

**Tracking and Reflecting on Hate and Discrimination: A Meta-Analysis and Survey Experiment Depicting Perceptions of Sikh Americans and the Sikh Faith in the United States**

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**Abstract**

Sikhs have been largely ignored in the literature surrounding criminal justice and religious tolerance. The many pressures faced by this group, including hate crimes, present an urgent need for political scientists to understand the issues this community faces and further, to challenge those issues to ensure their well-being. This research examines both of these concepts through two separate analyses: a meta-analysis and a survey experiment. In the meta-analysis, the Sikh experience is contextualized by assessing trends in media coverage and representation of turbans in the United States. This section reports a meta-analysis of 81 published journals, articles, and studies in order to analyze the media's impact on the images, stereotypes, and representations of turbans and the Sikh identity. The research finds that most studies on American Sikh representation included discussions of "terrorism," "9/11" and "Islam." This meta-analysis shows that Sikhs tend to be negatively framed as "victims" in American media and are often covered after tragedies. In the survey experiment, 478 individuals in the United States were asked a series of questions to determine perceptions towards Sikh Americans. As per the meta-analysis findings, a video was created as a test in this survey experiment for a randomly selected 50% of the survey sample to watch explaining Sikhism and depicting Sikhs in a positive manner. The survey research finds that such media exposure and information significantly improves positive perceptions towards Sikh Americans and challenges many of the stereotypes perpetuated by the media mentioned above. Implications of all these findings are discussed.

**Keywords**

Sikhism, Sikh, turbans, Islamaphobia, survey experiment, public opinion, media representation, meta-analysis, Sikhaphobia

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**Introduction**

Sikhism was founded in 1469 in Punjab, India (Pannu). Sikhism is the fifth largest religion in the world, despite being one of the newest world religions (Religions). Approximately 99% of people that wear turbans in North America are Sikh and over 500,000 Sikhs have called the United States home for the past 100 years (Sikh Coalition). Despite these numbers, the FBI only started tracking hate crimes against Sikhs 11 years after 9/11 under the FBI's Hate Crime Statistics Act (Sikh Coalition). It is difficult to determine the number of hate crimes against Sikhs and other minority religious groups like Muslims, Hindus, and Jews because organizations are not required to report hate crimes to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Discrimination impacts individuals of all ages and experiences. For example, over 67% of Sikh children experience severe bullying in schools –twice as high as the national average (Sikh Coalition). In the workplace, organizations refuse to accommodate various religious groups in deference to “corporate image” policies or claims about “health and safety” (Sikh Coalition). As a result, certain groups in the United States lose their access to equal opportunity simply because of their faith.

In their report titled, “Violent Attacks on Middle Easterners in the United States During the Month Following the September 11, 2001 Terrorist Attacks,” Monica Swahn, R R. Mahendra, and L J. Paulozzi conclude that incidents of hate crimes following 9/11 ranged from harassment to murder (Swahn, Mahendra, and Paulozzi). They report that over 100 incidents of hate crimes occurred in the United States within the first ten days after 9/11 – thus explaining how events like 9/11 can trigger strong sentiments of racism, intolerance, and hate crimes (Swahn, Mahendra, and Paulozzi).

In the case of the Sikh experience, the Sikh population not only follows a religion outside of the normalized American faith of Christianity, but members of the community also look very different. Sikhs possess the 5 K's, articles of faith that distinguish them wherever they go – a small dagger, a wooden comb, uncut hair (the turban), large shorts, and a steel iron bracelet (Religion). These “identity markers” separate Sikhs from the American public and unfortunately, can be seen as a threat to the American “image” as well as to an American who believes that Sikhs are associated with or are terrorists. This “difference” is one that can spark violence and hate crimes in any community against the Sikh population.

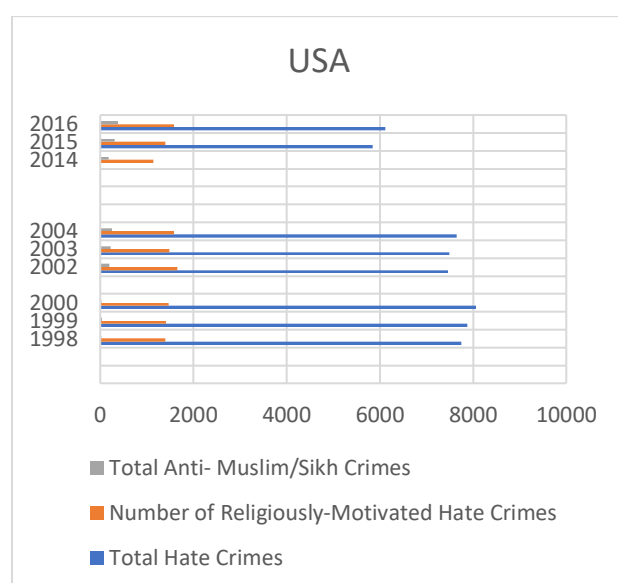
In the United States, this research presents two separate analyses and an experiment regarding Sikh Americans that has never been done before. A meta-analysis focused solely around depictions of turbans with a concentration on Sikhs will help inform the broader research community, the Sikh population, policymakers, and others about the power media has in the United States in portraying minority communities and challenging the experience they have in this country. Additionally, the survey experiment included 478 individuals (with over 650 initial responses collected) from 48 states in the United States – the first public opinion survey of its nature and scale depicting Sikhs and the corresponding opinions of non-Sikh Americans on this community. To this effect, this research data is not only adding to the literature surrounding discrimination and hate against minority communities, but in fact, introducing it.

This research aims to identify if 1) to what extent are the images and perceptions of Sikhs and Muslims blurred 2) whether people who believe Sikhs are Muslims can challenge those beliefs and 2) under what conditions and with what means can this happen?

The two analyses below will focus on how individuals perceive the "turban," Sikhs, and Sikhism in America and determine if this can explain discrimination against Sikh Americans. I

hypothesize that accessibility to and engagement with information and knowledge can challenge fear, ignorance, and hatred Americans may have towards Sikhs. The extent to which ignorance and/or hate against Sikhs can be challenged in the United States will be examined, as well.

### Understanding Hate Crimes in the United States



*Note: in the chart above, Anti-Muslim and Anti-Sikh hate crimes are listed together because the two groups were not separated at the time of the FBI tracking*

### Hate and Violence policy classification in U.S. justice systems

Hate Crime policy is a pressing political science issue right now. With over 200 United States mayors joining the Anti-Defamation League in signing a compact “to fight hate and extremism” in 2018, combating hate is relevant for many communities and policymakers (Farivar, 2017). According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), hate crimes in the U.S. have dramatically risen to unprecedented numbers. Most recently, in 2017, reported hate crimes

increased by 17%, the third successive year hate crimes are reported to have increased from the previous year (BBC, 2018).

Typically, U.S. Hate Crime policy is made using two frames of reference: first, and most commonly, in response to specific high-profile bias-motivated attacks, and second, to proactively articulate constitutional freedoms, or protected classes and their rights in a certain setting. For instance, the five federal hate crime policies in the last decade are the Matthew Shepard Act, the James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act, the Damage to Religious Property Church Arson Prevention Act, the Criminal Interference with Right to Fair Housing, and the Violent Interference with Federally Protected Rights (Hate). While the first three policies were created in response to high-profile attacks against individuals, the final two were created proactively to further define a classes' constitutional rights.

While Hate Crime policy exists to protect communities against bias-motivated attacks, it often fails at the level of evaluation. The Hate Crime Statistics Act tasked states to identify hate crimes, report them, and submit them to the FBI. This process, however, is flawed and data are lacking on hate crimes because agencies lack adequate funding and training to classify hate crimes. ProPublica's review of state training academy standards found that "only 12 states [require] police to learn how to identify and investigate hate crimes" (Schwencke, 2017). As a result, state agencies lack training and skills necessary to handle hate crimes and thereby, to report on them.

Additionally, not all states have statewide Hate Crime policy and enforcement agencies are not mandated by statute to report hate crimes. The process is cyclical: If a state does not have protections against hate crimes, victims are less likely to report, and the state is less likely to enact a state law combatting hate crimes in the future. Likewise, without precise data, it is

difficult to know if state or federal policy is addressing discrimination and working towards solutions. Until all hate crimes are reported, policymakers are limited in their approach to protecting targeted groups.

### **Study's Relevance to Criminal Justice and the bigger picture**

Hate Crime policy is evaluated (through means of reporting statistics) less at lower-levels in government, including at the state level since there is no federal oversight (Pellegrinelli, 2010). Because states are able to determine their own policies for hate crime prevention and/or reporting processes, protections are inconsistent and sometimes nonexistent depending on where a victim is. As the Department of Justice (DOJ) reports, “only 41 percent of hate crimes are reported. Of those, only 10 percent are [recorded] as hate crimes” (Wilson, 2014). Because reporting hate crimes is voluntary, they are woefully underreported since agencies often lack tools, trainings, and mandated authority to track hate incidents. Moreover, while 88 percent of voluntary reporting agencies in 2017 reported “no hate crimes occurred in their jurisdictions,” a large cities in states like Florida and Texas reported anywhere from zero to five hate crimes,” a grossly inaccurate number (Levin, 2018). Without accurate data to track efficacy, it is difficult to evaluate if Hate Crime policy is working for the communities it exists in and also, incentivizing communities to work with law enforcement and policymakers to create better policy.

This study aims to better understand whether or not “hate” can be challenged in regards to Sikh Americans as well as how it can be challenged. With a criminal justice and political system systemically structured in a way that does not directly challenge violence towards Sikhs in the U.S., this study aims to see what could be possible if another approach (like a video exposure experiment) is taken.



## Literature Review

A significant amount of research exists on what creates negative perceptions or biases towards groups, especially minority groups, like Sikhs. The ways in which individuals are “presented” through media, policy, etc. further explains the sociological understanding of this issue.

In understanding how hate develops, researchers often evaluate fear, ignorance, and intense dislike. More often than not, however, “hate” is rooted in fear and sometimes “classified” as “intense dislike.” As far as literature goes to better understand the role of fear and ignorance, the research findings highlight a similar message: if a negative event occurs and people presented on media look different from a typical American, it will evoke negative feelings of fear towards that person’s community. This fear may lead to unchallenged ignorance if not responded to appropriately by other community organizations or members, or even the government.

### *Settings that Lead to Hate - Moral Panics and Attitudinal Shocks*

In order to understand how exactly “fear” can develop, some research points to brief moments in time in which one’s mind, depending on where they are at the time of a crisis or other intense experience, will develop and maintain that sense of “fear.” This often manifests as hate, until it is otherwise challenged. For instance, one report explains that sociologically, minority communities like the Sikh community can be stereotyped and misunderstood through events like 9/11, especially because the event brought about fear and a “moral panic” (Colomb, 153). This finding of “moral panic” explains that fear develops and lingers most notably when society as a whole believes there is systemic injustice occurring towards a certain group. Findings in the literature surrounding “moral panic” and its development focus largely on how newspapers and

covered hate and minority group discrimination after traumatic events. Researchers determined through quantitative data that society's empathy and panic is the first step to ensuring the media's interest (Colomb, 153).

Similarly, the idea that a certain event can create long-term fear in a person's mind is understood in the literature too. For example, the most significant factor in the public feeling a certain negative perception against a group or a population is the attention/publication of events and crises (Hanes and Machin). A number of studies examine Muslims in the United States following 9/11 and their findings suggest that coverage of the news caused a phenomenon called "attitudinal shocks" which ended up being "a driver" of increased "hatred [and/or] bigotry" which is directly "influenced by media framing and coverage of attacks" (Hanes and Machin, 263).

The concepts of "moral panic" and "attitudinal shock" have been tested using specific events and capturing the fears of individuals. One of those research experiments evaluates the validity of these two theories through the events of September 11, 2001. The literature theorizes that the perceptions of individuals in a community are largely traced back to the ways in which media depicted various groups and the language surrounding the coverage of the tragedy. According to one study, "the effect of the news coverage [on individual perception of enemies] was profound. Many citizens of the United States and of the world felt the fear and panic. [Because of the media] there were an unprecedented number of false bomb threats. Americans may always have had false bomb threats, but now they were televised live" (Leonard, 30). This media perpetrated panic generated unrest and created demands for "more coverage and more information"

(Leonard, 29). This exact event and the impact it had in generating “fear” in everyday Americans relates directly to the discussion regarding both “moral panic” and “attitudinal shocks” in various ways. Firstly, the shocks in hate crimes and other acts of discrimination immediately following the events of 9/11, are most apparent in the place in which the event occurs which was the case for Muslims, Sikhs, and other South Asian and Middle Eastern communities in the United States. Second, because Americans lack significant representation of Sikh figures in the public eye, it was easier for “fear” to be the natural response because the image of a Sikh, or turban (largely what was showed on television screens following the tragedy) were unrecognizable to many Americans.

It can be inferred from the study that in an event that prompts an “attitudinal shock” an American, under this theory’s assertion, would have seen “terrorist” and then be exposed to what a “Sikh” is. This American, per this research study’s analysis, would merge the two images into one blurring the identities. Perhaps this same event occurring in another country, where Sikhs are in national elected office or where Sikhism is more well-known, the event would not provoke immediate “fear” in the minds of its citizens. In the former, as the theory and research behind “attitudinal shocks” would explain, the media helps blend the two images while in the latter, the images are kept separate and distinct from one another.

Moral panic is the most significant factor in identifying if a group will develop negative biases towards without evidence-based knowledge or experience (Colomb). Not only that, existing research suggests that underlying bigotry and bias in media depictions following a traumatic or dramatic event depicting a certain type of group of people are one of the most “important

determinants of [even further] hate crime incidence(s)” (Hanes and Machin). Essentially, if the negative perceptions of a group are not challenged after an “attitudinal shock” or after a “moral panic” ensues, it can continue on in more drastic and violent forms. This unchallenged fear can sometimes lead to long-term ignorance. Additionally, when people recognize a gross injustice, they are most likely to “support legislation” that advocates for harsher punishment for attackers, feel “threatened” and unsafe themselves without change, and engage in forms of “activism” like petitioning (Colomb, 155).

### ***Strains and “Doing Difference”– Concepts Behind Discrimination***

However, negative perceptions are not necessarily only formed in times of “moral panic.” In fact, people develop “negative” perceptions of certain groups over many years. For instance, researchers determined that animosity towards these minority group members begins from others as a result of *perceived* “socio-economic disadvantages” (Hardy). Over a longer period of time, without necessarily having a single dramatic event, individuals can build negative perceptions of those in their community. In addition to fear developed due to perceived “socio-economic advantages or disadvantages,” the literature presents another type of strain, as well. Individuals can perceive “attention” towards specific groups in unfavorable ways, especially if they do not identify as a member of the group (like immigrants, or Asians, or youth) receiving the attention and focus (Ray and Smith).

Both these concepts surrounding various “strains” – socio-economic and attention - reveal, “deviant (or different) behavior results from a disequilibrium borne out of the gap between culturally prescribed goals and the means and opportunities attaining these legitimately”

(Walters). Under both “strains” is broader literature surrounding “strains” people experience in first thinking negatively about a group, and second, whether or not they are willing to challenge their thinking if an opportunity to do so presents itself. Moreover, the notion of “strain” in understanding how people develop thoughts has been researched extensively. For the purposes of this research specific to perceptions of Sikhs in the United States, the most common theory behind the strain literature is the attacker’s perception or belief that his/her “expected goals [are] limited by someone else,” which can be narrowly placed into socio-economic perceived or actual inequalities, attention perceived or actual inequalities, cultural, etc. (Walters). In the case of the Sikh population, attackers fall into his belief that one’s existence in some way causes a sense of threat to which one responds to with violence (Walters, Agnew).

### ***Otherization***

A major gap in the literature is the role of “ignorance” in “otherization.” This concept of “otherizing” in the literature is centered around two main concepts: capitalistic value or goal pursuits. Otherization theory is important because discrimination against minority populations cannot be solely based on a notion like strain theory because sometimes hate crimes are committed by politically powerful and financially well-off individuals (Perry). Hate crimes and discrimination at their roots are best understood through their roots in cultures of “segregation, discrimination, and marginalization” of groups who, by appearance, beliefs, or way of life are “different” (Perry). As a result, in cases like the Sikh American population, there is an “in-group,” or the dominant majority population and the victimized “out-group,” or the minority population (Perry). Because of this power divide in terms of sheer numbers in a particular location as well as other “differences” that might exist, the minority group inevitably ends up

taking on a “lesser position.” As a result, this discrimination against minority populations become the acts of what some literature refers to as “doing difference” (Perry). These “doing difference” acts extend beyond discrimination in policy or opportunity and into prejudice and hate crimes against the minority population. Participants are described in the literature explaining these studies using words like “them” when blaming the foreign community and “us” to those who were suffering the consequences of the poor economy (Hardy).

For negative perceptions specifically, “two closely related sociological theories that might serve as more complete explanations for hate crimes are “differential association” and “differential identification” (Gerstenfeld). In differential association theory, individuals will act harmfully because their “subculture” and way of life has fostered them to do so, similar to the ideas surrounding “doing difference” (Gerstenfeld). In contrast, differential identification theorizes individuals gain and develop their resentment and disdain (or appreciation) towards various groups and experiences based on the discourse and representation they surround themselves with, especially if it is seen as a “loss” for them – similar to what strain theory argues (NPR). This research will further inspect these two frameworks and test what biases may exist – culture, financial, etc. – that are key in forming perceptions around Sikh Americans, and which ones (if any) can be challenged.

### ***Frameworks of Discrimination***

Hate and discrimination against Sikhs can be understood with more depth using both differential association and differential identification. In the context of this hypothesis, these two extended aspects to strain theory allow the data to present analysis focused around how an individual has

developed their prejudices along with whether the image of a turban is a prejudice for them. Knowing the differential association or differential identification strains of the respondents in this research will help distinguish how the “culture” or the traditional background has influenced the image of the turban and of the Sikh. If there is a significant correlation of either the differential identification or differential association in America, the research can be furthered with other specific questions like: Does education of the Sikh faith in the United States foster youth to be more tolerant of Sikhs (Anderson)? Does Republican and conservative discourse regarding Sikhs impact the public’s perception? If a student comes in contact and maintains a connection with a Sikh in their life, does that influence the differential identification or the differential association of how they perceive Sikhs as a whole?

### ***Homogenization of hate***

With Sikhs specifically, it is interesting to do research on public perceptions because so often, individuals will respond to questions with the belief that Sikhs are the same as Muslims, thereby skewing the data from the beginning simply because of a gross misconception. Although there is still little research on Sikhs even in this topic, one study aims to provide a deeper understanding of why exactly Sikhs are targeted as Muslims in the first place. A finding the literature reveals can help explain hate crimes after traumatic events, like the Oak Creek, Wisconsin shooting. This finding is referred to as the “homogenization of hate” (Birk, 104). “Homogenization of hate” is best explained through situations of race or religion where the media, when it does choose to cover a certain group attacked in the United States, represents this group in “homogenous” terms like “brown” or “male” instead of analyzing the groups affected, their attackers, and the stereotypes that cause various phobias to exist (Birk, 100). This

“homogenization of hate” presented by media and literature in the time period of a “moral panic” is, according to the research, to blame for the watered down understanding the public has on diverse groups and oppressed individuals in this country. This concept extends beyond media into perceptions of fear and intense dislike in that, “marginalized groups have seen the effects of systemic racism in a variety of ways. Most notably through essentialized representation, negative portrayal and/or the confusion of identities” which ultimately leads to the public’s stereotyped views of groups and a lack of true depth of the group’s identity (Birk, 99). Essentially, if a traumatic event occurs, the literature surrounding “moral panics” and “attitudinal shocks” explains that the period immediately right after such tragedies is the most crucial in shaping the public’s opinions surrounding the event, who is the enemy, and what they represent. In the case of Sikhs, however, “homogenization” implies it is easier in times of “moral panic” (like 9/11) for Sikhs to not be explained or represented, just the color of their skin, the turban on their head, or the foreignness of the language they speak. Such “homogenization of hate” perpetuates the use and advancement of stereotypes and continues a cycle of hate which cannot be reversed without the media’s diligence in challenging the patterns of homogenization.

### ***Sensationalization of negativity, fear, and hate***

Sometimes media organizations and platforms choose to deliberately connect “hate” and “violence” to a group that, at least in America, is known to be a “common enemy.” In this case, Muslims. Sensationalization exists “because reporters are expected to make their stories grab the reader and keep them interested — if a story is deemed too dull, it simply will not get into the paper. But it is a problem because it can mean important caveats to the main idea of the story are left out, either by reporters or later by sub-editors cutting copy to fit a page. As a result, “police



figures about racial attacks,” especially those depicting minority religious communities, are often “reported in [uncritical ways]” (Baird, 29). Under the concept behind “sensationalization,” attacks must present newness in both the group being attacked as well as the ways through which the attack most frequently occurs. Essentially, if a group has already received significant coverage, they are unlikely to receive attention despite the volume of attacks and initiatives for change.

**Part I.** *Meta-Analysis in the United States regarding depictions of Turbans and Sikh Americans in media coverage*

**Method**

A meta-analysis is a “systematic quantitative technique used to ascertain relationships among variables” which is a helpful tool used to evaluate trends (Ahmed, 220). Academic scholars suggest that meta-analysis research help advance topics that might have misconceptions in literature, examine methodological arguments and procedures, and evaluate various thematic patterns and perspectives. This approach is critical for this research because the meta-analysis provides a detailed synthesized narrative depicting Sikhs and turbans in media coverage in the United States. Because this research presents a meta-analysis – there are limitations to its strength. Scholars suggest meta-analyses can be limited in their ability to assess issues with many “sub” issues as in the case with Sikhs, turbans, and Sikhism. Because of this limitation, this research offers a detailed analytical review of the topic to support and explain the findings of the meta-analysis as well as give direction to the various “sub” issues.

***Sample and inclusion criteria for studies***

In order to locate and analyze the studies and academic journal articles, the following keywords were used: ‘Sikhs’, ‘Sikhism’, ‘Sikhi’, ‘Turban’, ‘South Asia(n)’, ‘Indian’, ‘Punjabi’, ‘Punjab’ ‘Muslim looking’, and various Sikhism-based terminology (i.e. *Kirpan*, *Paagri*, *Kara*, *Kachera*, *Khalsa*, Golden Temple, 5 K’s, among others). The following are the searched databases: Wiley Online Library, SAGEPub, Taylor and Francis, JSTOR, Google Scholar, ProQuest, and SpringerLink. For Sikh American media-related data, initially, 104 articles were selected.

Criteria were set in order to identify which of these articles would be included in the meta-analysis. Book reviews, citations, and book chapters were ignored. Abstract sections of each journal article were read to see if they discussed the media's representation regarding Sikhs, turbans, and/or Sikhism. Any abstract that only discussed Sikhs as a religious community without mention of their representation in media or in their country were ignored. With background knowledge of the Punjabi language, articles with extensive Punjabi or English were included in the selection. Journal articles not including these languages were ignored. The period from 2002 to 2014 was selected because it captures various events in America that are correlated to the increase in hate crimes and discrimination against Sikhs. This time period also represents the Sikh colonial and immigration influx in the United States. Articles from September 2001 were included in the year 2002 to account for the events of the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks to avoid misrepresenting the high numbers of 2001. The final included 81 articles from American academic journals depicting American Sikhs, turbans, or other Sikh terminology mentioned above.

### ***Procedure***

This meta-analysis in the United States was conducted in two main steps. Firstly, the quantitative data analysis required coding for the most significant facets of the articles in the sample. These are all discussed in further detail in Table 1. Secondly, the qualitative analysis required identification of the most prevalent patterns in the studies regarding representations of Sikh Americans. These are all discussed in further detail in Table 2.

Table 1.

<i>Quantitative Analysis Coding</i>	
A. Year of Publication	
B. Country/Continent	
C. Journal	
D. Authorship	
E. Methodological Approach For the various types of methodological approaches, articles were coded for three approaches: “Qualitative,” “Quantitative,” and “Mixed” analysis/data. If an article was coded as “Quantitative,” then its results involved counting and statistical numerical procedures. Otherwise, research articles were coded to be qualitative. All articles that included variations and mixes of both data types were coded as “Mixed.”	
F. Data Gathering Instrument PART 1) In order to evaluate the various instruments for quantitative studies, the following subcategories were used:	
1) QMCA 2) QMS 3) QMSD 4) QME 5) QMM1 6) QMO1	1) “Content Analysis” 2) “Survey” 3) “Secondary Data” 4) “Experiment” 5) “Mixed” for articles with more than one or a combination of instruments 6) “Other”
PART 2) In order to evaluate the various instruments for qualitative studies, the following subcategories were used:	
1) QMR 2) QMTA 3) QMI 4) QMF 5) QME 6) QMM2 7) QMO2	1) “Review” 2) “Textual Analysis” 3) “Interview” 4) “Focus Group” 5) “Ethnography” 5) “Mixed” for articles with more than one or a combination of instruments 6) “Other”
PART 3) In order to evaluate the various instruments for mixed method quantitative studies, the following subcategories were used:	
1) MMQPCA 2) MMQPSD 3) MMQPS	1) Mixed Method Quantitative Content Analysis (focus) 2) Mixed Method Quantitative Secondary Data (focus) 3) Mixed Method Quantitative Survey (focus)
PART 4) In order to evaluate the various instruments for mixed method qualitative studies, the following subcategories were used:	

1) MMQI 2) MMQTA 3) MMQR 4) MMQM	1) Mixed Method Qualitative Interview (focus) 2) Mixed Method Qualitative Text Analysis (focus) 3) Mixed Method Qualitative Review (focus) 4) Mixed Method Qualitative Data (general)
<p>G. Type of Media Analyzed</p> <p>Each article was coded on the basis of five subcategories of mediums in media:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Television</li> <li>2) Newspapers</li> <li>3) Internet</li> <li>4) Mixed</li> <li>5) Other</li> </ol>	
<p>H. Sikh Perspective</p> <p>In order to evaluate the “Sikh perspective” in the research regarding the population, there was an additional check on each article and journal to evaluate if the content fit one or more of the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Media generated by a Sikh organization (The Sikh Coalition, Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund, Sikh Formations, etc.)</li> <li>2) A sample of Sikhs in the data set (interviews, surveys, etc.)</li> <li>3) Authorship of Sikh background</li> </ol>	

Table 2.

<i>Qualitative Analysis Review</i>	
Based on the discussions and focuses of each study and each article, three coders categorized studies into their overall contextual topics/patterns. While the topics of the studies were different and distinct in many cases, in general, the articles tended to fit at least one and at most 5 of the 8 recognized contextual topics. Any journal article focusing on more than one theme was categorized into each theme investigated. Regardless of the 8 contextual topics, not all topics are coded in this study so certain topics pertaining to Sikhs, turbans, and Sikhism are not fully represented in this research.	
Thematic Topics	Guidelines for Coding (all in “discussion of”)
1. Turbans	“pagri,” “patka,” “keski” or “turban”
2. Islam/Islamophobia	“Muslim – looking,” and Islam association
3. Terrorism	Turbaned terrorist imagery, linkage to terrorist attacks
4. Oak Creek	Oak Creek shooting, hate crimes, discrimination
5. 9/11	September 11 <sup>th</sup> attacks, hate crimes, discrimination
6. Sikhism/Who are Sikhs	Detailed explanation: Punjab, foundational principles, essence of Sikh faith
7. Khalsa/5 K’s	English or Punjabi reference to one or more Sikh identity marks: <i>kara</i> (steel bracelet), <i>kirpan</i> (small dagger), <i>kachera</i> (shorts), <i>kanga</i> (wooden comb), <i>kesh</i> (uncut hair)
8. 1984 Operation Bluestar	Indira Gandhi, Sikh oppression in India, Sikh militants, Operation Bluestar, Akal Takht (Sikh Holy Shrine)

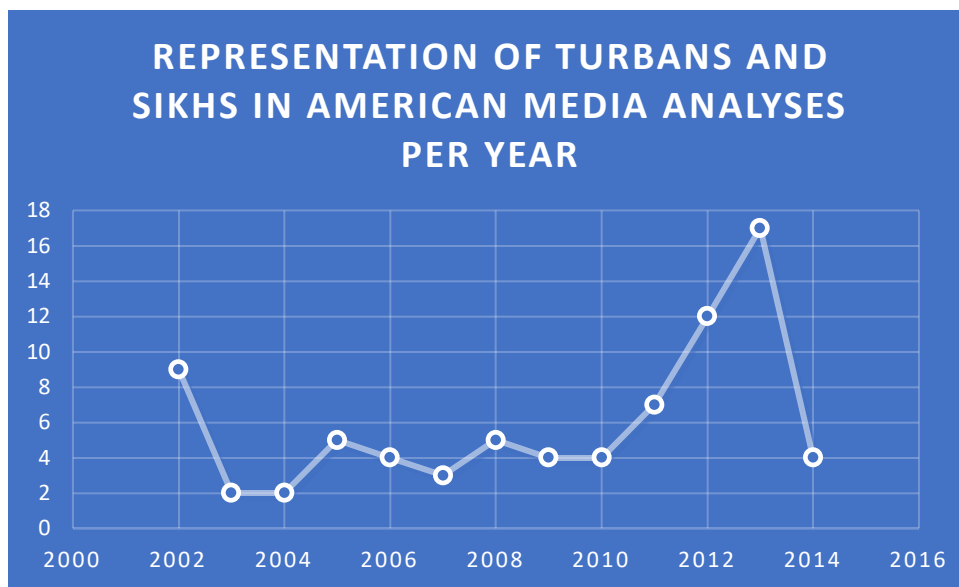
### *Coders and Reliability*

Three different coders were tasked to code the articles into the categories above. In terms of reliability, Cohen's kappa (0.65 to 0.81). In the context of this research, this helps provide validity for the interrater agreement of qualitative analysis and coding of this meta-analysis.

## **Findings**

### *Quantitative findings*

#### **Year of Publication**



#### **Country/Continent**

Of all countries studying turbans and the Sikh population, the United States and Canada had the most research followed by India and the UK. For this research, studies focused on media representation only in the United States were analyzed.

## **Journal**

Articles and studies were published in journals across many disciplines. In this research, a majority of journals used are only cited once. However, journals most repeated are Ethnicities, Economic and Political Weekly, and Sikh Formations. In total, 12 journals are used more than once.

## **Methodological Approach and Data Gathering Instrument**

Of the 81 American articles under inspection, 35% of them (N=28) favored a quantitative methodological approach whereas 48% (N=39) favored a qualitative approach. Articles and studies that included parts of both methods were in the Mixed Methods category accounting for 17% (N=14).

In order to further investigate the nature of the work on Sikhs in the United States, the type of gathering instrument was also recorded and evaluated in terms of the broader usage of instruments in the meta-analysis. Of the approaches classified under the quantitative method, 50.00% (N=14) of the research focused on Content Analysis while 21.42% (N=6) of the research focused on Experimental data. The qualitative method was used more frequently than the quantitative method and an overwhelming amount of the articles were coded as Interviews at 33.33% (N=13) and Reviews at 43.59% (N=21). For Mixed Methodological approaches, Content Analysis was largely favored at 62.5% (N=5).

<b>United States</b>			
<b>Quantitative Method</b>		<b>Frequency of Studies</b>	<b>Overall Percentage</b>
	Content Analysis	14	50.00
	Survey	5	17.85
	Secondary Data	3	10.71
	Experiment	6	21.42
	Mixed	0	0.00
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Qualitative Method</b>	Review	17	43.59
	Textual Analysis	5	12.82
	Interview	13	33.33
	Ethnography	0	0.00
	Focus Group	2	5.13
	Mixed	2	5.13
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Mixed Method: Quantitative focused</b>	Content Analysis	5	62.5
	Secondary Data	1	12.5
	Survey	2	25.00
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Mixed Method: Qualitative focused</b>	Interview	2	40.00
	Textual Analysis	1	20.00
	Review	2	40.00
	Mixed	0	0.00
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100</b>

### Type of Media Analyzed

Figure 5 represents the mediums of media focused in depicting Sikhs and turbans in the United States. In the United States, the most covered media medium at 38% focused on television (N=30).

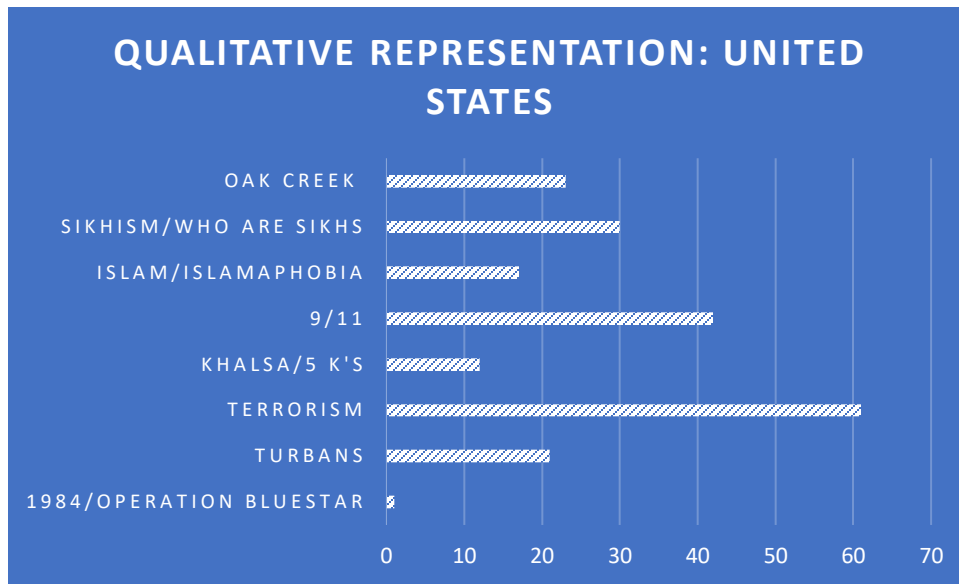
### Sikh Perspective

Of all the studies related to Sikhs in American media, 37% (N=30) of them included the Sikh perspective.



## Qualitative Findings

In this section, the most common qualitative themes are discussed for the media representation of turbans and Sikhs in the United States. The eight themes coded for are represented in the discussion of four broader categories of investigation.



### ***Terrorism***

The research suggests a large proportion of studies investigating the portrayals of turbans, and Sikhism, following a framework discussing terrorism. In post 9/11 American media, the findings suggest a pattern of negative representations of turbans and people who “look” like they are terrorists. Analytical scholars suggest that this representation of “looking like terrorists” paralleled the Bush Administration’s role in using “spectacles to promote specific political agendas and avoiding talks or relations with matters on the Middle East” (Ahmed, 231).

American media, namely television, showed images of terrorists in turbans like on CNN, and

The New York Times did not mention Sikhs or how to distinguish between Sikhs and terrorists beyond “turbans.”

### ***Islam/Muslims***

Even though Sikhs and Sikhism are separate from Muslims and Islam, the research concludes that in representing members of the Islam faith, Sikhs were commonly referenced and discussed. In fact, one of the most common responses to attacks against members of the Sikh community is that the attacker did not know Sikhs and Muslims were different or that they did not know who Sikhs were in the first place (Singh, Mahmood). This research codes for the discussion of Islamophobia or people who “look Muslim” and its discussion in the portrayals of Sikh Americans.

### ***Hate Crimes***

The findings also reveal media portrayals of turbans like those worn by Sikhs are strongly associated with the incidents of hate crimes and systemic discrimination. Studies published immediately after events like 9/11 and Osama Bin Laden’s death resulted in increased literature surrounding Sikhs and their “victimization narrative” in the United States. Many of these research studies evaluate the experiences Sikhs have with hate crimes after a terrorist attack.

### ***Event Specific (9/11, Oak Creek)***

Per the analysis, it is evident that the United States literature surrounding Sikhs and their representation pre-event and post-event differed. In the United States, there were two apparent spikes in research regarding Sikhs and their portrayals in American media. The first of these

spikes was in the aftermath of 9/11 and the second was after the Oak Creek shooting. Oak Creek, especially in the United States, prompted a drastic increase in media attention towards Sikhs. In addition to raw numbers increasing after events in American media, the research finds American media focused extensively on events in terms of content when representing Sikhs. In other words, in using Sikh imagery and explaining Sikh beliefs, American media tends to overwhelmingly characterize Sikhs in light of tragic events, not independent of them (Alsultany, Arora, Bleich, Mann). American research tended to represent Sikhs and their victimization of attacks post-events at 26%.

### ***Sikh Articles of Faith and Public Opinion***

Several studies investigated the roles of the various Sikh articles of faith (*kirpan*, *kachera*, *kanga*, *kesh*, *kara*) in the media. The discussion of these represented approximately 4% in the United States. Some of the research points to why this is the case. In the United States, the topic of the *kirpan* has been debated in Courts from the case of State of Ohio v. Singh in 1996 to Tagore V. United States in 2013 (Neiman).

### ***Turbans***

A significant number of studies in the United States also point to the media representations of “turbans.” Because this research is limited to the United States, where in fact 99% of the turban-wearers are of the Sikh faith, it was expected to see turbans analyzed in the greater context of the Sikh experience (Sikh Coalition). However, this was not the case. In discussing turbans, American media associated them with words like “radical,” “terrorist,” and “Arab.” Detailed in the research report titled “The Racialization of Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism in the United

States” by Khyati Y. Joshi, “In the days and weeks after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Americans were exposed to images of a particular regional/cultural manifestation of Islam: Afghani Islam, where men wear turbans and long beards. Specifically, the images of Osama Bin Laden, an Arab, and Mohammed Omar, an Afghani, became associated in the American mainstream mind with Sikh men because of the visual similarity of turbans. Americans (including not only white but also black and East Asian Americans) “saw” Sikh Americans as Muslims due to their understanding of Muslims’ purported “racial uniform”—a turban and beard” (Joshi, 211-224).

This data does not seek, prove, or conclude the media’s portrayal of Sikhs and turbans to be correlated to hate crimes and discrimination of Sikhs or even that all turban studies were representative of Sikh people exclusively in this analysis. It does, however, aim to offer a critical analysis of the media’s representation of Sikhs in order to help explain the knowledge or lack of knowledge of Sikhs, turbans, and Sikhism among the American public.

## **Part II.** *Survey Experiment capturing the Americans Perceptions of Sikhs*

### **Hypothesis**

This research will focus on how individuals actually perceive the "turban," Sikhs, and Sikhism in America in light of the media's produced content analyzed above. The survey experiment aims to determine if discrimination against Sikhs can be challenged through the use of a video treatment, and if so, to what extent and what specific biases or negative perceptions of a respondent can be challenged. I hypothesize engagement with information and knowledge will grow acceptance and appreciation of all non-Sikh Americans, regardless of their understanding of the faith group or initial beliefs towards Sikh Americans.

### **Method**

Survey experiments are a common tool political science researchers can use to better understand the significance and relationships between phenomena in the world. The survey approach is critical to complement the meta-analysis portion of this research to evaluate whether or not what we see from literature's telling of media representation of Sikhs in the United States actually affects the perceptions of everyday Americans. Moreover, to go a step beyond the meta-analysis, if media and information from others are in-fact as impressionable on Americans as the meta-analysis indicates, can the perceptions of Americans be changed or challenged through a short visual clip on Sikh Americans?

In this part of the research, a survey was issued to 500 individuals in the United States through Amazon Mechanical Turk. The purpose of this study is to first, determine what perceptions exist

regarding Sikh Americans (control) and analyze whether or not these perceptions can be challenged (test), in this case, through a 2-minute video on Sikhs (transcript of video and link to the video in Appendix). 50% of the respondents were randomly selected to watch this video and the other 50% were randomly assigned to the control group, thereby not receiving the treatment to view the video.

While survey data is often limited in its ability to collect representative samples, scholars understanding Amazon's Mechanical Turk have been able to address and challenge many of the hesitations surrounding this particular method of gathering data.

“MTurk is a valuable subject recruitment tool. First, the demographic characteristics of domestic MTurk users are more representative and diverse than the corresponding student and convenience samples typically used in experimental political science studies. Second, we replicate experimental studies previously conducted using convenience and nationally representative samples, finding that the estimates of average treatment effects are similar in the MTurk and original samples. Third, we find that potential limitations to using MTurk to recruit subjects and conduct research—in particular, concerns about heterogeneous treatment effects, subject attentiveness, and the prevalence of habitual survey takers—are not large problems in practice” (Berinsky et al.).

This research aims to provide analysis and context for three different variable types – continuous, nominal, and categorical in both qualitative and quantitative formats. The survey

administered asked respondents to answer over 50 separate questions, testing for various variables and comprehension of the test videos throughout the duration of the survey.

### ***Sample and inclusion criteria for studies***

In order to qualify as a respondent to this survey, the following criteria were used: ‘must reside in the United States’ and ‘English-speaker.’

### ***Procedure***

Survey analysis for this data was conducted in five main steps. Firstly, because this study involves direct involvement with a greater population of human beings and is classified as an experiment with a test, Institutional Review Board approval was sought for this research to be administered online to English-speaking respondents residing in the United States.

Second, the questions for the survey were formulated (See Appendix) to include three main factors: various variable data types (continuous – i.e. feeling thermometers, categorical – i.e. “which describes you best” and nominal data). This nominal data included initial biography questions in order to control for potential and likely variables. These include ‘age’, ‘gender’, ‘race/ethnicity’, ‘registered voter’, ‘ideology’, ‘party identification’, ‘religiosity’, ‘church attendance’, ‘geography in the U.S.’, ‘religion’, ‘income’, ‘state’, and ‘civic engagement’. The questions were also selected to produce both qualitative and quantitative data to advance the findings of the meta-analysis. Questions in which respondents were required to write words would yield qualitative data, for instance. In contrast, questions that tasked respondents to track their feelings on a numerical scale would produce quantitative data.

Third, four separate focus groups were formulated consisting of 38 individuals with exactly half identifying with the following categories: male/female, white/non-white, 21 and below/21 and above, religious/non-religious. In order to qualify as a member in the focus group, individuals needed to be over 21-years old, an American citizen, completed published political science research at some point in their career, and have formal experience with survey experiments and questionnaires. These 38 individuals were all separated into 6 separate focus groups that were tasked with reading over the survey questions. The first four groups were assigned the role of, as a group, collectively either taking out, editing, or adding in questions they felt would eliminate bias or subjectivity from the questions in the survey. The final two focus groups were tasked with only deleting questions if bias was apparent to ensure no new bias was introduced by adding or editing wording of questions. Ultimately, 38 questions were examined in the final format presented in the Appendix. These 38 individuals in the 6 separate focus groups each also examined the exact transcript of the test video this research used as its independent experiment. All six groups edited the script and came to a final version which can be referenced in the Appendix.

Fourth, the video script was recorded to match with 32 separate visuals (24 photographs and 8 videos) to produce the test video. Editing was done on two video programs: Adobe Premiere and Adobe After Effects and the video was exported to last 2 minutes. The control video was selected through a random generator of 50 visual effect videos available on YouTube per those that most closely matched the search criteria. Of those, a video was randomly selected and cut to be only 10 seconds to match the “video” format of the test being provided to respondents. On the



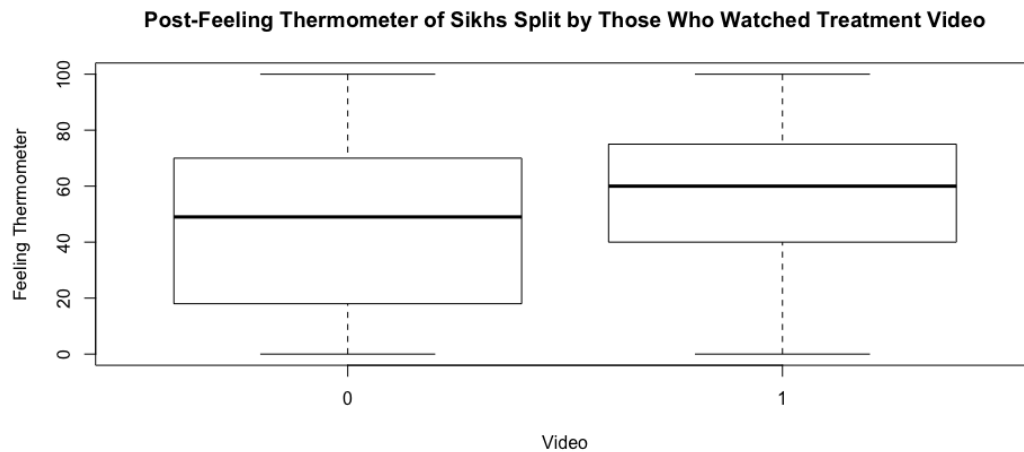
survey, 50% of respondents were to be randomly assigned to the control video and 50% to the test video.

Finally, the survey was inputted into SurveyMonkey and the video was embedded in the survey as the “test” for the experiment. This SurveyMonkey link was pasted into the study on Amazon’s Mechanical Turk and launched for 500 respondents with a payment of \$1.00 for each completed survey. 478 respondents completed the survey appropriately.

## **Findings**

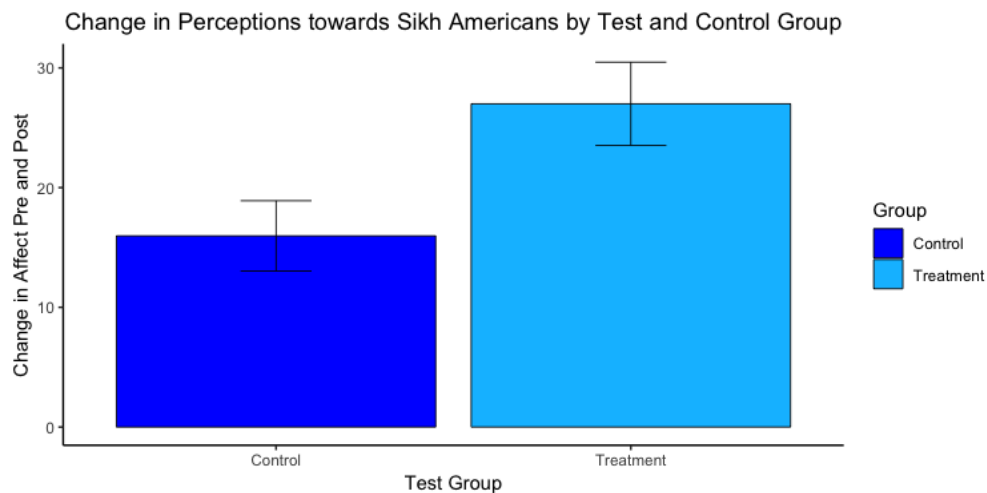
### ***PART I. Feelings towards Sikh Americans measured by the data’s feeling thermometer***

In the survey experiment, respondents were tasked with two separate feeling thermometers – one at the beginning of the survey, and one at the end. The question inquired respondents to evaluate their appreciation and/or respect for Sikh Americans. The following boxplot depicts the data of the “post” feeling thermometer differences from the control group that did not watch the treatment video and the test group that did. The mean value in Control Group is 43.9 and the mean value in the Test Group is 56.8, a 13-point difference.



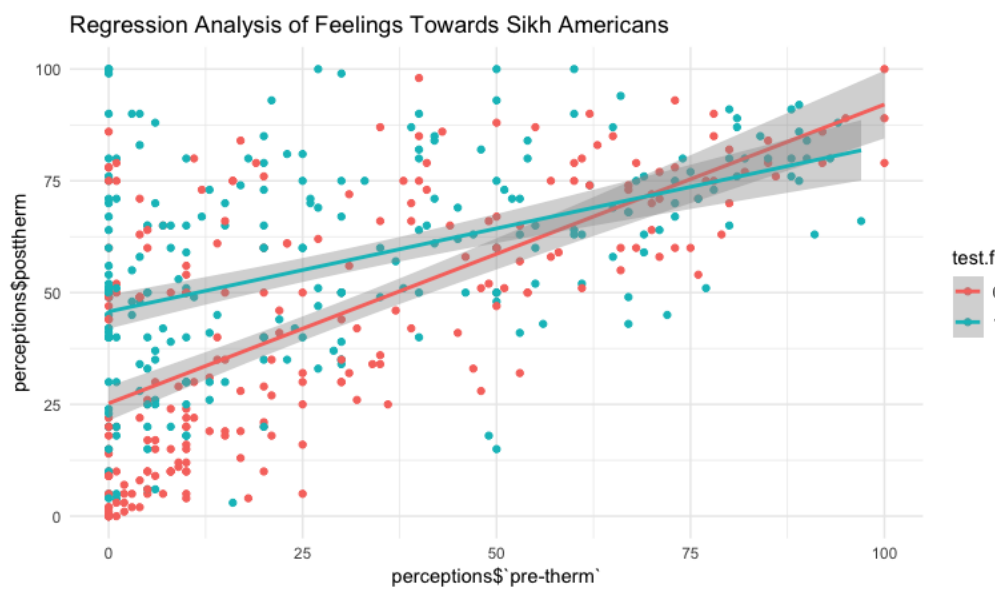
**Figure 1**

In order to further analyze this plot and test whether or not the “post” difference between the two groups remains as statistically significant when the mean differences are compared between the control group’s pre and post feeling thermometer and the test group, a T-Test was conducted. The variable “dif” as the “difference” subtracting the two measures of each group, was created per each group in order to simplify the chart below.



**Figure 2**

In calculating the difference between the “post-thermometer” question asked after individuals viewed the short video clip and the “pre-thermometer” question (same) asked before individuals were assigned to either the control or test group, the t-test and graph above indicate there is an important difference between the two groups in terms of the change in the feeling thermometer. The difference between the change is 9 points which is statistically significant at the 99% confidence level (t-ratio is -4.77). Moreover, the p-value for the test is less than 0.01 so per this test, the change in pre and post-treatment for those that received the test vs. those who did not is in fact **not** up to chance, but in relation to the treatment or control given.



**Figure 3**

In this graph, we interact the perceptions of the feelings towards Sikhs in the pre-treatment and the post-treatment with the control group. The “red” line represents the “control” group whereas the “green” line represents the test group (those who viewed the video on Sikh Americans.) Per this regression, individuals who did not have favorable feelings towards Sikhs in their first

feeling thermometer and were assorted into the treatment group, significantly improved their perceptions of Sikh Americans (compared to those who were in the control group) by the second feeling thermometer, as indicated by the gap seen towards the left of the graph. Additionally, as the chart depicts, there is a point of intersection between the two lines. This intersection in the data suggests those in the treatment group who have higher rates of appreciation towards Sikh Americans during the first thermometer rating ( $x > 50$ ), will not be impacted by the video to the same scale as those who have less favorable feelings towards Sikh Americans during the first feeling thermometer. Essentially, the treatment video did in fact significantly increase the feelings of appreciation for respondents who initially did not like Sikhs. However, for people who liked Sikhs pre-treatment, it had little to no effect. Ultimately, per this analysis, the treatment video had the intended effect on people who dislike Sikhs.

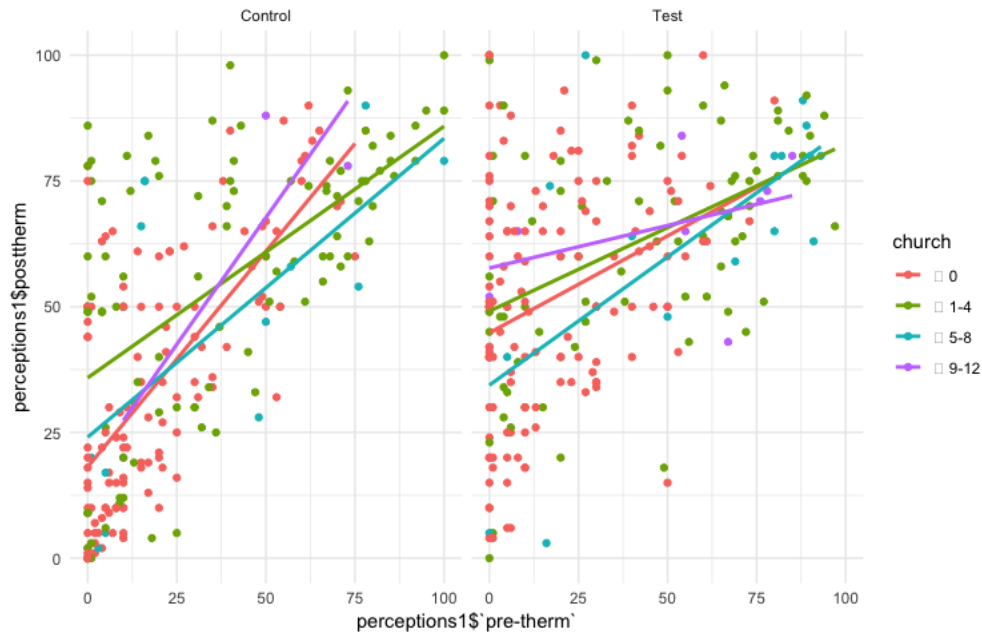
**Table 1**

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	posttherm
Treatment	20.519*** (2.757)
Feelings towards Sikhs in the Pre-Treatment	0.668*** (0.050)
Treatment x Feelings in Pre-Treatment	-0.297*** (0.068)
Constant	25.233*** (1.951)
Observations	478
R <sup>2</sup>	0.378
F Statistic	96.119*** (df = 3; 474)
<i>Note:</i>	* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

As measured in the regression analysis data table, the R-squared value is .378, which means this measure and this data predicting the changes measured in the feeling thermometers between the two groups – control and test - explains a significant amount of the variability of the response data around the data's mean. Additionally, the F Statistic of 96.119 indicates the measure is strong because of its statistical significance at the small p-value of 0.01.

### ***PART 2. Testing for Other Variables to Help Explain Regression Statistic***

Other variables were isolated to determine how other factors could impact each individual continuous scale as well as the differences between them per each group. Among the variables, church attendance (how many hours a respondent has attended church in the past month), age (classified in 7 age groups), civic engagement (measured as how much stays a respondent touch with the news), and “votership” (dichotomously measured based on whether or not someone is registered to vote), are displayed below. Regardless of what demographic variable or categories are presented below, however, we find in this study that the impact of the experiment and test remains significant.

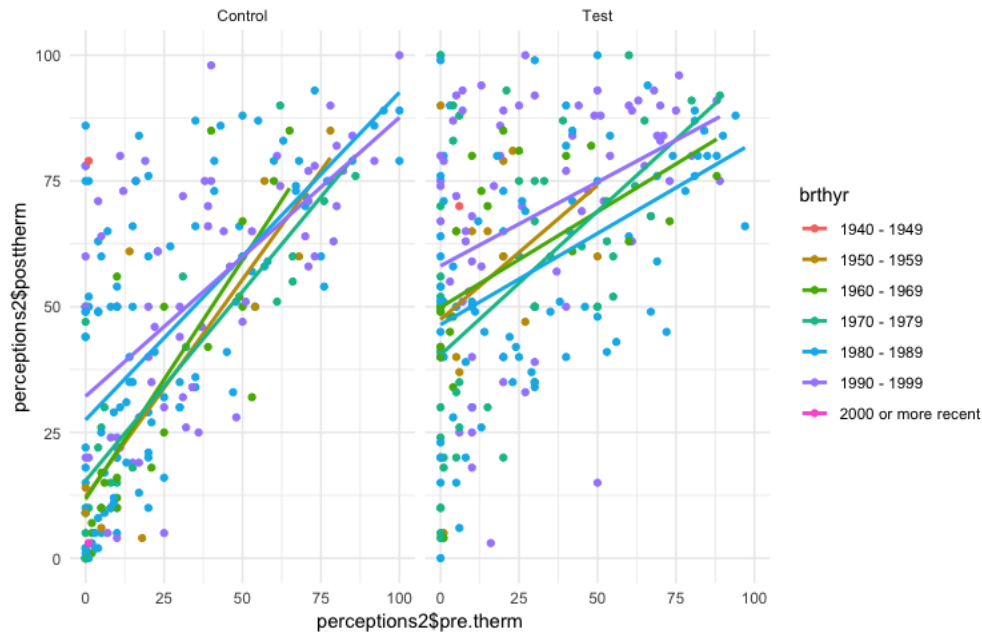


**Figure 4**

The church attendance variable presented different linear results depending on whether a participant was in the control group or in the test group. Per Figure 4, respondents as a whole became more accepting of Sikh Americans between the pre and post feeling thermometer than those who did not receive the treatment. In the “test” graph, it can be noted that after a certain point between 75 and 100, similar to the findings in the regression analysis depicted in Table 1, there is an intersection of multiple lines indicating that the treatment video, for those who indicated a “high” ( $x > 75$ ) “pre-therm” score, stops affecting their perception to the same degree as those who perhaps indicated a 0 “pre-therm” score at the lower end of the scale. Particularly those who identified as “church attendees,” and likely religious attending services between 9-12 hours per month developed the smallest slope among all four categories. The data indicates that this likely most “religious” group was least likely to increase their feelings towards Sikh

Americans unless their “pre-therm” feelings were lower than approximately 25 (those increased significantly).

Comparatively, in the control group, these intersections came towards the lower end of the “pre-therm” score, or left side of the graph, indicating that individuals based on their church attendance were becoming less or more accepting of Sikh Americans as they completed their test at rates that are not in a general pattern as they were with the test group.



**Figure 5**

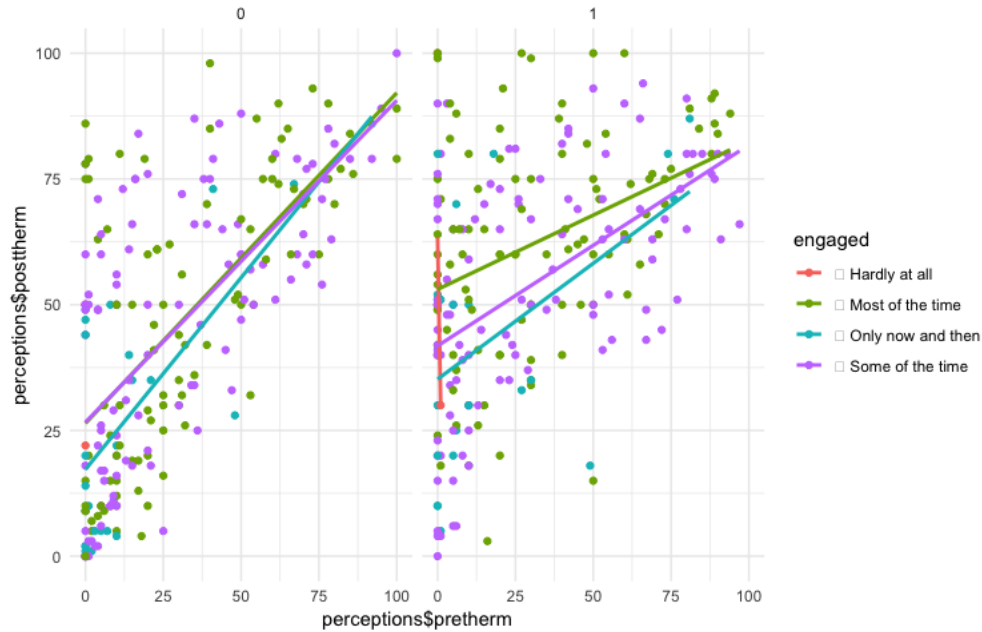
In the “brthyr” variable, individuals were grouped into seven categories in order to analyze whether or not one’s age could have influenced the varying rates in which individuals were impacted by the test.

The oldest group included in this data describing age was individuals born between the years of 1940 and 1949 and the youngest group included in the data describing age was born between 2000 and later. Both of these groups did not have enough individuals in the sample conducted to be conclusive and represented in the charts above.

The five categories help infer that the medium in which this test was conducted (a visual media video project) might have influenced those who ended up being engaged with the video and receptive to its intention. Individuals who were born in the category between the years 1990 and 1999 had some of the highest positive differences between pre-therm and post-therm scores. This can perhaps be attributed to the younger generation's involvement and appreciation for technology and use of media, something older generations might not have been able to gain as much appreciation for – perhaps unrelated to the content of the video.

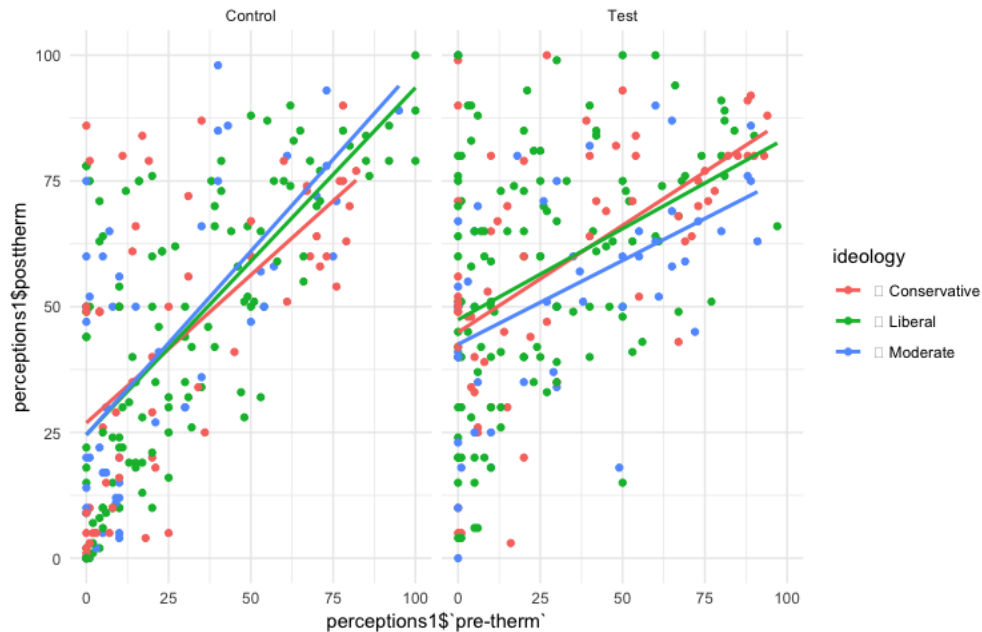
The slopes for the lines depicting the age group born between 1950-1959 as well as 1970-1979 are higher than the other categories in the “test” chart. While the 1950's group is limited in responses in this sample so such slope may not be statistically representative of the population, the 1970-1979 age group represents an interesting change to the previous two graphs. When respondents classified in this population had positive feelings during the “pre-therm” scoring, after the video, their positive feelings increased their initial score on average, instead of keeping it the same or decreasing it. As a result, the line depicting this population continues on an upward slope in the “test” graph.





**Figure 6**

The variable of “news engagement” represents similar trends as the graphs above. This variable was included in this study because the medium for the test was in video format, the hypothesis being that individuals who are actively involved in the news might be able to internalize the information conveyed in the video and represent this through their “post therm” scores more than those who were not as engaged in the news. The data is categorized into four separate groups. The group that responded “most of the time” that they follow the news regularly ended up having the highest “post-therm” scores, as hypothesized. On the same scale, those who were classified as only engaging with the news “now and then,” the least frequent of categories other than “hardly at all” ended with lower “post-therm” scores, even though many matched the “pre-therm” scores as members of other categories like those in the “most of the time” group.



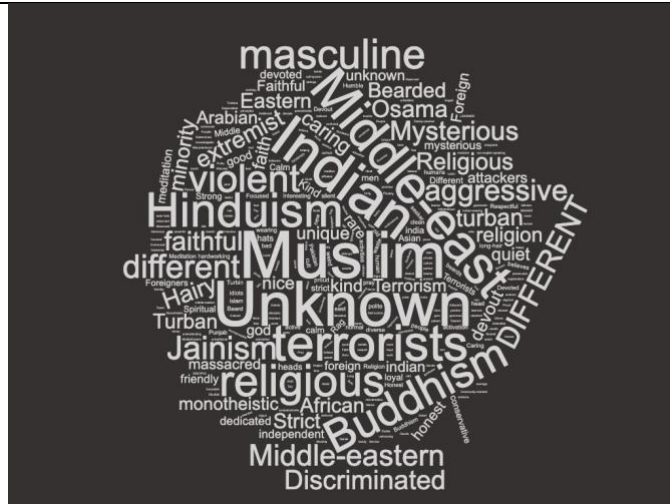
**Figure 7**

In this survey experiment, “ideology” was tested, and respondents selected one of 5 categories - “very conservative,” “conservative,” “moderate,” “liberal,” and “very liberal.” The groups “very conservative” and “conservative” were combined and “liberal” and “very liberal” were combined to have the three categories depicted on this graph. All of the categories increased between the ratings in the “pre-therm” and “post-therm” indicating that the “test” influenced the perceptions of respondents in regards to Sikh Americans to at least some degree. While the “liberal” group was hypothesized to have the highest “post-therm” ratings due to the focus in the test video on “diversity” and “minority representation,” this was not necessarily the case as shown in the test graph. In fact, the highest slope is respondents in the “conservative” party.

### ***PART 3. Qualitative Word Cloud's analysis by Survey Experiment Responses***

Two separate word clouds were generated using R-statistical analysis depicting the most common words respondents used to describe Sikh Americans. The larger the words are, the more frequently they were written by members of that group in the study. Both the control group's most common words, as well as the treatment group's words, are visualized below.

#### **Non-Treatment Group**



Most common words:

1. Muslim
2. Unknown
3. Middle-east
4. Indian
5. Terrorist

**Figure 8**

#### **Treatment Group**



Most common words:

1. Peaceful
2. Caring
3. Kind
4. Equality
5. Giving

**Figure 9**

### ***PART 4. Measuring “Independence” between variables through Chi-Squared Tests***

In this study, participants were given a series of “association” questions on a five-point scale.

Participants were tasked to list the extent to which they associated a phrase directly with Sikh

Americans. In order to measure “independence” between these variables as well as the test in the

survey experiment, a number of Chi-Squared tests were conducted (tests for independence) and

mosaic plots produced in order to detail the findings below.

**Table 2**

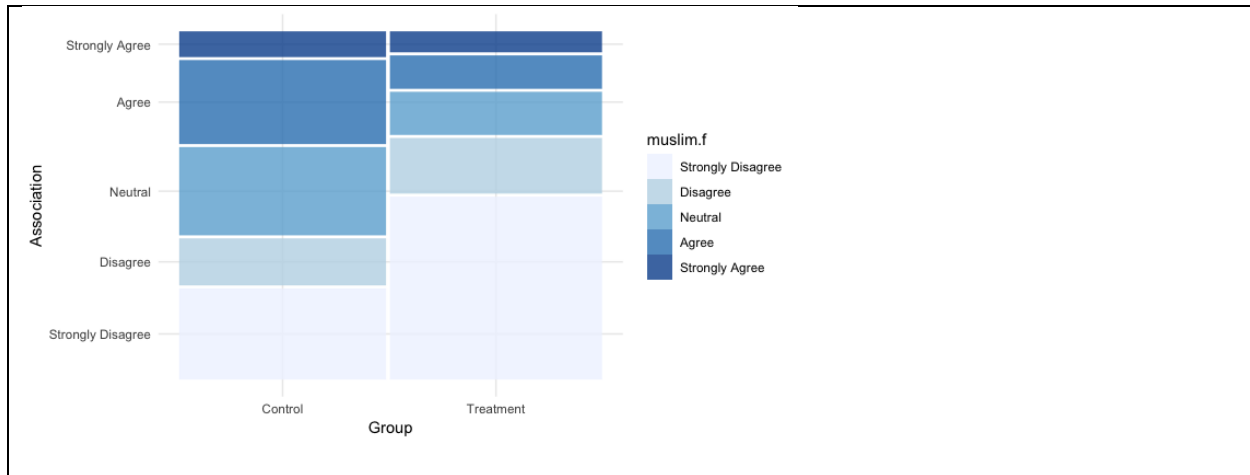
	<i>Dependent variable:</i>						
	Muslim “Sikhs are Muslims or are a part of Islam”	Terrorism “Sikhs are terrorists”	Osama “Sikhs are associated with Osama Bin Laden”	Schools “Sikhism should be taught as a religion in schools”	Untrustworthy “Sikhs are untrustworthy”	Values “Sikhs do not possess American values”	Cut Hair “Sikhs should cut their hair to fit in with Americans”
Treatment Group	-0.753*** (0.118)	-0.229** (0.110)	-0.284** (0.113)	0.242** (0.110)	-0.300*** (0.110)	-0.390*** (0.109)	-0.339*** (0.116)
Constant	2.720*** (0.084)	2.059*** (0.078)	2.106*** (0.080)	2.750*** (0.078)	2.250*** (0.078)	2.564*** (0.078)	2.352*** (0.082)
Observations	478	478	478	478	478	478	478
R <sup>2</sup>	0.079	0.009	0.013	0.010	0.015	0.026	0.018
F Statistic (df = 1; 476)	40.591***	4.356**	6.339**	4.843**	7.423***	12.820***	8.606***

*Note:*

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Both the control group as well as the test group as well as the participants' association of Sikh Americans to "Muslim," or the first variable, is charted below (the other charts can be found in the Appendix).

**Figure 10**



Based on the chart as well as the Chi-Squared statistic, we must **reject** the null hypothesis in this case that the variable of the test group a respondent is assigned (test or control) is independent of the respondents' association of Sikh Americans with Muslims. In fact, this particular association indicates a strong level of dependency between the two variables as the Chi-Squared statistic of 49.56 is very high and the p-value of  $4.5 \times 10^{-10}$  is very small, indicating that there is a significant relationship between the two variables.

## Terrorism

As indicated in the meta-analysis in this study, terrorism is a topic that is often brought up in media depictions of turbans and portrayals of Sikhs, especially in the United States. From a historical context, much of this has developed from 9/11 and the attacks from terrorists like

Osama Bin Laden, who in media coverage after the traumatic event wore a turban. In this survey, both terrorism and Osama Bin Laden were tested with associations to Sikh Americans. The following two charts represent the control and test groups' perceptions of these associations.

For both "Terrorism" and "Osama Bin Laden" word associations, as indicated in the chart had p-values less than the significance level of 0.05 so we conclude that there is a significant association between the variable of the test group a respondent is assigned (test or control) and their association of Sikh Americans to "Terrorism" and separately, "Osama Bin Laden."

### **Sikhism should be taught in U.S. schools**

In this test, the variable selected for measure focuses on whether or not the experimental test in the study develops differences in respondents' perspectives of teaching the faith in U.S. school systems. Considering the history of hate in the United States as well as the discrimination Sikhs face especially when they are confronted by others who are unfamiliar with Sikhism, this variable is very important: Are people interested in learning about Sikhism in a more formal manner? If so, why now?

In Table 2, the variable yields positive results indicating that respondents in the test group were more inclined to answer, "Strongly Agree" than "Strongly Disagree," or respond favorably to the question.

### **Untrustworthy**

Based on the meta-analysis data from the first section of this study, Sikhs and those who wear turbans can often be perceived as “untrustworthy” because of stereotypical depictions like terrorism, violence, etc., have challenged the notion of a “trustworthy” identity of Sikh Americans. As a result, this study included the variable “untrustworthy” to determine whether or not further information and knowledge of the Sikh American community, through the treatment video, would change character perceptions of the religious community members. Per the findings in Table 2, it appears it did.

The Chi-Squared test statistic of 9.22 and the p-value of 0.05 at the significance level of 0.10 indicates that we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is a significant association between the variable of the test group a respondent is assigned (test or control) and their association of Sikh Americans to “untrustworthy.”

### **Sikhs do not have American values**

Another common trend from the meta-analysis above is the concept of “Americanism” or patriotic notions that make Sikh Americans seem dissimilar from others in the United States, or that because of media-perpetuated stereotypes, present Sikh Americans as “foreign,” “Indian,” “Middle Eastern,” as indicated in the word cloud for the control group above, etc.

In Table 2 the data also tests to see the perceptions for the statements that 1) Sikh Americans do not represent American values and that 2) Sikh Americans should cut their hair, thereby

removing their religious turban in order to “fit” in with other Americans. The results of the two tests can be seen below through mosaic plots as well as Chi-Squared analyses in the Appendix.

### **Sikhs should cut their hair to be American**

For the “Sikh Americans do not possess American values” variable, the Chi-Squared test statistic is 19.66 with a p-value 0.0005, a very small p-value. The Chi-Squared test statistic for “Sikhs should cut their hair to be American” is 11.69 with a small p-value of .02.

These two p-values are less than the significance level of 0.05 so we reject both of the null hypotheses and conclude that there is a significant association between the variable of the test group a respondent is assigned (test or control) and their association of Sikh Americans to “Sikhs do not have American values” and separately, “Sikhs should cut their hair to be American.”

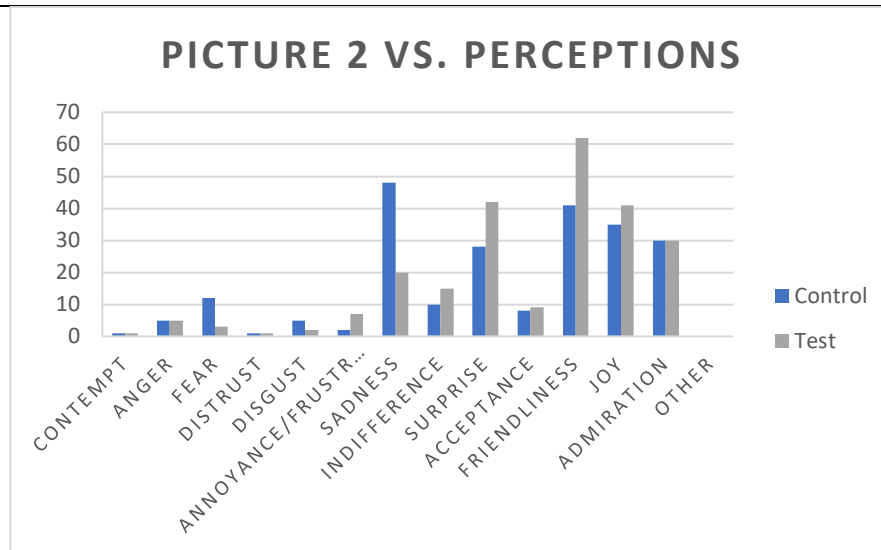
*(Refer to Appendix to see the mosaic plots of the variable charts discussed above)*



***PART 5. Analyzing Categorical Perceptions of Images of Sikh Americans through Survey Responses***



**Figure 11**



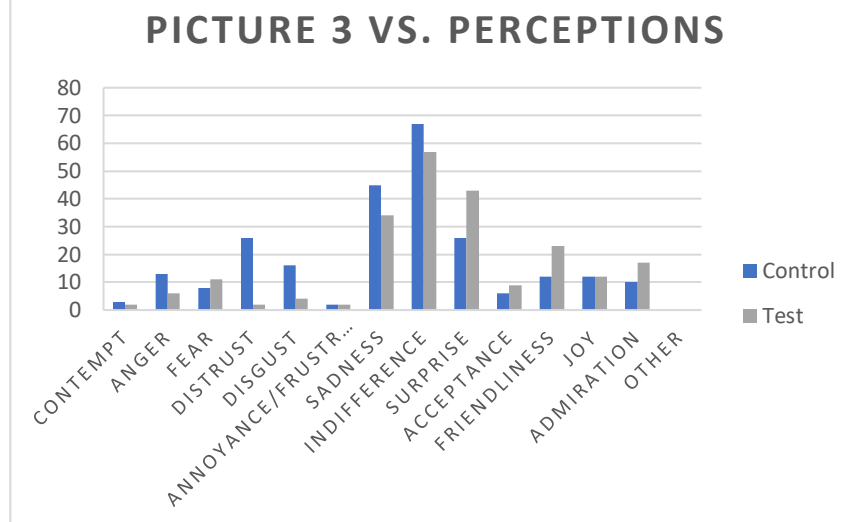
**Figure 12**

In Figure 11, a young Sikh American woman is captured with a subtle smile. It was hypothesized that respondents would select emotions related to a typical response to a child – i.e. friendliness, joy, etc. In Figure 12, friendliness was selected as a primary emotion for many respondents both in the control group as well as those in the treatment group. However, sadness was the most

common emotion for those in the control group. Per the treatment video, the concept of a female turban, or “keski” is explained and represented briefly, an opportunity to provide context to the reasons why a young woman would feel inclined to wear a turban. It is hypothesized that because of the treatment video’s context, the primary emotion from those who were in the control group to those in the test group went from “sadness” to “friendliness.”



**Figure 13**



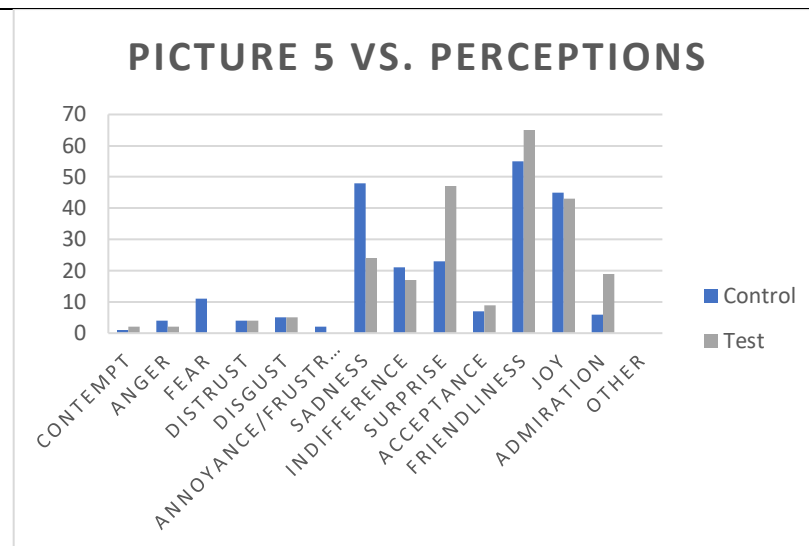
**Figure 14**

The image of a Sikh American differs in many ways. One of those ways is in the age of the character presented (as represented in the previous image compared to this image) and another one is the unique identity of Sikhs – for example, the bearded woman in Figure 13. In simply comparing the histogram chart of Figure 14 with Figure 12 from above, the left side of the graph with more “negative portrayal” emotions like “disgust” and “fear” are much more apparent in the control group. It can also be noted, however, that all of the “negative portrayal” emotions other than “fear” actually decrease between the control group and the test group. Perhaps a reason “fear” stays relatively constant between the control group and the test group is that the test video never alludes to Sikh women growing out their beards. This type of “other” and “unfamiliarity,” even after having watched a video about Sikhs, can induce the fear response, simply because it is testing a method of “doing difference,” as explained in previous literature.

However, the most common emotion in the control group, as well as the test group, is that of indifference. This is interesting for a few reasons. First, because “indifference” is somewhat in the center of the scale from negative portrayal emotions to more positive ones, this photo indicates that the notion of a bearded woman is still not widely appreciated in control groups as well as test groups. While the treatment does positively impact the data as can be noted towards the righter sides of the graph with increases in “positive portrayal emotions,” it remains centered around the middle of the scale which is that of indifference.



**Figure 15**



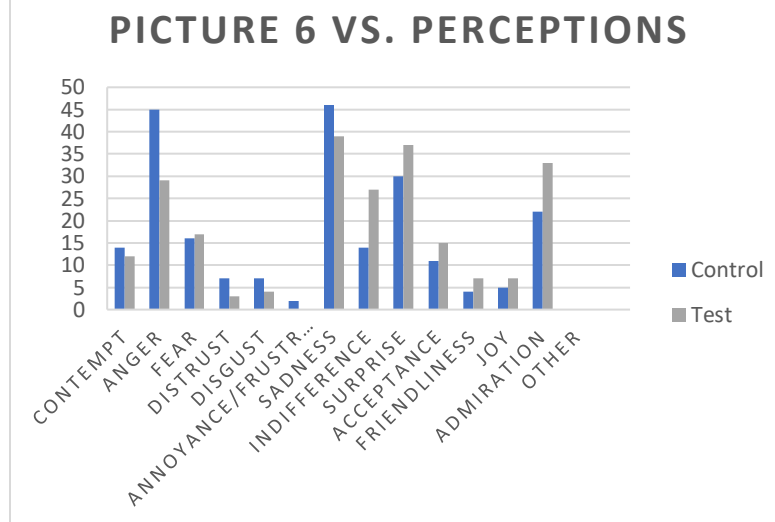
**Figure 16**

While the two images above tested female characters, Figure 15 tests individuals who are not “expected” to represent Sikh Americans as they fill a unique racial and ethnic category of “Caucasian” in a largely “Middle Eastern” or “South Asian” stereotyped community. In this photo, “fear” is particularly noteworthy in Figure 16 for the control group but disappears completely for the test group. There are a couple of hypotheses for why this might be the case. For instance, similar to the photo above, “bearded women” were not discussed or portrayed in the video, perhaps lending the respondents to have a sense of unfamiliarity, leading to “fear.” In

this case, those who still know nothing about Sikhs and turbans would see this photo and be fearful perhaps simply of the fact that these men are wearing turbans, something they might have only seen negative portrayals of, like terrorism. However, in the video, learning that turbans simply represent Sikh values that are in-line with American ones might influence a respondent to see photos with individuals of different races with the same pattern of being a Sikh-identifying turbaned individual and to eliminate feelings of fear since it is not dissimilar.



**Figure 17**



**Figure 18**

In addition to the male depiction above where the Sikh American men are captured smiling, the study presented Figure 17's photo with five Sikh American men not smiling, and holding their holy "kirpans," as alluded to in the meta-analysis. According to the data in the meta-analysis, the "kirpan" in the history of negative portrayals of Sikhs in the U.S. media makes Sikhs look "violent" and "aggressive," since swords in western culture represents violence. However, in the Sikh faith, the "kirpan" represents the need for all humans to fight towards social justice and peace.

Per Figure 18, the data is rather spread across negative and positive values. Both "anger" and "Sadness" particularly stood out among the other emotions because of the sheer count within each category. Moreover, the trends and patterns in the histogram for this picture is less difficult to read since the control group and the test group did not consistently shift up or down for the perceptions of the respondents.

## **Discussion**

The findings of the meta-analysis and survey experiment suggest a few key understandings of the representations and perceptions of Sikhs in America. Moreover, the research strongly suggests that negative perceptions of Sikh Americans can be challenged through education and exposure to the community.

This study serves as the very first large-scale survey experiment focused on perceptions of Sikh Americans by non-Sikh Americans ever conducted in the United States. As a result of this analysis, the research surrounding Sikhs, religious communities, violence, and hate in the United

States now has data and findings from which to draw from for future research. This analysis brings about many interesting findings, topics, and points of discussion that can be relevant to any individual in the United States who cares about bias-motivated attacks, religious freedom, and the experience of Sikh Americans. In a country working to protect and ensure the well-being of all its people, this research study provides analysis that not only provides insight to Sikh Americans (especially in pursuit of violence prevention and challenging discrimination), but also to other minority communities. Because of this study's treatment, in addition to collecting data on perceptions of respondents, it informally educates respondents, readers, and others on Sikh Americans – the very topic of analysis in this study. A few of the key insights from the analysis are presented below.

### ***When “perceptions” develop***

As represented in the meta-analysis, the representation of Sikhs is drastically increased after terrorist attacks like 9/11 or major shootings like Oak Creek. Essentially, in the time of “moral panic,” American media is the most likely to cover Sikhs. This timeliness of coverage assists in the media's discussion of both Sikhs as well as terrorism and also, in using imagery of attackers and terrorists sometimes followed by Sikh imagery. The survey data research suggests that the same way in which Americans are respondent to media coverage – often negatively representing turbans – Americans can be positively influenced through watching a video depicting Sikhs positively. However, those in younger generations tended to have among the highest rates of acceptances after seeing a positive depiction of Sikhs in the test video than those individuals who did not, suggesting that with the proper exposure to the community, younger Americans might be more impressionable through the medium of a video.

Moreover, in the survey respondents answered, “Where have you learned the most about Sikhs/Sikhism, etc.” to which 38% of individuals who received the treatment of the Sikh video responded with having learned the most about Sikhs in their life through the 2-minute video in the survey experiment. This high response selection of the group suggests that the negative perceptions develop through brief moments of understanding in media coverage perhaps, like with 9/11 turbans on T.V. screens as suggested by the meta-analysis trends, but is rarely contested or challenged (perhaps until this survey). Comparatively, 52% of those in the control group responded to the question with “Photos seen on the TV/Internet,” further suggesting the lack of adequate exposure to Sikh Americans in the United States.

### *Negative perceptions*

Additionally, the research meta-analysis suggests that the merging of Muslims/Islam with Sikhs/Sikhism in the American media has helped perpetuate the stereotypical notion that Sikhs are Muslims or that anyone who wears a turban and has a beard is an extremist. This finding is concluded to be prevalent in American media. As the data in this study shows, more than 24% of the meta-analysis media studies focused on the representations of American Sikhs extensively discussed Islamic and/or Muslim portrayals. This is critical because there is a significant lack of data in the United States focused solely around Sikh experiences beyond terrorism and beyond the discussion of the Muslim American experience. This research suggests a similar understanding in the survey experiment, as well. According to the survey data, individuals were very likely to associate the words “Sikh” and “turban” with “Islam,” “terrorism,” and “Muslim” in the qualitative section of the word clouds, as well as quantitatively in questions like “to what extent do you associate Sikh Americans with Muslims?” However, those in the control group



versus those who ended up receiving the treatment video depict a stark difference in their ability to dissociate “Sikhs” from “Muslims” or other religious communities. In the video, Sikhs are discussed separately from other faiths. Additionally, in the video Osama Bin Laden is portrayed as a terrorist, agreeing with what is assumed to be most Americans understandings of him, and *before as well as immediately after* Sikhs are presented. This was intended so that the issue analyzed in the meta-analysis regarding media coverage blurring images depicting “terrorism” and “Sikhs,” for instance, could be avoided. In avoiding this blurring and immediate visual representation, the treatment test video’s results suggest respondents not only understood that Sikhs could not be classified by many of the stereotypes they might have assumed before, but understood some of the Sikh values and beliefs, as well.

### ***Challenging hate and fear through positive representation***

The survey experiment suggests that through adequate information presented in short and concise visual formats, individuals in the United States are able to change negative perceptions towards Sikhs at statistically significant rates. Moreover, concepts like Sikhism’s three pillars (kirt karna, vand chakna, and naam japna), the 5 K’s in the faith, as well as other key principles were retained by survey respondents who were randomly assigned to the treatment group. This suggests that individuals can move beyond negative perceptions like “fear” and “hate” into more positive ones like “admiration” and “friendliness” (see categorical feeling scales from photo section).

Additionally, it is important to note that while only one group (50%) of the survey respondents received the treatment video, many of the individuals in the control group also had their

perceptions increase in appreciation towards Sikh Americans from when they started the survey to when they ended the survey. This measure might be rooted in the idea that the survey's various photos, depictions, and answers themselves (i.e. answer choices testing retention from the treatment video like "5<sup>th</sup> largest religion in the world, and "gender equality") challenged individuals to 1) understand Sikhs as separate of other images they might have initially thought (presented in the meta-analysis) or 2) gain an interest in learning about the community during the survey since they did not receive the treatment video, and grow their knowledge and appreciation for the community during the time of their survey.

***Future research needs to focus on Sikh portrayals in the global media***

The United States represents a single country with one of the largest growing populations of Sikhs in the world. However, countries like the UK and India have extensive media-portrayal studies that have not been thematically analyzed in recent decades. Understanding the roles different countries and their media systems have in representing members of the Sikh community can help researchers and policy analysts recognize key issues to the Sikh experience in various countries as well as the possible solutions. Moreover, Canadian Sikhs experience media portrayal in ways American Sikhs do not. According to Barbara Perry's research on perceptions of minority communities in Canada because of Canada's Multiculturalism Act 1988 and Article 27 of the Canadian Charter, "there is a more established culture in Canada of negotiation in relation to cultural pluralism, and Canadian cultural and political life has suffered less from neo-conservative or right-wing populist attacks on multiculturalism" (Perry, 151). How can this type of acceptance and religious tolerance also be accomplished in the United States for Sikhs?

***Future research needs to focus on the perceptions of the public on Sikhs and turbans***

In this research, there is significant data on the media's portrayals and general themes connected to Sikhs. However, the effect of that media has not been tested. If a country has a negative portrayal of a certain group in its media, are the people more likely to be hostile and vilify members of that community? If that is the case, was it because of media or because of some other external factor relating to that country and/or community?

***Future research needs to evaluate the long-term perceptions and effects of studies regarding Sikhs and turbans***

Especially in light of the literature surrounding moral panic, future research should track respondents' perceptions throughout the course of many years – including years of “attacks” and in this case, events related to terrorism, in order to determine if such a study can influence the perception of Americans on Sikhs regardless of external events. If this is the case, what does this mean for other religious groups and other communities that struggle with systemic discrimination in the United States?

***Future research needs to focus on this type of analysis and experiment on other minority religious communities in the United States***

While the meta-analysis research focuses on Sikhs and those who wear “turbans” more broadly, the survey experiment focuses exclusively on Sikhs. In order to challenge religious discrimination and religiously-motivated violence in the United States, experiments like the one in this study should be conducted in other religious communities. Ultimately, understanding the biases and fears that may exist in a religious community (regardless of whether or not a

particular study actually changes those perceptions) is very valuable in informing policy, law enforcement protocol, and even educators about discriminated groups in the United States. This type of future research should also be corroborated into a meta-analysis of varying religious communities so these groups and their results can be compared in order to develop more broad understandings of religious freedom in the United States.

Appendix 1

*Survey Questionnaire*

In what year were you born?

Do you identify as male or female?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Other

What is your marital status?

- ☐ Single
- ☐ Divorced
- ☐ Married
- ☐ Widowed
- ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Are you registered to vote?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

What do you identify with most closely?

- ☐ Strong Democrat
- ☐ Weak Democrat
- ☐ Independents closer to the Democrats
- ☐ Independents not closer to either party independents closer to the Republicans
- ☐ Weak Republican
- ☐ Strong Republican

What do you identify with most closely?

- ☐ Very liberal
- ☐ Liberal
- ☐ Moderate
- ☐ Conservative
- ☐ Very conservative

Did you attend church in the last seven days, or not?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

How many times a month would you say you attend church?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1-4
- ☐ 5-8
- ☐ 9-12

What is your present religion, if any?

- ☐ Protestant
- ☐ Roman Catholic
- ☐ Mormon
- ☐ Orthodox such as Greek or Russian Orthodox
- ☐ Jewish
- ☐ Muslim
- ☐ Buddhist
- ☐ Hindu
- ☐ Sikh
- ☐ Atheist
- ☐ Agnostic
- ☐ Something else
- ☐ Nothing in particular

Thinking back over the last year, what was your family's annual income?

- ☐ Less than \$12,000/year
- ☐ \$12,000 to \$19,999/year
- ☐ \$20,000 to \$29,999/year
- ☐ \$30,000 to \$49,999/year
- ☐ \$50,000 to \$74,000/year
- ☐ \$75,000 to \$99,999/year
- ☐ \$100,000 to \$149,000/year
- ☐ \$150,000 to \$249,000/year
- ☐ More than \$250,000/year

What is your state of residence?

- ☐ Alabama
- ☐ Alaska
- ☐ Arizona
- ☐ Arkansas
- ☐ California
- ☐ Colorado
- ☐ Connecticut
- ☐ Delaware
- ☐ Florida
- ☐ Georgia
- ☐ Hawaii

- ☐ Idaho
- ☐ Illinois
- ☐ Indiana
- ☐ Iowa
- ☐ Kansas
- ☐ Kentucky
- ☐ Louisiana
- ☐ Maine
- ☐ Maryland
- ☐ Massachusetts
- ☐ Michigan
- ☐ Minnesota
- ☐ Mississippi
- ☐ Missouri
- ☐ Montana
- ☐ Nebraska
- ☐ Nevada
- ☐ New Hampshire
- ☐ New Jersey
- ☐ New Mexico
- ☐ New York
- ☐ North Carolina
- ☐ North Dakota
- ☐ Ohio
- ☐ Oklahoma
- ☐ Oregon
- ☐ Pennsylvania
- ☐ Rhode Island
- ☐ South Carolina
- ☐ South Dakota
- ☐ Tennessee
- ☐ Texas
- ☐ Utah
- ☐ Vermont
- ☐ Virginia
- ☐ Washington
- ☐ West Virginia
- ☐ Wisconsin
- ☐ Wyoming

Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs?

- ☐ Most of the time
- ☐ Some of the time
- ☐ Only now and then

- ☐ Hardly at all

[BEFORE AD] How much do you know about Sikh Americans? 0-100, 0 being nothing, 100 being expert

[AD VIDEO]

Please now take a few minutes to watch the following video and answer the follow-up questions that will appear afterwards. Please answer them honestly as your personal information is not recorded.

**For the following questions, you may select more than one answer:**

1. Is Sikhism (checklist)
  - ☐ The same as Islam
  - ☐ A branch of Islam
  - ☐ A branch of Hinduism
  - ☐ A separate and distinct faith
  - ☐ A mix of Hinduism and Islam
2. What 3 words would you use to describe Sikhs?
3. On your feelings towards Sikh Americans, where do you fall from 1-10, where 1 is complete animosity, to 5 being completely neutral, to 10 being completely appreciating
4. To what extent do you associate each of the following terms or phrases with Sikh Americans? 1 – 10, 1 being strongly disagree, 10 being strongly agree:
  - a. Believe in equality and respect for all
  - b. Osama Bin Laden
  - c. Good neighbors
  - d. Patriotic
  - e. Terrorism
  - f. Muslim
  - g. Have American values
  - h. Generous and kind
  - i. Islam
  - j. Violent
  - k. Jewish
  - l. Christian
  - m. Untrustworthy
  - n. Foreign
  - o. Do not have American values
  - p. Unapproachable
  - q. Victims
  - r. Attackers



## S. Unpleasant

5. When you wake up tomorrow, what are the two or three phrases or ideas that were most impactful on you from the ad you just saw? For example, which images, points, ideas, or phrases will you be most likely to remember? *Rank 3 Choices*
  - a. Sikhs are Americans, have American values, are proud to be Americans, proud to be called Sikh Americans
  - b. Sikhs are terrorists, unsafe
  - c. Equality, gender equality is important to them, they believe in equality
  - d. Religion, fifth-largest religion in the world
  - e. Want to raise their kids well, in a good, safe environment; want the best for their families
  - f. Good people, nice people, friendly, caring people
  - g. They wear turbans, turbans have a meaning, explanation of the turban
  - h. Come from India, Indian heritage
  - i. Sikhs are Muslims or are a part of Islam
  - j. Hindus and Sikhs are not the same people
6. What is one core belief, concept, or value in Sikhism?
7. What emotion do you feel most strongly when you see the image below?

IMAGE A



- a. Anger
- b. Fear
- c. Distrust
- d. Disgust
- e. Annoyance/Frustration
- f. Sadness
- g. Indifference
- h. Surprise
- i. Acceptance
- j. Contempt

- k. Friendliness
- l. Joy
- m. Admiration
- n. Other \_\_\_\_\_

8. Who is this in the picture?

What emotion do you feel most strongly when you see the images below?

IMAGE B.



- a. Anger
- b. Fear
- c. Distrust
- d. Disgust
- e. Annoyance/Frustration
- f. Sadness
- g. Indifference
- h. Surprise
- i. Acceptance
- j. Contempt
- k. Friendliness
- l. Joy
- m. Admiration
- n. Other \_\_\_\_\_

What emotion do you feel most strongly when you see the image below?  
IMAGE C



- a. Anger
- b. Fear
- c. Distrust
- d. Disgust
- e. Annoyance/Frustration
- f. Sadness
- g. Indifference
- h. Surprise
- i. Acceptance
- j. Contempt
- k. Friendliness
- l. Joy
- m. Admiration
- n. Other \_\_\_\_\_

IMAGE D



- a. Anger
- b. Fear
- c. Distrust
- d. Disgust
- e. Annoyance/Frustration
- f. Sadness
- g. Indifference
- h. Surprise
- i. Acceptance
- j. Contempt
- k. Friendliness
- l. Joy
- m. Admiration
- n. Other \_\_\_\_\_

IMAGE E



- a. Anger
- b. Fear
- c. Distrust
- d. Disgust
- e. Annoyance/Frustration
- f. Sadness
- g. Indifference
- h. Surprise
- i. Acceptance
- j. Contempt
- k. Friendliness
- l. Joy
- m. Admiration
- n. Other \_\_\_\_\_

IMAGE F



- a. Anger
- b. Fear
- c. Distrust
- d. Disgust
- e. Annoyance/Frustration
- f. Sadness
- g. Indifference
- h. Surprise
- i. Acceptance
- j. Contempt
- k. Friendliness
- l. Joy
- m. Admiration
- n. Other \_\_\_\_\_

IMAGE G





- a. Anger
- b. Fear
- c. Distrust
- d. Disgust
- e. Annoyance/Frustration
- f. Sadness
- g. Indifference
- h. Surprise
- i. Acceptance
- j. Contempt
- k. Friendliness
- l. Joy
- m. Admiration
- n. Other \_\_\_\_\_

IMAGE H



- a. Anger
- b. Fear
- c. Distrust
- d. Disgust
- e. Annoyance/Frustration
- f. Sadness
- g. Indifference
- h. Surprise
- i. Acceptance
- j. Contempt
- k. Friendliness
- l. Joy
- m. Admiration
- n. Other \_\_\_\_\_

9. Rate from a scale of 1-10 (1 being 1 – 10, 1 being strongly disagree, 10 being strongly agree) how much you agree with the following statements:

- a. Sikhs belong in the U.S.
- b. Sikhs belong in India
- c. Sikhs are unsafe people
- d. Sikhs provoke fear
- e. Hate crimes against Sikhs should be tracked as “Anti-Sikh” hate crimes not “Anti-Muslim” hate crimes
- f. Sikhs should be able to serve in the U.S. Army with turbans and beards
- g. Sikhs should be able to carry their religious kirpan (small dagger) in public in the U.S.
- h. It is important that more Sikhs be serving in our U.S. government
- i. I can have a strong positive relationship with someone who identifies as a Sikh
- j. Sikhs should have their own national holidays in the U.S.
- k. Sikhs should cut their hair to fit in with what most Americans look like



- l. Sikh women should not keep their beards if they want to be accepted by American standards for women and beauty
  - m. I feel safe in an airplane with a Sikh person wearing a turban next to me
  - n. I feel safe at a bar with a Sikh person wearing a turban next to me
  - o. I am comfortable asking someone whether or not they are a Sikh
  - p. Sikhs deserve to be treated with respect like all other beings
  - q. Sikhism should be taught in all schools in the U.S.
10. Where have you learned the most about Sikhs/Sikhism, etc.
- ☐ Through ads (like the one in the survey)
  - ☐ Through television images
  - ☐ In school
  - ☐ Through a Sikh
  - ☐ Over the Internet
  - ☐ F. Newspapers/magazines
  - ☐ G. Radio programming
11. Whose responsibility is it to teach the American public about Sikhs/Sikhism, etc.?
- a. FBI/Law enforcement
  - b. Government
  - c. Sikhs
  - d. Teachers
  - e. Media
  - f. No one
12. Do you personally know any Sikhs?
- ☐ Yes
  - ☐ No
  - ☐ I am not sure
13. How often have you seen someone identify as a Sikh (in media or in your personal life)
- ☐ Never
  - ☐ 1-5 times in my life
  - ☐ 10-15 times in my life
  - ☐ Over 15 times in my life
14. What roles are best suited for Sikhs have in the United States
- ☐ Government officials
  - ☐ Taxi Drivers
  - ☐ Gas Station owners
  - ☐ Teachers
  - ☐ Doctors
  - ☐ Court Judges
  - ☐ Law Enforcement
  - ☐ Entertainment Industry

- ☐ Priests
- ☐ Construction
- ☐ None of the above
- ☐ All of the above

15. How much do you feel you knew about Sikh Americans? (0-100, 0 being nothing, 100 being expert)

## Appendix 2

### ***Treatment Video script transcript:***

When you think of a turban or hear the word Sikh, what is the first thing that comes to your mind? Well, according to The Sikh Coalition, over 99% of the people who wear turbans in North America are in fact Sikh. And with “25 million Sikhs worldwide, Sikhism is the 5th largest religion in the world. Sikh Americans have over 150 years of history in the United States but are still highly misunderstood by everyday Americans. (Pew Research Center).

However, according to the Huffington Post, “Sikh Americans have become the targets of hate and violence, especially in the years following the Sept. 11.” In fact, only “1 in 10 Americans, after viewing images of Sikh Americans, offered the reaction that “they are human beings just like me and they deserve respect.” Sikhs come from the religion Sikhism founded in Punjab, India in 1469 and have no commonalities at all with Muslims, Islam, or Hinduism. According to ProPublica, the Sikh “faith began with the teachings of Guru Nanak, born to a peasant family. Nanak’s message was decidedly oppositional, challenging the authority of the region’s two dominant religions, Hinduism and Islam. Equality — between man and woman, preacher and congregant, ruler and serf, high-born and the untouchable — was central to Nanak’s theology. What has developed over the past 500 years is a monotheistic faith with a heavy emphasis on social justice. Sikh temples, or gurdwaras, make a point of feeding anyone who needs a meal.” Sikhism has three main principles: kirt karna (earn an honest living), vand chakna (share your earnings with the less fortunate), and naam japna (meditate on the light within all beings). Sikhs wear turbans and grow beards for many reasons including the belief that hair is a gift that should not be destroyed. In the Sikh prayer, Sikhs focus on “Sarbat Da Bhalla,” or the idea that every being in the world deserves utmost bliss and love.

According to the FBI in 2017, in the past decade, Sikhs in America have experienced record rates of hate, violence, and discrimination. However, Sikhs are working hard to challenge negative stereotypes surrounding their turban and their faith. In the last decade in the U.S., Sikhs have played for the NCAA for basketball, represent Captain America, modeled for GAP, and served in the U.S. Army.

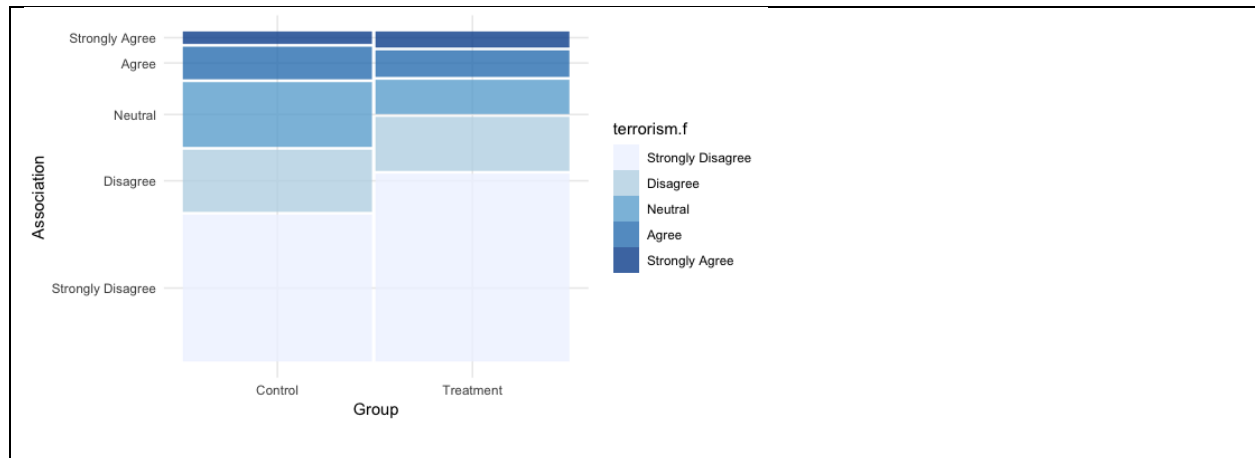
### Appendix 3

URL for treatment video:

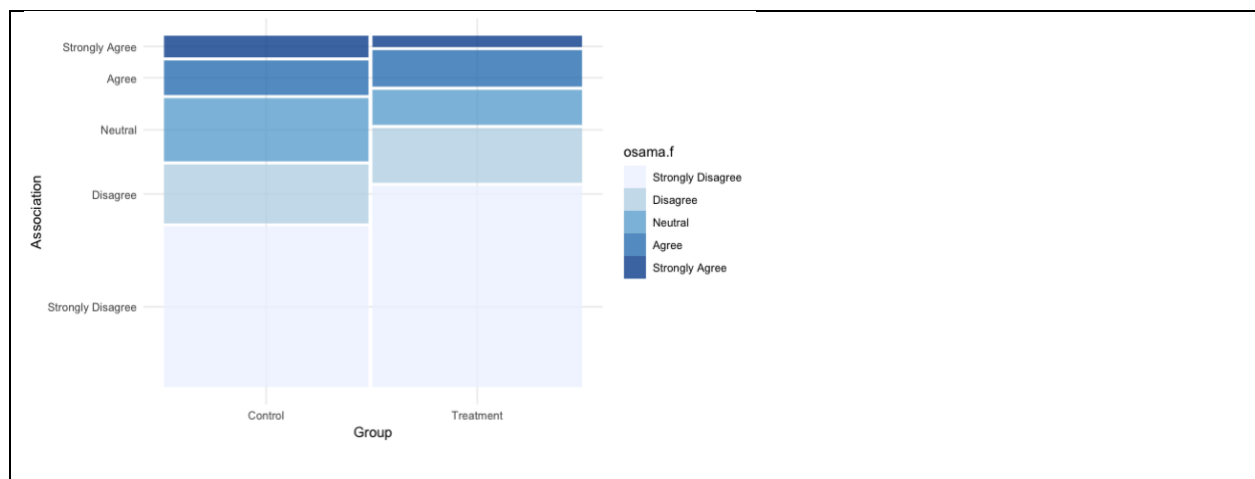
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nZaZDT1CtGM&list=UU\\_aJRWTuvoqg5K6Sm-lmQfA&index=16](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nZaZDT1CtGM&list=UU_aJRWTuvoqg5K6Sm-lmQfA&index=16)

### Appendix 4

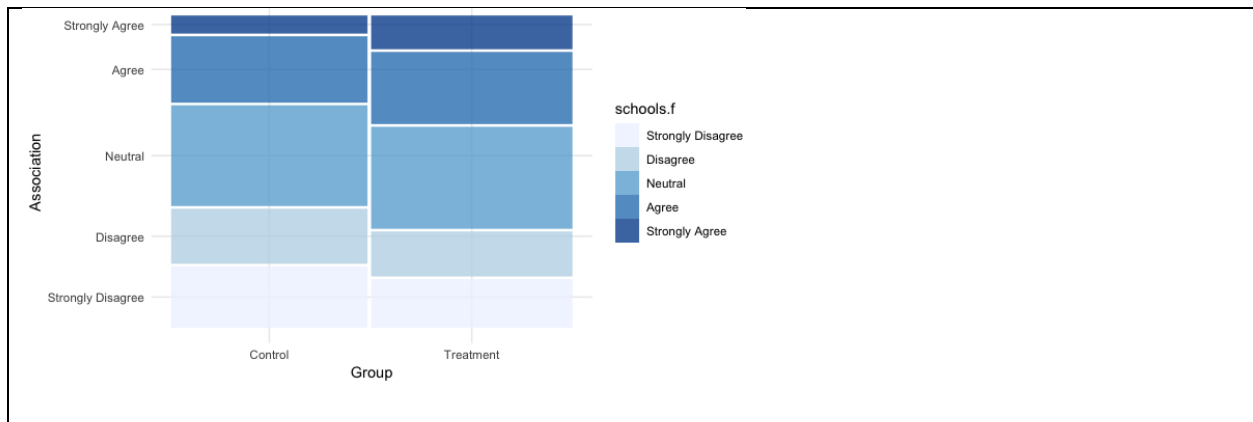
#### “Sikhs are terrorists”



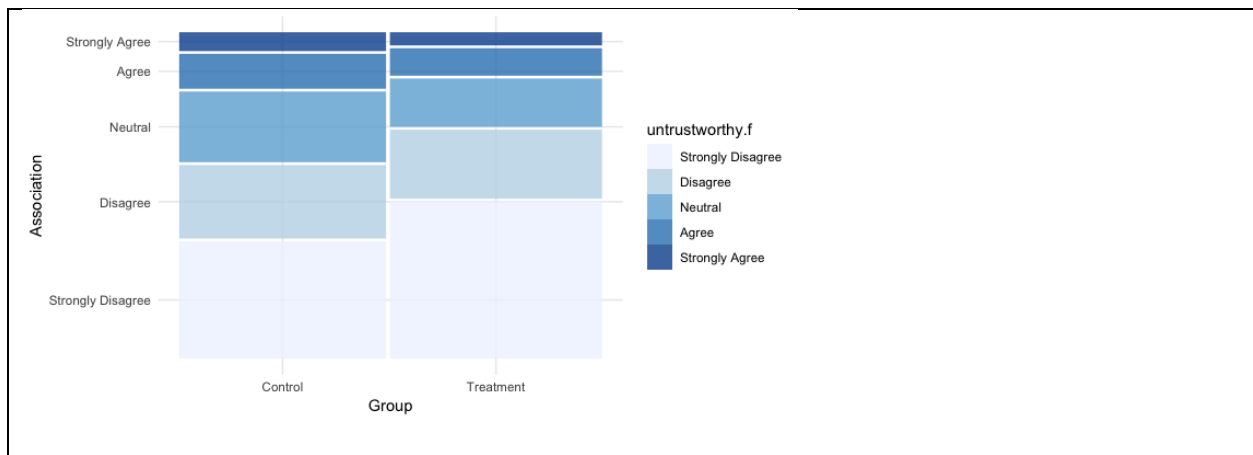
#### “Sikh Americans are associated with Osama Bin Laden”



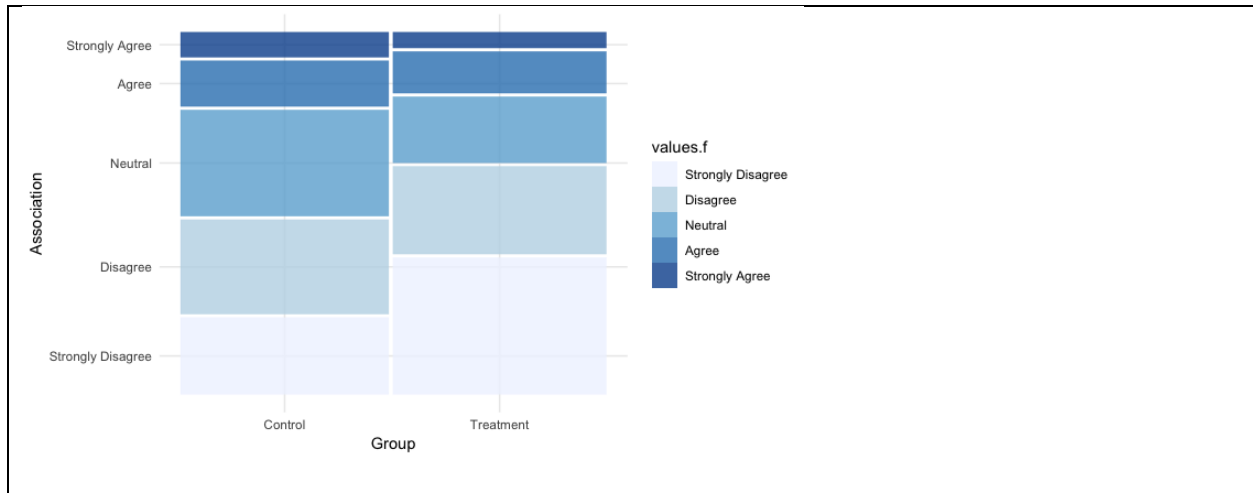
**“Sikhism should be taught as a religion in schools”**



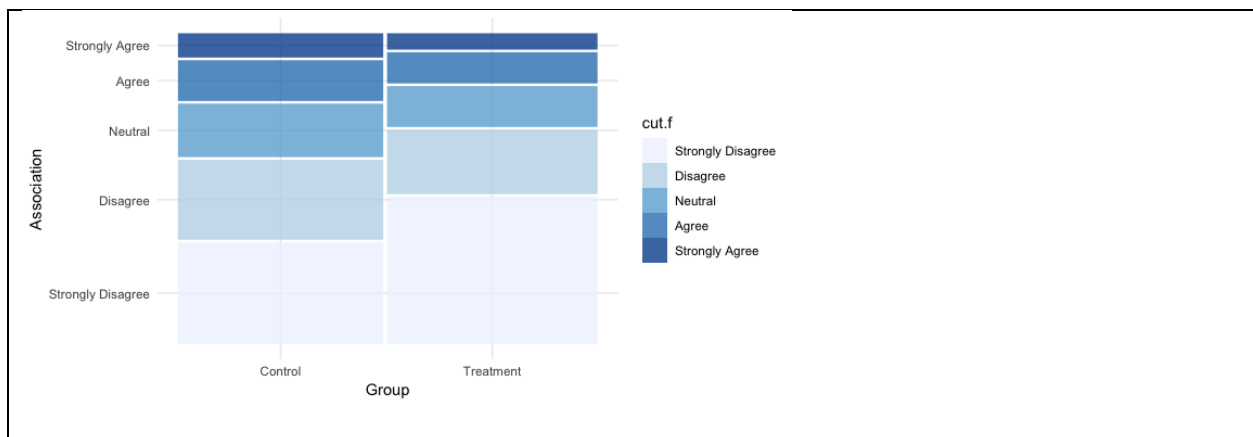
**“Sikhs are Untrustworthy”**



**“Sikhs do not possess American values”**



**“Sikh Americans should cut their hair to fit in with Americans”**



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