VOSviewer has proven to be effective in displaying scientific collaboration patterns and thematic research structures in an empirical, systematic, and transparent manner, thereby supporting methodological validity in educational bibliometric studies.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Temporal Distribution of Publications

Based on the results of Scopus data extraction through Publish or Perish, 224 articles were published between 2020-2025. The temporal distribution shows the concentration of publications in the period 2020-2022 (n=179, 79.9%), reflecting the academic response to the COVID-19 pandemic and its impact on school counseling practices and SEL implementation. The peak of publication occurred in 2020 (n=68, 30.4%), followed by a gradual decline until 2022 (n=52, 23.2%). A significant decline occurred in 2023 (n=22, 9.8%), which can be attributed to *publication lag* and a shift in research focus post-pandemic. Data for 2024 (n=22, 9.8%) were collected through October and showed stabilization at a new *baseline* of around 20-25 publications per year, indicating a more mature and solid discussion of SEL issues and counseling guidance in primary education.

Table 1. Temporal Distribution of Publications

Tahun	Jumlah Publikasi (n)	Persentase (%)
2020	68	30,4
2021	59	26,3
2022	52	23,2
2023	22	9,8
2024	22	9,8
2025	1	0,4
Total	224	100

This distribution pattern shows that the COVID-19 pandemic has been a trigger for increased academic attention to the psychosocial well-being of students in primary education. The surge in publications in 2020 indicated the scientific community's rapid response in identifying and responding to children's mental health

crises exacerbated by learning disruptions and social isolation. The stabilization of publications in 2023-2024 signals a transition from a reactive phase to a knowledge consolidation phase, where research focuses more on long-term evaluation and the development of evidence-based intervention models.

Thematic Mapping Through Co-occurrence Analysis

The results of bibliometric analysis visualized through VOSviewer produced a scientific knowledge map that illustrates the conceptual relationship between social-emotional learning (SEL), school counseling, and elementary education in the 2020–2025 research span.
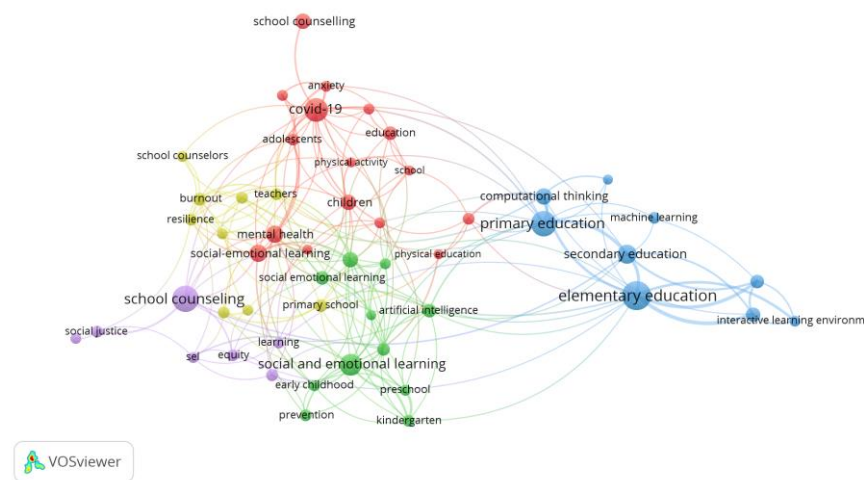

Figure 1. Conceptual Mapping of SEL Research and Counseling Guidance in Elementary Education (2020-2025)

This map shows five main thematic clusters that interact with each other to form the conceptual structure of the field of study. Each cluster represents a specific research focus that develops in the global literature, as described in the following sub-sections. Cluster 1: Post-Pandemic Mental Health of Children and Adolescents (Red). This cluster shows the dominance of the theme of mental health and children's social adaptation, with strong connections between keywords such as anxiety, depression, children, covid-19, and school counselling. This pattern illustrates scientific attention to the issue of students' emotional well-being post-pandemic and the strengthening of the role of schools as a space for psychosocial intervention.

These findings are in line with UNICEF data (2023) which shows a significant increase in children's mental health problems during and after the pandemic. Research shows that primary schools are at the forefront of detecting and responding to students' emotional support needs, especially through structured counseling tutoring services. The integration between SEL and school counseling in this cluster emphasizes the importance of preventive and curative approaches that go hand in hand to build children's emotional resilience during the post-pandemic recovery period. Cluster 2: Early Childhood Education and Technology-Based Social-Emotional Intervention (Green). The second cluster focuses on the theme of early childhood education and technology-based approaches, characterized by the terms early

childhood, preschool, prevention, artificial intelligence, and social and emotional learning. The strong connection between these keywords reflects the trend of technological integration and systematic studies in the development of children's social-emotional abilities since the preschool phase. This pattern suggests that social-emotional interventions are now being implemented from an early age, with the recognition that the foundations of emotional competence are built in preschool and early primary school. The use of technology such as artificial intelligence in this cluster indicates the development of innovations in SEL assessments and interventions that are more personalized and adaptive. These findings reinforce the argument that investment in early childhood education, particularly in the social-emotional aspects, has a long-term impact on children's academic success and psychological well-being (Taylor et al., 2017).

Cluster 3: Digital Learning Innovation in Elementary Education (Blue) The third cluster shows an orientation on pedagogical innovation and digital learning, with keywords such as computational thinking, machine learning, interactive learning environment, primary education, and teaching/learning strategy. This pattern signals a transformation of basic learning towards a more interactive, creative, and digital-technology-based direction. The emergence of computational thinking in the context of primary education shows a paradigm shift in learning that emphasizes not only traditional literacy, but also digital literacy and computational thinking skills as 21st-century skills. The integration of interactive learning technology in this cluster is in line with the view that technology can be an effective mediator in facilitating more engaging and personalized social-emotional learning. However, the implementation of technology in SEL requires a balance between digital innovation and direct social interaction that remains the key to the emotional development of elementary school-age children.

Cluster 4: Welfare of Teachers and School Counselors (Yellow). The fourth cluster highlights the professional dimension of teachers and school counselors, with keywords such as burnout, resilience, self-efficacy, emotional intelligence, teacher, and professional development. This pattern emphasizes the importance of the emotional well-being of educators in supporting the effectiveness of SEL programs in elementary schools. The emergence of the theme of burnout and resilience in this cluster reflects the academic awareness that teachers and counselors who experience emotional exhaustion cannot provide optimal social-emotional support to students. Research shows that teachers' emotional intelligence and self-efficacy are positively correlated with the quality of SEL program implementation in the classroom (Jennings & Greenberg, 2019). These findings emphasize the need for professional development programs that focus not only on pedagogical competence, but also on strengthening the emotional well-being and self-care capacity of educators. In the Indonesian context, these findings are particularly relevant given the high workload of teachers and the limited psychosocial support for educators.

Cluster 5: Social Justice and Career Guidance in Education (Purple). The fifth cluster raises the theme of social justice and career guidance, with the linkage between social justice, equity, career guidance, diversity, and inclusive education. This pattern shows a shift in SEL discourse towards strengthening social values,

ethics, and educational equality. The emergence of the theme of social justice in the context of SEL and counseling guidance indicates that social-emotional education cannot be separated from structural issues such as access gaps, cultural diversity, and inclusivity. Research shows that an effective SEL program must be responsive to students' socio-cultural contexts and address systemic barriers that affect the emotional well-being of children from marginalized groups (Johnson et al., 2023). The integration of career guidance in this cluster also shows that social-emotional development in primary school needs to be linked to the development of children's future aspirations and skills, including in the context of equal educational and career opportunities.

Implications for the Indonesian Context

The findings of this study have significant implications for the development of basic education in Indonesia, especially in the context of SEL implementation and strengthening school counseling guidance services. Based on the five thematic clusters identified, there are several strategic areas that need attention. The dominance of post-pandemic mental health clusters indicates the need for a structured early detection system and psychosocial intervention in Indonesian primary schools. Given the low ratio of school counselors in Indonesia, a collaborative model is needed that involves classroom teachers, homeroom teachers, and counselors in providing emotional support to students. Teacher training in recognizing signs of emotional distress and basic counseling skills is an urgent priority.

Although the Independent Curriculum has integrated the strengthening of the character and profile of Pancasila students, implementation at the practical level still faces challenges related to teachers' understanding of SEL principles and their implementation strategies. The findings on the importance of teacher well-being and emotional intelligence show the need for a holistic professional development program, not only focusing on pedagogical competence but also on the emotional well-being of teachers as a condition for the effectiveness of SEL implementation.

Furthermore, the digital learning innovation cluster shows the global trend of using technology in SEL. However, implementation in Indonesia needs to consider the gap in technology access between urban and rural schools. A blended learning model is needed that integrates technology with a face-to-face approach that still emphasizes direct social interaction and local cultural values. The emergence of social justice clusters underscores the importance of SEL that is responsive to the cultural, socio-economic, and ability diversity of students. In the context of multicultural Indonesia, the SEL program needs to integrate local values such as mutual cooperation, tolerance, and diversity as the foundation for the development of contextual and meaningful social-emotional competencies. The stabilization of publications in 2023-2024 indicates the maturation of the scientific evidence base on the effectiveness of SEL. Indonesia needs to adopt an evidence-based policy approach in designing SEL programs and counseling guidance in primary schools, including conducting systematic evaluations of existing programs and adapting global best practices to local contexts.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study confirm that the integration of social-emotional learning (SEL) and counseling guidance in basic education has developed into a strategic and globally influential scientific field. Bibliometric analysis of 224 scientific publications for the 2020-2025 period revealed five thematic clusters that intersect and form the conceptual structure of SEL research at the elementary school level, including: (1) post-pandemic children's mental health; (2) technology-based social-emotional interventions in early childhood; (3) digital learning innovation; (4) the welfare of teachers and counselors; and (5) social justice in education.

The temporal distribution pattern shows a peak of publication in 2020 (30.4%) as an academic response to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, followed by stabilization in the 2023-2024 period indicating a consolidation of knowledge and the development of more mature evidence-based intervention models. These findings show that the direction of world research has shifted towards an educational paradigm that places emotional well-being at the center of children's learning, with the recognition that academic success is inseparable from students' mental health and social-emotional competence.

Scientifically, these results have important implications for strengthening the theoretical framework of basic education oriented towards a balance between cognitive and emotional development. The findings of the thematic cluster show that the success of SEL implementation depends on three main factors: (1) adaptive and evidence-based education policy support; (2) the professional capacity and emotional well-being of teachers and school counselors; and (3) the integration of learning technology that is balanced with direct social interaction. The study also confirms that SEL serves as a scientific model that not only shapes students' social and emotional skills, but also improves academic achievement, self-regulation, and social empathy, in line with CASEL's social-emotional development theory and evidence-based education framework.

The implications for Indonesia include five strategic areas: (1) strengthening the mental health support system in primary schools through increasing the ratio of counselors and teacher training in emotional distress early detection skills; (2) the integration of SEL in curriculum and learning practices with an emphasis on holistic teacher professional development; (3) adaptation of learning technology by considering access gaps and the importance of direct social interaction; (4) strengthening the dimensions of social justice and inclusivity by integrating local cultural values such as mutual cooperation and diversity; and (5) evidence-based policy development through systematic evaluation of SEL programs that have been running.

Based on the findings and identified scientific directions, the prospects for further research need to be focused on several strategic areas. First, cross-cultural research that explores how SEL principles can be adapted to Indonesia's local cultural values without losing their scientific essence. Second, a longitudinal study to evaluate the long-term impact of SEL programs on the psychosocial well-being and academic achievement of Indonesian students. Third, implementation research that examines the challenges and effective strategies in implementing SEL in the context of schools

with limited resources. Fourth, a study of teacher professional development models that are effective in improving the competence and emotional well-being of educators as a condition for the successful implementation of SEL.

This synthesis confirms that SEL research and counseling guidance in primary education have great potential in shaping a generation that is emotionally resilient, socially intelligent, and adaptive to the challenges of the 21st century. Basic education, as a crucial phase of the formation of character and social-emotional competence, needs to be strengthened with a holistic scientific approach, evidence-based, and responsive to the local context, so that it can become a strategic foundation for the development of Indonesia's human resources that are globally competitive but still rooted in the nation's cultural values.

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