

Islamophobia Contested in Public Space post-2024 US Presidential Election

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Abstract

Donald Trump's election is a contradictory phenomenon in the context of democracy in the US and the world at large. Donald Trump represents the antithesis of the democratization process currently underway in various parts of the world. Donald Trump implements anti-Muslim immigration policies and fosters nationalism through violent means. This study employs a qualitative approach, drawing data from articles written by experts, as well as recent literature reviews or relevant studies authored by experts and published in leading international journals, along with books and research reports covering the second phase—spanning from Donald Trump's campaign through his election as president in 2024. The results of the analysis show an increase in Islamophobia in the US during the campaign period leading up to Donald Trump's election. Donald Trump's election ultimately sparked concerns and fears of discrimination, persecution, and physical violence against immigrants in the US. Donald Trump implemented anti-Muslim immigration policies and fostered nationalism through violent means. These findings suggest that political nationalism and anti-Muslim rhetoric during the Trump era reinforced Islamophobia in the United States, jeopardizing relations between Muslim immigrants and non-immigrants. This, of course, has an impact on the development of democracy in the United States and in countries with Muslim-majority populations like Indonesia.

Terpilihnya Donald Trump merupakan fenomena yang kontradiktif dalam konteks demokrasi di AS dan dunia pada umumnya. Donald Trump mewakili antitesis dari proses demokratisasi yang saat ini sedang berlangsung di berbagai belahan dunia. Donald Trump menerapkan kebijakan imigrasi anti-Muslim dan memupuk nasionalisme melalui cara-cara kekerasan. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, dengan mengambil data dari artikel yang ditulis oleh para ahli, serta tinjauan pustaka terkini atau studi relevan yang ditulis oleh para ahli dan diterbitkan dalam jurnal internasional terkemuka, bersama dengan buku dan laporan penelitian yang mencakup fase kedua—mulai dari kampanye Donald Trump hingga terpilihnya ia sebagai presiden pada tahun 2024. Hasil analisis menunjukkan peningkatan Islamofobia di AS selama periode kampanye menjelang pemilihan Donald Trump. Terpilihnya Donald Trump pada akhirnya memicu kekhawatiran dan ketakutan akan diskriminasi, penganiayaan, dan kekerasan fisik terhadap imigran di AS. Donald Trump menerapkan kebijakan imigrasi anti-Muslim dan memupuk nasionalisme melalui cara-cara kekerasan. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa nasionalisme politik dan retorika anti-Muslim selama era Trump memperkuat Islamofobia di Amerika Serikat, sehingga membahayakan hubungan antara imigran Muslim dan non-imigran. Hal ini, tentu saja, berdampak pada perkembangan demokrasi di Amerika Serikat dan di negara-negara dengan populasi mayoritas Muslim seperti Indonesia.

Keywords: discriminations; exclusion; Islamophobia; prejudice; violence

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Introduction

For some people, Donald Trump's victory in the 2024 election, defeating Kamala Harris, is considered worrying for the progress of democracy and openness in religious matters, especially Islam, which is developing in America as well as in European countries that are closely influenced by American political policies. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to why Islamophobia continues to grow in contemporary politics, where openness of information is increasingly evident. Donald Trump is only one of several political leaders who have expressed negative views toward Islam in various countries. However, the impact of Donald Trump's political stance can influence many citizens' attitudes toward Muslims in different countries (Dauda 2020).

Prejudice has become a part of life for people who are considered "different" from the majority of society. Groups often view other groups negatively because of differences in political, economic, and religious orientations. However, prejudice is more frequently directed toward groups that differ in religious beliefs. Such negative prejudice often leads to accusations of being fundamentalist, radical, or even terrorist. As a result, groups that are negatively perceived experience unpleasant political attitudes and discriminatory actions from citizens with different ideological orientations, such as liberal, secular, or non-religious groups (Altemeyer and Hunsberger 1992). This situation creates uncondusive social relations and tends to encourage hostility and violence between groups.

Discrimination often emerges as a continuation of prejudice. Discriminatory actions are not only committed by citizens but also by authoritarian and anti-democratic states that treat politically and religiously different citizens unequally. Such states tend to discriminate

against groups perceived as political opponents or threats to power, thereby limiting their access to public policies (Cleland, Anderson, and Aldridge-Deacon 2018). In many cases, discrimination targets minorities within societies dominated by a majority religion, ethnicity, or social class, such as Muslims in India (Minority Rights Group International 2017).

Discriminatory acts against Muslims have various social and political backgrounds. In England, for example, anti-Muslim discrimination intensified after the September 11, 2001 attacks, when the bombing of the Twin Towers was associated with international terrorism. Following the attacks, many Muslims in the UK experienced discriminatory treatment from both citizens and state institutions, despite the fact that most British citizens did not approve such actions (Ameli, Elahi, and Merali 2004). This situation became increasingly significant in the context of immigration, particularly involving Muslim immigrants from African countries such as Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria to European countries including Germany, the UK, the Netherlands, Norway, France, and Belgium (Fischer-Neumann 2014).

Muslim immigrants are often associated with social disorder, including street violence, disobedience to law enforcement, and other disturbances. Consequently, they frequently receive harsh treatment from local citizens and authorities. Even Muslims who are not involved in violence or legal violations may still be excluded and marginalized because of the actions of a minority within immigrant communities (Fischer-Neumann 2014). It demonstrates how the behavior of a small group can negatively affect the broader Muslim diaspora population in Europe.

Exclusion has become one of the key issues faced by Muslim immigrants in Europe. After exclusion, violence often follows, especially

toward groups perceived as different from the majority. Violence is commonly directed at those who are discriminated against and viewed with suspicion, particularly for religious reasons. Religious violence is highly dangerous because it legitimizes hostility and even murder against others in the name of belief systems. Moreover, violence frequently emerges in contexts of unequal power relations, where political authorities abuse their power against vulnerable citizens (Basedau and Schaefer-Kehnert 2019). For example, violence in Sub-Saharan Africa has often resulted from abuses committed by political and military rulers (Basedau and Schaefer-Kehnert 2019).

Studies on Islamophobia have highlighted how prejudice, discrimination, exclusion, and violence are connected to religion, race, ethnicity, gender, and political identity. Scholars such as Hafez (2018), Kešić and Duyvendak (2019), O'Donnell (2018) explain that discriminatory state policies and anti-Muslim political narratives contribute significantly to social tensions and exclusionary politics. Other scholars have emphasized that Islamophobia also manifests in everyday language, media representation, and policy-making processes affecting employment, education, public services, and political participation (Cleland et al. 2018; Klinken 2007).

Based on the literature review above, most previous studies have discussed Islamophobia in relation to prejudice, discrimination, exclusion, and violence toward Muslims in various social and political contexts. However, this article specifically examines the relationship between Donald Trump's political rise and the intensification of Islamophobia during and after his election as President of the United States in 2024. This study argues that Trump's political discourse and leadership contributed to the

strengthening of fear, hatred, discrimination, exclusion, and violence against Muslims, not because of race or ethnicity, but primarily because of religious identity. Thus, the novelty of this article lies in its focus on the connection between contemporary political leadership and the expansion of Islamophobic attitudes and policies in democratic societies.

Meanwhile, Islamophobia also surged following the "September 11, 2001 attacks" on the Twin Towers in the United States, an event for which Osama bin Laden (leader of Al-Qaeda) was held responsible. From that point on, Islamophobic sentiment intensified in America, particularly after President George W. Bush declared a "war on Islam." Anti-Islamic activity became rampant in the public sphere; Muslim immigrants living in the US became targets of hostility from the native population. Widespread incidents of expulsion, violence, and hatred ensued, prompting Muslim-majority nations (such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Algeria, Sudan, and Morocco) to lodge strong protests against President George W. Bush's policies. It was in the wake of the 9/11 tragedy that the anti-Islamic movement truly gained momentum in the United States (Nurish 2022).

Islamophobia emerged prominently during Donald Trump's presidential campaign, fueled by political narratives suggesting that Muslim immigrants from the Middle East, Africa, and Asia distrusted the US government, threatened American jobs, and prioritized Islam over national loyalty (Chudy 2018; Tanaka 2023). This negative rhetoric triggered widespread suspicion and discriminatory treatment in schools. It closed job markets, leading to acts of persecution (including physical violence, arbitrary job dismissals, and denial of services) against Muslim workers, hijab-wearing women, students, and clerics (Davis and Wilson 2025;

Fresh 2025; Maltby 2025). Ultimately, this campaign culminated in an unstoppable wave of Islamophobia and brutal violence perpetrated by Trump supporters against Muslim residents, reflecting the direct impact of discriminatory political narratives targeting immigrants (Braithwaite et al. 2010; Hafez 2018; Hannover et al. 2018; Shair-Rosenfield and Liu 2023; Strong 2018).

The prevalence of Islamophobia in the United States is linked to intense campaigns portraying African Muslim nations (such as Nigeria, Algeria, and Tunisia) as inherently anti-democratic. Persistent violence and conflicts in these countries are framed by the US as evidence of a failure to adhere to democratic models, implying they naturally oppose Western-style state policies. Consequently, the prevailing American perspective dictates that Islam, rooted in the Quran and Sunnah, is fundamentally incompatible with modern democratic principles, leading to the assumption that Muslims naturally reject democracy as a political choice (Awofeso 2016).

This study employs a qualitative approach, utilizing secondary data obtained from scientific articles, literature reviews, books, and research reports published in leading international journals during the period spanning from Donald Trump's second campaign to his election as president in 2024, as suggested by John Creswell and others regarding qualitative research methods (Furseth and Repstad 2023). The qualitative method was chosen because the study analyzes narratives, conversations, and statements found in expert writings related to Islamophobia and political discourse.

The collected data were analyzed using a political sociology perspective and a theoretical framework on Islamophobia. The analysis focuses on prejudice, discrimination, exclusion,

and violence as manifestations of Islamophobia in both political discourse and state policies. In addition, the study also includes Indonesian cases to demonstrate how the wave of Islamophobia has influenced Muslim-majority societies. Data from journals, books, and reports are used to support the analysis of political attitudes and actions directed toward Muslims in both Muslim and non-Muslim countries (Bayraklı and Hafez 2018; Shukri 2019; Syarif, Mughni, and Hannan 2020).

This article aims to answer the question of why Islamophobia intensified in the United States during the Donald Trump era. It demonstrates the existence of an Islamophobic movement on social media (online), characterized by negative suspicion, the exclusion of Muslim populations, discriminatory speech and actions, as well as acts of violence against Muslim communities and individuals.

The first question addresses how Islamophobia manifests through prejudice, discrimination, and exclusion directed at foreign nationals (particularly Muslim immigrants) and native-born Muslims. Meanwhile, the second question examines the various forms of violence and prejudice found in media and everyday discourse. Finally, the third question addresses how violence persists through social media and online platforms, fueling acts of violence and the targeting of Muslims (both immigrants and native citizens) with violent rhetoric and imagery, thereby perpetuating abuse during the presidency of Donald Trump.

This study assumes that Islamophobia is not merely an individual prejudice but also a structural and political phenomenon shaped by media narratives, state policies, and political leadership. The study further assumes that Donald Trump's political rhetoric and policies strengthened anti-Muslim sentiment, thereby

encouraging discriminatory attitudes, exclusionary politics, and violence against Muslims in several countries. In this context, Islamophobia is understood as a social and political construction that threatens democratic coexistence, religious freedom, and human rights in pluralistic societies.

Islamophobia: Prejudice, Discrimination, and Exclusion

Islamophobia that occurs in several countries such as the UK, Germany, the USA, France, Norway, Canada, and the Netherlands is caused by prejudice against communities or groups of people who are considered dangerous to other groups of people. Islamophobia eventually takes the form of physical violence, expulsion, discrimination, and exclusion from the policies of a country. This kind of thing is certainly detrimental to one member of society in a country. However, due to prejudice, state policies do not care about the citizens who are affected by the policies they have made. The state that implements discriminatory policies even puts more pressure on those who have been suspected, so that other citizens further strengthen negative suspicions of fellow citizens (Kalmar 2018a).

The violence, prejudice, and expulsion of citizens caused by Islamophobic movements or waves have a widespread impact on citizens who are subjected to suspicion. Suspected citizens do not have the freedom to carry out social, cultural, and even political activities. All their movements and activities are monitored by the state and other citizens who support antisemitism and other anti-citizen movements. Of course, what happened to Muslim communities in France, the Netherlands, Australia, the UK, and Auckland is a very clear example that the wave of Islamophobia after Donald Trump has a very broad

impact in various parts of the world. It also indicates that Islamophobia still occurs in some countries because of racism, religion, social class, and gender (Kalmar 2018b; Kešić and Duyvendak 2019; de Lange and Mügge 2015).

Civil society movements seeking to bring about political change in their countries are often viewed with suspicion, as if they were incompatible with democratic ideals. In Turkey, for instance, civil society groups demanding a transition from authoritarian rule to democratic governance were not recognized as pro-democracy movements in the same way similar groups were in Western Europe or the United States. Such perceptions naturally prompted a Muslim-majority nation like Turkey to resist American policies. Consequently, Turkey came to be seen as pursuing an anti-American agenda, leading to a situation where Turkish people in the United States became targets of American hostility, suspicion, and anger (Çaylak 2008).

Freedom of religion (as a vital component of life in pluralistic societies like Indonesia and other nations) is an inviolable right. Anyone adhering to a religion or set of beliefs must be protected by the laws in force within a country. Consequently, any state policy that entails discrimination, expulsion, persecution, or violence (whether in the name of religion or politics) can be deemed a violation of laws regarding religious freedom. Acts of violence, expulsion, and persecution stemming from Islamophobia in Europe or the Americas constitute crimes that violate international law and infringe upon citizens' liberties. Freedom of religion and belief is regarded as a freedom that remains fraught with ambiguity (Marshall 2018).

Suspicion directed at residents in the United States also arises among white Americans toward Black immigrants hailing from Africa, the

Middle East, and even Asia. The individuals subjected to such suspicion are predominantly Muslim. They are accused of lacking loyalty to American democracy and failing to uphold or demonstrate American nationalism; consequently, they face acts of hatred, persecution, and both verbal and physical violence. These circumstances further reinforce the view that Donald Trump's candidacy and subsequent election as president intensified a growing anti-Islamic sentiment in the US (a movement that garnered support from a segment of the white population) characterized by deeply negative attitudes toward Black Muslim immigrants (Ferrer and Palmisano 2025).

In Indonesia, violence, expulsion, and suspicion of those with different religions, such as Christianity, different Islamic views, such as Ahmadiyyah and Shia in several regions, districts and provinces have occurred several times. Ahmadiyyah and Shia congregations have been subjected to violent behavior by religious groups within the same family, namely Semitism. However, due to differences in understanding of some normative values and doctrines, the Ahmadiyya and Shia people experience harmful behavior physically, socially, and politically. The burning of houses of worship, destruction, expulsion, and prohibition of worship are carried out by those who disagree in the name of saving Muslim beliefs (Makin 2015, 2017).

In addition to the Ahmadiyya, the Shia are also an Islamic group that frequently faces hostile treatment from those who consider themselves the most orthodox in their religious practice. Physical and material violence has also been directed at the Shia community in Indonesia, including in Madura, Bandung, Yogyakarta, and Makassar. It demonstrates that fear toward fellow Muslims also exists as a form of Islamophobia directed at Islamic groups by non-Muslims

(Ahyar and Alfitri 2019; Burhani 2018, 2020a, 2020b, 2022). Indeed, this can be regarded as another form of Islamophobia in Indonesia.

In fact, Islamophobia often targets women who are perceived as advocating for gender justice outside the bounds of Islamic teachings. The gender justice that women are fighting for faces serious challenges from those who are deeply afraid that Islam is merely being used as a shield in the daily lives of women who are perceived as failing to practice Islamic teachings properly (Cleland et al. 2018; Terman 2017; Yusuf 2018). It poses a serious challenge to Islamic life in Indonesia, where the Muslim population is projected to reach 88.5% of the total Indonesian population by 2025.

Based on a review of articles and other sources, it can be said that prejudicial behavior arises from information conveyed to the public by officials, supporters, and through word of mouth, which then spreads throughout the US population. It ultimately leads to Muslim immigrants and American Muslims being targeted and suspected of being unpatriotic, of not supporting government policies, of being hostile toward non-Muslim Americans, and of being anti-non-Muslim.

Extensive literature offers convincing evidence that Islamophobic attitudes and actions are virtually ineradicable. Fear of Muslim immigrants (specifically those of Middle Eastern, African, and Central African origin) has fostered intense apprehension regarding these populations in both the United States and Europe. Such fear can escalate into hatred and excessive suspicion directed at diverse groups of people. It is an issue that warrants serious attention from various stakeholders to prevent the persistence of movements hostile toward these diverse communities.

Violence and Prejudice in Media and Everyday Discourse

Social media activities that lead to prejudice against different groups really get a free pass. Blasphemy, hatred, profanity, dislike, and hatred in the media due to prejudice cannot be contained by many parties. The impact of expressions that lead to hatred and suspicion, and not infrequently result in acts of violence against those accused of various negative labels. Physical violence and various kinds of unpleasant expressions do take place in social gatherings, daily life in the market, at school, in the office, and in the wider community (Makin 2016). It has a huge impact on harmonious social relations and social recognition. Fellow citizens live in suspicion, facilitated by social media and online media that lead to prejudice against those who are different (Makin 2015).

Popular media outlets in America, such as the New York Times and Breitbart News, often provide news information related to various kinds of societal behaviors that show anti-religious, racial, social class, and gender attitudes and behaviors. The attitudes and behaviors of the public can be said to be the most factual form that, even in a relatively dynamic and developed country, attitudes and behaviors in social media and daily life are still discriminatory because of prejudice against members of society who are different from their own group (Wasilewski 2019).

After the US Presidential Election won by Donald Trump, the attitude and behavior of suspecting and hating those who are different in the media and daily life is very much present in society. Everyday conversations in markets, offices, and communities that are hateful and suspicious of those who are different have really become part and parcel after the wave of

Islamophobia in the US and European countries (Lean 2017; Stocker 2015).

The framing of Muslim communities living in the United States, Western Europe, and even parts of Asia (across both mainstream and social media) has become a highly effective campaign for fostering suspicion and hatred, potentially leading to violence, expulsion, or persecution. Muslims are frequently portrayed as anti-democratic, hostile toward non-Muslims, and inherently aggressive; this narrative leaves them living in genuine fear due to acts of violence and harassment propagated through media channels. Ultimately, Muslims are denied a safe environment in which to secure housing, find employment, and coexist peacefully with non-Muslims. These are the tangible consequences of negative campaigns against Muslims in countries that enforce discriminatory, anti-Islamic policies and harbor excessive fear of the Muslim community (Islamophobia) (Froio 2018).

The suspicion, hatred, and violence directed at Muslim immigrants in societies such as the United States and Western Europe stem from more than just the narratives constructed by mainstream and social media. They are also fueled by an irrational fear of Muslim immigrants (a sentiment cultivated through cinematic portrayals including feature films, television series, and short films) disseminated to the general public. Such framing within entertainment media (whether in TV series, feature films, or short films) exerts a powerful influence on audiences who consume this content regularly and over extended periods. Consequently, mainstream media, social media, and cinema all serve as effective vehicles for propaganda when the aim is to spread hatred, suspicion, and negative attitudes among the public (Akmaliah 2020).

Freedom of religion and belief holds a prominent place in laws worldwide, in accordance with the UN Declaration. In Indonesia, this freedom is also safeguarded by the 1945 Constitution and various government regulations. However, in practice, segments of society sometimes still coerce those who hold different beliefs or religious views, or even those with differing stances regarding faith in God. Society often appears to wield more power than either God or the state (Lim 2017). Consequently, suspicion, hatred, and violence frequently arise within this diverse society. Addressing these issues is crucial if we are to create a society that is egalitarian and free from discrimination based on religion, tribe, race, ethnicity, or gender. Hatred born of behavior directed at others actually reflects an excessive fear of others and constitutes another form of psychological defeat within the global political landscape (Woodward et al. 2012).

The impact of prejudice against different citizens leads to discrimination by fellow citizens and even by the state in various policies. In education, health services, cultural performances, and political activities, all are subject to scrutiny that tends to harm the suspected community. People's attitudes and behavior towards those who are different because of suspicion ultimately result in fellow citizens becoming suspicious of each other, hating each other, and not giving each other trust or recognition as citizens who deserve protection from the state (Knott 2018; Modood 2012; Nguyen 2010).

The most obvious impact of discriminatory policies is when regional and provincial governments make various policies for citizens. What cannot be avoided is discrimination against those who are suspected because of different religious, political, cultural, and racial

backgrounds. If, in the course of society, suspicion of fellow citizens continues, regional government policies and various social institutions do not make discriminatory attitudes and behavior dangerous for the progress of democracy and the future of a country, this will certainly endanger the social relations of fellow citizens (Ancis and Phillips 2005; Fernández-Rouco, Carcedo, and Yeadon-Lee 2020; Fominaya 2016; Prihatini 2019).

Suspicion and hostility toward Muslim residents in the United States (including immigrants) stem from everyday conversations and societal norms. For example, claims that Muslims dislike non-Muslims, refuse to socialize or befriend non-Muslims, and refuse to cooperate with non-Muslims are constantly voiced and repeated in school classrooms, colleges, stores, coffee shops, and on the streets (and even in movies), leading the public to believe that Muslims are suspicious of non-Muslims eventually. Such things certainly harm both immigrant and non-immigrant Muslims in the United States. However, because narratives in everyday life so frequently portray Muslims as disliking non-Muslims and not loving America as an expression of nationalism, a perception has ultimately taken hold that both immigrant Muslims and native-born American Muslims deserve to be viewed with suspicion.

Content disseminated via media (whether social or electronic) can incite hatred and animosity toward individuals of different religions, ethnicities, or even nationalities. Mainstream media shapes the thoughts, attitudes, and actions of a highly diverse public. Frequent exposure to media portrayals of certain people or issues that trigger dislike and suspicion fosters further hostility, even when the underlying suspicions do not reflect the actual reality on the ground.

Content disseminated via mainstream media (both electronic and print), social media, and entertainment formats (such as cinema, dramas, and soap operas) shapes how different groups imagine one another. If the imagery conveyed is positive, it can certainly have a beneficial impact on the audience. Conversely, if campaigns conducted through these channels are negative, the resulting perceptions will focus on negative attributes. The consequences are evident: deep-seated suspicion, hatred, persecution, and even verbal or physical violence.

Social Media in Perpetuating Anti-Muslim Violence and Targeting

After suspicion arose about those of different religions, ethnicities, races, social classes, and genders, what was most dangerous because of the wave of Islamophobia was that various kinds of violence would befall them. Violence in expressions, such as anti-peace Islam, anti-Christian Islam, anti-Western Islam, and so on, as a form of verbal violence, will continue to spread in social spaces and daily interactions between citizens (Islam 2019; Muslimin et al. 2021; Voicu and Tufiş 2013). This kind of thing is, of course, dangerous for fellow citizens in a country. The various forms of verbal violence that occur can, of course, be said to be forms of deviant violence directed at fellow citizens based on hatred and suspicion (Swedberg 2014).

Throughout the history of the world's religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam), there have actually been harmonious relationships among them. However, it was inevitable that, due to various factors (most notably global political and economic issues), these Semitic faiths became embroiled in various forms of physical violence. Initially, this manifested as hatred, suspicion, and social interactions characterized by hostility and a lack of mutual

respect. Eventually, as political and economic conditions deteriorated, social envy and public unrest fueled excessive suspicion and animosity (Agensky 2017).

Theoretically, it is said that the suspicion that occurs is caused by constructions built in society from state policies and news that develop in various media, social media, online, and daily conversations in society. Therefore, excessive suspicion of different social groups can make social relations truly disharmonious and unsafe. Thus, this kind of condition can also be said to be a condition where people are sick or do not have social ties to develop the nation's progress from a democratization perspective. The most unhappy conditions happen to those who are said to be immigrant citizens. They become second-class citizens because state policies often do not favor immigrants (Saw 2018).

Various studies on Islamophobia have caused Islamic-Christian and Muslim-Jewish relations to experience a breakdown in dialogue and cooperation. In fact, between Islam and Christianity, and between Islam and Judaism, during the period when Donald Trump was president and after Donald Trump became president, there was really tension. Donald Trump is indeed a president who is typically anti-political and has racist attitudes and behavior that endanger his fellow citizens (Bennett and Livingston 2018; Campbell et al. 2018; Farkas and Schou 2018).

Various false information (fake information) spreads among the community, causing mutual suspicion and hatred. However, the hegemony of news (information) that is developed by some citizens is believed to be information that needs to be used as a reference in attitudes and actions. Donald Trump's political hegemony in building public opinion was carried out with hatred and

the belief that racist attitudes and behavior could become policies that would be beneficial for the US and countries supporting the US (DeLong-Bas 2017; Farkas and Schou 2018).

Various forms of activity contributing to the rise of Islamophobia in the US, Europe, and even Indonesia can often be attributed to a range of underlying factors. It demonstrates that excessive fear of different groups or communities not only has a negative impact on the lives of those groups but also harms civil society as a whole (Hefner 2018b; Lindsey and Pausacker 2016).

Therefore, the state should establish regulations or laws capable of ensuring justice for all its citizens. The state has a responsibility to treat its citizens equally, regardless of their ethnic or religious backgrounds. The state must not discriminate against any of its citizens, as this could lead to persecution or other forms of physical violence. A cultural perspective in managing citizenship deserves attention, particularly in Indonesia, a country with a diverse array of religions and ethnic groups that have been explicitly recognized by the state (Hefner 2018a, 2023).

Suspicion, jealousy, and various forms of violence perpetrated by citizens against fellow citizens who are different constitute recurring acts of violent crime. When an individual or a group acts out of suspicion, jealousy, or hatred toward others, it inevitably invites a commensurate retaliation: suspicion is met with suspicion, hatred with hatred, and violence with even greater violence (Bonino 2018). Consequently, such negative behaviors represent a violation and a misuse of the shared agreement regarding citizenship amidst diversity. Peace, social harmony, and a life characterized by mutual respect and sharing cannot exist where there is suspicion directed at citizens based on differences in religion, tribe, ethnicity, gender, or social status.

If one traces the history back to earlier centuries (specifically the 18th and 19th centuries), instances of suspicion and hatred directed at Muslim groups are evident. In Indonesia, for example, the seeds of suspicion toward the Muslim community were sown as early as the colonial period and persisted through the Suharto-led New Order regime. Similarly, in Europe and America, hostility toward Muslims has existed since the 18th and 19th centuries, as documented in historical literature regarding Muslims in Western Europe and the US (Bruinessen 2018). Consequently, the persistence of suspicion and hatred toward Muslims in the modern era stems from a history of disharmonious relations between the Islamic world and non-Muslim societies, a history marked by tension and even violent conflict. The events surrounding the 1965 communist crisis in Indonesia serve as irrefutable evidence of this, while the Crusades stand as a clear historical example recognized by scholars of Islam and interfaith relations in the West (Mujiburrahman 2014).

Based on the results of the analysis that has been presented, it can be said that the Islamophobia that occurs is partly an attitude and action that arises because of suspicion towards those who are different. Differences due to religious, ethnic, ethnic, racial, social class, and gender backgrounds then have an impact on the emergence of conversations and dialogue that lead to hatred, fear, and expulsion, discrimination, destruction, and assassination of citizens. Social media, online media, and big media play a role in creating conditions for disharmonious social relations. Therefore, social media, online media and print media need attention so as not to create news that leads to hatred and suspicion.

Various acts of violence stemming from negative narratives about Muslim immigrants and non-immigrants in the United States have become a common phenomenon in America. Donald Trump appears to have successfully capitalized on Americans' suspicion and dislike of Muslims, which ultimately led to his victory in the 2024 presidential election. Violence has occurred in various places and is consistently viewed as justifiable, even though it constitutes a deviation from political practices consistent with modern democracy. This violence serves as evidence that Islamophobia is extremely dangerous wherever it occurs, whether perpetrated by individuals, communities, or the state.

Theoretically, this article contributes to multidisciplinary Islamic studies. A study of Islamophobia that has emerged in European, American, and Asian countries, as is the case in Norway, Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and Indonesia, can provide evidence that discrimination, marginalization, acts of terror, and exclusionary politics will continue to give rise to "hatred" towards fellow citizens even within the same religious group. In fact, often within the same religious family, theologically there is no difference. The politics of discrimination, therefore, needs to receive attention from observers of Islamic phenomena after the 2024 elections.

The limitation of this article is that it does not further analyze the development of the post-2024 election wave of Islamophobia in Indonesia. Therefore, future studies need to conduct an in-depth study of the possibility of the birth of Islamophobia after the 2024 elections in Indonesia, because it is known that there are often movements of violence, discrimination, and expulsion of those who are different from the majority religious forces.

Conclusion

The Islamophobia that occurred after President Donald Trump in several countries such as Britain, France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Indonesia shows that religious issues (Islam), as Abraham's religious family, namely the Semitic family, still experience serious problems when a state leader and government are anti-one of the communities in the country. Donald Trump, one of the Presidents who fostered the xenophobic "excessive fear" of Islam, caused a wave of Islamophobia in various countries with various variations. Various types of violence, from non-physical to physical violence, expulsion, and political execution, are inseparable from the wave of Islamophobia.

Islamophobia is manifested in prejudice, discrimination, and exclusion toward both Muslim immigrants and native-born Muslims. These manifestations are aggravated by different forms of violence and negative representations in the media and in everyday discourse, where Muslims are often portrayed through stereotypes, suspicion, and hostile rhetoric. Social media and online platforms are also important sites of the reproduction and amplification of anti-Muslim narratives, thereby creating an environment where verbal hostility, intimidation, discrimination, and physical violence can continue. Thus, Islamophobia under the Trump administration was not only a matter of political rhetoric, but also pervaded media discourse, everyday social interactions, and digital spaces, contributing to the normalization and perpetuation of anti-Muslim prejudice and violence.[]

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