



**THE NATIONAL IMPLEMENTATION OF
INTERNATIONAL NORMS: TRANSNATIONAL
NETWORKS AND LOCAL CONTENT POLICY**

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ABSTRACT

This study considers the national adoption and implementation of international norms, focusing on how actors named by the researcher “Transnational Expertise and Experience Networks” and Local Content Policies affect a norm’s chances of reaching compliance. While Constructivists have thoroughly explored the reasons behind the creation and diffusion of international norms, the implementation phase remains understudied with few explanations offered as to why some norms reach compliance domestically while others do not. Going beyond the idea that compliance levels are determined by the strength of the international norm (Sikkink & Finnemore, 1998), the ability to overcome value conflicts (Young, 1998) and the influence of small, specialised lobby groups (Rosen, 1991/2018), this study suggests that TEENs and LC policies may be more relevant to understanding a norm’s final outcome. Through two case studies, the researcher follows the evolution of the international norms on *world-class* universities and combatting the flaring of Associated Petroleum Gas through the different stages of their life-cycle: from inception and diffusion on the international stage to their adoption by the Russian government and domestic implementation with project 5-100 on Excellence in Higher Education and Decrees 7 and 1148 on APG utilization. The cases are explored through two research questions: “Why do governments adopt and implement international norms?” and “How do transnational actors and Local Content policy affect the chances of a successful outcome in the national implementation of international norms?” The main findings are that successful norm implementation is associated with a high level of involvement of TEENs, which help to adapt the international norm to the local context, by increasing motivation levels and sharing best practices. The LC policies in both case studies did not correlate with lower compliance rates; their impact was found to depend on their design, their degree of formalization and on whether they impeded the work of TEENs.

DECLARATION

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Anne Crowley-Vigneau

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APG	Associated Petroleum Gas
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EOG	Earth Observation Group
ENI	Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi “State Hydrocarbons Authority” Italian O&G company
GGFR	Global Gas Flaring Reduction (Public-Private Partnership)
HSE	Higher School of Economics
KMAO	Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug
LC policy	Local Content Policy
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
LPG	Liquefied Petroleum Gas
MGIMO	Moscow State Institute of International Relations
MEPhI	Moscow Engineering Physics Institute
MISiS	National University of Science and Technology
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
NOAA	National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
O&G	Oil and Gas
TAN	Transnational Advocacy Network
TEEN	Transnational Expertise and Experience Network
VIIRS	Visual and Infrared Radiometer Suite
WB	World Bank

Chapter 1- Introduction

1.1 Preamble

This thesis is devoted to the study of the national implementation of international norms and considers how transnational networks and Local Content policies (LC policies) affect the chances of a norm reaching compliance. While Constructivist scholars have thoroughly studied the emergence and diffusion of international norms (Keck & Sikkink, 2018); the “normative institutionalization-implementation gap” or the fact that some international norms adopted by national governments fail to reach compliance (Betts & Orchard, 2014, p1), has not been fully explained. This gap is significant because norms only matter if they end up changing people’s behavior. The academic literature offers several explanatory factors as to why some norms adopted by national governments are successfully implemented while others fail to reach compliance. Their arguments fall principally into three categories: those who assume that successful compliance is related to the strength of an international norm (for example Sikkink & Finnemore, 1998), those who point out that national specificities are the determining factor during norm implementation (for example the work on value-conflicts (Young, 1998)) and, finally, those who posit that a motivated group of people focused on innovation are key to a norm domestically reaching compliance (Rosen, 1991/2018). The researcher explores in this study why these explanations are not sufficient and offers an alternative view of what makes the implementation of international norms successful. International networks and LC policies influence norm implementation in a variety of ways, and may be more insightful in understanding why norms reach compliance than previously formulated explanations. Through the analysis of two case studies both set in Russia, the researcher investigates the impact of transnational networks and LC Policies on the implementation of two international norms which have been transposed into Russian law: the norm on excellence and internationalization of higher education (or norm on *world-class* universities) which led to the Russian project 5-100 and the norm on combatting the flaring of Associated Petroleum Gas (APG) which materialized in the Russian Government’s Decrees 7 and 1148 on the utilization of 95% of APG. This study examines how transnational networks and LC policies affect the chances of an international norm transposed into national legislation reaching compliance domestically. The working hypothesis tested in the cases is

whether transnational networks contribute to successful norm implementation and whether LC policies stand in the way of the implementation of international norms.

This introductory chapter presents the topic of the research and the structural organization of the thesis. It shows that the topic of norm implementation is relevant both for society at large, for policy-makers and for scholars, then goes on to identify the gap in the literature the thesis aims to address, introduces the research problem, the research questions, as well as the hypotheses, goals, methods and study setting. Finally, before presenting the structure of the thesis, it offers an overview of the case studies and its main defensible inferences (findings).

1.2 Motivations for the Research

Current relevance of the topic

Norms are omnipresent in everyday life, with the media frequently reporting only on cases when norms are violated. Donald Trump has been described as a “norm-busting president”¹ having overthrown the conventions, which traditionally govern those occupying the highest office. Norms are essential in shaping human behavior and social units of different levels from the family and businesses, to national governments and intergovernmental institutions, are all regulated by specific norms, which are at the heart of human initiation and socialization. Studying the conditions, which facilitate successful norm implementation and the factors that may hinder it, is key to comprehending how international norms find their way into national communities and gain acceptance. Finding out what made Project 5-100 a relative success compared to previous initiatives launched by the Russian government helps to establish a set of best practices, which can be used for the implementation of future projects in Russia and for similar projects abroad. Likewise, making sense of the challenges faced by the Russian Government’s decrees 7 and 1148 on combatting the flaring of APG and the reasons why the targets have not been met can help inform and improve decision-making in the future. If the keys to success were as simple as adequate funding, or strong political willpower, norms on excellence in higher education or on APG utilization would reach compliance when these conditions are fulfilled. However, these factors do not suffice. This

¹ Drezner, D. (2020). *How the Trump Administration Weaponises Norms*. Retrieved on 21.09.2020 from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/05/27/how-trump-administration-weaponizes-norms/>

study provides a novel perspective on the types of actors that improve implementation results when they are involved in the realization process on the ground. The researcher contributes to IR literature the novel concept of “Transnational Experience and Expertise Networks” (TEENs) to qualify these actors which help with the local adaptation of international norms. Similarly, no scholars have specifically directed their attention to the problem of how LC policies affect the implementation of international norms in the spheres of higher education and flaring. The two case studies in this thesis analyze how different LC policies have an impact on a norm’s chances of reaching compliance. Thus, the present study, which analyses two such determining factors, TEENs and LC policy, explores the ways in which they interact, and seeks out the optimal conditions for norm implementation, which on the practical side, could be useful for policymakers in Russia and elsewhere. Indeed, governments which have in earnest adopted international norms and transposed them into national laws are looking for the most effective ways of implementing them (Grossi & al, 2010). Governments are increasingly committing to abiding by international standards and to improving their performance in different spheres by adopting international norms (Keck & Sikkink, 2018).

Relevance for academic literature

Throughout the 20th century International Relations evolved as a discipline. Although, it initially focused primarily on matters of interstate interaction related to war and peace, since the 1970s it evolved into a broader research field with much emphasis devoted to the influences that developments on global and regional arenas have on internal agendas within individual societies. This line of research dates back to the Gourevitch's pioneering article dealing with the effects of domestic consequences of international political and economic trends (Gourevitch 1978). This study analyses how international norms affect states’ behavior and national interests, inscribing itself in the Constructivist line of research initiated by Martha Finnemore (1996). “Unpacking” the state allows Constructivist IR scholars to further their understanding of how international norms spread and influence the foreign and internal policies of national governments (Checkel, 1997).

Norms are indeed popular in academic literature, especially in the field of International Relations and among Constructivist scholars. Norms have been defined in several ways. While “legal norms are formal; they are promulgated and enforced by the centralized authority of the state” (Mc Adams, 2015, p2), international norms differ in that they may not be formalized on the international stage and are rarely enforced by an authority. A certain

amount of confusion surrounds norms as a concept, with some International Relations scholars (Batalov, 2016) pointing out that norms still refer both to “the rules of the game” (North 1991, p37) but also their perception as actors capable of interaction with others and of evolving (Young, 1989). Constructivist scholars have widened our understanding of norms to reflect their evolutive characteristics, defining them as “Collective expectations for the proper behavior of actors whose identity is given” (Katzenstein, 1996, p5).

In the 1990s, a new generation of Constructivists made it the object of their research to show how social structures impact social governance (Finnemore, 1996). Some researchers demonstrated at length the capacity of norms to bring about change in the international community. They showed that norms reflect what constitutes acceptable behavior in a community, and that because norms are shared, they are not subjective but “intersubjective” (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p911). Finnemore and Sikkink’s analysis of the standard life-cycle of a norm by which it will “emerge, cascade and internationalize” (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p892) was followed by a myriad of case-studies, particularly in the fields of human rights and environmental protection, which revealed that norms have the power to change patterns of behavior beyond previous expectations (for example Risse & Sikkink, 1999; Cortell & Davis, 1996; Narine, 2012; Adler-Nissen, 2014; Zwingel, 2019).

The idea that even when norms are not observed, they retain their validity and most of the time the infringer will go to quite some length to justify the violation of a norm became influential in the subsequent literature on norm contestation (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Martha Finnemore also noted that some norms are so obvious that it takes a specialist to actually identify them (Finnemore, 1996). Scholars have also focused on the effectiveness of norms, with Constructivists attempting to prove that they are effective motors for international change (Betts & Orchard, 2014). The most straightforward way to assess the effectiveness of a norm would be to determine whether it has solved the problems, which brought about its creation (Young, 1999). Some authors look at the changes in the behavior of participants following the introduction of a norm, others assess the situation compared to what it was before the norm was created, yet others compare it to the situation which “would have been”, had the norm not been created at all. Through numerous case studies, including of “tough cases” in the field of human rights, Constructivist scholars have shown that norms have induced unexpected change (Risse-Kappen & al, 2009). However quantitative assessments have on occasion been used to discredit qualitative findings on norm effectiveness (Young, 2011).

Scholars also sought to identify the different actors involved in norm promotion. While “transnational interaction” was defined as early as 1971 as “the movement of tangible or intangible items across state boundaries when at least one actor is not an agent of a government” (Keohane & Nye, 1971, p332), the understanding of the diversity and level of influence of non-state actors as well as their capacity to advance change emerged later. In 1998, the idea that transnational networks have the power to influence national policy-making came to the fore with the coining of the concept of Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) by M. Keck and K. Sikkink. TANs are described as having a “horizontal, reciprocal and voluntary” form of organization, and can include actors “such as but not limited to NGOs, local social movements, foundations, the media, churches, trade unions, consumer organizations, intellectuals, parts of intergovernmental organizations, parts of governments” (Keck & Sikkink, 2018, p67-68). The scholars argue that TANs can effectively support the diffusion of international norms, on some occasions even when they go against the interests of national states (boomerang effect), by using different techniques such as “information politics”, referring to the ability to identify and disseminate relevant information quickly; “symbolic politics”, the use of stories and symbols to explain a situation to a general public; “leverage politics” to seek the assistance of people in power when necessary to ensure a positive outcome; and “accountability politics” to make politicians or organizations keep to a commitment once they have given their word (Keck & Sikkink, 2018, p70).

During the 2000s, empirical studies on norms multiplied, addressing more complex spheres, including arms control and the economy, with attempts to understand the impact of norm contestation and norm decay (Wiener, 2018; Deitelhoff & Zimmermann, 2020). Abandoning the perspective that norms follow a linear progression route, or a cycle, Risse, Ropp and Sikkink offered in 1999 a complete overview of the mechanisms impacting normative change, considering the role of “strategic bargaining”, “moral consciousness raising” and “habitualization” (Risse & al, 1999 p11). This approach reveals the multiplicity of factors impacting the emergence and diffusion of international norms, revealing that persuasion, constraint, and contestation can all be encountered during norm diffusion. Constructivist scholars make a strong argument demonstrating that powerful international norms, which are properly timed and framed, stand a good chance of reaching maturity, and have the capacity to overcome resistance. Whereas scholars have shown that mature norms end up being adopted by a majority of states, even those with reticent governments, the implementation phase has been less thoroughly explored. While some experts appear untroubled by national

norm violation, noting that “whether or not violations also invalidate or refute a law (norm) will depend upon a host of other factors, not the least of which is how the community assesses the violation and responds to it” (Kratochwil & Ruggie, 1986, p767), others assume that the implementation phase is out of the hands of IR scholars and that once a norm has been incorporated in national law then “the task of IR scholarship is implicitly understood to be complete” (Betts & Orchard, 2014, p1). The idea that the national implementation phase is a local or regional matter has led IR scholars to overlook the impact of transnational actors in helping national players reach compliance domestically with international norms. The competing explanations of why some norms fail to reach compliance after their national institutionalization are addressed in section 1.3.

This study also considers the literature on LC policies in an attempt to determine how LC policies, in turn, affect the national implementation of international norms. LC policies are *measures taken by local or national governments to ensure that the local economy benefits from the development of a business activity involving foreign players*. More precisely LC policies have been defined in the sphere of Management as “multidimensional and a vehicle for enabling the start up of economic activity, technological catch up, human capital accumulation, and sustaining demand for local goods, work and services. It is also concerned with ownership structure and a transfer of property rights to domestic industrial actors or champions.” (Kalyuzhnova & al, 2016, p3). Three categories of LC have been identified to highlight its different dimensions and functions: “Market Creating LC”, “Sustaining LC”, and “Efficiency LC” (Kalyuzhnova & al, 2016, p12-14). “Market Creating LC” aims to support the local market when a new type of production activity is launched in a country and the local players are not competitive. In order to avoid foreign players taking over the entire production process, rules are established to make sure LC never falls under a certain threshold, which varies significantly from country to country and from industry to industry. “Sustaining LC” aims to support local producers under conditions of increased international competition, helping them maintain their market share. The type of support rendered to local companies varies and the policies do not typically improve local firms’ market share in the short run (Kalyuzhnova & al, 2016, p12). “Efficiency LC” is intended to enhance the competitiveness of local firms so that they can in the medium or long term compete in the international arena. “Expansion into international markets” rather than domestic ones is one the goals (Kalyuzhnova & al, 2016, p13).

A large number of studies explore the different LC policy measures, considering the effects of quotas on local employment (Adedeji & al., 2016; Tordo & Anouti, 2013; Warner, 2017), quotas on local sourcing of goods and services (Dixon & al., 2018; Eikeland & Nilsen, 2016; Hufbauer & al., 2013), technology-transfer requirements (Davies, 2016; Asghari & Rakhshanikia, 2013), limiting foreign ownership in different industries (Wilson, 2015), helping "fledgling firms" or key industries (Kalyuzhnova & Belitski, 2019), taxing activities of foreign firms in view of redistribution (Obeng-Odoom, 2019; Ayentimi & al., 2016). The advantages and drawbacks of LC policies have been widely discussed with some experts recognizing that these measures can help "increase value-added", "correct market failure" and "support employment and other social objectives" (Tordo & Anouti, 2013, p34). LC Policies can indeed help promote economic growth by creating local jobs, developing local competencies and financing the diversification of the economy (Adedeji & al, 2016). Others underline, however, their inefficiency and violation of the fundamental rules of international trade, as well as the risk of double-market failure (Warner, 2017). Indeed, implementing protectionist measures and favoring local suppliers, employees or participants over international ones can threaten a country's harmonious development, while removing these measures later can be a challenging political process (Jasimuddin & Maniruzzaman, 2016). Protectionist measures may also discourage foreign investments and participation in projects.

The scholarly literature on LC Policies focuses currently on several industries with high added value such as the oil and gas or the automotive industry (Tordo & Anouti, 2013; Martinelli, 2016). The concept of LC could, however, be used beyond the spheres it has been traditionally applied to. Research on specific aspects of LC has led to discussions regarding the utility of developing local requirements for foreign aid procurement (Warner, 2017), for renewable forms of energy (Kuntze & Moerenhout, 2013), in the healthcare industry (Hufbauer & al, 2013). Many authors focus on the economic and financial aspects of LC policies, however, Tordo & Anouti (2013) argue that LC may be guided more by political imperatives than financial reasons. Furthermore, it would seem many countries did not consider the "costs and benefits of alternative policy options" before implementing LC policies (Tordo & Anouti, 2013, pxiii). This consideration opens the door to a wider understanding of LC policies, which may be designed for political, security or other reasons. LC policies can be, on one hand, explicit, with clear prescriptions defining the role, rights and duties of foreign actors, qualified as "LC content" or, for example, "Russian / Nigerian Content", in official documents, or, on the other hand, implicit, with governments adopting a

less formal approach and allowing more bargaining between market players (Kalyuzhnova & Belitski, 2019). The type of LC policy to adopt depends not only on the industry but also the preferences of the government of each country.

1.3 Intended Contributions

Gap in the literature

Section 1.1 revealed a certain compartmentalization between study areas (IR, regional studies, Management) and the difficulties stemming from it. IR is primarily concerned with international processes rather than domestic ones, accounting for some IR scholars' reluctance to engage in domestic level processes. Likewise, the study of LC policy has been largely confined to the sphere of Management and the valuable insights it provides have not been applied to other spheres such as IR. Moving away from a strict subject categorization can help to better understand norms and their evolution. This section considers the gaps in the literature and how an interdisciplinary approach allows the researcher to offer some new explanatory variables.

While IR scholars have concentrated on the mechanisms of norm creation, diffusion and maturation, analyzing the influence of international actors on national norm adoption; the process of norm implementation has not been fully studied. Scholars focus on different aspects of the problem: a first group assumes that after institutionalization, conformance with an international norm becomes automatic as it cascades (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Indeed, they explore the phases of its life-cycle: at first a norm emerges, then, when enough states decide to institutionalize the new norm, it reaches "tipping point" (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p892), and finally it cascades, becoming widely accepted and leading to a majority of states adopting it as a result of international pressure or a desire to conform. The last stage is internalization during which states and individuals start to take the norms for granted (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). The implications of the last phase are that in some cases norms "become internalized by actors and achieve a "taken for granted quality", which makes conformance with a norm almost automatic" (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p895). Other scholars contend based on empirical studies that norms adopted by national governments do not always reach compliance and that there is implementation gap (Cortell &

Davis, 2000). They attribute the implementation difficulties to domestic-level processes, noting that international norms will reach compliance more easily in some countries than in others for societal, structural, or political reasons. A third group of researchers focuses on the need to overcome potential value and interest conflicts (Young, 1998), with the “problem of fit” looking at the mismatch between regime, norms, rules on one hand and the issues needing to be solved on the other (Galaz & al, 2008, p147). Other studies concentrate on the role of a narrow group of motivated experts in promoting innovation and successfully implementing norms on ground level (Rosen, 1991/2018). Hence, while the specialised literature offers credible reasons for the adoption of international norms by national governments, the explanations for why these norms fail to be implemented are partial at best. Sometimes norms are implemented in the presence of a value conflict, and in other cases there is no value conflict but norms are not implemented anyway.

Indeed, most studies focus on the specificities of each country, highlighting reasons for the failure to implement norms on a case-to-case basis. They do not offer a framework explanation for why some international norms transposed into national law fail to reach compliance while others succeed. By showing that “congruence building” leads to the localization of norms and links their acceptance to their adaptation to local conditions, Acharya opens the path to a universal explanation of norm implementation (Acharya, 2004, p239) but does not consider how international actors impact the implementation phase of a norm. While international actors such as Transnational Advocacy Networks (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998) have been found to play a major role in norm adoption by national governments, few scholars have considered the role international networks play during the national implementation phase.

Another aspect neglected by the literature in International Relations, is the way the local implementation of norms may be impacted by LC Policies. IR studies regarding the role of state policy in norm implementation mostly deal with problems relating to a country’s inability to implement a norm it has adopted (“capability trap”) or its lack of sincerity in trying to implement it (“mimicry”), without considering how LC policies affect the process. The literature on LC policies, because of its focus on certain industries, has not fully realized its potential. Applying the concept of LC policy to the sphere of higher education provides interesting insights on why state policies protecting national interests are created and how they impact norm implementation. Also, in the widely studied O&G industry, Russia’s LC policies have been the subject of limited research compared to other countries.

At a crossroads between two disciplines, Management and International Relations, this study draws upon both to explain why some international norms reach national compliance and others do not. This study aims to address this gap in the scholarly literature by determining how different factors impact the national implementation of international norms and to what extent they can influence the final outcome. Offering an analysis of why transnational networks in the form of TEENs affect norm implementation and how LC policies impact the activities of these networks, the researcher proposes a new framework with two explicative parameters. It also provides an insight on the types of LC policies developed by different Russian regions in the O& G industry and reveals the demand for more LC policies in the sphere of higher education in Russia.

Research problem

The main research problem in this study is that international norms, which are willingly adopted and transposed into domestic law by national governments, may not reach compliance. This study considers why national governments decide to adopt international norms, and the factors, which impact their attempts to implement them on the ground.

1.4 Research questions, aim and methods

Research questions

RS1: Why do governments adopt and implement international norms?

RS2: How do transnational actors and LC policy affect the chances of a successful outcome in the national implementation of international norms?

Hypothesis and “defensible inferences”

The main hypothesis is that International networks and LC Policies have a significant and sometimes decisive impact on the national implementation of international norms.

The following “defensible inferences” have been identified by the researcher:

- Norm implementation is influenced by variables pertaining to different fields of research (IR and Management). An inter-disciplinary approach reveals how these factors interact and which are decisive to a norm reaching compliance.
- While the impact of transnational actors on norm creation, diffusion and adoption has been thoroughly studied by Constructivist scholars; their influence on the implementation phase has been neglected with a focus being put on domestic factors. A theoretical framework with international actors as one of two key variables in predicting whether a norm will reach compliance sheds a new light for scholars and policymakers on what it takes for a norm to be successfully implemented.
- Transnational Expertise and Experience Networks (TEENs), international actors which operate during the national implementation phase of an international norm, are key to ensuring that international norms domestically reach compliance. TEENs help to adapt international norms to a local context, based on their technical skills and the practical experience gained abroad, bringing in best practices and conferring credibility to implementation initiatives. TEENs act at different levels and in a decentralised manner by helping to design the national norm, promoting awareness on the ground, attracting funding and partners and developing technical solutions.
- The concept of LC policy, while mostly used to analyse measures taken to promote economic development and retain more of the value generated by an economic activity in high value-added industries, is highly informative when applied to the field of higher education, shedding a light on how governments ensure internationalization processes do not damage local players nor go against state interests.
- LC policies, depending on their design and the way they influence TEENs, may hinder or help with the national implementation of international norms. LC Policies, which are formalized, based on international best practices and encourage foreign corporations to contribute to the development of local skills and the regional economy by developing linkages at each stage of the value chain are associated with higher levels of domestic compliance to international norms. LC policies, in all spheres, can help ensure a smoother transition into a competitive market.

Aim of the research

The aim of the research is to determine the main actors and factors that influence the outcome of the national implementation of international norms. Through two case studies and a survey, the researcher first considers why the national government decides to adopt an international norm, examining the factors, which made the norm appear as necessary, and the actors that lobbied for its adoption. An analysis of the level of acceptance of the new norm at government level, the way the international norm is transposed into national law and the design of the new project reveals the prospects for successful implementation. The researcher then analyses whether the presence on the ground of international actors may be a game-changing factor in norms successfully reaching compliance. The goal is to determine whether in different fields (O&G industry and higher education) these actors, that the researcher has called Transnational Expertise and Experience Networks (TEENs), operate similarly and whether they are responsible for the successful implementation of an international norm. The study also traces how TEENs interact with LC Policies in different spheres, establishing under what circumstances LC Policies aid the process of norm implementation and in what cases they are associated with low levels of compliance. While the researcher considers two case studies set in Russia, the framework of factors influencing norm implementation is deemed applicable to other countries, particularly second wave norm adopters. In the same way, the findings could be applied not only to the O&G and higher education spheres, but also to a large range of domains.

Research methods

This study is based on the Constructivist worldview and adheres to the methodological assumption that through the study of individual opinions, a researcher can approximate and identify broader patterns of thinking and ideational structures. The researcher attempts to measure the impact of international actors and LC policy on the national implementation of international norms by finding out how local actors perceive the impact of international actors and making informed generalizations about their degree of involvement and their capacity to bring about change. The study seeks to explain why some norms get implemented and others do not, and the perceived influence of international actors and LC policy in this process. While the perception of the people interviewed is subjective, them being convinced of something changes the objective reality they deal with. When an actor actively involved in an educational project believes that international cooperation is key to a successful outcome, they naturally bring in these international actors. Conversely, if a project participant believes

that international cooperation can harm the realization of a project or that international networks cannot be involved because of LC policies, then they will themselves not reach out to these actors. These changes are brought to life by a person's actions but more importantly by their interaction with third parties and the content of their discourse. This study can be placed in the context of the research on norms and is conducted based on the assumption that norms are powerful instruments for shaping human behavior and that gaining a better understanding of how norms emerge, evolve and are implemented is highly significant for human societies.

In order to answer the research questions in line with the theoretical background of studies on norms and transnational actors, and with the worldview of the researcher, a qualitative research design was selected to perform this study. The study is guided by "why" and "what" research questions and the gathering of information to answer it needs to be inter-personal and based on interactions with people on the ground. One of the strong points of qualitative research is that it offers the possibility of process tracing and thereby discovering causal mechanisms at work. This study attempts to understand which factor dominates in explaining why some international norms, after being officially adopted by a country, get implemented and others do not. Various explanatory variables are considered: the existence of a value-conflict, the lack of political motivation or of dedicated resources, the involvement of international actors and the impact of LC policies on the implementation process. The processes of collecting information through interviews and identifying patterns interpreted by the researcher are typical of qualitative research.

The study investigates norm implementation by means of two case studies. Both cases were constructed using various data collection methods, including an extensive study of legal and policy documents, available performance reports of 5-100 universities, and of the implementation of the flaring legislation, media coverage, expert interviews and a survey. The researcher opted for semi-structured interviews, seeking a compromise between structured interviews and qualitative interviews (Yin, 2014). An interview questionnaire was created and the discussion was guided by the researcher in order to obtain the necessary information; however respondents could share their insights thanks to open-ended questions. While predetermined interview guides make responses more standard (Mann, 1985) and make different respondents' answers more comparable (Gorden, 1975), the opportunity to adapt the questions for each interview, at least in the way they are formulated, helps to put the

participants more at ease (Treece & Treece, 1986). The researcher adapted the questionnaire slightly to each participant and the first question referred directly to each participant's personal experience relating to the case-study. However, a certain consistency was preserved throughout all the interviews in order to make the responses comparable.

The researcher conducted a pilot study for both cases and used various methods to check the authenticity of the information provided including triangulation, member checking, thick and rich descriptions, clearing the bias, time on the field and peer debriefing, as recommended by Creswell (2013). A thematic approach was adopted, with three levels of coding used to merge the findings from both cases. Preliminary coding was performed shortly after the interview took place and the transcript was written out and resulted in a large number of different themes being identified. First level coding allowed the researcher to regroup preliminary codes for each of the two case studies and second level coding resulted in the merging of the codes for both cases.

The interviews and survey were conducted following the ethical rules of the University of Reading. The goal of the research was explained to the participants, as well as the ways in which the information they provide would be used by the researcher and stored. Participants were handed information sheets and consent forms to read and sign. These two documents inform the interviewees that participation in the project is voluntary, that their contribution can be withdrawn at any time until the results are analysed, and that the interview will be recorded if they agree. Some participants refused to be recorded and this option was crossed out from the participant information sheet before signing. Information was also provided regarding the confidential processing and writing up of data. The anonymity of the respondents was guaranteed thanks to a system of code names associated with each transcript. Transcripts are stored on a password-protected computer and backed up on a password-protected USB key.

Findings of the study are presented following a temporal phases approach, according to which specific episodes are related "within a clearly set out defined temporal narrative" (Reay & al, 2019 p10). The advantages of this approach are: transparency as it is easy for an outside reviewer to check whether a particular event took place at a certain time; clarity as it is easy to follow a chronological approach; and flexibility as it can be combined with other approaches (Reay & al, 2019). Chronological narratives have been frequently used by Constructivists, as they put an emphasis on processes and show how agency and structure interact over time

(Checkel, 2017). Narratives make it possible to analyse new agents and their impact on norms.

This study presents the role of Transnational Experience and Expertise Networks and LC policies by showing how they affect norm implementation over time. The researcher uses a chronological approach in both cases by first presenting the international norms on excellence in higher education and on combatting the flaring of APG, then considering how the international norm was domestically lobbied and transposed into national law (project 5-100 and decrees 7 and 1148) and then finally analyzing the implementation process on the ground and assessing whether compliance was reached. The chronological narrative is paused several times to allow for thematic analysis: after presenting the international norms, the national context of higher education and of the flaring of APG in the O&G industry in Russia are described as they are key to understanding the norm adoption process. Each case ends with an analysis of the role of Transnational Experience and Expertise Networks and LC policies, with the researcher trying to gauge the extent to which they are decisive factors in the successful implementation or failure to implement a norm.

1.5 The study setting and overview of cases

The study setting

The researcher addresses the research questions through two case studies: one where norms were successfully internalized and the other where more difficulties were encountered. The objective is to try to discover why a particular norm got implemented in a specific context while the other did not. The “most-similar” cases approach is selected, as it allows the researcher to determine whether the differences between the two cases were or not the cause of the variation in outcome (George & Bennett, 2005).

This study combines an analysis of the emergence of a norm and its context with interviews aimed at understanding the perception of a phenomenon at different hierarchical levels. A thorough review of the context in which the norms emerge and are being implemented allows the researcher to analyze not only what interviewees say but also their behavior. The case studies help to clarify a specific situation, but also to gain a more general sense of how and why norms are implemented. This research based on cases-studies is an attempt to provide

some clarifications on the mechanisms guiding successful norm implementation, which can be of theoretical and practical use in different contexts.

The choice of the Russian Federation as the place to analyze norm adoption and implementation is due to two factors: first, Russia has been largely neglected by Constructivist scholars, who do not typically consider the country as a norm receiver as it also initiates norms in many spheres. Secondly, Russia is a useful choice of country for the purpose of this study as, in the spheres of higher education and combatting flaring in the 21st century, it is part of the second group of norm adopters. Hence, this country has adopted but possibly not fully implemented a number of international norms in these spheres.

Through the two case studies relating to the Russian Federation, the researcher studies the impact of international actors during the adoption phase of a new norm and during implementation. The researcher selected two case studies pertaining to different spheres in which norms are international but have reached different levels of compliance nationally. The selection of the spheres of higher education and environmental protection in the O&G industry and more specifically Project 5-100 and Decrees 7 and 1148 on combatting the flaring of APG is determined by several factors.

1- Both cases have clearly identifiable international norms, which were translated into national norms. The norm on excellence in higher education was actively diffused in the 2000s by the initiator-states and international organizations such as the World Bank. The first following countries such as France and China adopted the norm in the early 2010's and Russia followed suit in 2012 with the Presidential Decree of the Russian Federation No. 599 of May 7th, 2012 "On measures to realize state policy in the sphere of education and science" which marked the launch of Project 5-100, also called the Russian Academic Excellence Project (Executive Order No.599, 2012). The same goes for the case of flaring: the international norm took off in the 2000s with the creation of the GGFR by the World Bank to reduce flaring practices and a number of countries adopting the norm. On January 8th, 2009 with the governmental decree number 7 "On the measures stimulating reduction of atmospheric pollution by products of associated gas flaring" (and later with the Decree number 1148 of the 8th of November 2012) Russia officially adopted the international anti-flaring norm.

2- The two selected international norms gained global momentum and were adopted by Russia during a similar time period (2009-2012) and this allows the researcher to control the impact of political, social and economic factors in explaining the different outcome of the two cases.

3- The researcher chose two cases in which the government has an interest in seeing the norms successfully implemented. Indeed, this makes it unlikely that the government would have adopted a strategy of “purposeful avoidance”. The government gains from the success of its universities on the international stage, as it is a matter of prestige and financial gain. In the same way, the state gains from a higher utilization rate of APG as it avoids international criticism, stops wasting the country’s natural resources and obtains financial resources from taxing the sale of associated gas.

While higher education and the environment appear as different spheres altogether, the norms selected are indeed comparable for the purpose of our study.

Overview of the case studies

Case I analyses Project 5-100, which was launched based on the Presidential Decree of the Russian Federation No. 599 of May 7th, 2012 “On measures to realize state policy in the sphere of education and science” and led to the creation of a government-run project which aims to increase the international competitiveness of the Russian Higher Education system. The project arises from the desire to adhere to the international norm on *world-class* universities, which promotes standard ways to achieve excellence in higher education and which essence is described in two ground-breaking publications of the World Bank: “The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities”, by Jamil Salmi (2009) and “The Road to Academic Excellence: The Making of World-Class Research Universities” by Jamil Salmi and Philip Altbach (2011). These two publications define what a *world-class* university is, and explain why universities should strive to become one. Their authors emphasize that it is not enough for an institution to declare that it is an elite university as the decision belongs to the other players on the field. *World-class* universities are characterized by excellence in training students, research output, and technology transfer (Salmi, 2009, p4). Success is measured by the degree of internationalization of a university, the demand for its graduates on the labor market, its capacity to publish ground-breaking research in top academic journals, to attract highly qualified faculty members, to fund its activities from both private and state sources and to engage in productive cooperation with businesses.

Influenced by the international norm and lobbied by a myriad of actors, the Russian government decided to launch its own excellence project, which had for goal to get 5 Russian universities into the top 100 universities globally. Unlike previous projects, which lacked the design, funding or competences to have a significant impact on the university system in Russia, project 5-100 builds off previously amassed experience and draws upon international experience in order to effect significant changes and make the higher education system competitive on the global scene. This case reflects the productive struggle, which resulted from the international norm on *world-class* universities being adapted to a national context. The case study reveals that while it is designed and implemented by Russians, international ‘best practices’ and staff (networks) are employed extensively as a source of experience, competence and specific know-hows to make general prescriptions work on the Russian soil. Interview respondents all agree that project 5-100 is a success and note that what has been accomplished would have been impossible without the contribution of international networks. Interestingly, the respondents put an emphasis on the importance of different parts of TEENs, with some focusing on consultants and others on the International Expert Committee or on partnerships with foreign universities. This study, however, concludes that the project is only a limited success rather than an absolute one for two reasons: first, because the announced targets (5 Russian universities in the top 100 globally according to international institutional ratings) have not been met (although these targets were recognized as being symbolic from the start). Second, because the project went through various waves, some of which stumbled upon more difficulties than others. While project 5-100 came up against some resistance, the implementation of LC policies supporting the scientific achievements of Russian scholars, developing Russian content in academic programs and protecting universities from unwanted international interference allowed the state to address some of the concerns of academics related to the rapid tempo of change and the vulnerability of Russian higher education in the international competitive environment. Effective LC policies appear to have supported the internationalization process; allowing TEENs to operate in frameworks which were considered non-threatening by the majority of respondents. Results of a 2020 survey confirm that Russian academics support both the internationalization process and the assessment of Russian universities using international rankings; all the while demanding more LC policies from the state.

Case II considers two decrees that revolutionized Russia’s approach to the flaring of APG. The 2009 governmental decree number 7 “On the measures stimulating reduction of

atmospheric pollution by products of associated gas flaring” which created severe penalties for flaring more than 5% of APG, starting from 2012 and decree 1148 of the 8th of November 2012 which further increased the fines for harmful emissions represent a major change in the country’s approach to a problem which was not considered to be one less than a decade earlier. This legislation aims at reducing flaring practices in Russia, which are associated with environmental pollution, CO₂ emissions, and wasted gas resources. The decision to regulate flaring directly ensues from the international norm on combatting flaring practices, which took shape in the 1970s and gained momentum in the 2000s with the creation of the Global Gas Flaring Reduction Partnership to endorse and promote it. The international norm had an impact on the Russian government’s perception of flaring, leading to a real desire for change and to the subsequent legislation to this effect. Unlike in Case I, the results of its implementation are considered limited, both in terms of objective parameters (measured flaring volumes) and in the opinion of the respondents interviewed by the researcher. Structural difficulties and the indifference of the Russian population have failed to be overcome. This outcome is associated with the limited role played by TEENs in the implementation process. Interestingly, the Russian region of Khanty-Mansiysk (KMAO), which decided to tackle the problem of flaring before the Russian decree was approved and which received international support did manage to reduce its flaring of associated gas, to the point of receiving recognition for this achievement from the World Bank. LC Policies were found to vary between the regions, and those cases where it focused on a paternalist redistribution of an economic rent were associated with lower compliance levels with the flaring legislation. Clearer and more formalized approaches to LC Policies led to a better understanding of the role played by foreign companies and the contribution expected from them, and to better norm compliance (for example Sakhalin Island). The impact of the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) mode on international cooperation and norm implementation was more variable, and depended on the motivation of the local government (for example the success of the KMAO or the difficulties experienced by the Komi republic). The study points to the fact that the rejection of TEENs, due to sanctions, political factors and badly-calibrated LC Policies, played a significant role in the relatively unsuccessful outcome of the anti-flaring decree in Russia, as structural and political problems were left unresolved.

The findings of the case studies confirm the hypothesis that transnational actors and LC policies have a decisive impact on the national implementation of international norms. In the same way as Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) play a key role by promoting the

diffusion of international norms and their transposition into national law, TEENs ensure the follow-up by aiding with the implementation process. The two case studies, while pertaining to different spheres, deal with norms that the Russian government willingly accepted, transposed in domestic law and has an interest in implementing. The difference in the outcome of norm implementation is not linked to mimicry or a capability trap but to the ways in which the national projects are carried out on the ground. While project 5-100 encouraged TEENs to share their experience and expertise and help develop a locally adapted solution based on international best practices, decrees 7 and 1148 did not reach compliance in the majority of Russian regions because the international norm on combatting flaring was implemented without the intervention of TEENs and based on a trial and error method. This difference in the implementation phase of both projects originated from their very design: while the 5-100 initiative established individual targets for its participant universities based on the recommendations of an international expert committee and provided appropriate funding, follow-up and expertise on what should be done to progress in international rankings; decrees 7 and 1148 set a 95% target utilization rate of APG, offering neither financial help nor expertise on how to develop technical solutions to stop flaring and creating an uncertainty whether the fines for excessive flaring would be levied at all. The involvement of TEENs in project 5-100 allowed the norm to reach compliance, as these international networks provided advice on how to design and carry out the project, how to incentivize universities and create a spill-over effect on the whole Russian higher education system. On the contrary, the suspicion regarding TEENs in the O&G industry resulted in the projects related to Decrees 7 and 1148 completely neglecting the international best practices developed by the Global Gas Flaring Reduction Public-Private Partnership (GGFR) of the World Bank, leaving Russian companies to their own devices on whether and how to utilize APG. The specific regional case of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug, which got independently involved in the GGFR project to reduce flaring in the early 2000s, is a sub-case within case II as the region displays a different strategy to combatting flaring from other Russian regions and managed to reach compliance with decrees 7 and 1148 early on. KMAO displayed in the early 2000s, a decade before the decrees 7 and 1148 were approved, an interest in working with the GGFR and developed an original strategy based on international best practices to increase its APG utilization rate. A multitude of TEENs were invited to the region to help adjust the existing regulations and tax systems, attract foreign investments and develop adapted infrastructure. The region's success in reaching and willingly going beyond

the mark of a 95% utilization rate conclusively proves the power TEENs have to transform reality.

The involvement of TEENs appears to be a decisive factor in whether or not an international norm manages to reach national compliance. The involvement of TEENs itself hinges on a number of factors, one of the most influential being LC policies. While the case studies do not reveal an automatic link between the existence of LC policies and the level of compliance (as indeed LC policies were identified in both cases); they show that the way LC policies are designed and their impact on TEENs can have an effect on norm implementation. While in the sphere of higher education, LC policies are implicit; those projects involving foreign actors clearly define their contribution and allow them to contribute their expertise and experience. This reveals that LC policies when they are optimally designed regulate but do not block the work of foreign actors. A survey of Russian academics' attitude to the internationalization of the higher education system and to LC policies reveals that while there is a high level of acceptance of internationalization, there is also a significant demand for LC policies aimed at protecting and promoting Russian content and helping Russian universities become competitive rather than leaving them to develop following market driven mechanisms. The survey findings together with the conclusions inferred from Case I invalidate the assumption that LC policies necessarily stand in the way of the internationalization process, and point to the fact that Russian higher education may be an "infant industry" needing state support as it integrates the global competition of universities. This study thus reveals that the concept of LC policy can be productively applied to the sphere of higher education and offers a productive framework to explain the development of measures to protect universities and academics during the active phase of internationalization of Russian higher education. Like in other industries, LC measures help in the sphere of higher education to ease the transition to an international competitive market and to ensure the country as a whole benefits from this integration process. LC policies when correctly designed do not go up against norm implementation. Hence, under some circumstances, LC Policies and TEENs can jointly contribute to successful norm implementation.

In the O&G sector in Russia, LC policies are diverse, formalized to different degrees depending on the region and the oil company, and are subject to an array of international, state-level, regional and local rules, which may create, in some cases, certain inconsistencies. In the case of APG flaring, most Russian regions presented LC policies which fell into one of

three categories: CSR measures, paternalism and formalized LC Policies. While they all aim to promote a fair sharing of benefits of O&G extraction between oil companies and local populations and can be assembled in the broad group of LC Policies, they differ in the methods used and the results achieved. Paternalism (studied in the Nenets Autonomous Okrug) appears as a sub-optimal solution as it relies entirely on taxation and on the regional authorities to fund appropriate support projects, leading to gross miscalculations and an inability to tackle problems such as flaring. Formalized LC policies (as in the Sakhalin II agreement) take into account international best practices, offer clarity to all participants, reassure international players and satisfy the needs for Russian content in the local economy and as such appear as a best practice. The CRS mode presents many opportunities by laying most of the responsibility for social fairness and local economic development on the oil firms and having them respect international LC standards. The lack of formalization means that the outcome depends on the core intentions of the oil company and the priorities of the local Administration. This comparative study of Russian regions finds that LC Policies gain in efficiency and present fewer risks, particularly in countries with weak institutions, if they are formalized and contain measures aimed at each stage of the value chain. Clarifying the conditions for international stakeholders from the outset increases the quality of transnational cooperation paving the way for the successful national implementation of international norms. LC policies only hinder international cooperation in cases where the adopted approaches (paternalism, some cases of CSR) create uncertainties for international corporations and are in these cases associated with a high risk of normative non-compliance to the anti-flaring decrees.

1.6 Outline of the thesis

The introductory chapter presents the subject of the research and highlights its current relevance based both on the interest in norms in society as a whole (media, politicians, online discussions) and on the large corpus of academic literature written on the topic. It outlines the context of the study and the research methods employed, including two case studies, and presents the research questions and the goal of the study. Chapter 2 offers a review of the literature on international norms and regimes, describing what norms are, how they evolve, the factors impacting their adoption and implementation. It considers how international networks operate during each phase of the norm life cycle and describes the different types of

LC Policies and how they can affect norm implementation. Chapter 3 analyses the research design and methodology of this study by defining the theoretical framework of the research and describing how the case study strategy was used. It offers an overview of the context and of the units of analysis and sampling used for the study. This part also shows how the data was collected, processed and analysed as well as the confidentiality rules the researcher abided by during the study. Chapter 4 is a detailed account of the results of a case study devoted to the international norm of excellence in higher education as nationally implemented in the framework of the Russian project 5-100. Chapter 5 is a detailed account of the results of a case study dedicated to the international norm against flaring as nationally implemented based on the Russian Decrees 7 and 1148. Chapter 6 is the conclusion, which summarises the findings of the case studies and offers a direct answer to the research questions, underlining the role played by TEENs and LC Policies during the national implementation of international norms.

Chapter 2 - Norm Implementation and Local Content Policy

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on norms, transnational networks and LC Policies, in which the current study finds its roots. Relying simultaneously on findings from several academic spheres, International Relations, Economics, Management and Law, this study intentionally blurs the frontiers between disciplines to find the best factors to explain norm implementation. In order to do this, the researcher first defines the core concept of this paper, norms, revealing through the literature the power they have to bring about social change. The whole academic debate surrounding norms is relevant to our research as norm emergence, norm proliferation, maturation and contestation all impact the implementation phase. In section 2.2, the nature and functions of norms along their life cycle are described. Section 2.3 outlines the main reasons why national governments adopt international norms, highlighting how domestic factors, decision-making and transnational networks interact, promoting or stalling change. The role of transnational networks at each stage of the evolution of a norm is described, with an emphasis put on how Transnational Advocacy Networks (Keck & Sikkink, 1998) pressure national governments into adopting international norms. Section 2.4 studies the implementation of norms and considers the different explanations offered by scholars regarding the likelihood some international norms adopted by governments will reach compliance. This section challenges their main arguments, noting that there is no automatic compliance with a mature norm; that value conflicts are not the main reason norms do not get implemented; and that the involvement of a group of innovative experts cannot fully explain why norms reach compliance. Having revealed the gap in the literature, Section 2.5 offers a working hypothesis explaining why norms require Transnational Experience and Expertise Networks (TEENs) in order to reach compliance. The researcher describes the main way that TEENs impact norm implementation, setting a theoretical basis to be tested in the case studies (chapters 4 and 5). Section 2.6 describes LC Policies and the way they operate, placing them in the context of the scholarly literature. It also reveals that LC Policies, through their influence on TEENs and depending on how they are formulated, can hinder or facilitate the

national implementation of international norms. Section 2.7 is the conclusion, which summarizes the main points of the chapter.

2.2 Norms and their functions

The end of the Cold War brought about some major changes in IR theory, among which the re-discovery of the importance of international norms. While norms have long been analysed by prominent legal scholars (Vylegzianin, 2010); norms became one of the central topics of study in Constructivist IR literature in the 1990s, taking on a new meaning altogether. While “legal norms are formal; they are promulgated and enforced by the centralized authority of the state” (Mc Adams, 2015, p2), international norms differ in that they may not be formalized on the international stage and are rarely enforced by an authority. This study refers to the IR understanding of norms as opposed to legal norms. The concept of norm remains nonetheless surrounded by some confusion in the literature, with some International Relations scholars (Batalov, 2016) pointing out that norms still refer both to “the rules of the game” (North 1991, p37) and their perception as actors capable of interaction with others and of evolving (Young 1989). Constructivist scholars have widened their understanding of norms to reflect their evolutive characteristics, defining them as “collective expectations for the proper behavior of actors whose identity is given” (Katzenstein, 1996, p5). This thesis, in line with Katzenstein’s definition, considers international norms to be standards of appropriate behavior in a community. Norms have also been broken down into several categories: regulative norms, which “order and constrain behavior” (Katzenstein & Al, 1999, p251), constitutive norms, which “create new actors or interests” (p251), and prescriptive norms, which reflect “oughtness” (p251) or what should be done. While a number of norms could potentially fit in several categories, the researcher selects constitutive norms for the case studies in this thesis, as their first goal is to create something new. While the moral stance of prescriptive norms appears to some extent in the case on flaring, the framing of the norm by the GGFR and other institutions focuses not on blaming governments about how things ought to be, but on the idea that new processes can be created to solve a problem. This explains why the norm will be largely considered as constitutive in this study. Similarly, the case of excellence in higher education is a constitutive norm, as it aims not to regulate the existing educational system but to create a new one.

This study focuses on two specific international norms and their translation into national law and does not deal with the larger question of international regimes, all the while admitting that the selected norms could form part of larger regimes such as that of environmental protection and global development. Regimes have been defined as “implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors’ expectations converge in a given area of international relations” (Krasner 1982, p186), which reveals the much larger scope of regimes compared to norms. The goal of this study is to analyse smaller normative areas to be able to trace the evolution of norms to implementation stage. For this reason, in this study we will focus on individual norms within the broader regulatory context.

In order to understand the nature and influence of norms, it is necessary to trace back their emergence in the scholarly literature. Norms played a role in International Relations from the very beginning (Angell, 1909) as international institutions and attempts at cooperation have always been at the heart of International Relations study. Carr’s (1939) analysis of the international system reveals that interests cannot perfectly coincide in a world composed of competing nation-states and yet that the state is the main structure to ensure internal peace. While criticizing idealists, he notes that most Realists do not lack ideals and are still exploring paths for international cooperation. The heart of his analysis – that international interaction will fail if it is based on rigid rules and that flexibility is more efficient as it takes into account demand for change– seems to open the way for the contemporary study of norms, which emerged a lot later in scholarly literature. After WW2 the proponents of the Realist school set norms aside as they were, under conditions of anarchy, associated with the rule of the powerful, as coercion was the only means to ensure implementation. Realist studies of the different remedies for anarchy and the perspectives for the establishment of an international government (Morgenthau, 1948), reflected skepticism towards the possibility of creating a central authority to control society and maintain a common understanding of justice, but at the same time paved the way to alternative reflections on how to maintain peace. During the late 1970s and 1980s, scholars of the English School rehabilitated individuals, norms and values as full-fledged elements of the international system (Bull 1977, Wight 1978). Norms guiding international behavior (ex: non-intervention, most-favored-nation treatment) and economic principles (ex: free trade brings about general wealth) were identified and described by scholars. This attention paid to norms came as a welcome means of explaining changes taking place on the international arena (such as integration, cooperation, peaceful transitions), which could not be accounted for using traditional realist principles. Norms are essential in social

interaction as they offer new forms of organization and leverage, and enable a multitude of actors to participate in decision-making, including the media and the general public.

The research on norms became a separate field of study in the 1990s, as a result of two trends: the study of regimes in the 1980s and the growing scholarly interest in international actors around the same time. For each school of thought, the role played by norms and considerations regarding their very nature varied: while Neoliberals saw norms as a means for collective action, to reduce transaction costs and facilitate interaction (Keohane 1984), for Realists norms were simply the result of the interests of the most powerful states (Mearsheimer 1994). Constructivist scholars offered a completely different perspective on norms. Early Constructivists such as Alexander Wendt (1987), Friedrich Kratochwil (1989), and Nicholas Onuf pointed out that norms can be “constitutive” (1989, p51) by creating roles and identities, and studied empirical evidence on the impact norms have in International Relations. In this perspective, norms cease to be simply the fruit of a compromise between actors and take on a new dimension, contributing to the creation of a new identity (Wendt, 1999).

In the 1990s, a new generation of Constructivists made it the object of their research to show how social structures impact social governance (Finnemore, 1996). Martha Finnemore showed that norms reflect an acceptable behavior in a community, and that because they are shared, they are not subjective but “intersubjective” (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p911). The author noted that even when norms are not respected, they retain their validity and most of the time the infringer will go to quite some length to justify the violation of a norm. Other norms are so obvious that it takes a specialist to actually identify them as being norms (Finnemore, 1996). Organization theorists in their study of the basis for decision-making differentiated the “logic of appropriateness”, that they defined as rule-driven behavior and the need to comply with social norms, from the “logic of consequences” oriented towards rational cost-benefit calculations; demonstrating that in democratic political orders the first may under some circumstances prevail over the second as a logic of action (March & Olsen, 2004, p3). Hopf suggested IR theory should go beyond normative and instrumental rationality, to explore what he coined as the “logic of habit”, which he believed to impact more than the two other decision-making processes (2010, p553).

The debate between Realism and Constructivism flourished with the later pointing out the transformative power of norms and the former insisting that force remained the main

structuring element in International Relations. The advantages and challenges of the use of norms against force in the international system were depicted within the Russian school of International Relations by Davydov (2002), who analysed the parallel processes of political globalization on the one hand and an increase in national self-identification on the other. According to the author, while a model of regulation by norms cannot entirely replace, especially in the short to medium term, the model of regulation by force, which has dominated the system for thousands of years, it presents a number of advantages which explain its recent successes: first, norms represent the will of all versus force which is used by a dominant state or coalition to impose their will on others. Second, norms are longer lasting and stable, as cycles of power lead to constant changes in which state is dominant. Third, the outcomes of using norms are more predictable than those of using force. Fourth, norms are more democratic and force condones violence. Fifth, force is irreversible because it leads to destruction, whereas norms if they turn out to be counterproductive can always be removed. While studies embracing the idea of a norm cycle leading to the progressive consolidation of a norm may not have considered the possibility of intentionally setting aside a norm; the chances are that in reality a counterproductive norm will not be able to consolidate to the extent it can not be removed (Davydov, 2002). Those promoting the use of norms have however come across a number of significant difficulties, starting with the fact that states have different levels of development and sometimes even conflicting normative bases. The experience of the use of norms in the international system is also very short, and there are less available instruments compared to when a state decides to use force. Last of all, norms are not legally binding and they tend to gain legitimacy after they have been applied and tested, which makes it difficult to implement new norms. It can also be hard for politicians to accept that small states, which lack military and economic clout, but also sometimes legitimacy, can have the same weight in decision-making as large powers (Davydov, 2002). A study on the conflicting perspectives of world order shows that the Institutionalist view according to which multilateralism is flourishing is challenged by the Structuralist view that the world is dominated by a hegemon, seeking consensus and stability and making international relations appear multilateral (Torkunov, 2012; Bogaturov, 2008). This perspective reveals that the power of norms may be dependent on the willingness of the hegemon to support them.

Studies on norm adoption and implementation have also focused on determining the effectiveness of norms, putting a basic question to the fore: do norms really have a capacity to bring about change? The most straightforward way to assess the effectiveness of a norm

would be to determine whether it has solved the problems, which brought about its creation (Young, 1999). Some authors look at changes in behavior patterns following the introduction of a norm, others assess the situation compared to what it was before the norm was created, yet others compare it to the situation which “would have been”, had the norm not been created. All these assessments can reach different conclusions, regarding norm effectiveness. While qualitative case studies made by political scientists are more likely to point out the effectiveness of a specific norm or regime, quantitative research led by economists may show more ambivalent results and analysts compiling data from a large number of qualitative cases tend to bridge the gap between one and the other (Young, 2011).

When analyzing successful and failed norms and regimes, scholars have identified some of the factors leading to positive implementation outcomes. Unexpectedly, the design of a norm appeared as a more important determinant than the level of complexity of the problem being dealt with noted Young (2011), adding that while efforts of friendly states to protect tunas in the Atlantic were unsuccessful; rivaling states were able to make a successful regime for Antarctica during the Cold War. The “problem of fit” looks at the mismatch between existing regimes, norms, rules on the one side and the issues needing to be solved on the other (Galaz & al, 2008, p147). Norms created with the capacity to evolve and take on new issues appeared as the most resilient (Young, 2010). Also, while norms are often reduced to their regulative functions, and to the rules they produce; successful ones play many other roles, including procedural activities and the diffusion of knowledge (Breitmeier & al, 2006). Success is also highly dependent on the context and scope of a problem, and indeed on its creators’ capacity to break down a general problem into specific addressable issues (Ostrom, 2007). Making agreements legally binding does not ensure higher levels of compliance as was previously assumed (Breitmeier & al, 2006). The perception of a regime has a key impact on how successful it will be, and while power play is important both in setting the agenda and in striking a deal, feelings of fairness and legitimacy influence the parties’ willingness and motivation to ensure the implementation of norms and comply not just with the letter but also with the spirit of an agreement (Franck, 1990).

Another issue relevant to our study is how different norms interact with each other. Norms and regimes may clash if they pursue opposite goals and may end up undermining each other. Schoenbaum (1998) underlined the institutional interplay between trade and environmental regimes, by exploring the tuna/dolphin GATT cases following which the USA banned the import of tuna fished with purse-seine methods, because it harmed a large number of

dolphins. Stokke distinguished between regime “intra-regime linkages”, which refer to the difference sources of law to be taken into account when establishing a regime (a norm on fishing cannot ignore the international law of the sea and laws relating to protection of species as well as trade regulations etc.) and “regime interplay”, which refers to a situation when “the contents, operation or consequences of one institution (the recipient regime) are significantly affected by another (the tributary regime)” (Stokke, 2001, p2). While it is assumed that institutional interplay causes problems in international regimes, some data shows that it can be beneficial (Oberthur, 2009) and serves to enhance both regimes by enhancing awareness about other more neglected aspects of a regime.

The literature on reconciling norms reveals that giving one norm priority over another works less well than developing cooperation between them and resorting to a la carte decisions, which can lead to positive synergies (Faude & Gehring, 2010; Young 2011). These findings are essential to our study as the norms we consider may not directly oppose other norms; nonetheless they may contradict existing rules such as LC policies and the need to develop cooperation between the two guides the analysis in our case studies.

The literature also offers some worthy insights for our study regarding how stringent the requirements set by a norm should be in order to reach maximum efficiency. The question of depth versus participation or the “law of the least ambitious program” (Underdal, 2002, p34) described the temptation to set less ambitious goals in order for more countries to participate in an agreement. Thought has also gone into whether it is effective to get a maximum number of participants and then deepen the content of the norm progressively. This line of evolution has been contested by Barrett (2005), who reveals there is little evidence that countries actually do follow trends of deepening commitments with time. On the basis on our case studies, we have identified that while the international norms on excellence in education and against flaring deepen over time, their national transposition as projects 5-100 and decrees 7 and 1148 have targets which are stable over time, suggesting that the decision to deepen their commitments is essentially a domestic one and different countries may opt for various strategies.

Indeed, the scholarly literature shows not only that international norms are consequential, but also that they are impacted by different variables, including how successful domestic implementation turns out to be. Norms define proper behavior on the international stage that all actors are measured up against. The diversity of areas governed by norms and the way

norms interact between themselves reveals the existence of a complex web through which different norms sustain, replace or undermine each other. While the early literature focused on the power of norms and on proving that norms structure relations among actors, more recent scholarship analyses how contestation affects norm life cycles and concentrates on the sources of norm entrepreneurship. Indeed experts have worked on identifying the different actors involved in norm promotion and the ways they operate.

2.3 Transnational networks and why states adopt norms

Constructivist scholars in the 2000s started to pay more attention to the issue of agency in norm diffusion. The notion of norm-entrepreneur appeared in the literature (Sunstein, 1996); a broad category designed to incorporate multiple actors, some of which were identified by IR specialists decades earlier. Their acceptance by mainstream Constructivists revealed the consensus that states' decisions to adopt norms are affected not only by internal, but also by external players.

Indeed when considering the emergence, development and maturation of norms, it is necessary to analyse how they emerge and develop, and identify the types of actors involved in each stage of the process. The abundant literature on transnational and non-governmental actors fed in to the literature on norms providing insights on the role advocacy networks play in the diffusion of norms. Rather than offer a detailed picture of all transnational actors, we focus first on those categories, which are particularly relevant to the study of norms, their emergence and implementation, taking a particular look at micro and macro level actors, international organizations, epistemic communities, international corporations, transgovernmentalism and hybrid actors, before considering the reasons states adopt norms.

Research on transnational actors is not a new phenomenon. But while "transnational interaction" was defined as early as 1971 as "the movement of tangible or intangible items across state boundaries when at least one actor is not an agent of a government" (Keohane and Nye, 1971, p332), the understanding of the diversity and level of influence of non-state actors emerged later. Risse's typology of transnational actors (global/regional, formal/loose, profit/not for profit) reveals significant differences in the nature of transnational actors, (Risse, 2012) which only have in common agency, understood as the capacity of actors to make free choices and change the system's structure. Transnational actors have an impact on

interstate relations, but also participate in global governance by the actions they take or the way they regulate themselves. Transnational actors can be churches, flows of people, epistemic communities, corporations, NGOs, the media, financial institutions and many other entities of various sizes and with different reaches. Transnational actors can also be entities with a negative international influence such as terrorist networks or mafias.

Identifying the types of transnational actors at play in the international system helps to understand those which may have an impact on norms, both during their emergence and lobbying but also their implementation phase. Many different theories both from the Constructivist and the Liberal schools of thought emerged in the literature regarding the role played by transnational actors, some providing general frameworks, other studying the impact of specific categories of actors over time. Rosenau shows that the world has become multi-centric and that the traditional power of the state is being upturned by collective action on the world stage (1990). He puts down disorder on the international scene to the significant changes under way in the world: the shift from an industrial to a post-industrial order, the emergence of issues which are a direct product of new technology, a reduced ability of states to provide answers to problems which have taken on an international scope, the weakening of whole systems bringing about decentralization tendencies and the population's growing awareness of the world's issues. Identifying micro-level actors (citizens, leaders, private actors) and macro-level actors (states, subgroups, transnational organizations, leaderless publics and movements) reveals the multiplicity of actors influencing governance on the world arena (Rosenau, 1990).

International organizations are a category of transnational actors, which have gained a relative degree of independence from the states that constituted them and strive to resolve common problems (such as maintaining peace, promoting economic welfare...) through collective decision-making. International organizations are indeed constituted in international law as independent entities (Hurd, 2014) and the distribution of power within them cannot be predicted from the outset. International organizations play a central role in international politics, setting rules for states to abide by and offering other non-governmental actors a platform to relay their concerns and promote their interests. Regional organizations group countries of a specific region with similar objectives, but may take the project a step further, to integration with delegation of sovereignty by participating states. While Realists are skeptical about the role of international and regional organizations, emphasizing that they are simply intergovernmental structures where great powers lead the game; Liberals show the

power they confer upon the majority of states to force the minority to comply with decisions made with the common good in view. While international and regional organizations create norms to promote the values backed by their member-states; their lack of power of constraint and reliance on persuasion alone can compromise the efficiency of their initiatives (Strezhneva, 2018).

Discussions on types of actors have also brought attention to less formal movements and organizations, whose unity of purpose is guided by shared knowledge or value, and which also impact international decision-making. Amongst the research on specific transnational actors, epistemic communities (Haas, 1992) were identified as networks of professionals with common values and shared skills in a specific field. These communities influence political decision-making by providing expert opinions to governments, but can also participate in agenda-setting at a national or international level. Epistemic communities are independent from the government and authorities, have an “authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge” in a specific field and assemble people who may belong to different professions but are united by similar beliefs (Haas, 1992, p3). Further research went into understanding the relations between the epistemic and the political (Antoniades, 2003), with some scholars trying to determine which came first, shared norms or information as consensual knowledge (Bloodgood, 2008), and others redefining the participants of epistemic communities, to extend them beyond communities of scientists to also include other transnational actors (Cross, 2013). It has however also been noted in the literature that epistemic communities face the serious challenge of contradicting information limiting their influence and there is no empirical proof that epistemic communities have been able to exert a decisive impact on those involved in decision-making (Dunlop, 2000, 2007). Also the studies of epistemic communities focus on the adoption phase of a norm and do not look at the implementation phase. A group of Constructivists has however noted the need for a “practical turn” in the study of International Relations, showing that the link between theoretical considerations and real-life problems should be reinforced (Bueger, 2012). The introduction of the concept of “communities of practice” into IR theory has enriched the empirical analysis of transnational actors and revealed that these communities influence political, economic and social events (Adler & Pouliot, 2011, p 18-19). Adler notes that Transnational Advocacy Networks, Security Communities, Critical Communities, Epistemic Communities are all “communities of practice because of what they do” (Adler, 2005, p17).

Another specific set of actors in International Relations, multinational corporations, operate in markets the world over and have a controversial effect on economic development, human rights and national regulations. While economic theory offers a convincing analysis of the advantages of specialization and international trade, some experts during the 1990s, challenged the idea that transnational business is beneficial to all parties involved. Researchers discovered that while multinational corporations may contribute to a “race to the bottom” in terms of protective legislations in all spheres (human rights, environment...), they could under some circumstances lead to an improvement of regulation and national practices (Vogel, 2010; Flanagan, 2006). More recent developments reveal that multinational corporations, because their behavior is in the limelight and their image depends on their customers’ perception of their corporate values and practices, are forces which can be used to initiate positive changes in world regulation (Börzel & al., 2011). Global firms increasingly operate in socially embedded markets and are confronted with customers and stakeholders who care about their social and environmental impact. International corporations have undergone some major changes, under the impact of globalization, assuming new responsibilities and contributing to spreading standards of behavior. As noted by some scholars, large-scale transnationalization – meaning the increase in activities taking place beyond national borders – has led to some actors growing in importance and gaining political clout (Lebedeva, 2007). Hybrid actors have appeared, private organizations sponsored by the state, and some businesses have taken on state functions such as private military organizations.

While national governments are directly influenced by international networks, the decision to adopt norms is also impacted by domestic factors, such as national identity (Beach, 2012). Countries and their elites create their identities by differentiating themselves from other countries and groups (Sterling-Folker, 2009). While this can be an effective means of creating a sense of belonging and loyalty, this differentiation from “the other” can affect a government’s willingness or ability to adopt an international norm, particularly one that has been adopted by countries a government has been dissociating itself from. A country’s ability to adopt international norms also depends on the level of domestic constraints. In cases where there are few restrictions, national leaders can act freely, following their perception of the national interest. If domestic constraints are restrictive, national leaders have to accommodate other actors, who impact the decision-making process (Dueck, 2009). The level of constrain

hence affects the pro-activeness of a country in decision-making, and can explain why some countries push through new legislation more efficiently than others.

Additionally, on the individual level of analysis, leaders have been described not only as striving to preserve their state in anarchical conditions, but also as being motivated in decision-making by their desire to stay in office. Unofficial domestic actors have an important impact on policy-making if they can punish or provide incentives to policy-makers (Ripsman, 2009). Ripsman (2009) defines the conditions under which unofficial domestic actors have a high influence on policy-making: when the state is in a low threat international environment (no direct challenge to its survival), when a government is unpopular and fragile (trying to rally support in the face of upcoming elections) and when the executive has a low level of autonomy (for example the President needs parliament approval to exercise power). While Neo-classical realists have opened up Realist theory to the impact of internal factors, Liberal authors have taken it one step further by providing more domestic explicative variables.

Indeed most liberal theories share a bottom-up approach, stating that governments' preferences reflect the aggregation of competing societal demands (Moravcsik, 1997). The political system and the decisions made in terms of norm adoption are the result of the input of many political and societal actors, including but not limited to public opinion, interest groups, bureaucracies and the media (Beach, 2001). While Almond and Lippmann's (1950, 1955) studies of public opinion revealed that the American population did not have an informed opinion on most political questions, and was prone to mood changes, thus not being able to have a consistent impact on the decision-making process; these findings were questioned in the 1970s when public opposition to the Vietnam war revealed that the population could express a coherent and forceful opposition to a foreign policy move. As early as 1961, Rosenau noted that public opinion could be dangerous to political leaders if they diverged too much from what the population considered acceptable.

Elites have also been considered capable of impacting policy decisions and influencing public opinion by making public statements called cues (Taber & Lodge 2006). Public opinion in democracies has two channels to impact policy-making, though elections and more indirectly through approval ratings of governments or presidents (Beach, 2012). Under these circumstances, correct framing and timing may be the key to efficiently adopting new norms. The role of the media and its treatment of a new international norm have a direct impact on a government's likelihood to adopt it. Interest groups, whether ethnic or business oriented, can also affect the likelihood a norm will get adopted by a national government. (For example the

Israel lobby's impact on US foreign policy as analysed by Mearsheimer and Walt in 2007). The degree of their impact depends on their level of organization, their electoral strength, the saliency of their message and the institutional nature of their target (Beach, 2012).

Participating in regional and international organizations can also affect the decision-making process of a national government. Neo-functionalists have outlined, with the theoretical concept of spill-over, the ways in which the interests of actors can be influenced by their participation in different institutions (Haas, 1964). While a functional spill-over results from the need to accept integration measures in the pursuit of a common goal, a political spill-over refers to when different actors of an integration process start to become more positive towards a trend once it is already under-way, or decide that the only way to influence it is to participate in it. A cultivated spill-over results from the actions of a strong supranational entity intending to promote integration (Haas 1961). Because of the spill-over effects, a national government and population may come to accept the necessity of a new norm and adopt it, or in some cases may simply be forced to adopt it.

When considering the power of national interests, Constructivists remark that they are based on ideas, which are constantly being constructed and reconstructed. As noted by Hopf (2002, p259), society consists of a "social cognitive structure" within which operate many "discursive formations" and identities are flexible with some individuals holding many different identities. In his analysis of Russian identity, Hopf shows that Russia's great power identity is the result of the interaction of different discourses, more specifically the "New Western Russian discourse", the "New Soviet Russian discourse", and the "Liberal Essentialist discourse" (Hopf, 2002, pxv).

Post-structuralists point out that identities are relative and that there is no such thing as an objective national identity as described in Benedict Anderson's 1990 book, "Imagined Communities". The "national discourse of danger" is one of the most effective means of creating and reinforcing a national identity (Campbell, 1992, p56) and securitization theory shows that threats can be constructed and deconstructed by state actors in order to meet their circumstantial needs (Buzan & al, 1998).

Hence a number of domestic factors have an impact on the formation of a national identity and can contribute to explaining why international norms are adopted by national governments, or not. Internal factors such as the interplay of different actors and the institutional restrictions to a government's power matter as much as the sense of identity of a

population. In some cases, an international norm could be rejected because of the relations between a government and the countries promoting the norm while in others disagreements can be overcome leading to the adoption of a common norm. On the other hand, some governments of countries participating in regional organizations do not decide on all the norms, which get implemented on the national territory, the most famous example being countries of the European Union.

While governments are influenced by international and internal factors, the decision to adopt an international norm depends on the nature of the decision-making process in a given country and which faction will get its way on a given issue. While decision-making used to be a process dominated by the government, it has become a more layered and complex process. Looking at the United States, Heclo noted that “the clubby days of Washington Politics” had morphed into a system of “complex relationships” in which issues are debated by a large number of people (Heclo, 1978, p94). Sabatier took the analysis of decision-making one step further, revealing the role played by Advocacy Coalition Frameworks defined as “people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researcher) who share a particular belief system [...] and who show a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time” (Sabatier, 1988, p 139). He also characterized the decision-making system as one with different policy-making processes, some issues being highly politicized and debated, while others are tackled quietly by bureaucrats (Sabatier, 1988). His approach is long-term (looking at what causes policy change over one to several decades) and focuses on the influence of the “strategic interaction of people within a policy community” seeking to improve their efficiency (Sabatier, 1988, p130). His study of belief systems reveals three types of beliefs: Deep Core Beliefs (“underlying personal philosophy” often based on being left or right wing), Policy Core Beliefs (“fundamental policy positions”) and Secondary Aspects (regarding funding and implementation of policies), with the most efficient Advocacy Coalition Frameworks usually resting upon the second type of beliefs rather than the first or third (Sabatier, 1988, p145). Interestingly, policy-oriented learning takes into account the implementation phase and has a trial and error aspect to it. The approach identifies a lag between decision-making and implementation of up to a decade. Sabatier and Jenkin-Smith in 1994, and later other authors, updated, fine-polished and diversified the approach in order to make it suitable to other countries than the USA and to include the growing internationalization of decision-making.

At the end of that decade, in the field of International Relations, experts looked at decision-making not at a national level but at an international level. Indeed research on Transnational Advocacy Networks analyses the nature and role of groups trying to defend a cause. While these networks existed in the 19th century and maybe earlier, their number, size, professionalism and the speed at which they operate have increased significantly since the 1960s (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Their form of organization is described as “horizontal, reciprocal and voluntary”, and can include actors “such as but not limited to NGOs, local social movements, foundations, the media, churches, trade unions, consumer organizations, intellectuals, parts of intergovernmental organizations, parts of governments” (Keck & Sikkink, 2018, p67-68). Networks do not face the rigidity of a hierarchy and work particularly well in cases when the value of the cause dealt with is not easy to quantify (Powell, 1990). TANs are most likely to emerge under certain conditions: when the government of a state does not take into account the requests or concerns of local groups, when activists believe they can forward a cause by networking, and when there are international arenas in which networking is possible (international organizations...) (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

TANs operate in many ways, by providing information about issues to governments, by putting topics on the international agenda, by encouraging states to make commitments and can, by correctly framing issues, encourage states to legislate on a topic (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Framing appears as a key factor in TANs strategies, and refers to the special effort made by a group to diffuse a particular vision of a situation (Mc Adam & al, 1996). Four types of strategies adopted by TANs are thus described: “information politics”, referring to the ability to identify and disseminate relevant information quickly, “symbolic politics”, the use of stories and symbols to explain a situation to a general public, “leverage politics” to seek the assistance of people in power when necessary to ensure a positive outcome and “accountability politics” to make politicians or organizations keep to a commitment once they have given their word (Keck & Sikkink, 2018, p70).

Empirical analysis led by Keck and Sikkink (1998) reveals a boomerang pattern by which local groups pressure state governments by applying pressure at a national or international level. When considering TANs chances of success in the diffusion of a norm, Keck and Sikkink (1998) identify five different levels at which they have an impact: agenda setting, getting states to express an opinion, influencing institutional procedures, changing the attitude of specific actors to the problem, modeling state behavior. Networks prepare the ground

internationally for an issue to be remedied or accepted. The theory on TANs looks at all the stages leading to the key moment of adoption of a norm by a state and stops there.

While TANs are mostly based on informal contacts (but do usually include parts of governments and bureaucracies), Transnational Coalitions (Khagram, 2002) imply a higher level of transnational cooperation. Transnational Coalitions are groups of actors operating across borders who coordinate their strategies in order to reach a joint defined goal. They remain in close contact to conduct joint campaigns.

We have shown how states in times of globalization are influenced in their decision-making by transnational actors (international organizations, transnational corporations, epistemic communities and hybrid actors) and by internal factors and actors (elites, lobbies, national interests, national identity and political spill-overs). The literature on Transnational Advocacy Networks reveals how these actors encourage states to adopt new standards of behavior (norms). In this study, TANs are used as the main explicative framework to analyze why the Russian government decided to adopt the two international norms.

2.4 The gap in explaining the implementation of international norms

While the reasons national governments adopt international norms have been thoroughly studied by Constructivist scholars (section 2.3), the question of their implementation remains understudied. A review of the scholarly literature on norm implementation reveals a gap in explaining why some norms reach compliance, while others do not. After establishing the difference between implementation and compliance in an attempt to clarify the terminology, we review three different categories of explanations about why norms are or not implemented, pointing out their limitations and the gap in the literature that ensues.

While most theoretical studies either stop at the implementation stage or use the terms implementation and compliance interchangeably, Betts and Orchard (2014) mark the distinction between implementation as a “process which furthers the adoption of a new norm” and compliance, an “act whereby the state follows an existing norm” (2014, p6). Compliance is further down the realization line than implementation and compliance appears as a repetitive action while implementation should be a one-time though maybe durable task. For the purpose of our study, implementation refers to the process by which a state attempts to reach compliance.

The scholarly literature offers several perspectives on norm implementation which are analyzed beneath:

The Constructivist school originally brushed aside the problem of national norm implementation by stating that mature norms are expected to automatically reach compliance. While the expert study of norms focuses on the stages up to institutionalization, some assumptions have been made regarding what takes place afterwards. In the study of the life-cycle of a norm, it is assumed that there are three phases: first a norm emerges (norm entrepreneurs convinced that something needs to be changed decide to advocate a cause, frame it and use the political platforms available to promote it), when enough states decide to institutionalize the new norm it reaches “tipping point” (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p892). The norm can enter phase two, the cascade stage during which it becomes widely accepted and states adopt it as a result of international pressure or a desire to conform. The last stage is internalization during which states and individuals start to take the norms for granted (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). The implications of the last phase are that in some cases norms “become internalized by actors and achieve a “taken for granted quality”, which makes conformance with a norm almost automatic” (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p895). While this statement is heavy with consequences for national implementation and compliance, the authors move straight on to describing how these internalized norms are ignored and in some cases we forget they even started off as norms. While the authors leave generally aside in their work the implementation phase, they do mention the specific case of “internalization” and let the readers wonder what happens in cases when norms are not internalized. Indeed Constructivist literature has traditionally looked at how norms influence the behavior of states and how their institutionalization has an impact on the international system (Betts & Orchard, 2014). Many Constructivists have focused their attention specifically on “institutionalization”, a process by which a norm becomes widely accepted at an international level, becomes international law and is ratified and signed by states (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). After institutionalization has taken place, a norm is considered by the authors as widely accepted and it becomes the state’s role to make sure the norm is implemented. There is an implicit understanding that after institutionalization has taken place, the “task of IR scholarship is complete” (Betts & Orchard, 2014, p1). The assumption that norms are adopted by governments of states which are ready to implement them and which do so, ignores a whole selection of cases where norms are adopted by governments for reputational or efficiency reasons and the population and business are not ready for implementation.

Cortell and Davis underline the fact that the legitimacy or salience of an international norm is the key factor to explain why some norms get implemented and others not. By studying the existence of an “implementation gap”, they recognize that governments under some circumstances adopt norms, which are not mature (2000, p65-66). They attribute the difficulties to reach compliance to domestic-level processes. Other scholars join Cortell and Davis in pinning down compliance problems to national specificities; noting that international norms will reach compliance more easily in some countries than in others for societal, structural or political reasons. In a study of norms dynamics, Young shows that conforming to norms goes beyond conventional equilibrium analysis and that norms are self-enforcing as everyone wants to conform if they expect others to do the same (Young, 2014). This implies that if there is no expectation to conform, little will be done to respect a new norm. Young’s second insight is that norms rarely evolve in a top-down pattern and usually grow to be accepted progressively, based on trial and error. Following this logic, norms which are adopted by the government in societies, which are not sensitive to the given problem cannot expect good implementation results in the short-term as experimentation is a long-term process. This assumption is highly problematic for policy-makers looking for the right tools to efficiently implement new legislation. Young’s last statement that the validity of norms depends on the social and historical context explains why some norms fail to achieve compliance but offers a deterministic view about the outcomes of norm implementation in cases where the “context” is not favorable to the new norm. Young’s study underlines the relativity of norms rather than their universalism and reveals that implementation is a “hit and miss process” which depends on how an issue is perceived by a group (Young, 2014, p5). While informative, this point of view neglects the possibility of overcoming these structural difficulties and offers little advice as to how to help countries reach compliance.

Scholars also underline the legal challenges to implementing new norms in states with existing legal systems. While the early cases of Constructivist study focus on norms, which are considered “good” because universally morally uncontestable (human rights) and need to triumph over local norms which are considered unacceptable; on a local level it is the legitimate legal order which prevails (Acharya, 2004). This “moral” perspective links the success of an international norm or the likelihood of compliance to how an issue is locally framed. If an international norm is viewed as morally superior to a local law then its chances of successful implementation are higher. Success depends not on the objective content of a

norm so much as on how the norm is locally reconstructed during the implementation phase (Acharya, 2004). The outcome of the “localisation” process depends on how domestic politics and international institutions interact, and how successful the different phases of “prelocalization (resistance and testing norms), local initiative (entrepreneurship and registration), adaptation (grafting and simplification), dissemination and ‘universalization’” are (Alekseeva, 2015, p14). Some international norms require more adapting than others. International norms sometimes precisely qualify a given situation and close the door to all other solutions to a problem, as was revealed by a study of international peacekeeping (Autesserre, 2009). The international norm when confronted with the local agenda can lead to counterproductive results. The viewpoint that an international norm needs to appear to the national population as morally superior to be successfully implemented explains why some norms reach compliance. It contributes little to understanding those norms that have no moral implications.

Another important contribution to the literature is that norm implementation is not a linear process. Indeed norms are “works in progress” and the tendency in IR literature to view them as static entities, which need to be institutionalized and implemented once and for all is fallacious (Krook & True 2012, p104). Abandoning the perspective that norms follow a linear progression route, or a cycle, Risse, Ropp and Sikkink offered in 1999 a complete overview of the mechanisms impacting normative change, considering the power of “strategic bargaining”, “moral consciousness raising” and “habitualization” (Risse & al., 1999 p11) in achieving national compliance to international human rights norms. Norms have also been shown to undergo contestation processes, to regress and progress over time (Wiener, 2018). It is more important for a state to understand a norm and adapt it to the local context, to adhere to the spirit of the norm, than to just apply it as a one-time shot. This is particularly relevant when trying to understand why a state has failed to reach compliance with a norm, all the while having applied it to the letter in bureaucratic terms. Compliance in itself however does not show how efficient an institutionalized norm is at changing practices, as in some states; the new norm may just be formalizing a situation that already existed (O’Neil & al, 2004). Also it is difficult to assess how efficiently a norm has been complied with, as it requires in-depth research regarding the changes taking place at micro-level and rarely is relevant statistical data available. This partly explains why IR specialists, who are used to working at the international or state levels, do not always follow the life cycle of a norm to the implementation stage to assess whether it has reached compliance.

When considering the various deviations in the implementation of international norms, some experts pointed out the existence of a value conflict between international norms and the local contexts where they are being implemented. Indeed norms are not politically neutral and rest upon certain values and beliefs. While Sabatier and Jenkin-Smith's (1993) analysis of Belief Systems underlined that lasting coalitions are often based on Policy Core Beliefs rather than Deep Core Beliefs, a extreme contradiction in Deep Core Beliefs unquestionably stands in the way of developing Policy Core Beliefs and entering in a common coalition. While the implementation of an international norm nationally may not require being formally part of an Advocacy Coalition Framework (aimed in Sabatier's theory at national-level decision-making), the key to successful implementation may be to participate in an informal international coalition.

Value conflicts are difficult to study in abstract terms and experts have concentrated their efforts on reviewing relations between different countries. We have selected studies focused on the value conflict between Russia and the West as our case studies are dedicated to the implementation of norms in Russia and most of the international norms we consider were initiated/promoted by governments or non-governmental actors based in Western Europe and the United States. The case of the value conflict has interested many experts, each qualifying in specific ways the nature of the relationship. Guy Mettan (2016) explains the cultural and historical roots of the conflict in his book "Russia and the West: a thousand-year war" in which he searches for the roots of prejudices and stereotypes about Russia in the West, that appeared in the time of Charlemagne and have survived to this day according to him. An analysis of large-scale surveys in Russia and the EU led some authors to conclude that despite the many shared historical traditions, the value-gap between Western Europe and Russia is widening, and that as a consequence EU policy, as it assumes that Russia will embrace EU values in the medium term, is misguided (Light & al, 2005). Others underline the impact of the 1990s on Russia's self esteem and Western Europe's responsibility in having rejected its giant neighbor and made it feel inferior, which led to the current distrust and its ambition to be part of a "greater Europe" as well as the role played by some individual states like Poland in preventing any thaw of the relationship (White & Feklyunina, 2014). Another line of research concentrates on the political agenda of the West, showing how biased the idea of an "identity gap" is, as it often serves to emphasize the idea that the EU is a "normative actor" and that Russia is a "non-normative actor", and revealing that the West's policies towards

Eastern Europe are instrumental rather than normative-driven as declared (Casier, 2013, p1). A study devoted to the value gap in security issues, based on a sociological methodology, reveals that NATO-Russia diplomacy is characterized at the same time by pacification and power struggles, with the survival of many bones of contention both sides are ready to fight for, linked to the fact that both NATO and Russia perceive their means or objectives as superior to the other (Pouliot, 2010). On the other side of the spectrum, critical views have emerged that civilizations are imagined and that countries undergoing an identity crisis and changing loyalties tend to associate themselves with several civilizations at the same time (Tsygankov, 2007). Evaluating relations through the prism of a value gap and through historical references is counterproductive, noted Monaghan (2015), offering a stark criticism of the new Cold War discourse which leaves international relations stuck in the 20th century. The value gap also fails to explain some major differences in the implementation of various norms by the same actors. It does not clarify why, for example, Russia is better at implementing some norms of Western origin than others.

The implementation gap has been analysed to its fullest in the field of human rights, with a number of scholars studying why formal commitments by states have not led to changes in practice (Risse & al, 2013). Non-compliance has been associated with states making a cost-opportunity analysis of norm transgression and deciding that the benefits outweigh the costs (Hafner-Burton, 2013). Risse, Ropp & Sikkink noted that states if they do not have a monopoly over violence may not be capable of reaching compliance and that stable democracies may not be receptive to outside pressure (2013). In order to ensure compliance with human rights commitments, experts recommend using “stewards”, groups of states which are self-interested in promoting human rights and have them focus on reversing the situation in a limited number of countries rather than aim for universalism (Hafner-Burton, 2013). Other scholars focus on the power of denunciation, reviving the power of “naming and shaming” techniques in order to reach compliance (Friman, 2015). These recommendations may not always apply beyond the sphere of human rights as some norms may not have per se a moral value, which is the basis of all denunciation techniques. Betts and Orchard’s view (2014) that the meaning of norms is defined during their implementation as their formulation is often imprecise at the international level yields more explicative variables. It hints at the fact that norms have to undergo a national adaptation process, the success of which depends on many variables. Implementation success may also depend on how transparent a

government is, as reputational concerns have been shown to generate better compliance results in an analysis of arms regulation (Erickson, 2015).

Relevant considerations regarding innovation and the ability to implement new norms have also been made by scholars studying military bureaucracies. While peacetime military institutions are averse to change; efforts to gain control, to see one's faction prosper and be promoted to admiral or general paves the way for innovations which are the best way to be perceived as successful in times of peace (Rosen, 1991/2018). The underlying idea is that even in highly bureaucratized and inflexible organizations, political communities contain small groups of ambitious people who have the desire to be promoted and the need to think up and carry out innovative ideas. This perspective that effective change can be carried out more effectively by a small group of motivated and ambitious people than by an entire organization holds some lessons for norm implementation. Is the involvement of a motivated group of individuals a sufficient reason to explain why a norm is effectively implemented while another is neglected? No, as while identifying these groups of motivated people is essential in both our case studies, this is not an explanation in itself. Indeed the question remains why did such a group form, under what influence and who are its constituents. While in the military, the struggle for power and enclosed nature of the organization offer sufficient answers, in the case of norms in a broader context it is necessary to identify what interactions were necessary for a group of motivated people to form.

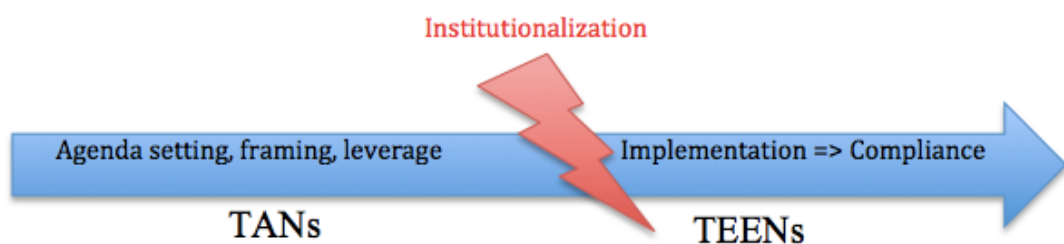
To sum up, the national implementation of international norms is dealt with in different ways by various factions of the Constructivist school of International Relations. While some assume that mature norms automatically reach compliance after their adoption by national governments, others show that institutionalization (or the adoption of a norm by a national government) in no way guarantees its successful implementation. The implementation gap has been put down to a variety of factors including the national context, the existence of value conflicts, the constant evolution of norms which go through contestation processes, the legal framework and hierarchy of norms of any given country, the perceived morality of the new norms, a lack of governmental transparency etc. These considerations reveal the general acceptance among scholars of the idea that international norms adopted by national governments may fail to reach compliance. Yet the Constructivist literature offers no general framework to explain why some international norms reach compliance and others do not. Most explanations limit themselves to specific fields, local specificities and conflicts, or

scholars place the problem out of their field of research. Studies outside of the field of International Relations and more specifically research on innovation in bureaucracies make a relevant point regarding the role of motivated groups of individuals in making change happen. However, when considering norms, additional questions arise regarding how this group came to be and the source of its motivation. While many explanations are offered by scholars, a gap in the literature remains, and leads to the question: what is the point of studying the birth, transfer, institutionalization of norms, if they end up not being applied? What is the use of intentionally creating norms to change practices if we have no means to ensure or to maximize the potential of their realization? This study offers a framework explanation regarding why norms are implemented or fail to be based on two key and neglected parameters: Transnational Experience and Expertise Networks (TEENs) and LC Policies.

2.5 Closing the gap with TEENs

This study has for working hypothesis that TEENs are together with LC policies key determinants of why some international norms adopted by national governments end up reaching compliance and others do not. In order to reach compliance, some norms need the support of international networks at implementation stage, in the same way as they needed the involvement of TANs during adoption stage. The hypothesis assumes that norms need international networks not only to be adopted by a national government but also to be successfully implemented. This section describes the nature of TEENs by comparing them to TANs, and revealing the ways they function and their interaction patterns. Figure 1 shows the moment TEENs intervene, specifically after a norm has been institutionalized under the pressure of TANs.

Figure 1 TEENs in the Evolution of Norms



Source: Author illustration

TEENs are constituted of diverse actors: international churches, non-governmental organizations, lobbies, experts, universities, transnational corporations, the media, social movements, trade-unions, parts of governments but also individuals who decide to network in favor of a cause. While the general categories of actors in TEENs are similar to those in TANs, it may or may not be the same actual people within these categories, who are involved in the activities of TANs and TEENs. Generally while those people who are interested in advocating a cause are also interested in its implementation, few actually have the skills and time to be involved in each stage of the process and to contribute to everything from agenda setting to checking compliance. Some large organizations however have dedicated people working on all aspects of a problem (ex: Greenpeace is present on each stage of the life cycle of the main norms it is concerned about). The activities of TANs are more visible and the results of their actions are more easily measurable than those of TEENs: pressure is applied until a norm is internationally accepted and nationally institutionalized. The work of TEENs, which is less formally organized, is however also transnational in nature.

TEENs play the role of catalyst and facilitator in norm implementation by raising public awareness about the problems the norms address and by aiding in the adaptation of international norms to local conditions. Their complex role has never been fully explained in the literature. TEENs differ from specialist groups of motivated people in bureaucracies (Rosen, 1991/2018) in that they do not advocate an innovation to members of the hierarchy of a closed group of people but bring in know-how on how to solve a problem on the ground.

Scholars have described how international institutions can contribute to the articulation of concern and expose the implications of environmental problems (Haas & al, 1993). They have also shown that NGOs, by using their monitoring and information gathering capacities to pressure the State, can play a key role during the national implementation of an international norm (Risse, 2007). However, the role of TEENs takes on a new dimension as it is not so much about outside pressure and checking mechanisms but rather about assisting states with implementation. TEENs can, based on their expertise and experience, help countries interpret, adapt and implement the newly institutionalized norms to the local context. The input and capacity to bring about change of each actor within TEENs is difficult to measure, yet a study of the overall impact of TEENs shows their joint impact can be a game changer.

TEENs are expertise and experience networks because they reveal at all levels not that a norm is compulsory, but that it is useful, based on expert knowledge and the sharing of past experiences of implementation. TEENs work best when they are as a-political as possible and

seek the best way of working with society and governments as they are. The issue at stake may not however permit them to be a-political, as with the case of human rights. TEENs can contribute to overcoming a value conflict, if they manage to take an issue out of the framework of political fighting, help adapt a norm to local conditions and raise social awareness locally. The literature has demonstrated how difficult it is for any organization to be a-political and the analysis of the proliferation of think-tanks, which were supposed to make lawmaking better informed by providing impartial information, shows that the contrary happened with them turning into advocacy organizations and losing their credibility (Rich, 2005). However TEENs are not formalized organizations but networks in which the parts may not know the size of the project at hand or even be aware of the end objective they have helped reach. Each actor is fulfilling a small-scale task, sometimes without knowing the end goal, which can be one of the best guarantees of an initiative remaining a-political.

Because their primary role is not to advocate a cause but rather to help implement norms, which have already been formally accepted by governments, TEENs should not pose a threat to state sovereignty and independence, nor to the authorities in place, and are more likely to be successful if they act as assistants and advisors for a process which is already to some extent under way. TEENs ensure that difficult issues are continuously addressed, and offer assistance when possible in a discreet way. When interacting with corporations, TEENs try to help them learn from the best practices of international business and sometimes the style of collaboration is strictly firm-to-firm exchanges of advice. However, TEENs can also put an emphasis on malpractices through a “naming and shaming process”. TEENs work with the media at all levels to convey an attractive message to aid the implementation of a norm.

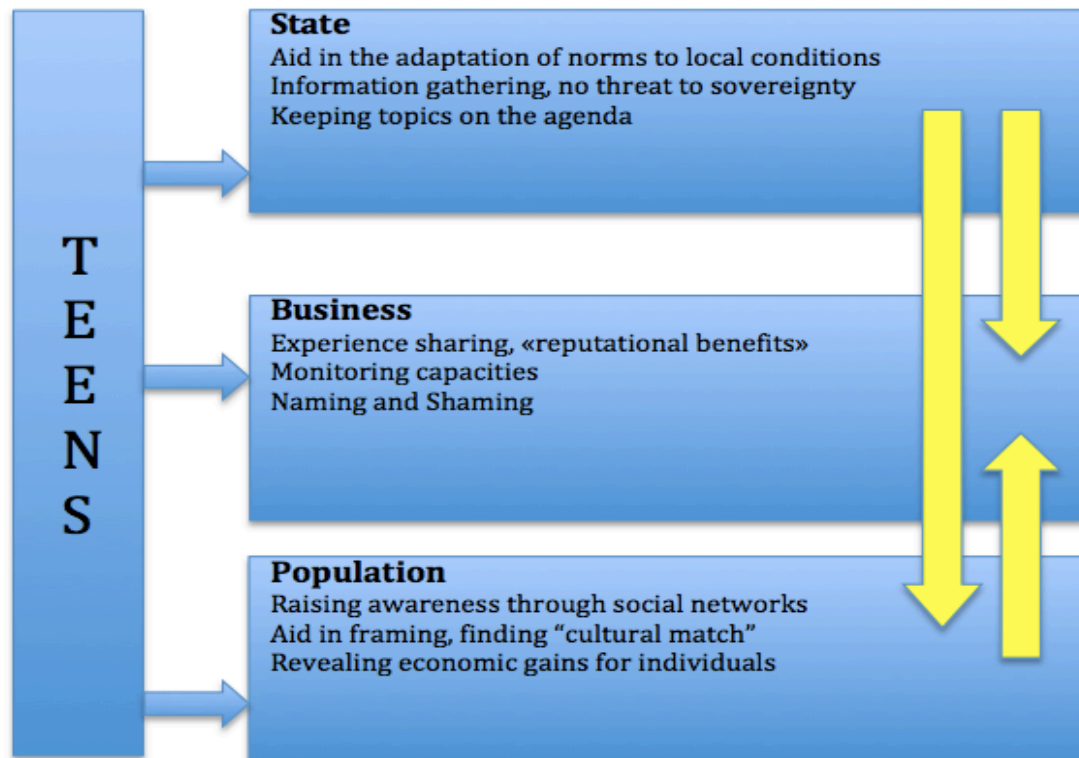
All cases of successful norm implementation may not involve a large number of TEENs as indeed in some situations it is easy to reach compliance because society as a whole and the government are ready and little outside expertise and experience-sharing is necessary. The contribution of TEENs is especially visible in the following cases:

A situation of non-implementation turns around and reaches compliance in a relatively short timeframe (will vary from case to case) without any significant changes in the government’s policy-making, the national situation and the international context. For example if a country does not implement a recycling law for years after it has been institutionalized and then the recycling process successfully takes place on a large scale without the government having visibly changed its position, without there being a huge waste related disaster and without the international community putting obvious pressure or dedicating huge financing to the issue, then TEENs most likely became involved.

A situation in which a country reaches compliance with a new norm which has been controversial or difficult to successfully implement in other countries with similar socio-religious-economic-political conditions and which is open to the actions of transnational networks. An example would be a country concerned about its sovereignty and suspicious about the independence of international organizations translating an ex-leader in front of the International Court of Justice for violating human rights. TEENs would be suspected of operating at ground level within the country by inciting the population to seek justice and convincing the population that the topic is not about national politics but universal human rights.

There appears to be no universal rule as regards the extent of the influence of TEENs; sometimes the help they provide is incremental while in other cases it is sufficient to turn around a situation. Indeed TEENs are to some degree at work within most countries and their contribution can be identified when it goes beyond a certain threshold. Some of the telling signs that TEENs are involved in the implementation of a norm are: 1) a high level of cooperation between national and international businesses reflected by the presence of foreign firms from different sectors in a country, especially those with strong ethical standards that have a record of not being willing to compromise (for example firms which recycle in all countries in which they operate). 2) a high level of internet connection of the population, as TEENs often communicate through the web 3) a high level of education of a population 4) intense social interaction which can be reflected by people's involvement in formalized social movements or ground level interaction for a cause ("backyard organizations") 5) non-discrimination at government level of foreign sources of information and expertise. These are indeed the conditions, which facilitate the networking tasks of TEENs. However the results of the operations of TEENs depend on the sphere and degree to which they are involved. TEENs are not a formal organization but very loose networks in which different actors contribute separately and sometimes unknowingly to a larger initiative. TEENs can be demarcated from the broader environment by their intention to share an optimal way of doing things. Their motivations however may vary: in some cases they believe in a cause and operate for free (activists regarding the environment), in others they seek enrichment (technicians providing expertise), in others they are looking out for their reputation (firms convincing partner corporations to change their ways), in yet others they have no specific goals (communications between individuals on the best way to do something and experience sharing).

Figure 2 The Functions of TEENs



Blue arrow is influence, Yellow arrow is pressure

Source: Author illustration

Figure 2 summarizes the functions of TEENs, showing that they influence simultaneously at all levels, the State, business and the population, reaching out separately to each. TEENs do not themselves exert pressure on any actors although they may encourage different organizations to put pressure on each other in norm implementation. A population which has understood thanks to TEENs the utility of a norm, which is active on social networks and has learnt to frame an issue may be able to put pressure on businesses or the state for them to implement a norm. A state influenced by TEENs may acquire expertise in adapting an international norm to a local context and put pressure on business or the population by emitting specific decrees, incentive measures and enforcement mechanisms. Businesses influenced by TEENs may change their practices in order to reap reputational advantages and in turn put pressure on other businesses.

TEENs are different from TANs as to be successful they have to be seen as depoliticized as possible. While TANs are by definition advocacy oriented and therefore often principled and

politicized, TEENs are, at their most efficient, non-partisan, technocratic advisers. Indeed TEENs appear to work most successfully when the government and state policies facilitate their access to the country and make conscious efforts to involve them. TEENs can be selected by the government to come and contribute to the implementation of a norm. While in some circumstances, TEENs naturally flow into a country to aid with a project, in others they may need some encouragement. When a government selects the TEENs to implement a norm, it retains a certain degree of control over them and protects itself against any real or imagined political threats from abroad. In cases when governments try to implement new international norms without consciously involving TEENs, the legislative framework and political context are essential in determining whether TEENs will be able to make their contribution and aid with norm implementation. In this respect, LC Policies play a large role in determining whether TEENs will be able to operate in a specific sector.

2.6 LC Policies and their impact on norm implementation

LC Policies are the second essential variable, together with TEENs, in determining whether international norms will manage to be successfully implemented on the national stage. Section 2.6 reviews the literature on LC policies and analyses how they can impact norm implementation.

There is no unique definition for LC Policy in the scholarly literature and the understanding of the concept varies in time and between countries. Some authors focus on the financial results of LC as a policy, defining it as “the composite value contributed to the national economy from the purchase of bought-in goods and services” (Warner, 2017, p8). Defining LC as the “share of employment—or of sales to the sector—locally supplied at each stage of this chain” (Tordo & Anouti, 2013, p2) highlights the market and social implications of such policies. Some authors outline the different levels at which LC policies operate, defining them as “multidimensional and a vehicle for enabling the start up of economic activity, technological catch up, human capital accumulation, and sustaining demand for local goods, work and services. It is also concerned with ownership structure and a transfer of property rights to domestic industrial actors or champions.” (Kalyuzhnova & al, 2016, p3).

The idea of “local” is also variable, with some countries requiring in the framework of their LC policies local ownership and locally based activities and others requiring only one of the two (Tordo & Anouti, 2013). The definition of “locals” as nationals has been criticized for neglecting local populations where industrial or extraction activities take place and letting the benefits of LC requirements be “captured by outsiders” (Nwapi, 2015, p1).

LC policies are not just rules which establish that LC in the production process should be no less than a specific percentage of employment or supply; they are also long-term policies which have for objective to increase over time the part played by local people and resources in the process (Tordo & Anouti, 2013). LC policy thus appears as a plan to impose and then remove LC regulations depending on the evolution of a specific industry. Different links have been identified between industrial sectors and LC policies, reflecting the diversity of activities which are directly affected by LC regulations: “backward links” are related to the production process (increasing local employment, ownership and control, encouraging technological sharing with local companies), “forward links” are related to how outputs are processed before they reach the final consumer and “financial links” are concerned with the taxation of activities with a redistributive objective (Tordo & Anouti, 2013, p13-15).

Three categories of LC have been identified to highlight its different dimensions and functions: “Market Creating LC”, “Sustaining LC” and “Efficiency LC” (Kalyuzhnova & al, 2016, p12-14). “Market Creating LC” aims to support the local market when a new type of production activity is launched in a country and the local players are not competitive. In order to avoid foreign players taking over the whole production process, rules are established to make sure LC never falls under a certain threshold, which varies significantly from country to country and from industry to industry. “Sustaining LC” aims to support local producers in conditions of increased international competition, helping them maintain their market share. The type of support offered to local companies varies and the policies do not typically improve local firms’ market share in the short-term (Kalyuzhnova & al, 2016, p12). “Efficiency LC” has for objective to improve the competitiveness of local firms so that they can in the medium or long term compete on the international arena. “Expansion into international markets” rather than domestic ones is one of the goals (Kalyuzhnova & al, 2016, p13).

LC Policies are commonly used in the oil and gas sector, the automobile sector and other key industries. In the case of oil and gas, when faced with the discovery of natural resources, governments have the duty to make their exploitation as beneficial as possible for the national economy (Kalyuzhnova & al, 2016). If local firms and the local workforce are not competitive enough to contribute significantly to the extraction and production process, then transnational firms can enter and dominate the market, making it virtually impossible for local firms to ever “catch up”. Oil discoveries and exploitation in African countries are affected by skills shortages and a lack of local operational capacity and the need to maximize the benefits for local populations have led to the adoption of LC policies in Angola, Botswana, Gabon, Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, and Zambia (Nwapi, 2016). The need for LC Policy depends on the level of development of countries and each case is specific: “A less developed economy would need to seek a substitute for market actions” while developed countries stand a better chance of seeing their own firms successfully compete on the market and are consequently less likely to develop LC Policies (Kalyuzhnova & al., 2016, p27).

A variety of different instruments have been used by governments implementing LC policies, including giving the priority to local employees, home sourcing of goods and services and preferential treatment of local firms (Tordo & Anouti, 2013).

The nationalization of the workforce is a common requirement according to which foreign companies operating in countries with LC policies may be obligated to hire in priority local employees, obtain special case-by-case authorization to hire foreigners and prove that there were no qualified locals to fill in the position, present their recruitment plans to the government, ensure pay and package equality for foreign and local employees, develop “capacity building programs” to train local employees in order for the foreign workforce to be progressively replaced by local employees and make sure that the local workforce works with new technologies (Tordo & Anouti, 2013, p27).

A home sourcing of goods clause requires all companies operating in a country in a sector regulated by an LC policy to give priority in their purchasing activities to local services and products used in their production process. Requirements may differ, with some countries ensuring preferential treatment only for non-specialized products and services and others for all products and services (Tordo & Anouti, 2013). Rules may specify the value of contracts below which local firms should be systematically preferred or the percentage higher the price of a local company can be, compared to that of a foreign company, in a tender process in order to win a contract.

Preferential treatment of local firms refers to the help delivered to local companies directly from the state in the framework of a LC policy. Local companies can be offered tax relief, financial aide for their development, bailing out in extreme cases, access to financial funds for training local staff, advantageous loans and other advantages (Tordo & Anouti, 2013).

There are a number of reasons why governments intervene in free-market mechanisms and create LC policies. The World Bank recognizes that some of the benefits of LC policies are to “increase value-added”, to “correct market failure” and to “support employment and other social objectives” (Tordo & Anouti, 2013, p34). Local firms may not have developed the expertise to participate in the exploitation of newly found natural resources, and governments implement new rules in order to reap the economic benefits related to these new activities. The goals of LC policies may be to overcome or avoid the “resource curse” (Ross, 2013, p1) by promoting a country’s economic diversification, or to support corporations in the “discovery” of new resources, as this first phase of activities may not always be compensated by market mechanisms. LC policies also aim to support local workers by promoting by different means their employment, the development of their skills and their mastery of new technologies. Knowledge sharing can also benefit other economic sectors in the country. Supporting local companies and small and medium enterprises can be a way of correcting market mechanisms as large multinational corporations can lead smaller ones to bankruptcy and eject them from the market by using economies of scale or dumping practices. LC policies supporting local employment can be created with the aim to reduce unemployment rates or by governments that want for nationals to participate in the exploitation of national resources. Last of all, LC policies can be used to compensate locals for negative externalities such as environmental degradation linked to the activities of the O&G industry.

LC measures are widely adopted by states and some authors claim “that virtually all of the small number of non-western economies that achieved “developed” economic status in the past two centuries have used industrial policy to impart directional thrust aimed at catching up with western economies” (Wade, 2015, p67). The need for the state to play a role in industrialization was pointed out early on by Amsten (1989), who went on to describe in detail the differences between early and late industrialization, noting that in the second case, productivity does not depend on breakthroughs but on countries’ ability to learn how to manufacture products which have already reached maturity in the international arena (Amsden & Chu, 2003). The lack of large-scale firms puts developing countries at a

disadvantage on the global market. Governments can effectively support their industrial development by adapting prices and encouraging investments (Lin, 2016).

This does not mean however that these policies are widely accepted as beneficial and do not present any economic risks.

There is abundant literature criticizing LC policies, underlining their inefficiency, the vested interests they promote and how they contradict the fundamental rules of international trade. Some economists point out the government failures by omission and commission in development policies, noting that government failure notably outweighs market failure (Krueger, 1990). While governments tried to correct market imbalances, the results of their interventions in the long term were more detrimental than market failure itself. Named “double-market failure”, the conventional market failure (involving negative externalities and information asymmetry) combined with the failure of state intervention (aimed at fixing the market failure) appears to some as a likely outcome of LC policies (Warner, 2017). It has also been noted that a government’s choice of trade-policy is always influenced by special-interest groups and it often opts for trade policies to transfer income rather than resort to more economically efficient means (Grossman & Helpman, 1994). The risks of corruption are high when intervening in market mechanisms to favor some companies over others. Helping a specific sector may lead to market distortions (Bhagwati, 1988) and other industries may suffer from the preferential treatment policy. Additionally, competition leads to an optimal allocation of resources and LC requirements for firms to source locally may drive up production prices leading to inefficiency in the production process (Grossman, 1981).

Alongside these issues, a lot of LC policies are prohibited by the WTO as they violate the GATT requirements, the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (ASCM) and the Agreement on Trade-Related Investment Measures (Rabiu, 2013, Nwapi 2016). The “national treatment” put forward in all these documents requires countries to treat firms from other countries in the same way as they would their own. Local subsidies are only allowed if they do not affect the domestic commerce of other countries according to WTO rules (Nwapi, 2016). While most LC policies breach WTO rules, some allowances have been made for developing countries, which get a time-limited authorization to use protectionist measures (Tordo & Anouti, 2013). The O&G industry, because it has not been negotiated as a separate category under the GATT agreement, still offers states some scope for intervention (Tordo & Anouti, 2013).

Table 1 Advantages and Drawbacks of Different LC Policy Measures

LC Policies	For	Against	Literature
Quotas on local employment	Supporting employment of local people helps support communities	Restrictions on migrant labor reduce productivity	Warner (2017), Adedeji & al (2016), Tordo & Anouti (2013)
Quotas on local sourcing of goods and services	Offering development opportunities to local companies which may suffer from foreign companies' pre-existing relationship with foreign suppliers	Local produce/services may not be cost-efficient, discouraging foreign imports can distort market mechanisms	Dixon & al (2018), Warner (2017), Eikeland & Nilsen (2016), Hufbauer & al (2013)
Knowledge-sharing/ Technology transfer requirements	Developing local capacity: Local firms acquire the know-how to be able to operate more independently over time/ local employees develop their skill set	International firms cannot protect their trade secrets, loss of value, risk they will not have a return on investment	Davies (2016), Asghari & Rakhshanikia (2013), Mabadi (2007)
Limiting foreign ownership/ control on operations	The government and its citizens retain control on natural resources/industry	Risky investment climate may drive foreign firms away	Jasimuddin & Maniruzzaman (2016), Wilson (2015), Kretzschmar & al (2010)
Financial incentives for local firms	Helping "fledgling firms" or key industries	Higher consumer prices, negative impact on trade, dependence on subsidies, risk of corruption	Kalyuzhnova & Belitski (2019), Erokhin (2017), Wade (2015), Busch & Pelc (2014)

Taxation of activities of foreign firms	Ensuring the local population benefits from the natural resources and activities on their territory/ spill-over of the wealth on other economic sectors	Discouraging foreign investments by reducing profits	Obeng-Odoom (2019), Ayentimi & al (2016)
Financial incentives to local firms	Supporting infant industries. Promoting economic diversification in the region, avoiding a "resource curse"	Making local firms dependent on subsidies. Infringing WTO rules on protectionism.	Nwapi (2016), Kolstad & Kinyondo (2016), Hestermeyer & Nielsen (2014), Ross (2013)

Source: Author compilation

An extensive review of LC policies by World Bank experts generated a number of recommendations as to how to reduce the economic and systemic risks of implementing LC regulations. They pointed out the need to make sure that LC Policies are consistent with other economic policies of the country, that they support local firms in becoming more efficient rather than simply protecting them from foreign competition, that they correct market inefficiency by reducing information asymmetry, that they encourage technological development and the improvement of local skills, that they are not heavy technical and administrative burdens for businesses and that they encourage the development of synergies between various industries (Tordo & Anouti, 2013). The need to adapt LC policies over time, to estimate the risks and benefits before launching any LC policy, to establish clear goals, to decide in advance who is accountable for and responsible for monitoring the new policy and to clearly communicate on the objectives of LC policies has also been pointed out (Klueh & al, 2007).

LC policies are not “one size fits all”, and voluntary initiatives undertaken by firms may yield better results than mandatory quantitative targets in some contexts (Korinek & Ramdoo, 2017).

The concept of LC policy could be used beyond the spheres it is traditionally applied to. Research on specific aspects of LC policies has led to discussions regarding the utility of

developing local requirements for foreign aid procurement (Warner, 2017), for renewable forms of energy (Kuntze & Moerenhout, 2013), in the healthcare industry (Hufbauer & al, 2013). Many authors focus on the economic and financial aspects of LC policies, however Tordo & Anouti (2013) argue that LC may be guided more by political imperatives than financial reasons. Indeed it would seem most countries did not consider the “costs and benefits of alternative policy options” before implementing LC policies (Tordo & Anouti, 2013, pxiii). This consideration opens the door to a wider understanding of LC policies, which may be designed for political, security or other reasons. An example is Brazil’s “new developmentalism” and its LC regulations which are designed to optimally exploit its large oil reserves but also to preserve its “clean energy matrix” which relies 50% on renewable sources of energy (Schutte, 2013, p17-19). In this case, market mechanisms are deliberately restricted in the light of environmental concerns.

One can draw a parallel between LC requirements in the energy and resources industry, and policies designed to enhance the local contribution to projects realized in the educational, environmental or any other spheres. While the huge financial impact of projects in the oil and gas industry (and other high value-added industries) can explain a country’s decision to implement LC Policies; it may be that LC regulations, under another name, are also being implemented in other spheres. While the financial incentive to promote LC policies in the realization of educational, cultural or other projects may be less decisive, governments may have political or other reasons to encourage firms, universities and other players to choose local rather than international players when carrying out projects. Beyond political and financial reasons, governments may decide to promote LC simply because they are convinced that branding a project or a product as local makes it more popular, easier to sell locally and most successful in its implementation. In the LC logic, patriotic sentiments (“the benefits of buying locally grown produce”) are sometimes coupled with environmental ones (“best buy food which has not flown over from across the globe”).

In regards to the two case studies of this thesis, LC Policies exist both in the oil and gas industry in Russia and in the sphere of higher education. Some of the rules regulating the O&G industry in Russia have been explicitly recognized as LC Policies, while other norms regulating the ownership and functioning of oil sites including foreign participation could be associated with LC Policies based on a study of their goals and methods.

While the scholarly literature has not fully examined the LC aspects of the rules governing higher education, the researcher shows in chapter 4 that measures implemented to prevent the brain-drain of Russian students, the leakage of confidential information from laboratories and universities could be qualified as LC Policies, aimed as protecting national content. The specific ways in which LC Policies are formulated and implemented affect the ability of TEENs to participate in norm implementation, and hence indirectly have an impact on whether an international norm, which has been locally implemented, will reach compliance. Table 2 reflects the interaction of TEENs and LC Policy in norm implementation, revealing that if LC Policies do not block TEENs from operating, then successful norm implementation is possible even in their presence. On the contrary, if TEENs are denied access to a market based on LC Policies then these LC rules are partially responsible for the failure of a norm to reach compliance, all other conditions being equal. Figuratively, LC Policies can be compared to a net which depending on its features may or not let through TEENs, which are necessary for a norm to be successfully implemented. Tighter and more formalized LC Policies are not associated with lower levels of compliance as the case studies of this thesis reveal. Indeed, informal LC Policies such as Paternalism and Corporate Social Requirements create more uncertainty and are more likely to deter TEENs than well-calibrated LC Policies designed based on international best-practices.

Table 2 TEENs and LC Policies in the National Implementation of International Norms

LC Policy	TEENs	Outcome
Yes	Yes	Compliance
Yes	No	Non-compliance
No	Yes	Compliance
No	No	Non-compliance

Source: Author Illustration

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter presents a literature review and the key concepts related to norms and LC Policy, offering theoretical foundations to the working hypothesis that TEENs are necessary for the successful national implementation of international norms. The extensive literature on international norms reveals their power at bringing about change in different spheres, while the analysis of agency points to Transnational Advocacy Networks as motors for the adoption of international norms by states. The national implementation of international norms has been less thoroughly explored by IR scholars. While some assume mature norms automatically may reach compliance or rely on the explanatory power of value conflicts, others point to the influence of groups of innovative experts or international pressure in ensuring norm implementation. By describing the local adaptation of international norms, Acharya (2004) offers one of the most convincing descriptions of how states attempt to implement international norms they have adopted. A gap remains however in the literature, with the impact of international actors and national legislation at implementation stage having been partially neglected. The working hypothesis of this research is that transnational networks in the form of TEENs have a significant impact on norm implementation and are themselves influenced by LC Policies, which have the power to block TEENs and negatively impact the implementation of international norms. While there are some instances where LC policies coincide with international norms, in the cases of combatting APG flaring and higher education, LC policies are a set of domestic policies designed to ensure the nationals benefit from economic activities more than foreign players. When norms are adopted by the national government, society may not be ready to implement them and may require TEENs to help with implementation. Rapid internationalization in any sphere may lead to stagnation, resistance and potentially to a deadlock. LC policies are national measures, which by reassuring the population that its interests are being looked out for, may help to overcome resistance, thus indirectly aiding the successful implementation of international norms.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter placed the current study in the context of the existing literature on norms and transnational networks, revealing the gaps regarding the role of international actors in the implementation phase. The existing literature offers a persuasive argument regarding the importance of international norms. While scholars have developed credible explanations the emergence and proliferation of international norms, previous studies struggle to explain the variation in the implementation of norms at the national level after their adoption. In chapter 2, we established that the interaction of TEENs and LC policies could have a significant and sometimes decisive role in solving this puzzle as it provides a plausible explanation for the successes and failures in establishing compliance within individual countries with a wide variety of norms. Chapter 3 focuses on the methodological background of this study and explains the research design created to test our hypothesis and address the research questions:

“RS1: Why do governments adopt and implement international norms?

RS2: How do transnational actors and LC policy affect the chances of a successful outcome in the national implementation of international norms?”

Section 3.2 looks at the theoretical framework of the research. Section 3.3 justifies the use of a case study strategy and explains the relevance the two cases chosen in answering the research questions. Section 3.4 presents the research design, offering an overview of the context and of the units of analysis and sampling. Section 3.5 shows how the data was collected, processed and analysed. Section 3.6 presents data management techniques and then focuses on data analysis and coding. Section 3.7 summarizes the content of this chapter.

3.2 Theoretical framework of the research

A Constructivist Perspective

After considering the different possible epistemological frameworks for our study, we will establish the reasons why an explanatory Constructivist perspective was selected. One of the fundamental questions that arises when performing research is whether reality exists independently from social actors. Bryman (2015) names the two opposite ends of the spectrum, objectivism and subjectivism. While objectivists believe that “meaning is discovered and not constructed” (Gray 2014, p20), subjectivists argue that reality depends on the eyes of the viewer. Gray (2014) places Constructivism in the middle of the spectrum, noting that social phenomena are constructed by people with different identities.

While worldview or philosophical ideas are often concealed in academic writing (Slife & Williams, 1995), it has been suggested that authors would benefit from making their core beliefs explicit as it helps readers to understand the choice of research design and methodology (Creswell, 2013). The term “worldview” has been defined as “a basic set of beliefs that guide action” (Guba, 1990 p17) and is considered by Creswell (2013) as similar to the terms paradigms, epistemologies or ontologies adopted by other authors. Different frameworks to identify worldviews have been adopted by theorists; one of them being the distinction between positivist or critical worldviews (Myers & al, 1998).

Positivist approaches are traditional approaches used in exact sciences, which often try to establish a logical link between a cause and an outcome. This approach is sometimes referred to as postpositivist as the notion that a complete truth can be established in the social sciences has largely been rejected (Phillips & Burbules, 2000). Postpositivism posits that through experimentation, observation and analysis, scientists can discover an objective reality (Creswell, 2013) and that among the different claims made by scientists some can be rejected while others remain working hypotheses until proved wrong (Phillips & Burbules, 2000). Positivism and postpositivism have been criticized for being too formal, rigid and keeping too much of a distance from the empirical reality being studied (Gallier, 1991).

Critical approaches (or the transformative worldview) have for aim to reveal a hidden problem and denounce some forms of social alienation (Hirschheim & al, 1994). Faced with the postpositivist worldview, some researchers claimed that all individuals did not fit in and that the existing system was unfair and denied people their individuality. The idea that researchers were responsible for shaping the political agenda and for encouraging positive change became popular (Mertens, 2009), with different authors advocating various causes.

The transformative movement includes Feminists, Marxists, people defending the rights of racial minorities, the disabled, and the LGTB movement (Creswell, 2013). This worldview also has specific research methods and puts an emphasis on research content being created both by the interviewer and the interviewee, thus offering a platform for different communities to express themselves and have their message heard. Because this worldview has for central paradigm to study oppression, it runs the risk of overemphasizing the discrimination of the populations chosen for the study.

This researcher has been strongly influenced by the Constructivist literature in general, and more specifically the work done on norms and transnational actors. The positivist worldview does not fit the purpose of this study as its objects cannot be easily observed and measured: there is no objective reality to discover. This study does not adhere to the transformative worldview as the primary objective of this research is not to transform reality but to understand it and draw hypotheses about how different social phenomena work.

This study is based on the Constructivist assumption that through the study of individual opinions a researcher can identify broader patterns of thinking, and ideational structures. The researcher uses an explanatory “subjectivist” methodology that was designed by Pouliot to carry out Constructivist studies and allows both to perceive an objective reality but also to include subjective knowledge (Pouliot, 2007). This method uses contextualization, historical analysis and thick descriptions to offer an accurate representation of a situation.

Hence, to return to our research questions, the study attempts to determine the influence of international actors and LC policy on the implementation process, by finding out how local actors perceive the impact of international actors and making informed generalizations about their degree of involvement and their capacity to bring about change. The researcher uses in parallel factual information from secondary sources to gain a better understanding of the individual views expressed by respondents. The study tries to explain why some norms get implemented and others do not and the perceived influence of international actors and LC policy in this process. While the views of the people interviewed are subjective, their being convinced of something changes the objective reality they deal with. When an actor actively involved in an educational project believes that international cooperation is the key to a successful outcome, then they naturally involve these international actors, even if they were not so influential at the start. Reversely, if a project participant believes that international cooperation can harm the realization of a project or that international networks cannot be involved because of LC policies, then they will themselves not reach out to these actors.

These changes take place through that person's actions but more importantly through their interaction with third parties and the content of their discourse. This study can be placed in the context of the research on norms and is conducted based on the assumption that norms are powerful instruments for shaping human behavior and that gaining a better understanding of how norms emerge, evolve and are implemented is highly significant for human societies.

Research Approach

Beyond determining the philosophical approach adopted to perform a study, the researcher has to decide on a research design or "strategy of enquiry" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p14) which will make it possible to answer the research questions. The decision to adopt qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods depends on the nature of the study and the worldview.

Positivists tend to use quantitative or mixed methods to prove their hypothesis, favouring "true experiments", "comparative research" and "correlational designs" (Creswell, 2012, p309, p303, p337). Qualitative designs use methods from different social sciences fields (anthropology, psychology, literature, sociology...) and try to reconstruct the story of what happened. Narrative research looks at the stories of the lives of individuals (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000); Ethnography studies the behavior of groups and their interaction with other groups. Grounded theory seeks to answer the why question and provide "explanation and prediction at a general level, separated and abstracted from the specific research site and process" (Charmaz, 2008, p298). Phenomenological studies combine philosophy and psychology; analyzing the way people experience a phenomenon (Creswell, 2013). Analysing speech is an integral part of all types of qualitative research. Qualitative research privileges the study of processes and their significance over data that can be measured, and interpretation may be more important than proving a pre-determined point (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). And it follows that there are less rules in the assortment of data in qualitative research than in quantitative research (Saunders & al., 2009).

Constructivists, because of their worldview, favor qualitative over quantitative research, although sometimes resort to mixed methods. Case studies are a thorough analysis of a specific situation, event or person, which is limited in time and space (Yin, 1994). While some case studies are related to the field of ethnography, many are not and sometimes

researchers have no direct contact with the phenomenon they are studying (unlike ethnographers) (Yin, 1994).

When analysing research methodology, Kothari (2004) suggests distinguishing between the following categories: descriptive versus analytical, applied versus fundamental, quantitative versus qualitative, conceptual versus empirical. This study is analytical because it uses information gathered in the case studies to establish a causal relationship between what is happening and the different actors involved. This study falls into the applied research category because it aims to present the reasons why international norms sometimes get implemented after their adoption and sometimes do not, thus aiding countries to identify the reasons why norms are not internalized and the measures which could be used to solve this problem. This study looks at the reasons behind a type of human behavior (Kothari, 2004) and does not measure anything quantitatively. The research performed is conceptual and is supported by empirical research in case studies. The working hypothesis, which has been formulated (Transnational networks and LC policy influence the implementation of international norms locally), is confirmed or invalidated based on information from primary and secondary sources. The information provided but also the personal views of interview and survey respondents allow the researcher to establish interaction patterns.

In order to answer the research questions in line with the theoretical background of studies on norms and transnational actors, and with the worldview of the researcher, a qualitative research design was selected to perform this study. The study is guided by “why” and “what” research questions and the gathering of information to answer it needs to be inter-personal and based on interactions with people on the ground. One of the advantages of qualitative research is that it offers the possibility of tracing causal mechanisms. This study tries to understand which factor is key in explaining why some international norms, after being officially adopted by a country, get implemented and others do not. Various explanatory variables are considered, the existence of a value-conflict, the lack of political motivations or of allocated resources, and also the intervention of international actors and the impact of LC policies during norm implementation. The processes of gathering information through interviews and identifying patterns interpreted by the researcher are typical of qualitative research. A quantitative research design would require a considerable reduction in the scope of the study, which would have to focus on just one very specific norm and would not allow the author to answer the research questions, which are aimed at analysing a process over time rather than at

revealing the specifics of a narrow situation. Information is collected, in the framework of this research, through case studies and a survey.

3.3 Case studies

This section considers why two case studies were selected for this research and justifies the selected study setting (Russia) and the nature of the selected cases.

Case studies have been defined as “an in-depth, multi-faceted investigation, using qualitative research methods, of a single social phenomenon” (Orum & al, 1991, p2). These authors also underline the high level of detail involved in a case study and the frequent use of several different types of sources to confirm the relevance of the findings. Three types of case studies have been identified: exploratory, descriptive and causal (Yin, 2013). Exploratory case studies start without the researcher having formulated any research questions. Descriptive cases start with a theory, which is used to create the research project. Causal case studies look for explanations why something happened. Baxter & Jack (2010) put an emphasis on the fact that qualitative case studies allow scholars to identify the link between data collection and its context. Case studies are also useful to gauge the gap between what should have happened in a specific context and what actually happened (Anderson & Arsenault, 1998), leading to reflections on causes and consequences. Process-tracing, which examines the possible relations between causes and outcomes, has become increasingly popular and guides our research. In process-tracing, the researcher examines historical reports, archives, participant interviews to determine whether there is causality in a sequence (George & Bennett, 2005).

Case studies are one of the most common tools used for research in International Relations and Management. “Case studies are perhaps the most widely used research design in International Relations” (Lamont, 2017 p1). While case studies have most often been used in the positivist tradition, explanatory studies have also embraced this tool (Pouliot, 2007). In International Management, case studies have long been used to explore actual problems (Sawyer-Laucanno, 1987) and remain a favored means of study.

Case studies are widely used by Constructivists, as conducting interviews and studying the context in which a phenomenon is taking place, allows place for the interviewees’

subjectivity. According to Stake (1995), it is possible in a case study to move from a cause and effect approach to an interpretative approach. Indeed Constructivists “claim that truth is relative and that it is dependent on one’s perspective” (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p3). While case studies analyze specific situations, they are used to gain knowledge of broader classes of events. The goal is not to get a perfect description of a given situation but to identify the main trends, which apply to much larger situations. An overwhelming portion of the Constructivist research on norms is based on case studies (Finnemore 1996, Klotz 1999, Park 2005, Sikkink 2017 etc.). These case studies make it possible to determine whether norms really evolved in ways expected by the researchers and to identify general characteristics of norms, including at the different stages of their life cycle.

In this study, the author selected causal case studies, which try to discover why a particular norm got implemented in a specific context while another did not. This study combines an analysis of the emergence of a norm and its context with interviews aimed at understanding the perception of a phenomenon at different hierarchical levels. A thorough review of the context in which the norms emerge and are being implemented is key to this study, as well as an analysis not only of what interviewees say but also of their behaviour. The case studies serve not only to clarify a specific situation but especially to gain a better understanding of how and why norms get implemented. This research based on cases-studies is an attempt to offer some clarifications on the mechanisms guiding successful norm implementation, which can be of theoretical and practical use in different contexts.

The objective of this research is to investigate how transnational networks and LC policy influence the implementation of international norms after they have been formally adopted by a state. Theoretical considerations about what makes norms effective, what contributes to their successful internationalization require an in-depth study of at least one case where an international norm was adopted by a state and there were attempts made at implementation. This research considers and compares two cases, one where norms were successfully internalized and another where more difficulties were encountered. The most-similar cases approach was selected as it allows to determine whether the differences between two cases are the explanation for their different outcome or have no influence (George & Bennett, 2005).

The case studies carried out for this thesis are based in the Russian Federation and there are several reasons for this choice. First there are relatively few studies relating to norms set in

Russia, with Constructivist authors focusing on other European, African and Latin-American countries. Secondly, Russia is also a useful choice of country for the purpose of this study as it is part of the second group of norm adopters. While Russia has initiated many norms of its own, in the cases of higher education and flaring, it is part of a group of countries, which started to adopt international norms at a later stage. While norms in these spheres are not “western norms” and aim at universalism, they did emerge for the most part in western countries. Hence Russia has adopted but possibly not fully implemented a number of international norms regulating these spheres. While being a second wave adopter does not necessarily mean a country will struggle with compliance; it remains true that countries mostly get involved at a later stage in adopting a norm when they have potential structural and/or political problems with its implementation. This is especially the case in the environmental and educational spheres, for which the adoption of new norms requires fundamental structural changes, which affect society. If society did not act to bring about the changes required by a new norm, there are high chances the country has not yet reached the stage of readiness which would facilitate the easy implementation of the norm.

The researcher adopted a multiple case study strategy, in which several cases are analysed to understand the similarities and differences between them (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Multiple case studies can have several purposes and can be used to either predict similar results or to predict contrasting results for predictable reasons (Yin, 2003). This study looks at contrasting results, which are predictable based on the hypothesis put forward by the author about the factors aiding norm implementation.

This study explores two different cases: higher education norms aimed at the internationalization of education through project 5-100 and environmental norms on flaring in the oil and gas industry. These cases were selected because:

- both cases have clearly identifiable international norms, which were translated into national norms;
- the two selected cases take place during a similar time period (2009-2012) and this allows the researcher to restrict the impact of political, social and economic factors in explaining the different outcome of the two cases; and
- the researcher chose two cases in which the government has an interest in seeing the norms successfully implemented. Indeed this makes it unlikely that the government adopted a strategy of “purposeful avoidance”.

While higher education and the environment appear as different spheres altogether, the norms selected are indeed comparable for the purpose of our study.

The difficulties concerning research access were overcome in different ways. Accessibility issues were dealt with by asking previous respondents to recommend others, which helped build trust. Respondents' fears regarding the confidentiality of the information they gave were dealt with by ensuring they understood the study was anonymous and data could be retracted during a certain timeframe following the interview. Interestingly, high level government officials and advisors felt more at ease and spoke more out of the "official line" regarding sometimes sensitive aspects of environmental and higher education policies while lower level employees practiced self-censure and were more concerned about being recognized. Being a foreigner also impacted the meeting places for the interviews as some state or university structures do not allow or restrict access to foreigners.

Case studies research has undergone some criticism for several reasons: the subjectivity of the researcher (Conford & Smithson, 1996) and the absence of standardized case study methodology across the social sciences have led some to argue that the findings based on case studies were unreliable. Yin (1994) even came to wonder why, considering the obvious weaknesses of case study research, experts continue to use them so frequently and came to the conclusion that researchers appreciate the flexibility offered by this research method. The problem of reliability can be overcome by respecting the methodological recommendations developed to limit the impact of the subjectivity of the researcher on the findings. The author has adopted Stake's (1995) case study methodology in this work in order to avoid any preconceptions impacting the results of the study.

Another problem is linked to the generalization of findings based on case studies, with some (Yin, 1984) noting that small samples do not always yield generalizable conclusions. This is particularly the case with single case studies. Still, some authors advocate the use of case studies in the social sciences, underlining that they can be successfully used to create generalizable concepts (Pettigrew, 1995). Walsham (1993) noted that the reliability of the findings of case studies beyond their initial scope depends on the quality of the logical reasoning, which led to the researcher's conclusions. When a researcher follows a rigorous case study methodology, it is possible to make accurate generalizations and case studies can yield a richer and subtler understanding of reality (Yin, 1994).

In this research, we make sure to avoid some of the shortcomings associated with case study research by distinguishing between reality and perceptions of reality and testing the reliability of the generalizations made.

3.4 Research Design

This part presents a rapid summary of the context of the two case studies, before presenting how the units of analysis were selected and the sampling was carried out.

Case I: When analysing the internationalization of Higher Education in Russia, one project stands out, project 5-100. Launched based on the Presidential Decree of the Russian Federation No. 599 of May 7th, 2012 “On measures to realize state policy in the sphere of education and science” the project is government-run and has for objective to improve the international competitiveness of the Russian Higher Education system. The target of the project is to bring at least 5 Russian universities into the top 100 world universities by 2020 in global university rankings. The project stems from the desire to adhere to the international norm of promoting excellence in higher education. Unlike previous projects, which lacked the design, funding or competences to have a significant impact on the university system in Russia, project 5-100 builds upon previous experience and uses international expertise in order to bring about significant changes and make the higher education system competitive in the global arena. This case reflects the productive struggle, which can take place when an international norm is adapted to a national context and there is a desire to maximize LC. While it is designed and implemented by Russians, international experience and staff (networks) are used as a source of experience and competence. The evolution of the project reflects this struggle and shows that a right balance of national and international input can bring about positive normative and practical changes.

Case II: The Russian government began legislating on the problem of flaring in 2009 with the governmental decree number 7 “On the measures stimulating the reduction of atmospheric pollution by products of associated gas flaring” which planned for a complete overhaul in the penalties for flaring more than 5% of APG, starting from 2012. This legislation aims at reducing flaring practices in Russia, which are associated with environmental pollution, CO₂

emissions and wasted gas resources. The decision to regulate flaring is linked to the international norm on combatting flaring, which appeared in the 1970s but gained momentum in the 2000s with the creation of the Global Gas Flaring Reduction Partnership to support it. While the international norm had an impact on the Russian government's perception of flaring, leading to a real desire for change and to the subsequent legislation on the topic, the results are mixed regarding its implementation. Structural difficulties and the indifference of the Russian population failed to be overcome and the government's desire to stop oil companies from flaring was coupled in most regions with a rejection of international partners. Interestingly, the Russian KMAO region which decided to tackle the problem of flaring before the Russian decree appeared and which received international support did manage to reduce its flaring of associated gas, to the point of receiving recognition for this achievement from the World Bank. The rejection of TEENs played a significant role in the relatively unsuccessful outcome of the anti-flaring legislation in Russia, as structural and political problems were left unresolved.

The main goal of this study is to determine the factors, which impact the implementation of international environmental and higher education norms in Russia. This study looks specifically at whether transnational networks and LC policy are key factors in the implementation of a norm.

Defining the units of analysis is determining what the case is (Yin, 2014) and the units of analysis should be in line both with the research questions and the purpose of the research. These case studies both have for unit of analysis international norms and more specifically the national implementation phase of these norms. It follows that these norms change during their life cycle and adopt a contextual form. The case on education is a study of the international norm on excellence in higher education, which took the form of project 5-100 during its implementation phase in Russia. The case on APG flaring considers how the international norm on combatting flaring led to Russian Decrees 7 and 1148 on increasing APG utilization to 95%. The selected cases focus on norms which have been formally accepted by the government and which it believes the state will benefit from implementing, thus excluding purposeful avoidance as a reason for non-compliance. These two cases were selected because the Russian government identified some benefits for the country of implementing the new norms. The government could indeed gain both from valuable gas resources being utilized rather than wasted and from developing leading international universities to promote the

country's influence on the world stage. Both cases combined various methods of data collection, including an extensive study of legal and policy documents, available performance reports of 5-100 and of the implementation of the flaring legislation, media coverage, interviews and a survey.

In the higher education case, the researcher performed an in-depth analysis of all the legislation and projects created to support Russian universities, examining the extensive information available on the different universities websites including statistical data on the number of foreign students and professors enrolled in Russian universities at different dates, the minutes of steering committees of the international boards of these universities and the changes of their organizational structures over time. The researcher also studied all the available information on project 5-100 from its inception on the official website of the committee, including the minutes of the meetings held with international participants and the reporting on the progress made by each university in relation to their commitments. The international partners of the universities involved in project 5-100 were also thoroughly studied to understand the possible extent of their influence on the Russian universities. The abundant academic literature on *world-class* universities published by the World Bank and by the Russian universities (in which they analyse their participation in 5-100) was also a crucial source of information. The gaps in the information were filled by the interviews which the researcher conducted with people considered to be involved first hand in either designing or carrying out project 5-100. As this study examines the factors influencing how the norm of excellence of higher education was implemented, it was important to research two aspects or two "embedded units of analysis" (Yin, 2003, p46): first to trace back the norm to the key moment when its national design took shape in the form of project 5-100 and second to review the implementation of the project itself. Two categories of interviewees were selected based on separate criteria. The first are high-ranking political figures, former ministers, ministerial aides, rectors and vice-rectors of leading universities, who were thought to have participated in designing the project. The second group is more diverse including academic staff, projects managers and international experts involved in carrying out the project. In selecting the interviewees, the researcher first used "purposive sampling" (Cohen & al, 2007 p114) selecting in advance the key people she needed to talk to, for example ministers who designed the project. All the selected people were not accessible, which led to some replacements, particularly with ministerial aides who followed the situation from inside and were very knowledgeable about project 5-100. The researcher also used "snowball sampling"

as one interviewee recommended several others, in some cases directly introducing the researcher. Data saturation has been defined as “In interviews, when the researcher begins to hear the same comments again and again” (Grady, 1998 p26). The researcher reached the point of theoretical saturation early, at around the 7th interview, because one interviewee gave early on an incredibly thorough review of the situation (6th interview), sparing no details. Further interviewees revealed more by their behavior and feelings, than they provided new information. The researcher from the 7th interview onwards widened the scope of participants (including people working on projects running parallel to project 5-100, for example on the Megagrants project) in order to make sure saturation was well achieved, according to the methodological recommendations of Glaser& Strauss (1967). The recommended sample size for qualitative research varies, with some authors recommending between 5 and 25 in depth interviews (Kuzel 1992); however the researcher felt saturation had been reached with 12 interviews altogether. The decision to additionally perform a survey for this case was linked to the need to collect a different sort of information, a statistically relevant assessment of the academic community’s perception of internationalization of the Russian higher education system and of LC policy.

In the flaring of APG case, the researcher studied the legal framework on flaring before and after 2009, translating into English large sections of the legislation and comparing it with foreign laws regulating flaring. Original documents and data on flaring around the world were downloaded from the GGFR’s extensive online library, making it possible for the researcher not only to understand the origins of the international norms on flaring but also to identify the initiators of the norm and the advocacy networks which brought it to Russia. Press reports and documents from the official website of the Russian government were studied to understand the political and structural changes which took place in the government and which brought about the new legislation. A comparative analysis of the websites of different oil and gas companies in Russia and abroad was performed to gain an understanding of the main messages put across by these companies, which reflect the priorities of the population and the country at large. The researcher started by conducting interviews with international interlocutors. This strategy was guided by the physical location of the researcher at the time and by the response time of the interviewees as the international ones were quicker to accept invitations to be interviewed and were generally more willing to talk about the issue of flaring. Interviews conducted with members of international organizations and NGOs were a real turning point as they revealed how the international norm against flaring gained

momentum and eventually came to Russia. While the response rate from Russian interlocutors was initially low, those interviewees who accepted to contribute to the study then recommended others and as a whole they provided a valuable insight into how environmental problems are perceived in the O&G business and revealed the level of secrecy associated with the problem of flaring.

3.5 Data Collection

Interviews

In both case studies, the researcher conducted a pilot study before proceeding to the rest of the interviews. Pilot studies have been largely accepted by researchers with different worldviews and methodologies as effective procedures to test the efficiency of an interview technique before completing the study in its entirety (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). The pertinence of the questions and also the manner in which they are put to the interviewee can be tested in a small-scale pilot study and then the questionnaire or behaviour of the interviewer can be adjusted. It is considered natural for the interview design to evolve between the pilot study and the final study (Kvale, 2007).

The pilot study for Case I took place in December 2018: three interviews were conducted between the 5th and the 15th of December. The months of January and February 2019 were used to consolidate the data, improve on the interview techniques and adapt the questions asked to interviewees.

The first questionnaire was deliberately generally oriented, seeking information as well as the interviewee's perception of it. Indeed, while the researcher did background reading on project 5-100, some of the structural details of the project remained unclear. The first person to be interviewed was a member of Project 5-100's Project Office under the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, who provided ample information regarding the context of the project. The next people to be interviewed were a University Professor and a Vice-Rector directly involved in the implementation of project 5-100 since its onset. The interviewees selected during the pilot phase were representative of the entire group of interviewees in that they were both Russians and foreigners, interviews took place both in English and in Russian and they came from the governmental side as well as the universities' side. However, they were

selected deliberately as people more willing to help and with more time of their hands or more pedagogically minded than the average respondent. The logic behind this choice was that the researcher needed to fine-tune both her interviewing techniques and deepen her background knowledge on the subject before inviting high-ranking politicians for interviews.

The main lessons learned during the pilot phase were the following:

First, it became clear that very complete background searches regarding interviewees should be performed in order to understand their sensitivities and possibly their political views before the interviews are conducted. Second, the researcher realized that questions need to be adapted to each interviewee in order for each to share relevant information, rather than based on a standard model. Indeed qualitative case studies benefit from different questions being asked in order for each respondent to share their unique experience (Stake, 1995). Third, while the interviewer's role is first to listen, the researcher found out that sometimes probes need to be used dynamically in order to avoid diversions into secondary topics and put the conversation back "on track". This difficulty has been described in methodological literature as follows: "It is terribly easy to fail to get the right questions asked, awfully difficult to steer some of the most informative interviewees on to your choice of issues" (Stake, 1995 p64).

The fourth lesson learnt during the pilot stage was that interviewees have various degrees of interest in the nature of the research being carried out. While some request a detailed explanation of the research questions and the purpose of the study, others do not go beyond the questions asked by the researcher. In some cases yet, the interviewees actually have an opinion on what the research should be and what it should not be, how to make it more useful. This is particularly the case when conducting interviews with academics, who may be interested in topics linked to their specialization or government officials thinking about their own field of work. An example is a Ministerial Aide who suggested the research focus less on transnational networks and more on making practical recommendations based on project 5-100 for other countries, which intend to create their own excellence in higher education programs. Politely but firmly sticking to one's research questions, all the while being open to their being challenged is a first and valuable experience of defending one's research.

During the pilot study, the researcher established an open relationship with the interviewees and was given advice about further interviews, which could be conducted and about how to improve interview technique.

In the Case II of flaring of APG, the pilot study took place in October 2019 and consisted of two interviews. The first interviewee was someone from academia who spoke of flaring as

one of the most significant pollution sources, which benefits no one and the researcher decided to select it as the central topic of the second case study because the international norm on combatting flaring was easy to identify, as was its translation into Russian law. In preparation of the second interview, the researcher designed a questionnaire to address the question of flaring, including questions on its international and national characteristics. The second interview served as confirmation that the right case had indeed been selected and the respondent's comments led to a fine-tuning of the questionnaire.

The main lesson of this case study was that the researcher underestimated in the pilot interviews how politically sensitive the information provided was in the eyes of some of the interviewees. These fears were dealt with appropriately and the transcript was sent to the interviewee for validation in order to alleviate any further worries as to the outcome of the interview. This experience also made the researcher more able to recognize early on in the interview process interviewees who for personal reasons might fear professional repercussions.

The researcher, both in the pilot and the final study, arrived on time at interviews and dressed appropriately for the context. While most interviews took place in person, either at the interviewee's place of work, in a coffee shop or at MGIMO University; several were video calls either at the request of the participant or because of geographical distance (United-States-Russia).

The rest of the interviews for Case I were conducted from the second half of January to the first half of April 2019. From December 15th to January 15th, the researcher wrote the transcripts of the pilot interviews, translated into English the ones conducted in Russian. During this month a list of people to interview was made as well as an adapted questionnaire for each interviewee. Most interviewees were contacted first by email and then a follow up call was made three days later. Fifteen people were contacted in all (including those in the pilot study), initially eight did not respond. When re-contacted three accepted and another two did after a recommendation was made by another participant in the study. The list of interviewees for Case I is presented in Table 3.

In accordance with the lessons learned from the pilot study, the final questionnaire was more detailed and adapted to the specialization of each one of the interviewees. For example, government representatives were addressed more questions about the conception of project 5-100, members of the Project Office of project 5-100 were asked about the means by which the

project is realized and university representatives about the changes brought about by the project in the life of the University. This way interviewees rather than offer general context information were able to speak about their personal contribution to the realization of 5-100. The general framework of the questionnaire remained however similar for each participant.

The interviews for Case II were conducted between November 2019 and February 2020. The pilot interviews for the second case but also the experience of conducting interviews for the first case study enabled the researcher to create early on a questionnaire covering all the issues of interest. Though the same questionnaire was used for all subsequent interviews, an emphasis was put on the global aspects of flaring in the interviews with members of international organizations, while oil companies and Russian interlocutors were asked to provide more details about the Russian situation. Some interviewees pointed out straight away that they could not answer a number of questions through lack of knowledge of the situation while others avoided the questions they did not want to answer and provided ample explanations regarding other questions. In all, interviews were conducted including the two from the pilot study, from September 2019 to February 2020. Table 4 provides information regarding the respondents, all the while protecting their identity. Indeed, some respondents expressed concern that revealing the name of their company would compromise their anonymity, which led the researcher to use general categories to qualify the place of work of each respondent.

Table 3 General List of Interviewees Case I

Interview	Gender	Age	Place of work	Position	Nationality	Interview Language	Interview duration
1	F	34	Project 5-100 Project Office	Expert	Russian	Russian	1h40
2	M	60	U.S university	Director	USA	English	1h00
3	M	36	Russian university	Director	Russian	Russian	1h10
4	M	68	Russian university	Vice-Rector	USA	English	1h00
5	F	33	Russian School of Management	Director	Russian	Russian	1h00
6	F	55	Russian university	Senior Director	Russian	Russian	1h30
7	M	62	Russian university	Head of Institute	Russian	English	1h00
8	M	35	Russian university	Vice-Rector	Russian	Russian	1h00
9	F	42	Russian university	Head of Department	Russian	Russian	1h30
10	M	64	Russian Ministry of Science and Higher Education	Aide to the Ministry	Russian	Russian	1h30
11	F	44	Russian State Autonomous Research Centre	Acting Director	Russian	Russian	1h30
12	M	/	Consultancy firm	Consultant	Russian	Russian	1h00

Source: Author

Table 4 - General List of Interviewees Case II

Interview	Gender	Age	Place of work	Position	Nationality	Interview Language	Interview duration
1	M	35	University	Deputy Director	Russian	Russian	1h00
2	F	38	University	Director	Russian	Russian	1h30
3	F	66	Oil company	Director	UK	English	1h15
4	M	68	Oil company	Special Advisor	US	English	1h30
5	M	/	World Bank	Consultant	UK	English	1h00
6	F	/	Oil company	Director	Australian	English	1h15
7	M	37	Oil company	Manager	Italian	English	1h00
8	F	34	Oil company	Environmental Specialist	Italian	English	1h15
9	M	53	World Bank	Program Manager	US	English	1h00
10	M	59	Russian Gas Society	Executive Director	Russian	Russian	1h30
11	F	39	University	Associate Professor	Russian	Russian	1h00
12	M	/	Oil company	Director	Russian	Russian	1h15
13	F	/	Oil company	Environmental Expert	Russian	Russian	1h45
14	M	/	University	Professor	Russian	Russian	1h00

Source: Author

The researcher decided to conduct semi-structured interviews. Some authors distinguish between structured interviews and qualitative interviews (Yin, 2014), describing the first as consisting of closed-ended questions leading in most cases to statistical findings and the second as a conversation or two-way interaction during which the participants share information as they see fit (Brenner, 2006). Semi-structured interviews are a compromise between the two previous options: while an interview questionnaire is created and the interviewer guides the interview in order to obtain the necessary information; participants still have the opportunity to share their insights thanks to open-ended questions. While predetermined interview guides make responses more standard (Mann, 1985) and make different respondents' answers more comparable (Gorden, 1975), the opportunity to adapt the questions for each interview, at least in the way they are formulated, helps to put the participants more at ease (Treece & Treece, 1986).

The researcher adapted the questionnaire slightly to each participant. While the pilot phase helped to settle on a list of questions which would enable to answer the research questions, the interview guides evolved slightly in two different ways: 1) some respondents wanted the freedom to share their insights on a number of related topics and turn the conversation into an open-ended interview. In this case the researcher started with the interview questions and then allowed the participant to expand on the topics they wanted. A few interviews lasted up to two hours, helping the researcher to understand how the participants feel and construct their vision of the project. 2) During some interviews, the researcher knew that the participants played a key role in a certain aspect of the case study and very specific prompts were prepared in order to elicit the necessary information. An example is the interview with a Ministerial Aide who participated in high-level meetings regarding the creation of project 5-100 and revealed after prompting the masterminds of the project.

Nonetheless, a certain consistency was preserved throughout all the interviews in order to make the responses comparable. Indeed all participants were asked the main questions (Astedt Kurki & Heikkinen, 1994), which were designed to be as neutral as possible. The use of the probes depended on the level of detail volunteered by the participants themselves and their tendency to drift away from the subject of the research.

The interview guide contains the main questions, and probes, designed to clarify different aspects of the questions. The order of the questions is progressive (Krauss & al. 2009), allowing the participants to talk about themselves, and about wider topics they are most at

ease with and then moving on to more specific and in some cases difficult questions. In Case I, asking respondents about how the Russian educational system has evolved over the last 20 years gives them the freedom to express their opinions and offers the researcher valuable context information. The more difficult questions, concerning the role of international actors in what appears to some as an entirely national project, arrive later in the interview when a certain amount of trust has already been established, as recommended by the literature (Baumbusch, 2010).

Probes are a technique used by the researcher during an interview in order to encourage the participant to offer a more complete answer to a question. In cases where the participant misunderstood the question or branched off onto another topic before providing an answer, the researcher used this technique to obtain clarifications. The researcher in this study used both verbal and non-verbal probes (Lavrakas, 2008); showing with facial expressions when something was unclear to her and asking for clarifications in other cases. A list of probes for each main question was prepared in advance and included in the interview guide in order to be able to rapidly react when an interview went off track. Using open-ended questions and probes helped the researcher to understand the feelings of the participants beyond their answers and gauge the gap between their formal answers and their real viewpoint on a situation or project. This information is particularly valuable when interviewing people who work in a hierarchical organization and fear saying anything out of line. Participants also expressed themselves in some cases informally with body language, conveying disbelief, disappointment or resentment regarding a topic discussed in the interview. These signs sometimes served to confirm the participant's last statements were ironic, while at other times they reflected the participants' true take on a situation which they were otherwise describing verbally in neutral terms. The use of probes was adapted to each interview and some new probes were improvised on the spot.

Potential participants were first contacted with an email in which the researcher introduced herself, presented briefly the aims of her academic research and offered the person reassurance regarding the confidentiality of the interview and the ethics rules applying to the whole scope of the research. Prospective interviewees either responded directly to the email or responded after a reminder phone call to their secretarial office a few days later. The researcher offered maximum flexibility to the participants in terms of the time and place of the meeting. The researcher began all interviews by introducing herself and presenting the

goals of the research. Interviewees were given, and had explained to them, information sheets regarding the research being conducted and consent forms to read and sign. These two documents inform the interviewees that participation in the project is voluntary, that their contribution can be withdrawn at any time until the results are analysed and that the interview will be recorded if they agree. Some participants refused to be recorded and this option was crossed out from the participant information sheet before signing. Information was also provided regarding the confidential processing and writing up of data. The researcher took notes during the interviews, and relied on the audio-recording when writing out the transcripts, when available.

While the complete interview guides for both cases can be found in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, Tables 5 and 6 show the main themes and sub-themes of both interview guides, as well as the derived main questions and literature associated with each topic.

For Case I, the interview theme 1 focuses on the higher education system in Russia: the first question opens the door to different interpretations regarding its evolution since Soviet times, while the second refocuses the participants' attention on recent internationalization and excellence initiatives. Theme 2 deals with the internationalization of norms; in that project 5-100 is the national realization of an international norm. Rather than delve into technicalities about norms, the researcher favors a practical approach, asking participants what they know about the creation of project 5-100 and about the impact of international actors on the conception of the project. Theme 3 explores the role of international networks during the implementation of the projects, looking both at how international actors contribute to the realization of project 5-100 through expertise and experience sharing and at how international institutions monitor and assess the results of the project. Theme 4 looks at LC policy in project 5-100, probing the participants on how pockets of resistance to a new norm may lead to LC policy creation; and exploring the links between LC policy creation and the social adaptation to new norms. The interview guide, while focused apparently on project 5-100, brings those surveyed to express their opinion more widely about internationalization trends, the origins of Russian legislation and the impact of international norms in education.

Table 5 Themes in Interview Guide Case I

Interview main themes	Sub-themes	Derived main question
Russian Higher Education	History	How has the Russian Higher Education system evolved over the last 20 years?
	National projects/specificities	What excellence and internationalization of higher education initiatives do you know about/ have you participated in?
International and National Norms	National norm design	How and by whom was project 5-100 designed?
	National norm implementation	What is the role of international participants in project 5-100?
International Networks	International pressure	What were the international influences on the conception of the project?
	International expertise	What is the role of international participants in project 5-100?
LC	Resistance to change	What sort of resistance has project 5-100 been confronted with?
	Norm adaptation	Do you consider project 5-100 to be a Russian initiative?

Source: Author

For Case II, the interview theme 1 deals with the Russia oil industry and flaring practices in Russia: the first question introduces the subject, asking respondents about the impact of historical and geographical factors on the organization of the oil industry in Russia and the development of flaring practices. The second question aims to determine whether the participants are aware of the government’s environmental policy and what their assessment of it is. Theme 2 deals with the international norm against flaring and its national adoption. The first question focuses on the emergence of the international norm, determining to what extent the participants know about the GGFR’s work on this topic, while the second question gathers information about how Decrees 7 and 1148 appeared in Russia. Theme 3 explores the role of

international networks during the implementation of the decrees, with question 1 gauging the impact of the international norm on flaring on the realization of the decrees and question 2 assessing the role played by international participants in the implementation of the anti-flaring legislation. Theme 4 looks at LC Policies in the context of the project on combatting flaring, probing the participants on whether there was any visible resistance to the new legislation and getting them to assess how successful norm implementation was.

Table 6 Themes in Interview Guide Case II

Interview main themes	Sub-themes	Derived main question
Russian oil sector/ flaring	History/ geography	What are the factors that led to flaring in Russia?
	Environmental policy	What are the environmental norms in the oil industry?
International and National Norm	International norm	Is there an international norm on flaring?
	National norm Design	Why did the Russian government decide to regulate flaring and who initiated the new legislation?
International Networks	International pressure	How did the international norm against flaring influence Russian flaring practices?
	International expertise	What is the role of international participants in implementing the 2009 flaring decree?
LC	Resistance to change	What obstacles stand in the way of implementing the 2009 flaring decree?
	Norm adaptation	Do you think the Russian anti-flaring legislation is successfully implemented?

Source: Author

The researcher experienced a number of different challenges when conducting the interviews, from logistic issues, to interaction and trust barriers.

1. The first challenge was to overcome some of the respondents' fears about confidentiality issues. To begin with, ethics and confidentiality forms are not compulsory or even commonplace when carrying out academic research in Russia. This may explain fears amongst Russian participants of identity or information leaks after an interview. Loyalty is very important at the workplace in Russia and the fear of being perceived as disloyal because of something said during an interview or simply for having accepted to participate in an interview should not be underestimated. Foreign participants working in Russia have different concerns and asked for guarantees that none of the information provided would be given to the press. This attitude reflects the concerns some foreigners have regarding how they are perceived by the Russian authorities, in the midst of political tensions between Russia and the West.

2. Another challenge was the problem of footing (Potter & Hepburn 2012), with some participants reporting the viewpoints of other people, such as members of their hierarchy or expressing the official position regarding politically sensitive matters. While at first the researcher took the participants' words to be their own, it became clear in some cases during the conversation that all the interviewee's comments or arguments actually underscored a position different from the one voiced at another time during the interview. The fear of being overheard may have contributed to the problem, especially in the cases when the participants were interviewed at their place of work. These issues were hard to predict ahead of time and the respondent in one case was a central figure to the adoption of the legislation, making an interview with this person indispensable. Avoidance of a topic was also considered a matter of interest by the researcher, as analysing the reasons behind this attitude was informative in its own right.

Interviews were transcribed immediately after they took place and translated by the researcher herself, that same day. While the initial timetable planned for two waves, moving from less senior to more experienced participants; some changes meant that this logic was only partially respected.

Survey

A survey was carried out by the researcher to fill out some gaps, which were identified in the first case study after information was collected from secondary sources and from expert interviews. It is a common practice in the social sciences to combine “a survey and a form of qualitative data in a single data collection procedure” (Creswell & Hirose, 2019). While the study remains primarily qualitative, quantitative data is integrated to address one specific question. This section first justifies why a survey was carried out for case I but not for case II, then explains the goals of the survey, how it was rolled out and what it consisted of.

A survey was conducted for the first case study (and not the second) as different research instruments were required for both cases. Indeed while LC policy in the O&G is a widely studied phenomenon and has been shown in many studies to be accepted and deemed necessary by many players (Kalyuzhnova & al, 2016; Nwapi, 2016; Tordo & Anouti, 2013 etc.); the concept has not so far been at all applied to the sphere of higher education. The lack of secondary studies and surveys about the attitude to LC policies in universities made it necessary for the researcher to carry out her own survey on how academics perceive the internationalization of higher education and the demand for LC policies.

The survey of lecturers, associate professors and professors of Russian universities was conducted in the framework of the first case study to determine whether there is a demand for LC policy measures in Russian Higher Education. The goal was to clarify academics’ attitude to LC policy as an instrument to help promote and protect Russian content in the sphere of higher education, which is currently undergoing a rapid internationalization process. The survey sample included representatives of Moscow universities as well as of regional universities. The sample size was 100 experts. Rolled out during the first half of 2020, it reflects current trends in academics’ understanding of LC policy and examines three key issues: whether respondents believe that the participation of Russian universities in the international educational space is necessary, whether the success of this participation should be assessed through a system of international ratings and whether the Russian higher education system should be supported and protected by the state. The research instrument was a questionnaire that included 5 closed questions.

- Q1: Rate the degree of integration of Russian Higher education in the global system
- Q2: To what extent do Russian universities need to participate in international ratings to confirm their educational status?
- Q3: Should the Russian state use international ratings to evaluate the performance of Russian universities?
- Q4: To what extent should the state legislatively and normatively support the use in the Russian educational field of the achievements of Russian education and science?
- Q5: How necessary is it to legislatively and normatively protect the Russian educational space from international influences?

Q1 considers to what extent Russian universities form a part of the international system. The opening question does not aim to reflect an objective reality but the subjective perception of each respondent. Q2 and Q3 focus on international ratings, the former considering whether an external and foreign evaluation is needed to assess the work of Russian universities and the later reflects the respondent's opinion on whether these ratings should formally be used by the government to assess their performance. Q4 and Q5 concentrate on two aspects of LC policy, the first looking at whether the state should create rules to ensure that the findings of Russian scholars and the specificities of Russian education are represented to a certain level in educational programs to avoid a complete westernisation of the content of Russian higher education. Q5 considers whether Russian higher education should be protected by the state against external influences, such as foreign funding and control. The answers to the questions are first considered separately and then the linkages between them are explored.

Depending on the question, respondents were required to choose on a scale from 1 to 10 to assess the degree of a phenomenon or to choose one of five different options. The survey was submitted to 136 academics through Google forms, 62 responded within a week, 50 were re-contacted individually by email, 29 responded after that. To reach the target number of 100 respondents, 9 more people were contacted personally and asked to participate in the survey. Their responses were received within four days. The list of academics and their email addresses were provided by a colleague from MGIMO University, who is a member of a nation-wide private initiative, which aims at facilitating communications between university staff. This list includes academics of different Russian regions and age groups. The survey

results were processed through Google forms, which allows for the creation of customised tables and graphs for each question.

3.6 Data Management and Analysis

Confidentiality

All the information provided during the interviews and survey was treated as confidential and the anonymity of the participants was respected. Transcripts were saved in password-protected files on a private computer and were backed up on an encrypted external hard disk. The signed consent forms were stored in a locked chest of drawers at the researcher's home. Recordings of the interviews were destroyed on the same day; straight after the transcript was created. While the original notes of interviews were preserved for future reference, all intermediary versions of the transcript were deleted and destroyed, in order to avoid an unnecessary multiplication of the number of copies and storage locations (Aldridge & al, 2010). Transcripts were anonymised and preliminary coding was done on the same day as the interview took place.

In order to guarantee the anonymity of the participants in presenting the findings in this thesis, their place of work was replaced by a more general category (for example the name of a university was replaced by the category "University"). Indeed several participants voiced the concern that they could be recognized at their place of work based on the information they shared. Indeed a balance needs to be struck between preserving the integrity of the information and maximising the anonymity of the participants (Saunders at al, 2015).

The study received ethical approval and all participants read the information sheet and signed consent forms guaranteeing their anonymity. A sample form and information sheet are presented in Appendix 3.

Data analysis

In both cases, the researcher uses thematic analysis to study the transcripts of the interviews performed. "Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns

(themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p6), which is widely used across the spectrum of different data analysis methods (grounded theory, speech analysis, etc.) but there is no consensus about how to do it (Tuckett, 2005). The lack of a specific methodology to perform thematic analysis leads to a certain vagueness in qualitative research but also allows researchers some flexibility to process their findings in accordance with their research questions.

In this study, data is analysed in an inductive way (Frith & Gleeson, 2004). As a first step the researcher studies the transcripts without any preconceptions in order to extract the main recurring topics. As a second step she discards the topics, which are not relevant to the research questions and focuses on those, which are. The whole analytical process focuses on identifying relevant data in the transcripts, which provide answers or context for the research questions. This does not mean however that contradictory data is excluded from the study (Creswell, 2009); on the contrary all thematically relevant data was presented in the results.

Recently, some methodological guidelines have been established to help new researchers in each step of data analysis. The researcher decided to use the eight steps suggested by Creswell (2009), for qualitative research. This methodology, in a way similar to many others, consists in “taking the data apart” to determine individual responses and then “putting it together” (Creswell, 2012 p33). While there are several steps, many of them overlap, with preliminary codes appearing straight after the interview process (Saldana, 2009). During the period the interviews were being held, transcripts were written out on the same day and first thoughts were jotted down as a continuous process. Jottings played a key role in helping the researcher remember her impressions during the interviews and during the analytical process (Miles & al, 2014). Three levels of coding were done: preliminary coding, first level coding (regrouped preliminary codes) and second level coding (merging the codes for both cases).

The choice of the type of coding, manual or electronic, depends on the size of the project, the time and resources available and the researcher’s preferences (Basit, 2003). In this study, the coding of the data was done by hand. The limited scope of the project made it possible to process in detail all interview transcripts. While an attempt was made at using electronic coding, the researcher found the process of manual coding was more thought provoking and led to a deeper understanding of the interview content. Also it is easier to take into account participant behavior during manual coding, as the transcript and the order of the answers

reminded the researcher of live interviews more than specific excerpts. Additionally the common criticism of coding, that data is considered out of its original context (Bryman, 2015) applies more strongly to coding through software and less to manual coding, which requires the researcher to get familiar with the context during the creation of the code. All interviews were read several times, first in detail and then diagonally. The interview transcripts were printed out to allow jotting and easy comparison between files. A large number of topics were identified by the researcher, who did “line by line coding”, which enables a more reliable and less subjective analysis (Charmaz, 2008 p26). Passages relevant to the same topics were highlighted in the same colour. The researcher took notes on the deeper meaning behind the topics. The preliminary codes were then analysed and merged into first level codes. The codes not relating to the research questions were discarded. The researcher read over again the transcripts to check that no information relevant to these codes had been forgotten. The codes for each case are presented in tables 7 and 8, together with the interrelated themes. Findings and their interpretation are presented in chapters 4 and 5 of the research.

Table 7 First Level Codes for Case I

Codes	Description/ related themes	Related literature
<i>World-class</i> universities	Pressure for a country to have <i>world-class</i> universities able to compete on the global higher education market	Froumin & Povalko 2014, Salmi 2009, Denman 2004, Kniazev 2002,
University rankings	How international rankings are used to assess the performance of universities in project 5-100 and globally	Altbach & Salmi 2011
Design and structure of project 5-100	The main rules for participating universities and structures created to supervise the project	Froumin & Lisutkin 2018, 2015, Shibanova & al. 2018
Local versus international expertise	The contribution of Russian and foreigner experts to the design of the project	Risse 2012

Soviet education	How the Russian higher education system has changed and what it has kept from the Soviet system	Huisman & al. 2018, Kuraev 2016, Luchinskaya & Ovchynnikova 2011, Johnson 2008, Saltikov 2008, Zajda, 2003
International consultancy	The role of international audit and consultancy firms in the implementation of universities' strategy	Froumin & Povalko 2014
International organizations and norm promotion	The contribution of international organizations to the design of project 5-100	Risse 2012, Lebedeva 2007, Khagram 2002, Dunlop 2000, Keck& Sikkink 1998, Mc Adam & al 1996, Haas 1992, Sabatier 1988
Excellence in Education projects	The different excellence projects implemented in China, France and other countries and how they influenced project 5-100	Froumin & Povalko 2014, Benneworth, Sanderson 2009
Foreign universities	Experience sharing with foreign universities	Kniazev 2002
International expert committee	The impact of the expert committee on how project 5-100 is carried out	Froumin & Povalko 2014
Barriers to internationalization	Structural barriers to the realization of project 5-100 and resistance	Korineck & Ramdoo 2017, Warner 2017, Kalyuzhnova & al. 2016, Nwapi 2016, Rabiou 2013, Tordo & Anouti 2013, Klueh & al. 2007, Lin 2006, Amsden & Chu 2003, Ross 1999, Grossman & Helpman 1994, Krueger 1990, Bhagwati 1988, Grossman, 1981
State/private universities	Funding versus independence of universities	Patrinos & al, 2009

Trend of internationalization	Globalization of higher education: inputs and outputs	Kitagawa 2005, Denman 2004, Torres 2002
Transnational networks	The influence of transnational networks on the realization of 5-100	Risse 2012, Lebedeva 2007, Khagram 2002, Dunlop 2000, Keck & Sikkink 1998, Mc Adam & al. 1996, Haas 1992, Sabatier 1988
Conception and lobbying of new project	Masterminds of project 5-100 and lobbying	Froumin & Lisyutkin 2018, 2015, Shibanova & al. 2018
Selecting project targets	Who decided on targets for project 5-100	/
Foreign versus local expertise	The role of foreigners versus locals in the realization of project 5-100	Froumin & Povalko 2014, Salmi & Froumin 2007
Recruitment in universities	How rectors are appointed and replaced	/
Political support in education projects	Project 5-100, ministerial changes and political considerations	Buzan 1991
Accountability	Universities' accountability as regards the use of the funding allocated in project 5-100	Shibanova & al 2018

Table 8 First Level Codes for Case II

Codes	Description	Related literature
The Russian oil industry	The characteristics of the oil industry in Russia, the Soviet legacy	Eder & al. 2019, Kutepova & al 2011
History of flaring in Russia	Extent and types of flaring practices in Russia	Rolan 2010
Geography of flaring in Russia	The location of the main flaring sites	Eder & al. 2019, Shevshenko 2019, Yashenko & al. 2014
Environmental consequences of flaring	CO2 and methane emissions, other substances, thermal pollution, effects on people and habitats, global warming	Ajugwo 2013, Ismail & Umukoro 2012, Orimoogunje & al 2010
The international norm against flaring	The leaders against flaring, the creation of a norm and its evolution	Soltanieh & al. 2016, Emam 2015, Haugland 2013
Institutional support for the international norm	GGFR, Word Bank, NGOs	GGFR official reports 2008, 2009, Svensson & al 2004,
Technical solutions to flaring	Expertise, ways to utilize associated gas	Eder & al 2019, GGFR official reports 2008, 2009
Conception and lobbying of new project	Masterminds of new decree and lobbying process	/
Russian anti-flaring decrees	Characteristics of new legislation	/
Selecting project targets	Who decided on targets, including the 95% required utilization rate	Rolan 2010
Transnational networks	Influence of transnational networks on implementation	Risse 2012, Lebedeva 2007, Khagram 2002, Dunlop 2000, Keck & Sikkink 1998, Mc Adam & al. 1996, Haas 1992, Sabatier 1988

Level of international cooperation	Political context and effect of western sanctions	/
Foreign versus local expertise	The role of foreigners versus locals in the realization of project	/
LC policies	The role of LC policies in the implementation of the decree	Korineck & Ramdoo 2017, Warner 2017, Kalyuzhnova & al 2016, Nwapi 2016, Rabiou 2013, Tordi & Anouti 2013, Klueh & al 2007, Lin 2006, Amsden & Chu 2003, Ross 1999, Grossman & Helpman 1994, Krueger 1990, Bhagwati 1988, Grossman, 1981
Accountability	The level of accountability of oil companies for meeting targets	/

The transition from first to second level coding involved two different but simultaneous processes. The first was to regroup the main codes for each case, removing those preliminary codes, which were explicative of the context but yielded no results as regards the research questions and the underlying theory developed by the researcher. The second was to merge the codes of both cases thus doing a cross-case synthesis. The cases are considered as comparable in that they deal with a specific project or initiative, in Russia, for which the government has expressed its explicit support, that the government has an interest in seeing implemented and has provided funding for. While the O&G and higher education sectors may not appear at first sight to have much in common; the international norms concerning excellence in education and combatting flaring and how they came to Russia are comparable. However the outcome of the implementation process was expected at the start of the study to be different based on the theoretical assumption that international networks need to be involved in the implementation phase in order for it to be successful and that LC policies can impact the chances of a norm reaching compliance. Multiple case studies serve to test the robustness of the conclusions. In these case-studies, the final codes aim to reflect the findings

that while internal contextual conditions for norm implementation were similar; outcomes were different because of two variables: Transnational Experience and Expertise Networks and LC policies. Other varying parameters were considered in order to avoid drawing false conclusions.

Table 9 Second Level Codes applying to Both Cases

Codes	Description
The Russian context	Historical, geographic, structural, cultural, financial and political context before new norm appears
The international norm	Content of the international norm, stage of life cycle, how it emerged, how it is spread
International Institutions	International Institutions supporting international norm: the World Bank in both cases
Emergence of national norm	New norm content and characteristics
TANs of new Russian norm	Those who promoted the new norm within the Russian government
Transnational networks	The influence of transnational networks on the project implementation
Effect of international political context	Political context and effect of western sanctions
Foreign versus local expertise	The role of foreigners versus locals in the realization of projects
LC policies	The role of LC policies in the implementation of the decree
Accountability	The level of accountability of those implementing the projects

In order to transition from first level to second level codes, the researcher did a comparative analysis of the codes of each case to determine the explanatory factors why similar cases (in terms of scope and influence) had different norm implementation outcomes. The researcher worked in excel tables, trying to match data from the first case in one column to data from

the second case in another column; revealing broader patterns and “reassembling the data” (Yin, 2011 p179). During this process, the researcher kept in mind the question of the relevance of the new codes to the purpose of the study, whether the patterns made sense, how they fit in or did not with the original assumptions of the study (Nespor, 2006). The final code Table 9 presents the common codes and their relevance to each of the two cases. These codes reflect both the chronological life of a norm and thematic issues like the actors involved.

Table 10 reveals the link between the research questions and the questions asked to the study participants, showing what type of answer was expected and the corresponding literature.

Table 10 Research questions, expectations and literature

RQ1 Why do governments adopt and implement international norms?

CASE I

Question for interview	What is expected	Literature
How has the Russian Higher Education system evolved over the last 20 years?	Individual feedback on the changes in Russian universities since the early 2000s, an assessment of the trends, the regional differences, funding, proportion of foreign students	Huisman & al. 2018, Kuraev 2016, Luchinskaya & Ovchynnikova 2011, Johnson 2008, Saltikov 2008, Zajda 2003
What excellence and internationalization of higher education initiatives do you know about/ have you participated in?	An inside view of Russia's participation in the Bologna process, National Research Universities, Federal Universities, Megagrants and Global Education projects	Froumin & Povalko 2014, Salmi & Froumin 2007
Why did the Russian government decide to create project 5-100 and who initiated the new legislation?	Opinions and facts regarding why and how project 5-100 was created, the people who lobbied it, those who created it, the content of the project itself	Froumin & Lisjutkin 2018, 2015, Shibanova & al. 2018
How did the international norm influence the conception of the project?	Interviewees' perception of the international norm or lack of knowledge of its existence, their perception of the link between the international norm and the Russian project including the role played by the World Bank and individual countries in promoting excellence in education projects	Risse 2012, Lebedeva 2007, Khagram 2002, Dunlop 2000, Keck & Sikkink 1998, Mc Adam & al. 1996, Haas 1992, Sabatier 1988

Source: Author

CASE II

Question for interview	What is expected	Literature
What are the factors that led to flaring in Russia?	Individual feedback on what flaring is, whether Russia flares, how much and since when. Information on the reasons why Russia flares, the geographical and historical factors which complicated the utilization of associated gas	Eder & al. 2019, Shevshenko 2019, Ajugwo 2013, Yashenko & al 2014, Kutepova & al. 2011, Rolan 2010, Orimoogunje & al. 2010
What environmental norms do you know about/do you abide by in the oil industry?	Interviewees' recollection of environmental norms in the oil industry, the way they prioritise them, how relevant they think they are, the ways flaring was regulated before the flaring decrees and afterwards	Federal law no. 174-FZ on ecological expertise, Federal law no. 89-FZ on production and consumption of waste, Federal law no. 96-FZ on the protection of atmospheric air, Forestry code of the Russian Federation no. 200-FZ
Why did the Russian government decide to regulate flaring and who initiated the new legislation?	Opinions and facts regarding why decrees 7 and 1148 appeared, the different national influences, the names and motives of the main people who lobbied the new legislation	Kovalienco 2010, Rolan 2010
How did the international norm influence the conception of the project?	Interviewees' perception of the international norm or lack of knowledge of its existence, their perception of the link between the international norm and the Russian decrees including the role played by the World Bank and individual countries in combatting flaring	Eder & al. 2019, Soltanieh & al. 2016, Emam 2015, Haugland 2013, Risse 2012, Lebedeva 2007, Khagram 2002, Dunlop 2000, Keck & Sikkink 1998, Mc Adam & al. 1996, Haas 1992, Sabatier 1988.

Source: Author

RQ2 How do transnational actors and LC policy affect the chances of a successful outcome in the national implementation of international norms?

CASE I

Question for interview	What is expected	Literature
How did the international norm on excellence in education influence Russian higher education?	Interviewees' understanding of how the international norm promoting excellence in education affected Russian higher education, including decisions regarding foreign language programs, funding, recruitment of faculty members, international mobility, participation in international rankings	Froumin & Povalko 2014, Denman 2004, Patrinos & al. 2009, Salmi 2009, Kniazev 2002, Altbach & Salmi 2011
What is the role of international participants in implementing project 5-100?	Information regarding what international actors helped to implement project 5-100, a description of the role they played and a subjective assessment of their degree of influence	Kniazev 2002, Buzan 1991
What sort of resistance has project 5-100 been confronted with?	A description of the problems faced by project 5-100 during its implementation, the nature of the problems (legal, political, financial, social or other) their origins and the possible remedies found. The impact of LC Policies on the realisation of the project.	Korineck & Ramdoo 2017, Warner 2017, Kalyuzhnova & al. 2016, Nwapi 2016, Rabiou 2013, Tordi & Anouti 2013, Lin 2006, Amsden & Chu 2003, Ross 1999, Grossman & Helpman 1994, Krueger 1990
Do you think project 5-100 has been successfully implemented?	The personal and subjective position of respondents on whether the project has met its goals, whether it improved the Russian higher education system, whether it made Russian universities more competitive internationally.	Froumin & Lisutkin 2018, 2015, Shibanova & al. 2018

Source: Author

CASE II

Question for interview	What is expected	Literature
How did the international norm on flaring influence Russian flaring practices?	Interviewees' understanding of how and to what extent the international norm on combatting flaring changed how flaring was dealt with on the ground on Russian oil production sites, including whether new utilizations projects were launched	GGFR official reports 2008, 2009, Svensson & al. 2004
What is the role of international participants in implementing the flaring decrees?	Information regarding what international actors helped to implement the Russian flaring decrees, a description of the role they played and a subjective assessment of their degree of influence	Eder & al. 2019, GGFR official reports 2008, 2009
What sort of resistance have the flaring decrees been confronted with?	A description of the problems faced by decrees 7 and 1148 during their implementation, the nature of the problems (legal, political, financial, social or other) their origins and the possible remedies found. The impact of LC Policies on the implementation of the decrees.	Korineck & Ramdoo 2017, Warner 2017, Kalyuzhnova & al. 2016, Nwapi 2016, Rabiou 2013, Tordi & Anouti 2013, Klueh & al 2007, Lin 2006, Amsden & Chu 2003, Ross 1999, Grossman & Helpman 1994, Krueger 1990, Bhagwati 1988, Grossman, 1981
Do you think the Russian anti-flaring legislation is successfully implemented?	The personal and subjective position of respondents on whether the decrees met their goals, whether they yielded tangible results, whether they improved the utilization rate of associated gas, whether fines were effectively administered and led to compliance. A list of criteria used by respondents to assess success or lack of.	Eder & al. 2019, Shevshenko 2019, Vinogradova & Vasileva 2017, Shevshenko & al. 2016, Ponkratov 2015, Stohl & al 2013, Sheikin & Jarova 2013, Loe & Ladehaug 2012

Source: Author

The researcher at each stage of the research undertook different procedures to ensure the reliability of the preliminary and the final conclusions. During the coding process, the researcher kept the different versions of the files she was working on, to be able to retrace how each code evolved and make sure no distortions of the original ideas were committed. The codes were all illustrated with quotations from interviews, context comments and participants' code names. Removed codes were stored in a separate file and some were included in new codes that emerged during the final coding stage. The academic literature on norms and networks guided the creation of the final level codes, ensuring the research fit into the related thematic literature and closed possible gaps. Contradictory data was analysed and the researcher re-contacted some of the participants to ensure there were no misunderstandings or to double check factual data. An example is when a participant in Case I said that a letter was signed by a number of rectors of leading universities and led to the launch of project 5-100. No other participants confirmed this fact and when the researcher asked the initial participant for clarification, the interviewee solved this contradiction by indicating that he/she had confused this project with a previous one and there was no letter. After the final codes were decided upon, the researcher read through all the interviews again to make sure no data was forgotten. The first level codes were checked by a lecturer for Case I and an associate professor for Case II. The scholars read the transcripts and commented on the validity of the codes chosen by the researcher (Hosmer, 2008). Their suggestions were taken into account before moving on to second level coding.

Findings of the study were presented following a temporal phases approach, according to which specific episodes are related "within a clearly set out defined temporal narrative" (Reay & al, 2019 p10). The advantages of this approach are: transparency as it is easy for an outside reviewer to check whether a particular event took place at a certain time, clarity as it is easy to follow a chronological approach and flexibility as it can be combined with other approaches (Reay & al, 2019). This way of presenting results is also engaging for readers, who are in fact reading a story from start to finish. This approach can be criticized for focusing on one narrative and setting aside parallel events. Findings and discussion are combined (Burnard & al, 2008) and pauses are made in the narrative to allow for analysis.

Chronological narratives have been frequently used by Constructivists (Finnemore, Sikkink, Keck, Checkel...), as they put an emphasis on process and show how agency and structure

interact over time (Checkel, 2017). Narratives make it possible to analyse new agents and their impact on norms. In this study, the researcher uses a chronological approach in both cases by first presenting the international norms on excellence in higher education and on combatting the flaring of APG, then considering how the international norms were domestically lobbied and transposed into national law (project 5-100 and decrees 7 and 1148) and finally analyzing the implementation process on the ground and assessing whether compliance was reached. The chronological narrative is paused several times to allow for thematic analysis: after presenting the international norms, the national context of higher education and the flaring of APG in the O&G industry in Russia are described as they are key to understanding the norm adoption process. Also each case ends with an analysis of the role of Transnational Experience and Expertise Networks and LC policies, with the researcher trying to gauge the extent to which they are decisive factors in the successful implementation or failure to implement a norm.

Validity, credibility and generalizability of the research

The validity of research is a source of many debates in qualitative studies and depends on “determining whether the findings are accurate from the standpoint of the researcher, the participant, or the readers of an account” (Creswell & Miller, 2000 as cited by Creswell, 2014 p201). The following methods were used to confirm the “trustworthiness, authenticity and credibility” (Creswell & Miller, 2000 as cited by Creswell, 2014 p201): Triangulation, member checking, thick and rich descriptions, clearing the bias, time on the field and peer debriefing.

Different sources of data were used to conduct the research but also to ensure the accuracy of the data from the primary source (interviews). Newspaper articles, official websites of the relevant Russian ministries, statistical databases were a useful way of checking the factual details given during interviews and were used to reconstruct the evolution of the norm in factual terms. Talking to different people from the same workplace allowed the researcher to get feedback from several sources on one topic.

The researcher established a good rapport with around half of the respondents and stayed in contact with them. In most cases, the entire transcript of the interview was returned to the participant for confirmation and the necessary changes were made. In four cases, first level coding was sent to the participants and in three cases their feedback was discussed in a

follow-up phone conversation. This follow-up process was more easily understood by participants of Case I interviews, who are familiar with the process of academic research. In Case II, one participant indicated in friendly terms that he/she did not wish to be involved in the processing of data.

The description of each case is extremely detailed, offers a historical perspective and places it in its social, political, economic and academic context.

The researcher resided in Russia for the length of the study and also had the opportunity to do field work in both case studies, spending 5 days interacting with students and professors in 4 universities (Case I) and 2 half days in 2 major oil and gas corporations or related organizations (Case II). These opportunities were offered by interview participants, some of whom said: “to understand you need to look for yourself”. While these fieldtrips offered no direct answers, they helped a lot with context. For example, the differences between universities in terms of internationalization and focus on research became immediately apparent.

The different stages of the study and its main conclusions were discussed on several occasions with colleagues and faculty members at MGIMO University and Henley Business School who became invested in the research and helped identify early on reasoning mistakes and false premises. Participation in conferences also allowed the researcher to present the findings to a larger audience and identify the strong and weak points in the reasoning process.

While checking the validity of research implies using different procedures to ensure the findings are correct; checking its reliability is to ascertain that the researcher has used a consistent approach throughout the study (Gibbs, 2007). Reliability is about proving that another researcher can come to the same conclusions if they replicate the data collection process (Baskarada, 2014). Several procedures were used in this study in order to ensure the reliability of the final conclusions. Each stage of the case studies was documented and each step was thought through before it was executed (Yin, 2009). Transcripts were double checked for mistakes and codes were strictly defined in order to avoid multiple meanings (Gibbs, 2007). The peer-briefing and member checking techniques previously described also contributed to ensuring the reliability of the study.

While some scholars emphasize the fact that case studies are most efficient when they have for goal specificity rather than generalizations (Greene & Caracelli, 1997), others note that it is possible to make some generalizations based on multiple case studies (Yin, 2009). This study focuses on analysing the role of Transnational Experience and Expertise Networks and LC Policy in the implementation of the excellence in higher education and combating flaring norms in the specific Russian context. It tests the researcher's hypothesis on a small segment and opens up the debate regarding the possible generalization of its findings. Indeed the goal of the research is, beyond the specificities of each case study, to identify trends in the interaction of TEENs and LC Policies and to determine how each combination impacts the outcome of norm implementation. The lessons from these two cases are generalizable to other cases and other countries, which meet similar criteria (countries that are among the second wave of norms adopters and international norms, which the national government has an interest in and strives to implement efficiently). The theoretical conclusions of the study do not depend on the selected sphere (indeed it may not apply to all cases related to environmental protection or higher education) nor on the selected country (the framework may not be applicable to other international norms being implemented in Russia).

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter presents the epistemological and methodological background of this research project and explains the research design created to address the research questions:

“R1: Why do governments adopt and implement international norms?”

R2: How do transnational actors and LC policy affect the chances of a successful outcome in the national implementation of international norms?”

Through two case studies, the researcher traces back the creation of two international norms on excellence in higher education and combatting APG flaring, analyzes the conditions leading to their adoption by the Russian government and the parameters influencing their implementation. The analysis of primary, secondary information, transcripts from interviews and survey data allows the researcher to confront different sources of information and adopt a thematic approach. The findings from both cases were merged to produce a generalizable theoretical output on the influence of TEENs and LC policies on the national implementation of international norms.

Chapter 4 - The case of *world-class* universities and Russian Project 5-100

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the international norm on excellence in higher education (or *world-class* universities) promoted by the World Bank and its influence on the creation by the Russian Government of project 5-100, the country's national response to the international norm. This case study considers the reasons and conditions of the adoption of the decrees under the effect of TANs but also the factors impacting its implementation, revealing the role played both by TEENs and LC policies.

This case study first defines the international norm, tracing it back to its emergence and diffusion on the international stage (section 4.2), then places Russian higher education in its historical context and reviews the different programs implemented by the Russian government to reform universities (section 4.3). It subsequently analyses the adoption, under the pressure of TANs, of the Russian project 5-100 aimed at getting five Russian universities into the top 100 universities in the world (section 4.4), before describing the implementation of project 5-100 and assessing its effectiveness (section 4.5). While section 4.6 examines the impact of TEENs on project 5-100 revealing that the strong involvement of international networks contributed to the partial success of its implementation; section 4.7 considers the existing laws and measures, which constitute Russia's LC Policy in Higher Education, analyses their impact on project 5-100 and the demand among academics for more LC content. Section 4.8 is the conclusion, which presents the main findings of the chapter in the context of the competing literature.

The researcher has adopted a temporal phases approach, in which the findings of the case study and the discussion are combined (Burnard & al, 2008), with pauses made in the narrative to allow for analysis. This approach is particularly suited to Constructivist case studies as it puts an emphasis on process and shows how agency and structure interact over time (Checkel, 2017). In this study, the researcher presents the role of Transnational Experience and Expertise Networks and LC Policy by showing how they affect norm

implementation over time. All references made to interviews conducted are followed by “Personal Communication” and a combination of numbers in which the Latin number refers to one of the two case-studies and the Arabic numeral refers to a specific interview (for example I-1 refers to the first case and first interview). The list of interviews associated to each number is presented in Appendix 4.

4.2 The International Norm on Excellence in Higher Education

In section 4.2, we consider the emergence, diffusion and main principles underlying the norm on excellence in higher education. The model of a *world-class* university emerged progressively in the West after WW2, with a number of universities developing characteristics, which would enable them to succeed and adapt to new economic tendencies, social values and student expectations. The globalization of the economy can explain the trend towards the internationalization of universities, the competition that emerged between higher education institutions and the focus on research and development (Chow & Leung, 2016). After WW2, American governments deliberately channeled money into universities in order to promote research and economic development (Personal Communication I-2). There were some huge successes, with a few universities dominating the group. It was also the time when they discovered how productive partnerships between the public and private sectors could be, an example of which is the Silicon Valley. In the UK, Oxford and Cambridge were quick to join in this trend. The benefits of these synergies became apparent to other European countries and progressively governments realized that universities of a new model should be created in order to sustain economic growth. The focus on research and development and on educational programs to train the new types of experts required by a transnational economy was accompanied by a trend of internationalization, with the elite of different countries sending their offspring to study in the most prestigious universities (Arar, 2013). Studies have shown that studying abroad is an effective way for graduates to distinguish themselves when seeking employment in increasingly congested labor markets (Brooks & Waters, 2011). International rankings of universities emerged in the 2000s, allowing students to select with some degree of objectivity the most competitive programs and universities, and fostering a competition between universities for the brightest minds (Marginson & van der Wende, 2007). The rise in tuition fees, particularly in Anglo-Saxon universities, was a response to the growing cost of the services rendered, the increased demand for university places and the

value associated with a diploma when seeking employment. Increasing tuition fees was associated with a decrease in applications and in attendance (Sa, 2019) but also with a boost in academic performance (Beneito & al, 2018). These factors resulted in a change in the business-model of universities, which became more stakeholder-oriented (Becker & Eube, 2018). While a handful of leading, mostly Western, universities set the trends and indeed created the norm of *world-class* universities; a number of countries explored different paths trying to compete with the leaders (Escher & Aebischer, 2018). The French and Chinese initiatives are explored here, as they had an influence on Russian project 5-100 and also helped international observers to determine the efficiency of the different measures, which were being “tried out” in these early experiments.

France launched in 2010 a series of initiatives, which were designed to merge, following a territorial logic, universities and research institutes which had already shown their capacity for excellence in teaching and research (French Ministry of Higher Education, 2012). The goal was to increase their visibility internationally and the project took the shape of scientific projects to be realized in partnership with corporations. Making French universities internationally attractive and stimulating economic growth were the main targets of the project, which highlighted the need to attract competitive researchers and to promote technological innovation. A fund of 7.7 billion euros was created and the project began with a four-year probation phase after which the most promising universities were allocated a capital endowment whose revenues ensured their long-term financing (Rabossi & al, 2018).

China’s main excellence initiatives before 2012 were project 211 initiated in 1995 and project 985 launched in 1998. Both went through several phases and aimed to increase the visibility of the Chinese higher education system worldwide by improving infrastructure in universities, opening laboratories, attracting international faculty and scholars, encouraging the mobility of Chinese professors and widening the partnership between business and universities (Huang, 2015). 112 universities participated in project 211, which had for primary focus: “to train high-level professional manpower to implement the national strategy for social and economic development, improve higher education, accelerate the national economic progress, push forward the development of science, technology and culture, and enhance China’s overall capacity and international competitiveness” (China Education Centre, 2010, p1) and which was allocated 20 billion US dollars. Supplemental to Project 211 was Project 985, which had for official ambition to create *world-class* universities and was a more selective project starting with nine universities and growing to include, in its second phase in 2004, 39 universities. Beijing University and Tsinghua University received 225 million dollars each

over a five-year period, Nanjing University and Shanghai Jiaotong University were allocated 150 million dollars². In 2009, nine of the participating universities of Project 985 united into the C9 League, designed to resemble the American Ivy League. In 2003, the first Chinese international ranking of universities was released by the Center for World-Class Universities at the Graduate School of Education (formerly the Institute of Higher Education) of Shanghai Jiao Tong University. In 2009, the Academic Ranking of World Universities was transferred to and copyrighted by an independent organization: ShanghaiRanking Consultancy. The ranking was created in order to accompany the Chinese excellence initiatives and gauge the position and progress made by national universities. The methodology puts the focus on key development areas for the Chinese government: the technical and scientific fields. Created for a domestic audience, it has acquired a global impact (Personal Communication I-12).

Alongside the governments of countries launching their excellence initiatives, a number of international and regional organizations took an interest in how universities could fulfill their potential and promote locally economic development. While countries were already adhering to the new norm on excellence in higher education, striving to make their universities competitive, international, stakeholder and research-oriented; the World Bank formalized this norm, offering to all countries the opportunity to reap the benefits of a competitive higher education system. The World Bank had been globally engaged in supporting higher education since the 1960s (Jones, 2007), producing a large number of reports on education (3600 between 2000 and 2009³), which accompanied but also influenced major changes in the development of universities. The most common themes for higher education touched upon by the WB were the private-public funding of universities (Patrinos & al, 2009), the impact of higher education on growth (Aghion, 2009), specific country-problem analysis (World Bank regional review, 2008). In 2009 and 2011, after considering the changes underway in the higher educational system globally, the WB published two groundbreaking publications: “The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities”, by Jamil Salmi (2009) and “The Road to Academic Excellence: The Making of World-Class Research Universities” by Jamil Salmi

² *International Rankings and Chinese Higher Education Reform*. (2006). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://wenr.wes.org/2006/10/wenr-october-2006-international-rankings-and-chinese-higher-education-reform>

³ *World Bank Open Knowledge Repository*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/discover?query=education&scope=/&filtertype=dateIssued&filter_relational_operator>equals&filter=%5B2000+TO+2009%5D

and Philip Altbach (2011). These publications mark the “coming of age” of the norm on *world-class* universities, which reaches its tipping point in 2009 and becomes a mature norm. “The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities” defines what a *world-class* university is, and explains why universities should strive to become one. The author underlines that it is not enough for an institution to declare that it is an elite university as the decision belongs to the other players on the field. *World-Class* universities offer excellence in training students, competitive research output and intensive technology transfer (Salmi, 2009, p4). Success is characterized by internationalization, a high demand for graduates on the labor market, ground-breaking research in top academic journals, highly qualified faculty members, an international reputation, high funding levels from both private and state sources and cooperation with business. The author explains why it is no longer enough to be “locally relevant”, dispelling the myth that *world-class* is the synonym of “elite western”. He explores the paths to becoming a *world-class* university, outlining the pros and contras of each strategy. His work comes across as a practical handbook for policymakers and universities trying to reform their educational systems. It also clarifies the main features of the international norm on excellence in higher education, enabling countries to adopt it with a maximum level of information and guidance.

The second book published two years later by the WB “The Road to Academic Excellence: The Making of World-Class Research Universities” is aimed specifically at middle-income and developing countries and adds an extra focus on *world-class* “research” universities, underlining their role in integrating their country in the global information network and promoting economic development. The book presents nine case studies, which show what is necessary to establish a *world-class* university in different countries.

The norm on excellence in higher education, which emerged after WW2, gained momentum in the 2000s and became salient in 2010, with a number of countries developing initiatives to make their universities more competitive on the world stage and with the World Bank offering clear guidelines on how to become a *world-class* university. In order to determine how Russia was affected by the international norm, we will offer an overview of the specificities of the country’s higher education system.

4.3 The Context of Higher Education in Russia

This part outlines the broad characteristics of the Soviet higher education system and the transition to a more internationalized one, which began in the 1990s with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The objective is to characterize the higher education system in Russia prior to project 5-100 and to show how it differed from the education system promoted by the international norm on *world-class* universities, by addressing characteristics such as its structure, level of internationalization, organization of research, funding, degree of autonomy and competitiveness on a global scale. The analysis begins with the Soviet higher education system and then moves through time to consider the educational initiatives adopted during the 2000s, their goals and limitations.

The Soviet higher education system was distinguished in its own right and relied on a centralized organizational structure in education. The numerous scientific achievements, among which the 1957 launch of the Sputnik, testify to the fact that the Soviet Union had managed to develop cutting-edge research with a spill-over effect in the sphere of education. The Soviet higher education system also aimed at becoming increasingly inclusive and put a focus on exact sciences and the development of trades. Research was generally organized in research centers separate from universities, with most of it being concentrated in the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Sharing his experience of visiting the Soviet Union in 1988, an American academic (Personal Communication I-2) on a research trip corroborates the fact that there were limits on communications between the Soviet Union and the West, and yet cooperation was plentiful with countries of the Eastern block and the Third World, with Soviet universities acting as trend setters.

In the second half of the 1980s, Gorbachev's policy of Perestroika and Glastnost brought about major changes in the Higher Education system. The 1985 Summit Meeting in Geneva opened the way to enhanced cooperation in higher education between the URSS and the US. The Soviet Union started to open up to the West, with Soviet universities striking partnerships with universities abroad. The first Soviet-American private foundation "Cultural Initiative" appeared in 1988 (Chernyshov, 2007), "opening an opportunity of direct application for Russian scholars to Western funding for academic activities, bypassing government structures" (Kuraev, 2014). These initiatives were the first in a long string, which were effected during the 1980s and especially the 1990s in partnership with the United States and a

number of Western European countries. A large number of English language programs were opened in Moscow.

This new trend coincided with a general rejection of Soviet principles, which were associated with the idea of stagnation, isolation and conservatism (Saltykov, 2008). The new model implied that Universities were independent from the State, even though many remained funded by it. The "open doors" policy of the 1990s led to a rapid internationalization of the content of Russian education. The social sciences were particularly hit by the need to de-ideologize and a lot of the textbooks did not fit the needs of the new society. Foreign authors started to be translated during this period, with financial support from the Soros foundation; and a lot of the literature in IR theory taught in Russian universities remains today based on the American school (Personal Communication I-3).

The 1990s brought about two separate trends: the liberalization of the market and the economic crisis which had an effect on all aspects of society including higher education; and the government initiative in 1992 to reorganize the higher education system in Russia. New liberal values led to a rejection of the Soviet educational system as “the centralized and autocratic way of organizing and financing research was inappropriate for a democratic, free market society” (Graham & Dezhina, 2008, pvii).

During the early 1990s, the transition to a market economy shook all spheres of society and the aggressive reforms in education were soon limited by the economic crisis and lack of funds. While in 1989 and 1990, research and higher education went on as usual, soon after that funding problems and poverty hit the higher education system (Gounko & Smale, 2007). Universities developed their for-profit programs and the teaching staff sought additional employment. The economic reforms led to the appearance of different types of privately owned businesses which needed specialists in economics, finance and law (Platonova & Semyonov, 2018). Universities started to develop new types of educational programs to meet the needs of the market. A certain chaos hit the whole system and practices such as bribing and smuggling confidential documents out of archives became commonplace (Personal Communication I-2). Foreign actors flooded the isolated educational system, out of curiosity, charity or with vested interests. By the end of the 1990s a large number of US organizations (McArthur, Ford, Carnegie etc.) were operating in Russia, providing funding and opportunities for Russian academics to study in the USA or do research locally (Kortunov, 2010). The economic crisis led to a severe brain drain from academia and teaching in Russia, with the most able experts either immigrating (a downside of foreign grant programs) or

leaving the educational sphere in favor of something more lucrative (Korobkov & Zaionchkovskaia, 2012).

New universities were also being opened during this period to meet the new requirements, such as the Higher School of Economics (HSE) founded in 1992. The HSE was created as international from the start and was established with the huge support of the French and Dutch governments (Personal Communication I-7). All professors went through training at ERAMUS University, the University of Notre Dame and the Sorbonne. In 1997, the HSE started to cooperate with the London School of Economics leading to its opening a branch at HSE, which had an impact on all faculties, even those, which were not directly involved. The French and Dutch models were used as opposed to the American one because they offered large grants while the Americans were more inclined to help regional universities. The University had to contribute to the creation of a new form of socio-economic science for Russia, and a whole flourish of activity was necessary in order to offer students new forward-looking textbooks (Altbach & Salmi, 2011). Research was secondary when the HSE was created but it became a priority soon after (Personal Communication I-7).

The new law “On Education” passed in July 1992 offered a new legal framework for the changes, which has been taking place in the educational system. The law overturned the previous system in several significant ways: It allowed for the creation of private higher education establishments, paid educational services and partnerships with foreign universities in education and research. In the section dedicated to International Activity, the law states “Organs of education administration, educational establishments have the right to establish direct ties with foreign enterprises, establishments and organizations”⁴. The law also formally allowed universities to provide commercial services and introduced a dual track tuition system in universities, according to which some students were exempt from tuition fees while others paid for their education. The authorities had less control over funds obtained through market activities than over funds received from the state, and this became an instrument for universities to create their own initiatives and develop more freely (Androushchak, 2014). The 1990s are considered by some experts (Personal Communication I-10) as a crucial turning point in Russian Higher education as the system moved from a phase where it was simply functioning, without any specific local or international goals, into a phase of rapid development during which a multitude of projects were created in order to reach ambitious

⁴ *Law of the Russian Federation No. 3266-1 of July 10, 1992. (2013). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <http://en.russia.edu.ru/information/npb/fzakon/law/3266-1/index,7/>*

goals. In the 1990s the Russian Educational system and the government understood the need to create universities to compete on the international market (Graham & Dezhina, 2008). The first quality enhancement projects, in spite of severe funding issues, were launched in the 1990s. During this period, as the international norm on *world-class* universities was establishing its grassroots (it would take another decade for it to be explicitly formulated and to integrate all of its current components), it was already influencing the aspirations of politicians for higher educational systems across the globe.

The 2000s were marked by the involvement of international organizations in the modernization of Russian Higher Education, the globalization of higher educational systems, and the Bologna process with which Russia became associated early on.

The Russian educational system at the end of the 1990s and during the early 2000s needed restructuring at all levels. The country lacked the funds and strategy to carry out effective reforms and accepted the assistance of a number of international and regional organizations such as the World Bank and the OECD (Gounko & Smale, 2007). Russia cooperated with the World Bank in the framework a number of projects. The "Education Innovation Project" (1997-2004) had several components, some targeting higher educational institutions. The project had for goal to improve the quality of education in the social sciences and improve the governance systems in these universities: "The Higher Education Innovation Fund encourages the reform of selected institutes; and establishes an Innovation Fund focusing on international best practice and on the development of social sciences and governance and management reform, which offers grants to higher education institutions" (World Bank report 16267-RU, p1). While the project is aimed at quality improvement, the goal to reform the management system and the focus on 'best international practices' open the way to internationalization. The Education Reform Project (2001-2006) on vocational training had for aim "to reform general and initial vocational education in order to improve quality and standards; promote the efficient and equitable use of scarce public resources for education; modernize the education system; and improve the flexibility and market-relevance of initial vocational education" (World Bank 21782-RU, p1). While they are not transformative in a general sense, these projects reveal that Russian Higher education was at this stage already subject to international influence. World Bank financing comes with strings attached as when offering funding and consultations; international organizations frequently make states follow a specific course of action (Gounko & Small, 2007).

The OECD in cooperation with Russia created a number of reports with statistics, benchmarks and recommendations for policies to address the main identified issues as regards teaching standards; the quality of research in academic and research establishments; and reforms in the governance, management and financing of universities. The “OECD Review of National Policies for Education: Tertiary Education and Research in the Russian Federation”, published in 1999 was the first of a number of reports targeting higher education in Russia. In the reports published in the 2000s, the organization’s experts look at the need to develop university to industry linkages, to bring research back into universities and to increase state spending on education.

Russia’s interaction with international organizations in the 2000s increased the country’s awareness of the changes taking place internationally, under the influence of the fledgling international norm on *world-class* universities, and brought about the understanding of the need for more significant structural reform.

In the 2000s globalization was accelerating the integration of the world's economies and universities were all striving to internationalize. Russia, due to its Soviet past and its funding and organizational difficulties in the 1990s, started its internationalization projects in the 2000s. The liberalization of the Russian economy in the 1990s led to a change in the business landscape of the country: private businesses were sprouting and there was a lack of competent managers to work within these firms. This resulted in a rapid development of business and legal education, as firms required specialists who understood the workings of a market economy and the rules firms needed to abide by. While the Soviet Union had a planned economy and the educational system provided for its labor needs, the new globalized Russian market economy required constant innovation and this became a buzz-word in the higher educational system starting in the 2000s.

Russian Higher education during this period was affected by cultural/political upheavals and by structural changes. The ideological need to liberalize universities and the rejection of the Soviet legacy led to a void, which was completed by borrowing ideas and best practices from the international educational experience. Some structural changes were undertaken, most of which were linked to Russia’s involvement in the Bologna process. The Sorbonne Declaration of 1998 and the Bologna Declaration of 1999 marked the beginning of the integration process of 30 European universities. The main objectives from the start were to harmonize educational standards and promote international mobility in order to improve the

employability of graduates and the competitiveness of European universities. Russia joined the process in 2003 and the most visible change in its higher educational system since then has been the implementation of a two then a three-cycle degree system and the adoption of ECTS credits, which allow for a system-level recognition of qualifications across Europe. Russia created roadmaps on the other key Bologna objectives including the mobility of students, teaching staff and university administrators, developing quality assurance, and encouraging student-centered learning (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2015).

Russia's decision to join the Bologna process was motivated by several factors: the internationalization of the economy, the growing global competition of universities, the desire to participate in a phenomenon affecting the whole of Europe, the internal need for structural reform within Russian universities and the new openness to international best-practices. In 2003, the voluntary process of the creation the European Higher Education Area had gained in popularity and visibility across Europe and the Russian Government enthusiastically adhered to it. While the idea of joining the European Higher Education Area may have appeared natural, with very few countries opting out of the process, some of the changes it involved faced criticism and incomprehension. 15 years later, it is still frequent to hear professors and students refer to “spetsialitiet” programs (the Russian ancestor of Bachelor programs) in fields where they have long been abolished. Employers have not fully adapted to the new system either and still consider students with Bachelor degrees “nedauchki”⁵, meaning people who have not finished their studies and are not fit for the workplace (Personal Communication I-9). In 2014, over 75% of Russian students decided to enroll in Master degrees after their Bachelor degrees, which is the highest rate in Europe (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2015), and reflects the fact that students feel this pressure to pursue their studies further. Many universities, while having formally adopted the three-cycle system, have not created a substantial difference between their Bachelors and their Masters programs, with one flowing into the next, and not promoting different professional skills (Personal Communication I-12). Quality assurance in higher education is still dominated by the state, rather than private agencies. Student-centered learning and practices, such as students evaluating professors, have not been widely adopted. Distance learning and further

⁵ Kortunov. A. (2019). *Russia and the Bologna Process: 20 years later*. Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/russia-and-the-bologna-process-20-years-later/>

education also remain embryonic in most universities. Internationalization and the Bologna process held promises of academic freedom and flexibility in the minds of Russians, but the new process is marked, as was the Soviet one, by the needs of the economy and partnerships with businesses, with privatization and internationalization holding constraints of their own. Some academics have become vocal about the way the Bologna process impacts the substance of education, noting that international networks play a bigger role in defining the goals and content of higher education than academics do (Moutsios, 2012). Performance measurement, the organization of universities as a business, and the privatization of funding mean that universities are losing their autonomy. Also, the objective of the EU's educational project is to make universities fit the needs of the market; with the European Commission openly stating it wants to create by the Bologna Process "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy" (Lisbon European Council 23 and 24 March Presidency Conclusion, 2000, p2). The consequence is educational programs and research activities being strongly influenced by the market.

The failure to successfully implement in substance some of the key measures of the Bologna process resulted from a misunderstanding of the core and goals of the reform. The lack of support from transnational networks can explain the difficulties encountered during the implementation phase.

In the 1990s the Russian academic community and policymakers, while they understood the relative decline of the higher educational system and its funding problems, were overall confident about its level and its competitiveness compared to universities abroad. In the 2000s the first publications of university rankings and the positions occupied by Russian universities took the government and academic community by surprise (Froumin & Povalko, 2014). Only two Russian institutions made it into the top 500 of the 2003 Shanghai Academic Ranking of World Universities⁶, with Moscow State University placed in the 102-151 category and Saint Petersburg State University in the 401-450 category. In the 2004 Time Higher Education World University Ranking, only one Russian university made in into the top 200: Moscow State University (92nd place)⁷.

⁶ *Academic Ranking of World Universities*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <http://www.shanghairanking.com/arwu2003.html>

⁷ *World University Rankings 2004*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/search?search=2004>

These results reinforced the impression that Russian universities were in decline and accelerated the reform process of the higher education system. The projects launched in the 2000s by the government did not aim directly at internationalization and the focus remained on the quality of education and the need to stimulate economic growth in the country. The projects launched after 2009 aimed at internationalization and paved the way for project 5-100.

In the landscape of Russian higher education, two universities stand out based on their size, history and achievements: Moscow State University and St Petersburg State University. They were officially granted by the government the status of “special scientific and educational establishment, which play a key role in the development of the Russian society”⁸ in 2009 and were awarded the rights to set their own educational standards and award their own diplomas. They were recognized by the government as truly autonomous and for this reason did not participate in the projects launched by the government.

In the autumn of 2005, a presidential decree expressed the need to create universities of a new type in the Russian regions, setting in motion a process, which would lead to the Federal Universities project. There was a limited understanding about how to proceed; whether to create new institutions from scratch or to use existing universities (Froumin & Povalko, 2014). Serious international research had pointed out the benefits of the “green field” model (Huisman & al, 2018, p52) and the risks of institutional inertia linked to trying to reform existing universities, but in the end the second option was chosen (Froumin & Povalko, 2014). In 2006, the authorities launched the Federal Universities project, with the first Federal Universities being created by merging several universities in the same region. The objective was to improve the standards of education and develop the links between universities, businesses and federal authorities. Promoting partnerships and joint research projects between universities and businesses allowed for an inflow of private funding and for more dynamic technological innovation. The government also allocated state funding to boost universities of this category. In 2018, there were ten Federal Universities: North Caucasus Federal University, Northeastern Federal University, Northern Arctic Federal University, Siberian Federal University, Baltic Federal University, Southern Federal University, Kazan Federal University, Ural Federal University, Crimea Federal University and Far Eastern

⁸ *History of Moscow University*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://www.msu.ru/en/info/history5.html#nachalo>

Federal University. After 2010, following the general trend, these universities started to look at ways to internationalize and become competitive globally.

In 2009, a competition was organized by the Russian Ministry of Education and Science to select universities, which would be awarded the status of “National Research University” and would receive substantive funding to develop their education and research activities in order to be able to compete with universities on the global arena. The universities were also expected to stimulate the global competitiveness of the Russian economy through their innovative development, as illustrated by the HSE development strategy⁹. There are in 2020 29 universities in Russia with this status. The project was markedly different from the previous ones because it was organized on a competitive basis and internationalization and research were viewed as priority targets. However the competition by and large stopped when the “National Research University” status was granted and little follow-up was done regarding how the money was spent. The National Research Universities project has been described as having notable shortcomings and not reaching its targets, with many interviewees underlining the lack of international benchmarks and the poor design of the project (Personal Communication I-7, I-9).

Alongside these projects, more specific initiatives were developed such as the Mega-grants project (project 220), launched in 2010 with substantial funding (400 million \$ over three years). Project 220 aims at improving the quality of research in Russia by instituting monetary grants made available on a competitive basis to support scientific research projects implemented with the world’s leading experts in the field. In order to achieve world-class research results and with the help of world-renowned scientists, Russian universities should set up research laboratories of a global importance, create links with leading universities worldwide and commercialize the research results and new technologies which have been developed¹⁰. The project has been renewed several times since its first launch. According to experts participating in such projects, the competition for funding is ruthless and supervision from the government is thorough (Personal Communication I-3). Project 220 has a clear

⁹ *HSE Development Programme as a National Research University*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://strategy.hse.ru/en/mainNRU>

¹⁰ *Megagrants*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <http://www.p220.ru/en/>

international focus, which will be analyzed in the section dedicated to project 5-100 as these two initiatives run in parallel and complement each other.

While a detailed analysis of the attainments of Federal Universities and National Research Universities initiatives before 2010 is not the goal of this study, we can point out some of the difficulties met during the realization of these projects and provide some explanatory factors. Both initiatives had extremely ambitious goals when they were launched, the Federal Universities should catch up with the State Universities of Moscow and Saint Petersburg and promote economic development in their region. The National Research Universities were supposed to become globally competitive centres for innovation. Most universities involved in these projects did not make a breakthrough in international rankings (or did not do so for the least before the launch of project 5-100 in 2012) because the projects were not supported by sufficient funds and offered little flexibility (Islakaeva & Zulkarnai, 2015). The projects were poorly designed as no external stakeholders were involved and the timeline from conception to realization was short. The overambitious and imprecise targets led to very different expectations among stakeholders as to the final outcome of the projects. Most universities set modest and general goals such as “increase publishing activities”, allowing them to formally fulfill their goal even if they published just one additional paper compared to the previous year (Personal Communication I-12). The necessary changes in the management structure of the universities were not made and universities were not held accountable for their results. Once the funds were allocated, universities had little to worry about, as was noted by a source for the Ministry of Education (Personal Communication I-9). “The National Research Universities themselves were not happy with the program created to support them, with the Rector of the National University of Science and Technology (MISiS) noting that the program was badly designed and was set up in a hurry without external help” (Personal Communication I-7). While the National Research Universities project has undergone criticism, particularly when it is compared in hindsight to project 5-100, it appears as one of the first steps on the road to creating competitive international Russian universities.

To summarize, the Bologna process initiated a structural reform process of higher education in Russia and announced changes to come such as internationalization, the importance of research, student-centered learning and competitiveness. The new Russian norms associated with the Bologna process were formally adopted (three-cycle system, addendum, ECTS) but were not successfully implemented and the main principles and values underlying the process

did not find a resonance in Russia. While Bachelor and Master programs were created, the content of education in these programs did not change in a majority of universities. More substantial aspects of the process such as quality assurance or the assessment of effective outcomes were met with resistance or misunderstanding within universities (Personal Communication I-12). The country was not ripe to implement these measures because of the major changes the educational system had just undergone and there were no or few transnational actors able and willing to aid with this transformation. The Bologna process was partly misunderstood and university administrations had neither the motivation nor the funds to turn around the system. The initiatives of the 1990s and the 2000s to reform Russian Higher Education have been assessed in two different ways: some put forward their importance, as they lay the foundations for the more ambitious reforms which flourished in the 2010s, while others underline their severe limitations. The fact is however that the 2010s, and more specifically 2012, stand out in all discourses as a rupture date in Russian higher education. The projects before 2010 share common characteristics: they promote structural reforms, supporting the national or regional economy, solving internal migration and employment issues. The projects launched after 2010, starting with the creation of National Research Universities in 2009, Project 220, Project 5-100 in 2012, the Global Education Program in 2014 and the Export of Education Programme in 2017 are radically different both in their content and implementation. They reflect the new values promoted by the World Bank with the International Norm on *world-class* universities which promotes not just internationalization, but also autonomy, a focus on research, global competition for students and faculty members, a strive for excellence and the adoption of a new stakeholder-oriented business model.

4.4 The Adoption of the International Norm in Russia: Project 5-100

This section shows how Russian project 5-100 is the national transposition of the international norm on excellence in higher education, highlighting how a demand for internationalization emerged in Russian universities and describing how different TANs lobbied and then designed project 5-100.

While the norm on *world-class* universities was reaching maturity, Russia was itself at a turning point, adopting programs aimed at promoting excellence and at internationalizing its

higher education system. After identifying the main sources of international influence on the Russian government, a detailed analysis of the TANs, which lobbied the adoption of Project 5-100 is performed.

By 2010, the National Research Universities such as the National University of Science and Technology (MISiS) and the Moscow Engineering Physics Institute (MEPhI), and other leading internationally oriented universities such as Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) and the People's Friendship University of Russia (RUDN) had become aware of the need to be internationally competitive and were actively looking for funds to realize this ambition. The internationalization of these universities was perceptible as they were actively developing partnerships with foreign universities, creating dual degree programs, developing their teaching of foreign languages, expanding the exchanges of students and faculty members, diversifying and internationalizing their curricula, adopting international best practices, experiencing an increase in their graduates working abroad, submitting information to rating agencies to participate in global rankings, increasing their publishing activities in international journals etc. Some universities opened up senior administrative positions to foreigners, as was the case of MISiS which appointed an American Vice Rector for Academic Affairs. Such cases are significant because they reflect the desire for change. In an expert interview, one of the foreigners integrated in a Russian University (Personal Communication I-4) noted that "My responsibilities are of a developmental transformational nature and we try to move forward as aggressively as possible. Much time still is spent merely talking to people, listening to their point of view and explaining to them why it is necessary to comply with international norms." The respondent also remarked that the management of his university was quite "progressive, determined to bring in international educational standards and procedures, so that we are recognizable to the outside world". MGIMO because of its special mission of training diplomats and excellent language teaching was a motor for the internationalization of the Russian Higher Education system without being part of the National Research Universities initiatives. RUDN was also naturally internationally inclined because of the significant number of foreign students studying there and the need to meet their specific demands (Personal Communication I-6). The Bologna Process promoted internationalization by facilitating the exchange of students and faculty members. The influence of foreign universities was also significant: the European Union and its member countries allocated development funding and shared their best practices with Russian universities, encouraging them to internationalize.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) also promoted the internationalization of higher education. The OECD has published since 1998 a few dozens of reports, articles, working papers and books dedicated to new trends in higher education, some specifically concerned with the situation in the Russian Federation. While a number of reports focus on improving the quality of education in regional universities or consider how regional universities can contribute to the development of their region (for example Benneworth & Sanderson, 2009 or Kitagawa, 2005), others examine the trend of internationalization of higher education, looking at international university cooperation (Denman, 2004), international practices in university admissions (Edwards & al, 2012) and international higher education market shares (OECD 2010). A number of articles and reports are dedicated to changes in the funding of Russian universities (Kniazev, 2002), the development of research in universities (OECD 1999), national policies for education (OECD 1998) and other key issues. The OECD statistical report “Education at a Glance” published annually since 1998 contains a section that deals with tertiary education and offers benchmarks on educational expenditure per student, access to and participation in higher education and foreign student enrollment. The materials produced by the OECD also had an influence on the higher education system in Russia, offering an outside viewpoint on changes taking place in the country and providing benchmarks to compare the Russian situation with other OECD countries. The use of OECD reports by members of the academic community in Russia from 2000 is highly likely. Indeed to begin with, some Russian experts authored or co-authored OECD publications such as Evgeny Kniazev working at Kazan State University (“Coping with the New Challenges in Managing a Russian University” 2002). OECD data has been used for decades by laboratories and statistical centres in universities, for example by the Institute for Statistical Studies and Economics of Knowledge of the Higher School of Economics, which produces the “Indicators of Education” reports using OECD data¹¹. A respondent (Personal Communication I-12) also pointed to the fact that statistical data from the OECD was widely used by academics and that it was viewed as reliable. While there was also some awareness of the OECD strategic recommendations, they were perceived by some as politically motivated. The OECD contributed to raising awareness about the need to integrate Russian universities in the global higher education market.

¹¹ HSE Institute for Statistical Studies and Economics of Knowledge. (2018). *Indicators of Education in the Russian Federation*. Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://www.hse.ru/en/primarydata/io>

The World Bank also directly influenced Russia by its direct strategic involvement in a leading university. The Russian Higher School of Economics was early on in interaction with the World Bank and some of its staff (such as Isak Froumin, the Director of the Department of Education at HSE) worked for the World Bank before joining the HSE. The know-how developed by the WB was readily shared with the University and according to an expert interview (Personal Communication I-7), the World Bank gave strategic advice as a commercial service to HSE, thus acting as its external consultant. The leading WB consultant on higher education, Jamil Salmi, came to the HSE several times before 2012 to advise HSE on its development strategy. This cooperation between the top management of a university and a World bank consultant specialized in reform in education is significant because they formed a network for the promotion of change which dates back to 2009-2011, thus the very years preceding the conceptualization of project 5-100. The need for a new educational project has appeared and the grassroots of that new initiative were being set.

The World Bank influenced Russian universities by sharing information through reports; but more importantly the organization directly interacted with the academic staff of leading universities, advocating change and showing the benefits, which could be reaped from the government adopting excellence initiatives.

The main actors preparing the ground for project 5-100 were Russian and foreign universities, the World Bank, the OECD, and a group of forward-looking experts. Project 5-100 was not brought about in Russia by foreign forces; it was a small team of Russia experts who managed to conceptualize and lobby the need for a new project to propel a group of leading Russian universities in the world rankings. This small group of Russians was international in its outlook and decided to appeal to foreign and international partners, each of which contributed to the process of change. The heart of this Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) is Russian and it weaved around itself a web to promote change. Some of the actors most probably never interacted directly on the Russian case and yet each one took the process one step further.

Project 5-100 was also born against the backdrop of dissatisfaction with the existing state-funded programs to support Russian universities. As previously described, the Federal Universities and National Universities projects provided insufficient funds, did not take into account international best practices and did not foster sufficient competition between its

participants to be efficient. The universities, which had pushed for the National Research Universities project to be created, realized after a while that it did not meet their needs and began to reflect on ways to remedy the situation.

The Russian government and universities were also influenced by the Chinese and French excellence in education projects. The Chinese project 985 had been running for long enough for experts to be able to assess its advantages and drawbacks. An expert working at the Russian Ministry of Education in 2010 noted that China was the main source of inspiration for project 5-100, stating that the two countries because they share common features, often follow similar paths (Personal Communication I-10). Perceived as a success by the Russian government, the Chinese model influenced the design of project 5-100, which borrowed from project 985 some of its features including the selection procedure of participating universities and funding allocation rules. Russia was also intrigued by the Chinese decision to create their own institutional rating to follow-up on the progress made by their universities and decided to do the same thing, although the project is still at embryonic stage (Personal Communication I-6). The impact of the French initiative was less a matter of content and more simply a reminder to Russia that other countries were losing no time upgrading their higher education systems. Indeed Russian universities like the HSE were closely cooperating with French universities and were familiar with the launch of the initiative.

The international norm on excellence in higher education formulated in 2009 by the World Bank and promoted by experts, World Bank specialists, academics, policy-makers and already implemented in a number of countries led indirectly to the creation of project 5-100, Russia's national transposition of the international norm.

Little information has been published regarding the conditions, which led to the launch of project 5-100 but expert interviews have shed a light on its birthplace and main ideologues. The idea that a new internationalization initiative was necessary existed in a small group of Russian universities, some of which did not subsequently join the project: HSE, MGIMO, MISiS, MEPhI. A network of leading personalities, experts in higher education, policymakers and university management, met at different times to discuss their desire for change. It included four personalities: Alexander Povalko who was from 2008 to 2012 Deputy Head of the State Committee on Youth Issues in Russia and Deputy Head of the Federal Agency on Youth Issues and who became in 2012 (until 2016) Deputy Minister of Education and Science

of the Russian Federation. Dmitry Livanov who was Deputy Minister of Education from 2005 to 2007, who became in 2007 Rector of MISiS and who was appointed Minister of Education on the 21st of May 2012. Andrey Volkov, the Rector of the School of Management Skolkovo who worked as an advisor to the Minister of Education and managed a group of experts from the G8 countries studying Russian educational initiatives¹². Andrey Fursenko, Minister of Education from 2004 to 2012 and who is currently Advisor to the President of Russia. These four Russians with strong international ties form the very core of the Transnational Advocacy Network, which promoted the creation of a new excellence in higher education program in Russia. The network also comprised academics, businesspeople, policymakers and experts, among whom Jamil Salmi from the World Bank who authored the leading publication on *world-class* universities, the Russian scholar from the Higher School of Economics Isak Froumin who previously worked at the WB, the government advisor Irina Karelina and the Vice-Rector at MISiS Timothy O'Connor who was in close interaction with Dmitry Livanov before the later became Minister of Education¹³. The Higher School of Economics and Skolkovo School of Business were the most dynamic hubs, which hosted a series of meetings between Dmitry Livanov, Andrey Volkov, Andrey Fursenko and Alexander Povalko, which resulted in the decree of May 7th 2012. These key figures attended a series of informal meetings in Skolkovo School of Business dedicated to discussing the features of a new project for Russian universities which would propel them forward in global rankings (Personal Communication I-5). While these four personalities were the masterminds of the new project; the government recognized the need for such an overhaul and supported the activities of this loose working group (Personal Communication I-10).

The circumstances appeared favorable in 2012 for the launch of a new initiative in higher Education: the government had been lobbied by leading figures in higher education, global rankings did not reflect according to government officials the potential of Russian higher education, and a number of successful governmental education-enhancing initiatives were being deployed in other countries.

¹² *Skolkovo Education Development Centre*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://sedec.skolkovo.ru/en/sedec/>

¹³ These people of international influence are not all foreigners, indeed the benefits of international cooperation are not a question of nationality but rather of international experience. In this way, a Russian national with an international experience serves the same purpose as a foreigner.

The heart of the Transnational Advocacy Network, the four personalities mentioned above, had tight links with the government working as Advisors to Ministers and in governmental committees related to education. According to existing accounts, Dmitry Livanov and the Rector of the Higher School of Economics Yaroslav Kuzminov were the experts who lobbied the new project on higher education and convinced the Presidential Administration that two of the conditions for its success were for it to be competitive and based on international benchmarks. Dmitry Livanov's role was described by several respondents as essential: "He may not have invented it single handedly but the 5-100 program was his doing: he argued for it, lobbied for it, made his way through the Russian bureaucracy to sell it" (Personal Communication I-4). Dmitry Livanov when he became Minister of Education in 2012 made project 5-100 one the key features of his term in government. The circumstances leading to the adoption of the project have been described by many interviewees as a unique moment in time when all conditions were united: the government was favorable to internationalization, the economy was on the rebound yielding the necessary funds, a group of universities was ready to lead the way and was actively requesting a governmental initiative, foreign excellence initiatives projects were showing good results, the heart of the Transnational Advocacy Network was close to the Government and was soon to join the Ministry of Education. Both the timing and the framing of the project helped it to take off.

The Presidential Decree of the Russian Federation No. 599 of May 7th, 2012 "On measures to realize state policy in the sphere of education and science" marked the launch of Project 5-100, also called the Russian Academic Excellence Project. The project is government-run and has for objective to improve the international competitiveness of the Russian higher education system. The May 7th, 2012 decree is a high level document which only mentions the target: to bring at least 5 Russian universities into the top 100 world universities by 2020 according to global university rankings. This target is part of the May Decrees signed by Vladimir Putin on the first day of his return to the Presidency, and which cover a range of topics. The decrees were followed by the Government Order No. 2006-r of October 29th, 2012, detailing the governmental action plan to reach the announced targets. The main tasks for 2013 related to the launch of the new project were to elaborate a series of measures to financially support leading universities, to define a list of requirements to select the leading universities to participate in the project, to appoint the members of the expert committee in charge of managing the project and selecting the participating universities, to organize a competition

between universities for the right to participate in the project based on the established criteria, and to create roadmaps with external consultants to develop a new strategy for universities. The deliverables of the action plan are mainly governmental acts and the responsible organ is the Ministry of Education in almost all cases. Alongside the tasks for 2013, some functions are defined as repetitive and have to be performed every year, twice a year or on a quarterly basis. Some examples are monitoring the performance of participating universities, organizing meetings with the 5-100 participating universities and the expert committee, launching initiatives to reinforce the mobility of students and the quality of the research performed at universities. This roadmap led to the creation of a multitude of related normative documents. The funds allocated to the project were defined in the Government Decree No. 211 of March 16th, 2013 on “measures of government support for leading Russian universities to increase their competitiveness among the world’s leading research and education centers” signed by Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev: 9 billion rubles in 2013, 10.5 billion in 2014, 10.5 billion in 2015, 11.1 billion in 2016, 10.5 billion in 2017, 10 billion rubles in 2018, 10 billion in 2019 and 10.2 billion rubles in 2020¹⁴. Other legal documents in 2013 and the following years¹⁵ define the changes in the members of the expert committee, the adjustments to the way the universities are expected to present their results, the yearly allocation of the subsidies etc.

The TANs working to promote the creation of the new project for the internationalization of higher education in Russia reached their goal with the Presidential Decree of May 7th 2012 and the subsequent legislation which unblocked the funds to finance the project. However the core of the network did not retreat at that early stage, as the design of the project (apart from the final target) was largely undefined. A few key meetings took place from May to October 2012 with the participation of three or four members of the inner circle: Dmitry Livanov who had already become Minister of Education, Alexander Povalko who became Deputy Minister of Education, Andrey Fursenko and Andrey Volkov as external consultants. Dmitry Livanov and Alexander Povalko, having become responsible for the project, were looking for the best

¹⁴ *Government Decree No. 211 of 16 March 2013 on measures of government support for leading Russian universities to increase their competitiveness among the world’s leading research and education centers.* (n/a). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://5top100.ru/en/documents/regulations/74083/>

¹⁵ *5-100 Project Overview.* (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://5top100.ru/en/documents/regulations/>

design to accomplish the goals, which had been set. The need for external council became obvious and the team contacted HSE's Department of Education, which organized a meeting with the expert Jamil Salmi, who came to Russia several times in the course of 2012 and wrote a concept note about how the new program could be managed (Personal Communication I-7). The World Bank acted as an influent vector of change and was called upon directly to help design the project.

Project 5-100 is Russia's project to create *world-class* universities and is effectively the Russian translation of the international norm. The name of the project itself refers to international rankings, which are used as the main criteria to assess the performance of universities during the project. The norm on *world-class* universities as formulated by the WB offers a list of recommendations on how universities can become competitive in international rankings. Project 5-100 requires its participants to modernize according to the WB guidelines, with a focus on attracting international faculty and students, developing competitive research, establishing links with businesses and being accountable to all stakeholders.

4.5 Implementation of Project 5-100 and Assessment of its Effectiveness

This section considers how the Presidential Decree of the Russian Federation No. 599 of May 7th, 2012 "On measures to realize state policy in the sphere of education and science" which gave birth to project 5-100 was carried out, describing the structures created to implement it and the main characteristics of the project. It also assesses how effective the design and realization of the project are according to a variety of sources.

The Ministry of Education has a team of 5 people, which supervises all higher education projects, including project 5-100. The project is operationally managed by a stand-alone dedicated entity: the 5-100 Project Office, which is the main government working force behind the realization of the project. The Project Office interacts with the participating universities and deals with all the information requests of the Ministry. Managed by Nadezhda Polikhina, the team consists of 57 people and has its own budget. The Project Office's main task is to increase the visibility of Russian universities worldwide and improve its global reputation by participating in forums and fairs, doing joint expositions with ranking companies such as QS and Times Higher Education. It organizes sessions in international

conferences on higher education and promotes best Russian practices abroad. The project office has special KPI to meet, for example the number of times project 5-100 is mentioned in the Russian and international media. Project 5-100 has been since 2015 the partner of the exposition QS BRICS. The Project Office also carries out surveys, asking foreign students why they came to Russia, what they like and what difficulties they have encountered. This is used as marketing information by universities. The Project Office also created the content of and maintains the “Study in Russia” portal: this page aims at attracting foreign students to study in Russia on a commercial basis. The portal offers information about transport, universities and the 3500 different programs on offer. Students can use it to apply for a place online, 1000 requests are received on a weekly basis (Personal Communication I-11). The Project Office prepares the meetings of the International Expert Committee and invites foreign experts to Russia to help universities develop their strategy. The Project Office organizes conferences in Russian universities with the participation of representatives of Web of Science, Scopus, the OREGA forum and the company Bright Consulting.

Alongside the Project Office, an International Expert Committee was created in the spring of 2013 based on a resolution of the Russian Government. The Committee on “Competitiveness Enhancement of Leading Russian Universities among Global Research and Education Centers” participates in the selection of universities to participate in the project and convenes at regular intervals (at first twice a year, now once a year) to oversee the development of these universities. It is the main governance body of Project 5-100 and includes experts from Russia and abroad in various fields, scholars, public officials who have an experience in the development of education. The Committee goes over the universities’ roadmaps, decides what funding is needed to implement these goals and then communicates to the Russian Ministry of Education and Science what measures need to be taken. In 2020, seven members of the Committee are Russian, six are foreigners from China, the UK, the USA¹⁶. Expert interviews reveal that the main advice offered by the Committee to Universities was: to be more realistic in their roadmaps, to be less complacent and to speak about their difficulties instead of flaunting their realizations, to make changes in management when necessary in order to successfully carry out change, to recruit younger faculty members, to improve tertiary education and online education, to use external consultants to get an objective look at the situation in the university, to enroll more foreign students, to increase the number of academic

¹⁶ *5-100 Council Members*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://5top100.ru/en/council/>

mobility programs, to work on re-branding and marketing their educational programs, to develop fundamental research in partnership with international and Russian partners (Personal Communications I-1, I-9). Half of the members of the International Expert Committee are foreigners with a practical experience of helping universities rise in international rankings. Their outside viewpoint on Russian universities confers them objectivity and authority, as “they can say things, which Russians might not feel comfortable saying” (Personal Communication I-9).

Alongside creating a 5-100 Project Office and an International Expert Committee, the project required all participating universities to create their own internal project offices to guide the management and the faculty through the new changes. The structure of the internal project-offices and their names vary but their main task is to manage the initiatives developed within project 5-100 and prepare for the steering committees. In MFTI, the project office was called the “Centre of the Management of Programs” and comprised 8 people including a head and a secretary. “At first the members were part time but soon became full-time employees as the workload increased. There was basically one person responsible for each initiative that we presented in our roadmap” (Personal Communication I-8). The members of the internal project offices are in close interaction with the Ministry’s 5-100 Project Office and have to provide them on a regular basis with information on their Key Performance Indicators.

Participating universities were also required to create International Advisory Boards. These boards are collegial advisory bodies that provide strategic and management advice to universities. International Advisory Boards are a common practice in universities around the world. They comprise leading scholars and experts with a significant experience in management in the field of education. There are on average ten to twelve members who meet once a year for a few days to discuss how the university is progressing. The Rector and management team of the university participate in the meetings. Contact is maintained throughout the year between the university and members of the International Advisory Board who can be consulted on different matters that arise. A key challenge during the constitution of the International Advisory Board is to convince a prominent personality to join or preside the Committee, which makes it easier to get other experts on board. Many universities were successful in this endeavor with the Higher School of Economics boasting Harvard Professor and Nobel Prize in Economics Eric Maskin as its Board Chairman and MFTI Rafael Reif, the Rector of MIT. The members of the boards are university specific, with each university trying

to attract the best experts in their field. HSE has on its Board Philip Altbach one of the most prominent experts on higher education, and professors and policymakers from the U.S., China, Ireland, India and Brazil.

Having described the main structures created to implement Project 5-100 (the International Expert Committee, the 5-100 Project Office, the internal project offices and the International Advisory Boards), we shall consider the main characteristics of the project, which set it apart from previous initiatives. The first defining feature of project 5-100 is the competitive selection of participating universities by the Committee on Competitiveness Enhancement of Leading Russian Universities based on universities' applications. During the first wave of the project, fifty-four applications were submitted, thirty-six were shortlisted and fifteen joined the first cohort. Another distinctive feature of the project is the generous funding allocated to universities, which in some cases experienced a three-fold increase in their funding. Universities maintain their academic independence to a large degree and can create their curricula in accordance with "their own standards" (Personal Communication I-7). Universities are however held accountable for their spending and are constrained by a heavy administrative load related to their accountability to the government (Froumin & Lisutkin, 2015). The 5-100 Project Office requires universities to report on their progress based on a set of performance indicators jointly elaborated by the authorities and universities. Universities are accountable to the Committee on Competitiveness Enhancement of Leading Russian Universities and the funding they receive is adjusted on a yearly basis depending on their performance and ability to defend their results efficiently in front of the Committee.

The Government decree number 211 of 2013 states the activities for which universities can use state funding in the framework of the project: international research and education projects including joint programs with foreign universities, international recruitment of foreign students and faculty members, professional development programs to support the initiatives of young faculty members and mobility. Both the targets and the indicators of universities in the project are decidedly international. There is a complex linkage between funding, autonomy and accountability in project 5-100 (Froumin & Lisutkin, 2018): while universities are given more autonomy to define their goals and have the chance to establish and negotiate their own key performance indicators, their daily activities are weighed down by constant reporting on expenditure and results.

The second wave of the Project began in 2016. Fifteen universities from the first wave were kept on and 6 new ones (selected among 18 candidates) were integrated after a competition. Some strategic changes were made in the organization of the project in 2016: The Russian government “changed its approach from supporting an entire participating university to supporting specific units” (Froumin & Lisyutkin, 2018, p253), and started to control the use of the funding and the activities at the lower level of the strategic unit, thus removing some of the autonomy of the participating universities. This new wave and the growing restrictiveness coincided with the change of Minister of Education in 2016, with Dmitry Livanov the vocal supporter of the project being replaced by Olga Vasilieva, who was critical of it. The project, launched by the President, lived on even though for a few years it lacked the support of the Ministry of Education.

The Russian implementation of the international norm on excellence in higher education, project 5-100, throughout its successive waves and changing political support, appears as a relative success based on information collected from several sources: a peer-reviewed econometric evaluation of the project, an analysis of the participating universities’ performance in international rankings and the assessment of the respondents of this study.

A multi-disciplinary team at the HSE published in 2018 the results of its econometric evaluation of the Russian Excellence Initiative for Higher Education, which takes into account the participant universities’ performance in international ratings, their increased efficiency and the progress made in their research and publishing activities (Shibanova & al, 2018). The methodology involved selecting a control group of universities and comparing their performance during a 5-year period (2012–2016) with the performance of those participating in project 5-100. The universities in the control group were similar in terms of efficiency to the participant universities before the start of the project. The efficiency of project 5-100 was assessed by studying the dynamics of universities’ performance and by excluding any other possible explanatory factors, which could have affected their results and were not related to project 5-100. The researchers assessed each university’s performance based on the objectives announced by the government for project 5-100: the internationalization of human resources, the development and internationalization of academic programs including the creation of dual degree programs, the development of publishing and research activities internationally and the enrolment of talented foreign students (Shibanova & al, 2018). The universities’ positions in international rankings were

also assessed in the framework of their study, as reputation is as important as efficiency when competing on the global arena (Shibanova & al, 2018). The researchers came to the conclusion that project 5-100 has “statistically significant positive effects both on the productivity and on the efficiency of the participating universities” (Shibanova & al, 2018, p1) and that the participant universities performed significantly better than those in the control group.

Project 5-100 also appears as a success when considering universities’ progression in international rankings. While project 5-100’s first aim was for at least 5 Russian universities to be represented in the top 100 world universities by 2020 according to global institutional university rankings; this goal was regarded as symbolic, a brand created to enhance awareness rather than a mathematical target. During the early phases of the design of the project, experts voiced the idea that Russia would not have 5 universities in the top hundred by 2020 and the goal was maintained regardless (Personal Communication I-7). In 2020, Russia had no universities in the top 100 according to the Times Higher Education Ranking¹⁷, one university (Lomonosov Moscow State university) in the top 100 according to the QS world ranking of universities¹⁸ and one university (Lomonosov Moscow State university) according to the 2019 Shanghai Academic Ranking of World¹⁹. A very strict reading of the targets would lead to the conclusion that the objectives have not been met. However, if we consider that the goal of project 5-100 was to reform, internationalize Russian universities and make them competitive on the international stage, then the project can be considered successful, even when analysing international rankings. Several universities participating in project 5-100 have shown excellent results in QS rankings by subject in 2020, making it into or improving their position in the top 100 world universities: MISiS came 46th in the world for Engineering- Mineral and Mining, the Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology, Novosibirsk State University and MEPhI came in the 51-100 range for Physics and Astronomy. The Higher School of

¹⁷ Higher Times Education *World University Rankings 2020*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2020/world-ranking#!/page/2/length/100/sort_by/rank/sort_order/asc/cols/stats

¹⁸ *QS World University Rankings*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/world-university-rankings/2020>

¹⁹ *Academic Ranking of World Universities 2019*. (2019). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <http://www.shanghairanking.com/ARWU2019.html>

Economics came in the 51-100 range for Economics and Econometrics²⁰. While progress is not always linear, a group of participating universities has been able to enter the top 100 globally for their performance in a specific field. Universities participating in project 5-100 have also improved their positions in global rankings: Russia has in 2020 16 universities in the top 500 QS institutional ranking compared to 7 in 2012²¹ and the majority of the universities to enter the category during this period are participants of project 5-100. The ascension of other universities can be explained as a residual effect as even those not part of the project did not want to be left behind in the race for excellence and strived to improve their positions (Personal Communication I-5). Progress in the rankings points to the fact that project 5-100 has yielded some positive results, helping universities improve their efficiency and making them want to compete internationally with other universities.

The interviews conducted with faculty members of Russian universities provided the researcher with some insight regarding their perception of the efficiency of the project. As respondents were selected from all categories of universities, those performing well, those not meeting the targets established by the International Expert Committee and those not participating in the project, the responses appear to have no specific bias. While all respondents suggested ways to improve the project, underlining the need to remove universities which perform badly (Personal Communication I-5), to establish more realistic targets (Personal Communication I-7), to have more continuous governmental support for the initiative (Personal Communication I-1); they all recognized the need for such a project and approved of the way it was organized and its international orientation including the creation of the International Expert Committee (Personal Communications I-4 and I-9), the fact that managerial staff of the universities is held accountable for results (Personal Communications I-9 and I-5), the requirements to speak English (Personal Communication I-6) and the fact that the project uses international ratings as a basis for assessing universities' performance (Personal Communications I-6 and I-7). The majority of respondents agreed that the project

²⁰ *QS Economics and Econometrics World Ranking*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/university-subject-rankings/2020/economics-econometrics>

²¹ *Russia took 12th place in number of universities from top 500 world rankings*. (2019). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://ruskiymir.ru/en/news/267117/>

had helped to reorganize participant universities making them more efficient and competitive, all the while noting that it is a work in progress rather than something accomplished already. Beyond the perceived success of the project by respondents, the interviews also revealed fundamental changes in the values and identities of faculty members of different universities, even those not participants of project 5-100. Respondents noted that faculty members of universities had started recognizing the benefits of working in English (Personal Communication I-7), the importance of foreign advisors and consultants (Personal Communications I-5, I-8, I-10), the need for an objective assessment of the performance of their university (Personal Communication I-9), the necessity to participate in the global competition for international students and faculty members (Personal Communication I-12). The fact that universities should house research has also been widely accepted, with a respondent noting: “Project 5-100 has brought about a change in mentalities, professors know they need to be efficient or they will be replaced. A new generation of lecturers is working hard on developing the skills to be able to successfully publish their academic work in high quality international journals” (Personal Communication I-11). The idea that universities are accountable not only to the State, but to a number of different stakeholders, has also been integrated by the majority of academics, with one respondent noting: “Project 5-100 has created a change in relations between students and faculty members, resulting in a breach in the vertical alignment which characterized the Soviet Educational system” (Personal Communication I-4). The acceptance of the main principles of the international norm on *world-class* universities, even beyond those explicitly formulated in project 5-100, testifies to the power of normative change. While the process of internationalization and modernization has been accompanied by the emergence of pockets of resistance; the effects of contestation have not been powerful enough to block change. This resistance to project 5-100 and demand for LC is explored in Part 4.7.

The econometric assessment of project 5-100, the performance of participant universities in international ratings and feedback from the academic community all point to the relative success of project 5-100 in improving the quality of higher education in Russia. The responses from expert interviews also revealed a change in the values, identities and standards of Russian academics.

4.6 Role of TEENs

This section tests the theoretical framework on how TEENs affect norm implementation. It identifies the international actors involved during norm implementation through the expert interviews and assesses the extent to which they contributed to the successful implementation of project 5-100, yielding information on how TEENs operate on the ground.

The main categories of TEENs identified in project 5-100 based on secondary documents and expert interviews were: the International Expert Committee, rating agencies, external consultants, the International Advisory Boards and international experts. Table 4.1 presents the TEENs considered as having had a significant impact on the implementation of project 5-100. The respondents of the expert interviews were asked to name the main significant international actors involved in the project and to assess the degree of their contribution to the realization of the initiative. The table reveals that the most influential TEENs in project 5-100 were the “International Expert Committee”, which was mentioned by all but one respondent, followed by “international experts”. While the popularity of the latter category may be related to its vagueness, as it could involve researchers, lecturers, business representatives and others; the “Expert Committee” is on the contrary a precise actor, which appears to be highly influential, with many respondents capable of naming most of its members. “International Advisory Boards” in universities were mentioned by two thirds of interviewees and their contribution to change was qualified as very significant. “Rating agencies” were mentioned by over half of the respondents, with a focus on their data and benchmark producing activities. Respondents’ opinions on “external consultants” were more varied; while they were frequently mentioned, their impact was not always perceived as significant or beneficial. In Table 11, the boxes were highlighted only in the cases when the respondent assessed the role of the actor as significant and beneficial to the implementation of the project.

Table 11 TEENs Mentioned by Respondents as Essential in the Implementation of Project 5-100

	International Expert Committee	Rating agencies	External consultants	International Advisory Boards	International Experts
Respondent 1					
Respondent 2					
Respondent 3					
Respondent 4					
Respondent 5					
Respondent 6					
Respondent 7					
Respondent 8					
Respondent 9					
Respondent 10					
Respondent 11					
Respondent 12					

Source: Author illustration based on interview transcripts

The International Expert Committee appears as the most influential international actor. The International Expert Committee is a central and official institution of the project, which not only selects the universities admitted to participate but also decides on the funding each one obtains for the year. The Russian government voluntarily constituted a team of Russian and foreign experts to manage all major strategic decisions of the project. While the very existence of the Committee reflects the international dimension of project 5-100, its impact can be best gauged by analyzing the contribution of its members. Malcom Grant, Chancellor of the University of York and member of the International Expert Committee since the start of the project, was mentioned by name by half of the respondents, testifying to the extent of his influence on the Committee’s decisions. Malcom Grant has been praised for his active contribution during the project’s steering committees and several interviewees agreed that the originality and the impact of his comments determined the course of the strategy of several universities. One interviewee picked up on his ability to identify and predict issues: “Malcom

Grant asked how we were going to change the organizational culture in the University. The question was valid and I realized later how right he was, as it was difficult to explain the need for change to everyone at the university and there was a lot of stagnation and even resistance” (Personal Communication I-8). Another interviewee noted: “The recommendations of the Expert Committee are concise and to the point. The committee sees it as its role to help [universities] overcome difficulties and its members get impatient as the Russian staff often has no critical analysis of problems or gaps” (Personal Communication I-1). Russian university management had to change its presentation format to adapt it to an international audience, adopting a modest tone, owning up to its shortcomings and asking for strategic advice. The requirement that presentations be delivered in English was surprisingly a stumbling block for the management of some universities and for members of the ministry. While a number of interviewees outlined how challenging it was to work in a foreign language, most recognized the benefits of being forced out of their comfort zone. “The process of having to work and prepare documents in English forced the universities to change their strategy. They learned how to think clearly by preparing presentations lasting no longer than 10 minutes, by working with external consultants, by translating their strategy into English. Their language and strategy had to be truly international in order for the foreigners on the committee to understand them” (Personal Communication I-6). The recommendations of the Committee fell into several categories: to strengthen leadership skills, to assess whether the allocated funding is sufficient to successfully carry out an initiative, to choose priority focus areas, to develop brand and marketing activities. The leadership of some universities came under harsh criticism for blocking change. The current system allows managing staff to retain their positions long-term while in other countries their terms are strictly limited and people are regularly brought in from the outside by using recruiting agencies (Personal Communication I-12). Most Russian Rectors and Vice-Rectors will have remained in the same university since their student days and climbed up the career ladder. Abroad students and professionals are often expected and encouraged to move on and away from their alma mater. Mobility is a driver of change, innovation and competition, and this is why the Committee strongly promoted managerial changes within universities and staff exchanges between universities. Other interviews underline the role of the International Expert Committee in sharing international experience, noting that some of its members were foreigners with a practical experience of helping universities rise in international rankings. Another quality of the foreign members of the Committee was their ability to be objective and “to say things, which Russians might not feel comfortable saying” (Personal Communication

I-9). The Russian members of the Committee generally have a long history of work in Russia and may have formed allegiances, which have an impact on their ability to speak freely.

External consultancy firms also played the role of TEENs in project 5-100, by helping universities to develop international development strategies. The main consultancy firms operating in the educational services segment in Russia have been identified as PwC and Mc Kinsey, with the majority of 5-100 universities having employed the services of one or both companies. These consulting agencies made a name for themselves on the Russian market for advisory services to universities before the launch of project 5-100. A respondent noted that PwC was a motor for change and internationalization at MISiS and that starting from 2010 a long lasting partnership developed between MISiS and PwC: “While the people have come and gone, the company has stayed with us over the years” (Personal Communication I-4). The consultants carry out a wide range of services including performing research and analytics, preparing data and benchmarks and designing competitive strategies. Several respondents noted that the universities where they work would not have experienced the boom that made their success had external consultants not been involved (Personal Communications I-4 and I-12). While this process of change took off in MISiS before the start of project 5-100, most other universities waited for 2012 to engage consultant agencies’ services. When they were preparing for the competition to join project 5-100, universities received instructions to use external consultants to help elaborate the roadmaps they were to defend before the International Expert Committee. Consultants’ support even extended to attending the first steering committees of the project. The International Expert Committee outlined the benefits of employing consultants during the initial stages of reorganization noting that the management of most universities needed an objective view on their internal organization and that some problems were so deeply engrained that it was difficult for an insider to identify them and even more so to report them. While most universities chose PwC because of its experience on the Russian market before 2012, a few others selected Mc Kinsey such as the Siberian Federal University and MFTI. While not all the consulting firms had departments dedicated to education and were knowledgeable enough to help with universities’ strategic development, they aided with internationalization by putting Russian universities and faculty members in contact with universities with matching profiles abroad: for example consultants helped foster the partnership between MFTI, MIT and the French Ecole Polytechnique (Personal Communication I-8). Consultancy firms proved effective because they combined several assets: an international experience at promoting educational change within universities

abroad and an in-depth understanding of the Russian market. While according to one account, the consultants employed were all Russian citizens, most had degrees both from Russian and foreign universities and all had undergone extensive training abroad (Personal Communication I-4). The team was able to contribute the international expertise and experience that it had encountered first-hand abroad. A study of PwC projects reveals that the firm has realized numerous educational projects abroad and has gained international experience in this field. In the Middle East, PwC cooperated with governments to create from scratch an International Relations Institute, in partnership with Johns Hopkins and Clingendael. The “Professor Journey” project was designed to help a number of universities to select and recruit the most competitive academic staff. PwC also developed a “Student journey” initiative implemented in over 200 universities in the UK, the US, Australia and India and which aims at mapping and improving students’ experience within a university from when they first hear about it, up to the moment of graduation and beyond as alumni. PwC also organizes training sessions and seminars abroad for its project managers to learn about international best practices and share their own experience with others. When realizing a project, consultants frequently invite foreign experts they have previously worked with to make recommendations and share their strategic insights. One respondent noted “Lauren Brooke and the Rector of the University of Luxembourg came to provide their council in the framework of PwC’s work on project 5-100” (Personal Communication I-11). Not only do consultants have their own international experience, they also facilitate new relationships by putting universities in contact with experts from abroad. Consultants having studied abroad can explain how to go about implementing changes. A Russian consultant who studied at Harvard noted: “Russian universities need to work on maintaining a relationship with and between their alumni and develop endowment organizations. When asking for funding, a university should have a strategy so that alumni feel they are not just paying but also contributing to the development of a specific project. Harvard has an endowment of 39 Billion Dollars and all its corridors and rooms are named after benefactors who get to make decisions regarding the development of infrastructure and academic programs. Harvard also has a simple telephone application, which enables graduates to connect globally by identifying each other on an interactive map” (Personal Communication I-12). Consultancy agencies were active TEENs in project 5-100 because they helped shed a new light on the activities of the universities, they dared to say out loud what everyone was thinking, they shared their experience of internationalization, they helped select leading global universities specializing in similar fields to inspire their development and put universities in contact with

leading experts. Most universities only gained access to this international experience and expertise through project 5-100.

Universities' International Advisory Boards likewise constitute major vectors of change, providing universities with strategic advice on how to be competitive in the global educational market. Not only do these boards offer recommendations on issues relating to the internationalization of universities' activities, they also weigh in on all major strategic decisions. As noted by the Co-Chairman of the Board of Tomsk University Terrence Vincent Callaghan, Distinguished Research Professor of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences and Nobel Prize winner, the board members are ambassadors who help the University identify and implement ways to achieve world status²². The International Advisory Board members of Tomsk University provided valuable advice based on the topics researched at the University: they recommended it focus on its unique geographical position by developing its research on environmental sciences, that it anticipate the results of climate change by assessing how changes in temperatures could impact shipping routes, that it develop partnerships with research centers and that it re-focus on delivering short-term results as ambitious long-term projects attract less funding²³. The International Advisory Board of HSE also addresses precisely the different problems that arise and offers tailored advice on human resource, curriculum and governance issues²⁴, referring to its members' experience tackling similar problems elsewhere. For example, the HSE board recommended that more alumni be included in the governing bodies of the University, as most private American universities are in the end governed by their alumni²⁵. The Board members also noted the need to integrate international students in existing classes rather than offer them a different track and to develop the practice of peer and student assessments of classes in order to

²² Callaghan, T. (2015). *Terrence Vincent Callaghan about Tomsk State University*. Retrieved on 23.09.09 from http://en.tsu.ru/about/international_council/international_council_documents.php

²³ *TSU in a Universe of Universities*. (2015). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from http://en.tsu.ru/about/international_council/international_council_documents.php

²⁴ *Report on HSE International Advisory Committee meeting in Moscow, December 5-6, 2017*. (2017). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://iac.hse.ru/data/2018/03/01/1165037761/IAC%20report%20upon%20IAC%20Meeting%202017.pdf>

²⁵ *ibid*

promote optimal teaching methods²⁶. These examples show that International Advisory Boards can use their experience and expertise to offer tailored advice to universities in an operational way. Their independence makes it easier for them to identify and voice concerns regarding the inner workings of a university. By interacting with members of International Advisory Boards, universities receive both an incentive to change and practical advice about how to do it.

Rating agencies also perform the functions of TEENs in project 5-100. Rating agencies publish rankings, which are used as a reference point by the leadership of Russia to assess the progress made by universities participating in project 5-100. The name of the project itself directly refers to the institutional rankings. Rating agencies collect data from universities in order to create the rankings and are in constant interaction with them. Furthermore, they are very influential because the changes they make to the calculation methodology can significantly affect universities' position in the rankings. This dependency on Rating Agencies makes universities highly receptive to recommendations they make. Universities that are set on climbing in international rankings may seek consultations from these agencies. The main ranking agencies that Russian universities and the government look to are QS, Higher Times Education and the Shanghai University Ranking. At the start of project 5-100, all participating universities were anxious to find out more about the methodology used for the rankings and in some cases invited specialists from these agencies to explain how the results are calculated. Rating agencies provide commercial consultancy services to universities and governments. Some agencies such as QS have their own consultancy branch: "QS Intelligence Unit" offers in its own words "comprehensive and practical advice on performance improvement, to assist you in achieving *world-class* standards. Our team also provides a parallel service to governmental organisations aiming at improving their country's higher education standards" (QS website)²⁷. QS offers a whole range of services including strategy recommendations, advice on hiring international faculty, a review of governance and structure, financial planning, advice on improving student recruitment and graduate employability, marketing and branding recommendations. The QS consultancy unit addresses all the criteria in their calculation methodology and helps universities overcome the main

²⁶ *ibid*

²⁷ *QS Intelligence Unit Consulting Service*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <http://www.iu.qs.com/services/consulting/>

stumbling blocks, which hinder their progress in the global university rankings. Some rating agencies struck partnerships with consultancy agencies, like Times Higher Education did with Personnel Administration consulting, offering a joint product to secure maximum credibility amongst clients. Rating agencies have however come under some criticism for producing global rankings, which claim to be objective on the one hand and commercial consultancy services on the other. The impact of ranking agencies as TEENs is also limited by the fact that according to some accounts they provide ready “boxed” products and do not adapt the content of their recommendations to specific universities. A respondent noted: “They explain how their rankings work, how to improve your university’s ranking and what aspects to concentrate your efforts on but they follow a set script and will not help you develop a strategy” (Personal Communication I-12). Last of all the methodological changes of rankings from one year to the next and the variations due to the number of participating universities have led some to doubt whether they are actually a reliable reference point to assess the progress made by universities in the global arena (Personal Communication I-6). Other interviewees underline that regardless of their shortcomings, international rankings are better than having no international benchmarks at all (Personal Communication I-7). Ranking agencies through their rankings and their company representatives have helped to promote some key messages, including the importance of international faculty and students and the need to develop research and international publications. Most interviewees claim to have met in one context or another the QS representative in Russia, Zoe Zaitseva. Project 5-100 itself led to a heightened interest in rating agencies, with even those universities not participating in the project engaging their services.

International Experts operating in Russia or interacting with Russian universities can be important vectors of change and internationalization. This category of TEENs is the widest and the nature, frequency and impact of its influence can greatly vary. These experts can be foreigners or Russians with an international experience, they can come from different spheres and be academics, researchers, administrators, diplomats, businesspeople, but they all have in common their expertise or work experience in the sphere of higher education. The inflow of these experts linked to higher education accelerated in Russia in the 2010s with the launch of project 5-100 and other programs, which were specifically designed to attract experts with an international experience or exceptional skills. The “Export of Education” project aims to increase the number of foreign students studying in universities in Russia and the number of people abroad enrolled in Russian online courses. These foreign students when they return

home are ideal candidates for experience sharing with Russia and even during their studies (because they arrive with certain expectations), they can contribute to changes in teaching delivery methods and even on some occasions influence educational standards. A HSE International Advisory Committee meeting report reveals that peer evaluation is used more frequently for courses attended by foreigners than for other courses, which reflects the increased concern for the quality of education delivered to international students²⁸. The Global Education Program, a government-sponsored funding program that offers Russian citizens a chance to study abroad at leading foreign universities requires that students return to Russia upon completion of their studies to work according to their specialization for a period of three years. This program encourages students to acquire an international experience and expertise, turning them into TEENs, capable of promoting change and internationalization upon their return home. The Megagrant project offers monetary grants to support scientific research projects at Russian institutions, which involve the world's leading scientists and aims at developing internationally competitive research. The Head of a laboratory created based on a Megagrant remarked: "Some of the leading researchers in Megagrants projects are foreigners coming from all over the world. They share their know-how with our team. Our leading researcher helps to conceive each of our publication projects, we discuss each paper with him, the methodology, the flow-narrative, he helps to select the target journal, offers his approach to data analysis, shares his expertise in his field, gives practical information about how to publish in foreign journals: all this is very valuable. Additionally, his reaction is indicative of how other scientists might react to a project or thesis: if he is convinced then this is an indicator that other top scholars will also be convinced" (Personal Communication I-3). These three projects reinforce the knowledge sharing promoted by project 5-100. A number of TEENs operating in Russian universities can be directly traced back to project 5-100 itself. An interviewee noted that MFTI had the ambitious target, in the framework of its Project 5-100, to open 50 new laboratories and that this goal was met because the staff renewed its contacts with the University's graduates who had emigrated. In the interviewee's own words (Personal Communication I-8): "This really worked out and many of our graduates returned to help. MFTI's progress in the ratings today is the result of the creation of these laboratories early on in the project".

²⁸ Report on HSE International Advisory Committee meeting in Moscow, December 5-6, 2017. (2017). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://iac.hse.ru/data/2018/03/01/1165037761/IAC%20report%20upon%20IAC%20Meeting%202017.pdf>

Universities were also required in the framework of project 5-100 to identify foreign universities with a similar profile and interact with them. MFTI developed based on this requirement a close relationship with MIT: a team went to visit the university, attended training sessions, met with the Vice-Presidents and the administrative staff, and tried to understand what best practices would be applicable to MFTI. “We studied their online platform, their campuses, their economic system and their endowment” (Personal Communication I-8). A relationship was born and led to interaction at many different levels, with MIT and MFTI coordinators and professors forming together a Transnational Expertise and Experience Network capable of jointly promoting changes in the Russian university. Alongside the experts and famous professors invited in the framework of Megagrants projects, Russia also put an emphasis on attracting young post-docs from abroad to participate in research labs and join the teaching staff of universities. Some members of the Russian diaspora returned as the educational sector was receiving more financing. “While the Megagrants project brings experts to Russia on a temporary basis and they rarely return afterwards, it still is better than no experts at all. Today MISiS has between 50 and 60 foreign faculty members coming and going, this is significantly more than was the case before” (Personal Communication I-4).

The 5-100 program office also organized training programs for the employees of the universities international departments: “they were sent to Europe and the United States to attend lectures by the world’s most famous internationalization of higher education experts: Hans de Wit, Philip Altbach, Fiona Hunter, Laura Rumbley” (Personal Communication I-1). International experts, while they assume different roles and functions, play a significant role in sharing expertise and experience with Russian universities and supporting them in their ambition to attain excellence in higher education.

TEENs appear as a key feature of project 5-100, setting it apart from previous educational projects. International interaction was promoted at all levels of the project and from the very start. Among the TEENs that were identified as influential in project 5-100, some were institutionalized (International Expert Committee/ International Advisory Boards) or funded by the government (International experts in Megagrants projects), others operated for commercial reasons (international consultants and rating agencies) or had other motives (international cooperation amongst academics and experts).

This study reveals the five main ways in which TEENs had an impact on the implementation of project 5-100: TEENs helped effectively structure Project 5-100 during the design phase; TEENs assisted universities in developing locally adapted solutions; TEENs contributed to the development of know-how in research, TEENs improved the visibility and credibility of project 5-100 and TEENs helped universities attract foreign students. These mechanisms can be summarized as follows.

(1) TEENs helped ensure that project 5-100 was designed according to best practices. While the name of the project may be considered slightly off the mark for creating unrealistic expectations, the other features of project 5-100 meet high international standards. TEENs acted as intermediaries between the Russian government and international organizations like the World Bank when the project was being designed. “In 2010-2011, several expert groups were created at HSE and they started to act as advisors to the government in the social and economic spheres” (Personal Communication I-6). Several experts were working in parallel in 2011-2012 at the HSE and as advisors to the Russian government, all the while having frequent exchanges with the World Bank. A number of best practices were taken into account when project 5-100 was designed including the competitive selection of universities to participate in the project, the public accountability of the top management of participating universities, the active role of the government in managing the project, the allocation of adequate funding to support the realization of the project and the development of favorable regulatory conditions. The World Bank and other transnational actors played a key role in ensuring that project 5-100 avoided the mistakes, which plagued previous Russian higher education projects. Project 5-100 used international expertise diffused by TEENs to create an efficient model.

(2) TEENs assisted universities in developing locally adapted solutions. Consultancy agencies and faculty members with an experience working abroad helped the participating universities both during the application phase to join the project and beyond, by offering organizational and strategic advice. With a knowledge of the Russian educational market and international best practices, TEENs helped universities understand how the international best practices should be implemented in their local context.

(3) TEENs also contributed to the development of know-how in research. International faculty members invited in the framework of the project to boost research activities and publishing played a key role in helping local faculty members understand the international requirements in this field. Academic publishing is a highly regulated sphere and receiving guidance is key to achieving success: indeed the process of submission, peer-

reviewing, and deciding with what journal to publish in can appear daunting and foreign professors with a good publication track-record can share their experience regarding how, where and when to publish.

(4) TEENs improved the visibility and credibility of project 5-100. A significant part of the success of a project depends on how it is timed and framed. While project 5-100 faced early on some controversies, especially in the press, regarding the amounts spent on it, the 5-100 Project Office with the help of international partners managed to some extent to turn around its image into a positive one (Personal Communication I-11).

(5) Aside helping to increase public awareness and support for the project, TEENs were involved in helping universities attract students. A member of the project office noted: “We have organized conferences in Russian universities with the participation of representatives of Web of Science, Scopus, the OREGA forum and the company Bright Consulting, which specializes in helping states be more attractive to foreign students” (Personal Communication I-11). The Russian Ministry of Education’s website “Study in Russia” is another illustration of efforts made to internationalize Russia’s higher education²⁹.

TEENs have been found to play a decisive role in ensuring a successful implementation of the norm on *world-class* universities in Russia and have directly contributed to the many achievements of project 5-100. The speedy process of internationalization and liberalization of Russian universities does however come up against some resistance and the rapid changes are regulated in key areas by LC policies.

4.7 LC Policies

While the scholarly literature on LC Policies focuses currently on several industries with high added value such as the oil and gas or the automotive industry (Tordo & Anouti, 2013; Martinelli, 2016) and does not address the sphere of higher education in Russia directly; a study of the rules regulating the educational sphere reveals some measures, which could be assimilated to LC Policies. We will review the criticism of the norm on *world-class* universities and its Russian implementation with project 5-100, analyse the main current LC

²⁹ *Study in Russia*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://studyinrussia.ru/en/>

policies in the sphere of higher education in Russia and review the results of a survey on the demand for LC policies among Russian academics.

The model of *world-class* universities fits into a broader conception of a neo-liberal higher education system, which is characterised by “corporatisation and privatization of universities” (Gill, 2016, p41). Management practices from the corporate world are introduced into universities, academic work is valued if it serves business interests and leads to direct economic outputs, market relations are created between students which are consumers and universities which are sellers, higher education is turning into “an expensive investment that must deliver ‘returns’ to capital” (Lynch & al, 2012, p179). The application of market mechanisms to the sphere of higher education has been associated with an increase of competition and choice, resulting in a rise in overall public welfare, although not in social equality (Clarke & al, 2000). The benefits depend however on the context in which the neo-liberal measures are implemented and have a number of costs, including the commodification of education which is no longer oriented towards discovering a truth and the increased pressure on teaching staff and researchers, who have to abide by business rationality criteria all the while preserving their creativity in order to fulfil publishing requirements (Gill, 2016). The managerial ideology is supported by academic journals promoting the impact factor as a way of assessing researchers’ performance, by ranking agencies seeking to yield more influence and sell their consultancy services to universities, by governments looking for clear indicators of the efficiency of universities’ work, and by the management of universities who seek power over academics, reversing the trend of who works for who (Abramov & al, 2016). The adoption of the principles of new managerialism in Russia is embodied in project 5-100, although some of the previous projects (National Research and Federal universities) already paved the way for such a reform. Project 5-100 puts the focus on competitiveness and efficiency, but not on financial independence, as during the launch phase, participating universities receive significant state funding. The long-term goal remains neo-liberal as these universities, once they have acquired a global reputation, are expected to run independently and no longer depend on state funding (Personal Communication I-9). Neo-liberal policies in higher education are supported by the Russian state, which wants Russian universities to be competitive on the world stage for economic and reputational reasons³⁰. The dominating

³⁰ Shcheglova, I. (2016). *Russia’s Quest for World-Class Education*. Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://www.eaie.org/blog/russias-quest-for-world-class-education.html>

managerial discourse is contested by clusters of academics, who resent the loss of autonomy, being controlled by bureaucrats, being assessed based on international criteria, having the efficiency of their work evaluated by managerial rather than academic staff, the changes in the content of academic programs and the increase in their workload (Abramov & al, 2016). Contestation of project 5-100 and its underlying values is not limited to academics, with high level members of the government expressing doubts about how well the project is suited to Russian universities. Olga Vassilieva, Minister of Education and Science of Russia (2016-2018) openly criticised the project, noting that the consequential amounts spent on the development of project 5-100 were not yielding the expected results and the funds would be best spent in other ways³¹. Others noted that Russia does not need a dozen of champion-universities with high positions in international rankings but good quality higher education to prepare experts for all economic sectors³². While contestation of the neo-liberal principles is quite strong among academics both in Russia and abroad, they lack a platform to express their discontent, with most publishing houses embracing new managerial positions and academics being too worn out to put up an effective resistance and sometimes even turning against each other (Gill, 2016). While the new managerial discourse is characterised by progress and dynamism, the academic discourse is often associated with inertia and the incapacity to change and be competitive (Abramov & al, 2016). Contestation of the neo-liberal model and its incarnation in project 5-100 in Russia goes beyond a rejection of market principles in higher education, with more attention being focused on the risks of internationalization.

The success of Project 5-100 depends indeed more on a complete integration in the global network of universities than it does on the adoption of market principles per se. The involvement of international experts, consultants, rating agencies, partner universities and their decisive influence was described above. In order to be internationally competitive, universities also need to modify the content of educational programs and management practices. When developing the very sought after dual diploma programs with foreign partners, Russian universities have to be prepared for outside and foreign examinations, to undergo foreign certification processes, to include new courses in their programs. To integrate

³¹ *The Ministry of Education and Science Stops the Process of Merging Universities.* (2016). <https://tass.ru/obschestvo/3653373>

³² *Project 5-100: Will Common Sense Prevail?* (2017). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://profiok.com/news/detail.php?ID=4993#ixzz6007xTQhl>

into the global academic community, scholars need to become fluent in English and master academic writing techniques in English, participate in international conferences and learn about the peer-reviewed submission process to international journals. They have to develop their “knowledge of the conceptual apparatus, institutions and practices of the globalization education” (Mingaleva & Mirshikh, 2012, p1704). The new principles of the neo-liberal model such as “entrepreneurship, self-interest, consumer choice, self-responsibility and competition” come up against fundamental Russian social principles such as “communalism, egalitarianism, state-paternalism and anti-monetarism” (Minina, 2014, pi). The Russian education system has itself been described as a mix of different traditions coming from Tsarist and Communist times resulting in a higher level of centralization, a vertical organizational structure, a sense of community, equal opportunities and a tradition of morality (Elliott & Trudge, 2007). One of the main concerns of the implementation of neo-liberal principles in Russia is that the new measures are not compatible with the values of the Russian educational system and that the transformations cannot lead to the expected results, bringing once more to the fore the “conflict between the contemporary and the traditional, the international and the national” (Stukalova & al, 2015, p278). Indeed the confrontation of different ideological frameworks has an impact on the implementation of international norms. The changes brought about by internationalization are not just technical but affect the identity of all involved in the educational process. Neo-liberal principles also go through several waves of interpretation and adaptation before being implemented, which leads to their distortion. It is not unusual that the general public’s understanding of these principles greatly differs from that of global and high-level national stakeholders (Minina, 2014). The standardized recommendations offered by international organizations, particularly the World Bank, are global frameworks, which do not fit in culturally and ideologically in all countries (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004). National values can give a whole new meaning to international norms but also the adoption of dual frameworks can create some contradictions. The neo-liberal model rests upon strong political, social and economic institutions, and countries with “transitional institutions”³³ or institutions based on national rather than international value systems may encounter additional challenges in developing *world-class*

³³ Guriev, S. (2017). *How Transitional Institutions Could Transform Russia’s Economy*. Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://carnegie.ru/commentary/74790>

universities. Finding the right balance between local, national and international content is not a one-time challenge but an equilibrium, which needs to be constantly revisited and adjusted.

Russian project 5-100 has been criticized for leading to a decline in the quality of education and research, as it is said to focus on fulfilling formal criteria to appear internationally competitive rather than on capacity building and developing long-term potential. Both the nature of the goal itself (becoming a *world-class* university) and the means used are criticized, with detractors pointing out that the government should use existing assets to develop a Russian higher educational model which would be envied the world over, like the Soviet one, rather than be a second rate performer in a system in which the rules of the game have already been written.

The focus on short-time objectives, ignoring the needs of the local community and encouraging opportunistic behavior are some of the most frequently recurring criticisms³⁴. A more detailed analysis reveals that ratings, which use in their assessment criteria the proportion of foreign students and faculty members, encourage universities to recruit foreign students at all costs. Some universities have turned to suboptimal practices such as enrolling students, who do not have the linguistic capacity to follow lessons, leading to an all-over deterioration in the quality of higher education (Personal Communication I-6).

Universities' dependence on state funding can act in certain cases as an incentive to maintain underachieving students in the classroom, as funding amounts are calculated based on enrollment numbers. This leads to less motivation in the classroom and to the development of corrupt practices (Crow & Dabards, 2020).

The pressure to publish in top international journals has resulted in anxiety and in the development of illegal practices such as publishing in junk academic journals. The recent "predatory boom" in Russia (Sterligov & Savina, 2016, p12) has a damaging effect on Russian science and the international reputation of its researchers.

The assessment of the performance of teaching staff and the closure of a number of "ineffective" universities has led to significant job loss, as illustrated by the creation of a blog

³⁴ Yudkevich, M. (2015). *The pros and cons of Russia's Project 5-100*. Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/the-pros-and-cons-of-russias-project-5-100>

called “the Society of Dead Associate Professors”³⁵. This unemployment of academics has both social and scientific repercussions.

Additionally, academic programs, which are designed to be globally competitive and easily recognizable in their content may not do justice to the Russian cultural and academic traditions. Some programs such as International Relations are taught based on the American School, and may leave little place for Russian authors’ contributions. While the field of IR has a lot of Anglo-Saxon names, in France the subject is still taught by the main universities with a focus of the French school and vision. As noted by J.J Roche, the study of International Relations in France focuses on the analysis of the French contribution to this subject, which is strongly influenced by Anglo-Saxon authors (Roche, 2002). This remains to a large extent true today, with IR classes most often being taught in France according to the country’s own tradition, using a historical rather than purely theoretical perspective.

The underlying idea of international rankings, which are endorsed by the Russian government as being representative of the quality of education, is that the most capable students and faculty members should aspire to study, teach and perform research in the best-ranked universities worldwide. Following through on this logic unavoidably leads to a brain drain, as the brightest minds strive to study and work in the most competitive mainly Anglo-Saxon universities, which offer the most generous grants, salaries and working conditions. An estimated 25 to 30 thousand Russian scientists currently work for foreign universities and since the 2014 economic crisis the outflow of university professors from Russia has increased significantly³⁶.

The criticism surrounding project 5-100 and the government’s policy of internationalization of higher education reveals the difficulties encountered by certain categories of academics and universities in adapting to the new standards and the different risks associated with importing foreign frameworks. Some of these challenges have been addressed by specific governmental measures.

³⁵ *The Society of Dead Associate Professors*. (2014). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://echo.msk.ru/blog/yopolisnews/1397318-echo/>

³⁶ Vorokinov, E. (2020). *Can Putin really solve the problem of the Russian brain drain?* Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20200402141401228>

While any sector could have elements of LC policy, history provides the most examples in the O&G, the automotive and the pharmaceutical industries. LC policies are currently emerging in a variety of different fields such as higher education as revealed by this study. While LC policies in all sectors share common characteristics, the circumstances of their emergence and the main actors involved in their realization may vary. The researcher developed a targeted definition of LC policy for higher education to address the specificities of this sector. LC policies in the sphere of higher education can be defined as measures developed by the government to ensure that the internationalization process serves the interests of the national education system and the country as a whole. LC policies in higher education resemble those in other spheres in that they provide privileges to domestic players (Ovadia, 2014), aim to increase the value of their products (Kalyuzhnova & al, 2016), promote local inputs at different stages of the value-chain (Sturgeon & Van Biesebroeck, 2009) and are considered a means of enhancing socio-economic development (Kalyuzhnova & Belitski, 2019). LC policies in higher education differ from those in other spheres in that they focus more on security and social issues and comparatively less on economic ones. Universities, regardless of higher education becoming a market, still differ from firms as their mission goes beyond profit-making to educating a population and being both a consolidator and generator of a country's knowledge. Additionally, while LC measures are often explicitly named in other industries (for example the term "Kazakh content" was included in 2004 in the country's subsoil legislation (Kalyuzhnova & Belitski, 2019)); in the sphere of higher education, the idea of promoting national content is not explicitly formulated, at least among the documents relating to current LC policy in the Russian Federation. The reason for this is multifold: the concept of LC policy has not yet been applied to the sphere of higher education nor has its benefits been analyzed, the dominant international discourse focuses on the limitless internationalization of higher education (De Wit, 2017) and the idea of promoting national/local content in any sphere, which is not economic, may attract criticism. As noted by Kalyuzhnova & Belitski (2019), the approach to LC policy depends not only on the industry but also on the country, with some privileging in the O&G sector rigid prescriptions (explicit LC policies) such as Nigeria and Angola and others adopting a less formal approach (implicit LC policies) such as Russia and the UK (Kalyuzhnova & Belitski, 2019). Hence Russia's choice of implicit LC policy in the sector of higher education can also be explained by a trend not to formalize these requirements even in other industries.

Although the Russian government is perceived as pushing forward New Managerialist principles and international content; it has also developed a number of LC policies aimed at combatting the main negative consequences associated with the internationalization of the higher education system. The LC measures can be grouped into four main categories: measures to control the quality of higher education, measures to ensure there are no security breaches, measures to address the brain-drain problem and measures to uphold traditional Russian values and avoid social unrest.

While the structure and the content of what is taught at Russian universities have undergone significant changes in order to be compatible with the international higher education system, the Russian government has preserved a high degree of centralization and control over the organization of higher education. While neo-liberalism and international best practices point to the advantages of allowing universities to be regulated by market mechanisms (Lynch, 2017), the Russian experience of decentralization was largely unsuccessful. In the 1990s, the state lost its credibility and the power to finance and control social structures including higher education: regional authorities acquired the right to authorize and regulate higher education activities and the expanding demand for higher education led to a sudden increase in the number of universities (Froumin & Leshukov, 2015). The period was also characterized by a lack of funding, a growth of private universities, a diversification of programs on offer, a mismatch between the demands of the market and the training programs and a decline in the quality of higher education (Kuzminov & al, 2013). In the 2000s, the government proceeded to recentralize higher education, establishing state standards in order to improve the quality of education. Most universities are currently directly attached to the Ministry of Education and Science, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health and Social Development and have to report to them (Platonova & Semyonov, 2018). A dedicated department was created inside the federal ministry, the Federal Service of Inspection and Control in Education and Science (Platonova & Semyonov, 2018) which is in charge of creating, merging and closing universities, accrediting and monitoring the quality of educational programs, financing higher education and allowing universities to create fee-paying programs, establishing quality standards³⁷. Every year, all universities have to report on around 150 performance indicators related to their educational and research activities, financial management, human resources

³⁷ *Law 29.12.12 273-FZ*. (2012). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.detail%3Fp_lang%3Den%26p_isn%3D93529

and international activities; following which the figures are compiled to determine their efficiency³⁸. From 2012, the state proceeded based on this data to close, reorganize or merge a significant number of universities. This trend of recentralisation and state control over higher education is a LC policy, which aims to preserve a Soviet practice, which appears as the only reliable way in the current context to maintain the credibility of the Russian educational system as a whole.

The second category of LC measures elaborated by the Russian government aims at ensuring that there are no security breaches linked to the internationalization of higher education and research. Indeed, education at all levels is a tool in the hands of states, which they use to maintain and expand their political power (Dewey, 1916). Higher Education is a key part of the state's national sovereignty, with Allan Bloom noting "Every educational system has a moral goal that it tries to attain and that informs its curriculum. It wants to produce a certain kind of human being. [...] Always important is the political regime, which needs citizens who are in accord with its fundamental principles" (Bloom, 1987, p26). Education appears in this light as a security issue and external influence on the higher education system affects states in different ways. Globalization has limited the autonomy of the state in many issues, including education and has led to "shifts in solidarities within and outside the national state" (Torres, 2002, p363). When encouraging the intervention of foreign players in Russian universities, the government remained conscious of the fact that internationalizing a country's educational system carries some risks because when a country opens up to an external influence it is hard to assess what it consists of, who the actors behind the scene are and what the long-term impact will be. Internationalization programs funded by the government are generally designed in such a way as to ensure that control of the project remains on the Russian side. The government seeks to protect higher education projects from unsanctioned foreign influence. In project 5-100, foreigners contribute their know-how at all levels and inform strategic decision-making, but the final word always belongs to the Russian Ministry of Higher Education and Research and to members of the 5-100 Project Office with both structures being entirely controlled and populated by Russian citizens. While it is true that "he who pays the piper calls the tune", this national control remains controversial with critics noting that inefficient universities which are strategically important in their region continue to

³⁸ *Monitoring of the Efficiency of the work of Russian Universities*. (2020). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <http://indicators.miccedu.ru/monitoring/?m=vpo>

receive funding in project 5-100 in spite of their worsening performance in international rankings and against the recommendations of the foreign members of the International Expert Committee (Personal Communications I-9 and I-5). The government's decision to shield inefficient universities from the reputational risks of being excluded from the project is a LC decision, which takes into account the ripple economic and social effects of stripping a University of its reputation.

For security reasons, the government has also created a number of LC measures in order to ensure it maintains control on research related to strategic or confidential topics and on their funding. The void experienced by Russia during the 1990s led to foreign actors playing a decisive role in internal issues and acquiring confidential information. The Yeltsin government during its first years in power made developing relations with the West its absolute priority (Bluth, 2019). The first Soviet-American private Foundation "Cultural Initiative" appeared in 1988, "opening an opportunity of direct application for Russian scholars to the Western funding source of academic activities, bypassing government structures" (Kuraev, 2014, p179). International organizations (World Bank, OCDE) and non-governmental organizations (the "Open Society Institute", the Aga Khan Foundation) also had a significant influence on national higher education systems in the Post-Soviet space, and the funding offered to Russia "came with strings attached in the form of certain conditions" (Smolentseva & al, 2018, p27). By the end of the 1990s a large number of US organizations (McArthur, Ford, Carnegie etc.) were operating in Russia, providing funding to Russian researchers to carry out specific research which in some cases revealed Russia's inside state information or data related to the state of its natural resources or defense system (Kortunov, 2010). Disillusionment with Western-style reform and the 1993 upheaval of the political system led to a progressive change in Russia's foreign policy, which became more assertive and characterized by the refusal to "toe the western line" (Bluth, 2019, p9) and the desire to protect its national interests.

In order to ensure that the new wave of internationalization does not result in the disclosure of confidential information, the Russian government has taken a number of LC policy measures to ensure that research is funded by approved sources. The law "On Making Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation Regarding the Regulation of Activities of Noncommercial Organizations Performing the Functions of Foreign Agents" implemented in 2012 requires organizations "to inform the federal agency for state registration about the amount of funding and other property received from foreign sources [...] as well as about the

intended and actual uses” and states that the information provided will be analysed by the anti-terrorist government institutions (Bogdanova, 2017, p7). Non-commercial organizations receiving funding from foreign states or citizens and which attempt to influence political or strategic decision-making or to shape public opinion are considered to be foreign agents and as such are submitted to more rigorous checks of their activities. A number of organizations funding independent scientific research shut down their activities in Russia after being labeled foreign agents, among them the Mc Arthur foundation³⁹. Universities do however benefit from some exemptions from the legislation on foreign-agents when engaging in educational and scientific activities. Federal Law № 121-FZ of 2012 is an LC policy, which allows the government to control the information about Russia, which is provided to other countries and to prevent foreign governments or individuals from gaining control over political and social processes in Russia. Other measures aimed at reducing espionage, such as a February 2019 directive, which encouraged scientists to inform their superiors about and take colleagues to meetings with foreign scientists proved too restrictive and were cancelled⁴⁰. Striking the right balance between protective LC measures and internationalization measures requires constant trials and adjustments.

The Russian government has also developed LC measures in order to counter one of the side effects of the internationalization of higher education: the outflow of qualified students and experts. Russian official statistics reveal that around 35 thousand scientists left Russia in the 1990s, which had a serious impact on the development of science and higher education in the country (Gounko & al, 2014). This problem remains vivid today with Russian President Vladimir Putin declaring in April 2020 his intention to draw up additional measures to stop the outflow of scientists and university professors from Russia⁴¹. Existing measures for funding research aim at preserving Russian and attracting foreign human capital. While

³⁹ Tavernise, S. (2015). *Mac Arthur Foundation to Close Offices in Russia*. Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/23/world/europe/macarthur-foundation-to-close-offices-in-russia.html>

⁴⁰ *Russia scraps criticized restrictions on scientists foreign contacts*. (2020). Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2020/02/10/russia-scraps-criticized-restrictions-on-scientists-foreign-contacts-a69220>

⁴¹ Vorotnikov, E. (2020). *Can Putin really solve the problem of the Brain Drain?* Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20200402141401228>

encouraging Russian students to study abroad, the government strives to ensure that they return and contribute their know-how to the development of their home country. An example is the Global Education Program, funded by the Russian government, which offers Russian citizens the opportunity to enroll in full-time graduate or post-graduate studies in the areas of science, engineering, medicine, education and management in the social sphere and has for target to develop Russian human resource potential. In order for the program to serve its final purpose, the program comprises a clause, which requires students to return to Russia upon completion of their studies to work for a period of three years in an approved list of companies and thus aims to avoid a brain drain (Vorobiov & Tashkulova, 2017). Russia's National Technology Initiative launched in 2014 aims at making the country a technological leader by bringing back emigrated scientists among other measures (Danilin, 2016). Projects like Megagrants give priority de facto if not de jure to Russian emigrated scientists for the role of leader of the laboratory (Puffer & al, 2018), promoting their return home.

The fourth category of LC policy measures was designed to uphold traditional Russian values and avoid social unrest. These widely accepted principles are linked to the country's Soviet history. The belief in equal opportunities and a paternalistic state leads to expectations that the government will fund higher education and not only provide free tuition but also stipends to talented students. Soviet education was free for anyone who had the ability to enroll and higher education was an effective social elevator (Smolentseva, 2007). The introduction of tuition fees in Russian universities in the 1990s led to the creation of a dual tuition track system (Johnstone, 2008) in which students can apply for highly competitive state-funded places or for less competitive fee-paying places (Platonova & Semyonov, 2018). While students with the means to pay for their education have better chances of being admitted to the program and university of their choice, "budget" places are more prestigious and wealthy students may strive to enroll in them for this reason. The impact of neo-liberalism on Russian higher education is highly controversial and the demand for more equal chances appears in public debates and academic articles (for example Besudnov & al, 2017, Kolacheva & al, 2017, Konstantinovskiy, 2012). While internationalizing universities, the Russian government decided to maintain subsidized places with around 40% of all students studying for free in 2019⁴².

⁴² Zavernyaeva, S. (2018). *In 2019 there will be more scholarship places in universities*. Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://www.pnp.ru/social/v-2019-godu-platnykh-mest-v-vuzakh-stanet-bolshe.html>

The federal government also develops and protects the main universities in the Russian regions for economic and social reasons. The Federal Universities project seeks to ensure that each Federal District can train the experts required by the local economy. The same applies to 5-100, with one respondent noting “The choice of universities did not just depend on their objective performance during the competition, it also depended on the government’s strategic goals and the need to develop different Russian regions. Some universities did not have a huge international development potential, but were included because they provide experts for a specific industry, which needs to be developed (Personal Communication I-9). The respondent also noted that in order to stop huge immigration flows towards universities in Moscow and Saint Petersburg, it was necessary to make sure each region could offer quality higher education. Rather than allow market mechanisms to take their course and possibly lead to a fundamental redistribution of people on the Russian territory, the government seeks to control these processes with LC policies aimed at slowing the liberal transition of the higher education system.

The Russian state also faces some resistance to internationalization by academics nostalgic of the Soviet system or those averse to change because they cannot be competitive on the international stage. While the Russian government aims to bring research into universities and seeks alignment with the international model of research universities, rather than risk direct confrontation, it has elaborated a step by step approach taking into account the interests of all parties. This type of LC policy is motivated by a tactical choice to preserve some traditional practices and ensure a smooth transition to international best practices. While in 2004, by creating a joint Ministry of Education and Science, the Russian government showed the intention to unite these two fields (which in 2018 was split into a Ministry of Education and a Ministry of Higher Education and Science), a significant portion of research is still performed in stand-alone think tanks and institutions. The first efforts to reform the Russian Academy of Science and its affiliate institutions were undertaken in the 2000s and led to a confrontation between a group of academics resisting reform and the government. While the Minister of Education and Science D. Livanov noted in 2013 that in the XXI century organizing academic research separately from universities was pointless⁴³ and the Academy was reproached with a

⁴³ Medvedev, Y. (2013). Dmitry Livanov thinks that RAS has no future. Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://rg.ru/2013/03/24/livanov-site-anons.html>

lack of transparency, prioritizing fundamental research over innovations output and an age distribution problem (Dezhina, 2014), the government recognized the need to pace out the reform over several decades. The prestige and reputation of the Russian Academy of Sciences, which is 296 years old, the high level of trust of the Russian population towards it and its values (that fundamental science should be funded by the state and performed per se and not to reap economic benefits) make it difficult for the government to engage in a radical reform (Dezhina, 2014). The principles underlying the organization are still dear to the Russian population and the government has come to understand that the reform process needs to be performed from within. The LC policy in this case takes the form of a moratorium on change, with the Russian President directly intervening when the government was faced with protests (Rosenberg & Saxonov, 2019).

LC Policy in the sphere of higher education in Russia does not seek to limit the number of foreigners as the emphasis is currently put on internationalizing universities. On the contrary, international actors are being brought into Russia to share best practices and help Russian universities to become globally competitive. However, LC policies are constantly being elaborated by the government with several aims: to protect the country against security threats and breaches in confidential information, to control the brain-drain of qualified academics, to ensure that its higher education system is efficient and adapted to local needs and values. While the concrete LC measures taken in the sphere of higher education may differ from other sectors, they are used for similar reasons: to protect the region/country from excessive foreign interference and to ensure a smooth transition to conditions of international competition. The Russian higher education system appears indeed to be a “fledgling industry” in need of state support. LC policies allow the educational system some extra time to mature: indeed the highly ambitious project 5-100 is tempered by a series of cross-measures aimed at preserving social stability. LC policies appear as an effective way to protect a country against some of the repercussions of the shock-therapy of neo-liberalism. While LC policies are often designed to be limited in time, the Russian transition away from these measures appears to not yet have started.

A survey was carried out to determine whether there is, under the conditions of successful internationalization (see Section 4.5), a demand for LC policy measures in Russian Higher

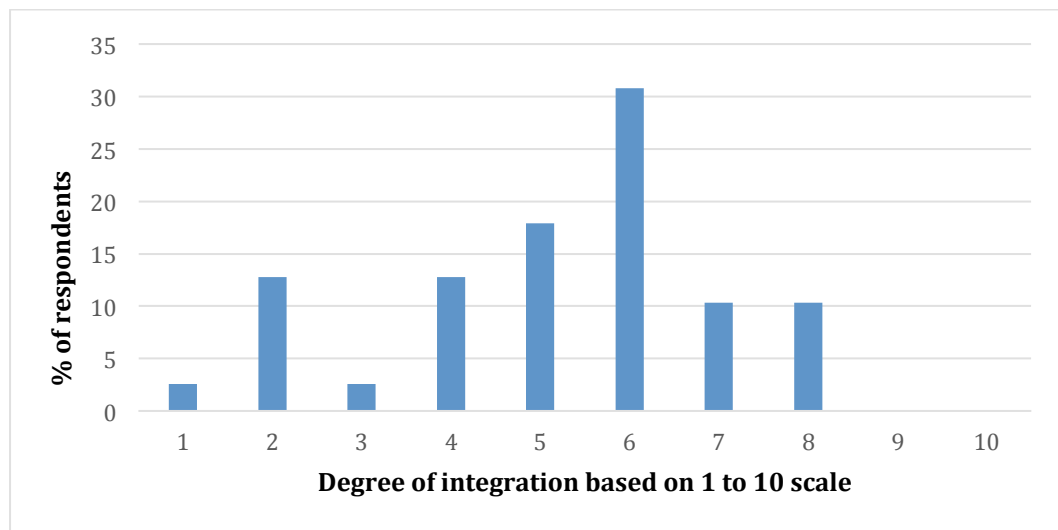
Education. Rolled out in 2020, it reflects current trends in academics' understanding of LC policy and examines three key issues: whether respondents believe that the participation of Russian universities in the international educational space is necessary, whether the success of this participation should be assessed through a system of international ratings and whether the Russian higher education system should be supported and protected by the state. While a study of existing LC policies has shown that they do not currently disrupt the work of TEENS and norm implementation in the framework of project 5-100; further analyzing through the survey the demand for LC policies offers an additional perspective on the relationship between internationalization and LC policies, contributing to fully answering the second research question of this study. (R2: How do transnational actors and LC policy affect the chances of a successful outcome in the national implementation of international norms?) Indeed the purpose of the survey is to establish whether, in conditions of successful internationalization, academics are ready to by-pass LC policies or whether the demand for them remains strong. This helps to further clarify whether internationalization and LC policies are indeed compatible (and not mutually exclusive).

The survey carried out in 2020 focuses on the perception of the level of integration of Russian universities in the global higher education system and the demand for Local Content by Russian academics. It reveals that while there is a shared belief that Russian universities should strive towards international integration, that Russian content should nevertheless be protected by state policies. A sample of 100 people teaching at universities in different Russian regions were asked five closed questions.

- | |
|--|
| <p>Q1: What is the degree of integration of Russian Higher education in the global system?</p> <p>Q2: To what extent do Russian universities need to participate in international ratings to confirm their educational status?</p> <p>Q3: Should the Russian state use international ratings to evaluate the performance of Russian universities?</p> <p>Q4: To what extent should the state legislatively and normatively support the use in the Russian educational field of the achievements of Russian education and science?</p> <p>Q5: How necessary is it to legislatively and normatively protect the Russian educational space from international influences?</p> |
|--|

In Q1, respondents were required to choose on a scale from 1 to 10 the level of integration of Russian higher education in the global system, with 1 representing the lowest level of integration and 10 the maximum level (fully integrated in the international system). Figure 3 reflects that the prevailing answer is “6”, followed by “5”, “4” and “2”. The mean average of all answers is “5.1”, with the maximum points of “9” and “10” selected by no respondents. Answers reflect the fact that the level of integration is perceived as average by the majority and as low by a small proportion of respondents.

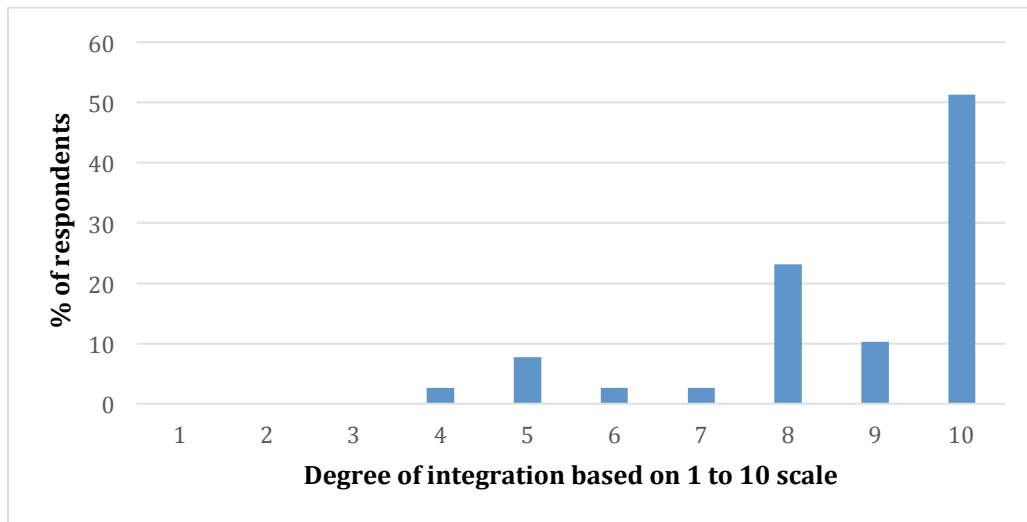
Figure 3 Degree of Integration of Russian universities in the global system



Source: Author illustration

In Q2, respondents assessed to what extent Russian universities should use international ratings to confirm their educational status. As reflected in Figure 4, the minimum answer is 4, the maximum is 10, and the average value in the answers is a range of 8-9. The lowest grades of 1-3 points, which reflect the lack of the need for Russian educational institutions to participate in international ratings to confirm their educational status, are not found in the distribution. Answers to Q2 reveal that the majority of respondents believe that Russian universities need to use international rankings to assess their performance, which could be linked to the absence of Russian rankings which are accepted by all players in the country or the real desire to see Russian universities develop in an international competitive environment and meet those criteria set forward by international rankings.

Figure 4 On whether Russian Universities should participate in international ratings to confirm their educational status

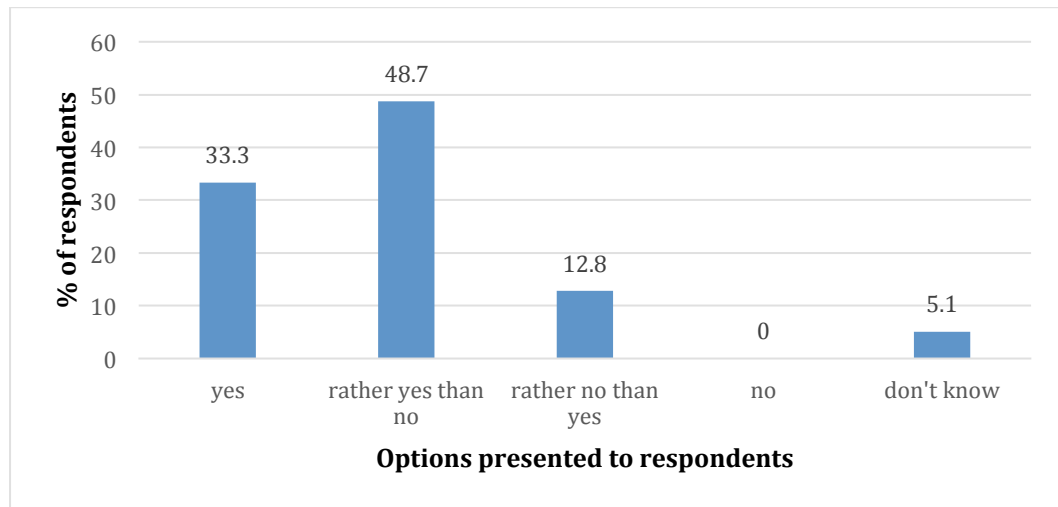


Source: Author illustration

Q3 considers whether respondents think the Russian state should use international rankings to assess the performance of Russian universities. This question involves choosing an answer from the options presented. While Q2 considers whether international rankings should be used as a general reference point, Q3 pushes the question further by asking respondents whether international rankings should be used by the state to determine whether universities are efficient, which would have a direct impact of the funding universities receive. As reflected in Figure 5, over 80% of respondents agreed completely or to some extent with the fact that the Russian state should use international ratings to assess the performance of Russian universities (with 0% of respondents being in complete disagreement with this fact).

Q2 and Q3 reflect a high level of acceptance of the fact that Russian higher education should be integrated in the international arena, revealing an agreement with the state policy to make Russian universities competitive in the international arena.

Figure 5 On whether the State should use international ratings to evaluate the work of Russian universities

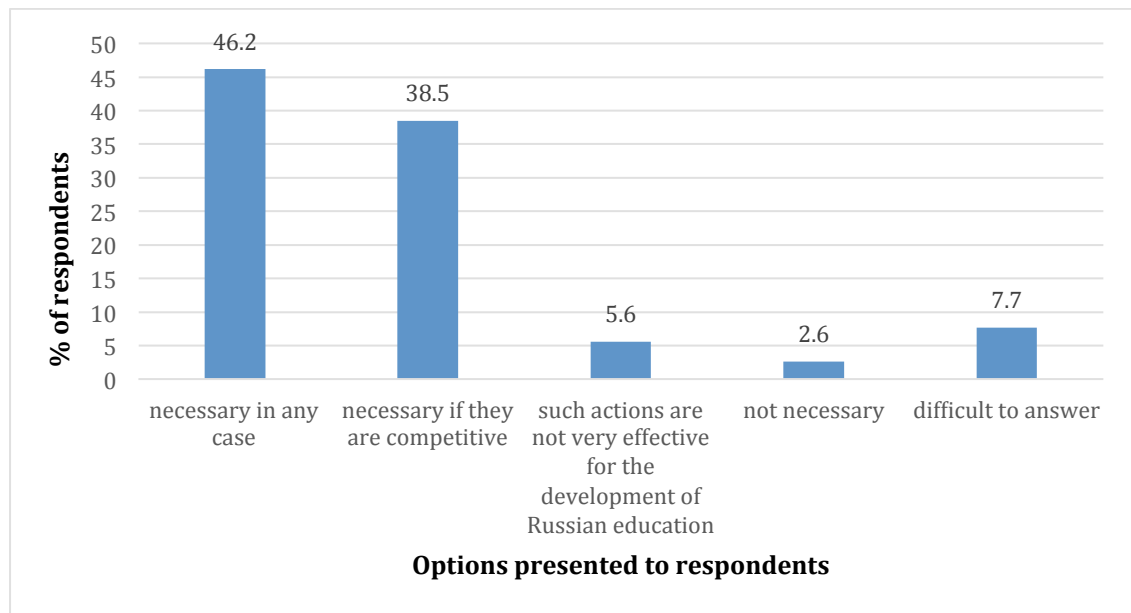


Source: Author illustration

Q4 considers to what extent the state should legislatively and normatively ensure that the findings of Russian scholars and the specificities of Russian education are represented in Russian educational programs. Respondents chose one of five options. In the distribution by sample: 46.2% of respondents chose the answer “necessary in any case”, 38.5% - “necessary if they are competitive”, 7.7% found it difficult to answer, the remaining less than 8% of the respondents were divided between the positions “such actions are not very effective for the development of Russian education” and “there is no need” (Figure 6).

Answers to Q4 reflect the strongly anchored belief that Russian content should be protected by the state, with almost half considering that this support should be given regardless of whether Russian scholars and their ideas are competitive and 38.5% considering that support should be given only if they are competitive. These answers can be explained by a need to see Russian content (ideas, authors) in Russian educational programs and possibly the desire to give Russian scholars the support they need in order to become internationally competitive.

Figure 6 On the need to legislatively and normatively support the use of the achievements of Russian education and science in the Russian educational field



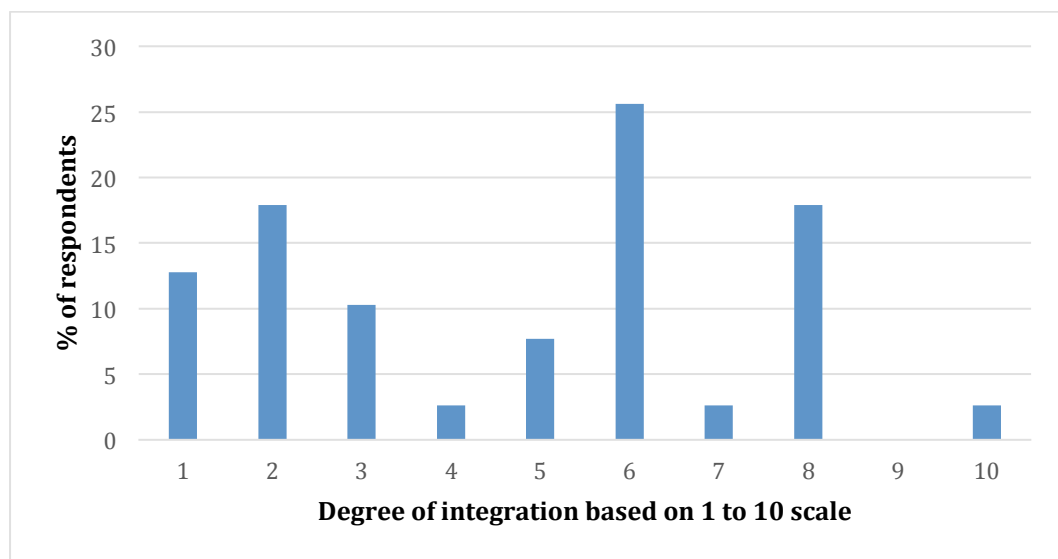
Source: Author illustration

While Q1, Q2, Q3 reflect an acceptance of international integration, answers to Q4 reveal that the majority of academics view the support of the state as key in this process, to ensure that Russian scholars, principles and ideas are given “a fighting chance” in the new competitive environment. Q4 shows a clear demand for the protection of Russian content and for the state to implement LC policies. Concretely, it means that the state should offer priority to Russian content, to Russian scholars over foreign ones in the realization of different projects and when creating educational programs not because they are more competitive but because it is necessary to support a national “industry”.

Q5 explores a different aspect of LC policies, by asking respondents to what extent the state should legislatively and normatively protect the Russian educational space from international influences. This question offers an insight on whether there is a perceived international threat to Russian higher education. The scale of answers shows the distribution from 1 to 10, where 1 is the absence of the need for legislative and regulatory protection of the Russian educational space from international influences and 10 is the opposite, the exceptional need

for such actions. The distribution of answers to Q5 is the most disperse among all the questions (Figure 7). While the preferred answer is “6”, it only gathers 26% of respondents. Two statistically significant groups of respondents are apparent: one that chooses answers “1-3”, and another the positions “6” and “8”. While a significant group believes that Russian higher education requires protection, another believes that by and large it does not.

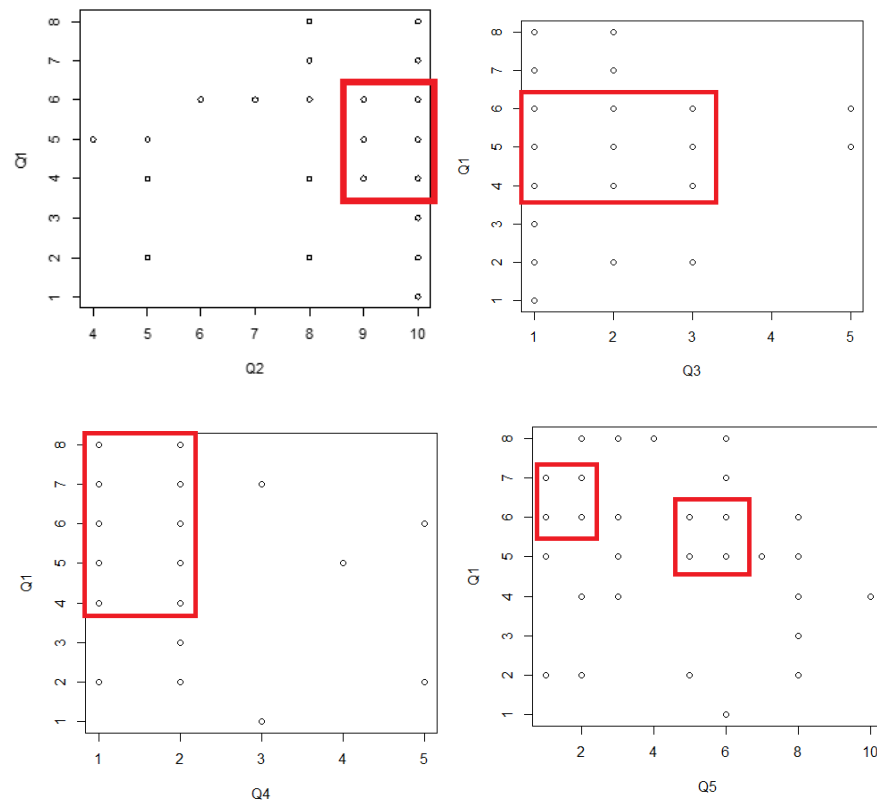
Figure 7 On the need to legislatively and normatively protect the Russian educational space from international influences



Source: Author illustration

Correlation analysis is used to determine whether there are respondents, who select similar answers to different questions, thus highlighting typical respondent profiles. Revealing the existence of different categories of respondents helps us to go beyond the analysis of the average answer and to determine whether the academic community is polarized (with those respondents against internationalization strongly requesting LC policies and those in favour of internationalization deeming LC policies unnecessary). This allows us to discover unexpected links between the respondents’ answers to the main themes of the survey: the assessment of the current level of internationalization of the higher education, the need to use international rankings to assess the work of universities and the demand for more LC policies. Correlation analysis can also reveal an absence of dependency between answers to different questions by the respondents.

Figure 8 Correlation Analysis



Source: Author illustration

The study of the correlations between the different questions of this survey as reflected in Figure 8 reveals several trends in the answers of the respondents. So, for example, those choosing answers “9” and “10” to question 2 usually mark the positions “4”, “5”, “6” in question 1. That is, those who consider it necessary for Russian educational institutions to participate in international ratings to confirm their educational status are usually inclined to assess the degree of inclusion of Russian higher education in the global sphere as average. This same group of respondents believes the state should to some extent use international ratings to evaluate the work of Russian universities, and that there is a need for legislative and regulatory support for Russian content (supporting the achievements of Russian education and science in the Russian educational field). This group splits into two groups in its response to Q5, with the first noting the need for the state to protect Russian higher education against international influence and the second denying such a need.

When considering the responses to all the questions, two conclusions can be made: There is a common understanding among respondents that the participation of Russian universities in the international educational space is necessary and that the success of this participation should be assessed through a system of international ratings. There are common expectations that Russian higher education should be supported and, to some extent protected, by the state. An analysis of the correlation between answers reveals that those respondents who said that there is a low level of integration of Russian universities in the international system, were the less likely to recommend the development of LC measures to protect the Russian education system. Those respondents who noted the level of integration in the international system as high, were more likely to recommend the development of LC measures to protect the content of Russian education. This survey reflects the fact that while the policy of internationalization of the Russian state is accepted; there is a significant demand for the development of LC policies aimed at promoting Russian scientific and education content and, to a lesser extent, at protecting Russian higher education from uncalled for foreign intervention.

The analysis of Russia's current LC policy in the sphere of higher education and of the results of the survey on demand for LC policies among academics reveals that TEENs and LC policies can harmoniously co-exist and even that the later can help support ("rub the edges off") an active internationalization process. First, because de facto existing LC measures have not disrupted the national implementation of the international norm on *world-class* universities and second because successful internationalization has not eliminated the demand for LC policies as reflected in the survey findings. Indeed the survey further disproves the idea that internationalization and LC policies necessarily go against each other.

4.8 Conclusion: main findings

Chapter 4 presents the case study of the national implementation in Russia of an international norm in the sphere of higher education. The international norm on *world-class* universities emerged in the 1990s, gained momentum in the 2000s with several countries trying to make their university systems competitive, and reached maturity with the publication by the World Bank of "The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities" (2009), which enounced the main principles underlying the international norm. *World-class* universities are international, autonomous, research-intensive, stakeholder-oriented entities providing high-

quality education and capable of competing on the global stage for the best students and faculty members. The Russian national adoption of this norm took the form of project 5-100 launched in May 2012. This case study explains the circumstances, which led to the adoption of Project 5-100 by the Russian government, characterizing the impact of TANs and of the international norm on *world-class* universities on the national project. It also demonstrates that TEENs were key actors in ensuring the relative success of project 5-100, describing the mechanisms by which each transnational actor facilitated the implementation of the project by helping adapt it to national conditions, raising awareness about it, offering encouragement, objective assessments and follow-ups. The alternative options for norm implementation considered by the scholarly literature offer less explicative variables and are less credible. The idea that a mature norm after institutionalization automatically reaches compliance is not credible in light of the fact that previous projects in the same sphere failed to yield the desired results and that Project 5-100 was punctuated with phases of contestation and the progress made was not linear. The literature on the need to overcome potential value and interest conflicts (Young, 1998) does not apply well to the sphere of higher education as all major players are in agreement that Russia needs *world-class* universities although the reasons behind this belief may vary. The contending theory that a narrow group of motivated experts can bring about change through innovations (Rosen, 1991/2018) offers some additional insight into why national governments adopt international norms. Indeed in this case, a small group of TANs consisting of motivated experts did push the government to adopt the norm that led to the creation of project 5-100, bringing about innovation. However, this small group of experts is relatively powerless during the implementation phase, which requires large networks working transversally on various platforms and with different entities. The case of project 5-100 illustrates the fact that while the TANs advocating the project consisted of four main players (A. Povalko, D. Livanov, A. Volkov, A. Fursenko) with a clearly defined and limited in time role; the TEENs involved in implementation were more numerous and varied in nature (expert committee members, rating agencies, businesses, organizational organizations, consultancy agencies, partner universities etc.). TEENs cannot be reduced to “epistemic communities” or small motivated groups of experts, as their role goes beyond the capacities of these actors. TEENs aid with the implementation process by fulfilling multiple functions including raising awareness, changing standards and reference points, looking for mutually-beneficial adaptations to local conditions, sharing expertise, explaining the international norm. Rosen’s theory about innovation is valid in its own sphere, the army, which is a very restricted one, with its own social order and which has next to no international

participants involved within it; however its findings cannot be applied to TEENs. LC Policies are measures developed by the government to ensure that the internationalization process serves the interests of domestic universities, research centers and the country as a whole. In the case of Russian higher education, they are aimed at making sure the decision-making remains on the Russian side, at excluding any security threats and at reducing the brain drain to other countries. The LC policy measures help to address some of the resistance to project 5-100 and counter the negative effects of a rapid integration into the global network of universities, allowing Russian universities and academics more time to meet new requirements, thus smoothing the transition to the international market of higher education. The analysis of the results of a survey of Russian academics reveals that while there is a high level of acceptance for the integration of Russian universities in the international domain and the assessment of their performance based on international ratings; there is also strong support for the development of LC policies aimed at making sure Russian scientific achievements are represented in Russian higher education and moderate support for the state protecting the Russian higher education system from some types of international influences. LC Policies as designed by the Russian state and supported by Russian academics do not block but rather allow for, formalize and to some extent control the intervention of foreign experts, thus bringing into the country the TEENs necessary for a successful implementation of project 5-100.

Chapter 5 – The case of combatting flaring and Russian Decrees 7 and 1148

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the international norm on combatting flaring promoted by the World Bank's GGFR and its influence on the adoption by the Russian government of decrees 7 and 1148, the country's national response to the international norm. This case study also considers the factors impacting the implementation of the decrees, revealing the role played both by LC Policies and TEENs.

The researcher first defines the international norm on flaring, tracing it back to its emergence and diffusion on the international stage (section 5.2) then clarifies the context of the study by examining Russia's environmental and flaring track record (section 5.3). The study goes on to analyze how, under the pressure of TANs, the Russian national decrees 8 and 1147 requiring a 95% APG utilization rate were adopted (section 5.4). Section 5.5 considers the implementation process of the national decrees and offers an assessment of their effectiveness. Section 5.6 analyses how LC Policies affected the implementation of the flaring decrees. Section 5.7 identifies how TEENs can help to reach compliance with the decrees. Section 5.8 is the conclusion and presents the main findings of the case. All references made to interviews conducted are followed by "Personal Communication" and a combination of numbers in which the Latin number refers to one of the two case-studies and the Arabic numeral refers to a specific interview (for example II-1 refers to the first interview of the second case). The list of interviews associated to each number is presented in Appendix 5.

The researcher has adopted a temporal phases approach, in which the findings of the case study and the discussion are combined (Burnard & al, 2008), with pauses made in the narrative to allow for analysis. This approach is particularly suited to Constructivist case studies as they put an emphasis on process and show how agency and structure interact over time (Checkel, 2017). In this case study, as in the previous one, the researcher presents the

role of Transnational Experience and Expertise Networks and LC Policy by showing how they affect norm implementation over time.

5.2 The International Norm on Flaring

After defining APG flaring and presenting its economic and environmental costs, this section describes the emergence and diffusion of an international norm aimed at curbing this practice.

There are different definitions of flaring which try to capture the reasons why it is done as well as the geographical differences and measurement challenges linked to this phenomenon. At this stage, we opt for one of the simplest definitions of flaring as “the process by which natural gas is burned off in a controlled manner when extracting oil” (Donev & al, 2018, p1). Indeed, when extracting oil, gas is an automatic byproduct, which is burnt if there is no infrastructure to utilize it. The majority of flaring takes place at oil production facilities but natural gas facilities may present a moderate amount of flaring. Flaring and venting are often referred to jointly, as two ways often used to deal with unwanted gas. Venting is the intentional release of gas without combustion into the atmosphere, leading to the emission of methane, carbon dioxide, sulfur and different volatile impurities. Venting presents a high risk of explosion, has a worse environmental impact than flaring and is more difficult to detect.

The World Bank differentiates between routine flaring, safety flaring, and non-routine flaring⁴⁴. Routine flaring takes place under usual circumstances and is due to a lack of infrastructure to make a productive use of the APG. Safety flaring is done in order to remove any gas, which poses a safety threat to the production site and is by its nature unpredictable. Safety flaring takes place after an accident or a disruption in the production process and helps prevent an accumulation of gas to dangerous levels. Non-routine flaring is a category, which includes all types of flaring which do not fall into the two previous categories. It could be linked to failure of the equipment which usually deals with the APG, construction activities or inspections at the extraction plants, well testing, start up following the shutdown of facilities

⁴⁴GGFR. (2016). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/755071467695306362/pdf/106662-NEWS-PUBLIC-GFR-Gas-Flaring-Definitions-29-June-2016.pdf>

and others⁴⁵. These categories have become important in recent years, as attempts to reduce flaring have concerned mostly routine flaring.

Understanding flaring requires a systematical approach to measuring and publishing data regarding emissions. Few sites are equipped to measure reliably the amounts flared and may rely on estimations. It has been difficult to quantify the amount of flaring globally. In recent years, the use of military satellites and computer programs has provided a better insight into amounts flared around the world. The most common methods used to measure flaring on production sites are estimations based on gas-to-oil ratios and flow meters. Estimations are quite often used in production facilities which are not equipped with flow meters and which are required to report on flaring amounts. Gas-to-oil ratios are an unreliable way of measuring APG flaring as the error margin linked to these calculations can be high. Flow meters are more effective as they are specifically designed to measure on a constant basis the flows of flared gas and when properly installed and calibrated can effectively measure flare quantities and allow for adequate reporting.

Satellite data has been used to estimate flaring volumes for several decades. While the primary goal of gathering information was to predict the weather, the figures became useful for measuring flaring across the globe. Data came at first from the US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's (NOAA) Defense Meteorological Satellite Program satellites, and after 2012 from the NOAA's new Visual and Infrared Radiometer Suite (VIIRS) of detectors, which provided more accurate figures⁴⁶. The new detectors made it possible to detect heat in high enough resolution to be able to estimate flared gas volumes. The growing international interest in the problem of flaring led NOAA and the Global Gas Flaring Reduction Partnership to put together flaring estimates with the Colorado School of Mines using data from the advanced detectors. By detecting heat rather than light, the VIIRS images allow to identify precisely flaring locations. Since 2012, there has been a significant breakthrough in flaring data, offering states and the international community reliable

⁴⁵ GGFR. (2016). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/755071467695306362/pdf/106662-NEWS-PUBLIC-GFR-Gas-Flaring-Definitions-29-June-2016.pdf>

⁴⁶ World Bank. (n/a). *Estimation of flare gas volumes from satellite data*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/251461483541510567/ACS.pdf>

information, which in some cases differs greatly from the volumes announced by oil and gas corporations around the world.

The flaring of APG is both an environmental and an economic problem. Flaring is a negative externality resulting from the extraction and production of petroleum: not only does flaring cause environmental damage affecting the local population and society as a whole, but it is also a waste of natural gas, a non-renewable natural resource which could otherwise be used in positive economic activities to increase the well-being of society (Banerjee & Toledano, 2017). As stocks of petroleum become depleted, the preservation of this gas (which can be re-injected for example) may become essential. By first imposing limits on flaring activities and then by introducing no-flare policies, the governments of most of the main oil producing states have recognized the cost of flaring for society and the need to correct market mechanisms in this domain.

Despite these considerations, flaring remains a common practice because it may be required for security reasons or because it is cheaper to flare than to utilize the associated gas (Bott, 2007). Recently drilled oil wells may be subject to gas leakages, especially when they are still being calibrated. Excess gas has to be disposed of for safety reasons. Gas, which is mixed with mud, sediments or acids, can also stand in the way of oil production activities. Maintenance activities in a well can lead to the release of gas. The economic reasons for flaring are numerous, particularly on sites, which were set up without considering the need to utilize APG. Oil wells in remote locations and those lacking the infrastructure and pipelines to utilize the associated gas often find it necessary to flare it.

Flaring has severe environmental costs, which may vary depending on the efficiency of the combustion, the original composition of the APG and the place the flaring takes place. Unburned fuel components released into the atmosphere such as the carcinogens benzopyrene, benzene, carbon disulfide, carbonyl sulfide, toluene, metals like mercury, arsenic and chromium, sour gas, nitrogen oxides and methane present specific risks and are associated to phenomena such as acid rains and thermal pollution (Mohammadi & al., 2013). They can affect human health, increasing the risk of skin and stomach cancers, through direct exposition and the consumption of infected water.

The global effects of flaring are directly related to the emissions of carbon dioxide and methane. These greenhouse gases contribute to global warming at a time when it has become

a matter of general concern and countries have committed under the auspices of the United Nations (Kyoto Protocol for example) to combat climate change. Some of the most visible effects of gas flaring are in areas envioning the flares. Acid rain forms when combustible vapors burn and turn into rain, which is most common in offshore platforms due to the high levels of humidity (Soltanieh & al, 2016). Acid rain affects ground fertility, destroys crops and entire ecosystems. A study of acid rain in Nigeria has shown that vegetation in the area surrounding flaring dies in its immediate vicinity and further away okra plants and palm trees do not flower (Orimoogunje, 2010). A field study on farmers' perception of the impact of flaring on farming activities in Nigeria (Soltanieh, 2016) confirms the previous findings that flaring represents a serious threat to environmental sustainability. Areas surrounding flaring sites experience thermal pollution, which was found to affect a distance of around 2km around the flare (Anomohanran, 2012). Flaring also has negative effects on human health. People living near flare sites complain of respiratory problems such as asthma and the toxins, which pollute the air are known risk factors for the development and aggravation of respiratory illnesses. Carcinogens such as benzopyrene, benzene, carbon disulfide, carbonyl sulphide have been shown by the US Environmental Protection Agency to cause leukemia and different blood diseases (Ismail & Umukoro, 2012). Radioactive particles lead to thyroid cancer and this type of cancer has an elevated median rate in areas with significant flaring activities (Argo, 2010). Sour gas with H₂S is associated with spontaneous abortion (Ismail & Umukoro, 2012) and contaminated water from acid rain or other sources can lead to intestinal problems and stomach ulcers (Ite & Ibok, 2013).

Before the creation of the Global Gas Flaring Reduction Public-Private Partnership, a number of different actors were involved in raising awareness about greenhouse gas emissions and flaring. While international organisations like the United Nations and the World Bank were launching initiatives to sensitize populations to climate change, other actors were discovering the risks of flaring and its direct impact on climate change. We will analyze how these different initiatives, pushing from different sides, led to the creation of the first global project specifically targeting the problem of flaring: the World Bank's Global Initiative on Gas Flaring Reduction.

The United Nations' Framework Convention on Climate Change adopted in 1992 is an international treaty, which entered into force in 1994, after its ratification by a number of countries. It recognizes the negative impact that human activities have on climate change and

has for goal to stabilize the concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere to avoid the environmental risks linked to global warming. While the Convention on Climate Change did not set formal limits on emissions of greenhouse gases, the Kyoto protocol (1997) contained legally binding commitments to reduce them. The 2010 United Nations Climate Change conference increased the requirements and set up more monitoring bodies within the UN structure. These early conferences and treaties organized within the UN system fostered greater awareness on the topic of climate change and indirectly made populations and governments reflect upon local, regional and global levels of CO₂ emissions.

In 1999, the World Bank established the Prototype Carbon Fund, a public-private partnership “aimed at catalyzing the market for project-based greenhouse gas emission reductions within the framework of the Kyoto Protocol, while contributing to sustainable development” (World Bank Report 35543, 2006, p3). The Carbon initiative has for main goal to encourage the creation of a global carbon market through carbon pricing and other tools designed to reduce global carbon emissions. While not specifically targeting flaring, this initiative to lower carbon emissions made the participating countries think about the origins of their emissions. Oil producing countries became aware that reducing their flaring would be an efficient way of reducing their overall CO₂ emissions (Personal Communication II-2).

Some national governments, in particular Norway, decided from the outset that they did not want to flare (Personal Communication II-3), banning routine flaring completely in 1971. The Norwegian flaring ban also applied to off-shore installations so all oil and gas developers had to make plans for the utilization of the associated gas before they started any new field operation. Norway introduced a CO₂ tax in 1991, which further discouraged flaring and venting (Figueras, 2016). The rules were set out early on and one respondent noted that this was a “cultural thing” (Personal Communication II-3).

The Alberta Energy Regulator in Canada also had a leadership position in flaring regulation and the desire to share its experience in combatting flaring with other countries. The Board’s “Directive 060: Upstream Petroleum Industry Flaring, Incinerating and Venting”, which is subject to constant updating, challenges gas producers to put an end to their routine flaring making them set voluntary targets. If the targets are not met, the regulator then intervenes with a more prescriptive approach (Alberta Energy Regulator, 2020).

Another actor that played a key role in raising awareness about flaring from 1994 was the Colorado School of Mines and its Earth Observation Group (EOG), which specializes in observing night lights and combustion sources globally. The EOG began to work with the Defense Meteorological Satellite Program to get a cloud free view of nighttime lights⁴⁷. The EOG started early on to present data regarding issues related to oil and gas, including flaring, power outages, forest fires and illegal fishing. The imagery rapidly became widely available and affected the global perception of flaring, making it impossible for countries to deny the scale of their flaring practices. Early imagery did not provide entirely reliable data, as was found out later, as some other sources of light or heat appeared in the recognition system as flares. On the business side, in the 1990s, BP funded research on the topic of climate change and was one of the first to give donations to the World Bank for the creation of the World Carbon Fund, which set up the first mechanisms to control the emission of greenhouse gases.

These separate actors used the World Bank as a platform in the late 1990s to jointly address the question of flaring, creating several targeted programs: the Global Initiative on Gas Flaring Reduction (2000) and the Global Gas Flaring Reduction Public-Private Partnership (2002). The Norwegian government and the World Bank had started to separately conceptualize the problem of flaring and when they found out they were both working on the issue they organized a small workshop that led to the creation by the Norwegian government of a trust fund for the question of flaring. A consultation on flaring was set up with all the interested governments and led to discussions with major oil companies such as Shell, BP and Total and governments of oil producing countries. The Global Initiative on Gas Flaring Reduction was created for a period of 3 years with in mind the (surprising to the current reader) idea that the problem would probably be solved within that timeframe. The Global Initiative on Gas Flaring Reduction was fully operational in 2000, with 17 companies and 6 governments already. One of the respondents involved in this early stage of the process noted: “We were the core team but we did not know what we were doing” and all the participants appeared poles apart coming from different backgrounds, businesses, government organizations, non-governmental organizations (Personal Communication II-3). However, when the task became clear so did the main directions they would take to resolve the problem: awareness raising, capacity building and knowledge transfer. The team began to work on

⁴⁷ Colorado School of Mines Earth Observation Group. (2020). *Global Gas Flare Observed from Space*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://payneinstitute.mines.edu/eog/>

creating core documents to describe their mission and to diffuse information to all concerned or interested parties.

Together with the government of Norway, the Global Initiative on Gas Flaring Reduction wrote the first version of the Voluntary Standard for Global Gas Flaring and Venting Reduction, which served as a reference point for countries aiming to reduce their flaring activities. The goal of the Global Initiative was to promote sustainable development through a project-based carbon reduction program. The idea was to monetize something, which before was not considered real (flared gas and the associated emissions). By putting a financial value on this externality, “they created a different thinking” (Personal Communication II-3). They also decided to set up a more extensive partnership involving additional countries and companies and to organize a high-level international conference to raise awareness globally about flaring.

The Global Gas Flaring Reduction Public-Private Partnership (GGFR) was launched during the World Summit on Sustainable Development in August 2002. It is a Public-Private partnership because it has for members the governments of oil-producing countries, national and multinational oil companies and donors providing funding to realize the GGFR’s main initiatives. When asked to join the partnership, some companies and governments responded positively immediately, Shell, BP and Chevron joined quickly, as did the government of Nigeria. High-level representatives of oil and gas companies attended the 2002 summit in South Africa, for example BP’s Second Chairman. During the World Summit on Sustainable development, the magnitude of the problem of global flaring was exposed and participants recommended holding a separate high-level meeting, dedicated to this issue.

At first the GGFR had 8 to 12 partners who were willing to fund its activities. Each corporation paid 300 000 dollars over a 2 year period, while the Norwegian government paid considerably more to set up the fund (Personal Communication II-3). The oil and gas companies also organized secondments of full-time employees and governments sent civil servants to participate in the GGFR initiative. Some countries, which were heavy flarers came on board early. While few contributed financially to the program, their participation was key to the successful unfolding of the project (Personal Communication II-3).

The GGFR was set up as a World Bank initiative and has a small team of eight to ten people working full-time on coordinating the program (Personal Communication II-9). The GGFR defines its mission as to “to increase use of natural gas associated with oil production by

helping remove technical and regulatory barriers to flaring reduction, conducting research, disseminating best practices, and developing country-specific gas flaring reduction programs”⁴⁸. The GGFR helps national and regional governments to develop viable regulatory frameworks for APG utilization and the necessary infrastructure for this purpose. The GGFR is also a platform where members can share their best practices and be accountable to each other about their progress and difficulties. The initiatives aimed at supporting APG utilization in developing countries receive funding from the World Bank. The program also has for goal poverty reduction, as it aims to bring to developing countries new technologies so that their APG can be utilized instead of wasted. Natural gas is an instrument, which helps put countries on the path of sustainable development as it has low carbon emissions. It can be the “least-cost source of flexible electricity supply for grid-based systems with fluctuating supply and demand”⁴⁹. The Voluntary Standard for Global Gas Flaring and Venting Reduction offers practical advice about how to reduce flaring and venting practices and those countries, which endorse the standard voluntarily commit to seeking solutions to overcome barriers to flaring (Campbell& al, 2004).

While the GGFR was being set up, the international norm on combatting flaring was slowly taking shape. TANs framed the problem of flaring as an economic, a development and human rights and an environmental issue, giving it maximum momentum for a wide range of audiences.

Economically, TANs emphasize that flaring is a waste of valuable natural resources, a loss of funds and revenue for each nation and each oil company. A telling example is Nigeria, which flared in 2013 17.2 billion m³ of natural gas in the Niger Delta, which is equivalent to one quarter of the power consumption of the African continent that same year (Ajugwo, 2013). The value of flared APG worldwide is impressive and utilization projects are interesting investment opportunities for private businesses (Ismail& Umukoro, 2012). Governments have come to realize they might one day in the near future need the gas they are flaring. When meeting with representatives and shareholders of oil and gas companies, GGFR representatives or NGOs focus on the economic aspects of flaring, underlining the fact that

⁴⁸ GGFR. (2020). *Global Gas Flaring Reduction Partnership*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/gasflaringreduction>

⁴⁹ Ibid

there is an obvious financial loss for the companies. When dealing with government representatives, TANs emphasize the limited reserves of natural resources and fossil fuels that each country has available (Personal Communication II-9).

The problem of flaring is also framed as a development and human rights issue in some cases. The GGFR website notes that the mission to stop flaring is linked to fighting poverty and promoting development⁵⁰. While in developed countries flaring sites tend to be located in remote areas or at a certain distance from living areas, in developing countries entire communities may live near flare sites and be negatively affected by the emissions and thermal pollution. Putting an end to flaring means improving the livelihoods of these vulnerable communities. A number of World Bank projects are focused on using the associated gas to provide energy to local communities (Ajugwo, 2013).

Most frequently the problem of flaring is framed as an environmental issue, especially when conducting discussions with developed and democratic countries, in which the population is informed about the dangers and anthropogenic origins of climate change. While GGFR representatives use a collaborative approach in order to keep all parties at the negotiations table (Personal Communication II-9), non-governmental organizations may use “naming and shaming” techniques to make governments and businesses accountable for their flaring activities. Recent norms benefit from being grafted onto more mature norms (Acharya, 2004), and the norm on flaring was successfully associated with the older norm on combatting climate change.

The GGFR currently counts as partners the oil companies: BP, Chevron, Eni, ExxonMobil, Kuwait Oil Company, Pemex (Mexico), Qatar Petroleum, Shell, SNH (Cameroon), SOCAR (Azerbaijan), Sonatrach (Algeria), Statoil, TOTAL. The governments of Alberta (Canada), the Republic of Congo, France, Gabon, Indonesia, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug (Russia), Mexico (SENER), Nigeria, Norway, the USA, Uzbekistan, Yamal-Nenets AO (Russia) are also GGFR partners as well as the EBRD, the European Commission and the World Bank.

The different partners have various levels of involvement, ranging from participation in joint awareness events, to financing GGFR activities and committing to binding flaring reduction

⁵⁰ GGFR. (2020). *Global Gas Flaring Reduction Partnership*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/gasflaringreduction>

targets. Several respondents from oil companies emphasized the importance of their cooperation with the GGFR in reducing their flaring activities, noting they met up with representatives of the organization 5-6 times a year on average and that at each meeting they added a piece of activity, widening the scope of their joint work and checking that flaring reductions targets were being met. They spoke about the importance of the role played by environmental teams in their companies, their impact on business development plans, the funds invested in developing technical expertise to capture and utilize associated gas and the importance of social corporate responsibility for clients of the company (Personal Communication II-7).

The GGFR launched in 2015 the Zero Routine Flaring by 2030 initiative, which unites those partners ready to take their commitments to stop flaring a step further. The initiative was launched after a high level UN official visiting the GGFR enquired about when flaring was going to end completely (Personal Communication II-9). The team believed they had no good answer to the question and after reflection decided to create the Zero Routine Flaring by 2030 initiative. This initiative represents a more mature version of the initial norm on reducing flaring as it establishes an end-date and seeks commitment. The initiative has two key points: the first is that in any new oil field development, the country or oil company commits to having a solution for utilizing the associated gas from the outset. The second is that they agree to finding a solution to any routine flaring by 2030. The initiative was launched at a high level by the UN Secretary General and the President of the World Bank, attracting a lot of media and popular attention. The initiative was endorsed by over 80 countries and companies. However, some GGFR partners did not join the initiative, which is not a reflection of overall norm contestation but rather testifies to the unwillingness or inability of some countries and companies to reach the target on time.

The international norm on combatting flaring, which found its grassroots in the awareness campaigns of a few countries and companies and was diffused during the 1990s, gained momentum and international recognition with the formation of the GGFR and its different support programs during the 2000s. With the adoption of the Zero Routine Flaring by 2030 initiative in 2015, the international norm reached maturity. A number of countries, including Russia, which had not been involved until then in the global movement against flaring, began to show an interest in increasing their APG utilization rates in the 2010s as the international norm cascaded.

5.3 The context of Flaring in the Oil and Gas sector in Russia

Russia's environmental policies and practices are influenced by the country's history and geography. The history of industrial development in Soviet times still has an impact on the environmental situation today. The historical priority given to developing heavy industry over other spheres and the inefficient use of natural resources in the production process are factors, which defined for a long time the Russian economy. The environmental context inherited by Russia from Soviet times is key to understanding the country's flaring situation. The most recent official World Bank figures on global flaring reveal that Russia was in 2019 the first flaring country globally. The data was put together by the Colorado School of Mines, based on the monitoring of satellite data. Russia was the number one flarer from 2014 to 2019, followed by Iraq, the United States, Iran and Venezuela (World Bank Report, 2019) Russia's flaring volumes were 18.3 billion cubic meters in 2014, 19.6 in 2015, 22.4 in 2016, 19.9 in 2017, 21.3 in 2018 and 23.2 in 2019 (World Bank Report, 2019). The increase of flared volumes over the considered period (except between 2016 and 2017) can be linked to a higher flaring intensity but also to an increase in oil production volumes.

Data on flaring intensity reveals that in terms of the cubic meters of gas flared per barrel of oil produced, Russia comes in 2018 behind a dozen of countries including Cameroun, Algeria, Venezuela, Malaysia, Oman, Egypt, Gabon, Congo and others (World Bank Report, 2019). Russia comes first in terms of volumes flared because it is a leading producer of oil in total volumes and has indeed 13.6 percent of the world's oil reserves (Ismail & Umukoro, 2012). Being the largest country in the world with a plethora of natural resources means that Russia has larger oil extraction activities than other countries and is from the start a natural candidate to falling into the list of the highest flarers of the globe. For a long time and since the beginning of the systemized extraction of oil for commercial purposes, APG has been viewed as a waste product, which explains the long enshrined tradition of venting or flaring it. Traditionally in the Soviet Union, there was a clear distinction between the oil and gas industries, an organizational characteristic, which is still true today. Huge companies started to dominate the market, as the high infrastructural investments to create wells in the outback or offshore were prohibitive for smaller players. When asked about the reasons Russia is a major flarer, all respondents pointed primarily to historical and geographical reasons, noting

that APG has a much higher value when it is near a potential consumption centre than if it is in a remote location or on an off-shore platform with no possibility to utilize or store it.

In Russia, there is a limited interest in global environmental issues while local environmental problems, which affect people directly, are more likely to mobilize the population (Poltarykjin & al, 2019; Istomin, 2010). The situation is undergoing some changes in favor of greater environmental awareness, although great variations have been identified between regions (Khakimova & al, 2017). While in Nigeria, flaring sites are close to where the population lives and the effects of flaring have a direct impact on the health and wellbeing of the population; in Russia, most oil production and flaring sites are in zones, which have a very low density of population. If the flares are “in the middle of nowhere” then the problem is less likely to lead to civic activism or provoke any kind of reaction at all. Flaring estimates also are variable and Russian figures are generally lower than international ones, leading to some confusion regarding the scale of the problem faced (Henderson & Ferguson, 2014). Russians may not trust foreign estimates for political reasons and believe other countries have a hidden agenda to discredit Russia. Indeed most Russians are suspicious when foreign countries ask their government to switch to renewable forms of energy and see this as Western countries having a hidden agenda and trying to undermine Russian power (Personal Communication II-14). Another historical issue is that as Russia has abundant energy resources, the question of wasting resources has only recently been voiced as being an actual problem. Artificially low subsidized energy prices maintain the myth among the population that natural resources are cheap and abundant (Poussenkova & Overland, 2018).

Russia’s main flaring sites coincide with the oil producing regions of the country: The North-West, the Volga, Ural and Siberia. The bulk of the flaring traditionally took place in Western Siberia, which has for years accounted for most of the oil production. The Khanty-Mansiysk Okrug has over 220 active fields like Priobskoye, Samotlor and Krasnoleningskoye with huge daily outputs. These traditional oil production sites have over time found different solutions to utilize their APG, though not in full. Also a progressive decline in oil production in mature fields has had for consequence a decrease in APG output (Eder & al, 2019), while a number of new fields in this region (Russkoe and Novyi port) have counterbalanced this trend.

The development of other sites in Eastern Siberia was accompanied by an onset of flaring there, with fields distributed on a large geographical area and far from existing infrastructure. This region, which includes Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk, rapidly became the first flaring

region of Russia, with a limited number of fields responsible for the majority of the flaring. The European part of Russia counts for around 18% of the APG extracted in Russia (Eder& al, 2019). In the Komi Republic and the Nenets Autonomous District (Timan-Pechora region, North), new oil development activities have been generously funded, while gas processing has been neglected, leading to a rise in flaring. The fields in Orenburg (Volga region) have better infrastructure and more available options to utilize their associated gas (Haugland & al, 2013). In the Far-East, APG production is limited but two production sites stand out: Yakutia and the Sakhalin Island.

The effects of flaring through global climate change are visible in different Russian regions. Weather specialists have recorded an increase in average temperatures all over the country. Dmitry Kiktyov, deputy director of the Rosgidromet federal weather service noted that recorded history indicates that there is a warming, with winters being less cold and less sunny and more grey and cloudy⁵¹. While different studies expect some parts of Russia to benefit from the warming, environmental authorities point to the risk of floods, hunger and epidemics in the main cities.⁵² In an official report, the Russian Ministry of Natural Resources and the Environment noted that Russia is warming faster than the global climate, that the melting permafrost in the Russian Arctic could result in radioactive substances being released, that Siberian forests were becoming more vulnerable to fires and the Far East to unexpected floods threatening people's lives and livelihoods (Natural Resources and Environment Ministry, 2017). The Russian Deputy UN envoy Dmitry Chumakov confirmed this in a UN General Assembly Session on Climate Change in March 2019, by saying "The pace of warming in Russia is 2.5 times higher than the world average"⁵³. The arctic and sub-arctic regions are the most vulnerable to climate change, the rise in average summer and winter temperatures leading to a meltdown of the snow, permafrost and sea ice, itself affecting the ecosystems in place.

⁵¹ Kiselyov, S. (2018). *Moscow winters are becoming warmer due to climate change top meteorologist says*. Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2018/11/30/moscow-winters-are-becoming-warmer-due-to-climate-change-top-meteorologist-says-a63667>

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ Novoderezhkin, A. (2019). *Russian climate gets warmer 2.5 times faster than world average*. Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://tass.com/society/1051300>

The local effects of flaring in Russia are visible in areas of oil-production. The temperature pollution from flaring in Russia leads to forest fires, damage to vegetation and to soil cover, which in turn negatively impact the biodiversity of animals and plants (Shevchenko, 2019). Black carbon resulting from the flares accumulates on the snow and is dangerous to humans and animals. The areas of Yamalo-Nenets and Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug have high values of black carbon emissions (Vasilieva & Vinogradova, 2017). The Nenets Nature Reserve was created in 1997 following concerns that the oil production industry was affecting these wetlands important for many species, but widespread deposits of oil and gas still grow as a result of flaring and other activities⁵⁴. Black carbon can be found in high concentration in the Kara sea when air flows from the gas flaring areas of northwestern Siberia (Shevchenko & al, 2016). The highest concentration was found near Tomsk and the flaring sites of the Yamalo-Nenets region (Shevchenko, 2019). Black carbon particles are of particular concern in the Arctic, as they darken the surface of the snow and make it absorb more heat. Experts believe black carbon is accelerating the arctic melt.

Russia is the first flarer globally for geographical and historical reasons and the development of the O&G industry took priority for many years over environmental issues for economic reasons. The government's growing awareness of the negative effects of flaring, under the influence of the international norm promoted by the GGFR, led to the adoption of national legislation to increase APG utilization.

5.4 The Adoption of the International Norm in Russia: Decrees 7 and 1148

During the 1990s and early 2000s, while some of the leaders in combatting flaring were putting down the premises of what would become a global norm against flaring, other countries like Russia stayed far away from this process. The breakdown of the Soviet Union, the political turmoil and economic hardship that ensued turned both the government's and the population's attention away from environmental issues. In the first years the GGFR was trying to establish its mission and attract stakeholders, Russian oil and gas companies were not actively involved in the process. The official Russian position did not recognize that oil

⁵⁴ *Nenets State Nature Reserve: Swamp and Lichen Kingdom*. (2016). Retrieved on 23.09.2020 from <https://arctic.ru/analitic/20160311/315747.html>

and gas companies on its territory were flaring, which meant that the companies were not willing to discuss the issue (Personal Communication II-3). However the level of associated gas utilization is mentioned in most strategic documents regulating the oil and gas industry in Russia from the 1990s including all the early editions of the Energy Strategy of Russia (Bushuev & Troitskii, 2007). The first laws on APG utilization appeared in 1997 and before that a number of decrees on environmental protection touched upon the subject. However, multiple laws are not the equivalent of a stringent regime, as laws have little influence on practices, if there is a lack of monitoring or punishment for infractions (Roland, 2010). While the representatives of oil companies were aware in the 1990s and early 2000s of the flaring practices and official documents mentioned the problem of flaring, (though more in passing than as a real challenge to be overcome), it was considered a national matter and all data surrounding flaring was regarded as confidential. This explains why little progress was made at first by international actors trying to engage in Russia. During the early 2000s the volume of APG flaring did not change and no practical steps were taken to reduce flaring (Eder & al, 2019).

In the absence of a strong official line from the central authorities on the problem of flaring, the GGFR decided to reach out directly to the regional governors of the Russian regions where most of the flaring was taking place. “They were on the ground living with the flaring, which they recognized as a problem” and the possibility of receiving funds to reduce their emissions was of interest to them (Personal Communication II-4). The GGFR team was able to successfully engage in the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug, they brought in experts from the Alberta government for workshops and they engaged in a productive dialogue because both sides faced common challenges like the cold and the difficulties linked to working in the ice. The Canadian experts shared their experience about reducing flaring, explaining how they overcame different legal and technical difficulties. A local university was pro-active and took the initiative to provide data, which was necessary for the GGFR team to be able to assess the situation and help. The process shows how important it was at the time to go to the right people, those who wanted the changes and were capable of making them happen.

Several factors impacted the Russian government’s decision to finally legislate on flaring. Flaring had been identifiable on satellite images for many years but was not used at first, as indeed the satellites had for primary function to collect information on the weather (for

example the Defense Meteorological Satellite Program). The first report on the detection of gas flares dates back to the early 1970s (Croft, 1973) but had little to no international resonance. The situation changed in the early 2000s, when the GGFR started to encourage the development of independent data sources on flaring. Experts from think tanks and Universities (particularly from the University of Colorado) started to produce various estimates of gas flaring around the world by using archive images collected by the US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (and the DMSP's Operational Linescan System dating back to 1994 (Elvidge & al, 2019)). Estimates of gas flaring volumes were calculated from 1995 (Loe & Ladehaug, 2012) and the data collected was used to produce images, which were widely circulated and created an element of shock in the international community. The Russian government experienced some embarrassment as it became evident it was the world's biggest flaring country (Roland, 2010), all the more that the data produced at the time was not entirely accurate as it overestimated Russia's flaring volumes. A respondent noted: "at first with satellite imaging we estimated that Russia flared 50bcm per year, which was too much, but we did not know at the time that there were other unrelated lights that appeared in the images. Gradually we settled on estimates of 20-25 bcm" (Personal Communication II-5). Regardless of the figures, Russia remained the biggest flarer and these images may have raised the Russian government's awareness about the seriousness of flaring and the need to tackle it as an urgent problem.

The image and environmental reputation of Russia's oil and gas industry was not a major priority for Russian consumers, who received energy at a subsidized price and were not highly sensitive to environmental issues in the early 2000s. But Russian oil companies needed to appear as legitimate and comply with established international standards (Roland, 2010) in order to sell abroad, especially to their main buyer, the countries of the European Union. The international oil and gas companies operating in Russia (BP, Total, Shell...) were GGFR partners and raised the question of associated gas flaring at international steering committees (Personal Communication II-2), mostly because of the severe criticism they underwent at home for their involvement in Russia's flaring activities.

The power of international pressure is not however the strongest factor leading to policy changes in Russia. Indeed, Roland (2010) noted that: "Russian authorities seldom tend to allow themselves to be pressured from the outside". However some international reports (for example PFC Energy's report "Using Russia's Associated Gas (2007) commissioned by the

WB and the International Energy Agency's report (2006) "Optimising Russian Natural Gas") highlighted the lost income from gas flaring and received some attention at governmental level. Indeed the sense of lost income linked to flaring appears as an influential factor bringing about change in Russian policy-making. Both Russian and international experts started paying attention to the lost opportunity costs linked to flaring in Russia.

By the mid-2000s the GGFR was carrying out a wide range of activities to promote awareness about the dangers of flaring. In 2004, the GGFR started cooperating with the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug and brought over experts from Canada to discuss regulatory and legal governance of its APG utilization. In 2006, KMAO became a member of the GGFR partnership and the region successfully managed to reduce its flaring (to the extent it received an award from the WB in 2012). The successful experience of this Russian region in utilizing its APG showed the rest of Russia that it was possible to develop technical solutions and regulations to reduce flaring efficiently. The fact that a Russian region independently decided to fully engage with an international partner in order to reduce its flaring practices when it was not required to do so by Russian regulation also acted as a motor for change on a national level.

The Russian government's decision to deal with the problem of flaring in the country is often associated in Russian documents with the Kyoto Protocol⁵⁵. Countries, which signed the Kyoto Protocol took on different obligations to reduce emissions of six types of greenhouse gases: carbon dioxide (CO₂), methane (CH₄), nitrous oxide (N₂O), hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), perfluorocarbons (PFCs) and sulfur hexafluoride (SF₆). The first three are components of or result from the flaring of associated gas. The first commitment period for the Kyoto Protocol, which was ratified by Russia in 2004, lasted 5 years: from January 1st, 2008 to December 31st 2012. For this period, Russia had taken on the commitment to preserve its average annual emissions at the level of the year 1990. In order to meet the targets, the Russian government looked for the best ways to limit emissions and came to the conclusion that combatting flaring was one of the most productive ways to reduce emissions (Personal Communication II-14).

⁵⁵ Gazprom. (2018). *Gas Questions*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.gazprom-neft.ru/files/journal/SN152.pdf> See p17

While NGOs generally play a significant role in advocating new governmental policies in the environmental sphere around the globe, it appears NGOs had a rather limited role in the adoption of anti-flaring legislation. The only NGO mentioned by respondents is WWF, which created in the 2000s a number of expert reports on the problem of flaring in Russia. Unlike other NGOs, which may have a confrontational attitude, WWF reached out to the World Bank to participate in GGFR events and to Russian oil and gas companies. NGOs suffer from a lack of trust in Russia with one respondent noting that “NGOs have their vested interests, the idea that they show the truth is naive” and that their financing depends on their ability to attract attention, leading to a tendency to exaggerate everything (Personal Communication II-10). Taking into account their general lack of credibility, it appears that NGOs had little impact on the decision to adopt Decrees 7 and 1148.

To sum it up, several influential factors led to the adoption of the anti-flaring legislation in Russia. The international norm against flaring which started to gain momentum in the 2010s, the effective cooperation of a Russian region with the GGFR to reduce flaring, the boom of information on flaring, the ready-available satellite images of real-time flaring, Russia’s adherence to the Kyoto protocol, the recognition of the financial losses linked to flaring and the pressure of business partners all created a context in which the Russian government decided to tackle head on the problem of flaring.

While the context and international norm on flaring played an important role setting the scene for a heightened interest in flaring and for regulation in this field, several people played a key role at the governmental level in requesting and facilitating this legislation. The GGFR had several meetings with the State Duma to raise awareness about the problem of flaring in the early 2000s and had numerous exchanges with their committee responsible for oil and gas, which eventually led to discussions with government representatives.

Elvira Nabiullina, Minister of Economic Development and Trade from September 2007 to May 2012, was a key player in the adoption of the new legislation. While representatives of the Ministry of Energy were very technical and had little interest in discussing policies according to one respondent, the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade understood the economics of the issue and showed interest in dealing with the issue of flaring (Personal Communication II-5). E. Nabiullina’s team sought out the people in the government responsible for the question of flaring and engaged in extensive discussions on the issue. Her

position in the government in 2007 and her intensive interaction with the GGFR at the time suggest that she may have brought the issue of gas flaring to the President and argued its case, possibly directly leading to Vladimir Putin's 2007 speech, in which he condemned flaring practices (Personal Communication II-5). The governmental decree number 7 of 2009 and the various associated documents determining the fine levels for flaring were also created during the years E. Nabiullina was working in the Ministry. Financial expertise and the validation of the financial mechanisms were required when creating the legislation, making the document a common effort of several Ministries. While the issue of flaring may be more logically attached to the Ministry of Energy, the fact that E. Nabiullina has no direct links with the oil and gas industry may have been considered an asset when selecting a leader on this issue within the government. E. Nabiullina involved members of her team in discussions on flaring reduction, particularly Vsevolod Gavrilov, Deputy Director of the Department of property & land relations and economics of natural resources use, in the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade, who seemed very receptive to the fact that flaring had a monetary cost and published widely in the press on the problem of flaring⁵⁶.

Another member of the TAN having a strong impact on Russian policy-making on flaring is Igor Sechin, who occupied during his career different positions both in Rosneft and the Russian government, including Deputy Prime Minister for oil and gas issues and Chief Executive Officer of Rosneft, Chairman of Rosneft's Management Board and Deputy Chairman of the Board of Directors of Rosneft. Igor Sechin was in regular interaction with Vladimir Putin and would have been consulted on the question of APG considering the fact he was Deputy Prime Minister for oil and gas issues at the time the flaring decree was being created and "may have tilted the power balance in the federal bureaucracy to the advantage of the oil industry" (Webb, 2009 as cited by Roland 2010, p27). Igor Sechin ordered Gazprom and the Federal Anti-Monopoly Service to allow independent producers access to the country's gas pipelines system, the goal being to ensure real third-party access to the Gazprom-operated network⁵⁷. This measure stood to benefit Rosneft, the country's biggest oil

⁵⁶ Belyaev, S. (2007). *Gazprom Neft plans to utilize 100% of its APG*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.gazprom-neft.ru/press-center/sibneft-online/archive/2007-august/1104793/>

⁵⁷ *Deputy PM Instructs Gazprom to Ease Pipeline Access for Russian Gas Producers*. (2008). Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://ihsmarkit.com/country-industry-forecasting.html?ID=106596619>

producer, which could boost its gas production and capture more of its associated gas, which it flared. Igor Sechin had a motive to promote APG utilization and took measures to enable oil companies to monetize their associated gas. While Igor Sechin is an industry lobbyist and is not primarily motivated by environmental concerns, he has been vocal on the need to reduce flaring (for example at the St Petersburg International Economic Forum in 2018)⁵⁸ and promoted change in a way that a member of a TAN would. Igor Sechin was also involved in numerous discussions with BP (which preceded the takeover of TNK-BP by Rosneft in 2013), during which the issue of flaring and its wastefulness was discussed according to a respondent who attended the talks (Personal Communication II-3), showing he came under some external pressure to address the question of APG flaring.

The first early attempts at legislating on flaring in Russia, such as the Federal Law “On Regulation of the Use of Petroleum (Associated) Gas”, were unsuccessful. On October 12, 2000 the draft law was submitted to the Council of the State Duma and three years later was withdrawn (Kovalienko, 2010). The law was a step forward compared to previous legislation, addressing directly and exclusively the problem of APG utilization levels, presenting some clear definitions of flaring and associated gas and introducing the target of a 95% utilization rate, which was subsequently used by the later decrees. The draft law was not adopted for a number of reasons: it was not technically well designed as it repeated fragments of previous legislation on air quality and environmental protection and its promoters were incapable of rallying the necessary political support to overcome the resistance openly expressed by the main oil and gas companies. In the early 2000s, the international norm on flaring was just emerging and was not powerful enough to support productive change in Russia, while awareness of the costs of flaring was limited both at social and governmental levels.

Interest in the problem of flaring rose in Russia in the mid and late 2000s. The first high-level speech made on flaring was Vladimir Putin’s Address to the Federal Assembly in 2007 in which he noted that Russia flared more than 20bcm annually and revealed that utilizing APG

⁵⁸ Sechin, I. (2018). *Presentation on the Energy section Oil markets: Risks and New opportunities*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from https://www.rosneft.com/upload/site2/attach/0/11/pdf_25052018_en.pdf

would become a national priority⁵⁹. Different declarations were made on flaring after that, including a 2009 speech to the Federal Assembly by the then President Medvedev in which he underlined the economic and environmental costs of flaring and noted that no excuses from oil production companies for flaring would be accepted (Loe & Ladehaug, 2012).

On January 8th, 2009 the governmental decree number 7 “On the measures stimulating reduction of atmospheric pollution by products of associated gas flaring” was passed. The first version of the decree elaborated by Rostekhnadzor was very strict but became less ambitious after it was reviewed and modified by the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Natural Resources (Roland, 2010). The decree in its final version requires 95% utilization of APG. The new system of calculating payments for emissions of harmful substances and pollutants was to enter into force on January 1st 2012 (Kutepova & al, 2011). The decree led to a huge increase in fines, particularly for methane emissions (Loe & Ladehaug, 2012) and gave oil producers a period of 3 years to reduce their flaring before being sanctioned.

Decree number 1148 of the 8th of November 2012 maintained the core principle of the previous decree requiring a 95% utilization rate but introduced various changes. It increased the fines for harmful emissions, all the while relaxing the rules for new production sites during their first three years and for sites located in remote areas (Decree 1148, 2012). Decree 1148 also introduces a mechanism according to which amounts invested in the development of infrastructure for APG utilization can be deducted from the fines imposed for each given year. The fines are calculated according to the “Procedure for determining the fine and its maximum amount for environmental pollution” and their amount depends on the volume of APG released as well as an estimation of the proportion of harmful substances it contains (Sheykin & Jarova, 2013). Each component is allocated a coefficient, which depends on how harmful it is for the environment. The fines are calculated for each field over a certain period of time and then compiled.

Decrees 7 and 1148 were adopted by the Russian government against the backdrop of a shift in the perception of APG resulting from the international norm on combatting flaring. Their institutionalization was a result of the coordinated action of TANs, a network of international

⁵⁹ Putin, V. (2007). Annual Address to the Federal Assembly. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/24203>

and Russian experts and government representatives, who designed the new legislation and lobbied for its adoption.

5.5 Implementation and Assessment of Effectiveness

When considering the implementation of the norms on combatting flaring, a stark difference becomes apparent between the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug and the rest of Russia. This section explores the differences in the strategies adopted and in the implementation outcomes, highlighting why one region was able to evolve differently from the rest of the country.

The main takeaway regarding the implementation of Decrees 7 and 1148 is that Russian oil companies did not by and large reach compliance with the target, which requires them to utilize 95% of their APG. Table 12 shows the volumes flared by year and their annual change. The data comes from two different sources, up to 2010, data provided by Russian official reporting (Eder, 2019) and after 2010, data from GGFR⁶⁰ satellite data. While the official Russian reporting has conservative figures (Eder, 2019), the data provided by satellite imagery techniques in the early 2000s was inaccurate for Russia (Haugland, 2013), as it took for flares other sources of light and heat. The announced figures were several times above their real levels (50 billion cubic meters for Russia in 2006), which led to serious international criticism of Russian flaring practices and subsequently to a certain level of distrust among Russians about the international data provided (Personal Communication II-2). While the transition between 2010 and 2011 due to the different sources is not reliable, the data is overall consistent throughout and reflects the fact that change is incremental.

Table 12 also shows that Russia has not managed to contain the growth of the flared volumes, which has increased over the whole period, although not every year. The rise in oil production accounts for the increase in flared volumes. As the data is for Russia as a whole and as it includes the region of Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug which reduced significantly its flaring, it follows that other regions have started to flare significantly more than is reflected

⁶⁰ World Bank. (2018). *Gas flaring volumes 2014-2018 GGFR*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/887251581002821897/Revised-2014-2018-flare-volumes-estimates.pdf>

by this table. The new production sites are located in East Siberia, the Timan-Pechora region (Komi-Nenets), the Volga region (Orenburg) (Haugland, 2013) and are moving gradually to more remote areas.

Table 12 Russian Gas Flaring 2000-2018

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Russian gas flaring volumes in billion cubic meters	9	10	11	15	14	17	15	15	15	15	16	16	18	16	18	20	22	20	21
Yearly change in %	/	11%	10%	36%	-7%	21%	-12%	0%	0%	0%	7%	0%	13%	-11%	0,13	0,11	0,1	-0,1	0,05

Source: Author illustration with data from Eder (2019) and GGFR satellite data⁶¹

The implementation problems faced by decrees 7 and 1148 have several causes including the text of the legal documents themselves, the lack of political consensus and acceptance on the business side regarding their adoption, monitoring problems, the lack of incentive to invest in the necessary infrastructure and the lasting uncertainty regarding the quality of flaring data.

The first implementation challenge resulted from uncertainty about decrees 7 and 1148. The legislation regulating flaring is complex and there is no document to refer to, which would explain all aspects. While decree 1148, which remains in effect today, states the maximum levels of flaring allowed; the procedure for calculating these fines is complex and refers to several other documents. As a result, firms may not know whether they will be fined for a given year or not. A number of other cross-cutting laws, including the 2002 decree “On environmental protection” require that firms obtain permits for polluting and for any activities, which are harmful to the environment (Haugland, 2013), thus further complicating the calculation process. Some 21 laws and 37 decrees in 2011 regulated APG utilization, leading to all over confusion at the time the decrees were first being enforced (Kim 2011).

Decrees 7 and 1148 are not inspired by international best practices leading to a suboptimal design. The decrees institute penalties for flaring in isolation of other supporting measures, leading to an increase the operator’s cost and in the government’s revenues, while flaring and venting continues (Personal Communication II-13). While the decree allows oil companies to deduce from their fines the investments they have made in infrastructure to utilize APG, the

⁶¹ Ibid

incentive arrives too late, when they are already actively flaring. One respondent noted that “the incentive system is very complicated, and if a firm is not sure whether it will be fined for flaring, then it sees little advantage in the fact it may be able to deduct from its potential fines the money it invested in infrastructural innovation to reduce flaring” (Personal Communication II-10). Effectively reducing flaring requires measures aimed at supporting and incentivizing new APG utilization projects, with a special focus on avoiding flaring at new sites. The dispensations made by decree 1148 for oil sites operating for less than 3 years and for those located in remote places reflect the priority given to developing new oil fields over that of reducing flaring. Indeed, it is a best practice to only allow new developments to go forward once an effective solution to utilizing APG has been found, as was the case in the UK and Norway. Fiscal incentive projects are efficient if they create a motivation amongst all players to reach compliance; indeed it is key to have the technical support and necessary funding, otherwise gas companies often resort to paying the fines. One respondent summarized the problem, remarking about decree 1148 that “It’s the wrong measure, at the end of the chain and there are just not enough solutions around it”, and “you get away with flaring for a certain period and then the policy meets the road and immediately runs into a brick wall” (Personal Communication II-5). Policies have to be designed in such a way that oil producers have the tools, incentives and funds to prepare for when the decree comes into force. This was not the case in 2012, when many players believed that decree 7 from 2009 would not come into force (Personal Communication II-5).

Another issue in implementing the decrees was the lack of political consensus and popular approval. From the aborted attempt to restrict flaring in the early 2000s to the adoption of decree 7, legislating on utilizing APG has been a sensitive issue at many levels, with representatives of the oil industry trying to strong handle the government into relaxing the system of fines on a regular basis. The TANs who promoted the adoption of the legislation on flaring were neither stronger on the ground nor more numerous than those countering change, but they had the advantage of being close to power, embedded in the governmental system and having powerful proponents on their side (Vladimir Putin). Other members of the Transnational Advocacy Network were the WTO, the GGFR, the regional government of Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug and a few private businesses working in the sphere of associated gas utilization. These TANs were, when considering the scope of the entire country, isolated and restricted in their ambitions by popular indifference and the power of most oil firms. The leaders of oil companies asked the President to relax the conditions of

decree 7 in 2012, when large fines (16.5 billion rubles) were announced for all companies except Surgutneftegaz and Tatneft⁶², the only ones to comply with the 95% required utilization rate. Decree 1148 was a partial response to their demands as the dispensations for new and remote sites lightened the financial burden. In February 2015, a lobby group including the management of Surgutneftegas, LUKOIL, Tatneft, Bashneft and Gazprom Neft asked the Russian President to review the coefficient for calculating the penalties, without any result so far. The oil business is supported by various academic institutions including Skolkovo Business School's Energy Centre, which notes that the new decrees could harm business by creating losses on some sites and leading to a shutdown in activities⁶³.

Another challenge faced when implementing the decrees was inconsistencies in their enforcement. "To be efficient, any measure to reduce flaring needs a timetable and dispensation rules, which have to be enforced", noted one respondent, underlining the futility of laws, which are not applied (Personal Communication II-5). The decrees make no specific provisions regarding enforcement, implying that by default Rostekhnadzor, the Federal Service for Ecological, Technological and Nuclear Supervision will be in charge of ensuring compliance. Subsoil activities may be regulated by other departments leading to a certain amount of confusion regarding who is responsible for what (Personal Communication II-6). A respondent noted that the fines, which are linked to the new legislation against flaring are too small and companies find it easier to pay them than to change their current operations. "There is always the idea that they may not get caught out, that the inspections may not take place this year and that in the end, if need be, the fines will be paid" (personal communication 10). Oil producers in some regions do not have in their licenses explicitly the obligation to utilize APG leading to a number of court cases to see their fines for flaring waved. The question of possible corruption was also raised with a respondent noting that only a fraction of the calculated fines ended up being paid (Personal Communication II-11).

The question of measurement of flaring also remains a problematic issue. While the decrees require all sites to have measuring equipment, and punishes those without them with a severe

⁶² *Oil Companies' Fines for Gas Flaring to Hit \$500M in 2012*. (2012). Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2012/06/27/oil-companies-fines-for-gas-flaring-to-hit-500m-in-2012-a15809>

⁶³ Ibid

fine multiplier, many sites remained in 2012 without meters. In fact in 2010 according to the Russian Accounts Chamber, only 50% of sites were equipped for measuring flaring (Loe & Ladehaug, 2012). It should also be noted that not all meters are reliable, some may be switched on and off, and some fields may go from flaring to venting ahead of an inspection (Personal Communication II-4). The sites, which are not equipped, may struggle to understand the scope of their flaring problem and to find a solution to it.

Alongside the difficulties with the decrees themselves and their enforcement, some structural problems were major blocking points to reducing flaring. The lack of innovation in Russian oil companies made it impossible to develop in time new solutions to utilize the associated gas. The oil market is dominated by a small number of vertically integrated companies, some of which are state-owned or run and others, which are private. Regardless of their ownership, all companies have to transfer a large proportion of the profits to the state in the form of taxes. This significant levy handicaps the firm's future development and little is left after taxation to be reinvested in operational and research activities. "While it is a public opinion shared by many citizens that oil and gas firms are incredibly rich, the reality of the situation is that they struggle to finance and attract investments for new projects" (Personal Communication II-10). While small and medium oil and gas firms are known to drive innovation, Russia has relatively few of these. Reducing flaring requires investments in infrastructure, which cannot currently be done. The structural problem linked to the over-taxation of the oil and gas industry is related to the fact the share of oil and gas in Russia's budget revenue has been around 50% for several decades. Hopes to see that proportion fall have been backed by new policies to diversify economic activities in the country but the dependence continues.

Another structural problem is that the Russian population has subsidized gas prices. In order for it to be economically worth it for an oil producer to utilize its APG, the prices for the gas have to be sufficiently high to cover processing and/or transport costs. The domestic price level is set by the state and is kept much lower than export prices (Loe & Ladehaug, 2012). This stems from the governmental desire to keep peace and social stability, as the population historically has come to expect that the country's natural resources belong to the entire population. While plans were made a decade ago to bring domestic prices up to the level of netback parity, meaning "the same price as exports after adjusting for export taxes, transportation costs and transit tariffs" (Loe & Ladehaug, p512), the prospect of its implementation is far off.

Additionally, the gas market is dominated by three large companies: Gazprom which has the monopoly on the gas pipelines and two independent companies Rosneft and Novatek. The struggle between these three players is focused on the access to export markets and assuming responsibility for provisioning the domestic market at reduced prices, with Gazprom insisting that independent companies should not obtain rights to export gas if they do not provide for the Russian market (Henderson & Moe, 2017). Because of their dominant position on the market, the three companies negotiate prices to their advantage when buying APG from oil producers. Some oil companies may turn to smaller regional players in the hope of obtaining higher prices, however their needs in electric generation vary greatly from one period to the next. Oil companies may decide to compress their APG and send it into the Gazprom pipelines, indeed since 1997 oil companies are entitled to rent space in Gazprom pipelines on the condition that they are not full and the quality of the gas meets international standards⁶⁴. The absence of external checking means that Gazprom can decide at any given time whether to grant access or not to the pipelines. The adoption of legislation requiring Gazprom to open up its pipelines has had little effect and it remains a major barrier to the effective utilization of associated gas. Gazprom also has a legal monopoly on the export of gas abroad since 2006, and independent gas producers have no direct access to foreign markets⁶⁵. Their only options remain to utilize APG themselves for local power generation, re-inject it (which yields no financial value), or sell it to Novatek, Rosneft or Gazprom at low prices. None of these solutions is economically viable, let alone profitable, especially in times of low oil prices. Investing in infrastructure alone or with a specialized business partner requires a strategic vision and many efforts; although the results can be worth it as illustrated by the case of Rosneft opening its own petrochemical facilities (Grechina, 2019). In November 2013, the Ministry of Energy made some amendments to the Law on Export of Gas allowing firms to export LNG. The goal was, rather than one of general liberalization, to support the production of Yamal LNG being developed by Rosneft and Novatek (Morozova, 2019).

⁶⁴ *Gazprom Sustainability Report*. (2017). Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.gazprom.com/f/posts/12/255042/sustainability-report-en-2017.pdf>

⁶⁵ *Russia: Gazprom's export monopoly becomes law*. (2006). Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.petroleum-economist.com/articles/politics-economics/europe-eurasia/2006/russia-gazproms-export-monopoly-becomes-law>

The internal organization of oil companies also indirectly complicates the utilization of associated gas. The organizational structure of oil companies is standard, with a vice-president in charge of each different part of the production process: there is one for extraction, one for transport etc. But there is no vice-president responsible for the oil and gas between the time it has emerged from the ground and the time it is stored for transport (Personal Communication II-10). And this is precisely the production stage, when the oil and gas are separated, flaring takes place and the oil is filtered. The quality of the oil and gas depends on this part of the production process for which no vice-president is formally responsible, and this explains why there is little motivation to change this stage. The vice-presidents engage in vivid discussions at monthly management meetings, blame each other for the quality of the product (Personal Communication II-11). The problem of the quality of the associated gas is a major one, as Gazprom will not allow access to its pipelines to low quality gas, as its clients require constant high gas quality. Identifying the problem has not led to its resolution and the vested interests of different participants slow down the process of change as do the inertia of large integrated oil and gas companies and the administrative load linked to minor changes of any nature (Personal Communication II-12).

The tax system does not make it advantageous to re-inject APG as taxes are paid based on the volumes extracted, regardless of whether the gas is re-injected. Worse even, if the company later decides to extract this gas again for utilization, it would have to pay tax once more on it. This prospect of double taxation makes oil and gas companies reluctant to re-inject (Personal Communication II-10). Some progress was made on this front in 2011 when the State Duma approved an amendment to the tax code setting a zero mineral extraction tax rate for natural gas which is re-injected into a reservoir to maintain pressure with the objective of yielding more oil (Kutepova & al, 2011). The legal change did not however cover re-injecting practices for any other purposes and the tax improvements considered in 2011-2014 by the Russian Government focused on the fiscal function of taxation, while some experts (Ponkratov, 2015) suggest that for hydrocarbons, the taxation of end results of a firm's activity is a sounder principle. Other suggestions include creating incentives for a rational use of natural resources, simplification of administration and a full utilization of all the products of extraction.

The statistical data attests to the fact that the majority of Russian oil sites did not successfully implement the decrees 7 and 1148 requiring them to utilize APG. The Russian Autonomous

Okrug of Khanty-Mansiysk appears as an exception, reaching the target early and starting its associated gas utilization project before the Russian decrees became law.

The Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug region is located in the centre of Russia and is one of the richest parts of the country in natural resources. The region started producing oil over 50 years ago, when the Shaimskoye field was discovered. KMAO has a subarctic climate and presents with extreme cold conditions in winter, nearing minus 50 degrees. The region comprised in 2014, 70% of Russia's developed oil fields, around 450, including some of the largest fields globally in terms of output such as the Samotlor, Fyodorovskoye and Priobskoye sites (Archer, 2014). Oil production in KMAO increased until 2008 and then slowly decreased over the last decade. The region's contribution to the total Russian oil production decreased more sharply, with new production sites opening elsewhere⁶⁶.

Almost all the gas extracted in the KMAO is APG and as oil fields become more mature, the proportion of associated gas increases related to the amount of oil produced (Eder & al, 2009). Flaring was for decades a regular practice as no facilities or pipelines were available to utilize the associated gas. Satellite maps of KMAO highlighted the main flaring sites in 2012, revealing the scale of the problem in the region (Svensson, 2013). The volumes flared have however decreased over time: in 1980 73% of APG in the region was utilized, in 2010 86% and in 2019 95%. Several programs were implemented in KMAO as part of the government's regional program with the GGFR from 2007 to 2010 and the volume of utilized associated gas rose by 8% during this period, leading to an 86% utilization rate. The associated gas was used for power generation at production sites, for gas processing plants, for municipal heating, and other purposes. The utilization rate further rose to 95% by 2019 thus ensuring the region's compliance with the Russian decrees.

The success has been recognized both nationally and internationally. KMAO's new infrastructure has been commended at high governmental level, with Dmitry Medvedev noting in 2015 that the Yuzhno-Priobsky gas refinery, would be able to process up to 900 million cubic meters of APG annually⁶⁷, setting an example for other regions. During the

⁶⁶ *Information about oil production and oil and gas field development in Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug-Yugra.* (2020). Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from https://www.crru.ru/eng_dobicha.html

⁶⁷ *RussNeft, Salym Petroleum and Monolit launched LPG plant to ensure utilization of associated petroleum gas.* (2012). Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from

2012 global forum on combatting flaring in London, KMAO received a GGFR award "For successful implementation of a regional program on the rational use of associated petroleum gas" and was invited to share its best practices with other GGFR members⁶⁸.

While the region has reached compliance with the Russian decree on flaring by achieving a 95% APG utilization rate, this case is not one of the success of the implementation of a national law for several reasons: The region began to tackle the problem of flaring in the early 2000s and worked together with the GGFR throughout that decade. A part of the infrastructure for APG utilization was built already in the region by 2009, when the first Russian decree on flaring was promulgated. Even after reaching compliance with the national legislation, the regional government of KMAO aspires to do more as reflected by the statement by the Deputy Governor of the region in 2018 Alexei Zabozaev: "It is absolutely clear that we cannot be satisfied with what has already been achieved. We are willing to continue to participate in the Global Partnership, as well as the international initiative on Zero Routine Flaring by 2030⁶⁹." The region was guided by an international norm and received the support of the GGFR and other TEENs, which explains its achievements and puts it in contrast with other Russian regions.

This significant achievement can be explained by the specific course adopted by the KMAO, including its early interaction with the GGFR, the EBRD, foreign governments and private companies specialized in developing solutions for the utilization of associated gas.

When it started up, the GGFR identified the main flaring countries and tried to involve them in the partnership with the triple mission of "awareness raising, capacity building and knowledge transfer" (Personal Communication II-3). According to the data the World Bank had at the time, Nigeria was the number one flarer, but Russia came a close second. While Nigeria started to actively cooperate with the GGFR, Russia in the early 2000s did not

<https://neftegaz.ru/en/news/petrochemistry/412290-russneft-salym-petroleum-and-monolit-launched-lpg-plant-to-ensure-utilization-of-associated-petroleum-gas/>

⁶⁸ *UGRA will share positive experience in increasing level of utilization of Associated Petroleum Gas.* (2018). Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from

<https://admhmao.ru/en/vse-novosti/ugra-will-share-positive-experience-in-increasing-level-of-utilization-of-associated-petroleum-gas/>

⁶⁹ Ibid

recognize the scale of its flaring nor did it respond positively to invitations to join the partnership. Discussions conducted with the main Russian oil and gas companies in 2003 were unfruitful, secrecy surrounded the data and the government did not officially admit the country was flaring (Personal Communication II-3). The withdrawal of the 2000 draft law attempting to increase utilization rates testifies to the fact that the central government, society and the oil business were not ready to work on combatting flaring.

In the face of these difficulties, GGFR representatives could not set aside what they soon discovered was the first flaring country and decided to adopt another strategy to engage in Russia, contacting the regional authorities of the main oil producing areas. The Russian regions at the time benefitted from a certain level of autonomy from the central government on energy and environmental issues and “Moscow and Siberia seemed quite disconnected” (Personal Communication II-5). The GGFR met with the regional governors of the KMAO region and the talks were fruitful. “They were on the ground and living with the flaring, which they recognized as a problem” (Personal Communication II-4). The GGFR was also positively received because their activities came at no cost to the region and the prospect of receiving a payment for flaring reduction was an attractive prospect. The GGFR raised awareness in the region about the dangers of flaring, its environmental costs and offered technical knowledge about solutions to utilize associate petroleum gas with best practices on how to apply it. The GGFR’s engagement in the region began as awareness promoting activities but slowly became more technical with discussions on energy efficiency projects, on-site power generation and fuel switching. In order to benefit from a full scope of adapted solutions and World Bank funding, Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug became a full partner of the GGFR in 2004 ⁷⁰.

In the framework of the GGFR, leading countries in combatting flaring sent experts to KMAO to conduct workshops and share best practices. Experts from the Alberta government spoke about how a new regulatory framework and technical solutions were developed in Canada to put an end to flaring. “They [the Russians] had great affinities with them [the Canadians]” because they shared a culture of the cold and knew the difficulties linked to the ice (Personal Communication II-3). They spoke about which environmental changes could be put down to flaring, how the ecological situation improves after flaring stops but also about which types of solutions are effective in cold climates and for remote sites. The TEEN

⁷⁰ Ibid

members from Alberta were effective as they helped adapt the GGFR principles on flaring to the local context of KMAO, creating long lasting professional relationships. Indeed subsequently, technical equipment to utilize APG was purchased by KMAO from Canada.

One of the main stumbling blocks in developing adequate solutions to flaring is the lack of reliable data. While Russia's flaring volumes from the first satellite data were overestimated, official Russian figures were not widely available. After a set of conferences with GGFR representatives attended by faculty of a local university, the administration decided to release a lot of data on oil composition in the region, flaring and venting volumes and other subjects. The trust relationship with the GGFR led to the creation of a new TEEN, which then cooperated during the different stages of the project (Personal Communication II-3).

The Monolit-Salyem Petroleum Development (SPD) and Russneft partnership acted as a creative solution to utilize associated APG in the KMAO. The Russian firm Monolit, later renamed Blue Line entered in 2012 into a partnership with Russneft and SPD to realize a commercial project aiming at utilizing APG and consisting of two parts: the construction and launch of a gas turbine power plant to create electric power and the construction of liquefied petroleum gas plant. "The APG is treated with innovative technology for gas processing and gas-to-liquid conversion, dry gas is delivered through a newly built 70 km-long gas pipeline, gasoline and LPG are delivered with new road tankers and electricity is used on site and sold to other nearby oil operations, thus minimising the need for grid infrastructure"⁷¹.

Monolit's main shareholder provided a third of the funding for the first stages of the project but also shared its international experience in setting up petroleum refineries, chemical manufacturing sites, mining activities and recycling businesses. SPD is a joint venture between Gazprom Neft and Royal Dutch Shell, which was established in 1996 and remained active in the 2000s, allowing both sides to contribute their expertise to the realization of the project. By initiating a public-private partnership involving three international businesses, a regional government and a global organization, the firms acted as an active constructive TEEN, finding an economic incentive to reduce flaring. The then CEO of SPD Simon Durkin described the project as a win-win situation, which creates new jobs, reduces pollution and

⁷¹ Chakrabarti, S. (2012). *Reducing gas flaring provides significant opportunities*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from

<https://www.ebrd.com/news/speeches/reducing-gas-flaring-provides-significant-opportunities.html>

contributes taxes to the government⁷². The partnership relies on international best practices and uses existing ties to select and procure the best equipment. The partnership procured adapted oil and gas processing systems from the Canadian specialist company Thermo Design Engineering and GPP plant equipment delivery from the Austrian firm GE Jenbacher. This type of partnership is a new business model, which serves as a best practice, which can be replicated elsewhere on other small to medium sized oil sites, noted the Executive Officer of Monolit, Andrey Nepomnyaschy⁷³.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) became a partner of the GGFR in 2011 and they decided to joint efforts in combatting gas flaring in Russia and Central Asia. The EBRD department for Energy Efficiency and Climate Change started working in several directions in the 2010s, commissioning reports such as the 2013 “Associated Petroleum Gas Flaring Study for Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Azerbaijan” (Haugland, 2013) from the consultancy agency Carbon Limits, which highlights the best practices in terms of regulations and the best technical solutions for APG utilization based on the specificities of the regions. Additionally the EBRD invested in the construction of a LNG plant in KMAO⁷⁴ in 2010 at a time when financing was scarce as most investment banks were hesitant to engage in a new project after the 2008 crisis. GGFR approval of the initiative facilitated the difficult process of obtaining funding for a novel type of project. And the EBRD investing in a business project is itself a positive signal to the international community of investors about the reliability and trustworthiness of the firm. Indeed, during a public speech at the 2012 GGFR conference the then EBRD President Suma Chakrabarti publicly commended the work of Monolit in KMAO, describing it as an “excellent example of how an integrated approach can be employed to address the environmental problems of gas flaring and deliver several valuable products”⁷⁵.

⁷² *RussNeft, Salym Petroleum and Monolit launched LPG plant to ensure utilization of associated petroleum gas.* (2012). Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://neftegaz.ru/en/news/petrochemistry/412290-russneft-salym-petroleum-and-monolit-launched-lpg-plant-to-ensure-utilization-of-associated-petroleum-gas/>

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ Chakrabarti, S. (2012). *Reducing gas flaring provides significant opportunities.* Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from

While most Russian regions did not manage to reduce their flaring and meet the target of a 95% APG utilization rate, KMAO adopted a specific course characterized by its early interaction with the GGFR, the EBRD, foreign governments and private companies specialized in developing solutions for APG utilization. These TEENs were invited by the regional governor to aid with combatting flaring and assumed a multitude of different aiding functions including providing credibility to the region, allocating funding for APG utilization projects, sharing expertise and offering support. While the involvement of TEENs appears as the key to the region's success, other factors were also at play including LC policies.

5.6 Role of LC Policy

This section analyses the impact of LC Policy on the implementation of the decrees 7 and 1148, aimed at combatting flaring. The failure of most regions to reach the utilization targets set by the government is analyzed under the prism of LC Policies. First, we consider the LC Policies in the Russian Oil and Gas industry and the way they impact companies' ability to develop solutions to combat flaring by exploring several regional examples. Then we make policy recommendations about how LC Policies should be developed in order to yield economic benefits and facilitate rather than restrict international involvement in the O&G industry. The impact of Western sanctions on the Russian O&G industry and on its capacity to reduce flaring is also analysed.

LC Policies in Russia affect all aspects of the O&G industry and have an impact on the implementation of the Russian flaring decrees. While there are no LC Policies which address specifically the problem of flaring in Russia, (indeed flared oil has yet to be considered a high-value resource worth protecting in its own right), the LC Policies regulating the oil and gas industry in general in the country automatically affect the question of flaring and the implementation of decrees 7 and 1148. As LC Policies in the oil industry regulate the interactions between foreign companies and national or regional governments trying to promote a fair basis for interaction and profit sharing; they impact all activities related to the

<https://www.ebrd.com/news/speeches/reducing-gas-flaring-provides-significant-opportunities.html>

oil business from production to commercialization. Flaring as an externality of the oil production process falls under the restrictions defined in LC agreements which can affect a whole range of issues: employment, procurement, taxation, ownership and property rights (Kalyuzhnova & al, 2016). The impact of LC Policies depends first and foremost on how they are articulated. If generically, they link the utilization of associated gas to local expertise in order to promote energy efficiency then that will help with the development of homemade and appropriate regional solutions. If they are worded to command the use of LC and restrict foreign involvement then they are aimed at resistance to change and may have detrimental effects in terms of efficiency (Personal Communication II-3). LC legislation and policies run the risk of being adopted based on the political need of the moment, with insufficient reflection being put into predicting their effects and determining whether they will be productive or not. LC Policies, which promote local firms and workers can result in a rise in operational costs for foreign corporations, reducing their profits and the taxes the state can levy (Kolstad & Kinyondo, 2017). Each case requires an analysis of what the optimal way is for a multinational corporation to contribute to local development. Taxation levels which handicap the development of the operations of multinationals, including their reinvestment in innovation, result in lower productivity and lower shared income.

A review of the history of LC Policies in Russia and their current forms reveals that they found their origin in Benefit Sharing Agreements between local people and Russian oil corporations and that there is a significant disparity between regions, with local governments playing a major role in developing them. While the Russian government has also adopted a number of measures regulating to what extent foreign firms can participate in the O&G industry, there are tangible differences between regional applications as LC Policies included in contracts and signed at a local level are the result of negotiations between foreign corporations, Russian corporations and regional governments.

In the Soviet Union, the idea that natural resources were a common good led to a sense of entitlement of the population that the wealth resulting from their exploitation should be shared. The first agreements on sharing wealth between local people and oil corporations were developed in Russia in the 1990s in the form of Social Licenses to Operate; they applied to Russian oil firms and to foreign ones. These Benefit Sharing Agreements revealed some of the risks related to implementing contracts by which corporations should support the local economy. Several LC policy models currently exist in various Russian regions. “The

implementation of these commitments varies considerably among the regions, companies, and communities” (Tysiachniouk & Petrov, 2018, p1). The O&G industry in Russia is governed by rules of different levels, which form a complex regulatory web. The national government has legislated on an array of LC issues including the number of foreign firms allowed to operate on different sites and the number of shares a foreign firm can buy. In the 2000s the number of oil fields, which could be developed together with foreign partners was reduced. Changes to the federal tax code and to subsoil and licensing regulations made it more complicated and riskier for foreign investors to operate in Russia. Additionally, restrictions apply to foreign companies looking to acquire shares in oil fields considered to be of federal importance (usually defined as deposits of more than 70 million tons of oil) and if such fields are discovered during exploration activities the state has the right to revoke foreign companies’ licenses for production on those sites (Russian Federal Law on the procedure for foreign investments [...], 2008). The absence of clear rules protecting foreign investments on the Russian oil market and the political involvement in settling matters in the O&G industry result from the state being a major stakeholder in the main oil companies, from the fact that taxes on energy constitute on average 50% of the state budget and from the overall perception that Russian national resources should benefit first and foremost the Russian population rather than foreign companies. Alongside the legal restrictions imposed on foreign companies and the political line offering privileges to Russian firms; foreign corporations working in the Russian oil segment fear the perceived corruption of courts and agencies responsible for inspections and possible repercussions from other local players ranging from oligarchs to private firms (Morozova, 2019). The international firms, which were operating in the 2000s on the Russian market, remain in some form today (BP, Total, Shell) but could have played a more diverse and constructive role had they been able to exert more influence on activities (Personal Communication II-4). While the contribution of foreign firms to some major projects may be directly approved and regulated by the Russian government, the details of the relationship between players and their obligations to the community are formulated in Production Sharing Agreements. These agreements vary a great deal from region to region and from firm to firm, and reveal an eclectic map of LC policies across Russia. We will consider the main different forms they take in the Nenets Autonomous Okrug, the Island of Sakhalin and the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug and determine which types of LC policies allow to best address the problem of APG utilization.

The Nenets Autonomous Okrug is located in the North West of Russia and has ample oil and gas reserves, the development of which began in the 1990s. The companies currently involved in the extraction of these resources are Lukoil, Rosneft, Naryanmarneftega and Bashneft. The French company Total had a stake in the Kharyaga field, which it sold in 2017 to the Russian state company Zarubezhneft (Loe & al, 2017), but remains involved with a 20% stake in Yamal LNG⁷⁶. LC policies are negotiated by the governor of the region with the leadership of these companies. According to this paternalist approach, the state dictates to companies the conditions under which it operates, intervening in all parts of the business process (Tysiachniouk & Petrov, 2018). The LC agreements are ad-hoc, of limited term or renewable on a yearly basis. In cases when the O&G companies are run by the government, then both parties to the agreement are the state. The main LC measure employed overall in the Nenets Autonomous Okrug is taxes, which are levied on the companies' profits and which are spent at the okrug administration's discretion. The funds are used towards improving the infrastructure of the region, for example building roads, bridges, schools, hospitals and other facilities. After 2013, the idea of compensation for damage to lands was included in a number of agreements. A study of Benefit Sharing Agreements (BSA) in Northern Russia revealed that economic objectives were prioritized over social questions and that firms were paid compensations for damage post-factum (Tulaeva & Tysiachniouk, 2017). Some BSA did not take into account the inputs of all stakeholders, while others went up against legal barriers and could not be implemented. The study also revealed that local governments did not use effectively the levied funds to develop the local economy and that the BSA led to an increase in corruption levels (Tulaeva & Tysiachniouk, 2017). An example of the ineffective use of resources is the fact that Indigenous reindeer herders were provided with "inadequate housing" (Tysiachniouk & Petrov, 2018, p30). Plans to build an aquapark in Naryan-Mar were met locally with disbelief as people felt the policies should focus on helping people meet their basic needs (Loe & al, 2017). Alongside being economically sub-efficient, the LC agreements struck in the region have not enabled the region and the oil companies to deal with pressing environmental problems (Fedina, 2017). Oil spills which pollute the water and the soil, contaminate drinking water and exterminate the fish continue to affect negatively the local residents and in particular the reindeer herders. Flaring practices continue on several sites in the region, including the Kharyaga field, located in a sensitive permafrost area and

⁷⁶ Astrasheuskaya, N. (2009). *Total signs deal to take stake in \$20bn Novatek Arctic LNG project*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.ft.com/content/482e5938-3f3c-11e9-9bee-efab61506f44>

presenting at least eight almost constant flares. Reindeer herders report disrupted sleep from the noise and the light provoked by the flares of the Bovanenkovo site and disorientation among the reindeers in identifying their usual migration routes⁷⁷. LC measures in the Nenets Autonomous Okrug have not so far managed to address some essential questions such as flaring. The reason for this may be that the measures are not formalized LC policies inspired by international best practices but are ad-hoc paternalist benefit-sharing agreements, on which foreign companies, if they are at all involved, have little to no influence.

The paternalistic benefit-sharing agreements of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug can be contrasted with the explicitly formulated LC policies developed for the Sakhalin II and Kharyaga projects. Included in the Production Sharing Agreements of these projects, these LC Policies are concluded between foreign corporations and local governments. While they both establish that Russian firms, goods and employees should be given preferential treatment and that knowledge sharing should be promoted, we will consider in more detail the Sakhalin II Sharing Agreement as it contains a clause indicating the specific targets which should be met in terms of LC.

Sakhalin II is an oil and gas project on the Russian island of Sakhalin which was launched based on a Production Sharing Agreement in 1994. It is Russia's first offshore gas project and led to the first liquified natural gas plant in Russia. The shareholders of Sakhalin energy comprise in 2020 Gazprom (50% plus one share), Royal Dutch Shell (27,5% minus one share), Mitsui (12.5%) and Mitsubishi (10%). The project includes the Piltun-Astokhskoye and Luns koye oil and gas fields. The LC requirements of Sakhalin II are formulated in four different documents: the Production Sharing Agreement, the Company's Russian Content Development Policy, its Contracting and Procurement Procedure and its Russian Content Reporting Procedure. The PSA set at 70% the level of Russian Content required for labor, materials and equipment for the entire duration of the project (Sakhalin-II PSA, 2020). During tenders, preference should always be given to Russian firms so long as they meet the specified requirements in terms of price, quality and timeframe. According to the PSA, the amount of Russian content is measured based on overall quantities, such as the volume of

⁷⁷ Raygorodetsky, G. (2017). They Migrate 800 Miles a Year. Now It's Getting Tougher. *National Geographic*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/magazine/2017/10/nenets-yamal-herders-energy-development/>

equipment, man-hours of services and work as well as in monetary terms. All invoices of work for the company should be accompanied by a special Russian Content report filled out according to a predefined template. The indicators on the Russian content form include management fees, mobilization/demobilization fees, provision of personnel, supply of materials and equipment, consumables used during provision of services/ execution of work, rent of premises, vessel hire, rent of equipment, transportation company services, bonuses for KPI achievement/ extra charges (Sakhalin-II PSA, 2020). Quarterly reports on the use of personnel are also required. The correctness of the reports is audited on a regular basis according to the PSA. Foreign contractors are also required to inform the Company about any changes of their shareholders and beneficiaries. The Sakhalin II Contracting and Procurement Policy defines the main rules all parties are to abide by, including safety requirements, anti-bribery and corruption measures, fair competition and transparency principles as well as norms for the respect, support and promotion of human rights and sustainable development (Sakhalin-II PSA, 2020). The Sakhalin II PSA offers some of the clearest indications regarding LC requirements compared to other PSAs, which do not address the question of LC directly. The Sakhalin I PSA originally made no direct provisions for LC, however it was later decided that it should meet all the LC criteria formulated in the Sakhalin II agreement. The Sakhalin II PSA, by formulating clearly the LC requirements, provides foreign partners and investors with a clear understanding of what they are committing to from the start. It is also recognized as one of the most advantageous deals for foreign players, even being dubbed a “Production non-Sharing Agreement” (Rutledge, 2004, p1) by some experts, who point out the distribution of revenues deprives Russian people and the Russian state of their fair share of benefits. In fact, this PSA has been widely recognized as benefiting both sides and appears as a best practice in terms of interaction between Russian and foreign stakeholders. The PSA encourages the sides to jointly address environmental issues and addresses directly the question of flaring. While the plan was initially to separate the associated gas from oil at the platform, and to re-inject all the APG; problems with the compressor led to substantial delays. The target was finally reached in 2005, when the Company committed to reducing its oil production if it could not process adequately the APG⁷⁸. The goal was not reached immediately, for two reasons: the first is that the international norm against flaring was not

⁷⁸ EBRD. (1997). *Sakhalin II (phase 1) Oil Project*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.ebrd.com/work-with-us/projects/psd/sakhalin-ii-phase-1-oil-project.html>

mature in 1994 and the Russian government had not yet adopted the flaring decrees. The decision to try to avoid APG flaring was at first guided simply by the desire to optimize production. Only after 2000, the question of flaring became a priority and was addressed as such by the Company. The second reason for the delay is that the LC requirements, by limiting the foreign contribution to a project to 30%, restrict the number of foreign sub-contractors, which can be engaged in the realization of the project. As a result, the risk is that all the foreign expertise (30%) is used for solving the most critical operational and technological issues, and no foreign expertise is left to address environmental issues such as flaring. Indeed projects to utilize APG are associated with the need to develop technical solutions and the benefits of involving foreign companies have already been described. However, clearly formulated LC policies in PSAs allow for an international influence on setting the goals of the projects and for the use (even if restricted) of foreign expertise. Sakhalin II gradually came to abide by best standards regarding flaring and the TEENs could exert sufficient influence to help bring about change.

LC policies in KMAO have been assimilated to Corporate Social Responsibility measures, in which the oil company plays a major role (Tysiachniouk & Petrov, 2018). Oil companies adopt international best practices affecting the production process and the protection of local communities, such as labor, quality, safety and equity standards, promoted by the UN, the International Labor Organization, the World Bank, the EBRD, the International Finance Corporation. Benefit sharing agreements are designed to take into account international standards as well as local specificities. The companies provide funding for projects based on an agreement with the Governor of the Region and municipalities and help to develop social infrastructure. Oil companies are in direct interaction with the beneficiaries of aid and the funding does not transit through the regional authorities. This model also differs from the paternalist one, in that in the CSR model, oil companies participate in decision-making about what to fund. In 2017, in the KMAO, the company Lukoil signed 350 economic agreements with different entities including individual households. Lukoil interacts directly with indigenous people and the average support per family member in 2017 amounted to 237 100 Russian Rubles⁷⁹. These funds are used for direct compensations, for air and road

⁷⁹ Lukoil. (n/a). *Engagement with the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.lukoil.com/Responsibility/SocialInvestment/HighNorthPeoplesSupport>

transportation, construction materials and tools, transport vehicles (boats, snowmobiles), medical care and education. The Corporate Social Responsibility mode avoids some of the downfalls of the paternalist mode, as direct communication between the oil company and the receiver of aid allows for a constructive dialogue on which needs should be met in priority and reduces the risk of corruption linked to the funds transiting through regional bureaucracies. The respect of international standards can be useful in attracting international funding, as with the EBRD loans allocated to different projects in the region. In turn, when accepting international funding, companies have to abide by the standards of international financial institutions on environmental and other issues. The CSR framework allowed the region to address effectively the problem of flaring by involving international actors and transnational expertise. The lack of specific Russian content limits allowed the local authorities to attract international expertise when necessary to develop technical solutions to solve the problem of flaring. The Monolit- Salym Petroleum Development, a joint venture between the Gazprom Neft and Royal Dutch Shell reflects the benefits of an international approach to developing technical solutions to improve APG utilization. This model allows for more flexibility than the previous two; it rests upon international standards and can allow for productive international interaction. However, the results depend on the willpower of the regional administration and the oil companies. While the KMAO committed early on to combatting flaring for reasons unrelated to LC requirements, the predominant CSR mode of the region allowed it to develop the international interaction necessary to find effective solutions. Other regions such as the Komi Republic or the Irkutskaya Oblast with the CSR mode of LC policy did not have the same ambitions to reduce flaring and consequently did not reach the same results as the KMAO.

These three different cases reveal that LC Policies are diverse, that they are formalized to different degrees depending on the region and the oil company, and are subject to an array of international, state-level, regional and local rules, which can result in some inconsistencies. Paternalism (Nenets Autonomous Okrug) appears as a sub-optimal solution as it relies entirely on taxation and on the regional authorities to fund appropriate support projects, leading to gross miscalculations and an inability to tackle problems such as flaring. Formalized LC policies (as in the Sakhalin II agreement) take into account international best practices, offer clarity to all participants, reassure international players and satisfy the needs for Russian content in the local economy and as such appear as a best practice. However the limits to foreign participation can slow down the process of developing optimal solutions in

the many spheres, including the environment and dealing with the problem of flaring. The CSR mode presents many opportunities by laying most of the responsibility for social fairness and local economic development on the oil firms and having them respect international LC standards. The lack of formalization means that the outcome depends on the core intentions of the oil company and the priorities of the local administration. Based on this analysis, a few deductions and recommendations can be made regarding the development and implementation of LC policies in Russia.

First of all, there are significant advantages to formalizing LC Policies. While all production projects involving foreign players in Russia are regulated by Production Sharing Agreements, few contain LC policy clauses. Formalizing LC Policies in each agreement allows all parties to the contract to understand precisely what is expected of them. While a Paternalist approach implies regular discussions between corporations and local governments, during which the latter express requests in terms of LC and the corporations try to meet the demands, LC clauses clarify the expectations for the duration of the contract, offering security to both sides. Formalizing LC policies also helps to overcome corruption problems linked to underdeveloped institutions and an inactive civil society. The clearer the instructions regarding how to measure the LC requirements, the easier it is for all industry players to fulfill their role. Adequate reporting systems should be created from the outset and reporting templates included in the Production Sharing Agreements. The consequences of not reaching LC targets should also be defined for each player.

LC Policies should take into account the availability of an industrial supply-base in different regions. Having a general Russian Content limit expressed as a percentage and applicable to all stages and aspects of the production process (70% in the case of the Sakhalin II agreement) presents the risk that the local suppliers market or the local human resources are not mature enough to meet the high quality standards required in complex production sites, particularly those which are located off-shore or in severe climatic conditions. A prior analysis of the available LC resources and those which can be developed over time would allow to correctly assess the percentage of LC which can be provided at a given time and to develop a gradual approach to increasing the percentage of LC during the life of the project. While establishing precise targets and expressing LC requirements in numerical figures is a positive practice; care should be taken to analyze and adapt the targets to the capacities of the market.

LC policies should have adequate reporting requirements based on international best practices and adapted to local conditions. The number and nature of the reports required should be

defined for each project individually, as some sites can generate automatic reporting while others will be produced manually. An overload in reporting requirements can be costly and result in more mistakes being committed. Reporting and the auditing of the correctness of the reports remain essential features of a successful LC Policy.

LC Policies should be based on international best practices and move away from the paternalist approach of generating economic rents and creating a social dependence towards the O&G industry. Instead LC Policies should focus on the development of backward and forward links, by promoting the procurement of local goods and services, the employment of local people, the development of local competencies and the transfer of technology. The goal is to develop spill-over effects on other sectors of the economy and increase levels of economic development.

LC Policies should, while protecting the local people and the regional economy, pave the way for international cooperation and the involvement of international players in the production process. The technological development and sharing of expertise can only take place if foreign players are sufficiently empowered and motivated to fulfill their functions.

Foreign involvement in the O&G industry has been affected not only by the development of LC policies, which had both positive and negative effects on international cooperation, but also by Western sanctions which were implemented in several stages after the Crimean conflict starting from 2014. The sanctions included a ban on providing technologies for the extraction of natural resources and on loans to state banks and oil corporations. The technological ban on the supply of machinery, equipment, instruments, spare parts and components needed by the oil and gas industry did not affect the volume of oil production in 2014–2016 (Kazantsev, 2019). They had a joint effect together with the decline in global oil prices on Russian oil output after 2016. The sanctions were designed to have a long-term effect and to harm the development of new oil fields, particularly those requiring new technologies (remote or off-shore fields) and foreign funding, which offered significantly lower interest rates than what is available on the Russian market. The impacts of the sanctions and the fall in oil prices at the end of 2014 are difficult to set apart as they coincide in time. One respondent remarked that the sanctions did not affect Russia's capacity to roll out successfully the Yamal project under the leadership of Novatek and to create an original aero-derivative gas compressor industry, which the rest of the world later adopted (Personal Communication II-4). Sanctions have been viewed as an opportunity for Russia to reduce its dependence on foreign technology and to diversify its economy but also as a serious threat to

the country's economy as import substitution has led to cases of equipment failure and Russian firms are faced with a major technological gap (Nureev & Busygin, 2017). Import substitution could not be complete because the offshore, the Arctic and shale oil are specifically spheres Western firms have developed the competence to support⁸⁰ and new fields such as Yuzhno-Kirinskoye (Sakhalin III) have experienced delays in exploration and other activities.

The sanctions have affected Russia's capacity and motivation to reduce flaring in four ways. First, restrictions on imports of foreign technological solutions and on foreign involvement affected indiscriminately all aspects of the oil production process, limiting Russian O&G companies' capacity to develop new solutions to utilize APG. Flare gas recovery systems and other equipment sold by Western companies are also restricted by the sanctions (Personal Communication II-11). Second, the economic difficulties brought about by the drop in oil prices and sanctions meant that gas utilization projects were put off until a later date as the funding was not available to carry them out (Personal Communication II-10). Third, political tensions with the West reduced the political will to combat flaring. "Russia tries less hard to "fit in" and accommodate its western partners than it previously did" (Personal Communication II-10). Fourth, the sanctions and the political context make it more difficult for international and regional organizations to invest in projects in Russia and APG utilization projects are affected as much as other types of projects (Personal Communication II-9). The EBRD acted as an enabler for the APG utilization project in the KMAO by providing funding in 2010 to the Monolit project. Since 2014, the EBRD has not approved a single new project for Russia and has cancelled most of the projects launched that year⁸¹. Sanctions have had for these reasons an effect on Russia's ability and motivation to reduce flaring in the country. Sanctions, unlike LC policies, are not the choice of the country and cannot be impacted upon; however they do highlight some of the economic and environmental risks linked to a reduction in the number of foreign players in the O&G industry.

⁸⁰ Bradshaw, M. (2018). *Russian sanctions slowing progress offshore Sakhalin*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.offshore-mag.com/regional-reports/article/16755887/russian-sanctions-slowing-progress-offshore-sakhalin>

⁸¹ EBRD. (2020). *Project Summary Documents*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.ebrd.com/work-with-us/project-finance/project-summary-documents.html?l=1&filterCountry=Russia>

5.7 The role of TEENS

The factors we considered in Part 5.6, the limitations to internationalization brought about by badly calibrated LC policies and sanctions, have a negative impact on the national implementation of international norms, partly explaining the compliance issues experienced by decrees 7 and 1148. Comparing the positive results of KMAO in reducing flaring to the challenges faced by the rest of Russia reveals the ways in which Transnational Expertise and Experience Networks (TEENS) help to reach compliance with the decrees. TEENS bring in experience and expertise at all stages of the national development and implementation of a norm, by helping to develop effective legislation, by attracting investments, by bringing in locally adapted technical solutions and by increasing awareness around an issue.

The first way in which TEENS can contribute to the successful domestic implementation of an international norm is by helping to design effective national legislation, taking into account international best practices as well as local specificities. When TANs have just managed to lobby for the creation of a new law, TEENS can advise the government about the optimal form the legislation should take. While some actors may be both TANs and TEENS, usually those who push for the adoption of national legislation (TANs) are politicians and may not have the technical expertise or the foreign experience needed to be effective TEENS. In the case of the flaring decrees, the TANs that were effective in getting the norm institutionalized did not have the characteristics required to be TEENS. Due to the specific context, no TEENS were actively involved in developing the legislation, which resulted in the suboptimal design of decrees 7 and 1148. The decrees were created without taking into account international best practices and their poor design stood in the way of their implementation. A World Bank study found that countries that managed to reduce flaring combined efficient regulation, fiscal policies and a reform of energy markets, revealing the importance of the legal design of APG utilization projects (Svensson, 2005). While decrees 7 and 1148 focused on setting targets, on fining infringers and proved unsuccessful, the regional government of KMAO developed, with the support of the GGFR, a effective system of rules and tax incentives to encourage firms to utilize their APG (ex: property tax dispensation for projects aimed at utilizing APG⁸²)

⁸² *IV Global Forum of the World Bank “Solutions to Reduce Gas Flaring” started in Khanty-Mansiysk.* (2015). Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://admhmao.ru/en/vse-novosti/iv-global-forum-of-the-world-bank-solutions-to-reduce-gas-flaring-started-in-khanty-mansiysk/>

and participated in public-private initiatives. The GGFR, an active TEEN globally promoting best practices in the regulation of flaring, was involved in developing a legal framework for combatting flaring in KMAO but did not contribute to designing the national decrees 7 and 1148. The GGFR recommends that countries develop their institutional capabilities, create clear operational processes and transparent regulations, avoid overlapping responsibilities and implement “effective regulatory procedures for monitoring, measuring and enforcing” (Svensson, 2005, p11). Beyond theoretical recommendations, the GGFR provides regulatory advisory services on developing the measures best suited to specific countries, as it has done in Indonesia, Mexico and Iraq (Bamji & Hamso, 2015). While the GGFR is a central part of the TEENs network in the case of flaring, some national governments (Norway, Canada) are also actively involved in making recommendations regarding effective legislation, contributing to workshops on sharing best practices and making their legal solutions widely available to others (Alberta Energy Regulator, 2020).

TEENs can help to attract investments for projects aimed at APG reduction or provide funding themselves. Foreign oil companies having made a commitment not to flare usually budget from the outset the need to utilize associated gas and implement the infrastructure necessary for this, even when working on production sites abroad in partnership with local firms. One respondent noted that all ENI projects are developed with environmental consultants and cannot go ahead without a solution being found to utilize associated gas, even in countries, which have no specific regulations on this issue (Personal Communication II-7). The limitations put on foreign involvement in oil production in Russia limit the country’s access to foreign funding to develop and implement APG utilization projects. While most Russian regions struggled to finance APG utilization projects, KMAO faced fewer difficulties as it was assisted by a powerful TEEN, the GGFR, in attracting foreign investments: the organization facilitated the region’s access to EBRD funding with the bank contributing 55 million dollars to the Monolit project aimed at developing infrastructure to utilize APG⁸³. Additionally, when a project is endorsed by the World Bank, the EBRD or another international or regional organization; it gains credibility and stands better chances of attracting international private investments.

⁸³ Chakrabarti, S. (2012). *Reducing gas flaring provides significant opportunities*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.ebrd.com/news/speeches/reducing-gas-flaring-provides-significant-opportunities.html>

TEENs can help with norm implementation by bringing in locally adapted technical solutions. The GGFR has expertise and experience implementing a whole range of different technical solutions to flaring, as do a number of international oil companies. TEENs can help to determine the best solution for each flaring site in Russia, from covering local energy needs for small APG amounts, to electricity generation and fuel generation for the boiler room, to producing lean dry gas and light hydrocarbons for larger APG amounts (Vorobev & Shchesnyak, 2019). The GGFR also has the capacity to help each region develop the most suitable ways of realizing the project (Svensson, 2013). Cooperation in research between Russian and foreigner universities also sheds a light on the best solutions regarding utilization and on how to overcome the main stumbling blocks to compliance with decrees 7 and 1148. While the KMAO local government, its experts and universities cooperated with TEENs, jointly developing effective utilization projects; other Russian regions failed to develop these international linkages. Even at university level, international cooperation in research on flaring is minimal, with Russian researchers rarely authoring articles on this sensitive topic jointly with foreign partners (Personal Communication II-14).

Public awareness and condemnation of an environmental problem are key to its resolution and if a country adopts legislation based on international best practices or for economic reasons rather than due to public pressure, then the government may experience difficulties in reaching compliance. TEENs play a key role in increasing awareness among the population and in making sure that firms are accountable to the general public for their actions. Russia has a limited number of TEENs operating in this area, in which NGOs usually thrive. While the GGFR refuses to adopt “naming and shaming” techniques to make countries and oil firms comply with international standards, focusing on lengthy discussions and maintaining good relations with states (Personal Communication II-9), NGOs act from a different standpoint and are possibly more effective in the mission of alerting the population about environmental malpractices. WWF is one of the NGOs that is the most involved in the question of flaring and retains its credibility and the right to pursue its activities in Russia by assuming a cooperative stance with the government and representatives of local authorities. WWF Russia publishes comprehensive expert reports on the issue of flaring aimed at highlighting its contribution to global warming and “grafting” flaring onto norms, which the general public is more knowledgeable about. WWF also publishes various ratings aimed at holding businesses accountable for their environmental practices such as the “Environmental transparency rating

of oil and gas companies operating in Russia” jointly created with the energy sector think tank CREON and the National Rating Agency⁸⁴. Information provided by NGOs is however regarded with suspicion by the general population and their influence on public opinion is limited (Personal Communication II-10). The minimal involvement of TEENs in the form of NGOs is another factor complicating the implementation of decrees 7 and 1148, as the population’s awareness of the consequences of flaring remains limited.

TEENs are networks of international actors, which can help implement international norms institutionalized by national governments. The case of flaring in Russia reveals that when TEENs are in active cooperation with governments and oil companies, positive change can be achieved (case of KMAO) but that when legislation is adopted in isolation of TEENs, there is a struggle to reach compliance (rest of Russia).

5.8 Conclusion: main findings

Case II on the flaring of APG in Russia considers the conditions in which the international norm on combatting flaring emerged and, supported by the GGFR, gained momentum on the international stage. It also looks at how the norm came to Russia and the conditions in which decrees 7 and 1148 were adopted. The research performed and the interviews carried out by the researcher provide a new insight on why compliance is hard to attain, pointing out the hindering role played in some cases by badly calibrated LC Policies and sanctions, which exclude international actors from the Russian O&G industry. With too few TEENs to help develop legislation corresponding to best international practices, to attract foreign investments, to bring in efficient technical solutions and to increase public awareness about the problem of flaring, the Russian decrees on flaring failed in their primary mission of ensuring a 95% APG utilization rate throughout Russia. The specific regional case of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug, which got independently involved in the GGFR project to reduce flaring in the early 2000s, worked with the GGFR and other TEENs to adjust regulations and tax systems, to attract foreign investments and to develop adapted

⁸⁴ WWF. (2019). *Environmental transparency rating of oil and gas companies operating in Russia 2019*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://wwf.ru/en/resources/publications/booklets/rejting-otkrytosti-neftegazovykh-kompaniy-rossii-v-sfere-ekologicheskoy-otvetstvennosti-2019/>

infrastructure and reached the mark of 95% utilization rate, shows the power TEENs have to change reality. Successful implementation of the norm in this region is not linked to small groups of experts promoting innovation as described by Rosen (1991/2018), nor to the overcoming of a value or interests conflict as described by Young (1998), nor to successful “naming and shaming” strategies (Friman, 2015). KMAO’s achievements are the result of a successful international cooperation through the vector of TEENs, which helped to develop locally adapted solutions based on the international norm. The case also reveals that LC Policies, when designed to develop linkages, can help promote economic development and protect the interests of local populations, by encouraging cooperation with foreign entities and ensuring they contribute expertise to the production process, making it more efficient, environmentally friendly and in line with international standards.

Chapter 6 - Conclusion

The goal of this thesis was to determine the role played by international networks and LC Policies in the national implementation phase of an international norm. The researcher answers in the course of this study the research questions:

R1: Why do governments adopt and implement international norms?

R2: How do transnational actors and LC policy affect the chances of a successful outcome in the national implementation of international norms?

While the academic literature on networks focuses on their contribution to norm creation and diffusion internationally; the role international actors play domestically has been largely neglected by scholars, who consider implementation to be governed by national specificities or the characteristics of an international norm. This study determines through two case studies the reasons why governments adopt international norms, using the existing literature on Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) to explain why the need to comply with an international norm appears and how norms get transposed into national law. The study then shows how international networks, baptized Transnational Expertise and Experience Networks (TEENs) by the researcher, significantly increase the chances of international norms reaching compliance through their contribution to the implementation process. An analysis of LC Policies reveals they are present both in the sphere of higher education and in that of O&G. The effect of LC Policies on norm implementation was found to depend on how they were calibrated, with different regions showing variable outcomes. LC Policies, which allowed TEENs to operate, which were formalized, based on international best practices and which encouraged foreign corporations to contribute to the development of local skills and the regional economy were associated with higher levels of compliance to international norms.

6.1 Findings from the case studies

This thesis considered two case studies selected on the basis of the “most-similar” principle and had for aim to determine the reasons for the difference in outcomes between the two. While the two case studies pertain to different spheres, they present essential features which make them comparable: they deal with norms that the Russian government willingly

accepted, transposed into domestic law and has an interest in implementing; they have clearly identifiable international norms promoted in both cases by the World Bank; and they unfold during a similar time period with norm adoption taking place between 2009 and 2012. These factors make the cases comparable and the dissimilar outcomes between them can be attributed to the actions of TEENs, rather than to other factors such as the differences between higher education and the O&G industry. Each case offers an additional comparative level, which further confirms the findings on the role of TEENs: In Case I, Project 5-100 is compared to previous Russian excellence in higher education initiatives in which TEENs were not involved and which failed in their ambitions. In Case II a comparison between the Russian regions reveals that the one region with active TEENs reached compliance with the anti-flaring decrees 7 and 1148. The details of the findings are reviewed beneath:

Case I is devoted to the national adoption and implementation, with Russian project 5-100, of the international norm on *world-class* universities or excellence in higher education. Promoted by individual states throughout the 2000s, the international norm was officially formulated in 2009 by the World Bank with the publication “The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities” (Salmi, 2009), which clearly established the main goals for higher education systems of countries around the world. *World-class* universities are described as international, autonomous, research-intensive, stakeholder-oriented entities providing high-quality education and capable of competing on the global stage for the best students and faculty members (Salmi, 2009). Tracing back the emergence of the international norm revealed that the model of *world-class* universities emerged progressively in the West after WW2, with a number of universities developing some characteristics, which later allowed them to succeed and adapt to new economic realities, social values and student expectations. The globalization of the economy explains the trend towards the internationalization of universities and the start of a global competition between them. The international norm on *world-class* universities was created by a handful of leading, mostly Western universities, which showed the way, putting a focus on research and development, internationalization and accountability. A number of countries were early followers of the norm and developed their own government-led excellence in education initiatives in an attempt to boost their universities’ global reputation and competitiveness. China launched in 1995 project 211 and in 1998 project 985. Both consisted of several phases, received significant state funding and aimed to increase the reputation of the Chinese higher education system worldwide by improving the infrastructure in universities, opening laboratories, attracting international

faculty and scholars, encouraging the mobility of Chinese professors and widening the partnership between business and universities. China created in 2003 the first Chinese international ranking of universities, confirming the need for its universities to engage in the global competition for excellence. Similarly, France launched in 2010 a 7.7 billion Euro project, which had for main targets to merge the most promising universities and research institutes to increase their visibility, to develop partnerships between higher education institutions and businesses and to promote technological innovation. The final goal was to make French universities internationally attractive and to stimulate economic growth. The international norm started to gain momentum as the number of countries adopting it increased. The World Bank contributed to this trend in two ways: first by formalizing the norm by offering a standard definition of excellence in higher education and secondly by encouraging and providing funding for national initiatives aimed at modernizing higher education systems along the lines recommended by the WB. Its two groundbreaking publications: “The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities”, by Jamil Salmi (2009) and “The Road to Academic Excellence: The Making of World-Class Research Universities” by Jamil Salmi and Philip Altbach (2011) indeed mark the “coming of age” of the norm on *world-class* universities, which can from that stage be considered to have reached maturity. “The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities” not only defines what a *world-class* university is but explains why universities should strive to become one. *World-class* universities are characterized by excellence in training students, research output and technology transfer (Salmi, 2009, p4). Success is characterized by internationalization, a high demand for graduates on the labor market, ground-breaking research in top academic journals, highly qualified faculty members, international reputation, high funding levels from both private and state sources and cooperation with business. The author describes the different paths to become a *world-class* university, outlining the pros and contras of each strategy and can be used by policymakers as a handbook to reform their higher education systems. The second book published two years later by the WB “The Road to Academic Excellence: The Making of World-Class Research Universities” is aimed specifically at middle-income and developing countries and adds an extra focus on *world-class* “research” universities, underlining their role in integrating their country in the global information network and promoting economic development. While in the 1990s Russia was focused on recovering economically and socially from the breakdown of the Soviet Union, in the 2000s the need to reform the higher education system came to the fore. The liberalization of the Russian economy led to a change in the business landscape of the country and the demand for experts

capable of working on a competitive market emerged. The need to liberalize universities and the rejection of the Soviet legacy explain why Russia resorted to international frameworks to reorganize the higher education system: as a result Russia worked with the WB and the EU to reform its universities, adhered to the Bologna process and launched a number of initiatives including the National Research universities and the Federal Universities projects. These measures reflected the need for internationalization but did not allow Russian universities to make a breakthrough in international rankings. While the norm on *world-class* universities was reaching maturity, Russia was itself at a turning point and launched in 2012 an ambitious initiative to ensure the global competitiveness of its universities. The Presidential Decree of the Russian Federation No. 599 of May 7th, 2012 “On measures to realize state policy in the sphere of education and science” marked the launch of Project 5-100, also called the Russian Academic Excellence Project. Project 5-100 is Russia’s main project to create *world-class* universities and is effectively the Russian translation of the international norm. The name of the project itself refers to international rankings, which are used as the main criteria to assess the performance of universities during the project. The norm on *world-class* universities as formulated by the WB offers a list of recommendations on how universities can become competitive in international rankings. Project 5-100 requires its participants to develop according to WB guidelines, with a focus on attracting international faculty and students, on developing competitive research, on establishing links with businesses and on being accountable to all stakeholders. When considering the reasons why Russia adopted the international norm on *world-class* universities (and answering RQ1), the researcher identified several main factors: first and foremost the maturity of the international norm and the examples of successful excellence in education projects launched by France and China, second the internal need for reform within the Russian higher education system and the demands of the domestic liberal market economy, third the country’s desire for prestige and international recognition and fourth the targeted action of TANs. Indeed while the first three factors created a need for reform and offered a theoretical solution, the transition from the potentiality of, to the realization of a new project, was ensured by a group of Russian and international experts who offered advice and helped lobby for a new initiative. The TAN included members of the WB (among them Jamil Salmi and Philip Altbach who wrote the publications on *world-class* universities) and Russian education experts and politicians (including Dmitry Livanov, Alexander Povalko, Andrey Fursenko and Andrey Volkov) who pushed for a new project to be carried out following the recommendations of the WB. When considering the implementation of the national adaptation of the international norm (and

addressing RQ2) the researcher established that project 5-100 was designed and rolled out according to international best practices. Selected on a competitive basis and required to present the progress made to an international committee on a regular basis, participating universities were encouraged to seek out international expertise to help them meet their targets. A large number of different international actors (TEENs) were found by the researcher (based on the expert interviews) to have helped universities improve their performance: rating agencies, members of the International Expert Committee, members of the universities International Advisory Boards, external consultants, foreign and Russian experts abroad. Project 5-100 not only allowed for but also encouraged the involvement of TEENs, creating platforms for their interaction with Russian universities and experts. The contribution of foreign International Expert Committee members was considered essential as prestigious universities and their rectors received independent assessments of their activities in unprecedented ways. The opening of International Advisory Boards within universities allowed for the creation of new links between foreign and Russian universities, conducive to the exchange of best practices and experience sharing. International consultants designed development strategies for universities based on the experience acquired on projects abroad. Rating agencies allowed universities and the government to assess the progress made by each player within the framework of the project and provided consultancy services on how to become more competitive on the international higher education market. The main reasons why TEENs were found to be effective were: their high level of competence (leading education specialists), their objectivity (capacity to assess the performance of universities), their independence (opportunity to convey critical messages with no fear of repercussions) and their practical experience (allowing them to adapt a general principle to a situation on the ground). Project 5-100, throughout its successive waves and changing political support has been largely successful in fulfilling its primary objective: making Russian universities more competitive globally. The achievements of the project were confirmed by studying various sources: the interviews carried out by the researcher, a peer-reviewed econometric assessment and the participating universities' performance in international rankings. Project 5-100, despite its success, has come up against some criticism and resistance, including at governmental level. Blamed for leading to a decline in the quality of education and research, the project is said to focus on fulfilling formal criteria to appear internationally competitive rather than on capacity-building and developing long-term potential. Both the nature of the goal itself (becoming a *world-class* university) and the means used are criticized, with detractors pointing out that the government should use existing assets to develop a Russian

higher educational model which would be envied the world over, like the Soviet one, rather than be a second rate performer in a system in which the rules of the game have already been written. The focus on short-time objectives, ignoring the needs of the local community and encouraging opportunistic behavior are some of the most frequently recurring criticisms. These difficulties have led the government to develop some implicit LC policies (Kalyuzhnova & Belitski, 2019) aimed at limiting the negative effects of the internationalization process. While history provides the most examples of LC policies in the O&G and automotive industries, the concept is being increasingly applied in a variety of different fields. While LC policies in all sectors share common characteristics, the circumstances of their emergence and the main actors involved in their realization may vary. The researcher developed a targeted definition of LC policy for higher education to address the specificities of this sector. LC policies in the sphere of higher education are measures developed by the government to ensure that the internationalization process serves the interests of the national education system and the country as a whole. LC policies in higher education resemble those in other spheres in that they provide privileges to domestic players (Ovadia, 2014), aim to increase the value of their products (Kalyuzhnova & al, 2016), promote local inputs at different stages of the value-chain (Sturgeon & Van Biesebroeck, 2009) and are considered a means of enhancing socio-economic development (Kalyuzhnova & Belitski, 2019). LC policies in higher education differ from those in other spheres in that they focus more on security and social issues and comparatively less on economic ones. The recent LC policies developed by the Russian government in the sphere of higher education fall into four main categories: measures to control the quality of higher education, measures to ensure there are no security breaches, measures to address the brain-drain problem and measures to uphold traditional Russian values and avoid social unrest. The dynamic liberalization of the 1990s led to a multiplication of the number of universities and to a decline in the overall quality of higher education. In order to increase the credibility of the Russian educational system, the government decided to recentralise and reinforce state control over higher education, with a return to the Soviet practice of quality standards checks. In order to ensure that state secrets are not compromised, the government developed measures monitoring research related to strategic or confidential topics and their funding. The Russian government also created LC measures in order to counter another negative effect of the internationalization of higher education, the outflow of qualified students and experts. The Global Education Program comprises a clause, which requires students to return to Russia upon completion of their studies to work for a period of three years in an approved list of

companies. Russia's National Technology Initiative launched in 2014 aims at making the country a technological leader by bringing back emigrated scientists (Danilin, 2016). Projects like Megagrants give priority de facto if not de jure to Russian emigrated scientists for the role of leader of the laboratory (Puffer & al, 2018), promoting their return home. Other LC policy measures focus on easing the transition to the liberal and competitive global higher education market. Indeed because of the country's Soviet history, the belief in equal opportunities and the demand for a paternalistic state remain strong and lead to expectations that the government will fund higher education and will provide free tuition as well as stipends to talented students. To avoid social unrest, the government is ensuring a progressive transition away from this model, maintaining its financial support to students. The federal government also develops and protects the main universities in the Russian regions for economic and social reasons, for example to avoid a mass migration flow to Moscow and St Petersburg. The resistance of academics to the reform of the Russian Academy of Sciences led to a moratorium of change. While the final target is for research to be relocated in universities, during the transition phase the interests of all parties are being catered for. LC Policy in the sphere of higher education in Russia does not seek to limit the number of foreigners as the emphasis is currently put on internationalizing universities. On the contrary, international actors are being brought into Russia to share best practices and help Russian universities become globally competitive. While the concrete LC measures taken in the sphere of higher education may differ from other sectors, they are used for similar reasons: to protect the region/country from excessive foreign interference and to ensure a smooth transition to conditions of international competition. The Russian higher education system appears indeed to be a "fledgling industry" in need of state support. LC policies allow the educational system some extra time to mature: indeed the highly ambitious project 5-100 is tempered by a series of cross-measures aimed at preserving social stability and ensuring the project serves the interests of Russia as a whole. While LC policies are often designed to be limited in time, the Russian transition away from these measures has not yet started as reflected by the survey performed by the researcher among Russian academics. While there is a common understanding among respondents that Russian universities should be integrated in the international educational space and that their performance should be assessed through international rankings, the survey also reveals that academics share common expectations that the state should support and protect Russian higher education, reflecting an acceptance of project 5-100 but also an ongoing demand for LC policies. The analysis of Russia's current LC policy in the sphere of higher education and of the results of the survey on demand for LC

policies among academics reveals that TEENs and LC policies can harmoniously co-exist and even that the later can help support an active internationalization process. First, because existing LC measures have not disrupted the national implementation of the international norm on *world-class* universities and second because successful internationalization has not eliminated the demand for LC policies as reflected in the survey findings.

Case II deals with the national adoption and implementation through Russian decrees 7 and 1148 of the international norm on combatting the flaring of APG. Flaring can be defined as “the process by which natural gas is burned off in a controlled manner when extracting oil” (Donev & al, 2018, p1). APG is an automatic byproduct of oil production and it is flared on sites, which do not have infrastructure to store, re-inject or utilize it. Flaring is a negative externality because it causes environmental damage (acid rains, local thermal pollution, global warming) and constitutes a waste of natural gas. Flaring remains a common practice as it may be required for security reasons or because it is cheaper to flare than to utilize the associated gas (Bott, 2007). The international norm on combatting flaring started to take shape in the 1990s, with a number of early players such as the Norwegian and Canadian governments, the World Bank, BP, the World Carbon Fund and the Colorado School of Mines with its Earth Observation Group (EOG) expressing concern about flaring practices and starting to develop joint solutions for the utilization of APG. During the 1990s the first satellite imagery and data on flaring appeared and contributed to raising awareness globally about the problem, at a time when climate change was becoming a matter of general concern and countries had committed under the auspices of the United Nations (Kyoto Protocol for example) to reducing their greenhouse gas emissions. Transnational actors worked towards the creation of an international norm on combatting flaring and created at the World Bank, the Global Gas Flaring Reduction Public-Private Partnership (GGFR), which was launched during the World Summit on Sustainable Development in August 2002 and comprised as members the governments of oil-producing countries, national and multinational oil companies and donors providing funding to realize the GGFR’s main initiatives. During the summit, the magnitude of the problem of global flaring was exposed and new participants started to join the initiative. The GGFR defined its mission as “to increase the use of natural gas associated with oil production by helping remove technical and regulatory barriers to flaring reduction, conducting research, disseminating best practices, and developing country-

specific gas flaring reduction programs”⁸⁵ (GGFR website, p1). The GGFR began to help national and regional governments develop viable regulatory frameworks for associated gas utilization and to create the necessary infrastructure for this purpose. The international norm on combatting flaring was taking shape. The problem of flaring was framed as an economic issue (a waste of valuable natural resources, a loss of funds and revenue for each nation and each oil company), a development and human rights issue (the mission to stop flaring is linked to fighting poverty and promoting development) and an environmental issue (grafted on the older norm of combatting climate change), giving it maximum momentum for a wide range of audiences. The norm reached maturity when the GGFR launched in 2015 the Zero Routine Flaring by 2030 initiative, which united those partners ready to take their efforts to stop flaring a step further, as it established an end-date and sought commitment. The initiative has two key points: the first is that in any new oil field development, the country or oil company commits to having a solution for utilizing the associated gas from the outset. The second is that a solution will be found to any routine flaring by 2030. The initiative was launched by the UN Secretary General and the President of the World Bank; attracting a lot of media and popular attention. The initiative was endorsed by over 80 countries and companies, and the practice of flaring became progressively stigmatized. Russia was found to be, according to satellite data provided by the Colorado School of Mines, the first flarer globally in terms of volumes of emissions⁸⁶. Russia’s main flaring sites coincide with the oil producing regions of the country: The North-West, the Volga, Ural and Siberia. During the 1990s and early 2000s, while some of the leaders in combatting flaring were putting down the premises of what would become a global norm against flaring, Russia stayed far away from this process. The breakdown of the Soviet Union, the political turmoil and economic hardship that ensued turned both the government’s and the population’s attention away from environmental issues. In the first years the GGFR was trying to establish its mission and attract stakeholders, Russian oil and gas companies were not actively involved in the process. While the first legal regulation of flaring appeared in 1997, with a number of decrees on environmental protection touching upon the subject before then, the laws were not enforced and the fines were too low to affect the practices of the O&G industry (Roland, 2010). While the representatives of oil companies were aware in the 1990s and early 2000s of the need to utilize APG and official

⁸⁵ GGFR. (2020). *Global Gas Flaring Reduction Partnership*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/gasflaringreduction>

⁸⁶ Ibid

documents mentioned the problem of flaring (though more in passing than as a real challenge to be overcome), it was considered a national matter and all data surrounding flaring was regarded as confidential. As a result, little progress was made at first by international actors trying to engage in Russia. During the early 2000s the volume of APG flaring did not change and no practical steps were taken to reduce flaring (Eder & al, 2019). In the absence of a strong official line from the central authorities on the problem of flaring, the GGFR decided to reach out directly to the regional governors of the Russian regions where most of the flaring was taking place. The GGFR team was able to successfully engage in the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug, they brought in experts from the Alberta government for workshops and jointly embarked on the mission to reduce flaring in the region. A decade later, the Russian government decided to address the problem of flaring directly with the January 8th, 2009 governmental decree number 7 “On the measures stimulating reduction of atmospheric pollution by products of associated gas flaring” completed by the decree number 1148 of the 8th of November 2012. Decree 7 required a 95% APG utilization rate, introduced a new system of calculating payments for emissions of harmful substances and pollutants to be applied starting from January 1st 2012 (Kutepova & al, 2011) and led to a huge increase in fines, thus constituting a completely overhaul of the legal regulation of flaring. Decree 1148 increased the fines for harmful emissions, relaxed the rules for new production sites and for sites located in remote areas and introduced a mechanism according to which amounts invested in the development of infrastructure for APG utilization could be deducted from the fines imposed for each given year (Decree 1148, 2012). When considering the reasons why the Russian government decided to adopt the international norm on combatting APG flaring (and answering RQ1), the researcher identified several main factors: the international norm against flaring started to gain momentum in the early 2010s and was becoming difficult to ignore, the cooperation of a Russian region with the GGFR to reduce flaring was producing good results, the boom of information on flaring and the ready available satellite images of real-time flaring were becoming an embarrassment, the eyes of the international community were focused on the world’s number one flarer, Russia’s adherence to the Kyoto protocol meant it was looking for ways to reduce its CO₂ emissions, the recognition of the financial losses linked to flaring and the pressure of business partners all created a context in which the Russian government decided to tackle head on the problem of flaring. While all these factors created a context conducive to change, the transition from the potentiality of to the realization of a new project was ensured by a group of Russians and international experts (TANs) who offered advice and helped lobby for a new initiative. Several people played a key role at

governmental level in requesting and facilitating the new legislation including Elvira Nabiullina, Vsevolod Gavrilov and Igor Sechin who were influential in the policy-making circle and had undergone the influence of international players such as the GGFR and western O&G companies. Regardless of their intentions, ranging from environmental concerns to the simple desire to monetize APG, these actors were key in ensuring the new legislation came to exist. When considering the implementation of the national adaptation of the international norm (and addressing RQ2) the researcher established that decrees 7 and 1148 were not designed and rolled out according to international best practices and that Russian oil companies did not by and large reach compliance with the Russian decrees. Not only did most companies not achieve a 95% APG utilization rate but GGFR data also reveals a growth in flaring volumes for Russia since 2014⁸⁷. Decrees 7 and 1148 failed to reach compliance for a number of reasons: the legislative framework on flaring is complex and the procedure for calculating fines is complicated, leading to firms being unsure whether they will be fined. The decrees do not take into account best practices, as they are a penalty in isolation of other supporting measures. Other impeding factors include a lack of political consensus and acceptance of the decrees on the business side, monitoring problems, the absence of incentives to invest in the necessary infrastructure and the lasting uncertainty regarding the quality of flaring data. Alongside the difficulties with the decrees themselves and their enforcement, some structural problems were major blocking points to reducing flaring. The low levels of innovation in Russian oil companies made it impossible to develop in time new solutions to utilize the associated gas. Subsidized oil prices make it rarely economically viable for an oil producer to utilize its APG. The gas market is dominated by a few large companies that have a monopoly on the pipelines, making it difficult for other companies to transport their APG. The organizational structure of oil companies also implies that no Senior Vice-President is explicitly responsible for ensuring APG utilization (with the SVP for extraction and the SVP for transport blaming each other for flaring practices and oil quality issues). The tax system does not make it advantageous to re-inject APG, as duties are paid regardless of whether the oil is re-injected. In the absence of TEENs, no solutions were found in most Russian regions to overcome these difficulties, resulting in the failure to reach compliance with the decrees. However, one Russian region, which did involve TEENs, was

⁸⁷ World Bank. (2018). *Gas flaring volumes 2014-2018 GGFR*. Retrieved on 24.09.2020 from <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/887251581002821897/Revised-2014-2018-flare-volumes-estimates.pdf>

successful in reducing flaring and overcame with original solutions all of the previously mentioned difficulties. The Russian Autonomous Okrug of Khanty-Mansiysk increased its APG utilization rate from 73% in 1980, to 86% in 2010 and to 95% in 2019. The achievements of KMAO cannot be put down to decrees 7 and 1148 as the local administration of KMAO began to tackle the problem of flaring in the early 2000s and worked together with the GGFR throughout that decade. A part of the infrastructure for APG utilization was built in 2009 before the first Russian decree on flaring was promulgated. The region adopted a specific course characterized by its early interaction with the GGFR, the EBRD, foreign governments and private companies specialized in developing solutions for APG utilization. These TEENs were invited by the regional governor to aid with combatting flaring and assumed a multitude of different aiding functions including providing credibility to the region's anti-flaring initiative, attracting funding for APG utilization projects, sharing expertise (for example experts from the Alberta government consulted KMAO officials on how to develop a new regulatory framework to put an end to flaring based on Canada's experience), designing and implementing adapted technical solutions for APG utilization (within the framework of the international Monolit-Salym Petroleum Development and Russneft partnership). The construction and launch of a gas turbine power plant to create electric power and the construction of a liquefied petroleum gas plant to process APG allowed the region to significantly reduce its flaring. TEENs have a significant and positive impact on norm implementation, but the degree to which they are involved has been found to depend on LC policies. Indeed, LC Policies in Russia affect all aspects of the O&G industry and have an impact on the implementation of the Russian flaring decrees. As LC Policies in the oil industry regulate the interactions between foreign companies and national or regional governments trying to promote a fair basis for interaction and profit sharing, they affect all activities related to the oil business from production to commercialization. The impact of LC Policies depends first and foremost on how they are articulated. If generically, they link the utilization of associated gas to local expertise in order to promote energy efficiency then this helps with the development of homemade and appropriate regional solutions. If they are worded to command the use of LC and restrict foreign involvement then they are aimed at resistance to change. A review of LC Policies in Russia reveals a significant disparity between regions with local governments playing a major role in developing them. While the Russian government has adopted a number of measures regulating to what extent foreign firms can participate in the O&G industry, there are tangible differences between regional applications as LC Policies included in contracts and signed at a local level are the result of

negotiations between foreign corporations, Russian corporations and regional governments. The analysis of the situation in three different regions reveals that LC Policies are diverse, formalized to different degrees and are subject to an array of international, state-level, regional and local rules, which leads to some inconsistencies. Paternalism (Nenets Autonomous Okrug) appears as a sub-optimal solution as it relies entirely on taxation and on the regional authorities to fund appropriate support projects, leading to gross miscalculations and an inability to tackle problems such as flaring. Formalized LC policies (as in the Sakhalin II agreement) take into account international best practices, offer clarity to all participants, reassure international players and satisfy the needs for Russian content in the local economy and as such appear as a best practice. Nevertheless, the limits put by this type of agreement on foreign participation can slow down the process of developing optimal solutions in many spheres, including when dealing with the problem of flaring. The Corporate Social Responsibility mode presents many opportunities by laying most of the responsibility for social fairness and local economic development on the oil firms and having them respect international LC standards. The lack of formalization means that the outcome depends on the core intentions of the oil company and the priorities of the local administration. While the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug committed early on to combatting flaring and the predominant CSR mode of the region allowed it to develop the international interaction necessary to develop effective solutions; other regions such as the Komi Republic or the Irkutskaya Oblast with the CSR mode of LC policy did not have the same ambitions to reduce flaring and made little progress. The study reveals that there is no direct dependency between the existence per se of LC policies and the outcome of norm implementation. The chances of a norm reaching compliance and of TEENs being able to operate depends rather on the type of LC policy selected. Optimal LC policies meet several criteria: they are formalized, allowing all parties to the contract to understand precisely what is expected of them and thus reducing informal and corrupt practices; they take into account the availability of an industrial supply-base and develop a gradual approach to increasing the percentage of LC as local capacity improves; they have adequate reporting requirements allowing for a reliable follow-up; they go beyond the paternalist approach of generating economic rents to develop economic linkages and they pave the way for international cooperation and the involvement of international players in the production process. The study reveals that LC Policies, when designed to develop linkages, can help promote economic development and protect the interests of local populations, by encouraging cooperation with foreign entities and making

sure they contribute technology and expertise to the production process, making it more efficient, environmentally friendly and in line with international standards.

6.2 Contribution to the literature

During the 1990s, the literature on norms focused on identifying the capacity of norms to bring about change in the international community, with authors describing a standard life-cycle of a norm according to which they “emerge, cascade and internationalize” (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998 p892) and identifying the different actors involved in norm promotion, including Transnational Advocacy Networks (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). TANs were described as a new actor made up of all types of governmental and non-governmental actors, with the power to influence national policy-making. During the 2000s a number of empirical studies in various spheres (especially human rights and the environment) identified the mechanisms of norm diffusion. Abandoning the perspective that norms follow a linear progression route, or a cycle, Risse, Ropp and Sikkink offered in 1999 a new perspective on the mechanisms impacting normative change, considering the power of “strategic bargaining”, “moral consciousness raising” and “habitualization” (Risse & al, 1999 p11). The role of contestation in reinforcing a norm in the long term was further confirmed (Deitelhoff & Zimmermann, 2020), leading to the assumption that norms, which are properly timed and framed, will reach maturity and that regardless of their subject matter. While norms, which have reached maturity may be adopted by states; there is no guarantee that they will be implemented or reach compliance.

While the mechanisms of norm creation, diffusion and maturation have been thoroughly studied as well as the influence of international actors on the national institutionalization of international norms, the literature on norm implementation appears fragmented and incomplete. Some assume that after institutionalization, conformance with an international norm becomes automatic (Norm Cascade), while others underline the implementation gap issue (Cortel & Davis, 2000) and the need to overcome potential value and interest conflicts (Young, 1998) in order for an international norm to be successfully implemented. Other studies concentrate on the role of a narrow group of motivated experts in promoting innovation and ensuring norms domestically reach compliance (Rosen, 1991/2018). While these approaches offer some insights into norm implementation, they do not provide a

framework explanation as to why some norms fail to reach compliance. While the expert literature offers credible reasons for the adoption of international norms by national governments, the reasons why these norms frequently fail to be implemented have not yet been clarified. Sometimes norms reach compliance in the presence of a value conflict and in other cases there is no value conflict but norms are not successfully implemented. While international actors such as Transnational Advocacy Networks are assumed to play a major role in norm adoption by national governments, few scholars consider the role of international networks during the national implementation process of a norm.

This study addresses this gap in the scholarly literature by determining how different factors impact the national implementation of international norms and to what extent they can influence the final outcome. More specifically, this thesis confirms the working hypothesis that the involvement of international actors during the national implementation phase of an international norm is a decisive factor in determining whether the norm will reach compliance. These networks were given by the researcher a specific name, which underlines how they operate, Transnational Experience and Expertise Networks (TEENs). TEENs ensure, during the implementation phase of a norm, the follow-up of the work done by TANs. Indeed the assumption that international networks have made their main contribution by the time an international norm has been adopted by a national government is incorrect; the findings of this study offer some evidence to back the idea that their role goes well beyond and into the implementation phase of international norms.

TEENs influence the domestic implementation of international norms in several ways: they raise awareness about the problems a norm addresses, revealing to stakeholders and to the general public the ways in which society as a whole and themselves as individuals could benefit from successful implementation. These networks use their experience to help adapt international norms to local conditions, showing that there is not one unique path to compliance and that appropriate solutions should be designed on a case-to-case basis. They share their past experiences of implementation to predict and solve some of the challenges encountered during implementation. TEENs also offer their expertise to solve technical, social, structural or legal issues related to norm implementation. While TEENs as a network contribute to higher levels of normative compliance, the groups or individuals within them may function independently from each other and a TEEN may not form a coherent unit in itself. The level of organization and coordination of these networks increases in cases when

states finance their activities and create platforms for them to operate; however TEENs can also operate efficiently without dedicated governmental support. While TEENs may have different motivations to do what they do, from material gain to the pursuit of selfless ideals, their intentions have less impact on outcomes than their level of competence in their field. TEENs are first and foremost groups of experts with technical skills and a wide experience in a specific sphere. Consequently, the actors constituting TEENs will vary from one norm to another.

The concept of TEENs contributes to filling the “implementation gap” in IR norm theory, by offering an explanation for why some norms reach compliance while others do not, in circumstances where other explanations such as norm maturity or the existence of a value conflict fail. Indeed while most of the IR literature points to domestic level processes in explaining norm implementation, this study shows that transnational networks are key to ensuring that international norms reach compliance on the ground. TEENs embody the “practical turn” (Bueger, 2012) of Constructivist norm theory, tying together the theoretical arguments on the importance of norms at bringing about change with an empirical analysis of how to ensure their implementation. TEENs bring back norm compliance issues into the realm of International Relations studies by showing that transnational actors have a decisive influence on implementation outcomes. TEENs form part of the larger concept of “Communities of Practice” alongside Transnational Advocacy Networks, Security Communities, Critical Communities, Epistemic Communities and others (Adler, 2005, p17). Communities of Practice have been defined as “not only the conscious and discursive dimensions and the actual doing of change, but also the social space where structure and agency overlap and where knowledge, power and community intersect” (Adler & Pouliot, 2011, p18-19). While TANs may be more prone to engaging in the “discursive dimensions” mentioned in the definition, TEENs focus on “the actual doing of change” understood by the researcher as the work performed on the ground changing people’s perceptions and actions to ensure their conformity to new norms.

Other factors alongside international actors have been partially overlooked by the literature in International Relations: indeed the local implementation of norms may also be impacted by long-term policies which have for objective to increase over time the part played by local people and resources: LC Policies (Tordo & Anouti, 2013). Implementing protectionist measures and favoring local suppliers and employees over international ones presents some

risks and can have an adverse impact on Russia's industrial development. The transition from state support to fair international competition can create serious resistance down the road so all LC Policies should be considered from the start as having a limited duration (Jasimuddin & Maniruzzaman, 2016). LC measures may make projects less attractive to foreign involvement and lead to less efficient implementation, including in terms of environmental standards. LC Policies can however help promote economic growth by creating jobs, developing local competencies and financing the diversification of the economy (Adedeji & al, 2016). While the existing literature offers a detailed analysis of the advantages and risks of LC Policies, this study contributes to it by analyzing the differences between the Russian regions and comparing CSR measures, paternalism and formalized LC Policies. While they all aim to promote a fair sharing of benefits from O&G extraction between oil companies and local populations and can be assembled in the broad group of LC Policies, they differ in the methods used and the results achieved. This study finds that LC Policies gain in efficiency and present fewer risks, particularly in countries with weak institutions, if they are formalized and contain measures aimed at each stage of the value chain. Clarifying the conditions for international stakeholders from the outset increases the quality of transnational cooperation, paving the way for the successful national implementation of international norms. This study also shows that the concept of LC policy applies well to the sphere of higher education and presents a productive framework to explain the development of measures to protect universities and academics during the active phase of internationalization of Russian higher education. As in other industries, LC measures help in the sphere of higher education to ease the transition to an international competitive market and to ensure the country as a whole benefits from this integration process. LC policies when correctly designed do not go up against norm implementation. The positive attitude of academics towards internationalization coupled with the demand for more LC policies, as revealed by the survey, confirms the compatibility of TEENs and LC policies. Hence under some circumstances, LC Policies and TEENs can jointly contribute to successful norm implementation.

6.3 Limitations and recommendations for further study

Limitations of the Study

The thesis makes a significant contribution to the literature on norms with a focus on the implementation phase. This part looks at the limitations of the study, which guide the researcher in making recommendations for further research. While the study shows that TEENs have a significant impact on norms reaching compliance; its scope did not allow the researcher to assess what types of TEENs and actors within them are the most useful in aiding the implementation process. Likewise, the study does not provide quantitative data regarding the “amount” of TEENs necessary to turn a situation around.

Recommendations for further research

While the cases that are studied provide a good opportunity for generalization, further testing would be welcome. The main proposal would be to conduct other case studies in different spheres both in Russia and abroad to confirm the universality of the proposed theoretical framework. New studies could attempt to quantify in different spheres the impact of different TEENs to reveal how many international actors need to be involved to ensure successful norm implementation.

Researchers could explore how TEENs and LC Policies affect norm implementation in other countries and gain some valuable information regarding the influence of other factors such as the political regime or levels of social mobilisation on the final outcome.

Additionally, other normative situations could be explored: both cases where the government benefits from norm implementation (in cases similar to those reviewed by the researcher) and cases where the government may have adopted a norm with no true desire to implement it (mimicry etc.). The later case is especially interesting as if TEENs were shown to aid norm implementation even in countries with no true governmental willingness to do so; it would have a significant impact on the literature on international norms, showing that new patterns of behavior can be created by TEENs. The sub-case of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug points us in this very direction as the region changed its flaring attitude at a time when the Russian government had no interest in the matter. Indeed could countries start to comply with costly international norms successfully without any governmental support but with the help of TEENs instead? While governmental opposition to a norm would lead to strict policies, including LC policies, standing in the way of TEENs involvement; governmental indifference may not be a stumbling block to norm implementation if this hypothesis was confirmed.

Research could also be conducted on norms in a variety of different spheres such as civil aviation, military conduct, driving rules, primary education, quality standards, business ethics etc. Each could lead to valuable findings for the theory of norms and have significant policy-making implications.

Last of all, new studies could further explore the link between LC Policies, TEENs and norm implementation, and determine whether LC Policies specifically designed to promote and control interactions with foreign entities could help ensure the successful national implementation of international norms while appeasing fears of seeing foreign entities take over. LC Policies, which focus on promoting local development in mutually beneficial deals with international partners, could possibly be used to include TEENs in projects, to protect their rights and to facilitate interaction with them.

6.4 Concluding remarks

This final section, which marks the end of my thesis, briefly summarizes the methodology used, the contribution to the academic literature and the main findings. It returns to and answers the initial research questions:

“RQ1 Why do governments adopt and implement international norms?
RQ2 How do transnational actors and LC policy affect the chances of a successful outcome in the national implementation of international norms?”

The study of international norms in this thesis does not imply that international norms are superior to national norms, but rather considers how national governments that have decided to adopt international norms can be successful in implementing them. For example, Russia can benefit from knowing how TEENs help with reaching compliance both as a norm adopter (making sure the international norms it has institutionalized are implemented) and as a norm creator (knowing how to best promote the implementation abroad of norms it has created).

This thesis concludes, based on the analysis of two case studies, a survey and secondary sources, that the Russian government adopted and implemented the international norms on excellence in higher education and combatting flaring in the oil industry under the pressure of TANs consisting of foreigners and Russians well-versed in international problems who were

close to the government's inner policy-making circle. They had knowledge of the international norm and an interest (material or psychological) in implementing it in their country. Additionally they had the means, influence or clout to turn their perception of the international norm into a policy or decree. TANS in these cases are not people "naming and shaming" the government, they are experts and politicians looking abroad for innovative ideas to import. In both of the studied cases, the TANS involved successfully lobbied the adoption of new legislation for their causes. The difference in outcome between the two cases is due to the actual content of the decrees (how targets were formulated) and the implementation process. Transnational Expertise and Expertise Networks (TEENs) were shown to significantly improve the chances of a successful outcome in norm implementation by sharing their know-hows and skills and helping adapt the international norms to the local context. Project 5-100, the national adaptation of the international norm on excellence in higher education, was supported during its implementation by TEENs (including an International Expert Committee, international advisory boards, rating agencies, foreign experts etc.) and reached compliance leading to an overall improvement of the global competitiveness of Russian universities. Decrees 7 and 1148, the national implementation of the international norm on combatting flaring, did not reach compliance due to the suboptimal design of the legislation and the incapacity to overcome structural difficulties. The limited number of TEENs operating in the O&G industry explains why most oil companies failed to reach the require 95% utilization rate. One Russian region's (KMAO) ability to radically cut back on flaring reveals the ways in which TEENs can effectively help to overcome the barriers to successful implementation. The chances of an international norm domestically reaching compliance were also found by this study to be affected by LC policies. In the sphere of higher education, LC policies had a positive effect on norm implementation as they aided the transition to an international competitive environment without blocking out TEENs. A survey revealing that academics accept project 5-100 all the while believing that the state should support Russian content, shows that the demand for LC policies does not threaten the internationalization process of Russian higher education, but rather supports it. In the O&G industry, the impact of LC Policies was found to be variable, with various regions having different ways of expressing Russian content requirements. While the paternalist approach failed to develop linkages and led to an inefficient redistribution of economic rents, the outcomes of Corporate Social Responsibility agreements were dependent of the motivation of the regional government, while formalized LC policies were found to be the most efficient means of ensuring efficient cooperation with international players. LC policies hindered

international cooperation in cases where the adopted approaches (paternalism, some cases of CSR) created uncertainties for international corporations and were in these cases associated with a high risk of normative non-compliance. LC Policies accommodating TEENs were shown to have a neutral or positive effect on norm compliance. One of the main policy recommendations emerging from the study is that properly calibrated LC policies can aid with norm implementation and that when a government acts as an enabler for TEENs to contribute to the realization of a project, it does not lose control over the local norm but receives help, which leads to better overall compliance. Governmental decisions to adopt international norms should factor in the economic and reputational risks of non-compliance and provide those responsible for implementation with the institutional, financial, legal and motivational backup to be successful. In many cases, this expertise will need to be brought in from abroad by TEENs, actors that have the technical knowledge and first-hand experience of how to make the norm work in different contexts. A situation from daily life simply illustrates the point: if a government decides to import a new norm on traffic regulation, by creating roundabouts for cars in a country which did not previously have them, it will only reap the benefits of the new norm (less congestion, better safety) if engineers know the locally adapted way to build them, if the road police know how to regulate them and drivers have been taught how to use them. Making sure each stakeholder has the necessary level of information and know-how is the key function of TEENs.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Interview Guide for Case I

1-Participant background and case study context

What is your current position and employer?

Probes

How long have you working in this position?

What are your main functions in this position?

Do you manage people in your position? How many? How do you supervise them?

What are the most important skills needed in your position?

Do you travel abroad for your work? How frequently and where to?

How has your work been linked to/impacted by project 5-100?

What was your prior position?

What is your educational background?

Do you speak foreign languages?

Do you have an experience studying or working abroad?

How has the Russian higher educational system evolved over the last 20 years?

Probes

What are the remains of the Soviet higher education system?

How do you assess the quality of higher education in Russia?

How is the Russian higher education system organized in Russia?

How subjects are most popular among students?

What are the differences between regions?

What is your experience working with/ within universities?

How are universities funded?

How are foreign students integrated in the educational system?

What countries do foreign students and professors come from?

What excellence and internationalization of higher education initiatives do you know about/have you participated in?

Probes

What do you know about Russia and the Bologna Process?

What changes did the Bologna process cause in the Russian Higher education system?

What projects did the Russian government launch to improve the quality of higher education?

What are the National Research Universities?

What was the goal of the Federal Universities project?

What do you know about project 5-100?

How are the Megagrants and Global Education projects organized?

How have these different projects changed the higher education system?

2- The Organization of Project 5-100

How and by whom was Project 5-100 designed?

Probes

Where did the idea of Project 5-100 come from?

Who were the masterminds of the project?

Who lobbied the project at government level?

How was the name of the Project (5-100) chosen?

What are the main goals of 5-100?

How does 5-100 compare to previous higher education projects?

How is project 5-100 organized?

Probes

How were universities selected to participate in the project?

What amount of funding was allocated to the project? Is it sufficient?

How were universities made accountable for the allocated funds?

What structures were created to ensure its implementation?

3- Internationalization and project 5-100

What were the international influences on the conception of the project?

Probes

Do you know of any international experts being involved in conceiving or designing the project?

Did foreign internationalization projects serve as sources of inspiration for the project?

What do you know about the Chinese excellence projects?

Is global competitiveness the main goal of the project?

How are international rating agencies involved in assessing the outcomes of the project?

What is the role of international participants in the project?

Probes

What international experts were called upon to aid with the implementation of the project?

Were universities abroad called upon to aid with project 5-100?

How have international organizations like the World Bank contributed to the realization of the project?

What is the role of international consultancy and audit firms in the project?

In what ways do international actors monitor and assess the results of project 5-100?

Probes

How were universities selected to join project 5-100?

What are the benefits of half the members of the expert committee being foreigners?

How does the contribution of the foreign experts on the committee differ from that of the Russian members?

What is the influence of the expert committee on universities, which are 5-100 participants?

What is the role of international rating agencies in project 5-100?

4- LC and project 5-100

What sort of resistance has project 5-100 been confronted with?

Probes

How is the process of change accepted in universities?

Has the project led to changes in the management of universities?

Has ministerial support been continuous for the project during its life cycle?

Have political tensions between Russia and the West impacted the support for the project?

How is the project perceived in Russia and abroad?

What measures have been taken to overcome resistance in project 5-100?

Is the international component of the project criticized?

Do you consider project 5-100 to be a Russian initiative?

Probes

Is project 5-100 one among other internationalization projects in the world?

What are its specificities?

How does it draw on Russia's experience?

How does it draw on international experience?

What is the best way for Russian universities to become competitive on the world arena?

Does project 5-100 meet these requirements?

Would the project be the same if no foreigners were involved?

Are the Russians involved in the project all open to the internationalization of education? Do they speak foreign languages, do they travel abroad, are they interested in international ideas?

How efficient is project 5-100 in your opinion?

Probes

Is project 5-100 more or less efficient than previous projects?

How do international actors impact the efficiency of the project?

What are the main difficulties in the internationalization process?

Have Russian universities become more competitive?

Has the quality of education improved in universities involved in the project?

Have there been any spill-over effects on universities not participants in the project?

How do you see the future of the project?

Appendix 2 Interview Guide for Case II

1-Participant background and case study context

What is your current position and employer?

Probes

How long have you working in this position?

What are your main functions in this position?

Do you manage people in your position? How many? How do you supervise them?

What are the most important skills needed in your position?

Do you travel abroad for your work? How frequently and where to?

How has your work been linked to the Oil and Gaz industry/ the problem of flaring?

What was your prior position?

What other firms/organizations have you worked for?

What is your educational background?

Do you speak foreign languages?

Do you have an experience studying or working abroad?

How has the Russian situation with flaring evolved over the last few years?

Probes

How is the Russian Oil and Gaz industry organized?

What is Russia's current situation with flaring?

What historical factors have impacted Russia's flaring?

Do geographical factors have an impact on Russia's flaring?

What institutional and political factors impact Russia's flaring?

Which regions flare the most?

What are the differences between regions?

What governmental measures do you know regarding combatting flaring?

Probes

Was flaring regulated in Soviet times?

When were the first concerns about flaring expressed and by whom?

What projects did the Russian government launch to combat flaring in the 2000's?

What foreign companies work on the Russian Oil and Gaz market?

What position do foreign players have on the question of flaring?

What do you know about decrees 7 and 1148?

How is the initiative to control flaring organized?

What is this 95% utilization rate?

2- Decrees 7 and 1148

How and by whom were the decrees designed?

Probes

Where did the idea of these decrees come from?

What are the main reasons governments decide to regulate flaring?

Who were the masterminds of the project?

Who lobbied the project at government level?

How was a 95% utilization rate chosen?

Are the decrees in line with international best practices?

How do these decrees compare with previous anti-flaring legislation?

What are the specific requirements and allowances of the decrees?

How are the decrees implemented?

Probes

Was there an adaptation period for corporations to adjust to the new requirements?

Were some special allowances made?

What amount of funding was allocated to the project? Is it sufficient?

How and by whom were sites inspected?

What structures were created to ensure the implementation of the decrees?

3- Internationalization and Decrees 7 and 1148

What were the international influences on the conception of the project?

Probes

Do you know of any international experts being involved in conceiving or designing the decrees?

Did foreign international anti-flaring projects serve as sources of inspiration for the project?

What do you know about the GGFR?

Have NGOs influenced decision-making on flaring?

What is the role of international participants in the realization of the decrees?

Probes

What international experts were called upon to aid with the implementation of the decrees?

Were foreign companies called upon to aid with combatting flaring?

How have international organizations like the World Bank contributed to the realization of the project?

What is the role of international consultancy and audit firms in the realization of the decrees?

In what ways do international actors monitor and assess the results of project 5-100?

Probes

Is the GGFR involved in controlling compliance with the decrees?

Are foreign checking instances involved in checking compliance?

Do foreign corporations help bring in best practices?

Are international consultants involved in Russia in developing projects to maximize APG utilization?

Are technological advances the key to reducing flaring?

How have western sanctions affected Russia's initiative to combat flaring?

4- LC and Flaring

What sort of resistance have the decrees been confronted with?

Probes

How has the Russian oil and gas industry adapted to the new requirements?
Have the decrees led to changes in the organization of oil production sites?
Has ministerial support been continuous for the project during its life cycle?
How have political tensions between Russia and the West impacted the support for the project?
How is the project perceived in Russia and abroad?
What measures have been taken to overcome resistance to change?

Do you consider the decrees to be a Russian initiative?

Probes

What laws have other countries developed to combat flaring?
What are the specificities of the Russian decrees?
Do they draw on Russia's experience?
What makes it specifically Russian?
What are the best practices globally to reduce flaring?
Are the Russian decrees based on these best practices?
How are the requirements formulated in the decrees adapted to the Russian reality?
Would the project be the same if no foreigners were involved?
What are the regional differences in how O&G firms interact with foreign players?

How efficient are the decrees in your opinion?

Probes

Have the decrees improved Russia's flaring situation?
Have international actors had an impact on the efficiency of the project?
Are there differences in levels of compliance with the decrees in various parts of Russia?
What are the factors that made some regions more successful than others in combatting flaring?
What are the main difficulties in combatting flaring?
Has the GGFR has a specific influence on some regions rather than others? Why?
What are the organizational difficulties for Russian firms in combatting flaring?

Appendix 3: Information sheet and consent form

INFORMATION SHEET

Reference number:

Participant Information Sheet number

Project name: Transnational Networks and Local Content Policy

I am a PhD student at MGIMO University and the University of Reading. As part of my dual thesis I am conducting research into the impact of transnational networks and Local Content Policy on the national implementation of international norms. This research project aims to find out how transnational networks and LC policies affect a national government's ability to implement international norms, which have been institutionalized. The researcher is conducting two case studies devoted to excellence in higher education and to the flaring of Associated Petroleum Gas in the Oil and Gas industry in Russia.

To undertake this research, we are currently contacting experts, academics, policymakers and politicians involved in the creation and implementation of project 5/100 or the Decrees 7 and 1148 on combatting flaring. We would like to invite you to participate in an in-depth interview taking place at which will take approximately 1 hour of your time. You have been selected as a key player and an expert in the topics researched for this study and we are interested in your contribution. You are encouraged to freely express your opinions and please be assured that your views are valued and that there are no right or wrong answers to the questions asked.

We will not collect any names or personal details as part of the interview. Your identity will not be revealed to anyone other than the researchers conducting this survey.

Participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the interview at any time if you feel uncomfortable or unwilling to participate, and you do not have to specify a reason. Any in-part or total contribution can be withdrawn up until the point at which the results are analysed before After it will not be possible to withdraw your contribution from the results of the research. If you wish to withdraw, please contact Anne Crowley-Vigneau

(details below), quoting the reference at the top of this page. The reference will only be used to identify your interview transcript and will not reveal any other information about you.

The discussion will be audio recorded if you agree, and the anonymised transcripts of the audio recordings will be used by the researcher working on the project. Once transcribed the original recording will be deleted. Your anonymity will not be compromised as only the reference number above will be used to identify the transcript.

If at any stage you wish to receive further information about this research project please do not hesitate to contact Anne Crowley-Vigneau. The findings will be written up into my thesis and published in academic journals. This will not affect your anonymity.

All data I collect will be stored securely electronically on a password-protected computer. The data will be destroyed at the end of the research project no later than

By participating in this interview, you are acknowledging that you understand the terms and conditions of participation in this study and that you consent to these terms.

This research project has been reviewed according to the procedures specified by the University Research Ethics Committee, and has been given a favorable ethical opinion for conduct.

Thank you very much for taking part in this interview!

Anne Crowley Vigneau

CONSENT FORM

1. I have read and had explained to me by Anne Crowley Vigneau the accompanying Information Sheet relating to the project on:

Transnational Networks and Local Content Policy

I have had explained to me the purposes of the project and what will be required of me, and any questions I have had have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to the arrangements described in the Information Sheet in so far as they relate to my participation.

I understand that participation is entirely voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw from the project at any time, and that this will be without detriment.

I agree to the interview/session being audio taped.

This application has been reviewed by the University Research Ethics Committee and has been given a favourable ethical opinion for conduct.

I have received a copy of this Consent Form and of the accompanying Information Sheet.

Name:

Company:

Position:

Date of birth:

Signed:

Date:

Appendix 4 List of Respondents Case I

Interview number	Gender	Place of work	Previous place of work	Position	Nationality	Interview Language
I-1	F	Project 5-100 Project Office	/	Expert	Russian	Russian
I-2	M	U.S university	/	Professor	USA	English
I-3	M	Russian university	/	Director	Russian	Russian
I-4	M	Russian university	/	Vice-Rector	USA	English
I-5	F	Russian university	/	Director	Russian	Russian
I-6	F	Russian university	/	Senior Director	Russian	Russian
I-7	M	Russian university	/	Head of Institute	Russian	English
I-8	M	Russian university	/	Vice-Rector	Russian	Russian
I-9	F	Russian university	Ministry of Higher Education	Head of Department	Russian	Russian
I-10	M	Ministry of Higher Education	/	Aide to the Ministry	Russian	Russian
I-11	F	Research Centre	/	Acting Director	Russian	Russian
I-12	M	Consultancy firm	/	Consultant	Russian	Russian

Source: Author

Appendix 5 List of Respondents Case II

Interview number	Gender	Place of work	Previous place of work	Position	Nationality	Interview Language
II-1	M	University	Oil company	Deputy Director	Russian	Russian
II-2	F	University	/	Director	Russian	Russian
II-3	F	Oil company	/	Director	UK	English
II-4	M	Oil company	/	Special Advisor	US	English
II-5	M	Private consultant	World Bank	Consultant	UK	English
II-6	F	Oil company	/	Director	Australian	English
II-7	M	Oil company	/	Project manager	Italian	English
II-8	F	Oil company	/	Environmental Specialist	Italian	English
II-9	M	World Bank	/	GGFR Program Manager	US	English
II-10	M	Russian Gas Society	Oil company	Executive Director	Russian	Russian
II-11	F	University	/	Associate Professor	Russian	Russian
II-12	M	Oil company	/	Director	Russian	Russian
II-13	F	Oil company	/	Environmental Specialist	Russian	Russian
II-14	M	University	/	Professor	Russian	Russian

Source: Author

