

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

University of 8 May 1945. Guelma

جامعة 8 ماي 1945 قالمة

Faculty of Letters and Languages

كلية الآداب و اللغات

Department of Letters and English Languages

قسم الآداب و اللغة الإنجليزية



OPTION: CIVILISATION

The Impact of the Muslim Vote in the 2024 U.S. Presidential Elections

A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and English Language in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree in Language and
Culture

Submitted by:

Supervised by:

BERKAL Chahinez

Dr. BOUDECHICHE Hamid

MERAH Bouchra Sajida

Board of Examiners

Chairman: Prof. ELAGGOUNE Abdelhak

University 8 May 1945. Guelma

Supervisor: Dr. BOUDECHICHE Hamid

University 8 May 1945. Guelma

Examiner: Dr. DEKHAKHENA Abdelkrim

University 8 May 1945. Guelma

2024-2025

Dedication

“Indeed, with hardship comes ease”

In the name of Allah, with his guidance and blessing, I stand today proud of what I have become and the place I am in, after many years of ups and downs I can finally say I did it...

To my grandfather who is no longer with us, your memory and love always stayed with me, filled me with warmth and pushed me to go on and to never give up, how I wished to have you by my side today couldn't be explained in a couple sentences. This accomplishment and success are yours as much as mine if not more. May your soul rest in peace.

To my sweet family, thank you for your endless support throughout these years, it was a bitter-sweet journey where I had wished to stop many times but not even once did you lose faith in me and always kept encouraging me to do more, to be more and to go higher, it is true that I am nothing without you, and warm hugs to my younger sister, I thank Allah every-day because he blessed me with such a sweetheart to be a part of the family and my number one supporter. I wish to see you in great positions enjoying all what is good in this life because you do deserve it.

To my dear best-friend, your presence in my life is so important that even imagining not having you is unthinkable, you knew me as a teenager, as an adult person and witnessed all my changes and mood swings but you never left me, thank you for filling my heart and soul with happiness. I hope you will never lose your sparkle nor your kind soul.

To the friends I have, in my darkest days you were the light, thank you, I love you.

Berkal Chahinez

Dedication

First and foremost, Alhamdulillah. Endless gratitude to **Allah** for giving me the courage and strength to reach this milestone.

I am deeply thankful to my lovely family—**my father, mother, brothers, grandmother, and aunt**—whose unwavering love and support have been a guidance throughout this journey.

Special thanks to my precious friend for her constant support, kindness, and encouragement over the years. Your presence has made all the difference,

Asma.

To my dear **best friends**, thank you for being by my side through thick and thin.

Last but not least, I want to congratulate myself for finishing this chapter of dedicated learning, growth, effort, and perseverance. This journey was not easy, but every moment mattered, and it has finally come to an end.

I close this long chapter with pride and gratitude, carrying these experiences forward with hope and determination for what lies ahead.

I offer my deepest love and gratitude to my family, friends, and all who supported me.

Merah Bouchra Sajida

Acknowledgments

With Allah's almighty guidance, after many sleepless nights this work is finished.

This research is full of hard work, doubt, and self-discovery moments, as it rose from a simple idea to its final shape. We hope it will be a valuable addition to a large body of research and a source of inspiration for those in need.

Our sincere gratitude to our supervisor, **Dr. BOUDECHICHE Hamid**, for his guidance and support. Your feedback helped build this thesis from the ground to its final destination, your patience and insights played a crucial part in this academic journey, and we will remember this for years.

Special thanks to **Professor EL AAGGOUNE Abdelhak** and **Dr. DEKHAKHENA Abdelkrim** for being our jury members of this work; it is such an honor and a pleasure to defend our dissertation before great academics like you.

Never forgetting to deliver the deepest feelings of respect and love to our teachers, friends, and classmates whom we met in this journey. Now that it is coming to an end, your memories will live in our hearts, laughs, hard times, and even cries will highlight our time together and will be happily remembered.

Thanks to the staff of the English department at Guelma University, who provided a supportive educational environment.

May Allah protect and reward every individual who had a part in this hard work, whether through providing insightful information or moral support.

Abstract

This research investigates the role of U.S. minority groups in shaping the outcomes of presidential elections, with a focus on Muslim Americans. It examines the emergence of the Muslim electorate as a critical voting bloc, emphasizing their demographic growth and increasing political engagement, particularly in swing states. The study also explores the diversity of Muslim voting patterns and how they respond to domestic and foreign policies. It analyzes Muslim voter behavior and priorities in the 2024 election and evaluates how political parties have approached and targeted this community. Using a mixed-methods approach, the research combines quantitative data from national surveys with qualitative insights from policy analysis and campaign strategies. This study also assesses how Muslim Americans are represented politically and measures the influence of their vote. Its primary aim is to determine the impact of this minority group on the outcome of the 2024 U.S. presidential election.

المخلص

تبحث هذه الدراسة في دور الأقليات في الولايات المتحدة في التأثير على نتائج الانتخابات الرئاسية، مع التركيز على المسلمين الأمريكيين. تفحص الدراسة بروز الناخبين المسلمين ككتلة انتخابية حاسمة، مسلطة الضوء على نموهم الديموغرافي وتزايد مشاركتهم السياسية، خصوصاً في الولايات المتأرجحة. كما تستكشف تنوع أنماط التصويت لديهم واستجاباتهم للسياسات الداخلية والخارجية. وتُحلّل سلوك الناخبين المسلمين وأولوياتهم في انتخابات عام 2024، بالإضافة إلى تقييم استراتيجيات الأحزاب السياسية في استهداف هذه الفئة. تعتمد الدراسة على منهج مختلط يجمع بين البيانات الكمية من الاستطلاعات الوطنية، والتحليل النوعي للسياسات والاستراتيجيات الانتخابية. وتهدف إلى قياس تأثير هذه الكتلة الانتخابية على نتائج الانتخابات الرئاسية لعام 2024 في الولايات المتحدة.

Résumé

Cette recherche examine le rôle des minorités aux États-Unis dans l'issue des élections présidentielles, en se concentrant sur les musulmans américains. Elle étudie l'émergence de l'électorat musulman comme un groupe électoral décisif, en mettant en évidence leur croissance démographique et leur engagement politique croissant, notamment dans les États clés. L'étude explore également la diversité de leurs comportements électoraux et leurs réactions face aux politiques nationales et internationales. Elle analyse les priorités des électeurs musulmans en 2024 et évalue les stratégies des partis politiques pour les mobiliser. En s'appuyant sur une méthode mixte, la recherche combine des données quantitatives issues d'enquêtes nationales et une analyse qualitative des campagnes et des politiques. L'objectif principal est de mesurer l'impact de cette minorité sur les résultats de l'élection présidentielle américaine de 2024.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
AMPCC	American Muslim Political Coordinating Council
CAIR	Council on American Islamic Relations
CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
DNC	Democratic National Committee
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GOP	Grand Old Party (Nickname for the Republican Party)
ISPU	Institute for Social Policy and Understanding
ICMAN	Inner-City Muslim Action Network
JCPA	Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
MPAC	Muslim Public Affairs Council
MSA	Muslim Student Association
MuslimARC	Muslim Anti-Racism Collaborative
NOI	Nation of Islam
SPLC	Southern Poverty Law Center
TCJA	Tax Cuts and Jobs Act
US	United States
USCIS	United States Citizenship and Immigration Services

List of Figures

Figure 1:	Refugee Admissions Under Trump.....	58
Figure 2:	Map of the Relocation of the US Embassy.....	59

Table of Contents

General Introduction	1
Chapter One: The Demographics and Political Landscape of American Muslims.....	11
Introduction.....	11
1.1 Overview of the Muslim Population in the U.S.....	11
1.1.1 The National Distribution of the Muslim population.....	16
1.1.2 Rural VS Urban Trends.....	17
1.1.3 The Socioeconomic and Cultural Characteristics of Muslim Americans.....	19
1.2 Political Trends and Engagements of Muslim Americans.....	22
1.2.1 Historical Voting Patterns: From Disengagement to Growing Political	
Participation	22
1.2.2 American Muslim Preferences in Presidential Elections Prior to 2024.....	25
1.2.3 Political Party Affiliation	27
1.3 Factors Influencing the Muslim Vote	30
1.3.1 The Role of Identity and Religious Factors in Shaping Voting Behavior.....	30
1.3.2 The Influence of Key Issues on Voting Behavior.....	31
1.3.2.1 Civil Rights.....	32
1.3.2.2 Immigration	33
1.3.2.3 Foreign Policy.....	33
1.3.2.4 Economic Inequality.....	34
1.3.3 Generational Shifts in Political Engagement and Voting Behavior Among Younger	
Muslims	35
1.3.3.1 Generational Shifts	35
1.3.3.2 Examples of Grassroots Movements	36
1.3.3.3 Impact of Social Media on Political Engagement	36

1.3.3.4 Intersectionality's Role in Shaping Political Identity	36
1.3.3.5 Role of Community Organizations.....	37
1.3.3.6 Challenges Faced by Younger Muslims	38
1.4 Key Muslim Voting Blocs in 2024	39
1.4.1 The Importance of Younger Muslim Voters and Their Increasing Representation.....	39
1.4.2. The Role of Muslim Women and Other Marginalized Groups in Shaping Voting Outcomes.....	41
1.4.2.1. Impact of Muslim Immigrant Communities Vs American Born Muslims.....	43
1.4.2.2 Key Voting Influences: Policy Priorities and Community Mobilization....	44
Conclusion.....	45
Chapter Two: Key Issues Affecting the Muslim Vote in 2024.....	46
2.1. Domestic Policy Issues	46
2.1.1. Civil Rights and Religious Practices	47
2.1.2. Immigration Policies.....	48
2.1.2.1. Travel Bans and National Security Acts	49
2.1.2.2. Refugee Resettlement and Family Reunification	49
2.1.2.3. Border Security and Muslim Immigrants	50
2.1.3. Social Justice Movements and the Muslim Vote	51
2.1.3.1. Muslims' Perspectives on Racial and LGBTQ Issues	51
2.1.3.2. Economic Justice and Muslim Voters	53
2.2. Foreign Policy and International Relations	54
2.2.1. US Foreign Policy Toward Muslim Majority Countries	54
2.2.1.1. The Iran-US Relations	55

2.2.1.2. Saudi Arabia-US Relations	56
2.2.1.3. Afghanistan-US Relations	57
2.2.2. The Palestine-Israel Conflict	59
2.2.3. Global Islamophobia and Anti-Muslim Rhetoric: Impact of Foreign Policies on Muslim Communities	61
2.3. The Role of Islamophobia in Shaping Political Choices	62
2.3.1. The Persistence of Islamophobia in American Politics: Media Portrayal, Hate Crimes, and Political Discourse	63
2.3.2. Muslim Voters' Reactions to Anti-Muslim Rhetoric from Political Candidates and Parties.....	67
2.3.3. Impact of the 2020 and 2024 Presidential Campaigns on Muslim Voter Mobilization and Activism	69
2.4. Mobilization and Advocacy by Muslim Organizations	72
2.4.1. Role of Organizations, and Grassroots Organizations in Encouraging Voter Participation	72
2.4.2. Political Advocacy: Efforts to Amplify Muslim Voices and Demands in Political Discourse.....	75
2.4.3. Partnerships with Other Marginalized Communities and Coalition-Building for the 2024 Elections.....	78
Conclusion	80
Chapter Three: Political Parties' Strategies and The Muslim Vote in 2024	81
Introduction	80
3.1 The Democratic Party's Approach to the Muslim Vote	82
3.1.1 Engagement Strategies by the Democratic National Committee and the Democratic Party.....	82

3.1.2 The Impact of Key Democratic Policies on the Muslim Electorate: Health, Climate, Social Justice, and Civil Rights	84
3.1.3 Notable Muslim American Figures in the Democratic Party	85
3.1.4 Efforts to Address Concerns About Muslim Discrimination and Promote Inclusion.....	87
3.1.5 Stumbling Campaign Attempts to Appeal to Muslim Voters	88
3.2 The Republican Party's Strategy with Muslim Voters	90
3.2.1 Engaging Muslim Communities: Republican Outreach Strategies and the Trump Campaign's Efforts	90
3.2.1.1 Republican Outreach Efforts: Contrasting Views on Religious Freedom, Immigration, and National Security	90
3.2.1.2 Trump 2024 Campaign Outreach to Muslim Communities in Swing States.....	94
3.2.2 The Role of Muslim Republicans in Shaping Party Strategies and Influencing Policy	96
3.2.3 Impact of Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric on Muslim Voters and the Emergence of Muslim Republicans	100
3.2.4 The Role of Prominent Conservative Muslim Voices in Influencing the Republican Party's Stance	102
3.2.4.1 Key Figures and Their Contributions	102
3.2.4.2 Shifts in Voting Patterns	104
3.2.4.3 Challenges and Controversies	104
3.3 The Impact of Social Media and Digital Campaigning	105
3.3.1 The Use of Social Media Platforms to Disseminate Political Messages to the Muslim Community	106

3.3.2 Digital Mobilization Efforts by Political Campaigns and Advocacy Groups.....	108
3.4 Swing States and Key Battlegrounds	109
3.4.1 The Role of Muslim Voters in Critical Swing States	110
3.4.2 Significant Cases of Previous Elections Where Muslim Voters Made a Difference.....	111
3.4.3 Voter Turnout and Impact on the 2024 Results	113
3.5 Outcomes and Implications of the Muslim Vote in the 2024 Elections	114
Conclusion.....	115
General Conclusion.....	117
Works Cited.....	122

General Introduction

In the present era, the US minority communities play an important role in impacting the election cycle, as their voices' influence has become central and important in shaping the political outcomes. The American political landscape has been known for its two-party dominance, namely the Democratic and the Republican Parties. Recent years have witnessed a notable rise in the power of many marginalized groups through their call for justice, and the neglect of the long-lasting shadowing and ignorance, especially as the US's ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds continue to grow and express diversity. One of the major minority groups among these communities are Muslims, who have actively engaged in U.S. politics to increase visibility and representation, emerging as a key voting bloc in presidential elections.

in the context of the 2024 election, issues of immigration, civil rights, and foreign policy have a direct impact on American Muslims. Seeking to overcome the historical and political marginalization, the Muslim community advanced toward active participation and political activism, yet with this evolution, various external obstacles emerged, such as Islamophobia, discrimination, increased surveillance, especially post 9/11 events, and negative foreign policy decisions.

Reports indicate that America has around 4.5 million Muslim individuals, with more than 2.15 million adults, and while they make a modest number their strategic distribution over the country particularly in swing states as Michigan, Georgia and Pennsylvania gives them a ground-breaking effect, for instance Michigan State has a very notable Muslim population who have proved that their ability to seal the deal for a candidate, whether by voting or abstaining. The 2020 presidential elections serve as a particularly strong example of this dynamic as Joe Biden secured the state partially

because of high Muslim support for him and opposition for his opponent Trump, which highlights the importance of the Muslim vote in tightly contested elections precisely.

Historically, African Americans and Latino minorities have received considerable amount of attention and studies when it came to their voting rights, in contrast to Muslim Americans who despite their growing influence and engagement in political matters still face a form of under-representation in the political outreach and scholarly political studies, with very limited analysis and focus on the influencing elements affecting their political preferences, mainly on the levels of discrimination, religion, identity and foreign policy. As the Muslim community is known for its variety, generalizations about their political behavior are challenged by each group's ethnic and cultural background, from South Asian individuals to Arabs and African Americans, and many more. Thus, understanding their dynamics requires a more data-based and issue-focused analysis to fully grasp the potential and trajectory of Muslims as a reflective and decisive voting bloc in 2024.

What makes this subject more important and pertinent is the recent American political state, particularly starting from the 7th October 2023 and going forward. Many Muslim advocacy groups have continuously criticized the Biden administration's handling of the Israel-Gaza conflict, expressing frustration, disappointment and feelings of betrayal toward the president's reaction to the conflict compared to his previous speeches about countering Islamophobia and supporting Muslims which gained him many Muslim supporters and helped pave his way to a series of victories back in 2020.

Movements such as "abandon Biden" show a great deal of discontent with the Biden administration's policies and inconsistencies, wherein its human rights pledge has been violated, demanding A reconsideration of the political loyalty and support, which has gained traction among many American Muslims. On the other hand, the Republican

Party—also known as the Grand Old Party (GOP)—continues to face challenges in appealing to the Muslim community due to its longstanding association with anti-Muslim policies, particularly under former President Donald Trump, whose administration implemented the widely criticized "Muslim ban." Nevertheless, this does not equate to a complete disengagement from the party, as some Muslim Americans, particularly socially conservative families and business owners, continue to align with certain Republican policies.

The 2024 circumstances surrounding the presidential elections could be considered one of the most politically troubling and ideologically inflamed in the history of America's politics. This research delves into many ancient and recent scholarly works and adds new visions and focus to the American Muslims' political engagement and activism. Moreover, it links the shift and transformation of the Muslim voters to other major minority political mobilizations and their potential and effectiveness in shaping the coming 2028 elections and beyond.

To understand the political involvement of Muslim Americans in U.S. politics, it is essential to review the existing academic literature that examines their identity, representation, and engagement within the American political system. This part explores a range of studies, from post-9/11 civic mobilization to voting patterns in battleground states, with special attention to how Muslim voters are positioned in relation to domestic and foreign policy concerns. The literature is organized thematically to highlight key trends, such as rising political awareness, issue-based voting, and demographic influences, including the unique role of Muslim women. By reviewing these works, this chapter will identify the critical gaps, particularly the lack of research focused on the 2024 elections that this thesis seeks to address.

Muslim Women in Political and Social Spaces

This group includes studies focused on the unique experiences, challenges, and roles of Muslim women in U.S. political life. These works emphasize issues like identity, underrepresentation, discrimination, and gendered Islamophobia.

Saleemah Abdul Ghafur has a number of collections under the name of *Living Islam out loud: American Muslim Women Speak*, in which she spoke about the shared experiences of the children of Muslim immigrants and their parents who were brought to America as slaves. She explained the consequences that followed the 9/11 events, as she described it as the alarm that created awareness of the Muslim presence in the West, considering they have been living there for centuries in peace. In addition to the focus on the Muslims' voting behavior and political engagement prior to and post the events.

In their book entitled *Muslim women in America the challenges of Islamic identity today*, Haddad, et al have provided several valuable information, with an overview of the different challenges troubling Muslim women in the US, such as issues of the long lasting marginalization, the underrepresentation in the political mainstream, and discrimination especially against those wearing hijab, with the focus on how much it is difficult to balance and maintain their religious Muslim identity and to secure a place in the foreign and very much secular American democratic system, which serves the American Muslims and the 2024 elections considering it emphasizes on the political engagement and the generational differences under the ongoing hate and sidelining toward Muslims in the country and highlights their development to be a growing electoral voting bloc.

Civic Engagement and Political Mobilization Post-9/11

These works study how Muslims in the U.S. became increasingly politically aware and active after 9/11, using mosques, organizations, and community ties to

mobilize.

In “the political participation and engagement of Muslim Americans: mosque involvement in Group consciousness”, Amaney Jamal argued that only few studies focused on the role of the Islamic mosques and institutions, she emphasized their role in engaging Muslims civically as they serve as a mobilization centers of the political participation of Muslim minorities, as well as fostering an environment that displays group consciousness, offering ground to analyze the Muslims’ mobilization techniques in the 2024 elections.

Likewise, “The American Muslim Voter Community Belonging and Political Participation”, is a work by Ocampo, et al. that assesses the American Muslims’ voting behavior as their visibility stood out more after the attacks of 11 September. It also describes the Muslim groups to be seen as a liability by parties instead of being effective American citizens. The study offers a comparison between Muslims and other minority groups, such as Latinos and black Americans, in terms of closeness to their groups, as he questioned whether Muslims feel more encouraged to vote if they share the environment with their people or not.

Voting Patterns, Party Shifts, and Demographics

These sources analyze voting behavior, shifts in party loyalty, and demographic factors such as race, generation, and ethnicity.

In his work “Changing Sides: 9/11 and the American Muslim Voter”, John W. Ayers argues that the religious beliefs of Muslim Americans do affect their voting behavior, he analyzes the notable shift from Republicans to Democrats focusing on the factors leading up to this shift from foreign policy to domestic issues, especially after the 9/11 events, and the need for future investigation to address closely the role of religious beliefs on the Muslims’ political alignments which serves directly the 2024

election circle amid the war in Gaza.

“The American Muslim Political Participation between Diversity and Cohesion” is an article by Chouhoud, et al. that provides a thorough population study and assessment of the political engagement of American Muslims and the effects of race, ethnicity and gender on their participation. This is due to the fact that each minority group has its priorities, views and preferences within the American Society.

Moreover, the report of Pew Research Center titled “Muslim Americans...”, provides insightful statistics and data on the Muslim members in the US, their economic status, and political views. The report explains that most of the US Muslims are immigrants, and their political participation varies between the younger generations who are more aware and open to change and the older individuals who are more conservative. The research offers valuable information on the Muslim demographics and their electoral potential, especially in key swing states.

Discrimination, Islamophobia, and Political Backlash

These works examine how prejudice, racism, and exclusion have influenced Muslim political choices and activism — particularly in reaction to Trump-era policies.

The article “Beyond Generalized Ethnocentrism: Islam-Specific Beliefs and Prejudice Toward Muslim Americans” by Oskooii, et al. state that the rationalization and mistreatment of minorities in America goes back to the white supremacy mentality against black people from the early ages, it focuses on the racist attitudes toward Muslim Americans and delves into the notable increase of the Muslims’ political engagement as a response to Trump’s policies during his presidency which highlights the neglect of discrimination and exclusion. This is directly related to the discussion of the American Muslim activism during the 2024 presidential race.

In her book *Outsiders at home: the politics of American Islamophobia*, Nazita

Lejevardi provides a detailed examination of the way social and political platforms treat Muslim Americans and explains how Islamophobic perceptions and actions against the Muslim individuals impact their civic participation and political involvement in the US. Based on surveys and media analysis she explains that the mistreatment and bigotry against them highly shapes their political behavior and levels of civic trust, the author argues that racism against Muslims elevates their marginalization in the political context and puts barriers to their engagement in politics. Her book directly links to the thesis as it explains that discrimination not only affects Muslims socially but also hardens their political activism and freedom to express their voices as American citizens.

While these studies and previous ones have addressed the general political participation of Muslim Americans, most of this research has focused on post-9/11 identity formation, mosque-based mobilization, and their increasing engagement in the electoral process. However, there remains a significant gap in analyzing the specific behavior of Muslim voters in the context of the 2024 U.S. presidential elections, which presented new political dynamics such as issue-based protest voting and the visible decline in traditional party loyalty. Moreover, despite the growing presence of Muslim women in civic life, their unique perspectives, priorities, and voting behavior are still underexplored in existing scholarship. This lack of recent, gender-sensitive, and election-specific analysis leaves a gap in understanding how Muslim voters particularly women, have influenced the political outcomes in key battleground states. This study seeks to address these shortcomings by offering a comprehensive and updated examination of Muslim political behavior in the 2024 elections through both domestic and international policy lenses.

This research explores the following questions:

- What is the role of the Muslim American electorate in shaping the outcome of the 2024 U.S. presidential election, particularly in swing states?
- How have political parties, especially the Democratic and Republican parties, strategized to engage Muslim voters in 2024?
- What are the political behaviors, priorities, and concerns of Muslim American voters in the current electoral cycle? How have past and current presidential policies influenced Muslim voting patterns and political engagement?
- To what extent is the diversity within the Muslim electorate represented and understood in U.S. political discourse and campaign strategies?
- What is the socio-political influence of the Muslim vote on national electoral trends and political alignment?

This dissertation encompasses three chapters, aiming to explain and analyze the impact of the US Muslims in the 2024 presidential election, how they voted and what elements affected their participation, it will examine the Muslim communities' response to both major parties' policies, the Muslim voters effect in key swing states, including Michigan and Pennsylvania, with a strong focus on what issues do Muslim Americans value and consider in their civic engagement, which shape their voting preferences such as foreign policy, civil rights...

This dissertation is structured on theories of the political behavior of American minorities and their identity politics, in order to explain the factors and elements influencing their voting trends and political views in the US. The framework of this work shows how the Muslim minority in the country reacts to issues of discrimination, civil rights, and foreign policy, and how Muslims use their voting rights to resist such obstacles and express their needs and concerns.

This research adopts a mixed-methods approach, combining both quantitative

and qualitative analysis. Quantitative data was drawn from national surveys, demographic statistics, and voter turnout records. Qualitative insights were obtained through policy analysis, campaign strategies, and reports from advocacy groups such as CAIR and Emgage. This method allows for a comprehensive understanding of Muslim American voter behavior and their influence in the 2024 U.S. presidential elections.

The first chapter building up this thesis, titled “The Demographics and Political Landscape of American Muslims” provides an overview of the Muslim population in the United States. their size, diversity, and geographic distribution in the U.S. It traces their historical development and growing political visibility. The chapter discusses how events like 9/11 shifted Muslim civic engagement. It also highlights demographic concentration in swing states. This foundation helps explain their emerging electoral influence.

The second chapter, named “Key Issues Affecting the Muslim Vote in 2024”, discusses the key issues affecting the Muslim vote in 2024, including the domestic and foreign policies shaping Muslim voter priorities. It covers civil rights, Islamophobia, immigration, and economic justice. The chapter emphasizes how the Israel-Palestine conflict affected voter sentiment. Social justice movements and anti-Muslim rhetoric are also analyzed. These issues influenced Muslim turnout and political choices in 2024.

The last chapter, “Political Parties’ Strategies and The Muslim Vote in 2024”, offers an analysis of both Democrats’ and Republicans’ current and previous political strategies, along with each one’s outreach efforts to reach the Muslim voters before and during the 2024 presidential election campaigns particularly in swing states, Muslims’ growing dissatisfaction with both parties led to protest voting, and how the Green Party gained traction as an alternative. The chapter concludes by assessing the Muslim vote’s impact in 2024.

This research analyzes the 2024 political landscape and how it helped shape Muslim Americans' political trends, in addition to a comprehensive exploration into their strategic influence on the presidential elections. It offers a substantial comprehension of the US's Muslim minority voting patterns, voter registration, and the evolving political context. It also serves as an addition to the present scholarly contributions about the long-forgotten yet increasingly important branch of America's political studies.

Finally, this work seeks to add to the existing knowledge about Muslims in the US as a minority group and hopes to deliver a proper understanding of this group as a crucial growing political community in the political spheres among the American population.

Chapter One

The Demographics and Political Landscape of American Muslims

Introduction

The Muslim community is gaining more and more interest in the political life in America. The increase of political involvement among Muslim Americans is mainly related to their demographic profile, the socio-cultural factors, and their integration into the American society. A thorough analysis and examination of these different elements, in addition to the Muslim Americans' geographic distribution is crucial for understanding the fundamental causes shaping their political engagement. The growing proportions, increased political knowledge, especially among younger populations, and the very beneficial concentration across the country provide them with a critical degree of influence in the political spheres, particularly in highly contested races.

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the American Muslims' political involvement. It delves into the effects and results of cultural diversity, generational shifts, past immigration patterns, and how they have been influencing this minority's political identity that transformed from disengagement to be more focused on justice, and has an issue-driven political identity. With an in-depth study of the Muslims' voting trends in previous presidential elections, party support, and identity politics, the chapter will deliver a solid background knowledge and understanding of the driving elements of the Muslim voters' behavior in America.

1.1. Overview of the Muslim Population in the U.S.

Muslims in the US play a vital role in the American society, with a significant size that evolved historically through several growth trends, and geographical concentration in specific regions across the country. With such important characteristics and standing against all the challenges, they managed to provide a crucial active

community engagement. The Muslim community in the United States is a group of individuals with different backgrounds, including race, ethnicity, and culture. It represents diversity and an evolving community shaped by historical, social, and political factors.

The initial Muslim presence in the US goes back to the enslaved Africans period, many of whom were literate in Arabic and maintained Islamic practices despite adversity, which preserved their religion through time. As a result of immigration, the establishment of religious and cultural institutions, and due to high birth rates and conversions, Islam has become the fastest-growing religion in the US (Curiel 8; Esposito 12). This community affirmed its existence and importance in public through public activism, education, and interfaith dialogue against all sorts of discrimination and challenges to opportunities.

The growth of the Muslim population has reached "approximately 4.5 million Muslims in the United States", which is over 1.1% to of the total population of the country. This community comprises people from over 200 countries with various cultural and ethnic backgrounds. It is racially divided into 25% Black, 24% White, 18% Arab, 18% Asian, 7% mixed race, and 5% Hispanic. This stands out that the community has seen a notable development in size over the last decades, with a percentage of 3.5% increase annually. As the group continues to grow, projections suggest that this trend will persist into the coming decades, studies estimate that by 2030, the number of Muslims in the United States will rise to 6.2 million (Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies [ASARB]; Pew Research Center, "Muslims in America...").

In the historical context, Muslims are usually considered immigrants, with a significant number of whom arrived in the United States in the 20th century. But in fact,

Muslims have been present in the US for over 300 years. They started to arrive as enslaved Africans to America during the period of the slave trade. It is estimated that 10-20% of enslaved Africans were Muslims (Turner 20). Although African Muslims were a minority, they were more recognized, and slave owners, priests, journalists, writers, and diplomats wrote about them, which demonstrates the early settlement and the crucial role they played in the US. Their contributions were in agriculture, craftsmanship, and cultural influences while maintaining Islamic practices and beliefs, mainly prayers and dietary laws (Curtis 1).

After World War II, the growth of the Muslim community in the US significantly increased due to several aspects, including the change in immigration policies, the post 9/11 era, and high birth rates. However, the change in immigration policies in the United States started with the Immigration Act of 1924 also known as the Johnson-Reed Act, which established strict controls and quotas based on national origins in the US, that were in favor of Northern and Western European immigrants at the expense of immigrants from other origins, banning nearly all countries (Migration Policy Institute, "A Century Later...").

According to Curtis "From 1966 to 1997, approximately 2,780,000 people immigrated to the United States from areas of the world with significant Muslim populations... [and] one demographer estimates that approximately 1.1 million immigrants were Muslim". Congress passed and President Johnson Lyndon B. signed the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 into law on October 3rd, 1965, also known as the Hart-Celler Act, that called off the national origins quotas system and aimed for an equitable immigration system that focused on prioritizing family reunification, skilled laborers, professionals, and political refugees which opened the doors for Asian, African, Latin and Middle Eastern immigrants. This act shifted the US demographics

and played a significant role in creating diversity within the community; the Muslim community hosted a substantial population of immigrants from different countries arriving to the US post-1965, shaping the Muslim population in the country and leading to a notable increase with the establishment of vibrant Muslim communities across the country (Curtis 3).

During the 1970s and 1980s, civil rights movements played a crucial role in encouraging collective identity among different minorities in the US, including Muslims. This period marked a significant transformation in how Muslims perceived themselves and their position in the American society. In response to challenges of discrimination and marginalization, Muslims started to organize themselves more effectively through the active participating in these movements along with other minority groups. They demanded equality, justice, and an end for racial discrimination (Lawson 68). This period also marked a rise in the visibility of Muslims in the American society, which helped in better social acceptance and more interest in Islamic culture. There was an interaction between different religions and establishing alliances for accomplishing mutual interests and corporations. As a result, the “70s and the 80s” were formative years for the Muslim community in the US, this period witnessed significant cultural exchange that led to the recognition of Islam as a vital component in the American religious and cultural landscape (Malinovich).

All these aspects led to the construction of Islamic schools, cultural centers, community organizations, and mosques. These institutions were not only meant for worship, but actual vital centers for education, social services, and preserving culture, which made it easier for Muslim immigrants to blend and engage with the American Muslims as one in the broader societal fabric (SAGE Journals, "Muslims in the United States ...").

Building on the trends established in the 20th century, the 1990s marked an important period for diversity in the community because of the high numbers of Muslim immigrants from countries facing struggles and civil war, such as Somalia, Bosnia, and Sudan. At that time, these new immigrants enriched the cultural structure, struggling with unique challenges in their attempt to blend into the American society. Many immigrants had to navigate the complexities of new environments, often carrying the trauma of displacement and loss from their home countries. As a result, establishing social organizations and support networks became necessary during this period to provide resources and assistance that catered to the specific needs of different ethnic groups, including language classes, jobs, and cultural programs (Pew Research Center, "U.S. Muslims...").

Furthermore, with more visibility of the Muslim community through appreciation of the cultural diversity, opportunities and challenges come. Stereotypes and misconceptions occur through the media especially. In response, several Islamic organizations initiated interfaith dialogues and outreach programs to educate the public about Islam and promote understanding. These historical developments laid the groundwork for the challenges faced by the community in the subsequent decades.

One major factor is the September 11 attacks, the aftermath of which drew attention to the Muslim population, causing hard challenges for the community marked by a sharp increase in scrutiny and discrimination against Muslims, becoming a target for hate crimes, verbal harassment, and systemic discrimination. Because of fear and misunderstanding, conditions for Muslims deteriorated significantly. Government policies, such as the Patriot Act, introduced extensive surveillance measures that affected the Muslim community and immigrants, causing a sense of alienation within the community they consider home (Jawdat).

Despite all these challenges, Muslims showed remarkable resilience and commitment by calling for social justice. Many individuals and organizations put their efforts to stand against negative stereotypes and misconceptions portrayed in media and public discourse, fostering a sense of solidarity with other marginalized groups (Neptune). What is interesting about the post 9/11 era is the heightened interest in Islam among Americans, as many citizens wanted to discover more about Islam and Muslims, which helped present more interfaith dialogues, lectures, community events, and educational initiatives that aimed to promote understanding and fight Islamophobia (Abdullah 2).

Another factor effecting the Muslim population is high birth rates, which can be attributed to a combination of religious beliefs, cultural practices, and demographic characteristics. Culturally and religiously, many Muslim families value family and procreation, as it is encouraged and believed that having children is a virtuous act and a divine responsibility. As a result, large family members are seen as a blessing and encouraged as a crucial part of preserving cultural identity. This value is translated into having more children to ensure families continue to exist and build supportive networks for parents and children. However, demographically, immigrants tend to have higher fertility rates, reflecting their desire for settlement, establishing roots to preserve their cultural ties, and seeking social blending in their new community (Britton; Joanne 29-34).

1.1.1. The National Distribution of the Muslim Population

The Muslim population in the US has been on a steady growth over time, making Islam the third largest religion in the country, with 73% Sunni and 16% Shia, following Christianity with 67% and Judaism with 2.4%. In terms of raw numbers, the states with the largest Muslim populations are New York, New Jersey, and Texas. These

states are considered to have the highest percentage of Muslim residents. Maryland, Michigan, Virginia, and Minnesota contain about 2% of that population. States with notably low Muslim populations below 1.000 residents are North Dakota, South Dakota, Alaska, West Virginia, Wyoming, Montana, and Hawaii (Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies [ASARB]; Pew Research Center, "Muslims in America...").

1.1.2. Rural Vs Urban Trends

The Muslim distribution across the US shows a difference between the urban and the rural areas, which tend to have high populations. Nearly half of Muslim Americans live in the urban areas (46%) and suburban areas (46%), and only around 9% live in rural areas (PRRI). This centralization is influenced by factors such as immigration patterns, social services, and socioeconomic status.

Urban areas tend to have higher population in comparison to other places, where the cities display significantly high Muslim presence with different backgrounds and histories for instance, Queens County, New York (5%), Kings County, New York (4%), Alexandria City, Virginia (4%) and Essex County, New Jersey (4%) (PRRI).

The mixture showcases cultural integration, where they can practice multiple religious rituals. The high focus of Muslims in these areas is caused by multiple reasons, for instance, the immigration patterns where historically the waves of immigration focused on the urban areas because of the availability of resources and support systems, also war fleeing refugees who came from countries like Somalia, Iraq, Syria, and Palestine for similar reasons.

More than that, the economic opportunities attract Muslims to these areas. Generally, large cities offer greater job opportunities in different industries, in addition to the internships provided there, where Muslims run businesses for enterprises, also the

availability of social networks adds to the existing reasons. Cities like New York have many mosques and provide social organizations. The political and social activism in these places is another plus motivating the Muslims to live in the metropolitan areas, with their large numbers, they have a more substantial collective voice and wider chances in being politically engaged to address their civil rights matters, discrimination, religious freedom, and race-related issues.

In contrast, Muslims in areas like Saginaw and Lansing, Michigan; make the smallest percentages, this goes back to issues like the limited economic diversity and job opportunities, the rural areas have fewer diversified industries compared to the urban regions, even though the agriculture, manufacturing and other small businesses could be beneficial, they might not be of interest or attract Muslims who are looking for fancy careers. Moreover, in the rural areas, the existence of mosques, Islamic schools, and community organizations is less compared to the city districts. In 2010, 17% of mosques were found in downtown areas, but in 2020, that figure was down to 6% (ISPU, "American Mosque Survey..."). This decrease is because of the movement of mosques to the urban sides, in which Muslim families find it hard to practice their religion because of the lack of mosques and halal food, unlike in cities like Chicago, where such opportunities are easily found.

Adding to what has already been stated, limited access to education and healthcare resources is a remarkable challenge. The urban regions have high educational institutions, which Muslims gravitate toward to have better educational conditions, where some catholic colleges respond to this influx of enrollment by hiring Islamic chaplains, designating a place for Muslims to pray, and even allowing students to form a Muslim Student Association (MSA) (Cuatower).

The same goes for health and community services. For instance, rural

Mississippi or Alabama do not have the same access to specialized services and resources as those that appeal to the Muslim families in comparison to Washington. DC. Generally, areas with higher Muslim centralization make the Muslim vote impact more effective and noticeable, and also increase their voting participation.

1.1.3. The Socioeconomic and Cultural Characteristics of Muslim Americans

Socio-economic and cultural characteristics are what shape people's lives, including education, beliefs, work, and income. Such aspects facilitate understanding the role of Muslim Americans in the US, what challenges and opportunities they have, and how they contribute to society. The socio-economic disparities among Muslims in the US are very significant. The middle-class professionals have respectful and good living conditions, and they are involved in different sectors, with high payments. This shows how much Muslims are dedicated to their studies and achieving their dreams, considering many have college degrees. The auto industry involves many Muslim cooperators, working as engineers, technicians, and factory workers, in the technological and innovation sector (Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Diaspora Studies).

Dearborn and Ann Arbor represent a powerful point with software development and cybersecurity, with many Muslim entrepreneurs establishing start-up companies and offering job chances. "They also provided centers for the best medical institutions in the world, such as Henry Ford Health System". The Detroit Center has Muslims from Africa, South Asia, and the Middle East who excelled as cardiologists, neurologists, and family medicine specialists. Furthermore, Muslim educators and academics, either from African or immigrant backgrounds, play a crucial role in educational institutions (McCarthy 2).

Florida's tourism industry is one of the largest industries in the US, with significant Muslim contributions, particularly in the operation of hotels, event planning,

and travel agencies. With Florida being a magnet for tourists from all over the world, Muslims caught the opportunity by offering their services, and other individuals have established small businesses like cafes, halal restaurants, and tutoring in Arabic and Quranic studies. The other portion of Muslims mainly refugees, who are living in poverty and hard circumstances, struggling to maintain a suitable life because of limited resources. Approximately 40% of Muslim Americans earn less than 30,000 annually, aligning with the US' poverty and economic struggles (Statista).

The disparities show as well between the inborn American Muslims and immigrants, native-born American Muslims might have more established social networks and resources, which lead to better outcomes; however, immigrants encounter several problems due to their fluency in the English language. The cultural characteristics and practices of the Muslim population in America play a vital role in defining them as society members, presenting unity when it comes to religious practices and festivals like prayers, Ramadan, and Eid, while each group celebrates its heritage, cultural aspects and beliefs, blending Middle Eastern with African and Asian traditions, adding to the cultural diversity of the country. They showcase multiple customs and foods like biryani from India and shawarma from the Middle East. Dearborn, Michigan, is known for its large Arab American and Muslim community, AL Ameer restaurant is a very successful business in the area, LA Shish is another place that helped establish Middle Eastern cuisine in Michigan, which enriched the American plate (BBC Travel, "Dearborn, Michigan"). Besides online stores selling fashionable and traditional clothes, plus halal products, with Muslims who have left their mark in art and literature, such as the Pakistani Mohsin Hamid and his most famous 2007 work *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, which was later turned into a movie (Chicago Public Library).

Despite their notable increase in civic engagement, long-term presence in the

United States, building their lives and homes, and even having the American citizenship, the challenges and obstacles facing Muslims are still prominent, issues of discrimination, stereotypes, racism, and islamophobia especially after the 9/11 events have increased. For instance, women who wear hijab might face harassment and attacks at both the professional level and the social spaces. These challenges not only affect their daily lives but also work as barriers to prevent their participation in the elections through voter suppression tactics, leading to underrepresentation in the government, language access at polling stations, voter ID laws often make it harder as well to participate. However, with every rising challenge, Muslim communities continue their resilience and seize different opportunities for growth and success in the country. Organizations like the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) are working to provide Muslim voters a stance in electoral activities by calling on them to embrace their rights while increasing representation (CAIR, "CAIR-Chicago's 2024 Voter Guide").

As successful professionals raised in these communities in different sectors whether education, economy, or technology, the Muslims' political power is enhancing and becoming more influential, in addition to young people of second-generation immigrants who are more aware of their rights and well-educated, engaging and presenting themselves throughout media, university networks, and civic programs to amplify the Muslims' voices. Whereas, the obstacles still affect these communities in the United States, they continue to build and take every possible chance to be part of shaping the US's political landscape and decision-making policies.

1.2. Political Trends and Engagements of Muslim Americans

Historically, Muslims in America had been politically inactive before 1960, but this changed due to challenges of discrimination, civil rights movements, and the 9/11 events that increased Islamophobia; these communities went from marginal participation to a growing electoral group in the US elections.

1.2.1. Historical Voting Patterns: From Disengagement to Growing Political Participation

Muslims have existed in the US for generations, facing challenges in their civic participation. The lack of citizenship was a prominent barrier, before the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, having American citizenship was based on being a white person according to the naturalization law of 1790, which made it clear that immigrants of color were restricted in the United States (Mount Vernon). While some Muslims from the Middle East and South Asia could have been considered white, they were classified as part of the Caucasian racial category, and they often faced many legal obstacles if they applied for citizenship (Pew Research Center, "A Demographic Portrait...").

The focus on survival in the US was another major challenge for Muslims, as being an immigrant required a lot of effort and responsibilities, many came looking for economic opportunities, considering Muslims were not the only minority in the United States. Still, they were in daily competition with other groups to secure their lives and needs, so this busied them from any civic engagement. In addition to their belonging to a small religious community that was referred to as foreign or “the other”, with beliefs and traditions that made them live in isolation and be a target for discrimination, making it hard to connect with the American Society.

Muslim political organizations serve as a crucial element in political engagement. Before the 60's the Muslim communities were fragmented as they came from different backgrounds, whether Arabs, South Asians, or African Americans, each speaking different languages and following certain religious practices, whether Sunni, Shia, or Sufi. These groups had different approaches to their issues, while many prioritized their religious rituals and worship places, so the political matters seemed as a side interests.

African American Muslims were more engaged; they fought for political rights, black lives' justice while addressing racial discrimination and acts of violence. They established the Nation of Islam (NOI), which was founded in Detroit in 1930. The NOI was led by Elijah Muhammad, who emphasized racial separatism and self-sufficiency. the movement gained traction in the 1960s with figures like Malcolm X promoting black nationalism and armed self-defense. Malcolm, as a member of the NOI, emphasized black pride and rejected white supremacy; his strong stance against persecution and racial bias encouraged Muslims to join the activism. "He condemned systematic racism and advocated for self-defense, urging his followers to fight against oppression by all means necessary. This message galvanized Muslims to engage actively in the civil rights movement" (Gavin 206).

The abstract of the "Where Cassius Clay Ends, Muhammad Ali Begins" article suggests that Muhammad Ali was another iconic figure in the NOI movement. "The famous boxer used his fame and platforms to fight inequality and injustice, embraced his religious Islamic roots and after he refused to be dragged with the American military into the Vietnam War in 1967, he became a symbol of resistance shifting media narrations from negative views to celebrations, as he reclaimed his identity as Muhammad Ali and neglected any slave name reflecting broader changes in America"

(Townsend, et al).

The announcement of the immigration nationality act in 1965 opened doors for more immigrants from the Middle East, South Asia and Africa to settle in the US which resulted in a systematic growth of the Muslim population in the country over the decades, these immigrants and their descendants became more aware of their rights and the political challenges which made them more engaged in the civic and social landscape.

Later on, America witnessed a rise in the Muslim political organizations that advocate for the Muslims' rights. The Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) and the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) "fought anti-Muslim sentiments and encouraged individuals to defend their civil liberties" (Love 37-53), through this kind of associations that provided support, Muslims started participating in the elections and voting for candidates that called for religious respect and advocated for justice.

Post the 9/11 events, the American Society became more aggressive towards Muslims imposing strict laws and alerts, the USA Patriot Act stipulated strict security on Muslims which led to constant questioning and profiling that raised Muslims' concerns about their rights and political engagement, despite section 102 of the Act that condemned discrimination; "its implementations have often resulted in civil rights infringements for Muslim Americans and a rise in hate crimes and Islamophobia" (Musabji and Abraham 83). These results led Muslims to participate more and be more politically active to defend their rights and prevent the challenges from accelerating, more individuals gained political offices. Surveys show that American Muslims report higher political participation rates compared to the general public, "with many engaging in both conventional and non-conventional political activities, with many young Muslim Americans getting more involved and demanding better political representation" (Ayers

and Hofstetter 3).

1.2.2. American Muslim Preferences in Presidential Elections Prior to 2024

In the 2008 presidential elections between Barack Obama and John McCain, the Muslim voter turnout was significant, with 64% of Muslim citizens who registered to participate in the elections with almost 92% in favor of Obama and only 4% to McCain, these results supporting Obama were mainly because of his policies and statements that aligned well with the requests and interests of Muslims, he promoted unity and portrayed himself as a representative of all American citizens with no bias toward any religion, race or ethnicity (Pew Research Center, "Section 5..."). He engaged Muslims in his speeches by mentioning their contribution to society over the years, as well as condemning the hate crimes and discrimination against them, especially after the 9/11 events, he stated: "I reject discrimination against Muslim Americans" (NBC News, "Obama...").

Another main aspect of his political journey is that he strongly opposed the Iraq war and described it as a rushed decision without a straightforward reason, but rather political ambitions, and criticized the then-senator Hillary Clinton on her support for the US military invasion. Obama's opponent, however, while not directly stating her anti-Muslim stance, criticized some Islamic groups (Miller).

In the 2012 presidential elections, according to the CAIR reports, the Muslim voter registration marked a notable increase with 500,000 participants, 68% of the results in favor of Barack Obama against Mitt Romney (CAIR, "American Muslim..."). Although his efforts were less pronounced compared to his previous campaign, Obama continued his support for Muslims through addressing pertinent issues and rejecting the anti-Muslim rhetoric and prejudice. The Muslim support for the candidate was also led by the Republican Party's stance against Muslims. The Grand Old Party's (GOP) reject

of Muslims only increased with many figures making aggressive remarks on the Muslim communities. Newt Gingrich a member of the GOP viewed Islam as a violent religion and portrayed Sharia laws as a threat to America, Romney who was their representative was not far behind, his stance on the Middle Eastern conflicts, particularly Iran- Syria is the key point in which he was concerned about Israel's security and Iran's expansion that he worked to prevent (Bollier).

In the 2016 elections between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, Trump had suggested banning Muslims from entering the US and that the Muslim communities should be under surveillance which was referred to as a security measure, especially after the attack on California that was reported to be done by a Muslim couple, his policies sent fear among Muslims in the country and many organizations claimed this act as prejudice against Muslims behind political matters (BBC News, "US Election 2016"). This rhetoric only encouraged discrimination and Islamophobia, the CAIR reported that hate crimes knew a dramatic increase during 2015 and raised to 44% in 2016, so the Muslim voter turnout was mostly in support of Hillary Clinton, especially in key states, with 66.4% for Clinton and only 5.4% for Trump, in Michigan and Pennsylvania recorded that Clinton received 81.5% of the Muslim votes while Trump gained only 2.3% (Human Rights Watch, "Hate Crimes Against Muslims in US Continue to Rise in 2016"). However, while many supported the candidate, some were hesitant because even though she addressed Muslim communities and engaged with them, her foreign policy and military decisions concerning the Middle East elicited suspicions about her intentions and fears of future consequences.

After four years, in the 2020 presidential elections between Donald Trump and Joe Biden, Biden won the majority of the Muslim votes, his promise of repealing the Muslim ban and encouraging diversity in the US with outreach and engagements with

these communities through commitments to limit discrimination and Muslim intolerance secured Muslims backing in his path to the presidency. Another significant point to Biden's support is that his opponent Trump continued his hostile and stereotyping behavior toward Muslims describing them as terrorists and his plans for the ban expansion to include more Muslim countries reinforced his anti-Muslim stance.

The 2020 elections knew a considerable Muslim voter turnout with rate of 71% which is a 2% increase compared to the 2016 elections with 69%, this change primarily occurred due to the mobilization campaigns by advocacy groups such as Emgage that launched a million-man campaign, mostly in key states with leaders using different methods to encourage Muslims to participate, such as phone calls, messages and even organizing events in mosques and other gatherings with key figures as Rashid that layup and Ilhan Omar (Emgage, "The Million Muslim Votes Campaign").

1.2.3. Political Party Affiliation

Before the 2000s, Muslim communities were more focused on local issues, such as religious practices and financial stability, also the lack of a united nation and advocacy groups kept them sort of scattered, so they did not identify with any specific party, but they showed a slight shift toward the Republicans because of the party's conservative values, with some business policies that set well with the Muslim investors. In the 2000 elections, Muslims favored the candidate George W. Bush, mainly because of his outreach efforts to Muslims and Muslim leaders.

The American Muslim Political Coordinating Council (AMPCC) recognized Bush's intentions and willingness to be supportive of Muslim Americans and his commitment in ensuring religious freedom and diversity in America. He also opposed discrimination and racial categorization, portraying himself as a person who respects all faiths and religions (SoundVision.com).

“Estimates suggested that over two-thirds of Arab and Muslim voters supported Bush, with particularly high turnout in Florida when 90% of Muslim voters backed him” (Haddad, "Muslims in U.S. Politics" 91–102). Even more, the Muslims’ alignment with Republicans, along with the GOP’s conservative view, is that they were not considered yet as a targeted minority that could affect the US’s politics, so with Bush’s policies and his efforts to gain their support, Muslim communities took a step toward Republicans.

After the September 11 events; the Republic politicians’ anti-Muslim rhetoric increased, highlighted by Donald Trump who publicly declared his hate and prejudice toward Muslims, after the attacks at one of his media conferences, he accused Muslims of celebrating after the planes’ crash, he stated: “I saw people getting together and in fairly large numbers celebrating as the World Trade Center was coming down” (FactCheck.org). His speech declared Muslims a threat, followed by his ban policy, and many right-wing political figures who associated Islam with terrorism and presented high levels of Islamophobia. The GOP’s reaction to Bush’s announcement of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, justifying the invasion with claims of weapons and terrorism and the hypocrisy of supporting oppression under the guise of promoting democracy had alienated the Muslim voters even more and raised their criticism of the foreign policy measures of the Republican Party (Hirsh).

American Muslims’ concerns about their civil rights violations, especially after the increased harassment post-9/11 and the Republicans’ anti-Muslim behaviors solidified by the Patriot Act, pushed them to find representation among Democrats. Obama’s campaign in 2008 and his friendly approach to Muslims as he refused to refer to them as terrorists and emphasized that attacks should not be blamed on religion and there should be respect for all religions and diversity in America, also his opposing the

combat in Iraq at the time made Muslims sway their support toward Democrats. The party's policies aligned well with the needs of Muslims, addressing issues of unfair treatment, social justice, and accountability based on logical claims, as well as refusing Islamophobic statements and declaring the act as a humiliation toward individuals. Key historical documents reveal the party's commitment to civil rights goes back in time, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which aims to eliminate racial discrimination (National Archives).

Democrats have repeatedly advocated for immigration rights and strongly opposed the Muslim ban and its impact on the Muslim immigrants. The party backed the Dream Act, which indicates supporting young immigrants in the US as refugees (American Immigration Council, "The Dream Act..."). Furthermore, it worked to mobilize modern voters through grassroots campaigns, encouraging Muslims to vote. While the majority of Muslim voters gravitated toward democrats, some conservative Muslims still support the GOP for matters of family, religion, and the neglect of the growing LGBTQ+ community considering the party is known for its emphasis on these values. For instance, Zahoor Gire, a co-founder of the Muslim Americans of Texas mentioned that "American Muslims share conservative Republican values", in addition to Some young entrepreneurs who preferred what the party offers in its economic policies and support for free market (VOA News, "In Historic Shift...").

However, the support of Muslim Americans for Democrats throughout the years came to an end just as it did with Republicans. The party's foreign policy decisions especially their support for the genocide and mass killing of thousands of innocent Palestinians at the hands of the Israeli forces where the president and the Democratic member Joe Biden and his fellows referred to the war as self-defense, and provided military aid to the invasion, this continuous support for Israel led Muslims in the US to

rethink their support for Democrats. Feeling failed and turned down by both parties. However, Muslims leaned more toward the independent party and supported the third-party candidate Jill Stein who called for a ceasefire and stopping the US's military aid to Israel, this candidate gained a lot of support in her campaign especially from young Muslims, indicating the rise of a third party among Republicans and Democrats and a shift in the political engagement of Muslim communities in the United States (CAIR, "CAIR 2024 Election Survey").

1.3. Factors Influencing the Muslim Vote

Muslim voting behavior is shaped by identity politics and religious factors. Driven by key issues including civil rights, immigration, foreign policy, and economic inequality, and how generational shifts influence this behavior in a way that represents the community in the US.

1.3.1. The Role of Identity and Religious Factors in Shaping Voting Behavior

Identity politics can be defined as political or social activities that gather groups or individuals due to their racial, ethnic, or religious similarities, this solidarity aims to seek justice and equality, standing against oppression and discrimination that a group faces because of their differences within a broader society, in addition, to challenge and eliminate stereotypes and misrepresentation of a particular group (Encyclopedia Britannica).

In the context of the Muslim community, Muslims have always faced these kinds of challenges, especially after the 9/11 attacks, when many policies have been implemented. Including the Muslim Ban of 2017, introduced by Donald Trump, as well as the Patriot Act of 2001, justified by connecting Muslims to terrorism, and Islamophobia. As a result, they considered identity politics as a means to stand up as a unit against these hardships and support each other, which creates a sense of belonging

and togetherness. Mainly, Muslims translate their shared religious identity into political behaviors, such as voting, by relying on Islamic principles like justice and communal welfare that imply the necessity for engagement in the civic frame as a moral obligation. For instance, Muslim leaders invoked the Quranic injunction in the verse: "Stand firmly for justice, even if against yourselves" (4:135), to support policies or decisions that address poverty, healthcare, and racial equity. Also, religious institutions play an essential role in strengthening these connections. Mainly, Mosques host voter registration drives, referring to electoral participation as an act of worship, which shapes voters' behaviors. This cooperation influenced the electoral outcomes when Muslim voters united to stand for candidates who called for civil rights and justice and their policies if aligned with Islamic principles (CAIR-Ohio, "CAIR-Ohio ...").

In previous elections, Muslims have proven their important influence on the electoral outcomes while preserving their religious identity. A Pew Research Center study assumed that 68% of the American Muslims reported that their religious beliefs significantly influenced their voting decisions in the 2008 elections. Barack Obama's campaign involved an outreach strategy to engage Muslim voters and emphasize important values for Muslims, like family and community, and seeking social justice, which helped in countering the negative portrayal of Muslims in the media and politics (Pew Research Center, "Muslim Americans...").

1.3.2. The Influence of Key Issues on Voting Behavior

Key issues like Civil rights, immigration, foreign policy, and economic inequality faced the Muslim community in the US and had a significant influence on their voting behavior and candidates' support preferences. As Osman A. Hassan explains: "Many Muslim voters prioritize issues like civil rights, immigration, foreign policy, and social justice. These concerns, shaped by experiences of discrimination and

political exclusion, have led to increased political mobilization and calls for fair representation and protection of their rights” (Hassan). This reflects how the interaction with political leaders and outcomes can push Muslim voters to overcome silence and demand inclusion, as seen in rising political engagement initiatives.

1.3.2.1. Civil rights

According to Tushnet, “Civil rights attached to people simply because they were people; they were the rights one had in a state of nature, such as the right to personal freedom of action, the right to life, and the right to select and pursue a life plan” (Tushnet 1211). Discrimination, racial profiling, and limitations on freedom of speech are severe barriers that face US Muslims. For instance, African Americans represent 25% of the Muslim population and have been mainly affected by racism, they alter the political activity of the group. This kind of discrimination drives them to support candidates who call for civil rights and sign anti-discrimination policies. The Black Lives Matter movement confronts the brutal actions of the US police and systemic racism against African Americans. This movement has seen substantial support from Muslims who can relate to this kind of racial discrimination and struggle to find justice (ACLU, "Anti-Muslim Discrimination...").

Limitations on freedom of speech also play an important role in political engagement and voting behavior. Hate speeches and discriminatory rhetoric used during political campaigns against Muslims created fear and hostility alongside the negative effect on their safety and sense of belonging, as a result, Muslims are more likely to vote for candidates that encourage freedom of speech and take a strong stance against hate speech and discrimination. As an example, The Council on American-Islamic Relations tackles civil rights issues, providing legal support and advocacy for Muslims who face discrimination, with efforts to fight against hate speech and preserve the rights

of Muslim individuals in the United States.

1.3.2.2. Immigration

Muslims have a long history of immigration as many of them are immigrants either from African, Arab, or South Asian countries, either they are immigrants themselves or children of immigrants, which makes immigration policies and reform a significant concern among Muslim Americans as it directly affects their lives. The Muslim Ban of 2017 by Donald Trump that restricted travel from Muslim-majority countries disproportionately affected Muslim families in Syria, Iran, and, Yemen, this Ban led to a voter turnout in 2018 and 2020 that became an opportunity for political activism to support candidates who opposed this biased policy and advocated for more inclusive immigration policies. For example, in the 2020 presidential election, Muslims have chosen candidates who promised to cancel the ban and implement more humane immigration reforms (Pew Research Center, "Behind Biden's Victory...").

1.3.2.3. Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is a critical issue for American Muslims, especially the Palestinian conflict. Muslims often criticize mainstream political parties that took no action toward the situation, as a result, it led Muslims to support political parties and candidates who stand for Palestinians' human rights and criticize those who support the Israeli policies. In addition, the humanitarian crisis in Yemen and the political issues in Kashmir also played a crucial role in shaping voting behavior by supporting policies that call for support and solutions to these international issues. The Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU) stressed that foreign policy concerns can shape the political engagement of Muslims in the United States by supporting what aligns with their religious trends (ISPU, "Winning Muslim Votes").

1.3.2.4. Economic Inequality

Muslims in the US face economic challenges, including unemployment and underemployment. According to a report by the Economic Policy Institute, Muslims' average income is 20%, that is lower than the national average. Means that the poverty rate among Muslims is 29%, compared to 12% nationally, and 17% of Muslim workers are working in low-wage jobs. Additionally, a percentage of 33% of workplace bias is because of religion or ethnicity. On the other hand, student loan debt affects 45% of Muslim Americans under 40 years (Pew Research Center, "A Demographic Portrait...").

These kinds of economic issues that Muslims experience in their social life in the US are driven by inequality that affect their voting behavior, and lead them to support candidates that address economic justice and want to change the policies of income inequality. Additionally, economic issues like job opportunities and social well-being are other reasons for shaping voting behavior, because of economic asymmetry, and low income, Muslims prioritize affordable housing and healthcare, while middle-class voters focus on small-business support and student debt erasing.

However, Community organizations such as the Muslim Anti-Racism Collaborative (Muslim ARC) highlight the economic differences within the Muslim community and campaign for policies and reforms that aim for economic justice. As an example, in the 2020 election, 68% of Muslims backed Biden for his platform on economic equity. Economic inequality also is a significant issue as Muslims are a multiracial community with ethnic disparities, with 42% of African American Muslims living in poverty compared to 25% of Arab Muslims, which creates differences in preferences among Muslims as African American Muslims would prioritize racial equity reforms (Center for American Progress).

1.3.3. Generational Shifts in Political Engagement and Voting Behavior Among Younger Muslims

The United States is going through a rapidly transforming era, whether it is political or social, the younger generation of Muslims is engaging more in democracy. Unlike the older generation that experienced the post-9/11 era which was a challenging period and different immigration assimilation, the younger generation that grew up with digitals surrounded by climate crises and racial discrimination is developing a new political identity by emerging Islamic values, and change-driven activism, prioritizing intersectional justice while taking advantage of the use of social media platforms for mobilization, and challenge traditional perspectives. In comparison, the older generation of Muslims prioritizes immigration reforms and religious freedom, while the younger generation focuses more on structural inequities.

1.3.3.1. Generational Shifts

Generational shifts refer to all the changes and differences in political attitudes, behaviors, strategies, and priorities between older and younger individuals of a community shaped by shared historical experiences (Heys).

For Muslim Americans, it involves:

- Secularization: The younger generation does not fully consider religious identity as a priority in political engagement.

- Progressivism: Believing in change and progress for improving society, mainly through movements like Black Lives Matter and Healthcare Reforms.

- Digital Mobilization: Using social media and grassroots organizing instead of traditional institutions like mosques and community centers.

1.3.3.2. Examples of Grassroots Movements

-Muslim Youth Leadership Council (MYLC): Organizes climate strikes and police reform rallies, partnering with groups like Sunrise Movement.

- Voter Drives: Organizations, like Emgage target college campuses, registering more than 15,000 young Muslim voters in 2020.

The generational shifts have taken many paths in shaping the political engagement and voting behavior among younger Muslims through social media, intersectionality, and community organizations, alongside several challenges faced by this category (Hopkins).

1.3.3.3. Impact of Social Media on Political Engagement

Social media platforms have become a powerful tool with an impact on political engagement. In platforms like Instagram and TikTok, the use of hashtags (#) in social media campaigns has made political engagement a lot easier and facilitated for people to share their opinions. In the context of Muslims, according to a Pew Research Center report from 2021, 69% of American adults use social media to contribute to political discourse, and younger users between the ages of 18 to 29 are the most active users (Pew Research Center, "Social Media..."). However, in 2020, there was a campaign launched by Emgage named #MuslimVote that succeeded in mobilizing young Muslim voters through Instagram and Twitter which increased voter turnout in the elections in that year, other examples are #DropTheBan which was against the Muslim Ban of 2017 and #FreePalestine dominated young Muslim online spaces (Emgage, "Million Muslim Votes 2020")

1.3.3.4. Intersectionality's Role in Shaping Political Identity

Intersectionality is a critical view that the different aspects of a person's identity, including race, ethnicity, gender, age, and class cannot be separated but interact with

each other, creating unique experiences and challenges (Collins 3-5). For Muslims, challenges always existed along with their existence in the US, so that young Muslims navigate complex identities by trying to balance their religious beliefs with their racial and ethnic backgrounds, and that intersectionality shapes their political identity and voting behavior through the way they engage with political and social issues.

For example, a Muslim woman of African American descent may face racial and sexual discrimination and also Islamophobia, which leads her to support policies that address these forms of challenges. Young Muslims' engagement in political activism and representation increased compared to older Muslims, relying on their intersectional identities to advocate such inclusive policies (JSTOR, "Negotiating Muslim Youth Identity"). In New York, young Muslims are responding to Islamophobia through civic engagement and college student associations. These intersectional experiences shape their voting behavior through supporting candidates and policies that address social justice, anti-discrimination and inclusivity (Bacchus).

1.3.3.5. Role of Community Organizations

Community organizations shape the political identity and voting behavior of young Muslim Americans by providing platforms for civic engagement and social support. These organizations address the unique challenges faced by young Muslims, such as Islamophobia, discrimination, and the importance of representation, while fostering a sense of belonging and empowerment.

Organizations like the Inner-City Muslim Action Network (ICMA) focus on social justice issues such as poverty, violence, and racial inequality. For instance, on college campuses, Muslim Student Associations provide platforms for students to explore and engage in political discussions, organize events, and promote social justice, which is an issue for the community (The Nation). By engaging in activism based on

community organizations, young Muslims can navigate their political identity and support policies that promote equity and justice, which shapes their voting behavior by supporting candidates and policies that align with their values.

A study by Manjeet Manjeet Kumar highlights the importance of community organizations in political engagement. This study explores how identity politics and intersectionality impact voting behavior and influence election outcomes. The findings assume that these community organizations are extremely important in mobilizing young Muslim voters and reforming their political identity (Kumar).

1.3.3.6. Challenges Faced by Younger Muslims

Muslims always face specific challenges and barriers that prevent them from getting the same full experience as the majority group in the US. Issues like discrimination, misinformation, and generational divides highlight the main sufferance of this particular group and impact the voting behavior and political identity of these young Muslims.

Discrimination is always a significant challenge to political participation for young Muslims. Because of Islamophobia and racial prejudice, young Muslims feel discouraged from participating in political activities (OSCE). According to a Newcastle University study, Islamophobia has a paradoxical effect on young Muslims; a part of them gets motivated for political activism, while others feel pushed away from it. This paradox can lead either to affect voting behavior negatively or reduce political engagement for young Muslims (Newcastle University).

Another barrier is misinformation and disinformation; some campaigns can restrict the political experience of these young Muslims by spreading false information that creates a sense of confusion and distrust in the political and social environment (Transforming Society).

A report published by USC mentioned that misinformation can threaten democracy by spreading doubt among voters and undermining public trust, which results in discouraging young Muslims from participation in these activities and leads to marginalizing their voices as effective members of the community (USC).

Also, these challenges include Generational divides; younger Muslims have various political views and priorities compared to older generations, which contributes to substantial misunderstandings, misinterpretations, and conflicts (IDEALS).

All these kinds of barriers have a combined effect that results in lowering voter turnout and shaping their political identity. Such practices of discrimination, like voter ID laws and polling place distributions, harm minority communities and mainly young Muslims.

1.4. Key Muslim Voting Blocs in 2024

Key Muslim voting blocs in 2024 are driven by different demographic categories within the Muslim community, young Muslims and their importance with their increasing representation alongside the demands of Muslim women and other marginalized groups within the community, while addressing the impact of Muslim immigrants in comparison to American-born Muslims.

1.4.1. The Importance of Younger Muslim Voters and Their Increasing Representation

The new generation of Muslims is more open to progressivism and difference than the older generation, as in 2024, the year of elections, young Muslims have shown great engagement in the political process, profoundly shaping the political landscape. A notable increase during early primaries and local elections, which is instigated by grassroots organizations and data collection agencies, making the process easier. However, social media campaigns were pivotal in the mobilization of young voters by

promoting creative and resonant content on platforms, mainly TikTok and Instagram (CAIR, "The CAIR 2024 Election Survey").

The CAIR 2024 Election Survey suggests that economic issues are a high priority for young Muslim voters. Additionally, a strong demand for unprejudiced foreign policies in regions like Palestine, Kashmir, and Yemen. Civil rights and racial justice remain critical issues, with demands for resolving Islamophobia, systemic racism, and policing practices. Data from the survey reveals a substantial shift in party loyalty among younger Muslims, expressing disappointment in particular policies of the Democratic Party, and showing interest and support for third-party candidate. Specifically, 59.7% planned to support third-party candidates in the 2024 Presidential election, reflecting the desire to represent their specific concerns and issues, especially on social justice and foreign policy issues. Moreover, the survey highlights a striking opposition to the Democratic Party's performance, with 94.4% of opposition among participants. Besides, 94.5% disapprove of Congress's performance (CAIR, "The CAIR 2024 Election Survey").

The War in Gaza was the first concern for Muslims, as the way of handling the situation in the area triggered dissatisfaction among young Muslims with 98% disapproving of the approach of the Democrats. In the survey, there is an intense doubt about the tendency to choose which party to support in controlling the Congress, with 55.4% responding by ensuring, highlighting the need for more education and engagement among the voters. Furthermore, social media activists put their efforts into enhancing political engagement and raising social consciousness among young Muslim voters, contributing to their strong representation and influence in the 2024 elections. This high turnout among young Muslims and direct policy priorities shows their importance in shaping the political landscape, emphasizing the need for candidates to

address their specific concerns to secure their support (McCaw, Robert S. et al; CAIR, "CAIR Exit Poll...").

1.4.2. The Role of Muslim Women and Other Marginalized Groups in Shaping Voting Outcomes

Women in general have always been marginalized in any community or society, specifically Muslim women who face multiple types of discrimination, including gender-based bias and Islamophobia, often facing challenges in workplaces, wage gaps, and threats related to religious freedom, such as hijab bans. Even though, Muslim women have proven their capability to stand against these kinds of challenges by shedding light on figures who did not let society keep them silent and break the barriers, for instance, Ilhan Omar, the first Somali American elected to Congress, Rashida Tlaib, the first Palestinian American woman to serve in congress and Linda Sarsour who is also of a Palestinian origin, she is an American activist known for her work for civil rights and social justice, these women played an important role in inspiring women to engage politically and seek representation while advocating for political participation among them. Their efforts also encouraged women to run for office and brought attention to the issues regarding Muslim women voters (European Web Site on Integration; SAGE Journals, "Muslim Women...").

Women in the United States have become an increasingly important segment of the Muslim electorate. Since Muslim Americans are roughly evenly split by gender, it is reasonable to estimate that Muslim women number approximately 1.7 to 2.25 million in the US (Pew Research Center, "A Demographic Portrait...").

With their strong presence in advocacy and public discourse, they are not only voters but also community leaders. Muslim women have been central to voter mobilization campaigns, particularly in key battleground states. Their participation is

motivated by a range of concerns from civil liberties to healthcare and social justice, making them a driving force in shaping Muslim political identity in the U.S.

They generally put the issues that impact their lives as a priority, which includes reproductive rights, healthcare policies, equality, workplace discrimination, and religious freedom. Additionally, the issue of hijab bans in workplaces and schools is considered a violation of personal freedom, so they seek for protection to their religious freedom and respect for their rights as individuals (ACLU, " Discrimination Against Muslim Women...").

However, in recent elections, Muslim women have demonstrated distinctive and evolving voting patterns that often diverge from those of Muslim men. Studies and voter surveys suggest that Muslim women are more inclined to support progressive candidates, driven by a combination of social justice concerns, family welfare, and community development priorities. Their political choices are often influenced by religious values centered on compassion, equity, and social responsibility. Moreover, as caregivers, educators, and professionals, Muslim women are particularly attuned to issues like healthcare, education, childcare, and anti-discrimination protections. These concerns make them more responsive to candidates who advocate for inclusive policies and address the intersectional challenges faced by both their gender and faith identities. (Pew Research Center, "In Many Ways... ").

While women are a marginalized group, there are also African American Muslims and Latino Muslims. African American Muslims, a group that had a long history of racism and discrimination both from the broader society and within the Muslim community, which shaped their preferences in the political process (The Atlantic). African American Muslims have been an active group in calling for social justice and equal civil rights, they worked to approach topics such as police brutality,

mass incarceration, and economic inequality as an important contribution to the political landscape and seeking an equal society (Muslim Advocates, "Black Muslim Lives Matter").

Latino Muslims on the other hand, a growing demographic group in the Muslim community, faced challenges related to civic status, immigration, language problems, and cultural integration that caused unique challenges through discrimination and economic inequality in the society, factors that shape their political engagement and preferences in the elections are supporting policies that indicate immigrant rights, language access and social integration to ensure their voices are heard and their needs are important as well as any other group in the American society (CAIR, "Why So Many Latinos ?").

This increased representation of these groups and their engagement in the political landscape through diverse perspectives calls for their needs to be considered in shaping policies that meet the justice and equality they are striving for as citizens and members of society.

1.4.2.1. Impact of Muslim Immigrant Communities Vs American Born Muslims

In the 2020 presidential elections, Muslim registration was significant with high support for the Democratic Party, which shows unity and strong participation. However, voting patterns among these communities could differ from Muslim immigrants to inborn Muslims depending on their priorities and circumstances. Historically, immigrants marked low participation levels compared to the other groups, this resulted from multifaceted challenges, such as language barriers that enabled them to express their thoughts and perceptions, discrimination, and Islamophobia which made them feel like they did not deserve to be vocal about their rights, and the limited knowledge of the country's electoral system. In contrast, inborn Muslims tend to have higher turnout due

to their environment that offers civic education in schools and institutions (Emgage, “‘Million Muslim Votes’ Campaign Voter Turnout Report (2020)”).

1.4.2.2 Key Voting Influences: Policy Priorities and Community Mobilization

Both Muslim immigrants and inborn US Muslims have key concerns and interests, immigrants tend to focus more on citizenship, foreign policy decisions that could affect their home countries, especially refugees, concerns about immigration and deportation policies, economic security, and demanding better representation in the government to highlight their contribution to the society and limit forms of discrimination. On the other hand, inborn Muslims focus on broader issues, such as civil rights and social justice, including the Black Lives Matter movement, job opportunities, and healthcare access. They also seek participation in the decision-making and protection of their rights as citizens.

In the 2004 elections, many Muslim immigrants showed support to the Republican Party and George W. Bush with 21%, while only 8% of the US-born Muslims voted for the Republican candidate. This remarkable difference derives from the Republicans’ policies and conservatism that gravitated and encouraged Muslim immigrants (Pew Research Center, "Muslims in America..."). Different mobilization strategies play a vital role in influencing the voting patterns of each group, immigrant Muslims often leverage their ethnic backgrounds to form solidarity networks, enhancing their visibility and voice and the broader society (Moss 155-160). Mosques and cultural organizations foster a sense of belonging and a form of support for these communities through hosting events with leaders, encouraging political participation by providing civic education about parties and what they advocate for and voting procedures. While inborn US Muslims lean more toward organizations, activism groups, and social media to imply their voices and concerns.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Muslim Americans make an essential part of the American politics, their demographic characteristics give them high political value, from the educational civic programs to the development of schooling and upbringing of the younger generations and the strategic distribution the Muslim historical accompanied with the generational shifts only proves a larger and greater minority liberation and empowerment in the United States. The evaluation and assessment of previous voting trends shows bias and a tendency toward Democrats driven by social justice, civil rights, and foreign policy. Yet, the complex nature of the Muslims' political conduct continues to be impacted by internal diversity.

The coming chapter will focus on the domestic and international policy concerns that may have potential consequences on the Muslim voters' choices in the 2024 presidential elections by detailing the social and political grounds of Muslims as a political group.

Chapter Two

Key Issues Affecting the Muslim Vote in 2024

Introduction

The 2024 US presidential elections are considered to be a turning point in the political landscape for Muslims, and comprehending the issues that affect their voting behavior is essential for understanding the overarching political process. Domestic policy, including civil rights, immigration, and social justice, represents an important function in molding the different choices and preferences of the Muslim community in the United States. However, the aftermath of Donald Trump's presidency was characterized by Islamophobia, discriminatory policies, and negative rhetoric towards Muslims, which has affected the political engagement of the Muslim community. On the other hand, Biden's administration has made some progress concerning these issues, but many challenges remain, especially the issues regarding the Muslim population.

This chapter explores the critical domestic policy issues that influenced the Muslim vote, examining the ramifications of civil rights and religion, immigration policies, and the intersection of social justice movements with the political engagement of Muslims. Examining these factors throughout this chapter helps us better understand the evolving sentiments within the Muslim community and their perspective on the political process.

2.1. Domestic Policy Issues

Domestic policy plays a vital role in swaying Muslim Americans' choices and preferences, while civil rights, social justice, and immigration issues have been a major point in the previous elections, the 2024 political landscape displays new raising challenges under the Biden presidency, understanding how these policies and their implementation on the Muslim communities in the U.S is crucial to grasp and analyze

the Muslim voter sentiment in the approaching presidential elections.

2.1.1. Civil Rights and Religious Practices

One of the key concerns of the US Muslims in 2024 is the freedom of religious practices, with various adversities facing them. Donald Trump's total Muslim shutdown policy and the surveillance of Muslims and Islamic institutions, such as mosques, with his long history of anti-Muslim beliefs, contributed to fostering an intolerance of Muslims in the country, where they live in a hostile environment. Hate crimes and bias have only escalated over the years, according to an FBI report religious hate against Muslims has surged significantly since his presidency, with 99% between 2015 and 2022 (Raiyn). However, these statistics can only capture limited proportions as behind-the-scenes crimes remain unrevealed. The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) teaching tolerance project shows that 90% of their school environment was affected, and 80% of social workers and students reported elevated levels of anxiety, fear, and concerns about their lives, children, and families (Southern Poverty Law Center).

Many Muslim women face discrimination in their daily lives especially about their clothes, according to the American Civil Liberties Union 69% of women wearing hijab encounter hate crimes in workplaces, they are treated with inferiority and disrespect by colleagues and clients, poorly paid compared to other workers, and hardly get promotions as well as Muslim girls in schools who are restricted from wearing hijab and often called out with inappropriate names, accusations and even get attacked (ACLU, "Discrimination Against Muslim Women...").

Biden's responses to the increased hate crimes and Trump's policies against Muslims are somehow prominent, in his first day as president, he rescinded the Muslim ban, his journey is highlighted by calls for action against prejudice and bias, he also encouraged encountering anti-Muslim and anti-Arab hate as he referred to it as

unacceptable, he stated:“ Muslims and Arabs deserve to live with dignity and enjoy every right to the fullest extent along with all of their fellow Americans” (Reuters). As a step forward, his administration implemented a new plan to prevent domestic extermination, however, it still raised Muslims’ concerns about their safety considering it includes new programs similar to the CVE or the Countering Violent Extremism programs that address violent extremism in communities, encompassing policies that intend to prevent individuals in the United States from engaging in terroristic actions, these programs mainly stated that attacks come from religious and ethnic groups, directly targeting Muslims with constant profiling and accusations of suspicious actions behind religious practices with claims of individuals are under risk if following any religious beliefs (Department of Homeland Security, et al).

The continuation of the programs and the funding of others were put under the excuse of trying to detect danger, which added more tension to Muslims and projected light on the unsolved safety issue.

2.1.2. Immigration Policies

The American immigration policy highlights the national politics of the country, with continuous controversies and discussions about security, national identity, and immigration laws, which have been influencing Muslims in the US in many ways, whether they are native-born or refugees. Travel bans, family reunification issues, the strict border regulations, and procedures for the refugees are the main areas where immigration law changes have directly affected these community members’ lives and experiences, shaped by each presidential administration respectively.

2.1.2.1. Travel Bans and National Security Acts

During his presidency, Trump issued a Muslim ban in 2017 for many Muslim countries such as Syria, Iran, and Yemen (Roallos). The denial of visas led to the separation of Muslims and their families back home, spreading fear and isolation among them, whether immigrants or residents, and the threat of deportation set off their alarms. This ban was in effect until Joe Biden became president and resigned it on his first day in office in 2021, promising a more inclusive immigration system but was faced with bureaucratic delays for visas because of Trump's policies which made Muslims wait for the application approval, especially refugees even after years later, which made some Muslims feel Biden did not do enough for them even though some appreciated the act (International Refugee Assistance Project).

2.1.2.2. Refugee Resettlement and Family Reunification

Trump's restrictive refugee policies lowered the number of refugees allowed in the US from 50,000 in 2017 to 45,000 in 2018; 30,000 in 2019; 18,000 in 2020, and 15,000 in 2021, to be the lowest ever since 1980. These limitations denied many refugees from Syria, Yemen, and Afghanistan entry to the US and enabled reunification for many families. "After facing criticism for keeping the same numbers, Biden raised the cap to 125,000 for 2022 but the resettlement process was slow" (Roy). Especially for Afghan refugees who came seeking citizenship and asylum in the US after the American army's withdrawal from their country, the US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) were overwhelmed with 44,785 applications for parole from 2020 to April 2022 and only processed 2,633. On the other hand, Palestinian refugees have been largely ignored entry despite the atrocities and conflict happening in their homeland which made Muslims think that Biden failed to address and aid the Muslim communities (Aherrbach).

2.1.2.3. Border Security and Muslim Immigrants

“Section 208 of the Immigration and Nationality Act states that everyone physically present in the United States has the right to request citizenship and asylum if they fear for their safety or freedom due to their race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, group affiliation, or political opinion in a particular social group”. Despite this, Trump’s administration implemented policies that restricted asylum for everyone from the Mexico border and reinstated the ‘Remain in Mexico’ policy which forced individuals to wait in the state until their demands were processed, causing many problems for these people, human rights monitors compiled over 1,5000 violations against those people including many Muslim refugees (WOLA). The enforcement of stringent immigration policies complicated the atmosphere even more, as it states that people who are undocumented or failed to provide proper paperwork are suspicious and could be considered criminals, specifically targeting Muslims from Africa and the Middle East who came seeking asylum but were denied (American Immigration Council, "After Day One").

Biden’s approach to these policies could be described only as a mixed one, while he reversed some restrictions, other border policies were kept, with the implementation of new ones, such as a shutdown for illegal border crossings, reinforcing the Mexico border with troops in 2023 (Politico, "Biden’s Troop Deployment"). And conducted deportations for thousands during his presidential journey with millions of deportations, including Muslims from Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, and Egypt... (Migration Policy Institute, "Biden's Deportation Record").

Overall, some of Biden’s policies were appreciated over Trump’s but held minimum effect against the previous policies and for Muslim benefits, while they saw them as an improvement, the slow process in addition to the new policies made some

feel disappointed and shifted away from the Democratic Party, and with fear of a new Trump legacy and his promises to reimpose the ban once he took charge in 2024 alarmed Muslim voters and resulted in seeking better representation in third party candidates.

2.1.3. Social Justice Movements and the Muslim Vote

The diversity of the Muslim population in America is shaped and highly affected by matters of race, ethnicity, economic status, social norms, and beliefs, which have also impacted their political choices and preferences. Social justice movements, policy changes, and their consequences, in addition to some internal debates and the economic policies regarding healthcare and taxes in the country, which influenced their political alliance and led to two-faced results with division and support among the Muslim communities.

2.1.3.1. Muslims' Perspectives on Racial and LGBTQ Issues

The Black Lives Matter movement played a major role in influencing the Muslim contribution in the past elections, in 2024, Muslims started evaluating Biden's policies and whether he successfully delivered on his previous promises focusing on police reforms, such as the George Floyd Justice Policing Act in 2020 which aims to increase police accountability and prevent the use of force and racial profiling on individuals, such as restricting the use of no-knock warrants and chokeholds, "I promised the Floyd family among others that George's name is not just going to be a hashtag, his name is going to be known for a long time", Biden said during remarks at the White House, where some of Floyd's family members attended. "As a nation we're going to ensure that his legacy and the legacy of so many others we remember today—it's not about their death, but what we do in their memory that matters" (CBS News).

The executive order also instructs establishment of a national database tracking federal officer misconduct that allows local and state agencies to enter their records too, and directs the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services to create best practices to promote wellness of officers (CBS News).

The president also signed a restricted for violent reduction and ordered law enforcement members to wear body cameras to promote trust in the law, however, “the bill was transferred to the Senate, and despite his urging, negotiations between democratic and republican senators ended in refusing it”, this made black Muslims, Muslim advocates, and supporters feel failed by the president (DePree).

Trump has publicly expressed his criticism and inferior thoughts toward black Muslims and movements, such as Black Lives Matter, as he wondered why the protesters were not just shot, and described their activities as a symbol of hate (Diamond). He referred to the members as thugs and anarchists, he said: “B.L.M. Protesters horribly harass elderly Pittsburgh diners, scaring them with loud taunts while taking their food right off their plate”, Trump tweeted “These Anarchists, not protesters, are Biden voters, but he has no control and nothing to say. Disgraceful. Never seen anything like it. Thugs” (Beer).

In addition to his Law and Order rhetoric which is an expression and a belief that offers a similar campaign to Richard Nixon’s slogan in 1968 that has historically been used as a promise to suppress black communities, Donald Trump repeatedly declared himself as a law and order candidate, his stance only fueled his racist and Islamophobic feelings and pushed black Muslim voters away from Republicans, enforcing their historical preferences and tendency for democrats (Waxman).

However, there was a division between the movement’s supporters with conservative Muslims being hesitant to go fully Democrats, this stemmed from concerns

about the movement's interactions with some Progressive causes like the LGBTQ+ community as mentioned in the abstract of the Black (Muslim) Lives Matter: African American Muslim Social Activism's article by Riccioni Jacob C (Riccioni). While some Muslims embraced the view of the Democratic Party, others felt disconnected from it and Trump's opposition to the growing community somehow appealed them but his anti-Muslim behavior remained a key barrier that led to internal disagreements within the Muslim community and advocates of the movement.

2.1.3.2. Economic Justice and Muslim Voters

Economic justice remains a key concern for Muslim Americans, and has shaped their political engagement for years. The challenges facing them are still an issue with forms of job discrimination, low payments, and unequal access to medical services.

According to a 2021 survey, civil rights, jobs, and healthcare are the main focus of Muslims when supporting a candidate. Many Muslim business owners are affected by the economic policies, and "research indicates that these businesses can thrive under supportive economic policies" (Noland 1). Muslim entrepreneurs have a significant contribution to the US economy through institution building and wealth accumulation (Jeffries).

When it comes to Biden's policies, they aimed to foster economic equity, potentially benefiting businesses by securing an equitable share of sources, and proposed raising wages to \$15 an hour a day (PBS News, "How Economists See Biden's \$15 Wage Proposal"). And expanding healthcare access through the Affordable Care Act (ACA) to ensure that all Americans have equal access the services (PMC). Whereas, Trump has always called for tax cuts for businesses as a catalyst for economic development and progress, and introduced the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA) that reduced the corporate tax rate from 35% to 21%, which aimed to enhance America's

economy, with high earners benefiting from the act, while low and middle-income individuals paid lower taxes with the opportunity to save more (Tax Foundation).

However, the act opposed expanding welfare programs, it reduced federal revenues which makes it challenging to fund or create other programs, this did not sit well with many Americans including Muslims as they would face higher taxes once the Act expires in 2025 as many tax cuts are temporary (PMC).

As a result, low-income Muslims leaned more toward Biden, favoring his policies on wages and healthcare, while business owners likely support Trump's tax policies, which display diversity among Muslims depending on their priorities.

2.2. Foreign Policy and International Relations

Considering there are Muslims in the US from Middle Eastern backgrounds and have ties to majority Muslim countries, foreign policy has always shaped their political engagement and voting patterns by influencing public opinion and policy preferences. The 2024 policies make a central point in dictating Muslim voter attitudes, from military interventions to the multifaceted relations with Middle Eastern nations and the support for the Israeli persecution and assault on Palestine. While both Biden and Trump have different arrangements and approaches to these issues, they were criticized for their way of handling the situations, which influenced Muslim communities to shift their participation and political support.

2.2.1. US Foreign Policy Toward Muslim Majority Countries

The US policies on war terror, especially after the 9/11 events, accompanied by diplomacy and foreign aid, shaped directly the Muslim views of the country's foreign policy, including its relations with Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Afghanistan.

2.2.1.1. The Iran-US Relations

In 2018, President Trump withdrew the United States from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPA), which is an agreement between Iran, China, France, Russia, the UK, the US, and Germany to ensure Iran's nuclear weapons are kept under control and are used for peaceful purposes (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action). He called it a horrible one-sided deal that should never have been made, as it failed to prevent Iran from continuing to produce weapons and support terrorism. As he stated, "We cannot prevent an Iranian nuclear bomb under the decaying and rotten structure of the current agreement. The Iran deal is defective at its core. If we do nothing, we know exactly what will happen: in just a short period of time the world's leading state sponsor of terror will be on the cusp of acquiring the world's most dangerous weapon" (Sen).

Also, Trump's administration reimposed sanction on Iran aiming to affect its energy, finance and to reducing oil exports his actions made Iranian American Muslims angry, "as the imposition of sanctions was seen as a punitive exacerbating feeling for disenfranchisement within the community" (Galbraith 22). And increased skepticism among Muslim Americans regarding the US intentions as many view it as a continuation of a hostile stance toward Iran and by extension the Muslim community (Sinovets and Gergiera 23).

Biden's administration used dual and mixed approaches in the US and Iranian relations while maintaining indirect diplomacy. While he strongly criticized Trump's exit from the JCPA, promising to re-enter the union and build a stronger and even more effective deal, he kept sanctions on over 600 sanctioned individuals who are believed to be responsible for Iran's human rights abuses (Mousavizadeh, "over 600 sanctions").

"Many Muslims view his diplomatic efforts as an improvement in the US foreign policy and a step to strengthen relations", however, the distrust remained due to

past policy measures (Mazrui 493).

2.2.1.2. Saudi Arabia-US Relations

Trump has very close ties with Saudi leaders, especially the crown Prince, Muhammad Bin Salman (MBS), who was the first foreign leader to visit him as president. The relations continued to grow with intensifying closeness between their families. In 2017, they signed an arms deal worth over \$300 billion, which only shows how many partners both leaders have, with the kingdom becoming a major Ally in the Middle East (Hare).

Saudi Arabia was criticized many times for human rights violations with arrests of activists, surveillances over websites blogs, and chat rooms, and restricted any criticism about the leader, his family, or his policies (Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2023: Saudi Arabia"). The murder of the journalist Jamal Khashoggi stands as the most significant case of these violations, he was known for his criticism of Muhammad Ben Salman and his government and was killed in the Saudi consul, in Turkey, at the hands of Saudi operatives in 2018, the US intelligence report found that the prince approved the assassination (Richardson). This raised widespread criticism and anger among Muslim Americans that they called for Action concerning the matter, which Trump simply ignored.

In his democratic debates in 2019, Biden claimed that he would hold them accountable for their horrifying crimes, saying:” We were going to, in fact, make them pay the price and make them... the pariah that they are” (Emmons, et al). His words were meant to solidify his stance on fighting for justice. However, after he was elected his administration kept seeking closer relations with the country for oil security purposes and continued providing arms sales even though the crimes never stopped, as “Amnesty International reported that Saudi Arabia executed 44 people in the first 11

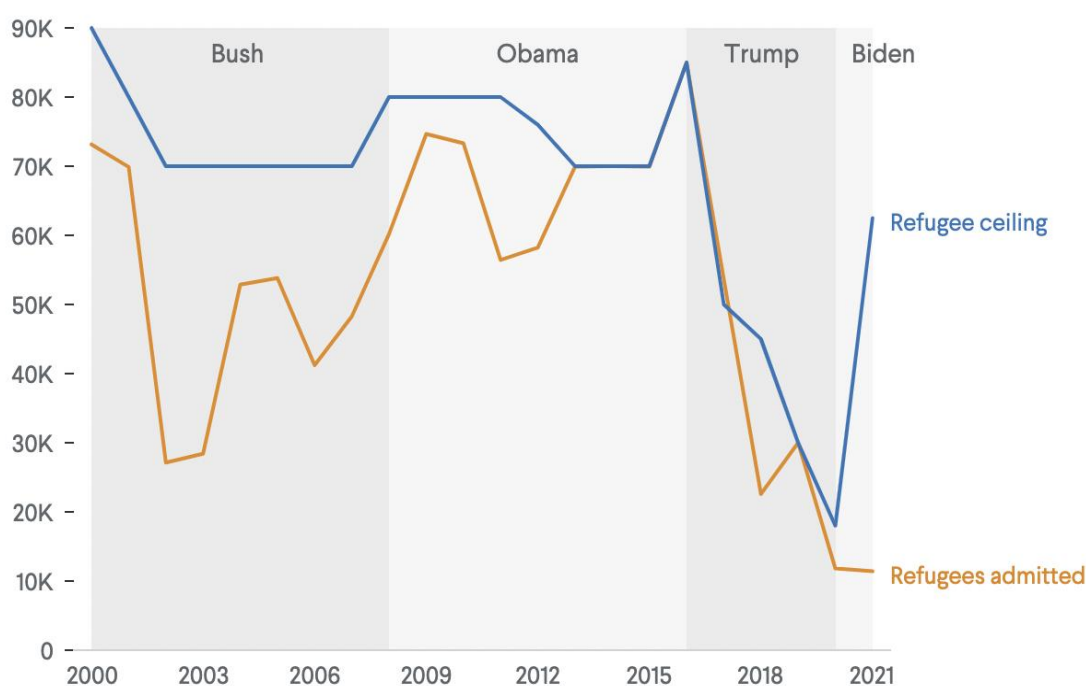
months of 2022, including individuals from Shia minority” (Bandow). Which only proved the country’s hostility toward minorities with no intention of suppressing these actions from the American foreign policy. Muslim Americans expressed frustration over Biden’s forgotten promises, prioritizing economic matters over human rights, on top of the lack of a cohesive strategy, which left many Muslim Americans feeling disillusioned with US foreign policy as they viewed it as inconsistent and often detrimental to the Muslim interest (Jamil). Only adding to their disagreement with Biden.

2.2.1.3. Afghanistan-US Relations

Donald Trump opposed the US intervention in Afghanistan and worked to find a clear exit from the Afghan lands; in the 2020 Doha agreement, he had a major role in negotiating deals between the Taliban and the US (Hussaini). He said: “It had been a long journey for the American troops, it’s time after all these years to bring our people back home”, and encouraged the Taliban’s involvement in the area instead of America (BBC News, "Afghan Conflict").

His efforts led to troop withdrawal from 30,000 to 2,500 by January 2021, this withdrawal was seen as giving power to radical Muslims and linked Muslims to terroristic actions which led to increased Islamophobia, in addition to the thousands of Afghani refugees who sought asylum in the US and were referred to as criminals and terrorists, which only increased even more the anti-Muslim sentiment in the country.

Refugee Admissions Plummeted Under Trump



Sources: Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, U.S. Department of State; Migration Policy Institute.

COUNCIL on
FOREIGN
RELATIONS

Fig. 1. “Refugee Admissions ...Under Trump.” *Council on Foreign Relations*, 2021.

This agreement was made by the United States government and that means something, this was Biden’s statement on the withdrawal of the US troops from Afghanistan to give the Taliban full control as he announced after becoming a president the full and final withdrawal on August 30, 2021 marking it by mentioning: “It is time to end the forever war” (House Committee on Foreign Affairs). Muslim Americans’ reactions were mixed, with some feeling relieved that the war ended, and some worried about the humanitarian crisis and human rights violations by the Taliban in Afghanistan. The retreat has become a continuous political issue with implications for how Muslim Americans view the motivations behind the US foreign policy, potentially leading to increased skepticism towards government narratives ("US exit from Afghanistan could hold valuable lessons").

2.2.2. The Palestine-Israel Conflict

The Palestine-Israel conflict is a long-standing issue that goes back for decades, and the suffering of Palestinian individuals has consistently impacted Muslims in the US due to cultural, religious, and human rights concerns. The US policies regarding the issue are questionable, and have significant role in framing the Muslim voter turnout, especially in swing states and their view on America's support and commitment for justice and peace.

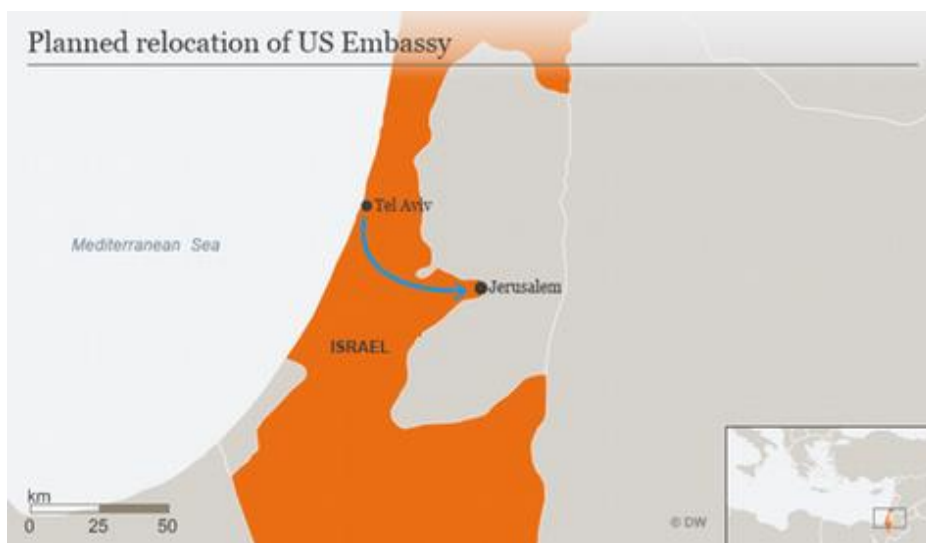


Fig. 2. Relocation of the US Embassy. "Jerusalem US Embassy Inauguration Divides the City." *DW*, 14 May 2018.

Throughout his tenure, Trump recognized Jerusalem to be the capital of Israel as he asserted: "Jerusalem is Israel's capital, this is nothing more or less than recognition of reality" (Baker and Kershner). With the promise to relocate the US embassy from Tel Aviv to the new capital in 2017, which he fulfilled in May 2018 (The White House, "President Donald J. Trump Keeps His Promise"). In 2020, his administration had a key role in facilitating and laying the ground for the Abraham Accords, a series of agreements to normalize diplomatic relations and recognize Israel by some Arab countries, his efforts were notable in "providing the UAE access to the advanced military equipment as the F-35 fighter jets and recognizing Morocco's sovereignty over

the Western Sahara” (Zeidan-7). These actions were deemed as a statement of the US support of Israel and a disregard for the Palestinian’s rights, which made Muslim voters feel like their interests were overlooked and dismissed.

While Trump referred to the Abraham Accords as a step toward peace, many criticized that there was no war between the members to begin with, “and many Muslim American voters expressed apprehension that the Accord sidelined the Palestinian issues, exacerbating intentions and undermining prospects of a two-state solution” (UHED 31). And Trump’s alignment with Israel throughout his presidency made him an excluded option for Muslims. For instance, in the 2020 elections, particularly in Michigan he received limited support from Muslims, with the majority leaning toward his opponent (Emgage, *The Million Muslim...*,8). As Trump remains an unavailable option in the 2024 elections with his hostile and anti-Muslim history and unwavering pro-Israel stance further pushing them away from the Republic party.

The Muslim voters have supported Democrats for years due to several interests, including human rights protection and justice, that was expected from Biden as a president concerning the Palestine- Israel conflict, he consistently expressed support for a two-state solution, and the Palestinians should have their independence to keep peace and security for both nations (Petti). This helped him gain considerable Muslim support, especially in swing states, for instance in Georgia, he won around 12,000 votes and 81,000 votes in Pennsylvania in 2020 (Emgage, *The Million Muslim...*,26).

Unfortunately, his verbal claimed support contradicted his actions as the US military aid continued and reinforced the US- Israel Alliance, this strong support was highlighted during and after the attack of October 7th, 2023, where the Biden administration delivered over \$17.9 billion of military assistance since the start of the conflict with Hamas including missiles, artillery shells, and bombs, all under the excuse of Israel’s

right to defend itself and Hamas is the primary aggressor (PBS NewsHour, "Biden Administration Notifies Congress ..."). This only increased Muslims' anger with his policies from backing the genocide to the Palestinians ignored rights and sacrificed souls. As a result, voters shifted their support from the democratic party, expressing a disconnect with its stance with Israel, and fears of future electoral turnout that could lead to decisions that affect them as Citizens (Mogahed and Selod).

2.2.3. Global Islamophobia and Anti-Muslim Rhetoric: Impact of Foreign Policies on Muslim Communities

The US foreign policy has always affected the world's view of Islam and Muslims, with policies limiting their freedom and accusations declaring Muslim countries as a threat and a source of terrorism to other nations, not only contributing to rising Islamophobia worldwide, but also affecting American Muslims as well (Yazdani 38). This has been evident on many occasions and after the 2023 Gaza war in particular, leading to an increased anti-Muslim rhetoric, which intensified stereotyping, hate crimes, and more. Trump has applied several foreign policies during his previous presidency that portrayed Muslims as a threat which only elevated islamophobia, Xenophobia, and racial perception of Islam, such as his Muslim ban policy and the announcement of withdrawing from the JCPOA and the reimposition of sanctions on Iran demonstrated it as an opponent for his country and a risk to the world's peace, which put the country under the scope of the world and increase negative perceptions of Muslims and Shia specifically (Stroop, par.1-2). Moreover, he always worked to promote arrangements with anti-Muslim leaders, characterized by policies of anti-Muslim sentiment, for instance, his alliance with India's prime minister Narendra Modi, who is known for her citizenship amendment act that means every non-Muslim religious person is allowed to have an Indian citizenship in contrast to Muslims who cannot

(“India Announces ...”). The agreement showed how much the US foreign policy and Trump prioritize partnerships and deals, and only expressed more of his hate for Muslims.

Biden’s foreign policy, on the other hand, demonstrates inconsistency; his claims of supporting Muslims and his actions contradict more other. His firm support for Israel since October 2023 led to the misrepresentation of Muslims; pro-Palestinian activists were called extremists and pro-terrorists, which affected Muslims negatively and fueled offensive and abusive narratives in the political discourse and media around the world (Harb).

The President also continued the support for India despite the present actions toward Muslims, as he said: “My dream is that in 2020, the two closest nations in the world will be India and the United States” (Singh). Resulting in mounting pressure on Muslim communities in the US from surveillance programs to counter-terrorism policies and hate for Islam and Muslims. The American foreign policies not only promoted anti-Islamic narratives globally, it also marginalized Muslims in the country, and by the time of the 2024 presidential elections, they exhibited a sense of political fatigue from both parties’ foreign policy and all the unfulfilled promises (Yaqeen Institute).

2.3 The Role of Islamophobia in Shaping Political Choices

The issue of Islamophobia has a persuasive impact on shaping the political choices of the Muslim community in the US and how negative media portrayals, hate crimes, and political discourse fuel anti-Muslim sentiments, affecting Muslims’ political engagement, mobilization, and voting patterns. In addition, the strategies followed by the US major political parties in engaging Muslim voters, highlighting their responses to anti-Muslim rhetoric, and the impact on voter participation in the 2020 and 2024

campaigns.

2.3.1. The Persistence of Islamophobia in American Politics: Media Portrayal, Hate Crimes, and Political Discourse

The Persistence of Islamophobia is an important issue that is deeply rooted in the historical, social, and political contexts, that started from the September 11 attacks, as the anti-Muslim sentiments became heightened, appearing in political discourse and public policies that targeted Muslims, Arabs, and other religious communities. As the U.S. Department of Homeland Security explains, “The horrific attacks of September 11, 2001, changed our country forever... Muslim, Arab, and other religious and ethnic communities... faced violence, harassment, and discrimination simply because of their race, ethnicity, or religion. In the decades since, they have expressed apprehension and fear of surveillance and profiling” (Department of Homeland Security).

Islamophobia was not only a reaction to terrorism, but also linked to a longstanding idea that categorizes Muslims as “the others”. As it is stated by Asani qtd. in Muslim Americans reflect on the impact of 9/11: “After Sept. 11, everything around you made you feel that you didn't belong here... The ‘othering’ of Muslims since 9/11 has had a long-term impact on the lives of Muslim Americans and their sense of belonging and inclusion in the fabric of American society. Both their identities were challenged: their American identity and their Muslim identity. I don’t think the country has recovered from making Muslims feel like the other or the enemy”.

Historically, Islamophobia appeared before 9/11, through Orientalism and complicated colonial attitudes against Muslims as a religious group. However, the post-9/11 era has a remarkable role in shaping the anti-Muslim rhetoric, considering Muslims as threats to national security. Politicians and political leaders take advantage of recalling the Islamophobia idea as a means to gain support from Muslim haters by

describing them as "terrorists" or "enemies" (Erkmen 423). Fear and discrimination occurred through the normalization of Islamophobia under the pretense that it is self-defense and the marginalization of American Muslims (Lajevardi *Outsiders at Home*).

A network of organizations also played a critical role in promoting anti-Muslim ideologies and ideas by influencing public opinion and policies (Oxford University, "Islamophobia in North America"). During the Trump administration, this network gained recognition in mainstream politics. While the persistence of Islamophobia is apparent, movements that support Muslims' rights are appearing and growing against these discriminations and challenges, which highlights the potential for the desire to change attitudes and policies that are unfair to Islam and Muslims in America, especially those through Media Portrayal, Hate crimes, and political discourse (Bridge Initiative, "Report: Muslims Most Negatively Portrayed Minority").

Media is a powerful tool that can influence public perception, attitudes, and opinions. It informs, educates, and entertains, but can also foster stereotypes and strengthen biases. Mainstream media, however, promotes negative stereotypes about Muslims which leads to the spread of misrepresentation (CAIR, "Islamophobia..."). Media coverage of Muslims in general and Muslim Americans specifically is mostly negative and has become intense over time. This group faced a unique kind of negativity compared to other minority groups, increasing public prejudice and discrimination. In the world of Hollywood, Muslims are often presented as violent, foreign, and different. "Muslim characters are often portrayed as perpetrators of violence" (USC Annenberg).

US media and news coverage mostly portrays Muslims negatively, linking them to terrorism, while ignoring their positive societal roles (Bridge Initiative, "Islamophobia Resource Center").

However, social media platforms can also create negative views about Muslims and heighten Islamophobia through the spread of misinformation and hate speech. As an example, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the use of hashtags like #Coronajihad and #MuslimVirus accused Muslims of spreading the virus, which was viewed by millions of people and heightened anti-Muslim sentiments (Equality Labs via Coda Story).

This online hostility, in addition to shaping public perception, also has real-world implications through violence against Muslims and hate crimes that increased during the periods of online Islamophobia.

Due to the increase in hate crimes and Islamophobic attacks, it has become a serious issue threatening Muslims and their lives in the US society, which needs a careful look at the trends, incidents, and how the government and police are responding. Reports from the FBI and other research groups show that there is an increase in hostility toward Muslims, which shows that there are more incidents ranging from verbal harassment to physical assaults. For instance, the 911 attacks were the main incentive for these hate crimes, targeting people perceived to be Muslims, whether they were actual Muslims or not.

The acts of vandalism that are targeting the mosques, like hateful graffiti or arson, causes an increase in fear among Muslim communities, resulting in physical and emotional harm, restricting their religious freedom, and affecting public tolerance in such a democratic and free country (The Independent).

As the American Civil Liberties Union notes, “Attacks on mosques, including vandalism and arson, directly threaten religious freedom and cause fear and harm within Muslim communities. Despite laws and public campaigns, the effectiveness of these measures in preventing such hate crimes remains limited.”.

While these hate crimes against Muslims took place, the US government has taken some actions, such as stronger laws against hate crimes by investigating and prosecuting these kinds of crimes and establishing public campaigns to raise awareness and promote understanding. Even though there are actions, the effectiveness of these laws and campaigns remains low, as there are already existing laws (Department of Justice). As Ibrahim Hooper stated that: "This ban is a direct assault on the principles of religious freedom and equal protection under the law, targeting Muslims simply because of their faith" (Hooper). Shedding light on the effect of ideologies and policies, showing how the political discourse can be powerful and affect public opinion, normalizing Islamophobia, and the use of rhetoric by political leaders and candidates promoting anti-Muslim ideologies. As an example, the previous campaign of Donald Trump advocated the policy of the "Muslim Ban", this policy not only targeted Muslims but reinforced the negative stereotypes against them (The Carter Center). Additionally, in some states, there were propositions of anti-Sharia laws, claiming that Islamic laws would affect the American legal system. These kinds of propositions and policies are a direct result of Islamophobic sentiments and seek to marginalize Muslims by portraying them as a threat to the American community (ING).

Political parties' policies are one of the main reasons that shape the political choices of Muslims. Whether reinforcing or challenging Islamophobia. While parties and politicians used Islamophobic rhetoric to rally their base, others opposed this kind of discourse and called for ending discrimination and supporting the rights of Muslim Americans as a part of American society (Oxford University, "Islamophobia in North America").

2.3.2. Muslim Voters' Reactions to Anti-Muslim Rhetoric from Political Candidates and Parties

The relationship between political discourse and Muslim voters' reactions is an action-and-reaction relationship in which Muslims react to a certain policy in some way, whether support or neglect, shaping their political behavior towards political parties or certain candidates. However, Muslims are exposed to an environment that is marked by anti-Muslim rhetoric, which can occur in different ways, such as offensive statements, bias-based policies, and prejudice. This rhetoric appeared mainly in political campaigns, which shaped public perception and the voting behavior of these communities (Bridge Initiative, "Islamophobia and Anti-Muslim Sentiment").

During the 2016 U.S. Presidential election, Donald Trump and his statements that provoked Muslims, including the complete ban on Muslim immigration, not only encouraged outrage but also activated the mobilization among the Muslim community.

As Louise Cainkar explains, "The hostile rhetoric during the 2016 election, especially calls for banning Muslim immigration, galvanized many Muslim Americans—some felt alienated and angry, while others became more politically active, supporting candidates who advocated for their civil rights and inclusion" (Cainkar 215). Their reaction to this kind of provocations in discourse can be varied and multifaced; many individuals show feelings of alienation and anger due to the negative portrayal of their identity which can be translated into changing their voting behavior, supporting parties or politicians that are calling for their rights as a part of the society (BBC News, "US Election 2016"; ACLU "The Enduring Harms...").

However, political activism occurs among Muslim voters through their exposure to the increased anti-Muslim sentiments, and many individuals are likely to support candidates or political parties that advocate for inclusivity and oppose Xenophobia.

This kind of mobilization affects voter turnout and the strategies followed by political parties in their efforts to reach as many people as possible (CAIR, "CAIR-SV/CC"). While Muslim voters became more engaged in the political process, parties have to reevaluate their campaigns to connect with the community.

The implications of anti-Muslim rhetoric are socially severe and wide-ranging. The discourse can intensify social divisions and negatively affect public perceptions of Muslims, leading to more discrimination and causing them to be socially isolated. As the Council of Europe notes, "Islamophobia is a damaging and widespread form of racism that intensifies social divisions, fosters discrimination, and leads to the marginalization and exclusion of Muslim communities from social and political life" (DergiPark; Council of Europe, "The Shape of Contemporary Islamophobia").

The interplay between anti-Muslim rhetoric and the reactions of Muslim voters shows how the nature of the political landscape. Highlighting the need for a more inclusive dialogue that ensures respect, understanding, equitable representation, and promotes social cohesion, while enriching the democratic process for all the population regardless of their racial, ethnic, or religious differences (CAIR, "The Impact of Islamophobia").

While it is true that anti-Muslim rhetoric can provoke Muslim voters' reactions, but not all Muslim voters respond the same way to such discourse, whether some remain disengaged from the political process, feeling that their votes are not properly influencing the outcomes, or not finding candidates that address their actual concerns. This discourse can also reinforce the victim narrative that may overshadow the differences in political priorities among the Muslim community (Pew Research Center, "Diverse Muslim Voices").

As an example, not all Muslims will prioritize addressing issues of discrimination or Islamophobia. Still, they may prioritize further concerns including economic policies, healthcare issues, education, and climate change which shows the differences and complexities of Muslim political engagement, on the other hand, anti-Muslim rhetoric can motivate political activism, but not for all individuals, some may feel disillusioned by the political system leading them to refuse voting instead of wanting (ISPU, "Winning Muslim Votes"). Furthermore, it is important to know that Muslim voters are a diverse group. Their experiences and reactions can vary due to ethnicity, nationality, socioeconomic status, and personal beliefs, confirming that there is always a difference in priority for individuals (Pew Research Center, "A Demographic Portrait...").

2.3.3. Impact of the 2020 and 2024 Presidential Campaigns on Muslim Voter Mobilization and Activism

In recent years, the political engagement of Muslim voters has seen an important shift in preferences and more activism among them. During the 2020 and 2024 presidential elections, the strategies used and the policies promoted were the main reasons for these shifts. The differences in each campaign's policies varied Muslim voters' responses, reflecting their priorities and major concerns. The main parties, the Democratic, the Republican, and the Green party, their different strategies can impact Muslim voter mobilization and activism (ISPU, "Winning Muslim Votes").

The Democratic Party's strategies and policies mostly focused on inclusivity and social justice. In the 2020 campaign, Joe Biden aimed to fight Islamophobia and foster policies to engage marginalized groups within American society. The campaign included ending the Muslim ban, protecting the civil rights of all minority groups, and focusing on systemic racism. However, Biden's administration highlighted diplomacy

in foreign policies, especially the US military interventions in the Middle East (Emgage, "Muslim Voters Survey Memo").

The party's outreach strategy included engaging Muslim communities through town hall meetings and a partnership with Muslim organizations, which helped mobilize Muslim voters, leading to increased turnout in the 2020 elections. This commitment in addressing important issues for Muslim voters helped in the mobilization and activism among them (ISPU, "Winning Muslim Votes; Emgage, "2024 American Muslim Voter Intentions"; "CAIR 2024 Election Survey").

The Council on American-Islamic Relations and the Muslim-American Political Action Committee are organizations that played a crucial role in gathering support for Biden, fighting hate, and promoting diversity, connecting younger Muslim voters to the political approach, leading to more engagement and advocacy. However, in the 2024 campaign, the Democratic Party kept the same focus on inclusivity and social justice, with Kamala Harris as the presidential candidate after Biden withdrew from the race, the outreach strategy for the campaign included directed messages to Muslims, highlighting their commitment to protecting civil rights and the support of anti-discrimination policies, this engagement helped to maintain Muslim voter turnout, especially in swing states (CAIR, "CAIR Swing State Data"; VOA News, " In Historic Shift..."; ISPU, "Winning Muslim Votes").

On the other hand, the Republican Party's 2020 and 2024 campaigns had a complex relationship with Muslim voters. With Donald Trump as a candidate, the rhetoric of the party had aspects that distanced many Muslim voters. Policies like National Security Focus emphasized a strong national security stance, relating Muslims to terrorism, keeping strict immigration policies, with the continuation of the travel ban, and focusing on cultural conservatism, addressing issues such as family values and

religious freedom, but for Muslims, the anti-Muslim sentiments were overshadowing these issues. Due to these policies and strategies, Muslim voters in 2020 were less engaged with the Republican Party base in comparison to the Democratic Party, the alienation and marginalization led to more activism within the community, fighting negative stereotypes and calling for civil rights and equality through grassroots movements (Wardheer News).

In the 2024 campaign, the party's strategy might be changed to some extent by softening the rhetoric to attract Muslim voters, but still keeping strict policies concerning immigration and national security. The attempt had limited success in mobilizing Muslim voters. Keeping the focus on national security and immigration policies prevented Muslims from supporting the party, which led to activism and advocacy efforts within the community (VOA News, " In Historic Shift...").

The Green Party, which is the third party, always advocated for social justice, protecting the environment, and grassroots democracy. In both the 2020 and 2024 campaigns, the party was against Islamophobia and called for equality and justice for all marginalized communities. Also, a non-interventionist foreign policy and economic justice by addressing wealth inequality, which Muslims face this kind of challenges. The outreach strategy of the Party included a kind of direct engagement with Muslims, with an emphasis on their priorities including social justice and environmental issues that affect marginalized groups. While the Green Party is not as influential as the two major parties, the commitment to issues that are important to Muslim voters created a sense of solidarity and raised activism within the community, encouraging Muslim activists to engage in larger alliances that are against systemic issues affecting marginalized groups negatively. This led to more participation in grassroots movements and advocacy efforts (Yaqeen Institute).

Overall, the Democratic Party campaigns mostly highlighted issues of civil rights, healthcare, and immigration, which are major concerns for Muslims. On the other hand, the Republican Party campaigns point out economic policies, religious conservatism, and foreign policies. However, the Green Party focuses on social justice and environmental policies, which can attract Muslim voters who prioritize progressivism. These different strategies have shaped the political approach and increased the political participation among Muslims, which raised awareness about the power of their collective voices, making the Muslim political engagement more dynamic through the emphasis on representation, policy influence, and civic involvement (CAIR, "Exit Poll...").

2.4. Mobilization and Advocacy by Muslim Organizations

Muslim organizations and grassroots groups are important in mobilizing Muslim voters and advocating for their issues and priorities in the US political landscape. They achieve this mobilization and activism through organizations that provide voter registration drives, civic education, and policy engagement, focusing on issues including civil rights, immigration, and foreign policy. Advocacy strategies include direct lobbying, engaging with candidates, and coalition-building with partnerships alongside other marginalized communities. These efforts aim to present Muslim needs, address discrimination, and promote policies that reflect the community's priorities.

2.4.1. Role of Organizations, and Grassroots Organizations in Encouraging Voter Participation

Organizations and grassroots organizations have been the base that helped Muslim voters become more engaged in the political process and raised awareness about the importance of their voices in shaping the outcomes. The efforts of these organizations and grassroots are to provide help and gather the support of Muslims

creating a sense of solidarity and belonging, focusing on legal advocacy, policy engagement, and civic education? which encouraged voters' participation and highlighted their concerns and priorities to stand against the challenges they face in the American society (Emgage, "Mobilizing for Effective Change").

The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), founded in 1994, is a leading organization in the US that advocates for Muslim civil rights, works on protecting civil liberties, and works on sharing a positive image of Islam and Muslims. The organization succeeded in gathering numerous voter registrations through civic engagement programs whose main objective is to increase participation within the community. Their activities mainly involved voter registration across the nation, mentioning the importance of mobilizing young Muslim voters, establishing workshops and seminars to inform Muslim Americans about their voting rights, highlighting the importance of their political engagement in creating change and progress, and assisting in solving issues and address challenges that the community face (CAIR-CA, "Voter Mobilization"). Similarly, the Muslim Public Affairs Council is a nonprofit organization founded in 1988; The organization promotes political integration and civil rights of American Muslims in the United States. It shapes public policy, improves understanding of Islam, and promotes civic engagement through media, government relations, and community outreach.

These organizations have shaped several policies and engaged with the legislative process. Organizing programs that help Muslims know their rights and responsibilities as American citizens also call for laws that protect civil rights and support social justice. The main focus of these organizations is young Muslims, as they are a vital part of the community. They worked on using special outreach methods to connect with them, establishing workshops and events to address their interests,

encouraging them to get more involved in the political process (CUNY Academic Works).

Grassroots organizations, on the other hand, are groups formed by individuals or communities at the local or national level. The main objective is to address important issues, promote change and civic engagement, or fight for social, political, or environmental causes. The main grassroots organization is Emgage, a civic engagement organization that puts efforts to help American Muslims participate in the political process, focusing on voter education, advocacy, and mobilization as a means to increase Muslims' representation in the political landscape. The importance of civic engagement was stated by Keith Ellison who voiced the sentiment that many American Muslims feel, when he explained in 2011 hearings to investigate the radicalization of American Muslims, "We've seen the consequences of anti-Muslim hate [...] The best defense against extreme ideologies is social inclusion and civic engagement." However, this grassroots organization uses digital strategies by relying on social media platforms to share information, start discussions, and help in voter registration and turnout.

The emerging grassroots movements are encouraging young Muslim Americans by using social media to educate and mobilize voters on key issues like immigration and civil rights. Young activists who lead campaigns that take on different concerns, with more than just traditional voter bases (Emgage, "Mobilizing for Effective Change").

However, the digital activism increase reflects more civic engagement trends, through strategies used by technology to help fight the marginalization of minorities. Also, this organization collaborates with mosques and community centers by organizing educational events and seminars encouraging individuals to engage and participate in elections, ensuring that the message reaches as many audiences as possible (Sunan Kalijaga 820).

The collective efforts of these organizations encouraged Muslim voters to participate in the political process. CAIR and MPAC resulted in increasing voter turnout among Muslim Americans, particularly in swing states, mobilizing first-time and young voters, which led to more political representation. Even with all the challenges of voter suppression, discrimination, and disenfranchisement, these organizations passed these barriers through advocacy, legal action, grassroots mobilization, social media, and raising awareness. With their efforts, they boosted political participation and presented Muslim voices, helping to support policies that address the major needs and concerns of the community.

2.4.2. Political Advocacy: Efforts to Amplify Muslim Voices and Demands in Political Discourse

Political Advocacy can be defined as the process of using strategies and actions to impact public policy and decision-making that serve the concerns of a certain group or cause. This mechanism works in favor of small and marginalized groups. For Muslims, political advocacy has become important in dealing with many issues, including civil rights, Islamophobia, and a lack of political representation. This approach enfold several strategies that aim to engage the community with politics, direct legislative action, and confront the challenges of equity and justice, with civil rights and Islamophobia being the primary focus of political advocacy (CAIR, "About Us"; MPAC; Muslim Advocates, "Promoting Justice & Equity"). The Council on American-Islamic Relations put so much effort into addressing issues of discrimination and hate crimes against Muslims, as the organization reported a notable increase in anti-Muslim incidents after the 2016 presidential elections due to the unfair accusation of terrorism against them, which highlighted the need for policy changes that protect Muslims and their civil rights (CAIR, "The Empowerment of Hate").

Moreover, immigration policies represent an important concern for the Muslim population. The Muslim Ban was a main policy that attacked Muslims, in response, advocacy groups gathered to challenge this policy legally and politically, emphasizing the importance of more suitable immigration policies that respect all individuals and their freedom regardless of their differences. In this context, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) helped in taking legal action against the ban, showcasing the need for fair treatment of Muslim immigrants (ACLU, "The Enduring Harms...").

Another issue is foreign policy, including the conflicts in Palestine, Kashmir, and Afghanistan, which demand attention from Muslim advocacy groups. These conflicts affected Muslim populations, and advocacy efforts aimed to alter U.S. foreign policy to support peace and justice. Also, economic and social justice campaigns are equally important components of advocacy, as Muslims in the United States face several socioeconomic challenges that require policies for employment, education, and healthcare access. So, to effectively address these issues and concerns, it is important to use strategies and actions including engaging with political parties and candidates, ensuring post-election accountability, lobbying efforts for beneficial legislation, and participating in congressional hearings and policy discussions (Foreign Policy Association).

The first strategy, engaging with political candidates and parties is important, it encompasses supporting candidates whose policies align with Muslim interests and putting on pressure those in power to address Islamophobia, discrimination, and other challenges through movements with the help of Muslim organizations, also assembling voters and holding candidates accountable for their stance during the election period (Muslims for Just Futures).

The next strategy, post-election accountability, is a strategy that ensures the elected officials will fulfill their promises. This happens through advocacy groups that follow up with representatives who address the concerns that the Muslim community is interested in during their campaigns.

Lobbying efforts as well are also a strategy used by advocacy organizations to pass pro-Muslim legislation, for example, the No Hate Act that has been introduced in Congress sought to help in federal hate crime reporting and providing support for victims received support from several Muslim advocacy groups (CAIR-Chicago, "CAIR-Chicago's Post-Election Vigilance"; CAIR, "CAIR Supports...").

Likewise, protests, legal challenges, and media campaigns have been important actions in challenging and opposing the harmful policies against Muslims. Another major strategy is the participation in congressional hearings and policy discussions, which works through presenting testimonies and engaging in dialogues with lawmakers, ensuring that Muslims' perspectives are considered in the process of making policies (Muslim Advocates, "Congressional Testimony"; Emgage Action, "A Muslim American Advocacy Group").

Even though these strategies and actions can be effective at some point, there are always challenges and barriers that make it hard, as American society contains Islamophobic groups and some politicians or hostility from extreme-right movements that undermine advocacy efforts which creates a strong opposition that prevents to continue achieving more progress and framing their efforts as divisive and not constructive.

2.4.3. Partnerships with Other Marginalized Communities and Coalition-Building for the 2024 Elections

In the lead-up to the 2024 US elections, Muslims have formed several coalitions and partnerships with other marginalized groups due to their shared experience of discrimination and the desire for further political representation, highlighting the importance of intersectional activism. This coalition-building is expressed through the Uncommitted Movement that emerged in response to the dissatisfaction with policies presented by the Democratic Party as foreign policy issues and the conflict in Gaza and Lebanon (Future UAE).

The Uncommitted Movement gained traction among Muslim American voters who share feelings of neglect by mainstream political parties, which mobilized a notable voter turnout of 100,000 uncommitted votes throughout the nation, especially in battleground states including Michigan which they accounted for 13% of the votes during February 2024 Democratic primary and Pennsylvania (Future Center for Advanced Research and Studies).

Leaders of the movement noticed a division forming between their communities and the Democratic Party after Biden's policies that supported Israel's genocide at the expense of the Palestinians' lives which is a sensitive issue for the Muslim community, this led many to reconsider their political preferences and shift toward the Republican Party and the Green Party (VOA News, " In Historic Shift...").

Muslim Americans united efforts with different progressive movements, specifically those that call for racial justice. This coalition is an electoral strategy and addresses issues affecting several marginalized groups within American society. However, Emgage USA organization is one of the largest political organizations that represent American Muslims succeeded in the Million Muslim Votes campaign that

aimed to engage over 1 million Muslim voters in the electoral, this organization collaborated with over 70 partner organizations, including civic groups and advocacy networks that encompass other marginalized groups with the same interest process (Emgage, "Muslim Voters Survey Memo.").

The Muslim Civic Coalition also focuses on policy advocacy, supporting legislation that addresses voter engagement, and encouraging fair redistricting. Additionally, organizations like America Indivisible work on building strong ties among marginalized communities and promoting mutual respect, supporting American Muslim elected officials through networking and training programs that aim to enhance leadership skills. Collaborating with major groups, including New American leaders, helps prepare individuals from different backgrounds to run for office. These coalitions worked to enrich civic engagement and political awareness for Muslim voters (Muslim Civic Coalition). Addressing issues that are the center of attention, including foreign policy problems and the ongoing conflict in the Middle East, Muslims believe that their opinions are not presented when it comes to US foreign policy, especially regarding Israel-Palestine relations (Brookings). For instance, social justice creates shared commitment among marginalized groups as they speak up for challenges and issues they face, promoting police reform, health care access, and economic equity, which fosters solidarity among these communities. Also, they demand political representation in the political landscape (JSTOR, "American Muslims and US Foreign Policy").

In efforts to confront these issues and challenges, Muslims have joined several racial justice initiatives. This coalition-building is showcased through efforts in promoting advocacy campaigns about immigration rights and police reform, as many organizations gather to stand up against injustice and discrimination. For example, the Muslim Anti-Racist Collaborative offers tools and training to address the intersections

of Islamophobia and anti-Black racism. This collaboration seeks unity and solidarity among initiatives of anti-Islamophobia and anti-racism (Muslim ARC). Furthermore, groups like the Immigrant Defense Project advocate for laws that protect immigrant communities from unfair policies (The Immigrant Defense Project).

In conclusion, the US presidential elections present a multifaceted landscape for Muslim voters, which is influenced by a myriad of domestic policy issues that resonate with the community. The consequences of anti-Muslim rhetoric and policies attacking them for their religion from the previous events and administrations continue to influence their voting behavior.

Conclusion

As Muslims navigate their political preferences and seek policies that resonate with their needs, the interaction of these issues becomes pivotal in determining their engagement and support for different candidates. The rise of grassroots movements, advocacy groups, and coalitions with other marginalized groups represents a growing awareness and activism among Muslim voters, including younger generations. Ultimately, the outcomes of these presidential elections will be the appropriate way to reflect their growing influence as a part of society, in addition to impacting the societal attitudes towards diversity, justice, and inclusion within the United States.

The following chapter will discuss the different political strategies used by both major political groups in the United States, the Muslim vote in the 2024 presidential election, and their impact as a growing political voice.

Chapter Three

Political Parties' Strategies and the Muslim Vote in the 2024 Election

Introduction

As the 2024 elections approached, the strategies employed by both major political parties in the United States to engage with the Muslim community played an important role in shaping the electoral landscape. Muslims historically leaned towards the Democratic Party, mainly due to its advocacy for civil rights and social justice. But as the year of the election unfolded, sentiments shifted, driven by the dissatisfaction with the Party's handling of key issues, mainly foreign policy and domestic concerns, in addition to the Gaza conflict, which was a turning point in the political process for Muslims.

This chapter explores the approach of the Democratic Party to the Muslim vote, examining the engagement strategies of Biden's campaign and the Democratic National Committee (DNC), the impact of key policies, and the role of prominent figures within the party. Additionally, the chapter dives into the strategies followed by the Republican Party to engage with Muslims, shedding light on the change in sentiments among Muslim voters due to Trump's campaign that aimed to directly engage with the Muslim voters and advocating for peace, the emergence of Muslim Republicans, and the implications of these dynamics in the electoral outcomes.

Also, the chapter highlights the importance of social media, advocacy groups, and coalitions and their efforts in engaging the Muslim community, mainly the younger voters. By understanding and analyzing these strategies and their effects during the election year, we can gain insight into the evolving political engagement of the Muslim community and their significance in shaping the electoral outcomes.

3.1. The Democratic Party's Approach to the Muslim Vote

While Biden has secured the Muslims' support in the previous elections, the circumstances have changed. As the 2024 elections approached, Joe Biden announced his withdrawal from the race on July 21, 2024, marking a major turning point for the Democratic Party's campaign. His decision came after mounting pressure from within the party and concerns about his performance in the June 27 debate. Following Biden's exit, Vice President Kamala Harris was endorsed as the new Democratic nominee, injecting renewed energy into the campaign, keeping the same party's strategies and policies with the focus on broader goals instead of the Biden-Harris detailed administration pages. Heading into the election, the Democratic Party was left with less support from the Muslim voters and faced obstacles keeping them as a supporting bloc with a growing dissatisfaction and disappointment because of the domestic issues, civil rights and foreign policy decisions, mainly concerning the Palestinian conflict that impacted their engagement with the party. Considering the Muslim backing in the elections could impact the election's turnout, the party sought to win them over and maintain relations through multiple strategies to regain this key bloc and appeal to their views (NBC News, "President Joe Biden...").

3.1.1. Engagement Strategies by the Democratic National Committee and the Democratic Party

Muslim Americans distribution mainly consists of swing states as Michigan, Pennsylvania and Georgia, making their vote crucial as they had a significant impact in the 2020 elections favoring Biden where he won the majority of the Muslims' votes. However, after his decisions over the past years and the Gaza case policies precisely, dissatisfaction among Muslims grew, driving his administration to take concrete steps targeting Muslims, such as town halls and community gatherings to address specific

concerns and problems facing Muslims, focusing on swing states, aiming to encourage engagement, and foster direct connection with the administration and discussions about its policies with campaign promises, similar to the party's previous approaches from ending Islamophobia and protecting religious freedom to limitation of hate crimes, in addition to some statements advocating for a more balanced and rightful approach in foreign policy regarding the US military support to Israel indicating a broader engagement with regional issues (Bobkin).

The Biden-Harris administration emphasized the US's aim to contain the Israel-Hamas crisis, which has significant implications for Muslim communities both domestically and internationally (Emerald Expert Briefings).

The Democratic National Committee (DNC) is the official governing body of the US, established in 1848 in Washington, DC. It remains active to this day, with activities such as organizing and drafting the party's political platform, preparing campaigns for domestic candidates, and conducting results and voting journals (Kelleher and Dylan).

Through the 2024 election circle, the committee has made some voter mobilization efforts to regain the Muslim support, especially in Muslim heavy areas like Dearborn and Philadelphia with grassroots organizations to include language accessible campaign and promote collaborations with Muslim organizations to increase engagement, such as the American Arab anti-discrimination committee to involve Muslim leaders with the DNC's members to ensure respect for Muslim individuals and inclusion in the decision making to guarantee better representation. Furthermore, it established social media platforms and campaigns that discuss civil rights and social justice policies that align well with the Muslim voters' interests (Fulton 26-27).

However, the promises to control the Gaza conflict were shadowed by unending support

for Israel with no policy changes, which caused more frustration over many unfulfilled promises from 2020 to 2024 and only illusions and false claims to gain support (Sala).

3.1.2. The Impact of Key Democratic Policies on the Muslim Electorate: Health, Climate, Social Justice, and Civil Rights

While Biden's Affordable Care Act (ACA) has helped many low-income Muslims in the US including immigrants and refugees, some business owners and middle-class families expressed concerns over the rise in healthcare costs and the lack of access to quality care, finding themselves paying a lot with no proper coverage, reinforcing that the policies did not sufficiently solve the issues (Wallace, et al).

Moreover, the party showed commitment to change by setting targets to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and dreams on achieving renewable energy, such as the use of electric vehicles, which aligned well with the younger Muslim Americans who advocate for such aims and support environmental justice (Civillini; Lashof).

However, these policies' impact was multifaceted because even if they have appealed to some individuals, small business owners complained about facing compliance costs due to the greenhouse regulations where many do not have the financial capacity to exchange and upgrade their facilities, and it could also lead to job losses especially for those working in the energy sector which might cause the bankruptcy and a shutdown of small companies. So, Muslim voters were divided on this regard, with some favoring the environmental efforts and others fearing the negative impact and feeling that the economic consequences were ignored (House Ways and Means Committee).

On civil rights and social justice, the Democrats call against Islamophobia and show commitment toward respecting religious and racial diversity in America provided some reassurance, but the ongoing hate crimes and surveillance against the Muslim

community made some voters re-think their support for the Democratic Party (Fam).

Overall, Muslims who prioritized health care, environmental causes, and social justice aligned with the Party, while others who were affected by its mixed approaches withdrew their support, which led to lower enthusiasm for the Democratic Party.

3.1.3. Notable Muslim American Figures in the Democratic Party

Muslim American figures have a prominent role in encouraging Muslim voter participation and reshaping the political narratives, namely Rashida Tlaib and Ilhan Omar who both have a strong influence on individuals backed by their powerful resistance against discrimination, as Grant states “both representatives have utilized their unique identities to challenge stereotypes and redefine what it means to be American, emphasizing inclusivity and the importance of diverse voices in political discourse” (Grant 323).

Their active engagement in legislative debates and unmatched speeches condemning these issues and calls for both civil rights and economic justice have inspired Muslim Americans to politically engage and express their voices and needs, and influence the Democratic Party’s approach to Muslims in the 2024 elections, both figures have made history by becoming the first Muslim women in the US Congress, Rashida Tlaib a child of Palestinian parents born and raised in Detroit, Michigan, she entered as a state representative with her law degree and later on was elected as a House of Representatives member. Ilhan Omar, a Somali refugee in the US graduated with degrees in International Studies and political science and was part of the democratic socialists of America alongside with Tlaib and other participants, in 2016 she was elected to the Minnesota House of Representatives to be the first Somali American legislator in the country ("Rashida Tlaib"; Connley).

Their presence and status challenge stereotypes and effectively counter the general idea of Muslim women being submissive and only controlled by men, they have continuously spoken against anti-Muslim behavior through their platforms and addressed systematic inequalities and advocated for policies that ensure equality for Muslim communities as American citizens especially for women (ACLU, "Discrimination Against Muslim Women...").

These figures have helped bridge the gap between the Muslim electorate and the Democratic Party and increased visibility for them in the political landscape to shed light on the problems facing them. Furthermore, their participation and outreach efforts toward their community with town halls and community events directly fostered a sense of trust among Muslims toward the party and helped make it more inclusive, "their presence in Congress has symbolically empowered Arab Americans and Muslims, encouraging community engagement and political activism, particularly in majority-minority districts" (Minta 72).

However, while these notable figures amplified the Muslim voters' voices to favor the party, the tension remains concerning about some policies that contradict with their progressive stance, such as issues regarding the Middle East and civil rights, Tlaib and Omar have criticized Biden's approach to foreign policy, particularly regarding Israel and Palestine, advocating for a more balanced stance that supports Palestinian's rights (Carter and Scott 4).

As Democrats try to maintain a clear relationship with the Muslim electorate, the role of these figures continues to shape their views and voter mobilization strategies in the 2024 and future elections.

3.1.4. Efforts to Address Concerns About Muslim Discrimination and Promote Inclusion

Historically, the Democratic Party has always supported diversity and civil rights in the US with notable efforts to fight discrimination, anti-religious acts, prejudice, and promote the inclusion of Muslims in politics. Joe Biden's administration has shown efforts to reduce Islamophobia, particularly in political spheres (Taraki et al 28).

The administration emphasized that the phenomenon should not have taken place in the country and people should live without being in fear and or judged based on faith, As Biden stated: "we dedicate ourselves to building a world where people of all faiths and all backgrounds are free to live without fear of persecution", and as said as well by US secretary Anthony Blinken on March 15, 2024 "The United states will continue to stand for freedom of religion or belief for all" (Aaa.com.tr).

The former president recognized the International Day to combat Islamophobia and described it as an "ugly resurgence" in the wake of the Gaza war, with over 100 actions to stop anti-Muslim hate (The White House, "The U.S. National Strategy to Counter Islamophobia").

Democrats have positioned themselves as Muslim-allies on civil rights, this shows on many levels, for instance engagement with organizations like Emgage to mobilize Muslim voters and address some concerning issues, "Joe Biden's presence serves not only to galvanized Muslim Americans to cast their ballots but to usher in an era of engaging with the Muslim American communities under a Biden administration" said Wail El Al Zayat CEO of Emgage action (Al Jazeera, "Democrat Joe Biden Snags Support").

Biden worked to promote policies and initiatives for Muslim inclusion through appointing members in governmental positions. For example, he appointed Mazin Basrawi, a Muslim advisor as a White House Liaison to American Muslim communities and other notable figures including Samira Fazeli as a deputy director of the US National Economic Council and Uzra Zeya as a Secretary of State for Civilian Security Democracy and Human rights (Islam Channel; Muslim Mirror).

However, while the Democratic Party made several commitments and initiatives, Muslims remained skeptical, and despite some policy reforms, the continuous surveillance on the Muslim community and low enforcement perpetuates a sense of mistrust. “The perception of Muslims as perennial suspects in domestic terrorism remains prevalent, leading to racialized state surveillance that alienates these communities” (Alimahomed-Wilson 87). The party’s foreign policy contradictions mainly the military support for Israel only distrusted Muslims and undermined the party’s efforts to maintain their voter support, resulting in mixed views among Muslims regarding the Democratic policies with some appreciating the administration’s public support and advocacy against Muslim issues and others being unconvinced with the lack of real action and policy changes (Harb).

3.1.5. Stumbling Campaign Attempts to Appeal to Muslim Voters

The unfulfilled promises by the Democratic Party concerning foreign policy and the rising Islamophobia caused by that made Muslim voters harder to mobilize in 2024 as they shifted away from the party, these voters were disappointed by the party’s limited outreach efforts, as it failed to engage with the Muslim community to the same extent it did for others. Also, the efforts were performative gestures rather than real action, with many Muslim voters perceiving the Democratic Party’s outreach as superficial, often characterized by symbolic gestures and no meaningful policy changes

that address their specific needs such as better representation, solutions for immigration and social justice (NBC News, "Muslim Voters...").

The continuous support of Biden to Israel and his administration's failure to address the issue frustrated these voters even more, considering more than half of the Muslim population in the US have Arab heritage as said by James the president of the Arab American Institute: "Gaza took a toll and caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the demographic groups in the country... what they saw happening in Gaza impacted them quite profoundly" (VOA News, " In Historic Shift...").

The Biden-Harris administration was highly criticized on the support of Israel, many activists argued that the party paid close to no attention to Muslims' interests, and expressed their criticism through rising hashtags on social media platforms like Instagram and Twitter repeating slogans like #freePalestine and #Muslimforjustice and many protests against Biden's labelling of pro-Palestinian activists as extremists (VOA News, " In Historic Shift..."). Basem Youcef, the Egyptian American Actor, was one of the most pro-Palestinian figures with his public statements against Biden and his policies, he once stated: "I don't care about Trump winning, but I want Biden to lose...Democrats are blackmailing us", in addition to some movements against the president's approach to Muslim-related issues, including the "Abandon Biden" movement (New Lines Magazine).

However, despite this backlash against the party, there was still no evident shift in its policies or adjustment in strategies (Rakich). Which weakened the relationship between Muslims and democrats, especially in swing states where votes are highly effective. For instance, in Michigan, Muslims saw that the party is ignoring them as Muslim individuals and as American citizens that they considered that voting for Trump would be an effective strategic step to send a message to the democrats (Gjevari).

3.2. The Republican Party's Strategy with Muslim Voters

The Republican Party, mainly under the leadership of Donald Trump, has shifted its outreach efforts and followed different strategies to engage with the Muslim communities. Despite Trump's long history of anti-Muslim rhetoric and Islamophobic policies, his recent campaign focused on peace and national security, which resonated with many Muslim voters, leading to the emergence of Muslim Republicans who align with the conservative values of the party. These Muslim Republicans navigate their identities in a complex landscape within the GOP, and advocate for the interests and needs of the Muslim community along with theirs. This evolving dynamic highlights both opportunities and challenges for Muslim voters who want to be heard and represented in the American political landscape.

3.2.1. Engaging Muslim Communities: Republican Outreach Strategies and the Trump Campaign's Efforts

As the GOP grapples with its changing identity, Trump's presidency has mostly impacted the party's dynamics and transformed voter engagement strategies. The appearance of a more populist base forced traditional conservatives to reconsider their approaches, leading to an ideological conflict that hindered the party's unity. The division results from the stark contrast between the core supporters of Trump and those who align with the Never Trump faction, which highlights conservative principles but struggles to connect with the broader electorate (Blankenship)

3.2.1.1. Republican Outreach Efforts: Contrasting Views on Religious Freedom, Immigration, and National Security

In the 2024 presidential elections, changes appeared in the political landscape due to Donald Trump's leadership, the Republican Party's strategies included a notable

initiative to reach Muslim communities and voters across the United States, which represented a significant departure from previous electoral campaigns that have been criticized for their discriminatory rhetoric and Islamophobic policies. This shift in strategy shows the importance of the Muslim community and its growing recognition in American society. Trump claimed to build a "record-breaking" coalition of Arab and Muslim voters in Michigan, highlighting his commitment to end the wars in the Middle East and promoting peace for safeguarding national security, this message that resonates with the Muslim voters who were disillusioned with the way Biden's administration handling the situation in the area and their foreign policies (Anadolu Agency, "Support of US Muslims for Democrats").

One of Trump's substantial strategies to engage with the Muslim community involves focusing on key swing states, especially Michigan, a critical battleground state that has a significant Muslim population. In the state, Muslim voters traditionally supported the Democrats, but they recently became more open to other options due to their dissatisfaction with the Biden-Harris policies. This endorsement was a strategic move to build trust and receive backing from the Muslim community (NBC News, "Muslim Voters..."). Nevertheless, Donald Trump positioned himself as a Peace Advocate, using it as a strategic reason to reach the community as he stated at a campaign rally, "They want peace. They really do. They don't want to be in wars. They're very smart." Implying that the best way to draw Muslims' attention is through the promise of peace. In contrast to Kamala Harris, who is part of a "warmonger Cabinet", which possibly lead to a further conflict in the Middle East. This situation portrayed Harris as a potential instigator of conflict and Trump as a peacemaker (Anadolu Agency, "Trump claims record Muslim support in Michigan ").

This contrast comes with complexities, as Trump's message of peace can resonate with some Muslim voters. Still, his past policies and the negative rhetoric against Muslims stood in the way of trusting his intentions, his previous policies were widely criticized as discriminatory and Islamophobic. Muslims have seen these outreach efforts as an opportunity rather than genuine due to his history of anti-Muslim rhetoric during his 2016 campaign and presidency. Still, Trump's emphasis on peace and his efforts in engaging with Muslim leaders have helped him gain traction among the community segment. It showed their will to overlook his previous rhetoric, particularly in Michigan (Anadolu Agency, "Trump claims record Muslim support in Michigan").

However, the 2024 election revealed a significant shift in the voting behavior of Muslims, this shift was driven by several factors, such as the dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party's policies on foreign policy, civil liberties, military interventions, and immigration, and with the problem that neither of the major parties is addressing policies or issues that align with the Muslims' concerns and not representing their interests which shows the Republican Party as a plausible alternative for Muslim voters. But, the long-term success of the strategy can be uncertain, depending on the party's ability to address the concerns of Muslim voters in a sustained way (VOA News, "In Historic Shift...").

The neglect of the Democratic Party's policies and the anger towards the Biden-Harris administration of how it is handling the Gaza conflict opened the doors for the Republican Party, as Donald Trump's promises of ending foreign wars and promoting religious freedom and providing national security, which is a major shift in the policies of this party that appeals for social conservativeness and values despite the previous administration and the anti-Muslim policies. When it comes to religious freedom, the past policies of the party neglected Muslims and linked them to terrorism,

limiting their religious freedom (Yaqeen Institute). In contrast, Trump's campaign appealed for more religious freedom, mainly for Christians, in the 2024 elections, showing a sort of shift in policies, but it kept the sense of marginalization and skepticism among Muslims (Al Jazeera, "Trump Announces Plan").

Concerning immigration policies, Trump's past stance that included the travel ban, which targeted many Muslim countries, remained continuous and memorable for the community, yet some Muslim voters may be drawn to his promises (NBC News, "Muslim Voters..."). Subsequently, the 2024 elections witnessed a historical shift as Muslims switched their support toward Donald Trump and third-party candidates rather than supporting the Democrats as a result of their anger toward the Biden administration and the lack of outreach by the Harris campaign to Muslims (Reasons to be Cheerful).

Donald Trump has been always active on social media through his controversial discourse, particularly on X (Twitter), and was frequently linked to anti-Muslim rhetoric and polarizing communication, his tweets often expressed views that were considered Islamophobic, with suggestions for banning Muslim immigration in the aftermath of the terrorist events (Rubin 105). This polarizing rhetoric developed a dichotomous narrative of "us versus them", fostering Islamophobia and provoking hate crimes against Muslims. Empirical studies show that there is a strong link between Trump's tweets about Muslims and the increase in anti-Muslim hate crimes, mainly in areas characterized by high X (Twitter) activity (Aggeborn, et al; SAGE Journals, "Trump and Muslims...").

Despite the attempts to connect with the Muslim leaders, Trump's campaign failed to effectively use social media to reach Muslim voters with inclusive messaging. Instead, his past anti-Muslim rhetoric overshadowed any positive outreach efforts.

While the campaign utilized data-driven strategies to target specific voter demographics, these approaches often exploited existing biases rather than fostering genuine relationships with Muslim communities (Rashbaum). As a result of Trump's anti-Muslim rhetoric on public perception, his previous campaign was characterized by hateful statements about Muslims, the rejection of Muslim immigration, and the establishment of a national registry for Muslim Americans that increased conflicts within the American social environment, Trump's generalizations and negative representation of Muslims created more negative stereotypes and heightened Islamophobia, which escalated hate crimes against the community during his administration. These differences in Trump's campaigns show the divisive nature of his rhetoric (SAGE Journals, " Trump and Muslims...").

Yet, a notable rise in positive opinions about Muslims and Islam among Americans has been noticed. A study by Telhami suggests that positive attitudes toward Muslims increased from 67% to 81%, with favorable views towards Islam from 51% to 66% (Telhami). This phenomenon implies that even though Trump's discourse polarized public perception, it stimulated certain populations to reconsider their perceptions about Muslims.

3.2.1.2. Trump 2024 Campaign Outreach to Muslim Communities in Swing States

Trump's 2024 campaign actively engaged with Muslim communities, focusing on key swing states including Michigan, Pennsylvania, Arizona, and Wisconsin, as the main states with significant Muslim populations, which implies the importance of these demographic groups in determining electoral outcomes.

In Michigan, the Republican Party has made concerted efforts to connect with Muslim leaders and communities, recognizing their growing electoral significance. This outreach has included addressing concerns about civil rights and promoting policies that

resonate with conservative values, such as family and economic stability. An illustration of Trump's outreach strategies that demonstrates his commitment to reach the Muslim community is inviting Muslim leaders to join him on stage at a rally in the state, as well as his visit to a halal cafe in Dearborn, a city with a large number of Arabs and Muslim Americans, the visit was a calculated effort intended to show Trump's engagement with the community, addressing the concerns of Muslims, including brokering peace agreements in the Middle East such as Abraham Accords, and highlighting his promise to avoid "Endless Wars".

The visit received the backing of Muslim leaders, which enhanced the credibility of his outreach efforts in the state. As a result, a segment of Muslim voters has begun to identify with the Republican Party, leading to the emergence of Muslim Republicans (CNN, "Trump in Michigan..."; BBC, "Trump tells Michigan...").

However, in both Pennsylvania and Arizona, Trump's campaign emphasized important concerns of the Muslim community, as economic growth and job creation, appealing to many Muslim voters who are concerned about their living costs and economic stability. Specifically, in Pennsylvania, the campaign aimed more at connecting with Muslim voters, mainly on urban areas like Philadelphia, focusing on economic policies and foreign policy concerns. While in Arizona, the campaign was held in areas with a significant Muslim population, such as Phoenix and Tucson, the focus on economic opportunities resonated with many voters who are looking for financial stability, as the state's economic issues are prominent. In the state, the campaign included engaging efforts with the community leaders and addressing important concerns to Muslim voters, including economic security, immigration, and foreign policy (Modern Diplomacy).

For instance, in Wisconsin, Muslims represent an important demographic due to

their presence and electoral impact. Trump's campaign showed targeted outreach efforts in cities like Milwaukee, trying to connect with Muslim voters through events and discussions, in addition to local Republican leaders who worked to build relationships with Muslim community organizations, aiming to present Trump as a change-maker in the United States' foreign policy. But Trump's outreach efforts were overshadowed by the strong support for Jill Stein among Muslims who were attracted to her strong stances on issues like the Gaza conflict, while Trump's campaign emphasized economic issues nationally, with general Republican themes rather than specific concerns of Muslims (Yaqeen Institute; VOA News, " In Historic Shift...").

3.2.2. The Role of Muslim Republicans in Shaping Party Strategies and Influencing Policy

Muslim Republicans in the United States represent a minority within the whole Muslim American community, and the community is predominantly Democratic. However, this group of Muslim Republicans leans toward the shared conservative values, in addition to the Republican Party or Grand Old Party's (GOP) stance for a smaller government and economic conservatism, which they believe is beneficial for small business owners and professionals in the community.

Historically, Muslim Republicans have remained a small but steady number; they represented 11% of the whole community in 2007, with a slight increase in 2017 to 13% due to concerns about their place in society (Pew Research Center, " Small but Steady..."). Even Muslim Republicans are a small part of the party. Yet, they surfaced as an important force in the Party by using their shared values alongside strategic engagement tactics that effectively influence the policy debates and the outreach initiatives of the party, with a significant influence on the critical battleground states and on different issues that align with their priorities including social conservatism, national

security, and religious liberty (Middle East Eye).

An important factor that influenced the alignment between Muslim Republicans and the Republican Party is social conservatism, supporting policies including the GOP's opposition to abortion and LGBTQ-inclusive policies, which align with Islamic principles about family and morality (Pew Research Center, "Small but Steady..."). This alignment inspired some Muslims to change toward the Republican Party, which is shown through the increased support of the Party's candidates with a rise in Muslim Republicans running for office (VOA News, "In Historic Shift...").

However, the Republican Muslim Coalition, founded by Saba Ahmed represents the efforts to enhance the party's appeal to Muslim Americans, through promoting Muslim candidates, translating and sharing campaign materials into languages such as Arabic and Urdu, this coalition aims to fill the gap between the party and Muslims (Politico, "Muslim Voter Turnout Grew in 2020").

These strategies frequently conflict with the broader rhetoric of the party, which is Islamophobic, mainly in the Trump era, with policies like the "Muslim ban", this clash of opinions creates a complex atmosphere inside the party, as the Republican Muslims navigate their alignment with the party while addressing their concerns about the negative perceptions that may hold back potential support (Pew Research Center, "Small but Steady...").

Conservative Muslims have also influenced Republican strategies through the call for a protective national security policy rather than discriminatory, with some defending the Muslim ban as a must against extremism, arguing that it prioritizes safety and not a religious bias. These perspectives reflect a broader trend within conservative Muslims who see national security through a focus on practicality, regularly aligning with the party's stances to show their loyalty and commitment to American values

(Immigration History).

Moreover, the GOP's support for Israel became a serious issue to the Muslim community, with many Muslim voters feeling alienated by this stance, some try to reframe the discourse by mentioning the need for balanced diplomacy in the Middle East (Future UAE). This internal conflict shows the difference in thoughts within the Muslim community and highlights the challenges that the conservative Muslims face in calling for policies that can resonate with their concerns while aligning with the party's leadership.

Likewise, Muslim Republicans have been frequently involved in grassroots initiatives to protect their communities, represented in voter registration campaigns that are led by these Muslim Republicans, in which they effectively succeeded in registering numerous Muslim voters in the main battleground states, including Michigan and Pennsylvania. For example, "Muslim Day at the Capitol" is a local program in Michigan that has offered opportunities for community members to engage in the political landscape and call for issues that are important for the community, such as healthcare and education reform. Among these important achievements, Abdullah Hammoud succeeded in having a seat in the Michigan House of Representatives in 2018, where he advocated and supported policies that focused on improving healthcare access and promoting social justice, and also Saba Ahmed, who established the Republican Muslim Coalition as a major achievement and ran for public office which aimed at elevating Muslim candidates and giving them recognition within the Party (Bourtis).

In the context of the 2024 elections, the approach underscored both the potential and limitations of Muslim Republicans' influence, mainly in battleground states like Michigan, Trump's campaign showed interest in the Muslim community with outreach efforts and stances or peace with the use of their dissatisfaction with the Democratic

Party policies (NPR).

This assertion reflects a strategic outreach effort to gain support from voters who felt overlooked by the party they supported for a long time, especially on how it handled the Gaza conflict. In contrast, the community's preferences have been divided between some Muslim Republicans who backed Trump for his recent national security promises, and others abandoning both major parties, directing their attention to the third-party candidate Jill Stein to protest US policies in Gaza (Middle East Eye).

This shift not only weakened Muslim voting power but also showed a growing strategic independence among Muslim voters who are willing to challenge both major parties when their interests and concerns are not properly represented.

Nevertheless, Republican leaders have responded to the increase of Muslim Republicans in the Party with a mix of outreach efforts and internal challenges. Donald Trump actively engaged with Muslim voters through his commitment to end wars and promote peace, which resonated with Muslims. In contrast, despite the outreach efforts, some Republicans still hold anti-Muslim sentiments, which may create tension within the party. Also, some Republican policies have alienated many Muslim voters, for example, foreign policies and the support for Israel, which brought diversity in Muslim opinions, with some supporting conservative values and others opposing their policies (Middle East Eye).

Muslim Republicans navigate a complex landscape within the GOP through the efforts of balancing their shared values with the party's upcoming policies. Shaping the party's strategies through local candidates, coalition building, and policy advocacy shows the importance of their voices. The GOP's ongoing stance on Islamophobic rhetoric and rigid foreign policy still limit their effect, but the growing Muslim electorate especially in swing states with the evolving dynamics of Muslim political

engagement, may influence the Republican Party's long-term success in keeping its rhetoric and help in shaping the strategies of the party to become more flexible for Muslims (Politico.eu; The New Arab, "Muslim Voters...").

3.2.3. Impact of Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric on Muslim Voters and the Emergence of Muslim Republicans

The long history of anti-Muslim rhetoric in the United States has shaped the behaviors and preferences of Muslim voters, particularly in the context of policies and electoral campaigns mainly from the Republican Party. For instance, Donald Trump's inclusive stances and the Republican Party's anti-immigrant rhetoric played an important role in shaping political preferences as they fostered feelings of alienation and exclusion among Muslims, and impacted opinions about choosing alliances among Muslims in the United States. Trump's negative rhetoric toward Muslims is composed of anti-immigrant policies against them that affected the community and examined the emergence of Muslim Republicans with the complexities of their political influence and engagement.

Trump's public statements and tweets often referred to Muslims as "Radical Islamic Terrorists", contributing to the increase of Islamophobia and hate crimes against Muslims. This anti-Muslim rhetoric alienated the voters and polarized public opinions, thus creating for Muslims the feeling of marginalization and keeping them targeted for discrimination and stereotypes. The effect of these policies and statements created a strong barrier between Muslims and the Republican Party's outreach efforts to the community (SAGE Journals, "Trump and Muslims...").

Despite the long historical alienation, the recent elections showed a notable shift in Muslim voting patterns. During the 2024 elections, a significant number of Muslim voters supported Donald Trump or third-party candidates, this shift occurred due to

different factors, such as the dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party policies regarding foreign, especially the Gaza conflict which left Muslim voters disillusioned with the party's way of handling these issues, leading them to look for alternatives that can fulfill their needs and mention their concerns (The New Arab, "Muslim Voters...").

Furthermore, despite the previous anti-immigrant rhetoric of Trump, his latest campaign showed efforts to engage with Muslim leaders and the community in general, focusing on battleground states like Michigan. The focus on peace and stability attracted some Muslim voters who felt neglected by the Democratic Party, creating a variety of political views and priorities among Muslims and helped in the emergence of a growing segment of Muslim Republicans, with some Muslims starting to identify with the conservative social values of the party and economic policies, yet, the continuous concerns about civil rights, immigration, and foreign policy overshadow these factors. The party's efforts to emphasize religious freedom and conservative values may resonate with certain segments of Muslims. Still, these messages can not be sufficient to make Muslims forget about the history of the party's Islamophobic rhetoric and policies that alienated Muslims (CNN, "Muslim Americans..."; Anadolu Agency, "Trump Claims Record Muslim Support in Michigan").

Indeed, the shift in voting patterns is not certain to become a long-term trend rather than a temporary reaction to specific circumstances, as many Muslim voters continue to prioritize issues of social justice and civil rights, leading them to remain aligned with the Democratic Party instead of supporting the GOP.

However, the growing diversity within the Muslim American community can be a strong opportunity for the Republican Party to engage more with Muslim conservatives who share similar values and perceptions, and this requires a structured approach that addresses the different perspectives within the community and fosters the

dialogue between the two sides.

3.2.4. The Role of Prominent Conservative Muslim Voices in Influencing the Republican Party's Stance

Prominent conservative Muslims are scholars, leaders, or public figures who align with the conservative values of the Republican Party and support the Party's policies as influential voices for its stances. These figures mainly advocate for traditional Islamic values that may overlap with conservative social values. The figures played a crucial role in reshaping political dynamics and influencing the voting behavior of Muslim voters, through facing the complexities of their identities in an unwelcoming Party for Muslims, yet, they sought more representation that aligns with their values and concerns.

3.2.4.1. Key Figures and Their Contributions

In Texas, Shahid Shafi is a trauma surgeon and a prominent republican leader, an important figure who emerged in the intersection of Muslim engagement and conservative politics. Shahid Shafi became a bridge between the Muslim community and the Republican Party due to his advocacy for religious liberty and conservative principles that align with Islamic values. The figure faced several challenges because of his faith, including efforts to remove him as vice chair of the Tarrant County Republican Party, as a form of discrimination that is not only about him, but an issue of religious freedom in the party. Dr Shafi prepared a detailed response to accusations against him and spoke at a Texas State Republican Party meeting, and party officials across the state defended him, which caused the vote to remove him to fail, showing the possibility of Muslim integration in the GOP. He actively participated in local GOP events and raised awareness about pertinent issues to Muslims, in addition to encouraging other members of the community to be involved in the political landscape.

The leader addressed the importance of religious freedom and resonated with many Americans, which made him a compelling and influential figure in the party ("Shahid Shafi and Texas Republicans").

In addition to Dr Shafi's efforts, Mo Nehad, a Pakistani American activist who played an important role in engaging the Muslim community toward Republican ideals by focusing on the shared conservative values, the activist emphasized opposing some social policies and supporting national security, which effectively helped in engaging local Muslim voters. The figure also put efforts into grassroots, which represents his commitment to building alliances within the Republican Party and showing that Muslims have shared beliefs with the party, especially when it comes to family and economic policies. Furthermore, Mo Nehad put different initiatives in place to foster dialogue between Muslim constituents and Republican leaders, which helped in enhancing mutual collaboration and understanding, showing the potential for political engagement among Muslims who align with conservative values and the importance of grassroots activism (Monehad.com "Life Story"; VOA News, " Muslim Drift...").

Building on the foundations laid by both Shafi and Nehad, Zahoor Gire, co-founder of Muslim Americans of Texas, managed to promote the alignment of Muslim values with conservative Republican principles. Zahoor Gire advocated for traditional family structures and gender roles that resonate with the Muslim community and encouraged the shift towards Republican support. His efforts show how cultural and social values can influence political engagement and create a sense of belonging within the party. Moreover, the figure attracted attention from both Muslim voters and Republican strategists through the emphasis on the importance of family and community in the political discourse. Gire's efforts highlight both the potential for collaboration between the Muslim community and the GOP, and the ability for

conservative values to be compatible with Muslim identity (VOA News, "Muslim Drift...").

3.2.4.2. Shifts in Voting Patterns

Conservative Muslim voices with their initiatives and efforts in addressing the issues of the community within the GOP influenced the perception of Muslim voters, which has been reflected in a notable shift in voting patterns among Muslim Americans during the 2024 elections, for the first time in two decades of supporting the Democratic Party, many Muslim voters began to reconsider their choices, mainly due to the dissatisfaction with both parties' stances to important issues for Muslims such as the Gaza conflict, but with recent Trump's campaign and his claim to be a peace advocate and end war in the Middle East, this led to a notable increase in support for the Republican Party. For example, recent research indicates that a significant percentage of Muslim voters who previously supported the Democrats are shifting toward Republican candidates, implying a potential alignment in future elections, which shows the importance of addressing Muslims' concerns and interests alongside recognizing their diverse perspectives (VOA News, " In Historic Shift..."; Yaqeen Institute).

3.2.4.3. Challenges and Controversies

Even with these many achievements and advancements, conservative Muslims still face different challenges within the Republican Party. The long history of Islamophobia and foreign policy stances that affected the Muslim community negatively within the GOP still hold back Muslim voters from supporting the party completely. Conservative Muslims like Shahid Shafi have faced different discriminatory acts, which shows the ongoing struggle for acceptance and influence within the party. These kinds of challenges underscore the intricate balance that conservative Muslims have to uphold as they advocate for the interests of the Muslim community while dealing with the

complex political landscape that is characterized by hostility towards Islam and Muslims. The backlash that occurs in response to certain policies of the Republican Party—especially those that are perceived as discriminatory—presents a challenging obstacle for those leaders in their journey of creating a more inclusive and welcoming party that embraces diversity and equity (The New Arab, "The GOP's Islamophobia...").

Overall, as these voices continue to advocate for the Muslim community, the future of Muslim Americans and their political engagement is still dynamic and evolving, with chances to shape the political landscape for years to come. The efforts of conservative Muslim leaders enrich the Republican Party along with the reminder of the existence of diversity in American society, where multiculturalism and different identities can coexist, and contribute to the political discourse.

3.3. The Impact of Social Media and Digital Campaigning

Social media platforms represent an important aspect in disseminating political messages to the Muslim community, mainly to the younger users. These platforms provide a space for discussions, storytelling, and raising awareness about different issues that the community faces in the political landscape. In the 2024 elections, advocacy groups and political campaigns used these platforms to promote different Muslim voices, engage Muslim voters, and counter several challenges that users may face, like misinformation and Islamophobic rhetoric. This implies that social media can be a powerful and complex tool for engaging Muslim voters.

3.3.1. The Use of Social Media Platforms to Disseminate Political Messages to the Muslim Community

Social media platforms are now a strategic tool to reach as many people as possible, platforms like X (formally Twitter), Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube have considerable popularity among internet users, however, TikTok and Instagram most users are the younger generations while the older use YouTube and X. These platforms can be used to disseminate political messages to the Muslim community as a strategic approach to engage the community in political discourse.

However, X (Twitter) a platform used for real-time discussions and debates on political issues including foreign policies and civil rights problems, users often use Hashtags that are a tool to spread information widely and affect the public opinion, Muslims use hashtags like #MuslimVote and #PalestineSolidarity to help in raising awareness about voting and promote support for the Palestinian case, in addition to Muslim influencers and activists who use the effect of the platform as a leverage to share their voices, perspectives and raise awareness among their followers through mentioning and talking about key issues that the Muslim community is going through (CBC News).

For instance, Instagram is a widely used platform, with different functions including stories, posts, reels, and live videos. This visual format allows spreading information widely with an impactful storytelling through its functions and influencer partnerships, which include advocacy groups partnering with popular influencers to reach a broader audience and promote civic engagement, as well as highlighting social justice issues and promoting political engagement among Muslim followers (Sunan Designs).

On the other hand, TikTok gained massive popularity in the last few years with

millions of users across the world of all ages, especially young users, the platform recently became a tool to raise awareness, talk for the truth, and stand against any discrimination or negative activities. The platform uses short-form videos which is an effective way to help people engage, as the TikTok content easily wide-spreads, with bite-sized political content that resonates with Muslims, for example, humorous skits, educational clips, and advocacy messages, also influencers and creators use Hashtag challenges to mobilize support for different issues and political cases, such as voting rights and anti-islamophobia campaigns (Frontiers in Political Science).

Finally, YouTube, the platform provides sharing videos whether long or short, which is used for more in-depth political analysis and discussions, such as vlogs, news, or panel discussions, as many YouTubers use the platform to share educational content and detailed explanations of different issues including those who affect Muslim communities, and inform the Muslim community about their rights and duties in the political approach with encouraging them to get more involved in politics (ISPU, "YouTube"; YouTube, "Empowering the Muslim Community").

The US political parties have used these platforms to engage with the voters, for example, the Democratic Party used Instagram and X (Twitter) in their campaigns to address key issues like U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East and religious freedom. During the 2024 elections, the dissatisfaction with Biden's position on Gaza became a critical issue, which led to promote campaigns that focus on maintaining the civil rights of Muslim communities. On the other hand, Republicans used Facebook to highlight the shared conservative values with Muslim communities and spread these messages in states with large Muslim populations (Pew Research Center, "How Americans Navigate..."; GWI; Sais Review).

Even though social media can be a helpful tool for raising awareness and sharing

positive content, it also has its negative influence and its problems, and the audience, including Muslims, who may face several challenges when engaging with political content or being exposed to non-credible or suspicious sources. The main challenges include the exposure to false information, as social media platforms spread misinformation about Muslims or Islam, it shapes a negative public perception that may affect political engagement, also the digital landscape may have the ability to promote extremist ideologies that can negatively impact Muslim individuals (Taylor & Francis).

However, Islamophobia and hate speech can be both in real life and online through social media, as Muslim youth may be exposed to Islamophobic or hate speech and targeted bullying without control, leading to feelings of stigmatization and probably affecting their mental health and their overall perceptions (Algerian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities).

According to the Council of Europe, about the negative consequences of Islamophobia on young Muslims, “Young Muslims are often victims of discrimination and social exclusion on different levels, which affects their psychological well-being, sense of belonging, and opportunities for education and employment.” (Council of Europe, "Islamophobia and its Consequences"). In addition, many young Muslims perceive mainstream media as biased against Muslims due to the negative stereotypes and the coverage of positive sides of Muslim communities, being poorly represented or not represented at all, causing a sense of disconnection and distrust towards the political discourse, which leads them to seek alternative news sources on social media (The Conversation).

3.3.2. Digital Mobilization Efforts by Political Campaigns and Advocacy Groups

During the 2024 elections, political campaigns and advocacy groups relied on digital mobilization to target voters, mainly Muslim communities in the United States.

These efforts included different strategies through campaigns, social media, and grassroots organizing.

In the meantime, it is important to engage diverse Muslim voices from various ethnic and ideological backgrounds, which advocacy groups have found beneficial in ensuring that the Muslim American narrative is represented in the political landscape. For example, organizations like Emgage and the Muslim American Society have made many efforts to reach underrepresented groups within the Muslim community, including African American Muslims, South Asian Muslims, and Arab Americans. These organizations hosted multiple forums and public discussions that highlight the concerns and perspectives of these diverse groups, and have also created platforms for dialogue and collaboration. The Initiatives involved a series of virtual town halls where Muslim leaders from different backgrounds gathered to discuss issues like immigration reform, civil rights, and social justice, which provided a space for different voices of the community to be heard through the emphasis on common values that unite Muslims.

Additionally, by showing a variety of perspectives, advocacy groups were able to present a more comprehensive understanding of the Muslim American experience, which is important for solidarity and collective action. The collaboration with interfaith organizations and allies is crucial to engage diverse Muslim voices as a way to deliver their messages and achieve unity against discrimination. In addition to partnering with non-Muslim groups, which helped in amplifying their efforts to fight Islamophobia and promote social justice (Emgage, "Home - EmgageUSA"; MAS).

3.4. Swing States and Key Battlegrounds

Historically, swing states in the United States have played a decisive role in shaping the presidential elections' outcomes, and the same goes for the 2024 presidential race. Muslims in these areas have become a crucial and effective element in

influencing the voter turnout. States like Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Georgia have notable Muslim populations, which make them a centralized target of the candidates to secure their support.

3.4.1. The Role of Muslim Voters in Critical Swing States

The term “swing states” has emerged over time to describe states with unpredictable electoral outcomes, where support is not guaranteed to any party. Certain states have high Muslim populations, such as Michigan, which is a crucial battleground with over 240,000 Muslim voters, and Pennsylvania, with around 150,000 Muslim residents. These growing numbers make the Muslims’ impact in the elections increasingly powerful, and both Kamala and Trump targeted these states in the 2024 presidential competition to win over their backing (World Population Review).

Michigan is the home of the largest Muslim population in the US, especially in Dearborn and Detroit. Muslims make up 2.4% of the state’s overall population (World Population Review). In Pennsylvania, the eastern areas particularly compose of sizable Muslim communities that have a crucial role in the state’s electoral dynamics. Philadelphia has nearly 170,000 Muslim voters, which solidifies their power as a substantial political demographic entity (Cann). Similarly, Georgia is a growing Muslim population state with approximately 123,652 residents, and even though they make up a small portion of the state’s total numbers, they have the means to affect the outcomes of the state’s results, specifically in Atlanta and other suburbs (Data Pandas).

According to CAIR, the Muslim voter participation in 2024 remained high with 95% of eligible voters casting ballots, which is higher than the 2020 results, that was 71% (CAIR, "US election..."). However, there has been a shift in party support, particularly in key states. Michigan’s Muslims, in a historic shift, have turned their support from Democrats and voted for either Trump or Jill Stein, the third-party

candidate. For instance, Donald Trump gained around 84,000 votes, marking a notable Muslim shift toward Republicans. This decreased support of Biden and his administration has emerged due to several policies by the president, such as foreign policy decisions and long and unfulfilled promises (VOA News, "In Historic Shift...").

In Pennsylvania, the Muslims dissatisfaction with the Democrats' policies is evident in the outcomes of their support, as many felt that their concerns were ignored, in 2020 Biden secured around 65% to 70% compared to only 37% for Harris in 2024 mostly coming from conservative voters who favored the party's policies, others supported Stein with 25%, and the same in Georgia as the Muslim's support for Democrats went down from 77% registered Muslim voters in 2020 in favor of Biden to a significant decrease and shift away from them (Emgage, "Emgage Impact Report").

The variety and diversity of support results of the Muslim voters in 2024 shows that they consider supporting other options rather than switching sides, and even though their votes did not drastically shift the elections' outcomes, the low support for democrats played a major role in narrowing the margins.

3.4.2. Significant Cases of Previous Elections Where Muslim Voters Made a Difference

With their growing population and high voter turnout, American Muslims have played a critical role in the US elections over the years, and examining past elections helps in understanding what trends influence their 2024 participation. Swing states make a special center of the candidates' attention, and with the growing population, the Muslims' influence makes them a targeted key voting bloc.

In 2020, around 146,000 Muslim voters turned out to vote according to an analysis by Emgage mostly in support for Biden particularly in Detroit where more than half of the population is of Middle Eastern or North African descent, this support was

driven by opposition toward Trump's policies mainly his Muslim ban (Emgage, "the Million Muslim Votes"; "Muslim Americans Helped Biden Win Michigan in 2020").

Alliance for Democrats shifted in 2024. President Biden's stance on the Gaza conflict drove away many Middle Eastern and North African voters, leading to a decline in support of Democrats (Oxford Analytica). While some voters supported third-party candidates, according to an exit poll, about 59% of Muslim voters in Michigan supported Jill Stein, while 22% went for Donald Trump and 40% for Kamala Harris and the Democratic Party, while others showed disengagement and did not back any party (Sobczak).

In the 2016 elections, Muslims nationwide highly supported Clinton, but their turnout in states like Pennsylvania made her lose the state, which made Trump win with only 44,292 votes. Which translates as a small win margin between him with 48.58% and Hillary Clinton, who received 47.85% (Saurez Sang). The limited support for the candidate in the state, especially from key democratic areas, was caused by feelings of uncertainty and reservations regarding Clinton's campaign and her stance on Islamophobia and some related issues, such as her foreign policy on Middle Eastern matters. Moreover, Hillary Clinton's limited engagement with the overall Muslim community was the reason that made some voters hesitate in supporting her (Beydoun et al, 73). By 2020 however, the Muslim mobilization efforts increased with organizations like "Emgage that offered efforts that included voter registration drives" in which Biden participated in some of them and directly engaged with Muslims (Ballhaus). In addition to the widespread opposition to Trump and his policies that Biden promised to fix, which contributed to high Muslim voter turnout in the state and secured Biden's victory with approximately 80,500 votes, resulting in 50.01% for Joe Biden and 48.84% for Donald Trump (Saurez Sang).

The 2024 year saw a shift in Muslim voters' sentiment in Pennsylvania while he previously benefited from a strong Muslim turn out, Biden's foreign policy decisions concerning the Gaza war in particular made many Muslim residents unsatisfied and led to a growing dissatisfaction which resulted in lower enthusiasm for the Democratic Party and decreased turnout among Muslims, raising questions about whether their low participation could impact the results and change the party's policies.

Jill Stein received significant Muslim support with 25% according to the CAIR survey, and Trump received 8%. This shift in voter dynamics helped Trump secure the state with 19 electoral votes (CAIR, "Swing State Data"; "Pennsylvania presidential results Trump wins"). This shows that Muslim voters could shape the elections' outcomes through participation as seen in 2020, as well as disengagement and shift in support as in the 2016 and 2024 elections.

3.4.3. Voter Turnout and Impact on the 2024 Results

Muslims turnout numbers directly shape the elections' results nationwide and specifically in battleground states as Muslim individuals make a key demographic group that has increasingly asserted its political influence, however, unlike previous elections where their voting trends and decisions followed clear patterns, the 2024 political landscape presented new challenges that led to a shift in their political priorities and changes in voter participation levels which affected the overall election outcomes.

According to a poll by CAIR, around 53% of the respondents favored Jill Stein. In Michigan, for instance, 59% of the surveyed Muslim Americans supported Stein, and in Maryland, the candidate received 81% of their vote (CAIR, "CAIR exit poll"; "CAIR Maryland Releases"). This shows how much Muslims felt disconnected from Democrats and the parties' loss of their long-term trust, which could signal many standing challenges for them in maintaining these communities' advantages.

3.5. Outcomes and Implications of the Muslim Vote in the 2024 Elections

The 2024 elections witnessed a historical shift, mainly concerning Muslim voters who traditionally leaned towards the Democratic Party for years. In a striking change, Muslims directed their votes towards the Republican Party, especially in Michigan, in addition to the third-party candidate. Dr Jill Stein received 53.2% of Muslim votes, Trump secured 21%, and 20.3% for Harris, marking a decline for the Democrats compared to previous years (BIC Research).

However, several factors influenced this dramatic shift in voting patterns among Muslims, including the ongoing conflict in Gaza, which was a priority for Muslim voters. The Democratic Party's stance on foreign policy and military aid to support Israel became the main reason to drift away the Muslim community from supporting the Party, which created a sense of neglect among Muslims, leading to a protest vote against the Party with the feelings of disconnection and less political representation. On the other hand, the Republican Party's campaign made concerted outreach efforts like visits to key areas with significant Muslim population and with policies presented by Donald Trump to directly engage Muslims, which are composed of less Islamophobic rhetoric, advocating for peace in the Middle East, and mainly the conservative values of the Party that alienated with many Muslim voters, particularly in the state of Michigan that used to be a win for the Democratic Party, but in 2024 Muslims choose to change their minds and support the Republicans. For example, in Dearborn, Trump won by 42% in comparison to Harris, who got 36%, and Jill Stein, who got 18% of the vote (Foreign Policy).

The 2024 election results revealed a significant shift in the political influence of American Muslim voters, showing that their loyalty to any party is no longer guaranteed, making Muslim voters a more contested and influential demographic. These

implications extend beyond electoral policies to shaping the US foreign policies. As the growing engagement of Muslims in the political landscape and their rising awareness about their rights, duties, and preferences may put pressure on both major groups to reconsider their policies and traditional stances on the Middle East, which could lead to a broader reevaluation of the United States' role in the area that reflects the priorities of a more diverse electorate in the future. In addition, the rise in activism and visibility of Muslim Americans implies for more inclusive political landscape, as their engagement challenges the narratives about national identity and religious freedom in the country, opening dialogue concerning immigration policies and racial justice (Lajevardi, et al., "The Empowerment Effect of Visible Political Representation").

As Muslims continue to assert their voices in politics, they present a dynamic and decisive power that is evolving and growing. This will have a major influence on future elections and policies, compel political parties to account for their concerns and needs, and represent them as a pivotal part of the American political landscape.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the 2024 elections revealed a profound transformation concerning Muslim voters, with them expressing their opinions and preferences, reflecting their dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party, and the emergence of alternative options like the Republican Party and third-party candidates. These shifting dynamics of the Muslim votes underscore the importance of addressing the needs and perspectives of the community and the potential for increased political activism and representation.

As Muslim voters asserted their voices in politics, their influence became more significant on the electoral outcomes, putting pressure on both major parties to reconsider their policies and approaches. The implications of this shift are beyond the 2024 elections, highlighting the need for more inclusive and responsive political

discourse that addresses the different experiences of Muslims in the United States.

In other words, Muslims engaging in the political landscape have shaped the electoral outcomes and have the capacity to do so in the future as a powerful demographic within the American society.

General Conclusion

The work aims to analyze the political behavior and priorities of the Muslim American voters, and examine their influence, especially in the 2024 elections. The research sought to provide a better understanding of a powerful American minority voting bloc that has been underexplored and understudied for generations by examining the demographics of Muslim Americans, their party engagement strategies, and their voting trends. As it is illustrated in the chapters, Muslims proved to be a valuable and effective voting bloc that can shape the outcomes and direct the final decision.

This research was built up and followed precise research questions from this minority's influence on the election results to the core elements that shape their political choices and the efforts made by the parties targeting the Muslim electorate in the US, especially in the lead-up to the 2024 presidential elections. Using a mixed method approach with quantitative and qualitative data to secure reliable information from demographic data, analyzing several domestic and foreign policies to have a clear vision of the American Muslims' role in the US politics.

Through a thorough analysis across the chapters some major discoveries are discussed, the thesis' first chapter discussed the American Muslim demographics and their emergence and evolution as a political power. This community has overcome years of marginalization and disengagement through generational changes, and has developed a sense of political awareness. This is evident in the diversity of grassroots mobilization, which provides civic education and is also reflected in a rise in voter registration among Muslim Americans.

Chapter two highlighted the key domestic and global issues influencing the American Muslim voters in the 2024 presidential elections. In the domestic context, civil rights, Islamophobia, discrimination, and bigotry continue to challenge this

community. In global terms, the American foreign policy remains a definitive element in the Muslim political participation, particularly the Palestinian conflict and the country's relations with Muslim nations, concerns over these issues have played a significant role in building a unique Muslim voter profile in the US that is more focused on solving issues and prioritizes justice and dignity more than party alliance, mainly among the younger generation.

The third chapter examined the past and current targeting efforts from both Republicans and Democrats to win over the Muslim electorate. Historically, Muslim Americans have strongly supported Democrats, however, the latest policy decisions made by the Biden administration have disengaged and distrusted them in the party's genuine inclusion and acceptance of Muslim individuals, which has led to lower activism and support for the party. Many campaigns and calls rose against the Democratic Party, such as the 'abandon Biden' movement. This chapter reflected as well the Republican party's attempts to secure the Muslim community's support, which came short due to past rhetorics and anti-Muslim policies.

The analysis conducted throughout this work underscores and provides more nuanced understanding of the US's minority groups political challenges and approaches, precisely the Muslim community, offering an analytical lens of the Muslim voters' behavior and presenting a grater perception of their political priorities and concerns in terms of choosing and voting for a candidate or trusting a party. In addition to a detailed examination of how some foreign policy decisions impact Muslims in the US and even in global terms, which seems to be overlooked in the political analysis shared in the previous studies. As a result, this structured work adds to the existing political knowledge by connecting how international cases such as the Palestinian conflict affect the American minorities and its political behavior.

This thesis proves that the American Muslims make a crucial and effective part of the political decision-making process and is an increasingly powerful electorate, the data and evidence provided through this paper demonstrated that the Muslim voters could be a decisive bloc that has an issue-based mentality and cannot be dragged by any political power or views. Moreover, the broader implications of the Muslims' political activism in American politics were crystal clear in the 2024 elections, as Muslims have been delivering demands for justice and human rights through open discussions and political action.

The study's findings suggest that the Muslims' political engagement and effectiveness are going to keep on growing to be more and more influential, especially focusing on their demographic concentration in swing states such as Michigan and Pennsylvania, and looking ahead to the 2028 presidential elections, the results of this study are highly relevant. The growing political activism, demographic weight, and strategic presence of Muslim Americans especially in swing states suggest that their role will be even more influential in future electoral cycles. Political parties that fail to meaningfully engage with this community risk losing a critical bloc. Therefore, understanding and addressing the concerns of Muslim voters is not only essential for 2024, but also for building sustainable political strategies beyond this election.

A couple of suggestions could be proposed in the light of these results: parties should prioritize this minority and focus on appealing their views by taking an active role in solving relevant problems to this group, instead of flushing and giving useless and performative gestures. The political campaigns should make solid and real connections with the Muslim community, and the advocacy groups should continue to provide civic educational programs and encourage the Muslim individuals to vote and be politically engaged. In addition to the need to include more strategic plans to attract

and engage younger voters.

In a policy perspective, politicians and policymakers in the US should focus more on this minority going on forward as its political influence is evident in the 2024 elections, so reevaluating the American politics is needed to eliminate the damage they do to the Muslim communities and to reduce these individuals' dissatisfaction toward the US's political platforms.

Despite all the mentioned points and the critical analysis portrayed in this lengthy work, a couple of limitations are present, as the data gathered mainly consists of secondary sources and selected from national surveys, the lack of first-hand evidence, direct relation and real voter experiences are main obstacles. The diversity of the Muslim communities in the US is a challenge itself as generalizing the results could not be specific considering each group of this community has different priorities.

So future research is needed for more detailed and centralized data, researchers and academics need to continue exploring and analyzing the American Muslims' political behavior via using both quantitative and qualitative methods with a particular focus on the geographical differences and variations, generational shifts and religious coalition, so that the United States democracy can take advantage of one of its most active and diverse populations.

However, the information covered in this study offer many valuable insights into the American politics and their effects on the Muslims' civic engagement, offering ground for future political analysis. It explored the impact of the Muslim voters in the US's presidential elections, showing how their presence in key battleground states has an important role in influencing the results, especially in close contested races and gives a clear view of the Muslims' potential in shaping the national outcomes even with small margins.

Ultimately, to have a real futuristic vision of the US's elections and the implications of the Muslim voters who have a sizable political power, acknowledging their political impact and recognizing them as active American citizens is a must, in contrast to ignoring their demands and needs which only leads to a closed end in the way of promoting a fair and inclusive American democracy.

Works Cited

- Aaa.com.tr. "Biden Denounces 'Ugly Resurgence' of Islamophobia Amid War in Gaza." www.aa.com.tr/en/world/biden-denounces-ugly-resurgence-of-islamophobia-amid-war-in-gaza/3165753.
- Abdul-Ghafur, Saleemah, ed. *Living Islam out loud: American Muslim women speak*. Beacon Press, 2005.
- Abdullah, Tahir. "Islamophobia and Public Health in the United States." *Journal of Muslim Mental Health*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2016, doi:10.1080/13548506.2015.1124447.
- ACLU. "Anti-Muslim Discrimination." American Civil Liberties Union, 30 Oct. 2024, www.aclu.org/anti-muslim-discrimination, 29 May 2008.
- . "Discrimination Against Muslim Women - Fact Sheet." ACLU, 29 May 2008, www.aclu.org/documents/discrimination-against-muslim-women-fact-sheet.
- . "The Enduring Harms of Trump's Muslim Ban." American Civil Liberties Union, www.aclu.org/news/immigrants-rights/the-enduring-harms-of-trumps-muslim-ban.
- . "Trump Promises to Militarize Police, Reincarcerate Thousands, and Expand Death Penalty." American Civil Liberties Union, 30 July 2024, www.aclu.org/news/criminal-law-reform/trump-promises-to-militarize-police-reincarcerate-thousands-and-expand-death-penalty.
- Aggeborn, Linuz, et al. "Granting Immigrants the Right to Vote in National Elections: Empirical Evidence from Swedish Administrative Data." *British Journal of Political Science*, Dec. 2023, doi:10.1017/s0007123423000509.
- Aherrbach. "Left in Limbo: The State of the Afghan Community After the U.S. Military Withdrawal." World Relief, 1 July 2023, worldrelief.org/spblog-left-in-limbo-the-state-of-the-afghan-community-after-the-u-s-military-withdrawal.
- Ajinkya, Julie. "The Quintessential (Muslim) American Story." Center for American Progress, 12 July 2024, www.americanprogress.org/article/the-quintessential-muslim-american.

story/.

Al Jazeera. "Decades After 9/11, Muslims Battle Islamophobia in America." Al Jazeera, 11 Sept. 2022, www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/9/11/decades-after-9-11-muslims-battle-islamophobia-in.

---. "Democrat Joe Biden-Snags Support of Prominent Muslim Americans." Al Jazeera, 21 Sept. 2020, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/7/20/democrat-joe-biden-snags-support-of-prominent-muslim-americans>.

---. "The Muslim American Vote Matters and It Can No Longer Be Taken for Granted." Al Jazeera, 25 Aug. 2024, www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2024/8/25/the-muslim-american-vote-matters-and-it-can-no-longer-be-taken-for.

---. "Trump Announces Plan to Launch Task Force against 'anti-Christian Bias'." Al Jazeera, 6 Feb. 2025, www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/2/6/trump-announces-plan-to-launch-task-force-against-anti-christian-bias.

---: "Trump Praises Muslim Supporters, Says They Could Win Him Michigan." Al Jazeera English, 5 Nov. 2024, www.aljazeera.com/program/newsfeed/2024/11/5/trump-praises-muslim-supporters-says-they-could-win-him-michigan?utm_.

Ali, Mahomed and Sabrina, Wilson. "When the FBI Knocks: Racialized State Surveillance of Muslims." *Critical Sociology*, vol. 45, no. 6, Sept. 2019, pp. 871–87, doi:10.1177/0896920517750742.

American Immigration Council. "After Day One: A High-Level Analysis of Trump's First Executive Actions." American Immigration Council, www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/after-day-one-high-level-analysis-trumps-first-executive-actions.

---. "The Dream Act: An Overview." American Immigration Council, 13 June 2024,

www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/dream-act-overview.-

Anadolu Agency. "Support of US Muslims for Democrats Down by 12%." Anadolu Agency, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/americas/support-of-us-muslims-for-democrats-down-by-12-/1997703>.

---. "Trump Claims Record Muslim Support in Michigan, Warns of Warmonger Cabinet under Harris." Anadolu Agency, 5 Nov. 2024, www.aa.com.tr/en/2024-us-presidential-election/trump-claims-record-muslim-support-in-michigan-warns-of-warmonger-cabinet-under-harris/3384171.

ArcGIS StoryMaps, 3 Apr. 2024, storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/aead945380c041c79dc76ebe16d548b7.

Arun K. Singh. "India-U.S. Relations Beyond the Modi-Biden Dynamic." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, carnegieendowment.org/posts/2024/09/india-us-relations-beyond-the-modi-biden-dynamic?lang=en.

ASJP. "Islamophobia Unveiled: Harnessing Social Media for Positive Change." Algerian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, vol. 11, no. 1, 2024, <https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/downArticle/460/11/1/241819>.

Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies (ASARB). 2020 U.S. Religion Census. 2023, https://www.usreligioncensus.org/sites/default/files/2023-10/2020_US_Religion_Census.pdf.

The Atlantic. "The Role of Black Muslims in American Social Justice Movements." The Atlantic, Feb., 2021 www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/02/black-muslims-american-social-justice/617210/.

Ayers, John W. "Changing sides: 9/11 and the American Muslim voter." Review of Religious Research (2007): 187-198.

Ayers, John W., and C. Richard Hofstetter. "American Muslim Political Participation Following 9/11: Religious Belief, Political Resources, Social Structures, and Political

- Awareness." *Politics and Religion* 1.1 ,2008: 3–26.
- Bacchus, Nazreen S. "Resisting Islamophobia: Muslims Seeking American Integration Through Spiritual Growth, Community Organizing, and Political Activism." *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 36, no. 4, 2019, pp. 1–20. *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, <https://www.ajis.org/index.php/ajiss/article/view/548>.
- Baker, Peter, and Isabel Kershner. "Trump Recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's Capital and Orders U.S. Embassy to Move." *The New York Times*, 6 Dec. 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/12/06/world/middleeast/trump-jerusalem-israel-capital.html.
- Ballhaus, Rebecca. "Muslim Voter Turnout Grew in 2020." *Politico*, 27 Apr. 2022, www.politico.com/news/2022/04/27/muslim-voter-turnout-2020-00028078.
- Bandow, Doug. "America and Saudi Arabia: A Dubious Alliance." *Cato Institute*, 2002. www.cato.org/study/americas-dubious-alliance-saudi-arabia.
- BBC News. "Afghan Conflict: US and Taliban Sign Deal to End 18 Year War." *BBC News*, 4 Mar. 2020, www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-51689443.
- BBC News. "Trump tells Michigan rally he 'took a bullet for democracy'." *BBC News*, 2 May 2024, www.bbc.com/news/articles/c4ngwzd4y83o.
- . "US Election 2016: Donald Trump Softens Stance on Muslim Ban.", 11 May 2016, www.bbc.com/news/election-us-2016-36272236.
- BBC Travel. "Dearborn, Michigan: A Visit to the First Arab-Majority City in the US." www.bbc.com/travel/article/20240429-dearborn-michigan-a-visit-to-the-first-arab-majority-city-in-the-us.
- Beer, Tommy. "Trump Called BLM Protesters 'Thugs' but Capitol-Storming Supporters 'Very Special.'" *Forbes*, 14 Apr. 2022, www.forbes.com/sites/tommybeer/2021/01/06/trump-called-blm-protesters-thugs-but-capitol-storming-supporters-very-special.

Beydoun, Khaled A., et al. "'Muslim Bans' and The (Re)Making of Political Islamophobia."

University of Illinois, Law Review, vol. 2017, pp. 1733–73,

www.illinoislawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Beydoun.pdf.

BIC Research, "U.S. Voter Dynamics and Middle East Policy Amidst the War in Gaza." Nov.

1, 2024 www.bic-rhr.com/sites/default/files/inline-

files/Yasmine%20Akrimi_Commentary_November%202024_1.pdf

Blankenship, Amanda. "The Trump Effect: How One Man Transformed the Republican Party."

Budget and the Bees, 14 Feb. 2024, www.budgetandthebees.com/the-trump-effect-how-one-man-transformed-the-republican-party/.

Bobkin, Nikolay. "The Biden Administration in Search of a New Balance for US Policy in the

Middle East." *Россия и Америка вXXI Веке*, no. 2, Jan. 2022, p. 0,

doi:10.18254/s207054760019808-5.

Bollier, Sam. "US Muslim Vote: 'Mild' Enthusiasm for Obama."

www.aljazeera.com/features/2012/10/20/us-muslim-vote-mild-enthusiasm-for-obama.

Bourtis, Evan. "Muslim Voters Are Finding Their Voice." *Reasons to be Cheerful*, 24 Aug.

2020, reasonstobecheerful.world/muslim-voters-are-finding-their-voice/

Bridge Initiative. "Islamophobia and Anti-Muslim Sentiment in the United States." Georgetown

University, bridge.georgetown.edu.

---. "Islamophobia Resource Center." Georgetown University, bridge.georgetown.edu.

Bridge Initiative. "Report: Muslims Most Negatively Portrayed Minority in US Media." Bridge

Initiative, Georgetown University, 2019, <https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/report-muslims-most-negatively-portrayed-minority-in-us-media/>

---. "Trump on Muslims and The Muslim Ban: Interactive Timeline." The Bridge Initiative,

Georgetown University, 2024, bridge.georgetown.edu/research/tump-on-muslims/.

Britton, Joanne. "Understanding Muslim Family Life: Changing Relationships, Personal Life

and Inequality." Bristol University Press, 2024.

Brookings Institution. "How Foreign Policy Factors for American Muslims in 2020."

Brookings, 9 Mar. 2022, www.brookings.edu/articles/how-foreign-policy-factors-for-american-muslims-in-2020/.

Cainkar, Louise. "The Impact of Anti-Muslim Rhetoric on Muslim American Political

Engagement." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2017, pp. 213–228, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2017.1332086>.

CAIR. "American Muslim Voters and the 2012 Election."

www.cair.com/wpcontent/uploads/2012/06/American_Muslim_Voter_Survey_2012.pdf, CAIR, 2012,

---. "CAIR 2024 Election Survey of Muslim Voters." www.cair.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/CAIRMuslimVoterSurvey.pdf.

---. "CAIR Exit Poll of Muslim Voters Reveals Surge in Support for Jill Stein and Donald Trump, Steep Decline for Harris." 8 Nov. 2024, www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-exit-poll-of-muslim-voters-reveals-surge-in-support-for-jill-stein-and-donald-trump-steep-decline-for-harris/.

---. "CAIR Maryland Releases Results of Online 2024 Community Election Survey." Council on American-Islamic Relations, 20 Mar. 2025, www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-maryland-releases-results-of-online-2024-community-election-survey/.

---. "CAIR Supports the No Hate Act." CAIR, www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-supports-the-no-hate-act/.

---. "CAIR Swing State Data Shows Muslim Voters Hold Diverse Preferences." www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-swing-state-data-shows-muslim-voters-hold-diverse-preferences-still-up-for-grabs-in-2024/.

---. "CAIR's 2025 Civil Rights Report Reveals Islamophobia at an All-Time High

- Nationwide." 11 Mar. 2025, ca.cair.com/press-release/cairs-2025-civil-rights-report-reveals-islamophobia-at-an-all-time-high-nationwide-with-california-leading-in-complaints/.
- . "CAIR-Chicago's 2024 Voter Guide for the American Muslim Community." www.cairchicago.org/blog/2024voterguide.
- . "CAIR-Chicago's Post-Election Vigilance and Advocacy." CAIR-Chicago, 7 Nov. 2024, www.cairchicago.org/blog/cair-chicagos-post-election-vigilance-and-advocacy
- . "CAIR-Georgia Commends Georgia Muslim Voters for High Turnout, Congratulates Muslim Electees, Responds to Trump's Reelection- CAIR Georgia." CAIR Georgia, 6 Nov. 2024, cairgeorgia.org/press-releases/
- . "CAIR-Ohio Holds Voter Registration Drives at Mosques." CAIR-Ohio, 20 Oct. 2022, cair-ohio.com/cair-ohio-holds-voter-registration-drives-at-masajid/.
- . "CAIR-SV/CC Reaffirms Commitment to Combating Islamophobia, Xenophobia, and Racism Amid Trump Reelection, Commends California Muslim Voter Turnout." ca.cair.com/press-release/cair-sv-cc-reaffirms-commitment-to-combating-islamophobia-xenophobia-and-racism-amid-trump-re-election-commends-california-muslim-voter-turnout/, CAIR Sacramento Valley, 8 Nov. 2024,
- . "Islamophobia in the Mainstream." Jan. 2022, www.cair.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/IslamophobiaintheMainstream.pdf.
- . "The Empowerment of Hate: 2017 Civil Rights Report." 2017, www.cair.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/CAIR-Civil-Rights-Report-2017.pdf
- . "Why So Many Latinos Are Becoming Muslims." 2022, www.cair.com/cair_in_the_news/why-so-many-latinos-are-becoming-muslims/.
- Cann, Harrison. "New Report Takes Stock of Muslim Voter Participation in Pennsylvania." City & State PA, 28 Apr. 2022, www.cityandstatepa.com/politics/2022/04/new-report-

takes-stock-muslim-voter-participation-pennsylvania/366254.

The Carter Center. "Countering the Islamophobia Industry."

www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/conflict_resolution/countering-isis/cr-countering-the-islamophobia-industry.pdf.

Carter, Ralph G., and James M. Scott. "Taking the Lead: Congressional Foreign Policy Entrepreneurs in U.S. Foreign Policy." *Politics and Policy*, vol. 32, no. 1, Mar. 2004, pp. 34–70, doi:10.1111/J.1747-1346.2004.TB00175. X.

CBC News. "Muslims Use Hashtags to Reclaim their Voices Online." CBC News, 27 Nov. 2015, www.cbc.ca/news/trending/muslim-hashtags-social-media-1.3339547.

---. "President Biden Signs Executive Order on Federal Policing 2 Years After George Floyd's Killing." CBS News, 26 May 2022, www.cbsnews.com/minnesota/news/biden-signs-law-enforcement-reform-bill-into-law-with-george-floyds-family-present.

Change Research. "Muslim Voters Voted Overwhelmingly for Biden, Support Key Democratic Priorities." report, 2021, engageusa.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Muslim-Voters-Survey-Memo-2.pdf.

Chicago Public Library. "About Mohsin Hamid, Author of *Exit West*." www.chipublib.org/blogs/post/about-mohsin-hamid-author-of-exit-west/.

Chouhoud, Youssef, et al. "American Muslim Political Participation: Between Diversity and Cohesion." *Politics and Religion*, vol. 12, no. 4, Feb. 2019, pp. 736–65, doi:10.1017/s1755048318000858.

Civillini, Matteo. "President Biden Sets US Emissions Goal for 2035 in the Shadow of Trump." *Climate Home News*, 8 Feb. 2025, www.climatechangenews.com/2024/12/19/president-biden-sets-us-emissions-goal-for-2035-in-the-shadow-of-trump.

CNN. "Muslim Americans Helped Biden Win Michigan in 2020. Now..." CNN, 4 Nov. 2023.

edition.cnn.com/2023/11/04/politics/muslim-americans-biden-michigan.

---. "Trump in Michigan Makes Play for Arab American and Muslim Voters." CNN, 26 Oct.

2024, www.cnn.com/2024/10/26/politics/muslim-leaders-michigan-trump-endorse/index.html.

Connley, Courtney. "Meet Rashida Tlaib and Ilhan Omar, the First Muslim Women Elected to Congress." CNBC, 7 Nov. 2018, www.cnbc.com/2018/11/07/rashida-tlaib-ilhan-omar-are-the-1st-muslim-women-elected-to-congress.html.

The Conversation. "Voters in Arab American Strongholds Likely Tipped Michigan in Trump's Favor." The Conversation, 9 Nov. 2024, theconversation.com/voters-in-arab-american-strongholds-likely-tipped-michigan-in-trumps-favor-242854.

---. "Yes, Muslims Are Portrayed Negatively in American Media." The Conversation, 27 May 2022, theconversation.com/yes-muslims-are-portrayed-negatively-in-american-media-2-political-scientists-reviewed-over-250-000-articles-to-find-conclusive-evidence-183327.

Council of Europe. "Islamophobia and its Consequences on Young People." Council of Europe, 2024, www.coe.int/en/web/youth/-/islamophobia-and-its-consequences-on-young-people.

---. "The Shape of Contemporary Islamophobia and Its Specific Effects on Young Muslims' Political and Associative Life." 2024, www.coe.int/en/web/all-different-all-equal/the-shape-of-contemporary-islamophobia-and-its-specific-effects-on-young-muslims-political-and-associative-life.

Cuatower. "Muslim Students Struggle to Find Places for Prayer and Community." 29 Mar. 2024, cuatower.com/2022/12/muslim-students-struggle-to-find-places-for-prayer-and-community.

CUNY Academic Works. "Policy Advocacy and the Performance of Muslim American Identity." academicworks.cuny.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1543&context=gc_etds.

Curiel, Jonathan. "Islam in America." Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015.

Curtis, Edward E. "Muslims in America: A Short History." Oxford UP, 2009.

Data Pandas. "Muslim Population by State 2025." Data Pandas,
www.datapandas.org/ranking/muslim-population-by-state.

Davis, Kaitlyn. "The Big Peach Divided: Demographic-Electoral Transitions and Geographic Polarization in Atlanta Metropolitan Area Counties." *Southeastern Geographer*, vol. 64, no. 3, Sept. 2024, pp. 312–32, doi:10.1353/sgo. 2024.a934970.

Department of Homeland Security. "A Comprehensive U.S. Government Approach to Countering Violent Extremism." Factsheet,
www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/US%20Government%20Approach%20to%20CVE-Fact%20Sheet_0.pdf.

Department of Justice. "Combating post-9/11 Discriminatory Backlash." Department of Justice,
www.justice.gov/crt/combating-post-911-discriminatory-backlash-6.

DergiPark. "Hate Speech on Social Media in the Axis of Islamophobia." DergiPark, 28 Nov. 2024, dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/mediad/issue/84654/1525052.

Diamond, Anna. "Trump Calls Black Lives Matter a 'Symbol of Hate.'" *Politico*, 1 July 2020,
www.politico.com/news/2020/07/01/trump-black-lives-matter-347051.

DW. "Jerusalem US Embassy Inauguration Divides the City." DW, 14 May 2018,
www.dw.com/en/jerusalem-us-embassy-inauguration-divides-the-city/a-43738921.

E3/EU+3 and Islamic Republic of Iran. "Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action." 14 June 2015,
www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/122460/full-text-of-the-iran-nuclear-deal.pdf

Emerald Expert Briefings. "Biden Stresses US Aim to Contain Israel-Hamas Crisis." Emerald Expert Briefings, Oct. 2023, doi:10.1108/oxan-es282579.

Emgage Action. "Emgage Action: A Muslim American Advocacy Group." Emgage Action,
emgageaction.org

Emgage. "2024 American Muslim Voter Intentions and Policy Priorities." Emgage USA, emgageusa.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/Exclusive-Preview_-2024-American-Muslim-Voter-Intentions-and-Policy-Priorities-2.pdf.

---. "Home Emgage USA" EmgageUSA, emgageusa.org.

---. "Impact 2020: The Million Muslim Votes Campaign Voter Turnout. Report." Emgage, 2022, emgageusa.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Emgage-ImpactReport-2020-v2.4-lr-1.pdf.

---. "Mobilizing for Effective Change." Emgage USA, emgageusa.org/mobilize/.

---. "Muslim Voters Survey Memo." Emgage USA, 2021, emgageusa.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Muslim-Voters-Survey-Memo-2.pdf

Emmons, Alex, et al. "Joe Biden, in Departure from Obama Policy, Says He Would Make Saudi Arabia a 'Pariah.'" *The Intercept*, 21 Nov. 2019, theintercept.com/2019/11/21/democratic-debate-joe-biden-saudi-arabia.

Encyclopedia Britannica. "Abraham Accords Peace Declaration, Summary, Countries, and Significance." Encyclopedia Britannica, 11 Jan. 2025, www.britannica.com/topic/Abraham-Accords.

---. "Identity Politics." Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 2024, www.britannica.com/topic/identity-politics.

Equality Labs via Coda Story. "The Infodemic: Islamophobia Escalates During Covid-19." Coda Story, 6 Oct. 2020, www.codastory.com/newsletters/infodemic-may-22/.

Erkmen, Hatice Altundal. "The New 'Other': Endorsement of Islamophobia in the American Political Discourse." *Dini Araştırmalar* vol. 25, no. 63, Dec. 2022, pp. 423-446. doi.org/10.15745/da.1170036.

Esposito, John L. "The Future of Islam." Oxford UP, 2010.

European Website on Integration, 17 Mar. 2019, migrant-integration.ec.europa.eu/library-

document/forgotten-women-impact-islamophobia-muslim-women_en.

---. "Forgotten Women: The Impact of Islamophobia on Muslim Women." European Website on Integration, 22, June, 2021, www.migrant-integration.ec.europa.eu/library-document/forgotten-women-impact-islamophobia-muslim-women_en.

FactCheck.org. "Trump's Revised 9/11 Claim." FactCheck.org, 8 Aug. 2016, www.factcheck.org/2016/08/trumps-revised-911-claim/.

Fam, Mariam. "Some US Muslims Struggle to Find a Candidate They Can Tolerate Supporting for President." AP News, 31 Oct. 2024, apnews.com/article/election-2024-us-muslim-voters-georgia-trump-harris-stein-5c5c207fc9660c07b7c2fcd7e749e827.

Foreign Policy Association. "U.S.-Muslim Engagement Project." FPA, fpa.org/us-muslim-engagement-project/. Foreign Policy, 7 Apr. 2023, foreignpolicy.com/2023/03/17/iraq-war-anniversary-lessons-bush-biden-afghanistan.

Frontiers in Political Science. "Exploring the Role of TikTok for Intersectionality Marginalized Groups." Frontiers, 8 Nov. 2024, www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpos.2024.1496833/full.

Fulton, Brad R. "Fostering Muslim Civic Engagement through Faith-Based Community Organizing." Vol. 1, Nov. 2017, doi:10.18060/21406.

Future Center for Advanced Research and Studies. "13% of Democrats 'Uncommitted': New Dynamics in Arab and Muslim American Voters in the 2024 Elections." Future Center for Advanced Research and Studies, 2024, www.futureuae.com/en-US/Mainpage/Item/9793/new-dynamics-the-evolving-role-of-arab-and-muslim-americans-in-the-2024-elections.

Galbraith, Jean. "President Trump Withdraws the United States from the Iran Deal and Announces the Reimposition of Sanctions." American Journal of International Law, vol. 112, no. 3, Jan. 2018, pp. 514–22,

dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=6538935.

Gavins, Raymond. *Nation of Islam (NOI)*. Cambridge University Press, 2016, p.206,

doi:10.1017/CBO9781316216453.219.

Grant, Nicholas. "Patriotism and Black Internationalism. " *Modern American History*, vol. 6,

July 2023, pp. 322–40, doi:10.1017/mah.2023.39.

GWJ. "US Elections: Political Media Consumption Trends." GWJ, 8 Sep. 2024,

www.gwi.com/blog/trends/political-media/.

Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck, Jane I. Smith, and Kathleen M. Moore. "Muslim women in

America: The challenge of Islamic identity today". Oxford University Press, 2006.

Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck. "Muslims in U.S. Politics: Recognized and Integrated, or Seduced and Abandoned?" *SAIS Review*, vol. 21, no. 2, July 2001, pp. 91–102,

doi:10.1353/SAIS.2001.0041.

Harb, Ali. "Biden's Outreach to US Arabs, Muslims 'Falling Flat' Amid Israel-Gaza War." *Al Jazeera*, 8 Nov. 2023, www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/7/bidens-outreach-to-us-arabs-and-muslims-falling-flat-amid-gaza-war.

Hare, Paul Webster. "POV: How Trump's Relationships With Saudi Arabia and Elon Musk Will Shape Foreign Policy." Boston University, 22 Nov. 2024.

Hassan, Osman A. "Does Muslim Votes Matter for US Presidential Candidates?" *WardheerNews*, 19 Oct. 2024, wardheernews.com/does-muslim-votes-matter-for-us-presidential-candidates/.

Heys, Erin. "Generational Values and Political Participation in Recent U.S. Elections. Berkeley Institute for Young Americans." June 2024, youngamericans.berkeley.edu/2024/06/generational-values-and-political-participation-in-recent-u-s-elections/.

Hirsh, Michael. "Iraq War Anniversary: The Lessons Not Learned From Iraq."

- Foreignpolicy.com 17, March, 2023, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/03/17/i>
- Hooper, Ibrahim. "Council on American-Islamic Relations Condemns Trump's Muslim Ban." Council on American-Islamic Relations, 29 Jan. 2017, www.cair.com/cair-condemns-trumps-muslim-ban/.
- Hopkins, Peter. "What Has Changed in Muslim Young People's Engagements with Politics?" Newcastle University, 10 Jan. 2025, from.ncl.ac.uk/.
- House Committee on Foreign Affairs. "Getting Answers on the Afghanistan Withdrawal." House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 25 Sept. 2024, <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/getting-answers-on-afghanistan-withdrawal/>.
- House Ways and Means Committee. "Biden-Harris Record: Job Losses for Small Business While Adding More Government Bureaucrats." House Ways and Means Committee, 6 Sept. 2024, <https://waysandmeans.house.gov/2024/09/06/biden-harris-record-job-losses-for-small-business-while-adding-more-government-bureaucrats>.
- Human Rights Watch. "Hate Crimes Against Muslims in US Continue to Rise in 2016." Human Rights Watch, 28 Oct. 2020, www.hrw.org/news/2017/05/11/hate-crimes-against-muslims-us-continue-rise-2016.
- . "World Report 2023: Saudi Arabia." Human Rights Watch, www.hrw.org/world-report/2023/country-chapters/saudi-arabia.
- Hussaini, Fayyaz. "In Afghanistan, Trump Will Have to Play a Balancing Game." Al Jazeera, 24 Dec. 2024, www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2024/12/24/in-afghanistan-trump-will-have-to-play-a-balancing-game.
- Illinois Digital Environment for Access to Learning and Scholarship. "Generational Differences in the Islamic Faith for Muslim Americans." IDEALS, University of Illinois, 2020, ideals.illinois.edu/items/16378.
- Immigration History. "Muslim Travel Ban." Immigration History,

immigrationhistory.org/item/muslim-travel-ban/.

The Independent. "Threats and Acts of Vandalism Against Mosques Double So Far in 2017.

Independent, 15 Mar. 2017, www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-mosques-threats-double-islamophobia-threats-vandalism-2017-cair-american-islamic-relations-muslims-arson-violence-aggression-a7631581.html.

Institute for Social Policy and Understanding. "Winning Muslim Votes: A Policy Priority Analysis in Swing States." ISPU, 31 Jul. 2024, ispu.org/winning-muslim-votes-key-findings/.

---. "American Mosque Survey 2020 Report 1" ISPU, 29 July 2021, ispu.org/report-1-mosque-survey-2020.

Institute for Social Policy and Understanding. YouTube, www.youtube.com/theISPU.

International Refugee Assistance Project. "'President Biden Removed the Muslim Ban but He Didn't Fix the Harm': IRAP Files Lawsuit on Behalf of Separated Somali Refugee Family." International Refugee Assistance Project, 7 Apr. 2022, <https://refugeerights.org/news-resources/irap-files-lawsuit-on-behalf-of-separated-somali-refugee-family>

Islam Channel. "US President Joe Biden Appoints Muslim Advisor." Islam Channel, islamchannel.tv/us-president-joe-biden-appoints-muslim-advisor/10.18860/ua.v25i1.25788journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/13582291231176513.

Islamic Center of Orlando. Islamic Center of Orlando Jama Masjid, www.icorlando.org/.

Jamal, Amaney. "The political participation and engagement of Muslim Americans: Mosque involvement and group consciousness." *American Politics Research* 33.4 (2005): 521-544.

Jamil, Marcus L. United States. Manchester University Press eBooks, 2023,

doi:10.7765/9781526148506.00012.

Jawdat, Lenna. "Experiences of Discrimination Among Arab Americans and Muslim Americans Post-9/11 Attacks." Smith ScholarWorks, scholarworks.smith.edu/theses/896.

Jeffries, Bayyinah S. "Muslims and Business in North America." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion. January 31, 2023. Oxford University Press.

JSTOR. "American Muslims and US Foreign Policy." JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2625553.

---. "Negotiating Muslim Youth Identity in a Post-9/11 World." JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/41236889.

Justice For All. "American Muslims 2025: A Brief Profile." Justice For All, 2024, www.justiceforall.org/resources/reports/american-muslims-2025-a-brief-profile/.

Kelleher, and Dylan. "Democratic National Committee | Definition, Activities, Membership, Democratic National Convention, History, and WikiLeaks." Encyclopedia Britannica, 22 Feb. 2025, www.britannica.com/topic/Democratic-National-Committee.

Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Diaspora Studies. "Auto Workers and the Lebanese Diaspora: A History of Labor and Migration." Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Diaspora Studies, <https://khayrallah.lau.edu.lb/auto-workers>.

Kumar, Manjeet. "An Analysis of the Role of Identity Politics in Shaping Electoral Outcomes." International Journal for Scientific Research and Science & Technology, 25 Feb. 2019, ijsrst.com/IJSRST52411256.

Lajevardi, Nazita, et al. "The Empowerment Effect of Visible Political Representation: Examining the Impact of Muslim Representation on Political Outcomes." Electoral Studies, Feb. 2024, doi:10.1016/j.electstud.2023.102741.

Lajevardi, Nazita. "Outsiders at Home: The Politics of American Islamophobia*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

- Lashof, Dan. "Tracking Progress: Climate Action Under the Biden Administration." World Resources Institute, www.wri.org
- Lawson, Steven F. *The Civil Rights Movement: A Photographic History, 1954-68*. New York UP, 2006. Leiden Law Blog, 3 Nov. 2020, www.leidenlawblog.nl/articles/donald-trumps-law-and-order-campaign-a-tried-and-tested-strategy.
- Love, Erik. *Civil Liberties or Civil Rights? Muslim American Advocacy Organizations*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2013, pp. 37–53, doi:10.1057/9781137305589_3.
- Malinovich, Nadia. "The Americanization of Islam in the Contemporary United States." *Revue Française d'Études Américaines*, 2006/Vol 3, no 109, DOI: 10.3917/rfea.109.0100.
- Mazrui, Ali A. "Between the Crescent and the Star-Spangled Banner: American Muslims and US Foreign Policy." *International Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 3, July 1996, pp. 493–506, doi:10.2307/2625553.
- McCarthy, Douglas. "Henry Ford Health System: A Framework for System Integration." *The commonwealth Fund*,
- Middle East Eye. "Why the Muslim Vote for Republicans Grew in 2022 Midterm Elections." Middle East Eye, www.middleeasteye.net/news/why-muslim-americans-voted-republican-2022-midterm-elections.
- . "Trump's Twitter ban: 10 Islamophobic posts by outgoing president." www.middleeasteye.net/news/twitter-bans-trump-hate-posts
- Migration Policy Institute. "Biden's Deportation Record." Migration Policy Institute, www.migrationpolicy.org/article/biden-deportation-record.
- Miller, Zeke J. "White House: Iraq War Vote Obama Opposed Could Be Used for ISIS Strikes." *TIME*, 13 Sept. 2014, time.com/3362683/obama-isis-iraq-syria-war-aumf.
- Minta, Michael D. Rashida Tlaib. 2022, doi:10.4324/9781003213925-5.
- Mitchell, Travis, and Travis Mitchell. *Muslims in America: Immigrants and Those Born in U.S.*

- See Life Differently in Many Ways." Pew Research Center, 14 Apr. 2024, Modern Diplomacy. "Muslim Voters in Battleground States Boosted Donald Trump to Victory". Modern Diplomacy, 8 Nov. 2024, <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2024/11/08/muslim-voters-in-battle-ground-states-boosted-donald-trump-to-victory/>
- Mogahed, Dalia, and Saher Selod. "The Muslim American Vote Matters and It Can No Longer Be Taken for Granted." Al Jazeera, 25 Aug. 2024, www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2024/8/25/the-muslim-american-vote-matters-and-it-can-no-longer-be-taken-for.
- Monehad.Com. Life Story. monehad.com/life-story/
- Moss, Dana M. From Diaspora Mobilization to Immigrant Resistance: "Comparing Syrian and Yemeni Mobilization against Inequality at Home and Abroad." Emerald Publishing Limited, 2021, doi:10.1108/S0895-993520210000028008.
- Mount Vernon. "Naturalization Acts of 1790 and 1795." www.mountvernon.org/education/primary-source-collections/primary-source-collections/article/naturalization-acts-of-1790-and-1795.
- Mousavizadeh, Mousa and Mohammad Javad. "Biden's Iran Strategy: Diplomatic Struggles, Sanctions, Regional Changes." Daily Sabah, 19 Jan. 2025, www.dailysabah.com/opinion/op-ed/bidens-iran-strategy-diplomatic-struggles-sanctions-regional-changes.
- Musabji, Heena, and Christina Abraham. "The Threat to Civil Liberties and Its Effect on Muslims in America." DePaul Journal for Social Justice, vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 2016, p. 83, via.library.depaul.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1086&context=jsj
- Musli Advocates. "Black Muslim Lives Matter: A Report on the Experiences of Black Muslims in America." 2020, muslimadvocates.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Black-Muslim-Lives-Matter-Report.pdf.

Muslim Advocates. "Congressional Testimony on the Muslim Ban." U.S. House of Representatives, 24 Sep. 2019,

docs.house.gov/meetings/JU/JU01/20190924/109976/HHRG-116-JU01-Wstate-KheraF-20190924.pdf.

---. "Promoting Justice & Equity." Muslim Advocates, muslimadvocates.org.

Muslim American Society. "Flourishing Community with a Rich Cultural Heritage." Muslim American Society, muslimamericansociety.org/muslim-american-society-flourishing-community-with-a-rich-cultural-heritage/.

"Muslim Americans reflect on the impact of 9/11." Harvard Gazette, 10 Sept.

2021, <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2021/09/muslim-americans-reflect-on-the-impact-of-9-11/>.

Muslim Civic Coalition. "Prioritizing Deliberation in the 2024 American Muslim Vote." Muslim Civic Coalition, 2024, www.muslimciviccoalition.org/2024-vote.

Muslim Mirror. "12 Muslim Faces in Biden Administration." Muslim Mirror, 27 Jan.

2021, muslimmirror.com/here-is-a-list-of-muslims-appointed-to-key-posts-in-biden-administration.

Muslims for Just Futures. "Advocacy & Civic Engagement." Muslims for Just Futures, www.muslimsforjustfutures.org/advocacy-civic-engagement.

The Nation. "The Truth About Muslim Student Associations." The Nation, 2015.

<https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/truth-about-muslim-student-associations/>.

NBC News. "Muslim Voters Once Abandoned the GOP. Now they May Leave the Democrats."

NBC News, 10 Nov. 2024, www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/muslim-voters-abandoned-gop-now-may-leave-democrats-rcna179304.

---. "Obama: 'I Reject Discrimination Against Muslim Americans.'"

NBC News, www.nbcnews.com/video/obama-i-reject-discrimination-against-muslim

americans-852098115844.

---. "President Joe Biden Drops Out of 2024 Presidential Race." NBC News, 21 July 2024, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/president-joe-biden-drops-2024-presidential-race-rcna159867>.

Neptune, Samuel. "Discrimination against Muslims in the United States." Ballard Brief, 12 July 2024, ballardbrief.byu.edu/issue-briefs/discrimination-against-muslims-in-the-united-states.

The New Arab. "The GOP's Islamophobia Shows no Signs of Abating." 6 Jan. 2022, www.newarab.com/analysis/gops-islamophobia-shows-no-signs-abating.

---. "Muslim Voters for Trump Upset by His Pro-Israel Cabinet Picks." 16 Nov. 2024, <https://www.newarab.com/news/muslim-voters-trump-upset-his-pro-israel-cabinet-picks>.

New Lines Magazine. "Gaza, Islamophobia, Family and the Environment Are the Top Issues for Muslim-American Voters in 2024." New Lines Magazine, 1 Aug. 2024, newlinesmag.com/reportage/gaza-islamophobia-family-and-the-environment-are-the-top-issues-for-muslim-american-voters-in-2024.

Newcastle University. "Dual Impact of Islamophobia." Newcastle University, 7 Feb. 2019, <https://www.ncl.ac.uk/press/articles/archive/2019/02/dualimpactofislamophobia/>.

Noland, Marcus. "Religion, Culture, and Economic Performance." Social Science Research Network, Sept. 2003, doi:10.2139/SSRN.472484.

NPR. "Arab and Muslim Voters in Michigan Back a Republican for President for the First Time in 2024." NPR, 3 Mar. 2025, www.npr.org/2025/03/03/nx-s1-5249686/arab-muslim-voters-dearborn-hamtramck-trump-gaza.

- Ocampo, Angela X., Karam Dana, and Matt A. Barreto. "The American Muslim voter: Community belonging and political participation." *Social Science Research* 72 (2018): 84-99.
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. "Addressing Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims: Youth." OSCE, 2023, www.osce.org/files/f/documents/2/0/39017.pdf.
- Oskooii, Kassra AR, Karam Dana, and Matthew A. Barreto. "Beyond generalized ethnocentrism: Islam-specific beliefs and prejudice toward Muslim Americans." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 9.3 (2021): 538-565.
- Osman, Ismail D. "Muslim Voters in Battle Ground States Boosted Donald Trump to Victory." *Modern Diplomacy*, 7 Nov. 2024, moderndiplomacy.eu/2024/11/08/muslim-voters-in-battle-ground-states-boosted-donald-trump-to-victory.
- Oxford Analytica. "Democrats Are Losing Support Among MENA-Origin Voters." *Expert Briefings*, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1108/OXAN-GA285240>.
- Oxford University. "Islamophobia in North America." Oxford University Press, 20 Nov. 2024, oxfordre.com/religion/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-840.
- PBS NewsHour. "Biden Administration Notifies Congress of Planned 8 Billion Weapons-Sale to Israel." *PBS News*, 4 Jan. 2025, www.pbs.org/newshour/world/biden-administration-notifies-congress-of-planned-8-billion-weapons-sale-to-israel.
- . "India Announces Steps to Implement a Citizenship Law That Excludes Muslims." *PBS News*, 11 Mar. 2024, www.pbs.org/newshour/world/india-announces-steps-to-implement-a-citizenship-law-that-excludes-muslims.
- Petti, Matthew. "Biden Says He's Pushing a 2-state Solution. Let's Put Him to the Test." *Responsible Statecraft*, 31 Jan. 2024, responsiblestatecraft.org/biden-israel-palestine.

- Pew Research Center. "American Muslims' Political and Social Views." Pew Research Center, 26 July 2017, www.pewresearch.org/religion/2017/07/26/political-and-social-views/.
- . "Behind Biden's 2020 Victory." Pew Research Center, 30 June 2021, www.pewresearch.org/politics/2021/06/30/behind-bidens-2020-victory/.
- . "Demographic Portrait of Muslim Americans." Pew Research Center, 26 July 2017, <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2017/07/26/demographic-portrait-of-muslim-americans/>.
- . "Diverse Muslim Voices: A Study of Muslim American Political Engagement." Pew Research Center, www.pewresearch.org.
- . "How Americans Navigate Politics on TikTok, X, Facebook, and Instagram." Pew Research Center, 12 Jun. 2024, www.pewresearch.org/internet/2024/06/12/how-americans-navigate-politics-on-tiktok-x-facebook-and-instagram/.
- . "In Many Ways, Muslim Men and Women See Life in America Differently." Pew Research Center, 7 Aug. 2017, www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2017/08/07/in-many-ways-muslim-men-and-women-see-life-in-america-differently/.
- . "Muslim Americans: Faith, Freedom, and the Future." Pew Research Center, 2008, www.pewforum.org/2008/08/26/muslim-americans-faith-freedom-and-the-future/.
- . "Muslims in America: Immigrants and Those Born in U.S. See Life Differently in Many Ways." 14 Apr. 2018, <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2018/04/14/muslims-in-america-immigrants-and-those-born-in-u-s-see-life-differently-in-many-ways/>.
- . "Section 5: Political Opinions and Social Values." Pew Research Center, 30 Aug. 2011, <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2011/08/30/section-5-political-opinions-and-social-values/>.
- . "A Small but Steady Share of U.S. Muslims Are Republicans." Pew Research Center, 6 Nov. 2018, www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2018/11/06/republicans-account-for-a

small-but-steady-share-of-u-s-muslims/.

---. "Social Media Use in 2021. Pew Research Center: Internet & Technology", 7 Apr.

2021, <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2021/04/07/social-media-use-in-2021/>.

---. "U.S. Muslims Concerned About Their Place in Society, But Continue to Believe in The

American Dream." Pew Research Center, 26 July 2017,

<https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2017/07/26/findings-from-pew-research-centers-2017-survey-of-us-muslims/>.

PMC. "Implications of the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act for Public Health." PMC, 1 Jan. 2018,

[pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC5944881/](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC5944881/).

---. "Medicaid Expansion under the Affordable Care Act." PMC, 1 Jan.

2014, [pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC4225799/](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC4225799/).

Politico. "Biden's troop deployment to the border is different from Trump's." Politico, 12 May

2023, www.politico.com/news/2023/05/12/biden-trump-troops-us-mexico-border-00096439.

---. "Muslim Voter Turnout Grew in 2020." POLITICO, 27 Apr. 2022,

www.politico.com/news/2022/04/27/muslim-voter-turnout-2020-00028078.

---.eu. "Trump plan pushes Muslim Republicans toward exit." Politico.eu,

www.politico.eu/article/trump-plan-pushes-muslim-republicans-toward-exit-islam-xenophobia/.

"Position of the USA Government on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict during Trump's

Presidency"/Իսրայելա-Պաղեստինյան Հակամարտության Վերաբերյալ Ամն

Կառավարության Դիրքորոշումը Թրամփի Նախագահության Շրջանում. Jan.

2022, pp. 31–38, doi:10.54151/27382559-2022.2b-31.

PRRI. "2020 PRRI Census of American Religion." PRRI | at the Intersection of Religion,

Values, and Public Life., 29 Aug. 2024, www.prri.org/research/2020-census-of

american-religion.

Rafia Zakaria. "Two Muslim Women Are Headed to Congress. Will They Be Heard?" Foreign Policy, 12 Nov. 2018, foreignpolicy.com

Raiyn, Sascha. "Detroit Evening Report: Hate Crimes in US Reached All-time High in 2023, FBI Data Shows." WDET 101.9 FM, 25 Sept. 2024, wdet.org/2024/09/24/hate-crimes-in-us-reached-all-time-high-in-2023-fbi-data-shows.

Rakich, Nathaniel. "Could Arab American and Muslim Voters Cost Biden the 2024 Election?" ABC News, 28 Feb. 2024, abcnews.go.com/538/arab-american-muslim-voters-cost-biden-2024-election/story?id=107634583.

Rashbaum, William K. "What Muslim Ban? Trump Tries to Sidestep Years of Islamophobia." The New York Times, 30 Oct. 2024, www.nytimes.com/2024/10/30/us/politics/trump-arab-muslim-voters.html.

Rashida Tlaib. "Biography," 20 Apr. 2021, www.biography.com/political-figures/rashida-tlaib.

Reuters. "Joe Biden Launches Plan to Combat Islamophobia Days Ahead of Trump Takeover." NDTV, 13 Dec. 2024, www.ndtv.com/world-news/joe-biden-launches-plan-to-combat-islamophobia-days-ahead-of-trump-takeover-7236526.

Riccioni, Jacob C. "Black (Muslim) Lives Matter: African American Muslim Social Activism." The Hilltop Review, vol. 13, no. 1, 2022, scholarworks.wmich.edu/hilltopreview/vol13/iss1/4/.

Richardson, Tatum. "Forged by Fire: The Securitized Relationship Between the US and Saudi Arabia." Harvard International Review, 13 Mar. 2023, hir.harvard.edu/forged-by-fire-the-securitized-relationship-between-the-us-and-saudi-arabia.

Robertson, Lori, and Eugene Kiely. "Timeline of U.S. Withdrawal from Afghanistan." FactCheck.org, 20 Aug. 2021, www.factcheck.org/2021/08/timeline-of-u-s-withdrawal-from-afghanistan/.

- Roy, Diana. "How Does the U.S. Refugee System Work?" Council on Foreign Relations, 26 Mar. 2024, www.cfr.org/backgrounders/how-does-us-refugee-system-work-trump-biden-afghanistan.
- Rubin, Gabriel. "Donald Trump, Twitter, and Islamophobia: The End of Dignity in Presidential Rhetoric about Terrorism." *Presidential Rhetoric on Terrorism under Bush, Obama and Trump*, Palgrave Pivot, 2020, pp. 105–128. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-30167-5_4.
- SAGE Journals. "Muslims in the United States: Settlers and Visitors." *Sage Journals*, 2023, doi: 10.1177/000271628145400113.
- . "Muslim women in the workplace and the Equality Act 2010." *SAGE Journals*, 15 June 2023, Expert Briefings. "US Democrats May Put Votes at Risk over Israel Support." *Emerald Expert Briefings*, Oct. 2023, doi:10.1108/oxan-db282808.
- . "Trump and Muslims: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Islamophobic Rhetoric." *Sage Journals*, 19 Mar. 2021, journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/21582440211004172.
- Sais Review. "Social Media, Disinformation, and AI: Transforming the Landscape of the 2024 U.S. Presidential Political Campaigns." *Sais Review*, 14 Jan. 2025, saisreview.sais.jhu.edu/.
- Seitz-Wald, Alex. "Muslim Voters Once Abandoned the GOP. Now They May Leave the Democrats." *NBC News*, 10 Nov. 2024, www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-.
- Sen, Ashish. "Trump Quits Iran Nuclear Deal - Atlantic Council." *Atlantic Council*, 26 Aug. 2019, www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/trump-quits-iran-nuclear-deal.
- Shahid Shafi and Texas Republicans. "An overview", 12 July 2023, motc.org/shahid-shafi-and-texas-republicans-2019/.
- Shuraydi, Amny, and Sally Howell. "A Brief History of Dearborn, Michigan – the First Arab-American Majority City in the US." *The Conversation*, theconversation.com/.

- Sinovets, P., and V. Gergiieva. "Evolution of Us Policy toward Iran's Nuclear Program in Xxi Century: From President Bush to President Trump." no. 144, Jan. 2020, pp. 23–33, doi:10.17721/APMV.2020.144.1.23-33
- Sobczak, Aaron. "Muslim-Americans Favored Jill Stein in 2024." Responsible Statecraft, 18 Nov. 2024, responsiblestatecraft.org/
- SoundVision.com. "Muslim Organizations Endorse George W. Bush for US President." SoundVision.com, www.soundvision.com/article/muslim-organizations-endorse-george-w-bush-for-us-president.
- Southern Poverty Law Center. "Trump's anti-Muslim Words and Policies Have Consequences." Southern Poverty Law Center, 3 Dec. 2024, <https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/anti-muslim/>
- Staff, Mee. "Harris and Stein Tied for Muslim-American Vote in Last Poll Before Election Day." Middle East Eye, 1 Nov. 2024.
- Statista. "U.S. Household Income by Religious Affiliation 2022." www.statista.com/statistics/1416272/ .
- storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/aead945380c041c79dc76ebe16d548b7.
- Stroop, Chrissy. "America's Islamophobia Is Forged at the Pulpit." Foreign Policy, 27 Mar. 2019, foreignpolicy.com/2019/03/26
- Suarez Sang, Lucia. "Revisit Pennsylvania Election Results From 2020 and 2016 Ahead of Election Day 2024." CBS News, 4 Nov. 2024, www.cbsnews.com/news/revisit-pennsylvania-election-results.
- Sunan Designs. "How to Market to Muslim Youth on Instagram in 2024." Sunan Designs, www.sunandesigns.com/.
- Sunan Kalijaga. "Digital Activism by Muslim Groups in Digital Media." Sunan Kalijaga, sunankalijaga.org/prosiding/index.php/icrse/article/download/1001/946/2066

Taraki, Muhammad Dhiya, et al. "Analyzing Islamophobia Factors in New York, USA." *ULUL ALBAB Jurnal Studi Islam*, vol. 25, no. 1, June 2024.

Tax Foundation. "Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA) Archives." Tax Foundation, 12 Mar. 2024, taxfoundation.org/tags/tax-cuts-and-jobs-act-tcja.

Taylor and Francis. "Muslims and Social Media: A Scoping Review." Taylor & Francis, www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1369118X.2024.2379835.

Tehran, Virtual Embassy. "Statement from President Joe Biden on Iran Sanctions." U.S. Virtual Embassy Iran, 18 Apr. 2024,

Telhami, Shibley. "American Attitudes Toward Muslims and Islam." Brookings Institution, 2024, www.brookings.edu/articles/american-attitudes-toward-muslims-and-islam/.

Townsend, Stephen, et al. "Where Cassius Clay Ends, Muhammad Ali Begins': Sportspeople, Political Activism, and Methodology." *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 35, no. 11, Dec. 2018, pp. 1149–75, doi:10.1080/09523367.2018.1523146.

Transforming Society. "Young Muslims' Creative Engagement with Social Media." Transforming Society, 7 Jan. 2025, www.transformingsociety.co.uk/2025/01/07.

TRT World. "The Role of Black Muslims in the American Civil Rights Movement." TRT World, 2023, www.trtworld.com/magazine.

Turpin-Petrosino, Carolyn, editor. "Islamophobia and Acts of Violence: The Targeting and Victimization of American Muslims." Oxford University Press, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190922313.001.0001>

Tushnet, Mark. "Civil Rights and Social Rights: The Future of the Reconstruction Amendments." *Loyola of Los Angeles Law Review*, vol. 25, no. 4, 1992, pp. 1207–1222. Harvard DASH Repository, dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/7312037.

U.S. House Committee on Homeland Security. "Radicalization in the American Muslim Community: Hearing Before the Committee on Homeland Security," House of

Representatives, 112th Cong., 1st Sess., March 10, 2011. U.S. Government Publishing Office, 2011,

<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-112hhrg72541/pdf/CHRG-112hhrg72541.pdf>.

United States, Department of Homeland Security. "National Strategy to Counter Islamophobia." U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2024, www.dhs.gov/national-strategy-counter-islamophobia.

"US Exit From Afghanistan Could Hold Valuable Lessons." Emerald Expert Briefings, Aug. 2023, doi:10.1108/oxan-db281221.

USC Annenberg Inclusion Initiative. "Inclusion in the Director's Chair: Analysis of Director Gender and Race/Ethnicity Across 1,300 Top Films from 2007 to 2019." USC Annenberg, 2020, assets.uscannenberg.org/docs/aii-inclusion-directors-chair-20200102.pdf.

VOA News. "In Historic Shift, American Muslim and Arab Voters Desert Democrats." VOA News, 7 Nov. 2024, www.voanews.com/.

---. "Muslim Drift to Republican Party Stalls Amid Gaza Conflict." Voice of America.24, June, 2024, www.voanews.com/a/muslim-drift-to-republican.-party-stalls-amid-gaza-conflict/7641906.html

Wallace, Rayna, et al. "Patient Cost-Sharing Complexities and Consumer Protections." KFF, www.kff.org

Wardheer News. "Muslim Americans Shouldn't Forget Trump's Policies at the Polls." Wardheer News, 31 Oct. 2024, wardheernews.com/.

Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA). "Trump's Executive Orders and Latin America: Key Things to Know." WOLA, 31 Jan. 2025,

Waxman, Olivia B. "Trump Declared Himself the 'President of Law and Order.' Here's What

- People Get Wrong About the Origins of that Idea." TIME, 2 June 2020, time.com/5846321/nixon-trump-law-and-order-history.
- WFYI. "The Uncommitted Movement Speaks on Trump's Victory." WFYI, 6 Nov. 2024, www.wfyi.org/news/articles/.
- The White House. "President Donald J. Trump Is Cutting off Funds the Iranian Regime Uses to Support Its Destructive Activities Around the World – the White House." The White House, 8 May 2019, <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-cutting-funds-iranian-regime-uses-support-destructive-activities-around-world/>
- . "President Donald J. Trump Keeps His Promise to Open U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem, Israel – the White House." The White House, 14 May 2018, <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-keeps-promise-open-u-s-embassy-jerusalem-israel/>.
- . "The U.S. National Strategy to Counter Islamophobia and Anti-Arab Hate." 2024, www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/National-Strategy-Doc.pdf.
- World Population Review. "Muslim Population by State 2024." World Population Review, world populationreview.com/state-rankings/muslim-population-by-state.
- World Resources Institute, "Biden Administration Tracking Climate Action Progress." www.wri.org/insights/biden-administration-tracking-climate-action-progress.
- Yaqeen Institute. "American Muslims and the 2024 Election: Why American Muslims Are Rethinking Political Alliances." Yaqeen Institute for Islamic Research, 14, Dec. 2022, yaqeeninstitute.org
- Yazdani, Enayatollah. "US Policy towards the Islamic World." Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations, vol. 7, no. 2 & 3, Summer and Fall 2008, pp. 38-44,

ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/journals/tjir/v7i2/f_0007409_6322.pdf.

Yousif, Nadine. "Six Big Immigration Changes Under Trump - and Their Impact so Far." 27

Jan. 2025, www.bbc.com/news/articles/clyn2p8x2eyo.

YouTube. "Empowering the Muslim Community in an Era of Political Polarization." YouTube,

www.youtube.com/watch?v=5aNb4-asSf8Y.

Yue, Hanjing. "Seeking the Hypocrisy of Biden Administration's Human Rights Discourse

from Its Policy toward the Palestinian-Israeli Issue." *Scholars Journal of Economics,*

Business and Management, vol. 9, no. 3, Mar. 2022, pp. 52–62, doi:10.36347/sjebm.

2022.v09i03.001.