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Minority Ministers in Media:

A Study on Digital Representations of Canadian Sikh Politicians in Mainstream Media and Their Effects on Race Relations in Canada

Abstract: Focusing on Harjit Singh Sajjan and Navdeep Singh Bains of the Trudeau Administration, this project analyzes the effects of popular digital representations of Canadian Sikh Ministers, in daily news, on race relations in Canada, as quantified by representations of hate crimes. These representations are analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively; this study looks to how many representations in major media there are as well as what the specifics of certain representations do. This research draws on scholarly journals and theoretical articles for analysis; it uses them to determine the significance of specific representations and representations generally. It also examines primary sources, such as images from newspaper articles from the Globe and Mail, the Toronto Star, and Metro News about Minister Harjit Singh Sajjan and Minister Navdeep Singh Bains to discuss the importance of positive representations of Sikhs and explore how positive stereotypes are employed. The study finds that positive digital representations of diasporic communities in politics are key to evoking social change and affecting social life. Moreover, this study undermines the notion that political participation alone is sufficient to cause social change, as digital representation of participation is integral.

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Preface

Anytime anyone write or says anything they do so with all of their biases. True objectivity is not possible, thus I felt it was only appropriate to acknowledge my positionality overtly. I am a Sikh-American woman, and, especially in the history section, it will be apparent that I take a very pro-Sikh stance. Also, even though I was born in the USA, my family is from Karol Bagh, Delhi, and both of my parents experienced and lived through the 1984 riots. This also has bearing on how I tell the history of these events, and how I approach Sikhs as a diasporic community. Another aspect of my subject position that probably also affects my account of these events is the fact that my family are, per my father's side, Khukrains. This means that we are part of a specific caste, and we were quite privileged in India. All of this quite heavily skews how I portray 1984 and Sikhism, but the unique way to understand these is essential to my analysis and how I approach this topic.

Furthermore, I keep the hair on my head, and every man in my family, excluding my maternal grandmother's side who are Hindu, for generations have kept their hair and worn a turban. This is a large part of the reason I find Sardars, turban-wearing men, such an interesting subject of study. Throughout my life, I have witnessed first-hand what it is like to be a Sardar in North America, especially post-9/11. Witnessing the type of suffering my brother and father

endured was really hard, even though I never personally had that experience nor will I. However, through even just witnessing, I realized how important it was to explore the experience of Sardars. I also realized that when the western world can become more educated about Sardars and more accepting, then only will Sikhs truly have a space and be welcomed. Therefore, I think that, even though other Sikh experiences are important and deserve to be analyzed, my passion lies in the critical analysis of how Sikh men are received by society and how their actions can help create space and warrant hospitality.

Moreover, I lived and worked in Canada, specifically downtown Toronto, during the summer of 2016. While there, I experienced a fair amount of racism. This shocked me, because throughout my life, my family has visited Canada many times, but we usually went to the Mississauga/Brampton area where the majority of people are Sikhs, Hindus, or Muslims. Living in downtown, I discovered that my experiences in Mississauga/Brampton were not representative of wider Canadian society. I realized quickly, there are just as many inter-racial tensions in Canada as the USA; however, they were not publicized or really discussed in the past. This changed upon Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's inauguration when he was sworn with a cabinet that included four Sikhs. The way that these representations instigated the media to actually begin covering what occurred in Canadian society fascinated me, and that's how I decided that this was a topic that was important and

needed to be written about. As this is a very current event, I already know that my finding cannot be considered concrete; however, this analysis as a starting point is important.

I. Introduction

Representations in digital space, specifically in the media, dictate societal beliefs and norms. Actions only really have effects when they are known about, hence the importance of media and representations in creating social change. Minorities, specifically diasporic peoples, participating in politics are important, but that participation is most meaningful when represented in the media, particularly digitally. Were America to have its first Muslim Secretary of State it would only be impactful if it were publicized, and most people rely on digital representations, such as online news, to learn about things like that. Without representation, policy may change, but society will not. Social change and paradigm shift are essential to any real move towards egalitarian societies. In Canada, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau created an opportunity for Sikhs to make social change by appointing four to his cabinet; however, the effects of this are because of the representations of these bodies in this space versus directly being benefits of the occupation of this space.

The rise of representations of hate crimes in Canada is illustrative of the effects of digital representations of Sikhs, particularly Sardars, breaking into political space. Through creating and racializingⁱ political space for Sikhs, Sikh politicians create space for Sikhs in society; people become less ignorant and more tolerant, in regard to the Sikh people, as a result of positive stereotypes. However,

this tolerance and enlightenment are not a direct result of the politicians breaking political space, themselves, rather they result from the digital representations of these politicians breaching this space in mainstream media, via the Toronto Star, Globe and Mail, and Metro Toronto. Representations of Sardars uniquely affect race-relations, as Sardars are more often the victims of hate crimes within the Sikh community. Thus the correlation between the increase in positive representations of Sardar politicians and the increase in coverage of hate crimes is demonstrative the effects minorities, specifically diasporic peoples, in politics can have.ⁱⁱ

This paper begins with a brief account of the history of Sikhism, background on the Canadian-Sikh Ministers, and background on the news outlets used for analysis. This will lay a practical foundation that will be complimented by the theoretical framework which will follow. It includes a discussion of Islamophobia, misrecognition, visual politics, and the ethics of looking. These will allow for the discussion of how popular representations of Sardars in Canada have changed from the Harper Administration to the Trudeau Administration, as well as the specific positive stereotypes that have been established because of how the Honourable Harjit Singh Sajjan and the Honourable Navdeep Singh Bains are portrayed in the media. The paper will then conclude with a discussion of the effects of these representations and stereotypes on Sikh-non-Sikh relations in Canada as quantified by the changes in the coverage of hate crimes.

II. Background

A. Sikhism and the Diaspora

Sikhism is a religion which began roughly 500 years ago in Talwandi, Pakistan, now known as Nankana Sahib, Pakistan, and it is the fifth largest religion in the world (Arjan Singh 99). One particularly distinguishable practice in Sikhism is that of keeping hair, it is one of the 5 Ks, which are the five main Sikh articles of faith; Sikhism is the only religion in the world in which a turban is worn as an article of faith. Men usually wear turbans, called a “pagri,” and keep their beard, while women who keep their hair often wear a “chunni,” scarves which are used to cover a women’s head, unlike a hijab not all of a women’s hair is covered with a chunni. This is all tied into the K “kesh,” meaning hair. The 5 Ks are all physical identifiers used to construct a Sikh “pechan,” which is effectively an identity (Eleanor Nesbitt 1-61). It is insufficient to just use the term identity, since it is much more than that for Sikhs, especially Sardars. Any Sikh man who wears a pagri is referred to as a “Sardar.” Sardars are often the victims of hate crimes and microaggressions (Anne Murphy 189-91).

Sikhs inhabited, mainly, the Empire of Punjab until 1947; Mountbatten split up Punjab between India and Pakistan, and then the empire broke into many states. Sikhs moved all around India, but the Indian states of Punjab and Delhi held the highest concentrations of Sikhs. Most Sikhs did not leave India, until the 1984 Sikh

Genocide. In June of 1984, Indira Gandhi ordered an attack on Harmandir Sahib, one of the most holy places in Sikhism. Gandhi used the excuse of Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale to justify this. Bhindrawale, at the time, was an advocate of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, which was an extensive list of demands to improve the lives of Sikhs in India: recognition of Sikh scholars, free access to Nankana Sahibⁱⁱⁱ, demolition of the caste system, development of farmers in Punjab, and free distribution and translations of Gurbani^{iv}. Although one could categorize him as an extremist, he was not a threat to anyone. Nonetheless, Indira Gandhi portrayed him as terrorist and threat to Indian national security. Gandhi has a reputation of being anti-Sikh prior to this incident. She allowed and encouraged the Indian army to storm into Harmandir Sahib, destroy the Gurudwara, and murder thousands of innocent Sikhs. This was not actually because of any fear of Sikhs or Bhindrawale, but rather a ploy to scare Sikhs into never opposing anti-national policies of Congress. For 10 days not only Gurudwaras but Sikhs throughout Punjab were attacked. The ongoing in June of 1984 are referred to as “Operation Blue Star” by the Indian government, and the “Ten Days of Terror” by the Sikh people.

The bloodbath continued in November of 1984 when Indira Gandhi was murdered by her two Sikh Body Guards, Satwant Singh and Beant Singh, with their service weapons. Indian politicians, most if not all of whom were Hindu at the time, called for attacks on Sikhs in the capitol, New Delhi^v. The politicians

themselves at the time even participated in the killings. This event was gruesome, and Sikhs were killed in cold blood. This was the first large scale display of anti-Sikh sentiment by the Indian government, and it will forever be a stain on the Indian government's reputation (Bruce La Brack 619-620, Bhabani Sen Gupta 364-366, and Darshan Tatla). Roughly 8,000^{vi} Sikhs were murdered between June and November, possibly more. The statistics on these events will never be certain. As a result of these events, many Sikhs left India. Most went to the US, Canada, and the UK. Canada, today, has one of the largest Sikh populations outside of India. About 650,000 Sikhs, according to World Atlas, currently live in Canada; that is 1.96% of the Sikh population in the world. Canadian Sikhs make up 1.5% of the Canadian population, according to the Washington Post; however, Punjabi, the language spoken by Sikhs and those from Punjab, is the third language and Canada. Sikhs have been in Canadian Politics since the 1950s, but have only recently entered the parliamentary level. Minister Sajjan and Minister Bains are the first to hold their respective position.

B. Sikhs in Prime Minister Trudeau's Cabinet

“Gurbax Singh Mahli and Harbans (Herb) Dhaliwal were the first Sikhs elected to the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa” in 1993 (explorAsian). In November of 2015, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (hereafter Trudeau) selected a

cabinet with an equal number of men and women for the first time in Canadian history, among these men and women he appointed four Sikhs to his cabinet: the Honourable Navdeep Singh Bains, the Honourable Bardish Chagger, the Honourable Harjit Singh Sajjan, and the Honourable Amarjeet Sohi (Jessica Murphy; “The Team”). Of these, one is a Mona^{vii} man, one is a Mona woman, and two are Sardar men. There have been Mona Sikhs in Canadian Prime Ministers’ cabinets before; however, there have never been Sardars. Therefore, this study will not consider the Honourable Amarjeet Sohi and the Honourable Bardish Chagger^{viii}.

The Honourable Harjit Singh Sajjan (hereafter Minister Sajjan) and the Honourable Navdeep Singh Bains (hereafter Minister Bains) are the first Sardar Ministers in a Canadian Prime Minister’s cabinet; Minister Bains and Minister Sajjan are both the first Sardars to hold each of their respective offices. Minister Sajjan is the current Minister of National Defense. He served eleven years in the Vancouver Police Department, served three separate deployments to Kandahar, Afghanistan, and received the Order of Military Merit, one of the Canadian military’s highest recognitions. He was also the first Sikh-Canadian to command a Canadian army reserve regiment. Minister Bains is the current Minister of Innovation, Science and Economic Development. He was former Prime Minister Paul Martin’s Parliamentary Secretary, and he was the “Critic for Public Works

and Government Services, the Treasury Board, International Trade, Natural Resources, and Small Business and Tourism.” Both Ministers were elected to some type of office prior to becoming Ministers, and both hail from Sikh-dominated communities (“The Honourable Harjit Singh Sajjan”; “The Honourable Navdeep Singh Bains”). This may have some bearing on their political success.

C. The Globe and Mail, the Toronto Star, and Metro News Toronto

The Globe and Mail^{ix}, the Toronto Star^x, and Metro News Toronto^{xi} are the three top daily news outlets in Canada (James Rubec; "Top 10 Canadian Print Outlets"). All of these news outlets’ websites portray a predominantly white staff. The Globe and Mail has only three South Asians on staff; unfortunately, their website does not include profiles for each staff member, so the amount of total people of color is inconclusive. This figure is an estimate based on names (“Online Staff”). The Toronto Star staff is not listed in full online; however, there are author profiles. Per the profiles and images^{xii} available on their website, all authors are white or could all pass for being white (Keenen et al). Metro News Toronto does not have a full list of staff either, but they do have author profiles, some of which include photos. From the photos^{xiii} shown, two authors from the Metro News are people of color or people who cannot pass for being white (Ngabo et al). None of

these are concrete statistics, rather estimates based on representations of their staff and authors on each website.

Each news outlet has a different focus. The Globe and Mail is focused on a balance of national and international news, and covers everything from business and technology to entertainment and lifestyle. The Toronto Star, however, is concerned more with national and local news, and it prioritizes social news, especially as it pertains to fighting injustices. Metro News Toronto, then, is one of seven offshoot of Metro News, and is concerned with more local news. The three are, again, popular through Canada, despite what they may or may not cover. Moreover, each news outlet is accessed by millions of people daily. Each is also available online and in print. None of these sources are particularly concerned with stories about Sikhs; however, every single one of them has some type of concern with politics, which makes them a particularly interesting unit of measure.

III. Theoretical Framework

To understand how Sikhs are viewed in Canadian society, and North American society at large, it is imperative one understands Islamophobia. Islamophobia affects anyone or anything that is or could be affiliated with Islam in any way. This affects Sikh because wearing a turban has been attributed to Islam, in part because of the image of Osama Bin Laden which circulated after 9/11 (Katy

Pal Sian 251-54). This causes ignorance and erasure of the Sikh identity. Another consequence of this is misrecognition. The combination of these leads to Sikhs suffering the consequences of Islamophobia and the trauma which results from misrecognition. These can be combatted by constructive stereotypes which inspire education.

Although some argue stereotypes cannot be constructive, since they play into the generalization of different communities; that does not diminish the potential constructive characteristics of said generalizations. Positive stereotyping is the only way the homogenization of people can be exploited by the stereotypes to inspire change. When positive stereotypes are promoted, people are more inclined to do more independent research and to learn more in general about they who have been stereotyped. This contributed to the lessening of ignorance and misrecognition (Margret Shih et al 335-37; Arpana Gupta et al 101-14; Alan Lambert et al 1002-16). In this specific case, despite the media determining representations of the Sardar politicians, positive representations in general pushback against the status quo and establish a starting point for change.

Furthermore, to understand these representations, one must assess visual politics and acknowledge the ethics of looking. Visual politics are predicated off the right to look. The right to look is the concept that looking is an act during which both people must mutually invent one another to find one's self and one

another, since we all dialogically construct our identities (Mirzoeff 472-474).

Because our right to look, as autonomous beings, is intrinsic, not being allowed to look is a violation of our natural human rights. When the media fails to cover stories or actively dismisses an entire group of people they are infringing upon our right to look^{xiv}. Therefore, to analyze photos one must consider how the aesthetics are reflective and can affect social change.

Another theoretical basis for analyzing political participation is looking to the way space is racialized. Racialization of space refers to the process through which space is transformed and race is inserted into it; rather, it is the phenomena which occurs when a person or a group of people enter a physical, digital, or ideological space, which may or may not have been traditionally dominated by a dominant cultural or social group, and create space through a process of racialization (George Lipsitz 28-34). In Canadian politics, Sardar politicians at the federal level create space for other Sikhs and Sardars in politics, and this is essential to the representations of this creating social space for Sikhs. Both the immediate political space and social space created are byproducts of the racialization of space.

IV. Sardar Politicians in the Media

A. Digital Representations of Sikhs^{xv} from Harper to Trudeau

Sikhs have never been central in Canadian media; however, between the Trudeau and Harper Administrations there has been a rise in representations. Under Harper, the Globe and Mail had zero articles, the Toronto Star had fifteen articles about Sikhs, and Metro News Toronto had twelve articles. Moreover, none of these articles has consistent representations of Sikhs. All of them actually used quite general, static images. Comparatively, under Trudeau, the Globe and Mail had zero articles about Sikhs, the Toronto Star had thirty five articles about Sikhs, and Metro News Toronto had twenty seven articles about Sikhs. These were all complex, varied representations but consistently presented Sikhs in a positive light. Notably, the Globe and Mail has zero articles about Sikhs consistently. They have one article referencing Minister Bains, but do not label it as being about Sikhs or a Sikh. Considering that the Globe and Mail is the top news outlet in Canada, it is quite problematic that they continue to disregard Sikhs. It is also interesting, since they are the only news outlet with, as far as they portray on their website, South Asians on their staff. However, both the Toronto Star and Metro News Toronto have produce over twice as many articles as under the Harper Administration during the Trudeau Administration. Many of these articles which were produced under the Trudeau Administration were about Minister Harjit Singh Sajjan and Minister Navdeep Singh Bains. The specifics of these representations have helped

instigate changed in how Canadian society at large views Sikhs, particularly Sardars.

B. Representations of Minister Harjit Singh Sajjan

Minister Sajjan, the Minister of National Defense for Canada, is depicted dynamically, in that many variations of him are shown. Consider two specific images which circulate the media consistently Figure 1 and Figure 2. Each of these figures has a different appeal and presents Minister Sajjan in a different perspective. These collectively show Sardars at large in a different light and push back against negative stereotypes. They present Sikhs to society as real, complex people who are more than silent, disposable members of society.

The first image is of one which shows Minister Sajjan in his field and interacting with other. This shows him as being amicable and approachable and combats stereotypes that Sikh men are scary or terrorists. These types of image are humanizing for Sardar men; furthermore, they underscore the intelligence and capability of Sikhs. In



this picture particularly, all of Sajjan medals are displayed showing how decorated of a serviceman he is and how much he has done for Canadian society (Figure 1).

Images like this which show Sardars thriving in field they are not typically

associated with are essential to Canadian society viewing Sikhs as more than the popular stereotypes.

The second image shows Minister Sajjan using open hand motions, making



eye contact, and looking as if he were concerned and about to say something of importance (Figure 2). Certain motions and facial expressions are used to evoke empathy, such as open hand gestures (Carroll Izard et al 83-113). Presenting Minister Sajjan with open hand shows

him as more friendly and approachable. Moreover, people are more likely to consider someone trustworthy when they are shown with more open body language. Also, the way that he looked engaged and concerned in this particular setting of a gathering of politicians makes him appear like he is consciously trying to make a change and like he truly cares for Canada.

C. Representations of Minister Navdeep Singh Bains

Minister Bains, the Minister of Innovation, Science, and Economic Development for Canada, is depicted as portrayed by the media in a way that compliments Minister Sajjan's representations. Consider Figure 3 and Figure 4. These also push back against negative



stereotypes and further humanize Sikhs. These figures complicate the understanding non-Sikh Canadian society has of Sikhs as it adds another face to the community. They also show how the Sikh community is not a homogenous community.

Figure three shows Minister Bains giving a speech at an event related to space. This is demonstrative of Minister Bains' dedication to his field and intelligence. He looks serious and focused, which portrays him as competent and capable of more than driving a taxi or running a liquor store. This image, like the image of Sajjan, helps circulate a narrative that Sikhs are capable members of society (Figure 3). It also shows a Sardar again in a context in which he is recognized as a Sikh.

The next figure depicts an interaction between Trudeau and Minister Bains. They are clearly sharing a laugh over something. This displays the comical, fun side of Sikh. It further presents Sikhs as people with complex personalities (Figure



Figure 4

4). It shows another facet of Bains' personality showing him as imperfect and not always serious; this detracts from the mundane image presented about politicians and Sikhs. This interaction with Trudeau specifically is a good representation

because it shows that a Sikh and a white Canadian can have a good, friendly

relationship. This makes Sikhs appear more approachable to the rest of Canadian society and shows how tensions are not inherent. All of these representations themselves also contribute to non-Sikh Canadians learning about Sikhs more generally, and being able to recognize Sikhs as a distinct group in society

V. Effects of Representations on Hate Crimes

In a year under the Harper Administration, the Globe and Mail had zero articles, the Toronto Star had two articles, and Metro News Toronto had one article about hate crimes committed against Sikhs. In a year under the Trudeau Administration the Globe and Mail had zero articles, the Toronto Star had eleven articles, and Metro News Toronto has six articles about hate crimes committed against Sikhs. Violence against Asians in North America is mostly manifested in hate crimes, so looking at how hate crimes are prioritized in media will uncover how this violence and hatred is or is not problematized by the media (Njoki Nathani Wane et al 202-203). No news outlets have overwhelming coverage of hate crimes,^{xvi} but representations have been on the rise. On an individual level hate crimes are not indicative of the sentiments of wider society; however, how often they are covered in the media is indicative and affects how society views Sikhs. Therefore these representations are key, specifically when they are digital.

Digital representations today are important, since today most people get their knowledge online. Moreover, digital images are permanent and spread easily, versus print news where only certain people can access it. Although digital media does have its limitations, online news is more easily available than print news. Furthermore, the representations of hate crimes are illustrative of how much society cares about Sikhs and their suffering. Media covering hate crimes is almost indicative of the willingness of Canadian society to witness the suffering of Sikhs. Also, without representation of these Sardar politicians, social priorities would not have changed. Thus, these representation were key to getting society's and the media's attention, so that they may represent what struggles Sikhs face and cover stories about Sikhs. Now Sikhs are represented better and are considered a less disposable facet of Canadian society. These representations not only affect society, but also policy. For example, Punjabi is now the third language of Canada after English and French. This means that now, because Punjabi, the language of Sikh people, is deemed important by the government and society, Sikh people, and Punjabi at large, now have more access to documents and government resources.

None of this social change or political change would have been possible without physical racialization of space which was captured and represented. These hate crimes would not have been covered had Minister Sajjan and Minister Bains not entered physical political space and made into a place for Sikhs and for

minorities. This allowed for society to see Sikhs in a different light and consider them a more important group in society. Then the physical racialization of space translated into the racialization of social space. Representations of breaches of space and disruption of norms like this are uniquely key to the social changes that are so important to society becoming more egalitarian.

VI. Conclusion

For Sikhs, but also minorities and diasporic people at large, participation in politics is the first step to finding or creating social space. Once Sikhs participate in politics, representations of their participation push back against negative stereotypes and create positive stereotypes which combat ignorance. Once positive stereotypes are proliferated throughout society people are more open to learning about individuals and groups. Certain representations, like those of Minister Sajjan and Minister Bains, can even help formerly silenced and ignored communities become more spoken about. This starts to create space for these individuals socially, because of their physical presence in politics and how that is depicted. These portrayals are important and can act as a gateway for not only members of the represented person's community, but for other minority and diasporic communities. It can help them gain access to platforms not available to them otherwise.

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ⁱ Racialization has many interpretations, as it is a process and a discourse which varies contextually. For the purposes of this research, racialization is a process through which (George Lipsitz 28-34).

ⁱⁱ I recognize that not even community of diasporic people or minorities is able to access this platform; however, those who can open an avenue for others. Sikhs entering politics is good for not only the Sikh community, but other communities as well since representations of any non-dominant ground entering political space pushes back on the status quo.

ⁱⁱⁱ Nankana Sahib is a Gurudwara, Sikh place of worship, in modern day Pakistan. It is located in the city of Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji's birth. Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji is the founder of Sikhism. Moreover, this particular Gurudwara has great historical and sentimental significance within the Sikh community.

^{iv} Gurbani are Sikh prayers and hymns. In this context, it is referring to written holy scriptures.

^v My parents lived through this. It is not often that they or any of my family members talk about the attacks, as they were so incredibly traumatic; however, when my mom did speak of the attacks with me, she recalled people banging on her door asking if there were any Sikhs who lived there, wanting to kill her family.

^{vi} Less than 3,000 were killed throughout the entire duration of the 1984 attacks according to the government, but those statistics were to downplay the genocide which they, to date, refuse to acknowledge.

^{vii} "Mona" means a Sikh who cuts his hair and does not wear a turban.

^{viii} I acknowledge that the Honourable Bardish Chagger and the Honourable Amarjeet Sohi are important, and their participation in politics is valuable; however, for the purposes of this research, it would be more beneficial to analyze the representations of solely the Sardars. Not only because Sardars are more often victims of hate crimes than Monas, but more so because Sardars are physically representative of Sikhs and create a unique avenue for education and positive stereotypes. There is more stigma about Sikhs who wear pagris than Sikhs who do not, so establishing positive stereotypes about Sardars is key to social change, hence my choice to focus on Sardar Harjit Singh Sajjan and Sardar Navdeep Singh Bains.

^{ix} For more information about the Globe and Mail visit <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/>. This could potentially be beneficial, as you can look at which types of stories are featured and how this source organizes stories.

^x For more information about the Toronto Star visit <https://www.thestar.com/>. This could potentially be beneficial, as you can look at which types of stories are featured and how this source organizes stories.

^{xi} For more information about Metro News Toronto visit <http://www.metronews.ca/>. This could potentially be beneficial, as you can look at which types of stories are featured and how this source organizes stories.

^{xii} Each of the following names are linked to their profiles. These were the only available profiles: [Edward Keenan](#), [Michael Geist](#), [Judith Timson](#), [Tim Harper](#), [Ellen Roseman](#), [Heather Mallick](#), [Ellie](#), [Catherine Porter](#), and [Martin Regg Cohn](#).

^{xiii} Each of the following names are linked to their profiles. These were the only available profiles: [Gilbert Ngabo](#), [Rosemary Westwood](#), [Irene Kuan](#), [Luke Simcoe](#), [Matt Elliot](#), [Jessica Smith Cross](#), [Steve Goetz](#), [May Warren](#), and [Kristen Thompson](#).

^{xiv} Partaking in this article, further googling images, and even looking at the images provided are a part of the process of looking.

^{xv} The reason I choose to look at representations of Sikhs versus just of Sardars is because my argument is that the positive representations of Sardars politicians are beneficial for the entire Sikh community. Moreover, I consider both positive and negative representations here.

^{xvi} The way I have quantified representation of hate crimes for each news outlet is by simply searching “Sikh” on each website and finding all of the relevant articles regarding hate crimes committed against Sikhs. Trudeau has been in office for a year, so I am comparing the representations since November 4, 2015 with an average of the year before that under the Harper administration.