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Political Dynamics of Environmental Policy and Its Impact on the Transition of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Management in Energy Companies

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ABSTRACT: *Environmental policy is not a neutral technocratic instrument; it is negotiated through political contestation among governments, energy corporations, civil society organizations, and international climate regimes. This article examines how political dynamics surrounding environmental policy formulation and enforcement shape CSR management's transition within energy companies, from philanthropic and compliance-oriented toward more strategic and, in some contexts, explicitly political corporate responsibility. A qualitative literature-based method combines a systematic review of Scopus and Sinta-accredited studies with a directed content analysis of relevant environmental and energy-transition regulatory documents. The analysis shows that intensifying, increasingly mandatory regulation pushes energy companies to reposition CSR from a discretionary activity into core corporate strategy, and in some cases into a quasi-political role participating in governance functions once reserved for the state. Second, where environmental policy is volatile, weakly enforced, or shaped by entrenched political-economic interests common in resource-dependent developing economies energy companies face a structural incentive toward symbolic, not substantive, CSR, producing persistent greenwashing risk and a widening disclosure practice gap. The study concludes that energy companies' CSR transition hinges on the coherence, credibility, and enforcement capacity of the political-regulatory environment, with implications for policymakers and corporate governance practitioners aligning environmental policy with authentic corporate accountability.*
Keywords: *Political Dynamics; Environmental Policy; Energy Companies; Political CSR; Greenwashing*

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I. INTRODUCTION

The global energy sector currently occupies the center of climate politics. Government commitments under nationally determined contributions, net-zero pledges, and domestic decarbonization roadmaps have turned environmental policy into one of the most politically contested regulatory domains of the past two decades. Environmental policy in the energy sector is rarely produced through a linear, technocratic process; instead, it emerges from bargaining among regulators, incumbent energy producers, renewable-energy investors, labor groups, and communities whose livelihoods depend on extractive or fossil-based industries. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) has, in parallel, evolved considerably: from a largely voluntary and philanthropic practice into a strategic governance function, and, according to the political CSR literature, into an arena in which private firms increasingly perform quasi-public governance roles once associated with the state. Scherer and Palazzo argue that as globalization erodes the regulatory capacity of national governments, corporations are drawn into an extended model of governance in which they contribute to public goods provision and rule-setting that previously belonged to public authorities (Scherer & Palazzo, 2007, 2011). This position builds on Palazzo and Scherer's earlier communicative account of corporate legitimacy, which held that as national governance loses efficiency and societal values become more pluralistic, firms can no longer rely solely on legal compliance or output-based reputation for legitimacy and must instead justify their conduct through active deliberation with stakeholders (Palazzo & Scherer, 2006). Scherer later mapped this political-CSR agenda onto a broader family of relational, instrumental, and explicitly political theoretical perspectives, concluding that institutional and stakeholder theory currently dominate the field but that firm and industry-specific dynamics remain under-examined (Scherer, 2018).

This transformation is particularly visible in the energy sector because energy companies are simultaneously the principal targets of decarbonization regulation and among the most economically and politically powerful private actors capable of influencing how that regulation is designed and enforced. Curran shows that the social license of coal-related energy projects is contested through evolving political dynamics in which CSR functions as a framing device used by both companies and opponents to claim or deny legitimacy (Curran, 2017). Okereke and Russel similarly demonstrate that regulatory pressure interacts with competitive dynamics to shape the carbon management strategies adopted by energy-intensive firms, indicating that CSR-related strategy in this sector cannot be understood independently of the surrounding regulatory and political context (Okereke & Russel, 2010). At the same time, energy companies do not merely respond passively to environmental policy; they actively participate in shaping it. Brulle and Downie document how trade associations linked to energy industries engage in sustained political

activity that influences the direction and pace of climate policy (Brulle & Downie, 2022), while Muttakin, Mihret, and Rana find that corporate political donations are systematically associated with firms' carbon emission intensity across countries (Muttakin et al., 2021). These findings collectively suggest a two-way relationship: environmental policy is shaped by corporate political engagement, and corporate CSR orientation is, in turn, reshaped by the resulting policy architecture.

The relationship between political dynamics and CSR transition is especially salient in resource-dependent developing economies, where energy politics is often intertwined with broader questions of political-economic power. In Indonesia, for example, the government has introduced new renewable-energy tariff regulations and a roadmap for the early retirement of coal-fired power plants as part of its energy-transition and net-zero commitments, yet these policies have been criticized for insufficient clarity on funding mechanisms and for provisions that may inadvertently protect incumbent fossil-based interests. Under such conditions, energy companies operating in Indonesia and comparable jurisdictions face an ambiguous and sometimes contradictory set of political signals regarding environmental compliance, which in turn affects how they design, resource, and communicate their CSR programs. Empirical evidence from Indonesia's listed energy companies indicates considerable variation in CSR disclosure, with environmental and labor categories receiving relatively higher attention than social-community and product-responsibility categories, suggesting that companies calibrate their CSR emphasis according to which dimensions carry the greatest regulatory or reputational salience (Wahyudi et al., 2024).

Although the political CSR literature has produced a rich theoretical account of why corporations assume political roles, and a separate empirical literature has examined the relationship between environmental regulation and firm-level CSR or environmental performance, comparatively less attention has been paid to how the political dynamics of environmental policy understood as the process of contestation, bargaining, and enforcement uncertainty surrounding policy, rather than policy content alone drive an internal transition in the governance architecture of CSR within energy companies. In particular, existing studies rarely connect political-dynamics theory with the specific risk that unstable or weakly enforced environmental regulation may push CSR transition toward symbolic rather than substantive forms, a phenomenon closely related to what the literature terms greenwashing or CSR decoupling. This article addresses that gap by asking two research questions. First, how does the political dynamics of environmental policy formation and enforcement influence the transformation of CSR management orientation in energy companies? Second, what are the consequences of politically volatile or weakly enforced environmental regulation for the authenticity substantive versus symbolic of CSR transition in the energy sector?

The remainder of the article proceeds as follows: Section II describes the qualitative literature-based method used to answer these questions; Section III presents and discusses the findings around two principal themes; and Section IV concludes with theoretical and practical implications.

II. METHOD

This study employs a qualitative research design that combines a systematic literature review with a directed qualitative content analysis of secondary sources. The approach is descriptive-analytical rather than statistical: it is intended to synthesize and interpret existing theoretical and empirical knowledge on political dynamics, environmental policy, and CSR transition in the energy sector, rather than to test hypotheses through primary quantitative data collection. The review procedure was informed by the systematic review logic used in prior greenwashing scholarship, which structures literature synthesis through sequential identification, screening, eligibility assessment, and inclusion stages consistent with the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses framework (de Freitas Netto et al., 2020).

Data Sources

Two categories of data were used. The first category consisted of peer-reviewed journal articles indexed in Scopus and in journals accredited under Indonesia's Science and Technology Index (Sinta), published between 2006 and 2026 in order to capture both the foundational theoretical literature on political CSR and the most recent empirical studies on CSR in the energy sector. Articles were retrieved through Scopus-linked databases and cross-checked against journal accreditation listings, prioritizing studies published in journals such as Energy Policy, Journal of Management Studies, International Journal of Management Reviews, Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management, Business Strategy and the Environment, Business & Society, and the International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy. The second category consisted of primary environmental and energy-transition regulatory materials, particularly Indonesian regulations concerning renewable-energy tariffs and coal-fired power plant retirement, which were used as contextual and illustrative material to ground the discussion of political-regulatory volatility rather than as a stand-alone case study.

Search Strategy and Selection Criteria

Literature searching used combinations of the following keyword strings: ("political CSR" OR "corporate political activity") AND ("environmental policy" OR "environmental regulation") AND ("energy sector" OR "energy compan*"), supplemented by searches combining "greenwashing", "CSR disclosure regulation", "legitimacy theory", and "just energy transition" with "energy

company" or "energy sector". Inclusion criteria required that a source (a) be peer-reviewed and published in an indexed academic journal, (b) directly address the relationship between political-regulatory dynamics and CSR orientation, CSR disclosure, or CSR practice in the energy or extractive sector, and (c) be published in English or Indonesian. Sources were excluded if they were non-peer-reviewed commentary, purely technical engineering studies without a CSR or policy dimension, or substantively duplicative of an already-included study. This process yielded a working corpus of twenty core sources that form the empirical and theoretical basis of the analysis reported in Section III.

Analytical Technique

The included sources were analyzed using directed qualitative content analysis, in which an a priori coding framework was derived deductively from political CSR theory (Scherer & Palazzo, 2007, 2011) and legitimacy or institutional theory, and then applied to the corpus. Three analytic dimensions structured the coding: (a) the drivers of CSR reorientation, particularly regulatory stringency, disclosure mandates, and corporate political engagement; (b) the form that CSR transition takes, ranging along a continuum from compliance-based, to strategic, to explicitly political CSR; and (c) the authenticity of the resulting CSR outcome, distinguishing substantive transformation from symbolic or decoupled communication. Findings from the coded corpus were then triangulated against the Indonesian regulatory context described above to illustrate how the identified theoretical patterns manifest under conditions of political-regulatory volatility characteristic of a resource-dependent developing economy.

Limitations

As a qualitative, literature-based synthesis, this study does not permit statistical generalization to a defined population of firms, and the interpretive judgments involved in thematic coding carry an inherent degree of subjectivity, which was mitigated by anchoring each theme in multiple independent sources. The findings should therefore be read as an interpretive synthesis intended to generate theoretically grounded propositions for future empirical testing rather than as definitive causal claims.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The corpus of literature converged on two principal themes that directly address the study's research questions, together with a shorter supporting theme concerning the organizational anchoring of CSR governance. These themes are presented in turn below.

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From Compliance to Political Embeddedness: The Regulatory Push Toward Strategic CSR

The literature reviewed for this study consistently indicates that intensifying and increasingly mandatory environmental regulation is the single most important driver reorienting CSR management in energy companies away from a peripheral, philanthropic function and toward a role embedded in corporate strategy. Liu, Failler, and Chen provide direct evidence of this mechanism through a difference-in-differences analysis of China's 2008 mandatory CSR disclosure policy, finding that mandatory disclosure requirements measurably improved firms' fulfillment of corporate environmental responsibility, operating through two channels: strengthened internal environmental management systems and increased green-technology patenting (Liu et al., 2021). Importantly, they also find that this effect is heterogeneous: it is stronger among larger firms and among non-state-owned enterprises, implying that the translation of political-regulatory pressure into substantive CSR transition is conditioned by firm-level characteristics rather than occurring uniformly across the sector (Liu et al., 2021).

A parallel pattern appears in energy-sector-specific studies. Okereke and Russel show that UK energy-intensive companies adjusted their carbon management strategies in direct response to the interaction between regulatory pressure and competitive dynamics, treating carbon strategy and by extension CSR as a matter of strategic positioning rather than discretionary goodwill (Okereke & Russel, 2010). Karaman, Orazalin, Uyar, and Shahbaz, examining a large sample of global energy firms, find that firms with stronger CSR performance are more likely to issue CSR reports, adopt Global Reporting Initiative guidelines, and obtain external assurance of their reports, a pattern consistent with signaling theory in which regulatory and stakeholder pressure motivates firms to build credible reporting infrastructure around their CSR activities (Karaman et al., 2021). This shift from ad hoc CSR activity toward structured, strategically integrated CSR reporting reflects what the political CSR literature frames as firms increasingly assuming a governance-adjacent role. Scherer and Palazzo argue that as the regulatory capacity of nation-states becomes strained by economic globalization, corporations are drawn into an extended model of governance in which they help provide public goods and even participate in rule-setting processes that were previously the preserve of government (Scherer & Palazzo, 2007, 2011). Frynas and Stephens, reviewing the theoretical foundations of political CSR, similarly conclude that institutional theory and stakeholder theory dominate explanations of why firms adopt increasingly political forms of CSR, though they call for greater attention to how these dynamics play out at the level of individual firms and specific industries such as energy (Frynas & Stephens, 2015).

Evidence from Indonesia illustrates how this compliance-to-strategy shift manifests in a developing-economy energy market undergoing active energy-transition policymaking. A study

of CSR disclosure among Indonesia Stock Exchange-listed energy companies finds that environmental and labor disclosure categories receive comparatively higher attention than social-community or product-responsibility categories, with the CSR index varying widely across firms (Wahyudi et al., 2024). This pattern is consistent with the interpretation that companies prioritize the CSR dimensions most closely tied to the salient regulatory and political concerns of the moment environmental compliance and workforce issues rather than distributing CSR effort evenly across all stakeholder domains. At the same time, Indonesia's regulatory push toward renewable-energy tariffs and coal-fired power plant retirement has created new arenas in which energy companies engage directly with government agencies over the design, timing, and financing of the transition, a form of engagement that closely resembles the participation in public-goods governance described by political CSR theory. Díaz-Portugal, González, and Pérez-Cornejo reinforce this interpretation at a cross-national level, showing that the character of political institutions helps explain variation in the extent and form of corporate social responsibility undertaken by firms, since institutional context shapes both the incentives and the legitimacy strategies available to companies (Díaz-Portugal et al., 2026). Complementing this, Baumann-Pauly, Scherer, and Palazzo demonstrate through a longitudinal case study that firms manage institutional complexity over time by adapting their legitimacy strategies as external political and normative pressures evolve, a dynamic directly applicable to energy companies navigating shifting environmental policy regimes (Baumann-Pauly et al., 2016). Taken together, these findings support the conclusion that political dynamics surrounding environmental policy rather than environmental policy content in isolation function as a primary catalyst pushing CSR management in energy companies from a compliance-oriented posture toward a strategically and, in some cases, politically embedded governance function.

Political Volatility, Contested Legitimacy, and the Risk of Symbolic CSR

The second major theme to emerge from the literature concerns the consequences of political-regulatory volatility for the authenticity of CSR transition. Where environmental policy is unstable, inconsistently enforced, or shaped by entrenched incumbent interests, the reviewed literature suggests that energy companies face a structural incentive to prioritize symbolic communication over substantive transformation, a pattern widely discussed in the literature under the heading of greenwashing or CSR decoupling. De Freitas Netto, Sobral, Ribeiro, and Soares, in a systematic review of the greenwashing literature, identify firm-level and product-level forms of greenwashing and link the phenomenon theoretically to legitimacy-seeking behavior under conditions of external pressure and uncertainty (de Freitas Netto et al., 2020). Esposito, Doronzo, Riso, and Tufo extend this line of inquiry specifically to the energy sector, showing that although listed energy companies allocate substantial resources to renewable-energy and green-innovation initiatives, these investments do not automatically translate into authentic

transformation; cultural and institutional context, rather than investment volume alone, predicts the likelihood that such initiatives amount to genuine strategic change as opposed to rebranding (Esposito et al., 2025). This finding is significant because it indicates that even where environmental policy nominally requires green investment, the credibility of the resulting CSR transition still depends heavily on the broader institutional and political environment in which the investment occurs.

Political volatility appears to widen the space in which such decoupling can occur. Perri, Levin, Cerasoli, and Porporato model the coupled dynamics of socio-political acceptance and emissions trajectories in the clean-energy transition, concluding that public and political acceptability not merely technical and economic feasibility materially shapes how emissions and, by implication, the pace of the transition evolve (Perri et al., 2024). When political signals regarding the direction and durability of environmental policy are inconsistent, this study interprets energy companies as facing heightened uncertainty about which CSR investments will be recognized and rewarded, which in turn increases the rational appeal of low-cost symbolic communication relative to costly substantive investment. This dynamic is illustrated concretely by the Indonesian case of renewable-energy tariff design: a feasibility analysis of a proposed biomass power plant under Indonesia's new renewable-energy tariff regulation found a positive net present value under the initial tariff structure but a negative net present value once the tariff shifted to its expansion-phase rate, with project viability highly sensitive to the capacity factor achieved (Aditya et al., 2024). Such tariff design volatility illustrates how ambiguous or shifting political-regulatory signals can materially discourage sustained substantive investment in renewable and transition-oriented CSR initiatives by energy companies and independent power producers alike, even where the stated policy objective is to accelerate rather than deter the energy transition.

Importantly, the literature also identifies conditions under which this risk of symbolic decoupling is mitigated. Karaman, Orazalin, Uyar, and Shahbaz find that, contrary to a pure greenwashing hypothesis, energy firms with genuinely superior CSR performance are also more likely to seek external assurance of their CSR reports, a costly signal that is difficult for purely symbolic actors to imitate, suggesting that where reporting infrastructure and assurance mechanisms are well developed, the gap between CSR communication and CSR practice narrows (Karaman et al., 2021). Sozinova, Litvinova, Ostrovskaya, and Vorontsova likewise argue that a clearer strategic direction for CSR within energy-technology companies oriented explicitly toward sustainable and environmentally sound development of the energy economy can help align rhetorical commitments with implementation, provided that companies possess a coherent internal roadmap rather than reacting opportunistically to short-term political signals (Sozinova et al., 2022). Read together, these findings suggest that the authenticity of CSR transition in the energy sector is not solely a function of regulatory stringency but also of regulatory coherence and

enforcement credibility: firms facing predictable, well-enforced environmental policy supported by robust disclosure and assurance infrastructure are more likely to undertake substantive CSR transformation, while firms facing volatile, weakly enforced, or politically contested environmental policy are more likely to substitute symbolic communication for substantive change.

The Organizational Anchoring of CSR Governance as a Political Regulatory Response

A shorter but recurring pattern in the reviewed literature concerns how firms institutionalize CSR governance structures in direct response to political-regulatory pressure. Maside-Sanfiz, Suárez Fernández, López-Penabad, and Alzghoul, analyzing a global sample of energy companies, find that corporate social performance is associated with improvements in environmentally adjusted efficiency, but that the strength of this relationship depends on firm-level governance quality, indicating that the translation of external regulatory and stakeholder pressure into measurable environmental outcomes is mediated by internal governance architecture rather than occurring automatically (Maside-Sanfiz et al., 2024). This is consistent with the broader pattern identified in Sections 3.1 and 3.2: energy companies operating under credible and consistent political-regulatory pressure tend to formalize CSR through dedicated governance structures such as sustainability committees, integrated ESG reporting lines, and assurance mechanisms whereas companies operating under volatile or weakly enforced political conditions are more likely to retain CSR as a loosely coupled communications function. This organizational dimension therefore functions as an intervening variable linking the political dynamics of environmental policy (Section 3.1) to the ultimate authenticity of CSR outcomes (Section 3.2), and it represents a promising direction for future firm-level empirical research.

IV. CONCLUSION

This study set out to examine how the political dynamics surrounding environmental policy formation and enforcement shape the transition of CSR management in energy companies, and what consequences political volatility holds for the authenticity of that transition. Drawing on a qualitative synthesis of twenty peer-reviewed studies indexed in Scopus and Sinta-accredited journals, together with contextual analysis of Indonesian energy-transition regulation, the study finds that intensifying and increasingly mandatory environmental regulation is a primary driver pushing energy companies to reposition CSR from a peripheral, philanthropic activity into a strategically embedded, and at times explicitly political, governance function consistent with political CSR theory's account of firms assuming quasi-public governance roles amid strained state regulatory capacity. At the same time, the study finds that where environmental policy is volatile, inconsistently enforced, or shaped by entrenched incumbent interests, energy companies face a

structural incentive toward symbolic rather than substantive CSR transition, producing a persistent risk of greenwashing that is only partially mitigated by robust disclosure and assurance infrastructure and by coherent internal governance anchoring.

These findings carry both theoretical and practical implications. Theoretically, the study extends political CSR theory by specifying political-regulatory volatility, rather than regulatory stringency alone, as a distinct explanatory variable shaping whether CSR transition is substantive or symbolic. Practically, the findings suggest that policymakers seeking to accelerate authentic corporate environmental transformation in the energy sector should prioritize not only the ambition of environmental regulation but also its predictability, consistency, and enforcement credibility, since ambiguous or shifting political signals appear to undermine the very corporate behavior that environmental policy intends to encourage. For corporate governance practitioners, the findings underscore the value of institutionalizing CSR through dedicated governance structures and independent assurance mechanisms as a means of building resilience against the temptation toward symbolic compliance when the external political environment becomes unpredictable.

As a qualitative, literature-based study, this research does not permit statistical generalization, and its conclusions should be treated as theoretically grounded propositions rather than definitive causal findings. Future research would benefit from comparative quantitative studies that test the relationship between measures of political-regulatory volatility and indicators of CSR authenticity across energy firms in multiple jurisdictions, as well as from firm-level case studies that trace how ownership structure state-owned versus privately held moderates the translation of political dynamics into CSR governance outcomes.

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