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**INTERACTION OF THE RUSSIAN STATE AND  
FOREIGN TNCs IN MODERN CONDITIONS  
(ON EXAMPLE OF THE PERFUMERY AND COSMETICS  
INDUSTRY)**

Specialty: 5.5.2. Political institutes, processes, technologies

**ABSTRACT**  
of the dissertation for the degree of  
Candidate of Political Sciences

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**Relevance of the research.** The study of political interaction (interactionism) between the Russian state and foreign transnational corporations (hereinafter referred to as TNCs) (corporations, foreign corporations, foreign investors, companies, foreign companies, and foreign business) using the example of the perfumery and cosmetic industry is particularly relevant in the context of the current global and domestic development.

Cooperation with foreign TNCs (transactionalism, political deals) contributes to achieving the goals of socio-economic development set by our country in the modern conditions, including in the perfumery and cosmetic industry, due to the following reasons:

1) The need to maintain high rates of socio-economic development in the context of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, characterized by the integration of digital technologies, the Internet of Things, artificial intelligence, big data, and other advanced technologies into production processes, requires the state to adapt to modern technological realities. This brings new values and transforms approaches to business, production, and society as a whole. Cooperation with TNCs at the forefront of the fifth and sixth technological paradigms contributes to achieving the goals of social and economic development by integrating the values of the Fourth Industrial Revolution into domestic corporate culture.

2) Cooperation between the state and TNCs creates conditions for the localization of foreign corporations' production facilities in the Russian Federation, which allows for an increase in domestic industrial production and contributes to strengthening the country's economic security, especially when it comes to the localization of end-to-end technologies that involve the organization of production facilities for both finished products and raw materials. In the context of the perfumery and cosmetic industry, this aligns with the import substitution strategy of the state's industrial policy and the objectives of the federal project "Development

of Chemical Production”, which is part of the National Project “New Materials and Chemistry”.

3) The localization of TNCs' high-tech production facilities helps to reduce technological backwardness and contributes to ensuring technological sovereignty and achieving technological leadership in our country. The Russian Federation faces the challenge of ensuring technological sovereignty to a sufficient extent to ensure national security, where one of the key factors is the production of essential goods on its territory. These goods include certain types of perfumes and cosmetics, which are used to meet the daily hygiene needs of citizens, and without which it is impossible to maintain a healthy lifestyle and ensure the sanitary and hygienic safety of the state.

4) Shortages in the commodity markets, including perfumes and cosmetics, indicate the state's economic, political, and managerial challenges, leading to a decline in public trust and support for the government, as well as to the enhancement of the common good and the country's positive image both domestically and internationally. Conversely, a country that fails to produce perfumery and cosmetic products, whether domestically or internationally, is likely to face criticism. Shortages in the commodity markets, including perfumes and cosmetics, indicate the state's economic, political, and managerial challenges, leading to a decline in public trust and support for the government.

However, cooperation with foreign TNCs is accompanied by significant risks for host countries, including the Russian Federation. One of these risks is political pressure on host countries, e.g. when corporations unilaterally refuse to fulfill their obligations to the government and society.

Therefore, in some situations, TNCs can act as a tool for political pressure on host countries, which should be considered when developing new approaches to the

interaction between the Russian government and foreign corporations in the new socio-political reality.

It should be noted that the new socio-political reality implies the development of trade and economic relations and the deepening of cooperation between the Russian Federation and non-unfriendly countries. These circumstances open up opportunities for cooperation between the Russian state and corporations from these countries, and the conditions and mechanisms for such cooperation need to be developed.

In addition, there is interest from a few TNCs that have ceased their activities in the Russian market during the period of intensified sanctions and external pressure to resume them. Cooperation with such corporations requires a balanced approach from the government, based on clear criteria for the resumption of activities in the Russian Federation by TNCs that have left the market, to protect national interests and ensure state security.

Special attention should be paid to foreign TNCs from unfriendly countries, which, despite sanctions and external pressure, continue to be active in our country, including in the perfumery and cosmetic industry. The issue of using special models and conditions for cooperation between the Russian state and TNCs that have proven their loyalty and reliability remains unresolved.

Thus, the Russian state's previous approach to interaction with TNCs, based on the unified principle of "open doors" for all foreign investors, needs to be revised in light of the new socio-political realities, current goals, and objectives of state socio-economic development, which are being transformed in the face of modern challenges and threats, making this topic particularly relevant. This task requires a thorough examination of the genesis of political interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs and the development of recommendations for improving this process.

**Chronological and geographical scope of research.** The research of the interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the perfumery and cosmetic industry is carried out in the spatial and temporal continuum from 1992 to 2025 throughout the Russian Federation, based on empirical data from regions where foreign corporations in the perfumery and cosmetic industry have their production assets and enterprises (Tula, Kaluga, Moscow regions, St. Petersburg, etc.).

**The object of the research:** political interaction between the Russian state and foreign transnational corporations.

**The subject of the research:** mechanisms, technologies, goals, and features of political interaction between the Russian state and foreign transnational corporations in the perfumery and cosmetic industry in the context of modern challenges and threats.

**The purpose of the research:** Identify the mechanisms and technologies of political interaction between the Russian state and foreign transnational corporations in the perfumery and cosmetic industry, and to develop recommendations for improving this interaction in the face of current challenges and threats.

**The objectives of the research** are as follows:

- 1) reveal the theoretical and methodological foundations of the study of political interaction between the state and foreign TNCs;
- 2) determine the features of the processes of forming interest groups and establishing business corporations in post-Soviet Russia;
- 3) substantiate the relevance of the theory of symbolic interactionism for the study of the interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the context of sanctions and external pressure;
- 4) identify the models of interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the perfumery and cosmetic industry in 1992–2025.

- 5) systematize the factors influencing the decisions of foreign TNCs to cease business activities in the Russian Federation during the period of sanctions and external pressure in the absence of legal restrictions;
- 6) identify current trends in the interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the perfumery and cosmetic industry of the Russian Federation in the context of economic sanctions and external pressure;
- 7) systematize the risks faced by the Russian state in its interactions with foreign corporations in the perfumery and cosmetic industry.
- 8) develop a matrix for assessing the potential contribution of foreign TNCs' investment projects to achieving the goals of socio-economic development in the Russian Federation;
- 9) identify ways to improve the political interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the face of current challenges and threats.

**The hypothesis of the research** is that in the context of modern challenges and threats, implementation of the interactions between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the perfumery and cosmetic industry in the form of a "market in exchange for technology" transaction, will contribute to achieving the goals of socio-economic development of the Russian Federation and allow for the realization of the political and economic interests of the Russian state.

**The theoretical and methodological basis of the research.** The research is based on the research works of Russian and foreign authors on the theory and methodology of political analysis of the interaction between the state and business, including foreign TNCs, such as the theory of symbolic interactionism, the theory of interest groups, etc.

The main methodological concept of the study is symbolic interactionism, which allows us to consider the specifics of the interaction between foreign TNCs and the Russian state during the period of sanctions and external pressure on our

country. To examine the interaction between these actors from the perspective of symbolic interactionism, we use the triad of concepts: 1) actions (individual actions and collective actions), 2) transactions (political transactions), and 3) interactions (interactions), and we also use pluralistic and corporatist theories.

The research's auxiliary concepts include 1) the institution of the state and politics, 2) business corporations, including the phenomenon of TNCs, as actors in the political system, 3) the perfumery and cosmetic industry in the national economic system, 4) modernization, and 5) the technological sovereignty of the Russian Federation as a component of the total sovereignty of the polity.

The research methodology includes:

1) philosophical and general scientific methods, such as:

- the dialectical method, which was used to analyze the formation of interest groups, including foreign TNC structures, in post-Soviet Russia;

- the historical method, which was used to analyze the dynamics of the development of interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs;

- the system-activity method, which made it possible to present the interactionism of the Russian state and foreign TNCs as an integral system of interactions that make up a cyclical multi-stage political process, identify models and trends in the development of this interaction, and develop a model for decision-making regarding the conditions of interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs;

2) scientific methods of political analysis, such as:

- the "case study" method used in the analysis of specific situations of political interaction between the state and foreign TNCs of interactions,

- the method of qualitative content analysis, which was used to study legal acts about the study;

- the method of monitoring the media, which allowed us to identify the features of the political behavior of foreign TNCs in the perfumery and cosmetic industry in different periods.

**The empirical basis of the research:**

- results of summarizing official information and analytical publications of the federal state authorities of the Russian Federation, data from analytical studies and information and analytical materials from international organizations (CSR, UN, UNCTAD, etc.)

- results of a content analysis of regulatory legal acts of the Russian Federation regulating state policy in relation to investment activities, regulatory legal acts of the Russian Federation and the Eurasian Economic Union on the regulation of the perfumery and cosmetic industry, as well as regulatory legal acts of foreign countries regarding the perfumery and cosmetic industry and sanctions restrictions against the Russian Federation;

- results of summarizing official information and analytical publications of the federal state authorities of the Russian Federation, data from analytical studies and information and analytical materials from international organizations (CSR, UN, UNCTAD, etc.), etc.

**The area of the dissertation research** corresponds to item 5. Political behavior and participation: articulation, aggregation of interests, forms of mobilization, and item 9. The state as a political institution: structure, functions, types, and varieties of the scientific specialty passport 5.5.2. Political institutions, processes, technologies.

**Scientific novelty of the research:**

1) The validity of using symbolic interactionism theory to study the interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in modern conditions has been proven.

2) Based on a system-activity analysis, the models of interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the perfumery and cosmetic industry during the period 1992–2025 have been identified.

3) Based on the proposed system of universal criteria for evaluating investment projects by foreign TNCs, a matrix has been developed to assess the potential contribution of their investment projects to achieving the goals of socio-economic development in the Russian Federation.

4) The factors affecting the termination of business activities by foreign TNCs in the Russian Federation during the period of intensified sanctions and external pressure have been systematized, in the absence of legal restrictions.

5) A point-rating system has been developed to assess the activities of foreign TNCs in the Russian Federation during periods of sanctions and external pressure, allowing for the classification of corporations into friendly, neutral, and unfriendly, to apply differentiated conditions for interaction between the Russian state and these corporations.

6) The ways of improving the political interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the context of current challenges and threats have been identified.

7) Based on the identified features of the current state of development of the domestic perfumery and cosmetic industry, recommendations have been developed to improve the interaction between the Russian state and foreign perfumery and cosmetic TNCs in the current conditions.

**Provisions of the research submitted for defense:**

1) The interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the current conditions should be studied within the framework of symbolic interactionism theory. This approach will allow us to consider the following features of interaction

(interactionism) between the parties, which are characteristic of the period of sanctions and external pressure on the Russian Federation:

- The roles and identities of the parties are not strictly defined, but are constructed in the process of interactions, while retaliatory actions are of great importance;
- Interactions become personalized, and the variety of reactions and behaviors makes unified approaches ineffective.;
- The role of the Russian division of TNK (GR department) is increasing, the competence of which depends on the successful coordination of the business conditions of the Russian representative office of TNK in the context of a high level of government interference in the business processes of corporations.

2) The interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the perfumery and cosmetics industry from 1992 to 2025 can be represented as models of equal partnership (from 1992 to 2004) and a directed model in which the state is the dominant party (from 2005 to 2025), with the state's dominant role increasing over time. These models are shaped by various external and internal political conditions, which influence the transformation of the parties' interests.

3) The developed matrix for assessing the potential contribution of foreign TNCs' investment projects to achieving the goals of the Russian Federation's socio-economic development is based on the author's system of universal criteria. These criteria include: ensuring the transfer of priority technologies, ensuring the robotization of production, creating high-performance jobs, the export potential of the investment project, ensuring the localization of component bases, investing in R&D, ensuring the environmental safety of production, complying with the requirements for occupational safety and social guarantees for employees, improving the professional training of Russian specialists, and supporting social

projects in the region of presence. The use of a matrix for assessing the potential contribution of foreign TNC investment projects to achieving the goals of socio-economic development in the Russian Federation allows for the ranking of investment projects into those that are permitted and those that are not permitted for implementation, as well as for differentiating permitted projects by their priority.

4) The analysis of the activities of foreign TNCs in the Russian Federation during the period of intensified sanctions and external pressure allowed us to identify two groups of factors that influence the termination of their business activities in the absence of legal restrictions:

- exogenous factors related to the activities of foreign TNCs in other countries (political pressure from the governments of their home countries and international political actors, as well as socio-economic pressure from civil societies and business partners);

- corporate factors related to the internal environment of foreign TNCs (the importance of the Russian market for TNCs compared to other markets where the society and government have an anti-Russian stance, the company's reputation, corporate values, social obligations to Russian employees and partners, as well as the subjective motivations and political views of the TNC's management).

These factors should be considered when developing approaches to the interaction between the Russian government and foreign TNCs.

5) The developed point-rating system for assessing the activities of foreign TNCs in the Russian Federation during the period of sanctions and external pressure is based on an analysis of the dynamics of production (supply) volumes, the amount of tax payments, and the average number of employees, taking into account the presence or absence of damage to the Russian Federation's economy in the form of unjustified refusals to fulfill obligations to partners and employees and other unfriendly actions. The use of a point-rating system allows us to divide corporations

into friendly, neutral, and unfriendly ones to implement different approaches to interaction with them in political and managerial practice (using various forms and mechanisms of interaction, granting TNCs certain preferences, or demanding compensation for the damage caused to our country's economy).

6) The ways to improve the political interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the face of modern challenges and threats are as follows:

- Implement interaction using the state-directed model based on an individual approach to a specific TNC, considering the state's interest in cooperating with it.

- Determine the conditions for cooperation (the preferences available to TNCs, or the fulfillment of additional conditions) considering the current state of development of the domestic industry, the priority of investment projects, and the results of assessing the activities of TNCs in the Russian Federation during the period of intensified sanctions and external pressure. projects that are permitted to be implemented according to their priority.

- Based on the results of the assessment of the activities of foreign TNCs in the Russian Federation during the period of intensified sanctions and external pressure, to differentiate foreign TNCs into groups with which to cooperate through various forms of interaction (public-private partnerships, joint ventures, and special investment agreements).

- Determine the conditions for cooperation (the preferences available to TNCs, or the fulfillment of additional conditions) considering the current state of development of the domestic industry, the priority of investment projects, and the results of assessing the activities of TNCs in the Russian Federation during the period of intensified sanctions and external pressure.

7) The current state of development of the domestic perfumery and cosmetic industry is characterized by the following features:

- The availability of a wide range of domestic production technologies and research and development projects.

- A complex institutional environment due to the specific configuration of business actors (domestic manufacturers, foreign TNCs that continue to operate in Russia, and domestic companies that have acquired the production assets of foreign TNCs that have left the Russian market).

These features allow to provide special recommendations for improving the interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the perfumery and cosmetic industry in the face of current challenges and threats:

- Restricting the implementation of investment projects by foreign TNCs to only high-priority projects that can have the greatest positive impact on the socio-economic development of our country.

- Softening government regulations for friendly foreign TNCs that continue to operate in the Russian Federation.

**The theoretical significance** of the research is determined by the following:

- the application of the theory of symbolic interactionism to study the interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the perfumery and cosmetic industry in modern conditions was proven;

- the experience of political interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs was systematized using the example of the perfumery and cosmetic industry in the period from 1992 to 2025;

- the models of interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the perfumery and cosmetic industry were identified, described, and systematized in the different periods of interaction between the parties from 1992 to 2025;

- the features of interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the perfumery and cosmetic industry during periods of crisis (the COVID-19

pandemic, the period of intensified sanctions and external pressure on the Russian Federation) were described.

- current trends in the interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs in the perfumery and cosmetic industry during the period of sanctions and external pressure have been identified;

- the current state of development of the domestic perfumery and cosmetic industry has been identified;

- the risks associated with interaction with foreign TNCs in the perfumery and cosmetic industry, as well as the factors influencing the political behavior of foreign TNCs during the period of intensified sanctions and external pressure, have been systematized.

**The practical significance of the research** lies in the fact that its results and conclusions can be used by the Federal Executive Authorities of the Russian Federation to improve the interaction between the state and foreign TNCs in various industries, including the perfumery and cosmetic industry, in the face of modern challenges and threats. In particular, the recommendations developed can be useful in the legislative activities of the Federal Executive Authorities when formulating the strategic provisions of the state investment policy regarding foreign direct investment.

The results and conclusions of the study can be applied in the processes of state decision-making regarding the possibility of allowing foreign TNCs to implement their investment projects in the Russian Federation by assessing their contribution to achieving the goals of the state's socio-economic development. The implementation of the developed process of interaction between the Russian state and foreign TNCs will allow the Federal Executive authorities to implement a differentiated approach to interaction with foreign investors, which involves a permissive procedure for implementing investment projects, as well as various

conditions and forms of interaction. The materials of the research can be useful for practicing GR managers and can be used to teach courses on political science and public administration that cover interactions of government and business, as part of higher education or specific qualification programs for GR managers, as well as in preparation for scientific and practical conferences and roundtables.

**Approbation of the research results.** The main results of the presented research are presented by the author in five scientific articles published in publications recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission under the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation, with a volume of 4.8 p.l., as well as in other publications.

The main provisions and conclusions of the research were tested during the implementation of the scientific project "Regional Political governance: modeling socio-political and economic processes based on an agent-oriented approach", implemented at the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences (INION) of the Russian Academy of Sciences based on the results of the selection of scientific projects supported by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation and the Expert Institute for Social Research (EISI), and the scientific project no.FZNF-2025-0027 "Civilizational value imperatives of Russian Civil Society and their projection on the political culture of regional youth", implemented at the State Academic University of Humanities (GAUGN) following the selection of scientific projects supported by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation and the Expert Institute for Social Research (EISI), as well as at eleven conference sessions, scientific and practical, international conferences and round tables.

**The structure of the research.** The dissertation consists of an introduction, three chapters (three paragraphs in each chapter), a conclusion, a list of sources used, and appendices.