

Abstract

Established in 1969 in the wake of the Al-Aqsa arson crisis, the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) institutionalized a distinctive mode of Islamic multilateralism: an intergovernmental platform that claims to voice *ummah* solidarity within an international order structured by sovereign equality, territorial authority, and non-interference. This dissertation reconstructs the OIC's political biography from 1969 to 2021 to explain (1) how have Pan-Islam articulations of the OIC shaped, and also been transformed, by the changing context of global politics, and (2) how has the changing Pan-Islam articulations and global political dynamics influenced the institutional development of the OIC. The central claim is that Pan-Islam, as articulated by the OIC, is neither a fixed ideology nor a purely rhetorical posture; it is a continuously reworked discourse through which Muslim-majority states negotiate collective identification, legitimate particular agendas, and manage the contradictions of cooperation under Westphalian constraints. The study employs Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) to examine how meaning is produced, stabilized, and contested across three discursive settings that organize the OIC's trajectory: foundation and early development (1969–1989), reform and realignment (1990–2011), crisis management and global engagement (2011–2021). Across these settings, the dissertation finds that the OIC functions simultaneously as actor, site, and outcome. As an actor, the OIC exercises agency by naming and prioritizing issues in ways that authorize collective action and sustain a shared diplomatic repertoire— most visibly through the institutional centrality of Palestine and through routinized engagement with the UN system, alongside the later turn to Islamophobia advocacy, human rights language, and “technical multilateralism” in development cooperation. As a site, the OIC is a structured arena where member states contest the permissible content, instruments, and limits of *ummah* solidarity under rivalry, regime security, and shifting alliance politics, but are managed through negotiated texts, procedural compromise, and selective boundary-making. As an outcome, the OIC's charters, declarations, and organs are best read as institutional sediments of prior normative struggles—temporary settlements that crystallize contested articulations of Islamic legitimacy, sovereignty, and international expectation, and then condition future claims made in the name of the *ummah*. Taken together, the dissertation repositions OIC studies within International Relations debates on religion and global governance. It shows that the OIC should be analyzed neither as a mere identity symbol nor as a technocratic organization judged only by managerial effectiveness, but as a discursive institution in which Pan-Islam is continuously produced through the interplay of moral vocabulary, bureaucratic design, and geopolitical constraint—revealing both the limits and the durability of Islamic multilateralism in a globalizing *ummah*.