

## MANAGING THE DILEMMA OF FAITH AND EXTRACTIVISM: MODELLING GOOD MINING GOVERNANCE FOR RELIGIOUS CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN INDONESIA

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### ABSTRACT

Mining or extractive industries not only provide opportunities for countries that have natural resources, but also provide challenges related to their management. This research departs from the granting of mining concessions for religious CSOs in Indonesia in 2024, which were received by Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. The granting of this mining concession raises controversy where religious CSOs are globally involved in the discourse of promoting environmental justice, on the contrary, NU and Muhammadiyah are part of the source of environmental justice problems, namely mining. This research seeks to find a mining governance model for these religious CSOs when policy is not possible to change. By conducting a theoretical literature review of concepts with the keywords mining governance, extractive governance, natural resource governance, the researcher synthesises the key elements that need to be present in the mining governance model for religious CSOs for the Indonesian context. The results of the research indicate that the following elements are required for the governance of religious CSOs in the context of mining: governance legitimacy, distributive justice, socio-environmental responsibility, transparency and accountability, and multi-stakeholder engagement. It is imperative that each core element is implemented by religious CSOs, given their role in civil society, which is distinct from their function as mining companies. It is imperative that this is carried out so that religious CSOs do not lose public trust and can serve as a model for sustainable mining governance for countries that possess abundant natural resources but have failed to achieve sustainable development (resource curse).

**Keywords:** Mining governance model, religious CSOs, Extractivism, Civil Society

### ABSTRAK

Industri pertambangan atau ekstraktif tidak hanya memberi peluang bagi negara yang memiliki sumber daya alam, tetapi juga menghadirkan tantangan besar dalam pengelolaannya. Penelitian ini berangkat dari kebijakan pemerintah Indonesia yang memberikan konsesi tambang kepada Organisasi Kemasyarakatan (Ormas) Keagamaan pada tahun 2024, khususnya Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah. Kebijakan ini menuai kontroversi karena secara global ormas keagamaan dikenal aktif mendorong keadilan lingkungan, namun kini justru berpotensi menjadi bagian dari sumber masalah melalui keterlibatan langsung dalam kegiatan pertambangan. Penelitian ini bertujuan merumuskan model tata kelola pertambangan yang relevan bagi ormas keagamaan ketika perubahan kebijakan tidak dapat dilakukan dalam waktu dekat. Dengan menggunakan tinjauan literatur sistematis terhadap konsep mining governance, extractive governance, dan natural resource governance, penelitian ini menyintesis elemen-elemen penting yang perlu diadopsi agar tata kelola pertambangan oleh ormas dapat berkelanjutan dan selaras dengan nilai-nilai keagamaan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan lima elemen utama yang harus diterapkan: legitimasi tata kelola, keadilan distributif dalam pemanfaatan manfaat ekonomi, tanggung jawab sosial dan lingkungan untuk meminimalkan dampak negatif, transparansi dan akuntabilitas dalam setiap proses pengelolaan, serta keterlibatan multi-pemangku kepentingan, termasuk masyarakat terdampak. Penerapan kelima elemen ini menjadi keharusan, mengingat posisi ormas keagamaan sebagai bagian dari masyarakat sipil yang memiliki fungsi moral dan sosial, bukan sekadar aktor ekonomi. Dengan tata kelola yang tepat, ormas keagamaan

diharapkan tidak kehilangan kepercayaan publik serta mampu menjadi model praktik pertambangan berkelanjutan bagi negara-negara dengan sumber daya alam melimpah namun masih menghadapi tantangan kutukan sumber daya (resource curse).

**Kata Kunci:** Model Tata Kelola Tambang, CSO Keagamaan, Ekstrativisme Civil Society

## INTRODUCTION

Savirani (2025) stated in her inaugural speech that profit-making is one of the ways in which civil society can survive in the neoliberal era. She posited that the establishment of a social enterprise wing, grounded in the restoration of the spirit of cooperatives, serves as an alternative to the diversification of the financing sources of civil society organisations. In this regard, she underscored the notion that 'profit making is an instrument of civic making'. The civil society groups under discussion are comprised of other groups, with the exception of organisations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah (Savirani, 2025).

This article discusses how the involvement of religious civil society organisations (CSOs) or faith-based organisations as civil society can function as a profit-making economic group in the context of the policy of granting mining concessions from the Government to religious CSOs in 2024.

The Indonesian case constitutes a compelling illustration of the interconnection between nationalist industrial visions and green transitions in regions of the Global South that are rich in critical minerals. This offers states a potentially expeditious pathway to profit and prosperity. The Indonesian case study highlights the rapid capture of economic pathways by narrow, at times collusive, networks of state and private capital. This phenomenon has the effect of limiting the sector's distributional benefits and reducing the regulatory guardrails that can prevent 'green industries' from generating new forms of environmental benefit. The occurrence of harm is hereby confirmed (Warburton, 2024).

A Civicus report in August 2017 found that most civil societies in mining countries are in a state of distress and inhibition. The Republic of Indonesia falls into the inhibited category. The inhibited rating is indicative of civic spaces in which fundamental rights are under significant pressure from the authorities. Despite the fact that

citizens retain the capacity to organise and assemble, they are confronted with considerable risks, including the possibility of excessive violence by security forces and harassment. Civil society organisations are frequently subject to surveillance, bureaucratic obstacles and smear campaigns. While independent media outlets do exist, they often find themselves operating within a hostile environment, which has led many journalists to self-censor in order to avoid legal ramifications, as well as violence and intimidation (CIVICUS, 2017).

Large-scale mining often causes big problems for the environment and for people living nearby. Because of these problems, there are many discussions—both in theory and in politics—about how natural resources should be used for economic growth and how mining affects local communities and nature. In these discussions, the idea of governance, or how mining is managed and controlled, has become very important (Domínguez-Gómez & González-Gómez, 2021a). However, research shows that governance in mining is complicated and can mean different things. For mining companies, good governance is important to handle environmental issues, which are now a key part of their work. As dealing with the environment becomes harder and riskier, mining companies try to include natural, social, and political issues in their day-to-day activities and in how they deal with others (Domínguez-Gómez & González-Gómez, 2021a). Even so, the extractive industry often still faces serious problems like corruption, poor accountability, and lack of transparency from the government (Savirani et al., 2017).

Civil Society Organizations have role on social movement for advocating extractive industries. They tend to: a) consolidating capacity and finding issues to unite members of the alliance; b) mobilizing support from the general public (the ordinary citizens of Samarinda); c) communicating complex ideas on mining, its impact on everyday life, and politics and government finance to a wide audience using simple terms; d) distributing labour

among CSO elements; and e) networking with the media (Savirani et al., 2017). Same as the previous statement, Gillies (2010) said that Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) more often work as leaders for promoting transparency in the extractive industry because they see ongoing human suffering in countries with lots of natural resources and believe that mining and extraction often cause these problems. International NGOs from the Global North, such as Global Witness, Human Rights Watch, and the Publish What You Pay coalition, are important in starting and spreading rules about transparency in mining. These groups follow the example set by Transparency International and focus on issues that are closely connected to democracy, conflict, and social justice, which are central to their mission (Triwibowo & Hanafi, 2014). Thus, the involvement of civil society organisations in mining industries as the profit-making is questionable.

By drawing upon the theoretical framework of mining governance, extractive governance and natural-resource management, it becomes challenging to establish the role of CSOs as the primary actors. However, a thorough examination of this concept reveals crucial dimensions within mining governance that CSOs must adhere to if they are to assume a predominant role in the mining industry.

Gómez and Gómez (2021) identify four main approaches to governance in the mining industry: corporate governance, which emphasizes internal management and transparency; contextual governance, which considers external socio-political and environmental influences; value-based governance, which is grounded in ethics like sustainability and justice; and technical governance, which focuses on efficiency through strategic management. Although these perspectives reflect the varied use of governance, there are ongoing inconsistencies—such as treating “good governance” as a set of generic rules and neglecting marginalized communities. The study notes a growing trend toward social inclusion, questioning whether current governance practices drive real change or simply serve as ethical window-dressing (Domínguez-Gómez & González-Gómez, 2021b).

Other scholars stated that good governance in the mining industry is shaped by several important factors, including the broader social, political, and economic situation, as well as

the legal, policy, and financial systems in place. Effective governance also depends on strong policy and regulatory mechanisms, especially those that include the participation of local and indigenous communities and work to prevent their exclusion (Khan et al., 2024). In line with this, the extractive industry itself often brings about changes in governance through two main ways. First, because mining has unique economic and operational needs, it encourages the development of specific laws, institutions, and policies—such as mining codes, tax rules, systems for resolving disputes, and protections for indigenous rights. These changes can lead to the restructuring of existing institutions and sometimes affect social and economic rights. Second, mining activities often create new conflicts or concerns about their impact on the environment, society, and politics. To address these issues, both public and private actors, as well as partnerships between them, create various initiatives focused on areas like human rights, sustainability, transparency, and community relationships (Szablowski & Campbell, 2019).

Natural resource governance refers to the norms, institutions, and processes that shape how power and responsibilities over natural resources are exercised, how decisions are made, and how citizens—including women, men, youth, Indigenous peoples, and local communities—participate in and benefit from resource management (Smith, 2003, IUCN, 2021). According to the IUCN, good governance in this area is built on ethical foundations, particularly the recognition of human rights, since environmental degradation is closely linked to the fulfillment or violation of these rights (UNHRC, 2018; (Springer et al., n.d., 2011). Effective and fair governance across all levels is essential for achieving both conservation goals and equitable social outcomes, and is best realized by integrating principles of good governance with a rights-based approach.

The IUCN outlines ten key principles for good natural resource governance. First, decision-making must be inclusive, ensuring the full and effective participation of all relevant actors, especially rights-holders and groups at risk of marginalization. Second, governance must recognize and respect tenure rights, with particular attention to the customary and collective rights of Indigenous peoples and local communities, as well as women’s land rights. Third, it must be grounded in respect for diverse cultures, knowledge systems,

and institutions. Fourth, decision-making should be devolved to the lowest appropriate level, empowering Indigenous peoples and local communities. Fifth, governance should be guided by a clear strategic vision and should adapt based on learning and changing circumstances. Sixth, coordination and coherence among all actors is necessary, ensuring that strategies and management practices are aligned. Seventh, there must be sustainable and equitable sharing of resources, providing all actors with the means needed for responsible management and ensuring fair distribution of benefits. Eighth, accountability is crucial; all actors must be responsible for their actions and the resulting environmental and social impacts. Ninth, the rule of law must be fair and effective, protecting fundamental rights. Finally, people must have access to justice and effective conflict resolution, so they can seek remedies and resolve disputes related to land and natural resources (IUCN, 2021).

According to Yanuardi et al. (2021), Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) aims to enhance governance through three main areas: transparency, accountability, and participation. By making information more accessible to the public, EITI can help reduce corruption, limit unfair practices, and build trust, which may help prevent conflict. However, the limited quality and narrow focus of EITI reports can make it hard to achieve full accountability. EITI also supports civil society participation, giving citizens and organizations more power to take part in decision-making and monitor government and company actions. While this can strengthen the role of civil society through dialogue and funding, many political and institutional challenges remain—such as some governments restricting or controlling civil society groups. The goal of EITI to improve accountability is important, as it allows citizens to hold governments and companies responsible for the negative impacts of extraction. Still, real accountability depends on whether actors are able and willing to take action. Because EITI is voluntary, its overall effect on actual governance results is often limited (Yanuardi et al., 2021; Springer, Campese & Nakangu, 2021).

This study defines mining governance as the set of norms, institutions, and decision-making processes that regulate the social, environmental, economic, and political impacts of extractive activities. Drawing on mining and natural resource

governance literature, the study identifies the key dimensions that must be addressed when mining operations are undertaken by civil society organizations. These include ethical and value-based governance grounded in human rights and sustainability; participatory and inclusive decision-making that ensures meaningful involvement of affected communities; accountability and transparency mechanisms to prevent corruption and elite capture; respect for tenure and indigenous rights; and effective regulatory and institutional coordination with the state and private actors. By outlining these dimensions, the study clarifies the governance requirements necessary for civil society-led mining to avoid reproducing the harms commonly associated with extractive industries.

## METHODS

This research uses a qualitative approach with a theoretical literature review method. A theoretical review focuses on analyzing and synthesizing existing conceptual and empirical studies to develop clearer concepts, relationships, and theoretical frameworks, rather than collecting new data (Templier & Paré, 2015). This method is suitable for topics where theories are still fragmented and need to be connected and clarified.

Following the framework proposed by Templier and Paré (2015), the literature review was conducted through several steps: defining the research focus, searching for relevant literature, selecting and screening studies, organizing the literature, and synthesizing findings to build theory. The main objective of this review is to define mining governance and to identify the key governance dimensions that must be addressed when mining activities are carried out by civil society organizations (CSOs), particularly religious CSOs.

The literature search was conducted using specific keywords, including mining governance, extractive governance, natural resource governance, civil society organizations, and religious civil society organizations. The review focused on peer-reviewed journal articles and well-established academic sources to ensure the quality and relevance of the literature (Paré et al., 2015).

After screening the literature, the selected studies were grouped into two main categories. The first category includes literature that explains the meaning and core elements of mining governance.

The second category includes literature that discusses the role of CSOs, including religious CSOs, in mining and extractive governance. This grouping helped compare governance frameworks with the roles of civil society, as suggested by Templier and Paré (2015).

The review found a clear gap in the literature. Most studies on mining governance focus on the roles of the state and mining companies, while studies on CSOs mainly describe them as watchdogs or advocacy actors (Savirani et al., 2017; Gillies, 2010; Triwibowo & Hanafi, 2014). Very few studies examine CSOs, especially religious CSOs as actors who directly operate within mining governance. Therefore, this research contributes by developing a conceptual understanding of religious CSOs as mining governance actors who have a dual role: as economic actors in the mining sector and as civil society actors who are expected to uphold accountability, participation, and rights-based governance principles.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Define Mining Governance and the Core Element for Indonesia's Mining Case

In resource-rich countries, conflicts over extractive industry (EI) governance always reflect deeper struggles over state formation and state–society relations. EI can trigger institutional disruption or reinforce existing structures, leading to high-stakes, multi-level contestation involving transnational actors. Studying these dynamics offers insight into state formation, non-state governance, institutional change, and how governance can both drive and limit broader political, economic, and social transformations. It also highlights how global EI boom-bust cycles influence governance reforms (Szablowski & Campbell, 2019).

In the context of mining governance in Indonesia, particularly in regard to the primary actors being religious CSOs, there is a necessity for the identification of significant values and elements that are derived from the principles of good governance. It is anticipated that these fundamental components will guide religious CSOs in the implementation of effective mining governance practices.

### a. Governance Legitimacy

Governance legitimacy refers to the extent to which decision-making processes and institutions are perceived as rightful, credible, and acceptable by stakeholders and the broader public. This legitimacy is built upon principles of transparency, accountability, and trust, which ensure that governance structures operate in a way that is fair and aligned with societal expectations. By “grafting” onto the broader transparency movement, extractive industry transparency advocates acquire not only the language but also the legitimacy and allies necessary to support their cause (Gillies, 2010). This strategic alignment enables these advocates to leverage the credibility and momentum of existing global transparency initiatives, thereby reinforcing their demands and attracting wider support from both domestic and international audiences.

Ostrom's Eight Principles (clear boundaries, participatory decision-making, monitoring, graduated sanctions, conflict resolution, and nested governance) align closely with the governance (Korol and Korol, 2024). This idea provides a strong theoretical foundation for understanding mining as a common-pool resource governance problem, rather than purely a market or state-controlled activity. The extractive resources can be governed through collective, rule-based arrangements involving non-state actors such as civil society organizations. By getting governance legitimacy, mining actors can lead to expected goals of transparency and decision-making processes (Savirani et al., 2017).

### b. Distributive Justice

As stated by Gillies (2010), extractive industry (EI) operations are intrinsically linked to broader issues of democracy, conflict, and social justice. These industries do not operate in a vacuum; rather, they function within complex socio-political and economic contexts that directly affect — and are affected by — local and national governance structures. The decisions made within the extractive sector, such as those regarding resource allocation, environmental management, and revenue distribution, have profound implications for democratic governance and social equity. In many resource-rich countries, the ways in which extractive activities are governed reflect the overall health and legitimacy of democratic institutions.

The challenges posed by EI operations become more acute when these industries are controlled by multinational corporations and/or state-owned enterprises. Such arrangements often result in a concentrated distribution of power and resources, potentially marginalizing local communities and other stakeholders. According to Savirani et al. (2017), this system tends to rely heavily on relationships between governments and large companies, which can create opportunities for collusion and rent-seeking behaviors. In the absence of robust transparency mechanisms, these relationships may prioritize the interests of powerful actors over public welfare, thereby exacerbating inequality and undermining democratic accountability.

#### **c. Environmental and Social Responsibility**

Based on the IUNC Principle regarding the ethical foundation of good natural resource governance, it is important to highlight that environmental and social responsibility must be grounded in a deep recognition of the interconnectedness between people, land, and culture. This means acknowledging and upholding the tenure rights of Indigenous peoples, local communities, and women, ensuring that their historical and customary connections to lands, waters, and resources are protected. At the same time, governance and management of natural resources must be informed by, and respectful of, diverse cultural perspectives, traditional knowledge systems, and local institutions. The core elements should be met to address how CSOs manage land rights, displacement, and ecological restoration.

#### **d. Transparency and Accountability**

As described by O'Sullivan (2013), transparency is often framed as a technocratic and relatively neutral idiom. This framing makes it particularly appealing to both governments and companies that seek to address governance problems without appearing confrontational or adopting hardline approaches. Rather than challenging power structures directly, transparency initiatives allow state and corporate actors to project an image of reform and responsiveness, while maintaining stability and control. This strategic neutrality enables transparency to be adopted more easily across different political and institutional contexts.

Transparency has rapidly gained traction as a global governance norm precisely because of its technocratic and non-threatening character. It serves as a convenient and widely acceptable tool for addressing various governance issues, including corruption, inefficiency, and lack of accountability. For governments and corporations, embracing transparency offers a means to improve their legitimacy and respond to public pressure without fundamentally altering the underlying power dynamics. At the same time, transparency provides civil society organizations especially in more authoritarian or semi-authoritarian contexts a practical entry point to demand greater accountability, often within boundaries that are deemed permissible by the state (Triwibowo & Hanafi, n.d., 2014). Even Haufler (2010) questioned that transparency, just like a Swiss army knife of policy that the widespread adoption of the norm of transparency needs to be further explored and explained, including its application to resource management issues

The rise of transparency is also closely connected to overlapping global agendas on good governance, anti-corruption, and corporate accountability. International initiatives such as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) and various corporate social responsibility (CSR) frameworks have helped to institutionalize transparency as a shared standard across sectors and regions. By aligning with these agendas, transparency reinforces the interconnected networks that promote ethical governance practices and discourage illicit activities. These networks strengthen collective efforts to combat corruption and misuse of public resources, thus contributing to more robust democratic governance structures (Triwibowo & Hanafi, n.d., 2014).

In the context of the extractive industries (EI), transparency holds a particularly significant role. It is strongly related to the broader issues of freedom of information within society (Savirani et al., 2017). Access to information regarding resource revenues, environmental impacts, and contractual agreements empowers citizens and local communities to hold both governments and companies accountable. When information is made publicly available, it reduces opportunities for rent-seeking and corruption while enhancing public oversight. Furthermore, freedom of information supports social justice by ensuring that affected communities are informed participants in

decisions that impact their livelihoods and environments.

#### e. Multi-Stakeholder Engagement

The extractive industry often operates in contexts marked by asymmetries of power and information, where decisions about resource exploitation can have profound environmental, social, and economic impacts. Without inclusive oversight, these processes frequently lead to rent-seeking, corruption, and social conflict, undermining public trust and fueling inequities (Gillies, 2010). By establishing a multi-stakeholder oversight body, EITI implementation ensures that diverse voices particularly those of civil society organizations and local communities are not only heard but have a formal role in decision-making.

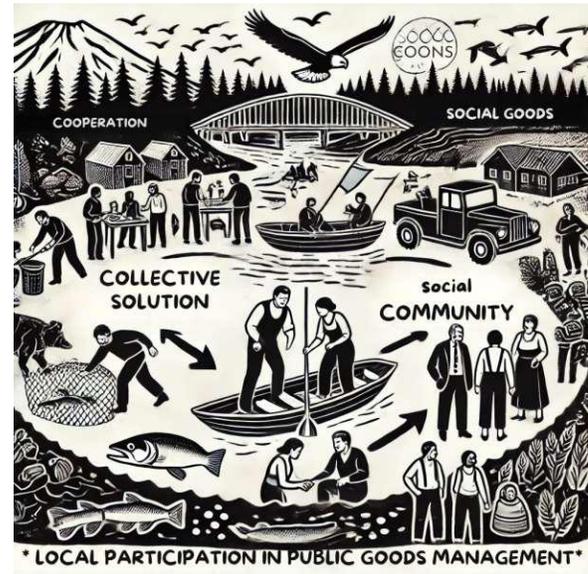
When stakeholders are actively engaged in oversight, they are more likely to support and comply with governance frameworks, thereby reducing the risk of conflict and increasing investment stability (Triwibowo & Hanafi, 2014). In practical terms, multi-stakeholder bodies often play a critical role in monitoring revenue flows, verifying data disclosures, and recommending policy reforms that promote environmental and social responsibility.

#### Making the Mining Governance Model Work

Civil society organizations (CSOs) in Southeast Asia interact with the state through complex and varied relationships. Chong and Ellies (2011) classify these into three main types: tacit cooperation, where CSOs and the state share goals, particularly in service delivery; advocacy-driven and conflict-prone, where CSOs challenge state policies and advocate for marginalized groups; and mediated, where CSOs retain autonomy but operate within state-imposed legal and political limits. These forms highlight the diverse roles CSOs can play, from partners to watchdogs, depending on the political environment and their strategic choices.

However, these categories are not rigid or static. As noted by Savirani et al. (2017), the dominant type of CSO–state relationship in each country is shaped by its political context and the influence of external donors. Democratic backsliding, restrictive legal frameworks, or shifts in donor funding can push CSOs to adapt, sometimes forcing advocacy groups into more mediated roles. This dynamic underscores the need to view CSO–state relations as fluid and context-

dependent, rather than fixed, and highlights the importance of protecting civic space to maintain genuine social accountability and policy influence.



Picture 1: Public Participation in Public Goods Management

Source: Korol and Korol, 2024

In order to establish effective governance mechanisms for Indonesian religious CSOs operating within the mining sector, it is essential to establish a set of requirements and conditions. The following list details these essential terms and conditions:

#### a. Openness from Religious CSOs

Civil society plays a crucial role in advancing transparency and accountability, but its ability to do so depends heavily on the conditions under which it operates. As CIVICUS (2017) highlights, civil society can only effectively engage in governance processes when there is an enabling environment that protects fundamental freedoms such as the rights to association, assembly, and expression. In contexts where these rights are upheld, civil society organizations (CSOs) can act as independent watchdogs, advocate for marginalized communities, and contribute constructively to policy development. Conversely, in restrictive environments marked by legal constraints, political repression, or threats to activists, civil society's capacity to demand accountability is severely undermined. This dynamic underscores the importance of safeguarding civic space as a prerequisite for meaningful participation in governance. Without

such protections, efforts to promote transparency risk becoming superficial, as critical voices are silenced and opportunities for public oversight are diminished (CIVICUS, 2017).

**b. State Commitment to religious CSOs involvement in mining for the prosperity of the people**

State commitment to involving religious CSOs in mining governance can strengthen legitimacy and social acceptance of resource projects, as these organizations are often deeply rooted in communities and possess strong moral authority. By engaging religious CSOs, the state demonstrates a commitment to ensuring that mining activities are not solely profit-driven but are also oriented toward the prosperity and welfare of the people. This approach can help bridge gaps between economic interests and social justice, ensuring that resource extraction contributes to broader societal well-being rather than exacerbating inequality or conflict. Thus, combining an open civic space with a clear state commitment to religious CSO involvement creates a governance framework that is both inclusive and accountable, fostering more equitable and sustainable outcomes in the extractive sector.

**c. Extensive Civil Society Oversight**

Civil society participation is widely recognized as essential for ensuring that governance processes in the extractive industry lead to greater accountability and responsiveness to public interests (CIVICUS, 2017). To fulfill this role effectively, civil society organizations (CSOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) must develop not only a deep understanding of highly technical subjects such as revenue flows, environmental impacts, and legal frameworks but also maintain their passion and commitment as independent watchdogs (Savirani et al., 2017).

Mining governance should be grounded in participatory and inclusive principles, ensuring that every stakeholder, governments, companies, local communities, and civil society organizations has an equal voice in decision-making processes (Virgy et al., 2024). This approach not only democratizes governance but also builds trust among stakeholders, making it possible to address complex challenges more effectively. The active participation of civil society is especially vital for a holistic strategy to prevent corruption. Their engagement acts as a check and balance, helping to

identify gaps or weaknesses in government oversight and holding both state and private actors to higher ethical standards.

In practice, the positive impact of civil society involvement in mining governance is evident in several contexts. By raising awareness, facilitating dialogue, and demanding greater corporate and governmental accountability, civil society groups help reduce the negative social and environmental impacts of mining. Their efforts also contribute to more sustainable and equitable outcomes, as the needs and concerns of marginalized groups are more likely to be heard and addressed. Thus, participatory and inclusive governance, with meaningful civil society engagement, is fundamental for ensuring that the benefits of mining are shared fairly and that harms are minimized for both people and the environment that should be addressed by religious CSO when they intended to go to extractive industries or mining.

Their technical expertise equips them to scrutinize complex contracts and financial disclosures, while their moral commitment drives them to represent the voices of affected communities. Moreover, NGOs often act as entrepreneurs of transparency in the extractive sector, motivated by their first-hand observations of persistent human suffering and inequality in resource-rich countries (Gillies, 2010). This activism stems from a recognition that extractive operations are directly linked to broader issues of democracy, conflict, and social justice, shaping their mission and advocacy priorities. In this context, international NGOs based in the Global North such as Global Witness, Human Rights Watch, and the Publish What You Pay coalition play a crucial role in initiating and advancing global norms on transparency and accountability (Gillies, 2010; Haufler, 2010). Inspired by the pioneering work of Transparency International, these organizations have successfully pushed for stronger disclosure standards and have highlighted the extractive sector as a critical battleground for promoting good governance and social equity. Thus, an empowered, technically competent, and morally driven civil society remains indispensable for transforming extractive industry governance into a more democratic and just process.

In Indonesia, civil society organizations (CSOs) face a critical dilemma within the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative Multi-Stakeholder Group (EITI MSG): whether to

align with government and corporate agendas despite their unequal technical expertise, or to resist and actively advocate for citizens' interests (Triwibowo & Hanafi, 2014). This tension highlights a broader struggle between technocratic governance and democratic accountability. Indonesia has the potential to become a unique example where the technocratic process of governmentality is challenged and reshaped through a stronger, citizen-driven base. By leveraging the country's vibrant civil society and building deep expertise on extractive sector issues, CSOs can move beyond technical compliance toward meaningful reform through constructive engagement with the state. This shift requires rethinking the notion of citizenship—mobilizing citizens, empowering local communities, and making them active participants rather than passive beneficiaries in transparency initiatives. Such a transformation would reinvigorate 'the political' and inject new energy into anti-corruption efforts in the extractive sector (Triwibowo & Hanafi, 2014).

Furthermore, to effectively improve natural resource governance, it is crucial to establish robust collaboration among stakeholders, build mutual trust, and pursue consistent socio-political and economic policy reforms along the entire extractive value chain (Savirani et al., 2017). By combining citizen mobilization with strong policy coherence and multi-actor trust building, Indonesia can overcome the stagnation of technocratic approaches and set a powerful precedent for democratic and accountable extractive industry governance in the region.

### CONCLUSION

This study shows that mining governance in Indonesia is closely linked to broader issues of state power, social justice, and public trust. The involvement of religious civil society organizations (CSOs) in the mining sector creates both opportunities and serious risks. When religious CSOs become mining actors, they must follow governance standards that reflect their role as moral and social institutions, not only as economic actors. The study identifies five core elements that must guide mining governance by religious CSOs: governance legitimacy, distributive justice, environmental and social responsibility, transparency and accountability, and multi-stakeholder engagement. If these

elements are applied consistently, religious CSOs can help promote fairer, more inclusive, and more sustainable mining practices in Indonesia.

This research is based on a theoretical literature review and does not include empirical data from fieldwork or case studies. As a result, the findings remain conceptual and need to be tested in real mining contexts. Future research should examine how religious CSOs actually operate in mining projects, including their decision-making processes, relationships with the state and companies, and impacts on local communities and the environment. Comparative studies across regions or countries, as well as in-depth case studies of organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, would provide stronger evidence on whether religious CSOs can truly uphold ethical, participatory, and accountable mining governance in practice.

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