

Patriotism as a conduit to employee environmental engagement in a post-Soviet economy in transition

Short title: Patriotism as a conduit to environmental engagement

Keywords

Framings of homeland, employee environmental engagement, first-line managers, post-Soviet economy in transition

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Abstract

This paper looks at the way in which first-line managers in Belarusian chemical companies used environmental framings of the notion of *homeland* and linked these to Soviet-legacy organisational practices in order to encourage members of staff to engage in pro-environmental behaviour at work. Participants presented three different framings of *homeland*: *Rodina* (the *motherland*), *small Rodina* (one's more immediate surroundings), and *Katorga* ('a country with forced labour') to show how a sense of environmental responsibility could (or could not) be linked to them. Different Soviet-legacy motivational and mobilisation techniques could be used by front-line managers to encourage and reward pro-environmental engagement in employees who were amenable to different framings of *homeland*. The paper contributes to the limited literature on patriotism as a conduit to environmental virtue and engagement, and to the equally scarce literature on pro-environmental attitudes and behaviours in post-Soviet economies in transition. Through rich, qualitative descriptions of emotionally coloured framings of *homeland* as constitutive of environmental responsibility, we show how notions of patriotism linked to specific organisational practices provide front-line managers with a language and motivational techniques to address employees' environmental engagement – or lack thereof.

Introduction

In this paper we study how first-line managers in the chemical industry in Belarus use patriotic notions of *homeland* and Soviet-legacy organisational practices to encourage environmental engagement in members of their work teams. The behaviour of employees, including both routine-task related (Sabbir & Taufique, 2021) and voluntary behaviour that goes beyond their job description (Temminck, Mearns & Fruhen, 2015), is thought to be a key element in organisations' efforts to address environmental issues. It is known that some

psycho-social factors, such as a sense of calling, can increase employees' environmental engagement (Zhang, Zhang & Jia, 2021), and that certain workplace practices such as access to information and training (Sabbir & Taufique, 2021) can have a positive impact on employee environmental engagement. However, knowledge of managerial practices that enhance task-related and voluntary employee environmental motivation and mobilisation remains partial (Chan et. al., 2022; Kump, 2021). This study contributes to knowledge of what engages employees by providing rich and detailed insight into the use of patriotic framings of homeland as a conduit to employee environmental engagement in an eastern European context, the Belarussian chemical industry.

While patriotism has often been considered a problematic emotion in relation to pro-social and pro-environmental behaviours (cf. Nussbaum, 1996), others have argued for the potential of patriotism to further ethical and environmental engagement (McIntyre, 1984; Cafaro, 2010). There has been very little empirical research into the connection between patriotism and environmental engagement in organisations, yet the apparent recent re-emergence of patriotic sentiments in Europe and across the world (Knutsen, 2016) makes it timely to investigate whether patriotic discourse can indeed serve to improve employee engagement with environmental actions and can thus be used as an additional motivational resource for environmental champions and line managers. This paper thus explores the question of whether patriotism can, within a specific context, provide a conduit towards greater employee environmental engagement in organisations and thus aid in the implementation of environmental strategy.

Belarus, as a 'low-speed' post-Soviet transition country (Havrylyshyn & van Rooden, 2003) is an interesting context for this research as it shows specific organisational and cultural features, which are distinct from Western democracies (Brown, 2005; Ioffe, 2003). Of particular interest for the purposes of the present paper are distinct narratives of patriotism (Rees & Miazhevich, 2009; Zadora, 2017) and national identity (Bekus, 2010), as well as the characteristics of a transition economy in terms of the continuations of a Soviet-type socially-oriented constitution and a state-led planning system centred in Minsk - including significant state ownership of key industries (Löwenhardt, Hill & Light, 2001). By focusing on environmental framings of homeland and patriotism and the use of Soviet-legacy organisational practices as a conduit to encourage employee environmental engagement in

three Belarusian companies, we contribute to knowledge of the modes with which organisational social and environmental engagement is practiced within the institutional, legal and cultural setting[s] of non-Western contexts (Dobers & Halme, 2009). We are addressing a gap in the literature where work on social and environmental organisational engagement in transition countries (other than China) is limited (Crotty, 2016).

We focus our inquiry on the experiences of first-line managers in the chemical industry, as they are generally responsible for the vital task of implementing organisational environmental policies at the shop floor level in an industry where a substantial contribution to pro-environmental action is possible. Drawing on interviews with 52 first-line managers, we are able to offer a unique perspective from people close to the everyday production work of organisations but also senior enough to exert wider managerial influence. In our case study organisations, first-line managers have a dual function of being technical experts (including environmental expertise) and line managers tasked with motivating and monitoring workers. Research on how first-line managers work to engage staff in the enactment environmental strategy at operational level remains scarce (Aguinis & Glavas, 2012).

Theoretical background

In this section we introduce three areas of literature: (1) the debate around the possibility of patriotism as a conduit to environmental virtue; (2) state patriotism and environmentalism in the Soviet Union; and (3) a background to the Soviet legacy in the contemporary Belarusian economy.

Patriotism as a conduit to environmental virtue

Patriotism has received only limited attention as a means of encouraging pro-environmental behaviour in individuals. To some, patriotism – being equated with nationalism and juxtaposed to universalist values – substitutes “a colorful idol [for] the substantive universal values of justice and rights” (Nussbaum, 1996: 5) and is fundamentally inimical to universalist moral values, such as environmentalism, social justice, etc.

A contrasting view is that patriotism involves a special regard for the “particular

characteristics and merits and achievements of one's own nation" (MacIntyre, 1984: 4), and while this regard supports the patriot's own attitudes and beliefs it should not be confused with a mindless loyalty to one's own particular nation. Morality is learned within particular communities, intimately connected to specific institutional arrangements, and the 'goods' at which morality is directed are also socially specific. Because morality is hard to achieve in practice, individuals generally only become capable of acting morally within and supported by a community. Following this logic, MacIntyre (1984) argues that patriotism, as an embeddedness within, and attachment to, one's community, is conducive and even necessary for the development and enactment of morality.

Building on MacIntyre (1984), Eckersley (2008) and Cafaro (2010) argue that patriotism, properly understood, should be considered a virtue because it sustains human communities. In this reading, environmentalism is, at least partly, a drive to protect the places one loves. It is thus seen as a form of patriotism, where patriotism is understood as a concern to protect the land and people of one's *patria*, i.e. one's homeland. While universalist arguments are seen as important in environmental ethics, to be effective environmentalists must focus on particular issues, and a positive local patriotism can help develop that focus (Cafaro, 2010). Deep and intimate knowledge of and attachment to particular places – rather than an abstract global environment – may provide the strongest motivation for environmental action (Carrus et al., 2014; David & Bar-Tal, 2009; Eckersley, 2008). A 'we-feeling' of cohesive political community may be necessary to sustain the democratic deliberation required for meaningful environmentalism, and an environmental patriotism may have the potential to provide a source of motivation for the renewal of both citizenship and the environment (Eckersley, 2008). Successful collective environmental action could perhaps be strengthened if environmental protection was a part of one's national identity (Milfont et al., 2020).

There is a dark side to linking patriotism and environmentalism, however. While the arguments put forward by Cafaro (2010) and Eckersley (2008) make a positive link from an attachment to places one knows to a desire to protect the natural integrity of these places, a more sinister argument uses a concern for the environment to shore up narrow, nationalistic concerns. Nationalism and ecologism can be mutually reinforcing as they both derive legitimacy from a cultural and spiritual essence of land for human populations (Margulies, 2021). Under such a logic border control may be cast as environmental protection (Turner &

Bailey, 2021) and environmentalism can be appropriated to feed into an eco-fascist discourse (Manavis, 2018; Biehl & Staudenmeier, 1996).

In addition to mostly philosophical considerations of the link between patriotism and environmentalism, there is some limited empirical evidence that patriotism can be a source of environmental virtue, which can lead to faster adaptation to changes in the environment (Wang & Jia, 2015). A study in Russia and China found that patriotic feelings, such as love of the country's environment, promoted moral virtue associated with altruism, and helped research participants emotionally engage with the environment (Griskevicius et al., 2010). Other recent research has, however, found that, despite the potential for patriotic identification to have positive associations with environmentalism through an emotional attachment to the local environment, nationalistic and patriotic styles of identification actually had opposing associations with pro-environmental engagement (Aydin, Bagci & Kelesoglu, 2022).

On the whole, however, potential links between patriotism and environmental engagement are under-researched. To the best of our knowledge, there is no research that looks at the potential for patriotism as a conduit for pro-environmental engagement in organisational settings. Given the increase of overtly expressed patriotic sentiment worldwide and specifically across Europe (Knutsen, 2016) it would seem timely and useful to add to the extant knowledge in this area. There is also no work that we have been able to identify which looks in depth at patriotism as a potential conduit environmentalism in contemporary post-Soviet economies in transition. Patriotic attachment has a somewhat different meaning and history in communist and post-communist societies than in, for example, the United States (the reference point for much of the above cited scholarly work) and our study is thus able to provide a different context for this area of research, which offers the potential for different theoretical and empirical insights. 'Patriotic attachment in communist and post-communist societies involves emotional and cultural attachment of the people to their country as their homeland, which is different than in, for example, the United States that is seen as the rights and responsibilities of citizenship (the reference point for much of the above cited scholarly work). Thus, our study is able to provide a different context for this area of research, which

offers the potential for different theoretical and empirical insights.

Soviet state-patriotism and environmentalism

In the 1930s, Stalin's doctrine of building socialism in one country led to a state-sponsored rehabilitation of Russian patriotism, which was redefined from earlier Communist denouncement as a reactionary ideology to representing a love of the Fatherland (Yekelchik, 2016). In the name of patriotism, sacrifices could be asked from the population, for example during World War II (Nikonova, 2010; Kasyanov et al., 2019). Patriotic sentiment was also used to promote the virtues of hard work to ensure the prosperity of the socialist homeland, even where this hard work was not rewarded through higher wages. As part of organisational life and the patriotic effort to strengthen the homeland, workers were expected to participate in days of unpaid labour – *subbotniki* – usually on a Saturday (from the Russian for Saturday - *subbota*) (Chase, 1989).

For most of the history of the Soviet Union, environmentalism did not feature significantly in discourse or practice. Under Stalin the USSR embarked on an agenda of accelerated economic growth and industrialisation. Ecological thought that had emerged in the Soviet Union in the early decades of the 20th century was suppressed in favour of a science and industry that supported the domination of nature in the service of the five-year economic plans (Gare, 1993). The natural environment was considered an inexhaustible resource (Zaharchenko, 1990) to be used for the 'better future' of the Soviet republic (Eke & Kuzio, 2000). The result of this focus on industrialisation at all costs was massive environmental degradation in terms of: *inter alia*, radio-nuclear contamination, loss of land through hydro-electric schemes, salinization, and dust and salt storms, loss of forests at rates comparable to the loss of the Amazon rain forest, and chemical poisoning with pesticides (Medvedev, 1990, cited in Gare, 2002).

The tradition of using patriotic sentiment to encourage worker motivation and the continued relevance of Soviet legacy thought and practices in organisational responsibility and environmental engagement, combined with the need to understand better how organisations in post-Soviet economies in transition engage with environmental concerns, opens up an

interesting space for research.

Research setting: The Soviet legacy in the Belarusian economy

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, more market-based economies arose in the newly independent former Soviet republics, including Belarus. These increasingly relied on exports to international markets, which in turn encouraged the adoption of more stringent environmental regulation (Bajgot, 2015; Shimova, 2019). Belarus is one of seventeen low-speed post-Soviet transition economies, which experience slow progress towards market-based mechanisms (Havrylyshyn & Van Rooden 2003). The Belarusian economy retains many of the main characteristics of a Soviet-style economy: (1) a Soviet-type socially-oriented constitution; (2) a state-led planning system centred in the capital, Minsk, including significant state ownership of key industries; and (3) close economic ties with Russia, particularly in the Russian speaking, Eastern parts of the country (Lowenhardt, 2005). As the most ‘sovietized’ republic emerging from the former USSR, its national identity is seen to be founded on a romanticised past (Soviet and pre-Soviet) and mystified folk traditions, used deliberately by the state as part of a political strategy to foster a coherent national identity and loyalty to the government – particularly to the president (Rees & Miazhevich, 2008). Patriotism is a powerful element of Belarusian identity but views of what it means to be a patriot are contested (Bekus 2010; Zadora 2017). Narratives of patriotism in Belarus are seen to shift frequently between openness to European and democratic ideals and reassertions of totalitarian tendencies (Rees & Miazhevich 2009; Zadora 2017). The role of Soviet continuity policies in the development of Belarusian national identity is the site of struggle between, inter alia, governing and oppositional parties in contemporary Belarus (Bekus, 2010).

The post-Soviet legacy, in terms of ideology, values and organisational practices, is the key reason why post-Soviet transition economies are different from Western contexts (Brown et al. 2003). Examples of this legacy shaping organisations’ social and environmental responsibility actions include: a paternalistic organisational attitude to employees; a preference for social responsibility activities that prioritise support for their own staff (Apostol and Näsi, 2014; Crotty, 2016); and a view that environmental concerns are mainly the responsibility of government rather than of business or individuals (Crotty & Hall, 2014;

also see Chen, et. al. 2020). Public environmental awareness in these countries is generally regarded as low, and environmental NGOs seen as lacking capacity to take action (Crotty & Hall, 2013). Another Soviet legacy relates to organisational practices and what is expected of employees. The qualities that organisations aimed to develop in their employees during the Soviet era (through practices referred to as *ideological work*) included a love for society, a revolutionary spirit, a desire to participate in change, discipline, erudition, technical ability, and disciplined collectivism (Pogoradze, 1990). Nowadays, due to increased modernisation of workplaces and more emphasis on science and technology, this *ideological work* concentrates on the development of a worker's additional qualities such as creativity, professionalism and environmental awareness at work (Butko, 1999).

In summary, the transition context of post-Soviet notions of national identity and Soviet-legacy organisational practices promises interesting insight into the under-researched areas of organisational environmental engagement in a non-Western context and of the link between patriotism and environmentalism.

Methodology

We conducted qualitative, multi-case study fieldwork with three Belarusian chemical companies, aimed at understanding and naturalistic generalisation of a context-dependent phenomenon (Stake, 2006). This approach allowed us to achieve an in-depth and rich understanding of the multiple dimensions of first-line managers' use of notions of patriotism to encourage employee environmental engagement. The chemical industry is one of the largest in Belarus. It is historically the most developed industry in the country and, like chemical industries everywhere, has considerable environmental impacts, hence it is subject to significant environmental legislation.

All three case companies are *joint stock* companies, with the Belarusian state the main stockholder. State agencies and 'Belneftekhim' (a state-owned industrial holding organisation, which includes 36 refineries and petrochemical plants, allowing for cross-subsidies between companies) have far-reaching, direct control over the activities of the companies. Company A (6,112 employees) is a supplier of raw materials to Company C (3,856 employees), and of some intermediary products to Company B (2,127 employees).

The three cases are thus interconnected in a supplier-client relationship. Environmental protection policies and measures were introduced in all three plants after 2007, when government organisations, such as Belneftekhim and the Ministry of Nature, required chemical plants to implement environmental management systems (EMS), along with the need to comply with national ecological management standards.

We chose first-line managers as the target participants. In a Western context, a first-line manager is a manager two tiers or more below top management, who has delegated authority to take decisions at an operational level and has some formal authority over employees (Hales, 2005; Kilroy & Dundon, 2015). Low-tier (i.e. middle and first-line) managers have been found to have a key role in encouraging employees to engage in pro-environmental action at work (Paillé et al., 2016). Due to their intermediary position between top and middle management on the one side, and shop floor employees on the other side, first-line managers often have an important role in facilitating pro-environmental practices in organisations (Jamali, 2006; Muralidharan, 2016) due to their contextual knowledge of operations (Rothenberg, 2003) and their direct influence on energy, water and resource use in an organisation (Goulden & Spence, 2015). However, first-line managers have received little attention not only in the literature on environmental management but in the wider HR and strategic literature as well (Purcell & Hutchinson, 2007). Thus our paper also makes a contribution to addressing this gap in the literature, in addition to our main contribution to an understanding of patriotism as a conduit to environmental engagement. It is an important gap to address as the category of first-line manager provides unique insight into the operations of an organisation, situated as it is close to the everyday practice of workers but also senior enough to be able to exert wider influence and to have more insight into the thinking of senior managers.

The main data collection method consisted of semi-structured interviews with a purposive sample of 52 first-line managers who have undergone specialist training on environmental protection in the workplace. 26 participants were interviewed in Case A, this being the largest plant with 8,000 employees; 13 participants in Case B; and 12 participants in Case C. All research participants were front-line managers who had supervision responsibility for a number of employees. The number supervised varies from 1 to 34. In Belarus, first-line managers in the chemical industry are engineering-technical staff (in Russian: *‘enzhenerno-*

tekhnicheskie rabotniki’) with higher or secondary chemical engineering education, and are engaged in the organisation or management of production processes in the enterprise (Ministry of Labour, 2015). As shop-floor employees do not have job descriptions in these companies, first-line managers are tasked with giving detailed instructions on the work to be carried out to workers in their team, including producing daily ‘to do’ lists for each worker.

Table 1 gives an overview of the participants.

<Insert Table 1 approximately here>

The interviews lasted between 45 and 90 minutes and were conducted on-site in the three chemical companies. The interviews were conducted in Russian (the native language of the research participants), audio-recorded and fully transcribed. The questions covered five broad topics: (1) participants’ background and work responsibilities; (2) environmental issues that participants dealt with and considered important in their work; (3) environmental practices and culture in the organisation and in participants’ immediate work environment; (4) how members of the organisation learn about environmental issues and responsibilities; and (5) challenges in implementing environmental policies and practices and how these could be overcome. The analysis was conducted on the original Russian transcripts and the quotes selected for inclusion in this paper were translated later. In order to achieve a faithful translation, selected quotes were translated into English by the lead researcher - who is of Belarusian nationality and a Russian native speaker - and were checked against the original quotes by another Russian speaker who is also fluent in English.

We used King’s (2004) template analysis and NVivo software to identify the main categories. The first step in the analysis was a close reading and re-reading of the interview transcripts, to develop a set of first-order categories. Second-order categories were then developed on the basis of these first-order categories. These include different representations of the Homeland (*‘Rodina’ - the motherland; small ‘Rodina’; ‘Katorga’ – forced labour*) and of Soviet-legacy motivational strategies linked to a patriotic notion of work and aimed at environmental engagement (*moral encouragement; commemorative celebrations; professional life teacher*).

The data structure is shown in Figure 1<Insert Figure 1 approximately here>

Findings

Changing market requirements and increased national environmental regulation exert institutional and market pressures on the chemical industry in Belarus to improve its environmental performance. First-line managers are charged with implementing environmental protection measures at work-team level. However, due to barriers such as low pay, poor career prospects, high levels of emigration of skilled staff, and an increasing but still relatively low general environmental awareness in the country, they often find it challenging to motivate employees to take environmental protection at work seriously. They therefore attempt to link positive framings of ‘homeland’ as related to a patriotic sentiment about protecting one’s country, including its natural environment, to repurposed Soviet-legacy organisational practices in order to encourage both task related and voluntary environmental engagement in members of their work teams. However, they only see this as viable where employees hold broadly positive views of the homeland. Figure 2 represents these connections graphically.

<Insert Figure 2 approximately here>

Pressures and challenges in implementing pro-environmental measures

In this section we explore how front-line managers understand the changing socio-economic context of Belarus and how this informs their job roles. We outline how an increased sense of detachment of workers driven by poor pay and little interest in the environment, as such, in the minds of participants necessitates drawing on patriotic sentiments. Participants stressed that environmental requirements on their plants were now significantly higher than during Soviet times. While Company A continued to sell mostly to Russian customers, reduced demand from Russia and other former Soviet republics after the collapse of the Soviet Union had meant Company B and C needed to find new customers, mostly in the EU. These customers needed to comply with European REACH regulations and therefore required

environmental certification from their suppliers.

We must react to the demands of our buyers. Our main buyers are European firms who are aware of raw materials that are used for chemical products because of new EU [REACH] regulations. (C11)

Domestic environmental legislation and regulation had become significantly more stringent and complex in post-Soviet Belarus.

Our environmental legislation changes all the time and is very dynamic. Changes happen because Belarus has ratified a lot of international conventions. Each convention has its own requirements. So, Belarus should adjust their legal documents, which is understandable. (A-14)

Participants had responsibility for ensuring that work teams implemented environmental protection measures in line with technical standards and regulatory requirements. This required technical and some legal knowledge, as well as the ability to foster environmental awareness and engagement in employees. Environmental engagement as understood by our participants referred not only to employees' willingness to learn about the nature and importance of environmental protection measures and to take responsibility for carrying out these measures with the necessary care and diligence, but also included an important relational element, a willingness to interact with colleagues, formally and informally, to achieve environmental targets.

With all you need to find a common language. We all work on one thing: the end result. [...]. If you have questions, [...] we can ask [a] specialist who is directly connected with the issue. [...] of course, a friendly relationship [...] with [the environmental manager] in a very close [relationship]. [If we had] environmental issues, for example, [...] increased emissions, waste to the landfill, or similar, we [would] contact the environmental manager for help immediately. (A17)

The role of the first-line manager is to remove barriers for their team members, who do not have access to all information on the EMS system, don't necessarily see a reason why they need to engage in 'green' interactions for which they will not get paid extra, and are busy

with other duties. Therefore, fostering employee environmental engagement was often experienced as challenging. On the one hand, participants felt that there was increased national and organisational attention to environmental issues compared to Soviet times. On the other hand, they also felt that many employees, younger ones in particular, could be unwilling to see environmental issues at work as their responsibility and that it was difficult to ask them to do more than the minimum due to the low wages they were being paid.

Now, young people have become irresponsible for environmental issues or any additional duties.[...] Because of low salaries[...]. What will you tell your team members? Will you push if he gets paid 3 million [approximately \$200] monthly. I do not think it is morally correct to let people do additional work for environmental protection. Then we can ask ourselves: how can the person be interested? Maybe I should not say it, but I'm telling the truth (A-19).

While participants' own technical expertise and direct contact with external actors from the Ministry of Energy and Belneftekhim (the petrochemical industry consortium) gave them an insight into the nature and importance of environmental regulations and the need to comply with them, they did not always find it easy to explain to their team members what needed doing and why.

The fact is that when you begin to talk to people about the law and environmental responsibility, some understand you perfectly immediately and they are ready to go with you and the tasks for the day. In this case, I believe, these are people who are engaged in the work on environmental part ... On the other hand, no matter how you try to 'break through the wall', if people are closed and do not want to accept, for example they are saying, that this is not possible, no matter how you try, you just cannot break through this wall. And then there will not be results. (B-15)

In the face of often low intrinsic interest in environmental issues and low motivation due to low pay on the part of many employees, participants resorted to a number of different strategies for encouraging greater environmental engagement among their team. One such strategy was to reframe environmental engagement as a patriotic love and duty towards the

nature of their homeland.

Patriotic framings of 'homeland' as a conduit to environmental engagement

Homeland was framed in three, ambivalent, ways: (1) *Rodina*, the *motherland* – a general framing of the homeland as requiring environmental protection efforts from everyone; (2) *small Rodina* – a similar sentiment but referring to one's local environment; and (3) *Katorga*, the *prison* – a framing of the homeland as a coercive entity that made demands to hard work but did not necessarily provide people with what they needed. The first two framings were seen as conducive to environmental engagement, but the latter was not.

Rodina, the motherland. *Rodina* is the Russian word for homeland. It translates as *motherland* but also more simply as 'the place where I was born' or 'my home district' (Kolstø, 1999). *Rodina* in Russian is also identified with the nation's soul (Riabov, 2020). It emerged as one of the key patriotic framings which participants turned to when talking about their attempts to engage staff with environmental behaviour at work.

When talking about *Rodina - homeland* or *motherland* - participants conjured up a deeply emotional interpretation of their relation with their country and nation, sometimes likened to a nurturing mother who requires respect and care in return. To the participants, this framing lent itself to notions of environmental protection and care. *Rodina* in this sense referred to the entirety of Belarus, as in a traditional understanding of patriotism directed at one's nation of birth (cf. MacIntyre, 1984). Participants talked about shared responsibilities of all Belarusians, including government actors, and about a traditional sense of looking after the nature and environment of one's motherland. They highlighted the importance of their own role as professionals, working hard for the benefit of their homeland and encouraging members of their team to do the same. Their own sense of being a patriotic, environmentally responsible citizen, and their accounts of how they tried to encourage their team members to feel the same merged into each other in their narratives. Legal compliance was presented as "commitment to the state, who knows what is right" (B-1) and respect to the "clever people" who had written environmental legislation (A-1).

Rodina could mean a number of overlapping things. Several participants framed their sense

of homeland and the desire to protect it and its environment in terms of family. The homeland could be likened to “*a large family*” (C-10); how “*different generations*” shared a sense of responsibility towards the homeland (B-8); how a desire to protect and nurture their homeland was something that “*I learned from my parents and grandparents*” (B-8); something which “*children are taught*” (C-4) and which one did out of “*love for our children and grandchildren*” (B-5).

I would like to see our Motherland in the image of a large family, where there are only compatriots - brothers and sisters, parents and children. The country takes care of you. Where all citizens follow the ideals of a better and clean Belarus, and its prosperity, by doing waste separation every day or looking at the quality of water utilisation (C-10)

This framing would seem to go in a similar direction to MacIntyre’s (1984) argument that morality is learned within specific communities, one of the supporting arguments for his thesis that patriotism, properly understood, can be a conduit to moral virtue. It is possible to read this as a patriarchal interpretation of nature and of human beings within nature, where the nuclear family is essentialised as the natural structure through which humanity and nature can be preserved.

Rodina was also talked about in terms of a shared sense of belonging and living together, with reference to “*compatriots*” (C-10), and to “*where you live*” (B-8; B-11). An emotional attachment to the *motherland* was linked to environmental responsibility as a moral duty towards society. Environmental responsibility was portrayed as something that came naturally and was written into the make-up of a patriotic Belarusian: “*ecology is in our blood*” (C-4) – which could also be read as a further essentialising of a ‘motherland’ view of environmental protection.

Others framed *Rodina* in somewhat romantic terms of aesthetic beauty and environmental responsibility, as a desire and duty to preserve this beauty.

I remember that during Soviet times, we developed a love for the natural environment of our country. We called our country ‘Belarus blue eyes’ [‘Belarus-sinyeokaya’ in Russian] because of its beautiful rivers and forests. Now, of course, the complexity at the company is large. Still, if I see some issues and

problems in this area and, reflecting on this, I think that [by fostering environmental engagement] I have done something right, it gives me the feeling that I have contributed to the beauty of the country. (C-3)

Protecting the natural environment of the motherland through environmental work practices, such as waste separation or reduced energy use, was thus not just a patriotic duty but also something that led to pride in a job well done. Patriarchal discourse also re-emerges here, with the twist of romantic love. Nature is characterised in feminine terms, as something beautiful requiring the protective attention of this manager.

Mostly, participants presented the protection of the homeland's environment and the organisational actions required to achieve this as an intrinsic good. However, one participant also argued that '*ecology must be profitable for our country [and contribute] to its prosperity*' (B-5).

Small Rodina. *Rodina* could also be framed in terms of *small Rodina*, relating to a love for one's more immediate surroundings, similar to the sense of local patriotism as a source of environmental virtue suggested by Cafaro (2010). This framing included the workplace as well as the place where one lived. A sense of duty and belonging directed at the immediate environment was presented as a continuation of that directed at the country as a whole but carried fewer connotations of loyalty to the state. The following quote frames *homeland* in this sense of a continuation of local and country environment and also takes in the idea of the aesthetic beauty that needs protection.

In the field of ecology, you should home in on your region or to the whole country rather than just follow orders. Broadly speaking, you imagine you are here on the mountain, and then you see your beloved place around, where you were born and where your kids are running around. If you go up the mountain, you will see other cities and the environment of the country. The phrase seems banal – but that's what you are making dirty if you throw away any waste. Maybe it does not result in some kind of global catastrophe, but out of these [actions], little things add up, so I think that people have understood this; well, you did a few steps, you have made a lot of effort and did not throw it in places which are not for waste. The main thing is that one himself is aware of his involvement in this, [whether]

small or large. (A-5)

The largely positive framings of a love for *Rodina* or *small Rodina* as a conduit to environmental responsibility have, however, a less positive counterpart framing, where *homeland* is seen as an oppressive concept – *Katorga*.

Katorga (forced labour). This framing of *homeland* referred to a sense that patriotic duty was perceived to be oppressive, rather than something one did willingly out of love for one's country. The term *Katorga*, which literally translates as *forced labour* and refers to the system of penal labour camps in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, particularly during Stalin's regime, was used by one participant in an evocative framing of coerced duty towards the homeland. Others referred to similar sentiments, equating patriotic duty with a punitive regime of forced labour, without using that particular term. Our research participants tended to associate this framing with other people, mostly of a younger generation, who they portrayed as not interested in environmental issues and unwilling to participate in Soviet-legacy practices (such as unpaid work on a Saturday, which had been nominally voluntary but strongly expected in Soviet times) even if those were now directed at environmental aims. Participants related this critical framing of patriotic duty to societal changes that foregrounded individual financial and economic benefit over the common good, as well as to a real sense of low pay and low prospects for younger members of staff. Participants felt it was much harder to engage employees in environmental practices when homeland and appeals to patriotism through voluntary engagement held such negative connotations.

Now, at the moment, people have lost the sense of Rodina; they only have a sense of money. That is, 'if I am not paid for this time, I will not perform'. All additional activities, such as cleaning at the Subbotniki [voluntary work on non-work days], are perceived as 'katorga'. Their motto is: 'It does not concern me, so I will not do that' (C-8).

In this section we have presented three framings of *homeland* as a potential conduit to environmental engagement. Some of these are familiar from the literature. Love of one's home country and of one's immediate surroundings, leading to a wish to protect its environment, aligns with the arguments put forward by such authors as MacIntyre (1984), Cafaro (2010) and Eckersley (2008). This suggests that this framing of environmental

engagement as patriotic virtue or duty is applicable in different cultural contexts. The framing of *Katorga*, on the other hand, may be specific to a socio-historical context where patriotic duty can be associated with coercive action by state actors within a repressive regime and is thus not conducive to environmental engagement.

In the next section, we show how participants linked the framings of *Rodina* and *small Rodina* to certain work practices, aimed at encouraging environmental compliance and voluntary environmental engagement in their staff.

Patriotic environmental engagement practices

Participants aimed to use positive framings of *homeland* (*Rodina* and *small Rodina*) as a means to encourage employee environmental engagement. They used their daily interaction with their team (for example when giving out daily work plans) to reinforce a link between love of one's homeland and immediate environment and environmental responsibilities at work, to encourage them to see their engagement in environmental practices as a “*contribution to the beauty of the country*” (C-3) or that by throwing away waste they were making their “*beloved place around [them] dirty*” (A-5).

Participants linked these patriotic framings of environmental engagement to a series of Soviet-legacy organisational practices. These practices are part of what used to be known as *ideological work* in Soviet times. They were designed to foster positive attitudes towards socialism, the Soviet Republic of Belarus and the Soviet Union, and to increase worker satisfaction and pride in their organisation and country, and thus encourage behaviour to further the betterment of the country. Four themes relating to Soviet-legacy practices for environmental engagement emerged: *moral encouragement*; *professional life coach*; *voluntary work*; and *celebrating history*.

Moral encouragement (in Russian: *moral'noye pooshchreniye*). This is aimed at recognising employees' efforts and willingness to engage. It applies to all areas of work, but participants highlighted their use of these practices to foster and recognise employee environmental

engagement.

Some formal practices form part of *moral encouragement*, for example the celebration of historic events (see below), a positive mention of an employee's work in an organisational newsletter, or the display of someone's name and achievements on an internal notice board). Many informal practices are also called *moral encouragement*, such as informal team building activities (e.g. jointly going for tea), or a first-line manager buying a member of staff flowers to recognise particularly good work.

There is indifference of some people. I think that there are people who do not go deeper. [...] Our people are not aware about the need to do something personal towards a bigger [environmental] issues. Everything is left to government. Therefore, we do recognise people who do good. (A-18)

If people actually did everything with their own resources, they cleared the fields, removed all the trash, planted trees, and grass, why not encourage people morally, and inspire others, by these examples in our [newsletter]? [I see that as] individual and also team moral development. (B-3)

For formal *moral encouragement* measures, first line managers liaised with HR and the Ideological Work Department.

This is done by the salary department. But now we liaise with them for moral encouragement for good work in the area of environmental protection, of course...(A-11)

By connecting love of country and one's local environment (including one's work environment) with good environmental practice, first-line managers were aiming to repurpose practices - which had been used to encourage ideological commitment to communism, country and organisation - to now encourage workers' commitment to environmental practices at work. This was seen as particularly important in the light of low pay and an inability to provide financial incentives. Arguably, what participants are referring to here is a linking of a sense of *small Rodina* (which includes the environment of the workplace as part of one's local environment) to practical action for environmental protection.

However, public recognition as part of *moral encouragement* was not seen as suitable for all

employees. Participants argued that some employees did not like to be singled out (even for praise). These were often environmentally committed employees who felt that environmental work tasks should be carried out as a matter of course and who did not like the implication of being recognised by the government. It can be argued that such employees will be framing their environmental engagement in terms of *small Rodina* but may see the public praise within a frame of homeland as *Katorga*. Furthermore, *moral encouragement* practices for environmental engagement were seen to work better for employees with traditional values but less so for younger generations, who may be more critical towards government, and who could be better targeted through *professional life coach* practices.

We have many practices from the past which are rather outdated. ...The reward needs to inspire other workers to get the same award. It is part of labour education for young people (A-8)

Now, young people have become irresponsible for environmental issues or any additional duties. [...] because of low salaries [...] If [somebody] gets paid 3 million [\$200 monthly] I do not think it is morally correct to let people do additional work for environmental protection. (A-19).

Professional life coach. First-line managers often used a role of *professional life coach* to encourage environmental engagement. During the Soviet era *professional life coaches* were experienced members of staff assigned as a mentor to young workers. They were meant to help these employees consolidate theoretical and technical knowledge (gained through schooling) at the place of production. Such a role differed from mentoring within capitalist economies to the extent that it was more overtly ideological and connected to a broader political-economic project. This role no longer exists formally in the current system, however, many of our participants said they continued carrying out this role on an informal basis, something which they thought was well received by apprentices and other younger workers.

As a 'professional teacher, I think that environmental protection is not the focus of technical training [that employees receive]. Therefore, I coach young people in environmental protection, even though it is not part of my formal role. I can see who [...] wants to work on [environmental information], and who can. We have extra training on environmental management. I promote those who want to

learn...complex things. [...] environmental protection is a complex area and there is plenty information to learn. We need well-rounded 'experts' who need to understand complex chemical process, but also how to integrate environmental legal information. Sometimes you need to push people to learn it. I tell my staff: 'Learn more, because it is the future.' (A-7)

Using the notion of *small Rodina*, first-line managers aimed to socialise younger staff into workplace norms of affect and duty toward communal spaces and environmental compliance.

Nobody will touch the collective areas [to clean them]. You need to teach the young people that everything is our responsibility. We cannot say that for the current generation [...]. That generation is always the one that we educate. (B-4)

In this mentoring role, participants also aimed to facilitate environmental engagement by linking the importance of further education in the area of environmental protection with personal career aspirations, stressing that that environmental knowledge would further employees' career prospects by giving them '*strength to continue working here*' (A-21).

Voluntary work. Nominally voluntary – but really expected – work on Saturdays or other non-work days (*subbotniki* in Russian) and the *culture of production* (which included volunteering in daily workplace activities such as cleaning the workplace, compliance, and the achieving perfection in various work tasks) were another important aspect of Soviet-era organisational and working practices.

In the context of environmental engagement, this voluntary work could take place once or twice a year and would take the form of working together to clean the plant grounds of weeds or litter, or – in one case – the creation of a little garden in the grounds by members of staff.

Because we are enthusiastic about the environment, my colleagues and I love to make our unit greener. [...] 'Greening' means to start with yourself and make your place greener. We are a community of people which generates a small contribution to the environment. (A-11)

We engage in voluntary work on greening plants and cleaning activities, called 'Subbotniki'. It is a day or two a year, when people come together for major spring cleaning at their workplace or home neighbourhood. This is a good

activity and gives you the feeling you are doing something good for your surroundings. (B-3)

However, over the course of the Soviet era, as enthusiasm for the communist revolution decreased, subbotniki came to be seen as an unwelcome intrusion of the state into people's lives and, instead of creating engagement, contributed to dissatisfaction (Gregory, Ohlson, & Arvai, 2006). *Subbotniki* for improving the workplace environment were thus often seen as something that only very committed employees joined in and that could be off-putting for others. A call for voluntary environmental work at the workplace could therefore be counter-productive for some employees.

This is a voluntary activity and only the enthusiastic who love the environment join the group. (B-3)

It generates additional stress for those who will refuse to participate (A-3).

Some come because they pay respect to the past, but many just sabotage these activities. They come and discourage others. I feel that these activities are just out-dated and need to have new forms. (B-18)

Linking environmental action to making immediate surroundings greener and more pleasant can be seen as harnessing a framing of *small Rodina*, i.e. a love for one's immediate environment, for environmental engagement. The extent to which all the practices described are conducive to ecological improvement is perhaps open to some questions. For the purposes of this paper, the interest lies in the use of a *small Rodina* framing in order to generate action that is considered environmental by the participants.

Celebrating history. All three organisations – being largely state owned – held regular commemorative events related to the country's annual historical celebrations, such as Belarus's Independence Day. Participants used these historical and commemorative events to link a positive framing of *Rodina* with a duty of environmental responsibility. In this way, they tried to overcome a perception among many workers that environmental protection was the responsibility of government rather than individual citizens like themselves.

I think it is important that we pay respect to older people, veterans of wars and people who contribute to our society. It is our history. If you do not pay respect to

people, you can hardly pay respect to the environment and the place where you live. (B-11)

You see like our grandfathers fought in the Great War II, I would say proudly that we contribute to the prosperity of our city and the whole country when we go the extra mile to improve the environmental performance of our country because the production itself is such that it damages the ecology. (A-26)

Here, the participants link a patriotic affection for the homeland and its history with a deeper significance of work, including environmental responsibilities. This taps into the framing of *Rodina* as linked to family and values that are being passed on through generations, with a sense of family as natural and situated within nature therefore persisting. Engaging in environmental duties with commitment and reliability is likened to the devotion shown by ancestors who fought wars for the homeland and are thus given historical significance.

In this section we have focused on participants' attempts to use a positive framing of (large and *small*) *Rodina* to inject patriotic and environmental meaning into organisational practices. Participants who stressed a positive sense of *Rodina* saw this as a positive contribution to environmental protection and love of one's homeland. However, participants also stressed that some employees saw Soviet legacy practices, such as *subbotniki* or the celebration of historic events, as symbolic of a bygone, repressive age, linked to a framing of homeland as *Katorga*. In such cases, first-line managers did not feel that a link between such practices, a positive framing of *homeland* and a positive commitment to environmental engagement could be forged and preferred to use other practices, such as being a *life teacher*, which carried fewer overtly patriotic overtones.

Discussion

In this paper we set out to explore the question whether patriotism can, within a specific context, provide a conduit to greater environmental engagement in organisations. To address this question, we studied how first-line managers in Belarusian chemical companies constructed different framings of *homeland* and used these in order to encourage greater environmental engagement among members of their team. Our findings add to an

understanding of patriotism as a potential conduit to environmental virtue in an organisational setting and how it might be linked with specific motivational organisational techniques to encourage greater environmental engagement among employees.

The framings of *Rodina* and *small Rodina* as conduits to better employee environmental engagement echo the arguments put forward by Eckersley (2008) and Cafaro (2010), that a patriotic attachment to one's country and – particularly – one's more immediate surroundings can be conducive and perhaps even necessary to environmental action. They also chime with MacIntyre's (1984) assertion that morality is learned within communities and that a sense of belonging to and pride in these communities is therefore conducive to moral sentiment and action.

Our findings add significant detail to the existing scholarly work on patriotism as a conduit to environmental engagement. Unlike previous work, the organisational setting of our research allows us to show that positive patriotic framings can be used explicitly by first line managers in conjunction with specific motivational techniques in order to increase some employees' environmental engagement at work. First line managers resorted to the use of positive environmental framings of *homeland* particularly where they saw little other positive incentives for employees to be proactive in the environmental aspects of work. This suggests that patriotism interacts with other incentives, something not explored in extant work on patriotism and environmental virtue (e.g. Cafaro, 2010; Eckersley, 2008). Further research might explore whether and how managers in different contexts, where positive aspects of work such as pay, organisational loyalty and trust are higher, draw on notions of patriotism.

Our research also extends existing work by uncovering some of the conditions under which circumstances patriotism might work as a conduit to environmental engagement and where it might not. From the perspective of our participants, patriotism *can* work as a conduit for environmental engagement at work if employees share what participants called a traditional sense of affection and duty towards the *homeland*. However, where employees framed *homeland* negatively, in the sense of *Katorga*, and were seen to be critical of Soviet-style state patriotism or the Belarusian state and government (cf. Eke & Kuzio, 2000; Zadora, 2017) because they feel that they are not treated with respect when implementing government policies, trying to use patriotic discourse as a conduit to environmental engagement was seen

as counter-productive (cf. Costa, 2021).

The implications for business strategy using patriotic sentiment as a conduit to employee environmental engagement are therefore somewhat mixed. In national and cultural contexts where a significant proportion of the population hold strong traditional and patriotic values, organisational practices that aim to link these values with positive environmental engagement can work for some those employees. But even in such contexts, it can be counterproductive for other employees, so we would suggest that it is a strategy that needs to be used with caution. The creation of motivational strategies by front-line managers, as part of their Human Resources role, resonates with arguments made by Jabbour & Santos (2008) organisational sustainability requires HR practices that stimulate the environmental strategies of the organisation. Given that front-line managers in these organisations do not have any budget or organisational support, patriotic sentiment seemed to be the cheapest and effective way to address staff disengagement in environmental issues at individual and team levels. While recourse to patriotic sentiment may only work as a strategy in specific contexts, a wider implication could be drawn that front-line managers may be successful in engaging employees with environmental issues at work if using strategies that are not related to rewards.

Patriotism and framings of *homeland*, as emerged from our study, are inseparable from the specific context of post-Soviet Belarus, being closely linked to a distinctly Soviet notion of love of country being expressed through hard and dutiful work (Dahlin, 2017; McElwee et al., 2022), where pride in the organisation is inseparable from pride in the country. It is partly because of this Soviet-legacy view of the organisation as an extension of the state that participants were able to make a connection between patriotic love of one's homeland and the dutiful and proactive discharge of environmental responsibility at work. A link between particular national contexts and patriotism as a conduit to environmental engagement has not been explored by philosophical work on the topic (Cafaro, 2010; Eckersley, 2008; MacIntyre, 1984) although these authors all write from a US perspective. Authors, such as Griskevicius et al. (2010) and Wang & Jia (2015), have looked at the issue more specifically from a national context. Our findings extend this work by showing how the way in which our participants constructed the concept of *homeland* and linked it to environmental responsibility appears very specific to the Belarussian context. This would seem lend some

empirical support to the literature that posits that patriotism, in a practically relevant sense and as a source of environmental responsibility, is by necessity specific to one's own homeland or immediate surroundings (MacIntyre, 1984; Cafaro 2010; Carrus et al., 2014; David & Bar-Tal, 2009).

Using an under-researched socio-historical and cultural context (see Crotty, 2016, for a call for greater attention to different socio-historical contexts in business and the environment research), we are able to add to scholarly understanding of the range of pro-environmental organisational practices available to managers and organisations, which we would not have been able to uncover in different social historical and cultural contexts. The way in which framings of *homeland* are connected with Soviet legacy motivational practices within the organisations are unfamiliar from a Western perspective. Our findings may be most easily transferrable to other post-Soviet economies in transition, particularly those that were part of the territory of the Soviet Union and where a proportion of the population may still share values that emphasise hard work, love of country and patriotic duty. It is also possible that other contexts where parts of the population hold similar traditional patriotic values could be amenable to using patriotic sentiment as a conduit to environmental engagement, at least for some employees. However, given that our participants stressed that they, at least in part, used patriotic sentiment as a means of encouraging environmental engagement because other incentives were not easily available, it is likely that the extent of transferability to other contexts will depend not only on prevailing cultural values but also on other factors, such as the availability of alternative incentives such as pay or career prospects.

In other contexts where patriotic values play a role, it may be possible to link such sentiment to other organisational practices in order to encourage environmental engagement. The study has provided a better understanding of the perceptions of the front-line managers about their challenges around employee environmental disagreement and ways to overcome different attitudes towards environment embedded in the socio-cultural context. What strategies might be used in such a way will be highly dependent on both national and organisational context and further research will be needed to establish them and any possible link to patriotic sentiments. Whether Western contexts are amenable to a use of patriotism as a conduit to environmental engagement seems more doubtful. Although patriotic sentiment is, of course, present in at least parts of Western societies (e.g. Condor, 2000), it is less clear that it is

linked to any ideas of hard work as patriotic duty or extends into organisational settings. Western companies may therefore benefit most from our findings by being aware of this connection if they operate in post-Soviet economies.

While our findings suggest that a patriotic attachment to one's homeland can be a conduit to environmental responsibility, the discussion above already suggests that this connection is not straightforward. While we found no evidence of participants using notions of *homeland* and environment in an overtly exclusionary manner, which would be redolent of any eco-fascist sentiment (Turner & Bailey, 2021; Manavis, 2018), there were distinct romantic overtones of the way in which many of the participants constructed the symbolic representation *Rodina*, e.g. the phrase 'Belarus Blue Eyes'. There was a sense from our front-line managers of an essentialising of nature in conservative and patriarchal ways. Nature was portrayed as typically feminine, both beautiful and the source of life, with managers situating themselves as both protectors and suitors. Eco-feminists have critiqued such constructions as essentialising patriarchal and domineering relations in society and in relation to nature (Barthold et al, 2022; Gaard, 2011). The language used to portray a sense of nature – and femininity – as beautiful and in need of protection to survive invites a reading male-centric gender norms in Belarus (REFERENCE), even though 60% of our participants were female. While patriarchal patriotic language may have proven somewhat effective in appealing to many in our companies' workforces, it seems unlikely that it would help secure future workplaces with more gender-equal practices, attitudes and outcomes. More research is needed, however, to explore connections between patriarchal gender relations in Belarusian industry (and similar contexts) and environmental practices.

The strong association of environmental protection with cleanliness that seemed to be made by many participants may also suggest a potentially somewhat simplistic conception of environmental protection and sustainability. If this is the case, a post-Soviet patriotic notion of the homeland may well induce some to take environmental responsibility seriously but may also be quite self-limiting in other respects due to authoritarian style of managing state owned companies (Kazharski, 2021). Considering high level hierarchical system at the state-owned companies, the lower level do not have much authorities and inhibit their engagement in environmental practices though activities that do not need additional approval

from the top management. In some cases they use the symbol of motherland seems to

The link between a sense of patriotism and environmental responsibility would seem a useful avenue for further research, particularly in countries in transition and other contexts where a strong sense of patriotic attachment exists or is re-emerging. Such future research needs to take into account the specifics of the socio-historic context in order to understand how patriotism links to environmental responsibility in different specific national and regional contexts.

Conclusion

In conclusion, our paper shows that patriotic notions of the homelands in Belarus can be a conduit to environmental responsibility at work. This gateway action of patriotism is reinforced by linking a sense of patriotism and Soviet legacy motivational practices in organisations. The way in which patriotism relates to environmental responsibility is specific to the country context and, in Belarus, is strongly embedded in post-Soviet cultural trends. It seems stronger for individuals with a positive attachment to at least some aspects of the Soviet past. Patriotism, unsurprisingly, does not seem a conduit to environmental responsibility where individuals hold negative connotations of the idea of homeland and Soviet legacy practices, and first-line managers were aware of this. In addition, the particular notion of homeland that works as a conduit to environmental protection in the case of Belarussian first line managers is heavily laced with romanticism and thus potentially limiting in terms of a deeper consideration of environmental sustainability.

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Table 1: Overview of research participants

#	Code	Role	Number of years of experience	Number of people supervised	EMS responsibility
		CASE A			
1	A-1	Head of the Department of Environmental Protection	26	4	yes
2	A-2	Leading Specialist of the Department for of Industrial Property and Rationalisation	35	2	-
4	A-3	Deputy Head of the Repair-Mechanical Production	32	30	yes
5	A-4	Shift Head of Mechanical-Repair Production	30	12	yes
6	A-5	Superintendent of the Assembly and Welding Shop	17	6	-
7	A-6	Deputy Head of Production Department	28	23	yes
8	A-7	Engineer-technologist	15	4	-
9	A-8	Master of Chemical-Spinning Finishing Production	34	12	yes
10	A-9	Engineer of the Operating and technical department	28	3	yes
11	A-10	Leading Engineer of the Production Department	30	5	yes
12	A-11	Technologist of Chemical fibre	32	2	-
13	A-12	Deputy Chief of production	18	34	yes
14	A-13	Lead Engineer -Technologist	24	8	-
15	A-14	Head of the Central Laboratory of Industrial Hygiene and Environmental Monitoring.	40	6	yes
16	A-15	Deputy Chief of the Chemical Department of Organic Synthesis Plant	38	13	yes
17	A-16	Deputy Chief Workshops DMT-4	34	21	yes
18	A-17	Engineer -Technologist	35	12	yes
19	A-18	Deputy Chief for the production of dimethyl terephthalate	30	10	yes
20	A-19	Operator for absorption process	36	3	yes
21	A-20	Deputy Chief of Workshop and the shift supervisor	32	8	yes
23	A-21	Head of the technology department	27	4	yes
24	A-22	Engineer technologist of the technology department	28	6	yes
25	A-23	Lead Engineer of operational dispatching department	26	8	yes
26	A-24	Section chief of generation of carbon disulphide and sulfuric area	34	10	yes
27	A-25	Project manager for administrative matters of the head	5	1	yes
26	A-26	Master of workshop fibre	10	2	yes
		CASE B			
27	B-1	Head of the Department of Environmental Protection for corporate matters	24	4	yes
28	B-2	Head of the Office of Environmental Protection	32	2	yes

29	B-3	Deputy of Head of the Cord Fabrics production	30	45	yes
30	B-4	Engineer on the scientific and technical information, rationalisation and inventive technical department	34	9	yes
31	B-5	Deputy Head of polyamide production	31	17	yes
32	B-6	Head of facility area and processing of impregnation of decay	31	11	yes
33	B-7	Deputy of Laboratory for Environmental Measurement	26	3	yes
34	B-8	Deputy Head of the service business automation	21	10	yes
35	B-9	Chief of the IT business automation	20	13	-
36	B-10	Foreman for polymerisation operation	37	3	-
37	B-11	Deputy of polymerisation production	32	14	yes
38	B-12	Foreman for production preparation wizard	40	5	-
39	B-13	Deputy Head of production of yams	35	5	yes
40	B-14	Foreman for fibre production line.	39	7	yes
		CASE C			
41	C-1	Head of the Department of Environmental Protection	34	4	yes
42	C-2	Master of workshop yarns	27	5	yes
43	C-3	Master of workshop fibra	28	8	yes
44	C-4	Head of the Department for Innovation and Rationalisation	30	6	yes
45	C-5	Deputy Head of Marketing Department	12	4	-
46	C-6	Deputy Head of Sales Department	20	2	-
47	C-7	Chemical specialist for organic products	28	23	yes
48	C-8	Deputy Head of Department of Safety	32	12	yes
49	C-9	Foreman for production preparation wizard	30	4	yes
50	C-10	Deputy Head of production of yams	26	25	yes
51	C-11	Deputy Head of Research Centre	32	4	-
52	C-12	Deputy Head of production of yams	33	22	yes

Figure 1 Data Structure

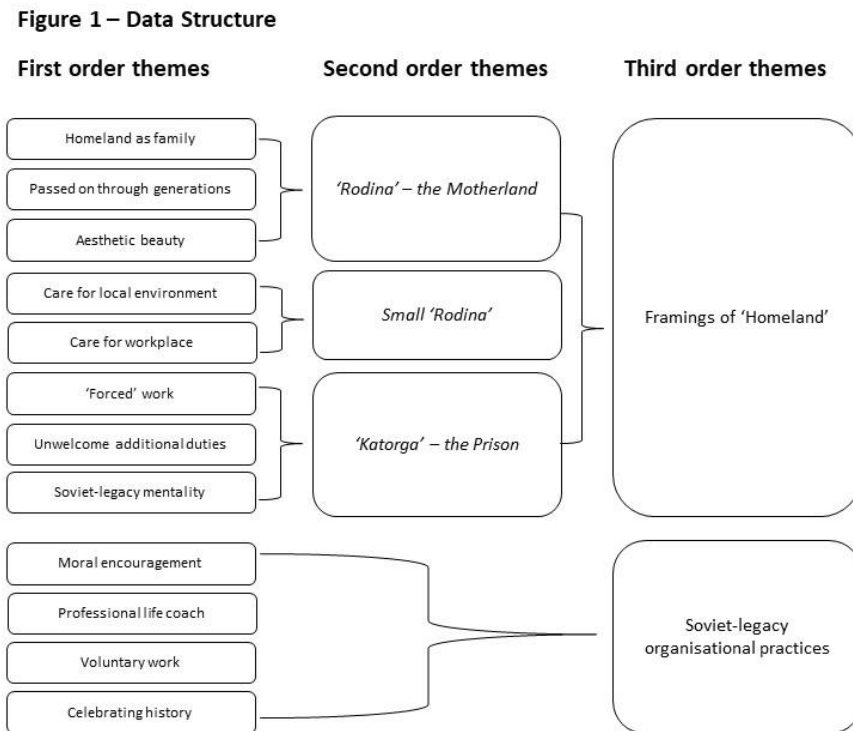


Figure 2 Overview of Findings

