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ARTICLE

Rebuilding Climate Authority: A Neo Khaldunian Framework of *Asabiyya* and *Mulk*

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Abstract

In Scientists view the climate crisis as an urgent emergency, yet many government policies move slowly and can easily shift direction. In this context, Ibn Khaldun's theoretical framework helps explain why collective commitment weakens and why authority often fails to prioritise long term protection. This study aims to analyse a Neo Khaldunian framework to explain the social foundations of climate governance and to guide institutional design that can strengthen solidarity, *asabiyya*, and redirect authority, *mulk*, toward ecological stewardship. The study uses an integrative literature review with a critical interpretive approach to develop a theoretical framework, rather than to test hypotheses with field data. The data were collected purposively from peer reviewed journal articles, scholarly books, and major reports, including selected studies on Islamic environmental politics in Indonesia and other Muslim contexts, through Google Scholar and Scopus. The analysis proceeded through repeated reading, comparison, conceptual grouping, and critical synthesis that connects scholarship on climate governance, social solidarity, sociology of religion, and Ibn Khaldun. The findings show that climate governance failure can be understood as a problem of civilisational order unfolding across five dimensions, namely ideas, individuals, society, the state, and civilisation. The study also finds that the erosion of *asabiyya* and the distortion of *mulk* undermine ecological commitment, while Islamic institutions, as contested organisational actors, can strengthen or weaken commitment through networks, legitimacy, organisational capacity, public influence, and political alliances. The sociological implication is that climate governance should be understood as a problem of social order and legitimacy, so institutional design that protects long term commitments becomes essential.

Keywords: Neo-Khaldunian; Asabiyya; Climate Governance; Islamic Institutions; Ibn Khaldun

Para ilmuwan menilai krisis iklim sebagai keadaan mendesak, tetapi banyak kebijakan pemerintah berjalan lambat dan mudah berubah. Dalam konteks ini, kerangka teori Ibn Khaldun membantu menjelaskan mengapa komitmen bersama melemah dan otoritas sering tidak fokus pada perlindungan jangka panjang. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis kerangka Neo Khaldunian guna menjelaskan dasar sosial tata kelola iklim dan memberi arah desain lembaga yang dapat memperkuat solidaritas asabiyya serta mengarahkan otoritas mulk menuju pengelolaan ekologis. Penelitian ini menggunakan tinjauan literatur integratif dengan pendekatan interpretif kritis untuk menyusun kerangka teoretis, bukan untuk menguji hipotesis dengan data lapangan. Data dikumpulkan secara purposif dari artikel jurnal, buku ilmiah, dan laporan utama, termasuk studi terpilih tentang politik lingkungan Islam di Indonesia dan konteks Muslim, melalui Google Scholar dan Scopus. Analisis dilakukan lewat pembacaan berulang, perbandingan, pengelompokan konsep, dan sintesis kritis yang menghubungkan literatur tata kelola iklim, solidaritas sosial, sosiologi agama, dan kajian Ibn Khaldun. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kegagalan tata kelola iklim dapat dipahami sebagai masalah tatanan peradaban dalam lima dimensi, yaitu ide, individu, sosial, negara, dan peradaban. Temuan juga menunjukkan bahwa melemahnya asabiyya dan menyimpangnya mulk merusak komitmen ekologis, sementara institusi Islam sebagai aktor organisasi yang diperebutkan dapat memperkuat atau melemahkan komitmen melalui jejaring, legitimasi, kapasitas organisasi, pengaruh publik, dan aliansi politik. Implikasi sosiologisnya adalah isu iklim perlu dipahami sebagai masalah keteraturan sosial dan legitimasi, sehingga desain lembaga yang menjaga komitmen jangka panjang menjadi hal penting.

A. INTRODUCTION

A persistent disjuncture between scientific urgency and institutional response marks Climate governance. International agreements have multiplied, climate science has become more precise, and the social costs of ecological disruption are increasingly visible, yet long-term mitigation and adaptation remain uneven, fragile, and politically reversible (Lindvall & Karlsson 2023; Soener 2024; Wilde et al. 2010). The assumption that better knowledge will naturally produce better policy no longer explains this gap persuasively. Public institutions repeatedly fail where costly commitments cannot be sustained, cross-sectoral coordination weakens, and short-term political incentives override long-range ecological obligations (Aklin & Mildenberger 2018; Finnegan 2019; Pickering et al. 2022).

The climate crisis, therefore, exceeds the boundaries of environmental policy. It exposes a problem of social order, political authority, and the conditions under which collective futures can be governed across time. Recent work in political sociology and comparative political economy sharpens that diagnosis. Climate policy failure has been linked to distributive conflict, veto players, fossil-fuel dependence, weak bureaucratic capacity, path-dependent institutional arrangements, and political systems that reward short-term responsiveness over long-term coordination (Aklin & Mildenberger 2018; Dubash 2021; Finnegan 2019; Meckling & Nahm 2021; Soener 2024). Related research on democratic quality, civic space, and environmental governance shows that durable ecological policy depends not only on formal legislation but also on accountability, participation, and the ability of institutions to retain legitimacy under conflictual conditions (Lindvall & Karlsson 2023; Pickering et al. 2022; Tomsa & Bax 2023). Climate governance, in other words, unfolds within struggles over power, institutional durability, and political coordination rather than within a purely technocratic field of policy adjustment. Even so, a crucial sociological problem remains

undertheorized. Institutional design matters, but the durability of long-term climate governance also depends on whether societies can generate support for deferred benefits, shared sacrifice, and obligations extending beyond immediate self-interest.

Research on social trust, social cohesion, collective efficacy, and willingness to bear environmental costs suggests that climate policy acceptance is shaped by more than material incentives alone. Taxes, regulation, and long-horizon ecological commitments become more acceptable where policies are seen as fair, where institutions are trusted, and where collective actors can stabilize norms of reciprocity and shared responsibility (Doyle 2022; Malerba 2022; Schulte et al. 2020; Tamasiga et al. 2024; Thaker et al. 2019). This literature clearly captures the importance of socially organized support. What remains less clear is the broader theoretical language for explaining how such support is formed, stabilized, and translated into durable authority.

That limitation becomes more visible when religion enters the field. In many societies, religious organizations remain among the most durable collective actors linking moral discourse, local networks, civic participation, and public legitimacy. Sociology of religion has increasingly moved away from treating such organizations as unified moral communities and instead analyses them as actors embedded in organizational fields shaped by institutional environments, internal struggles, strategic alliances, and uneven forms of public engagement (Ambrosini et al. 2021; Lundåsen 2021; Wilde et al. 2010). This shift matters for environmental politics because religious organizations may supply ethical framing, mobilization infrastructure, and symbolic legitimacy, while also reproducing caution, fragmentation, or political accommodation depending on field position and institutional interest (Hearn et al. 2024; Kidwell 2020; Koehrsen et al. 2021; Moyer & Sinclair 2022). Ecological commitment, from this perspective, is

not simply transmitted through doctrine. It is organized, negotiated, and sometimes diluted through institutions that are themselves contested.

However, the existing scholarship still explains institutional blockages better than it explains the *social foundations* of durable authority, how long-term climate obligations become collectively binding and politically resilient. Even when trust, cohesion, and moral framing are mentioned, the literature rarely shows how these are stabilized through institutions and translated into authority that can withstand conflict and policy reversals. What's still missing is a framework that clarifies how solidarity is rebuilt and authority is re-directed in practice, not just why policies fail on paper.

Therefore, this study aims to analyze a Neo-Khaldunian framework for explaining those social foundations of climate governance and for guiding institutional design. In practical terms, the paper asks how institutions can rebuild solidarity (*asabiyya*) and reorient authority (*mulk*) toward ecological stewardship, and what that implies for designing governance arrangements that are less fragile, less reversible, and better able to sustain collective ecological responsibility over time. This research matters because a Neo-Khaldunian lens helps explain why even well-designed climate policies keep collapsing when solidarity (*asabiyya*) is weak, and authority (*mulk*) cannot sustain long-term commitments, offering a framework that links institutional design to the social conditions that make obligations durable. The sociological implication is that climate governance should be analyzed as a problem of social order and legitimacy: how institutions organize solidarity, define legitimate sacrifice, and maintain authority amid conflict. So sustainability becomes a struggle to reproduce trust and collective obligation across time, not just a technical policy agenda.

B. METHODOLOGY

This study employs an integrative literature review with a critical interpretive orientation. This design aligns with the aim of developing a Neo Khaldunian framework to explain the social foundations of climate governance, including how solidarity, *asabiyya*, and authority (*mulk)*, can support durable ecological stewardship. The study does not test causal hypotheses through primary empirical data collection, because it focuses on synthesizing contested arguments and concepts into a coherent sociological framework, with specific attention to how Islamic institutions mediate ecological commitments in Muslim contexts.

Data were collected through purposive selection of peer-reviewed journal articles, scholarly books, major assessment reports, and targeted studies on Islamic environmental politics in Indonesia and other Muslim settings. Searches were conducted primarily through Google Scholar, Scopus, and related academic databases, and inclusion was guided by substantive relevance to the article's central problem: the relationship between organised solidarity, authority, and the durability of long-term climate governance. Priority was given to sources that offered strong analytical leverage on climate governance failure, social cohesion and legitimacy, religious organizations as institutional actors, and classical or contemporary engagements with Ibn Khaldun; sources were excluded when they were purely devotional, weakly connected to the argument, duplicative, or overly descriptive. Context-specific materials were included not to provide an exhaustive survey, but to ground the theoretical discussion in a field where religious institutions visibly participate in environmental politics.

Data analysis proceeded through iterative reading, comparison, conceptual grouping, and critical synthesis across four linked bodies of scholarship: (1) climate governance and political sociology (institutional durability, distributive conflict, state capacity, and long-horizon

coordination), (2) social trust, solidarity, and collective efficacy (conditions shaping willingness to bear environmental costs), (3) sociology of religion (religious organisations as contested actors in organisational fields, including legitimacy and mobilisation), and (4) Ibn Khaldun and Neo-Khaldunian interpretations (*asabiyya*, authority, institutional decay, and translation limits). Through this process, the article develops an analytically bounded reading of *asabiyya* as socially organized solidarity. It places it in conversation with theories of authority and institutional legitimacy to clarify how solidaristic capacity can sustain, mediate, or weaken long-term ecological governance. The analysis does not claim a universal model or definitive empirical proof; its goal is to produce a theoretically specified framework that can guide interpretation and inform institutional design.

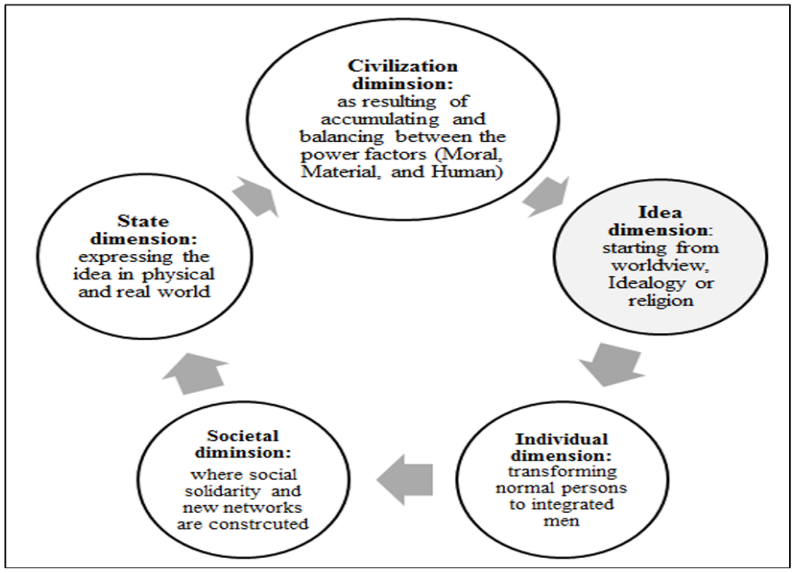
C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. *The Neo-Khaldunian Framework: A Five-Dimensional Cycle of Civilizational Change*

To understand the systemic nature of the contemporary ecological crisis, this analysis is grounded in a structured Neo-Khaldunian framework. This model moves beyond Ibn Khaldun's historical narrative of tribal conquest and sedentarization, offering instead a cyclical theory of civilizational change articulated through five interdependent dimensions. The framework posits that the rise, consolidation, and decline of a social order follows a coherent trajectory, beginning with an immaterial idea and culminating in a material civilizational form, with each stage dependent on the transformation achieved in the previous one. Figure 1 illustrates the new model of the civilizational cycle within the Neo-Khaldunian framework.

Figure 1.

The Neo-Khaldunian Framework



Source: Shehab 2021

The cycle originates in the Idea Dimension. This foundational layer consists of the worldview, ideology, or religious doctrine that provides the initial spark for collective mobilization. It is the source of meaning and the benchmark for values that justifies sacrifice and long-term endeavor (Benlahcene 2011). A potent idea serves as a civilizing catalyst, shaping a group's moral and cognitive landscape. In the Neo-Khaldunian view, the character of this founding idea—whether it promotes solidarity, justice, and discipline, or indulgence, fragmentation, and short-term gain—profoundly determines the trajectory of the entire cycle that follows.

This animating idea then works upon the Individual Dimension. Here, the abstract worldview seeks to transform ordinary persons into what Malik bin Nabi termed 'integrated men' or 'integrated women' (Shehab 2021). This is a process of psycho-ethical formation in which the individual's instincts, desires, and habits are gradually aligned with the higher principles of the founding idea. Through discipline, education, and shared practice, individuals develop a new 'habitus'—a set of durable

dispositions that embody the idea's ethos. The success of a civilization depends on its ability to produce a critical mass of such integrated individuals, whose personal conduct reflects the collective ideals (Mohammed 2024).

These transformed individuals naturally coalesce into the Societal Dimension, where the concept of *asabiyya* (social solidarity) is operationalized. *Asabiyya* is not merely a feeling of kinship but the active, cohesive force generated when individuals united by a shared idea and moral commitment organize into networks, parties, movements, or associations (Hafis et al. 2025). This dimension is where trust is built, mutual aid is systematized, and a collective agency emerges that is greater than the sum of its parts (Amir 2018). The strength and reach of these new social networks determine the group's capacity to challenge existing structures and pursue its objectives.

When societal solidarity achieves sufficient density and power, it crystallizes into the State Dimension (*mulk*). This is the stage of institutionalization and political expression, during which the idea takes on physical, coercive, and administrative forms (Benlahcene 2011). The state apparatus—its laws, policies, economic systems, and diplomatic relations—becomes the instrument for enacting the founding vision in the real world. Authority (*mulk*) is legitimized by its service to the idea and its embodiment of the solidarity that brought it to power. Its function shifts from mere dominion to governance and stewardship, ideally administering justice and organizing collective resources. The outcome of a successful progression through these dimensions is the Civilization Dimension. This represents the mature, complex synthesis and the highest stage of the cycle.

A civilization emerges from the sustained accumulation and, crucially, the balance between three fundamental power factors: the moral (values, knowledge, ethical capital), the material (economic resources, technology, infrastructure), and the human (demographics,

health, skills, and sustained social solidarity) (Benlahcene 2011). A resilient civilization maintains a dynamic equilibrium among these factors, ensuring that material power is directed by moral wisdom and serves human well-being. Decline, from this perspective, is not an external accident but the internal unraveling that occurs when this balance is lost—when material luxury corrupts moral purpose, or when social solidarity fractures, leaving the civilizational edifice hollow and vulnerable. This five-dimensional cycle provides the comprehensive Neo-Khaldunian lens through which the modern ecological predicament, as a crisis of imbalance and failed stewardship, will now be examined (Shehab 2021).

2. *A Neo-Khaldunian Diagnosis: The Civilizational Roots of the Ecological Crisis*

A central pattern in the climate governance literature is the persistent gap between scientific urgency and political action. Eskander and Fankhauser (2020) show that despite over 1,800 agreements, the global architecture remains fragmented and lacks binding enforcement. Wynes et al. (2021) identify institutional quality—particularly the capacity to insulate climate policy from electoral pressures—as the strongest predictor of successful adaptation. However, these studies treat institutional quality as exogenous; they do not explain why some societies develop the cohesion to sustain long-term environmental governance while others do not.

The Neo-Khaldunian lens provides the missing explanation by foregrounding *asabiyya* (social solidarity) and *mulk* (authority). Ibn Khaldun's civilizational cycle holds that *asabiyya*—affection, interdependence, and a willingness to help one another—is forged in shared hardship and erodes with sedentary comfort; authority then detaches from its social base, turning from stewardship to extraction (Irwin 2018; Khaldun 2015; Shehab 2021). Applying this framework to contemporary literature suggests that the implementation gap is not

primarily technical but a symptom of eroded solidarity and corrupted authority at multiple scales. Reports from the IPCC and IPBES consistently note that social foundations—trust, fairness, collective identity—are as critical as technological solutions. Where social trust is high and civil society dense, environmental institutions are more effective and insulated; where trust is low and fragmentation high, even well designed institutions are vulnerable. This pattern points to *asabiyya* as a key explanatory variable, largely treated as background in mainstream climate governance.

Islamic texts introduce a nuanced understanding of how *asabiyya* is constituted and contested. The Indonesian Ulema Council issued a 2011 fatwa declaring illegal mining in protected areas haram (Iskandar and Sofuoğ 2025); the two largest Islamic civil society organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, later released 'green *fatwas*' calling for environmental responsibility (Wahdini et al. 2025). In practice, local religious leaders in mining areas justify extraction on the basis of *maslahah* (public interest) (Alkatiri and Kiwang 2023; Labib 2021; Yunus et al. 2025). *Fatwas* are not self-executing; they gain traction only when backed by institutional infrastructure—schools, preaching networks, funding—and when they align with material interests. This internal divergence is not incidental; it reflects the organizational realities of Islamic institutions as social actors.

From these patterns, five concrete mechanisms emerge through which Islamic institutions shape *asabiyya* and state capacity: networks (dense grassroots membership enabling monitoring and mobilisation), organisational capacity (budgets, schools, media for sustained action), legitimacy (moral authority that makes pronouncements binding), public influence (shaping discourse through sermons and education), and political alliances (ties to state actors, parties, or economic interests). Crucially, the direction of influence depends on internal contestation. Pro-environmental factions are effective when they control institutional resources and can form

cross-cutting alliances; anti-environmental factions gain traction when supported by extractive industries or when they frame regulation as a threat to economic or cultural survival.

The structural deficits documented in the climate governance literature—fragmentation, weak enforcement, short-term political cycles—thus find their civilizational roots in eroded *asabiyya* and corrupted *mulk*. Some observations of absent binding (Brown 2025; Maboudi and Amico 2025; Nota et al. 2025) enforcement reflect the absence of global *asabiyya*; Ahn et al. (2025) emphasis on institutional quality is illuminated by the presence or absence of organized solidarities capable of demanding insulation; Some finding on democratic backsliding (Brown 2025; Hafis et al. 2025; Laruffa 2025; Nota et al. 2025) are sharpened by recognizing that eroded *asabiyya* makes societies vulnerable to authoritarian leaders.

3. The Erosion of Global **Asabiyya** *in an Age of Consumerism and Scarcity*

Ibn Khaldun's model holds that *asabiyya* is strongest under shared hardship and weakens with sedentary luxury. The globalized consumer economy has produced an unprecedented sedentary civilization—transcending national boundaries yet fracturing solidarity along lines of consumption and historical responsibility. Humanity uses ecological resources 1.7 times faster than Earth's regerative capacity, with per capita footprints of high-income countries more than ten times those of low-income countries (Gbadamosi 2025; Wackernagel and Beyers 2019). This disparity shatters any sense of shared identity: the wealthy consume as if the future does not matter, while the poor bear the impacts of desertification, sea level rise, and resource conflict, actively corroding the foundation for mutual obligation.

In Political sociology research, this diagnosis deepens. Brown (2025) identifies the democratization of ecological decision making; Laruffa (2025) shows that democratic backsliding undermines environmental

performance. From a Neo-Khaldunian perspective, these are expressions of the same decay: when *mulk* is no longer grounded in *asabiyya*, it becomes self serving. Where social trust is high and civic associations dense—Scandinavia—environmental institutions are more effective and insulated; whereas *asabiyya* is weak, even well-designed institutions are vulnerable. Global cooperation materials reveal this fragmentation: developed countries consistently fail to meet climate finance commitments (OECD 2022). Environmental justice scholars (Islam and Winkel 2017; Sultana 2022) frame this as "climate coloniality"—the Global North, having built wealth through fossil-fueled industrialization, demands the Global South forgo similar pathways without adequate support. This is authority without solidarity, power without mutual obligation, locking the global community into a suboptimal equilibrium.

Islamic institutions are among the few actors capable of articulating a moral vision of shared obligation that transcends national boundaries. The 2023 Islamic Declaration on Climate Change, issued by a coalition of Muslim leaders, called for a global commitment to phase out fossil fuels, grounding the appeal in shared religious identity. Yet Islamic solidarity is not automatically pro-environmental (Iskandar and Sofuoğ 2025). Counter-narratives abound: Gulf state fatwas prioritizing economic development, and local rulings permitting mining under *maslahah* (Alkatiri and Kiwang 2023; Labib 2021; Yunus et al. 2025). Organisational realities structure these contestations. In Indonesia, national fatwas backed by NU and Muhammadiyah's infrastructure reach millions, but in regions where extractive industries fund local religious leaders, the fatwas are openly disregarded. The pro-environmental faction possesses central organizational capacity but struggles to enforce its authority at the periphery where local material interests diverge. The analytic finding is that the environmental effectiveness of Islamic institutions correlates not with

doctrine alone but with the balance of organisational resources and political alliances among competing factions.

4. The Failure and Potential of Proactive Mulk*: Power, Wisdom, and Ecological Stewardship*

If *asabiyya* enables collective action, understanding how it translates into institutional capacity requires specifying the mechanisms by which it does so. Inductively derived from the reviewed materials, three causal pathways emerge, each mediated by Islamic and other organized actors.

Elite constraint is the capacity of organized social actors to monitor, sanction, and hold elites accountable. Islamic institutions combine moral authority with dense networks. In Indonesia, NU and Muhammadiyah's 2019 campaign to block a mining permit in Java succeeded because they deployed village-level networks, organized mass rallies through mosques, and used direct access to district bureaucrats (Rahmad 2025; Ramadhan 2019). However, elite control is not automatic: in Banyuwangi, religious leaders exerted pressure and took control of the anti-mining movement—due to their financial ties to mining (Alkatiri and Kiwang 2023). Pro-environmental factions constrain elites effectively only when they control the organizational resources—funding, communication, disciplinary mechanisms—to align local practice with central pronouncements.

Fiscal capacity for green investment refers to governments' ability to impose politically painful measures, such as carbon taxes. *Asabiyya* enables this by creating a willingness to bear shared sacrifice. Islamic institutions serve as legitimacy-providing intermediaries. Indonesian green fatwas frame carbon reduction and resource conservation as religious obligations (ibadah), reducing political risk for policymakers (Iskandar and Sofuoğ 2025). Yet contestation matters: where anti-environmental factions dominate, they can block reform. The fiscal capacity for green investment

depends not on the presence of Islamic voices but on which voices gain dominance.

Institutional insulation—independent climate councils, environmental courts—requires *asabiyya* strong enough to defend them against political attack. Some International Climate Change Committees survives because of cross party consensus rooted in long standing *asabiyya*; But also, some Climate Change Authority was defunded where such solidarity was absent. Islamic institutions contribute by framing environmental duty as beyond partisan bargaining. When the Indonesian Council of Ulama issued its *fatwa* on mining, it framed environmental destruction as a violation of divine trust (*amanah*) that cannot be waived by a parliamentary majority. Yet insulation remains fragile: proposals for a national climate assembly in Indonesia have stalled partly because Islamic organizations remain divided on whether such a body represents a foreign imposed model. Insulation is sustained only by durable coalitions of organized actors that can defend it.

Across these mechanisms, the translation of *asabiyya* into state capacity is mediated by organizations that mobilize solidarity, frame it morally, and hold authority accountable. Islamic institutions are uniquely positioned but their influence depends on internal power distribution. The environmental outcome is determined by which faction controls resources—schools, media, networks, political alliances.

5. *Rebuilding* Asabiyya *and Reorienting* Mulk*: Concrete Institutional Designs*

The Neo Khaldunian framework points toward renewal: civilizational decline is not deterministic but can be interrupted through conscious rebuilding of solidarity and reorientation of authority. Three concrete institutional designs emerge from the grounded analysis, each engaging Islamic institutions as contested organizational actors.

Deliberative bodies insulated from electoral cycles, such as independent climate councils, address short-termism. Their sustainability depends on *asabiyya* strong enough to defend them. Islamic institutions can provide this foundation: in Iran, a parallel can be drawn to how religious endorsement mobilised defence of climate law (Adelkhah 2012); in Indonesia, proposals for a climate assembly have stalled because Islamic organizations are divided. The path forward is not to bypass them but to engage them in design, creating formal representation with mechanisms ensuring internal diversity, surfacing contestation rather than suppressing it. The key insight is that insulated bodies succeed when embedded in a web of social institutions—including Islamic ones—that can defend them, requiring design that acknowledges internal religious contestation.

Civic education for solidarity renewal must embed environmental learning within existing solidarity structures—including Islamic schools and congregations—rather than treat it as a parallel secular project. Islamic concepts of stewardship (*khalifah*) and prohibition of waste (*israf*) provide moral vocabularies, but they are contested. Some researche shows how effective the integration program of environmental ethics into *madrasa* curricula (Mahrus 2024; Mu'allim et al. 2025; Muflihin 2026), frames environmental duty as ibadah while teaching students to navigate interpretive conflicts. Evaluation reports show increased willingness to engage in pro-environmental collective action, not primarily from technical facts but because duty was linked to existing religious identity (Indaryani et al. 2023; Sa'id et al. 2024; Siregar et al. 2025). This approach builds *asabiyya* by cultivating capacity to handle moral disagreement within shared identity.

Constitutional commitments to intergenerational justice embed ecological stewardship in foundational law, but they require organized solidarities to enforce them. Islamic institutions can be carriers of enforcement capacity. In Iran, constitutional environmental rights have

been enforced through litigation brought by environmental lawyers working with religious scholars who frame clean air and water as Islamic rights (Adelkhah 2012). However, constitutional design must engage Islamic institutions as contested fields rather than unified actors. Inclusion in drafting processes can make them more invested in defending provisions, but safeguards must prevent capture by anti-environmental factions. Mechanisms that give voice to pro-environmental factions while preventing monopolization of religious representation are essential.

Across these designs, the five mechanisms—networks, organizational capacity, legitimacy, public influence, political alliances—provide a framework. Deliberative bodies should include Islamic representation with internal diversity; civic education should work through existing Islamic educational infrastructures; constitutional processes should anticipate contestation and create platforms for pro environmental factions. The climate governance literature documents structural deficits—fragmentation, weak enforcement, short-term political cycles—but offers few institutional solutions addressing their social foundations. The Neo-Khaldunian framework supplies both diagnosis and prescription: deficits are symptoms of eroded *asabiyya* and corrupted *mulk*, and renewal requires designs that rebuild solidarity while reorienting authority. By taking Islam seriously as a social institution—with its own power structures, resources, and internal conflicts—the proposed designs anticipate contestation and channel it toward institutional outcomes capable of sustaining long term, collective responses to ecological disruption.

The choice, as Ibn Khaldun would have recognised, is between collapse imposed by universal scarcity and a renaissance chosen through shared wisdom and collective action. The institutional resources for renewal—including the contested but potentially transformative power of Islamic institutions—already exist. The task is to design them into governance structures capable of sustaining planetary solidarity.

D. CONCLUSION

This study finds that a Neo-Khaldunian framework explains climate governance as a problem of civilizational order unfolding across five interrelated dimensions: idea, individual, societal, state, and civilization. The analysis shows that the persistence of climate governance failure is rooted in the erosion of *asabiyya* as socially organized solidarity and the corruption of *mulk* as authority that no longer serves long-term stewardship. More specifically, the discussion demonstrates that consumerism, ecological inequality, weak trust, and short-term political incentives undermine the solidaristic basis needed to sustain ecological responsibility across time. The findings also show that Islamic institutions matter not simply as moral actors, but as contested organizational forces whose networks, legitimacy, organizational capacity, public influence, and political alliances can either strengthen or weaken environmental commitment. On this basis, the study argues that rebuilding climate governance requires institutional designs capable of renewing solidarity and redirecting authority, particularly through insulated deliberative bodies, solidarity-based civic education, and constitutional commitments to intergenerational justice.

These findings reflect a sociological insight that climate governance is ultimately sustained not by technical capacity alone, but by the social production of solidarity, legitimacy, and authority across time. One limitation of this study is that it remains a conceptual and integrative literature-based analysis, so the proposed Neo-Khaldunian framework has not yet been tested through systematic empirical investigation in specific institutional settings. Further research is therefore needed to examine how different religious, civic, and state actors in Muslim and non-Muslim contexts actually build, contest, or weaken *asabiyya* and *mulk* in climate governance practice. Sociologically, this study implies that climate

governance should be understood as a problem of social order and legitimacy, where the durability of ecological commitments depends on how institutions organize shared sacrifice, sustain public trust, and maintain collectively recognized authority under conditions of conflict.

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