HOLISTIC CONTENT ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVES WRITTEN BY ASIAN INDIAN AMERICAN STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

This article is an attempt to explore holistic content analysis (Leiblich et al, 2008), which may be an appropriate method to analyze narrative material. This research utilizes four of the *kahanis*¹ (narratives) written by students of Asian Indian origin growing up in a major city in the United States of America. This study may be beneficial to researchers interested in analyzing narrative texts using holistic content analysis supported by Leiblich et al (2008). The analysis yielded several rich themes, categories, and meta-categories.

Keywords: Holistic Content Analysis, narrative material, Asian Indian American, themes, categories.

INTRODUCTION

Holistic content analysis (Leiblich et al, 2008) is one way to explore narrative material. It was chosen instead of form or categorical analysis because holistic content analysis generates the major themes in texts (Lieblich, 1998). For conducting this analysis, Lieblich et al (1998) suggest that the researchers (1) read the texts multiple times until a pattern emerges (2) document the initial overall impression (3) note down the foci or themes of the text (4) color code the themes and (5) keep a record of the themes as they occur in the text. Four Asia Indian students' personal narratives were chosen for analysis here and the institutional review board at the University of Texas at San Antonio approved this study in 2013.

LITRATURE REVIEW

Narrative materials can be challenging to analyze because of the complexity of the content in the stories (Straub, 2005 & Herman, & Vervaeck, 2001). There are several different ways to analyze narrative materials. For example, researchers employed narrative inquiry (Clandinin and Connelley, 2000), Structuralism (Herman & Vervaeck, 2001), and narrative discourse (Abbott, 2008). However, if one wants to preserve the essence of the stories, holistic content may be the best choice because according to Charmaz, 2011):

[Narrative] aims to explore and conceptualize human experience as it is represented in textual form. Grounded in hermeneutics, phenomenology, ethnography, and literary analysis, narrative research eschews methodological orthodoxy in favor of doing what is necessary to capture the lived experience of people in terms of their own meaning and to theorize about it in insightful ways (p. 225).

¹ Kahani is story in Hindi, the national language of India.

Hence it is difficult to retain the essence of the experiences if one divides the stories into several parts.

When we conduct narrative analysis using stylistic analysis, we look at the text in "phonetic, phonological, graphlogical, grammatical, and lexical levels" (Aslam, 2014, p. 1-2). The story is broken down into sections using the above stages of language units, which takes the researcher's attention away from the underlying leitmotifs of the text. However, holistic content analysis may be a strategy that may help preserve the writer's intentions without distracting the reader from the spirit of the story.

METHODOLOGY

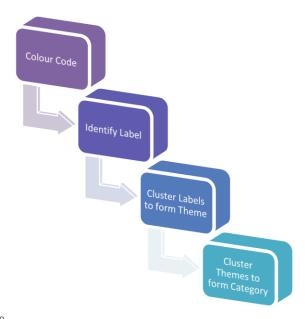
This study is framed within the perspective of supporting a process used to analyze narrative material called holistic content analysis (Leiblich et al, 1998). My choice of this particular analytical tool is based on the narratives I collected for analysis here. All the stories are culturally relevant to Asian Indian American students growing up in the US, where their funds of knowledge is marginalized because it is not part of the main stream society or school curricula. Hence, it is important to explore these stories carefully so the quintessence is not lost in the analytic process. One way to retain the kernel of the stories is to look at these stories in its entirety rather than dividing the story into smaller sections (Wertsch, 2008). All of the chosen four narratives discuss the writers' culture, heritage, religion, and history.

PARTICIAPNT RECRUITMENT AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The research participants were recruited at various dance and music schools in a major city in the southwest region of the United States. The research was conducted after procuring the Institutional Review Board's (IRB) approval at the UTSA. The participants and the parents were provided with information about the study, its purpose, and its intended outcomes. The parent questionnaire solicited information about the cultural affiliation and biographical details of the participants. The questionnaires written in English were sent out to parents and participants from three different regions of India – Tamil Nadu, Andra Pradesh, and Gujarat. Both the parents and the writers signed the consent forms with the assurance that their identity would not be revealed, and their work would only be used for research purposes. All of the participants were assigned with pseudonyms to maintain confidentiality.

PROCEDURE

The narratives were colour coded after reading them for several times. First, Shakuntala's narrative was read many times until pattern became apparent. Within the dataset, individual paragraph was read and the intuitive thoughts were noted first before charting the overall impression of the narratives. Various themes emerged by applying holistic content analysis (Leiblich, 1998). Words that have close associations in meaning were grouped. Then, these words were grouped to form a 'label'. Later the labels were combined to form a 'theme'. Finally, the themes were clustered to form a 'category'.



Figure

1: Analytical Process

Colour Coding: The following excerpts (see figure 2 below) illustrate colour coding for identifying labels. Words in narrative 1 such as 'festivals', 'culture', and 'religion' were colour coded because these words are part of the participant's background.

Label: Words such as 'bad', 'comments', 'mentalities', 'made fun', and 'hated' were grouped to form the label called 'bullying'. Another set of words including, 'Krishna', 'Ramayana' and 'Mahabharata' were put together and named 'religion'. One more example would be combining the words, 'festival', 'diwali' and 'dushreera' as 'culture'.

Theme: The labels formed through colour coding were clustered to form 'themes'. For example, the above labels (festivals, and culture) were clustered to form a theme called 'belonging'. Labels including 'krishna', 'Ramayana', and Mahabharata' can be called 'religion'.

Category: The similar themes were combined to form a 'category'. For example, themes such as, 'belonging', and 'religion' were clustered to form a category called 'faith'. The following exemplars illustrate all of the four procedures described above.

How do I feel?

In school I learned about American festivals. But I wonder why we can't learn about other countries and cultures. I never learned about Indian culture which is my culture. Sometimes I feel so sad. So many kids in my school ask me about my food at lunchtime. Sometimes I feel so bad because they make comments about me and the food I'm eating. So I try to stay away from those kinds of kids. I don't answer to some of the kids in my school because I know some of their mentalities. I don't get to know my culture as much as my parents know. I stay at home for a shorter time and I stay in school for a longer time. So I don't know every bit of my culture. But I know most of it through my parents and by watching movies. Some kids don't even know what their culture is. That happens because the kids live in different countries. Sometimes parents might not tell their children about their Religion. That causes parents to forget their tradition. Some people respect their culture and follow it. Most people forget about their culture. I feel so much proud to be an Indian. I know this girl who moved from

china because her dad got a job in America. So she joined in a new school. In the school kids made fun of her just because how she looked and dressed. She couldn't speak or write English. All the kids hated her and said bad words. So she moved back to china. Millions of people life's are like this. If you want to know about Indian culture you can watch Telugu movies or ramayana, mahabharata, or krishna. You can go to festivals such as the diwali and dusheera. You also can read books on Indian culture. There are so many ways to learn about the Indian culture and religion. So I am very proud to be a[n] Indian and also thankful to god. I only wish our schools knew about us (Shakuntala, 2013). Figure 2: Data

The following narrative (see figures 3 and 4 for data) was colour coded to form clusters (see figures 5 and 6 below for clusters)

Initial Colour Coding: First, the narratives were read and reread several times until the story made sense to the researcher so she could come up with some initial 'codes'. Then the initial coding procedure involved highlighting similar words and concepts to locate a 'theme'. The words that referenced cultural connections were highlighted using a bright color (orange). The following are two complete writing samples from a Telugu writer followed by the resulting clusters. The first step was to cluster the words to form 'codes'. The webs in figure one and two (see figures 4 and 5 below) illustrated this process of grouping the words to arrive at particular 'codes':

In a rapidly changing society, people begin to lose contact with their native culture and begin to acquaint themselves with the new ideas and traditions in the society that they belong to. This holds true for the new generation of children born of Indian descent in the Western world. These children find themselves increasingly drawn away from the traditions that their parents have taught them all their lives and turn to the American way of life that includes activities that do not support what they have been taught all their life. This is one of the reasons why that I learn Carnatic Indian Classical music. Without music, I would have a limited connection with Indian culture. Learning Indian Classical music helps me understand my culture and also helps me better understand the values and traditions of my extended family in India (Tyagaraja, sample1, 2013).

Figure 3: Data

Music is a focal point of my discussions with my grandparents, and aids me in talking to them and to understand my culture. Music also takes me places where I meet new people in my community who are also interested in learning about their origins. Music expresses my devotion to God and brings me closer to God. Also, music helps me appreciate my culture more than if I were not learning music, and allows me to interact with the Indian Classical music artists that tour the United States and India. Finally, music urges me understand my language and find the meaning of the songs that I sing, and allows me to continue a tradition that has lasted for several millennia and keep me connected to my roots (Tyagaraja, sample 2, 2013).

Figure 4: Data

Second, chunks of text that had similar ideas were coded. These thoughts helped sum up and make sense of the material. The words in figure 5 one were grouped into a code called 'culture' and the words in graphic 6 were clustered as 'tradition' (see figures 5 and 6 below). Eventually, the same procedure was applied to all of the four texts in this research study. This process generated additional codes and they were recorded in a codebook for future use

(Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The following clusters resulted from the colour-coding of texts written by Tyagaraja (see figures 5 and 6 below).



Figure 5: Cluster 1



Figure 6: Cluster 2

Next, themes that emerged after analyzing the narratives were recorded. Both deductive and inductive analysis was used. Using inductive analysis, the researcher gathered data, looked for a pattern, and then developed a system (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). With deductive analysis, the data was analyzed using a hypothesis. Here, the researcher had to affirm the presence of the theory or not in the data (Chambliss & Schutt, 2006).

Thematic Analysis

Using deductive analysis, the data was approached with *a-priori* themes. Then using inductive analysis, emergent themes were noted and a list of emergent themes to be used later in the analysis was generated. Table 1 (a and b) lists all of the a-priori and emergent themes used in this study.

Table 1: A-priori and Emergent Themes

(a) A-priori Themes		
A-priori Themes	Reference	Definition
1. Ameri-centric	Besley and	Ameri-centric views consider the American
	Peters (2011)	world as representative values, and this
		undermines the cultures from other parts of
		the world.
2. Anomie	Durkhein	Anomie is the social instability resulting
	(1990)	from a breakdown of standards and values;
		also, personal unrest, alienation, and
		uncertainty that come from a lack of
		purpose or ideals.
3. Meritocracy	Goldthrope &	Is giving prominence to intellectual matters
	Jackson (2009)	or merits bestowed through academic
		institutions and society. This activity
		dismisses the funds of knowledge the
		diverse students bring to the classroom.
4. Negotiation	Pruitt (1982)	Negotiation is to create a comfortable space
		by compromising for psychological well-
		being.

(b) Emergent Themes

Themes	Reference	Definition
1. Accommodation	Block (1982)	Piaget's process of restructuring or modifying cognitive structures so that new information can fit into them more easily; this process works in tandem with assimilation.
2. Alienation	Seeman (1959)	The condition of being estranged or disassociated from the surrounding society resulting in powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement.
3. Anomie	Durkheim (1996)	Term for the loss of direction felt in a society when social control of individual behavior has become ineffective.
4 a. Anticipatory Socialization	Simpson (1992)	The process of socialization in which a person "rehearses" for future position, occupation, and social relationship. Adaptation of customs and attitudes of
4 b. Assimilation	Aaker and Schmitt (2001)	culture for self expression
5. Argot	Laughlin & Laughlin (2010)	Specialized language used by members of a group or sub-culture (Eg: arangetram and Panchamrutham)
6. Cultural Perspective	Appadurai (1988)	The psychological perspective that focuses on cross-cultural differences in the causes and consequences of behaviors.

7. Cultural Diffusion	Levitt (1998)	Transference of traditions from one society to another. Social remittances of ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving-to-sending country communities.
8. Cultural Relativism	Nowell-Smith (1971)	The viewing of people's behavior from the perspective of their own
9. Cultural Universals	Brophy and Alleman (2002)	General practices found in every culture
10. Gemeinschaft	Brint (2001)	A term used by Ferdinand Tonnies to describe close knit communities, often found in rural areas, in which strong personal bonds with members exist.
11. Generalized Other	Morris (1967)	A term used by Mead to refer to the child's awareness of the attitudes, viewpoints, and expressions of society as a whole that a child takes into account in his or her behavior.
12. Internalization	Vygotsky (1978)	The process through which children absorb knowledge from the social context.
13. Integrative Learning	Nowacek (2011)	Encompasses a broad range of connections: between different classes, overtime, and among curricular and co-curricular activities. Integrative learning is a sub set of transfer, which is a more complicated nexus and a larger range of experiences.
14. Negotiated Space	Kavitha (2006)	The metaphor for where participants are comfortable, confident, and situated.
15.Observational Learning	Bandura, Grusec, and Menlove (1966)	The process of learning new responses by watching the behavior of another.
16.Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis	Au (1983)	A theory concerning the role of language in shaping cultures. It holds that language is culturally determined and serves to influence our mode of thought.
17. Social Constructionist Perspective	Hoffman (2009)	An approach to deviance that emphasizes the role of culture in the creation of deviant identity.
18. Testimonial Text	Maier (2004)	Evidence of consciousness raising
19. Self-actualization	Maslow (1978)	Expressing one's creativity, quest for spiritual enlightenment, pursuit of knowledge, listening to their own voices, and taking responsibility.

20. Transfer

Nowacek (2011)

The capacity to integrate knowledge and modes of thinking drawn from two or more disciplines to produce cognitive advancement.

Menaka's (one of the study participant) passage titled, *Bharatanatyam* was used for thematic analysis (see figure 7 below).

Bharatanatyam

I still remember the very first time I went to a Bharatanatym dance class. I remember sitting behind my mom as I watched six girls, friends of mine, begin the session. And I remember the teacher looking at me and asking me whether I wanted to join. How could I not? It was so beautiful and intriguing to my little six year old brain and it still is now. Recently I've completed my Arangetramwhich is the graduation for Bharatanatym dancers. The journey was, of course, long and hard but in a way most people wouldn't understand. There were the sacrifices. I had to miss out on movies, parties and much more. When I told my friends I had to go to dance class, their first question was what kind. Instead of ballet, hip-hop, or jazz, they got classical Indian dance. It was weird for them and for me, but I had a whole battalion of girls in dance that went through the same thing I did and that really helped me. There was the cultural connection. I grew up reading Amar Chitra Katha; my whole idea of culture was based on cartoon drawings of Indian Gods. When I went to dance class, it was so much more in depth and honestly, it was overwhelming. My teachers did sit down with me and explain every story and concept but it was still really hard. I grew up an American girl and I consider myself an almost full American. Connecting to a very small Indian part of me was difficult. I do pride myself in being that Indian though, however small. I have to admit Indians go all out during festivals. My favorites, Diwali and Navarathri include, you guessed it, dance. When the month of October rolls around I know to get my dandias ready, because the best season is here. Ever since I was a little girl, I've loved garba. I don't know what it is about the sound of my heartbeat, my feet pounding rhythmically against the ground, and my hand sweeping side to side that gives me a rush. Learning about sages like Valmiki and watching the dances based on them is enjoyable for me. Next, Garba is the talk of the town for me. Even my white, Hispanic, etc. friends know when I've been to dance. Another thing I can't miss is Diwali. Performing, eating, dancing the night away with friends is so much fun. You see, these things I'm not ashamed of. I can't say I haven't been bullied about my passion for all these types of Indian dance, because that would be lying. It used to be a burden, my Indian culture. Back in sixth grade I would be harassed every day because I was different. I think every Indian kid has gone through this at least once. It's sad, but I mean, tough luck. I hope that, like me, they have all been able to open their eyes one day and realize it doesn't matter what others say. I like to say that my Arangetram has changed me a lot. Before I used to hate being an *Indian* and I couldn't wait to shed that culture off. Now, it's a part of me. Yeah, it is very hard. Singing Katy Perry one moment, singing for a pooja another. Dancing the Harlem shake one minute, practicing Bharatanatym another. Dance has really helped me reconcile with myself. It's helped me deal with the demands of an American and *Indian society. It's been a gateway to a culture that belongs to me on the other side of* the world. It's also been my passion and my source of strength to get through the

crazy life of an Indian kid (Menaka, 2013). Figure 7: Data

After reading of Menaka's narrative several times, I have identified the following themes. For definitions of the themes and categories, please refer to table 1.

Theme 1 – Integrative Learning (Nowacek, 2011). According to the Nowacek (2011), "Students connect learning from one domain with learning in another domain" and Menaka (2014) has successfully transferred her knowledge of festivals (diwali, navarathri etc) to understand her culture. She also uses classical and region specific cultural dance to reflect on her identity negotiation. In addition, she uses Bharatanatyam to create her own metaphorical space through an unpleasant compromise initially, (I grew up an American girl and I consider myself an almost full American. Connecting to a very small Indian part of me was difficult...Arangetram has changed me a lot. Before I used to hate being an Indian and I couldn't wait to shed that culture off. Now, it's a part of me).

Theme 2 – *Critical Literacy and Multicultural Education* (Henkin, 2005). This author invites teachers to consider dealing with problematic topics such as bullying through literacy activities. For this student writer, dance is a critical literacy tool that helped her cope with bullying (Back in sixth grade I would be harassed every day because I was different. I think every Indian kid has gone through this at least once. It's sad, but I mean, tough luck. I hope that, like me, they have all been able to open their eyes one day and realize it doesn't matter what others say. I like to say that my Arangetram has changed me a lot).

Theme 3 – Trishanku World (Iyengar, 2014). The student writer created her own niche and found performing art and festivals to help her in identity construction. She negotiates with space she is living in by coming to a compromise about how her cultural capital is fulfilling in the end (I do pride myself in being that Indian though, however small. I have to admit Indians go all out during festivals. My favorites, Diwali and Navarathri include, you guessed it, dance. When the month of October rolls around I know to get my dandias ready, because the best season is here. Ever since I was a little girl, I've loved garba).

Theme 4 – Belonging. The student writer compares herself with other cultural groups such as White and Mexican, but in the end negotiates her identity only to come to a conclusion that her culture (Asian Indian) is fulfilling to her, (Singing Katy Perry one moment, singing for a pooja another. Dancing the Harlem shake one minute, practicing Bharatanatym another. Dance has really helped me reconcile with myself. It's helped me deal with the demands of an American and Indian society. It's been a gateway to a culture that belongs to me on the other side of the world. It's also been my passion and my source of strength to get through the crazy life of an Indian kid).

The following narratives (see figures 8 and 9 below) illustrate the process of thematic and categorical analysis of another study participants' narrative. **Indian Weddings**

This past weekend, I went to an Indian wedding and I absolutely love them. There are just so many festivities. First there was the sangeet where we just dance and have a wonderful time! Then we had the Mehandi where the bride gets an exquisite design on her arms and legs! Also the female guests get their Mehandi done, but not as detailed as the bride. Since I was a bridesmaid, I got mine done on both of my hands, the inside and outside. Finally it was the wedding day! First, the Choora ceremony occurred early in the morning, when the soon to be bride received Red and white color bangles. Then came the wedding ceremony! A lot of prayerswere said and the bride and groom walk around the fire 7 times. Lastly there was the reception! I had a great time eating, dancing, and experiencing my culture (Urvashi, 2013).

Figure 8: Data

Analysis

1. With Indian Minority in America, the general public is only introduced to the American culture, and there is very little space for races to express their culture.

Themes: Internalization, Observational Learning, Alienation, Cultural Relativism, Generalized, Testimonial Text, and Particularity.

Category: Estrangement and Alienation

2. I was born in New Jersey, where there is a heavy Indian influence and Many Indians live there. At an early age, I was introduced to a Hindi Class, since my older brother had been doing it as well. Every week, in the evening I went to this Hindi class where I learned how to read, write, speak and understand Hindi...it helped me understand where I came from at a very young age...It helps me connect with my family in India even though they laugh at my grammar...I have learned about myself, my family, my language, and my country (Menaka, 2013).

Figure 9: Data

Themes: Particularity, Accommodation, Socio-cultural Learning, Self-Actualization, Cultural Perspective, Anticipatory Socialization, Cultural Relativism, Cultural Universals, and Gemeinschaft.

Category: Belonging and Cultural Connection

3. We read stories about typical Indian Families and life in India.

Theme: Cultural Diffusion

Category: Cultural Legacy and Socio-cultural Learning

4. This past weekend, I went to an Indian wedding and I absolutely love them.

Themes: Referentiality, Cultural Universals, and Testimonial Text.

Category: Culturally Relevant Practice

5. First there were the sangeet where we just dance and have a wonderful time! Then we had the Mehandi, where the bride gets an exquisite design on her arms and legs...First, the Choora ceremony occurred early in the morning, when the soon to be bride received Red and white color bangles. Then came the wedding ceremony! A lot of prayers were said and the bride and groom walk around the fire 7 times. Lastly there was the reception! I had a great time eating, dancing, and experiencing my culture (Urvashi, 2014).

Figure 10: Data

Themes: Cultural Capital, Integrative Learning, Referentiality, and socio-cultural Learning.

Category: Cultural Connection, Pride, and Desirability

6. "I have learned about myself, my family, my language, and my country...It helps me connect with my family in India...it helped me understand where I came from at a very young age...I had a great time eating, dancing, and experiencing my culture." (Menaka, 2013).

Themes: Integrative Learning, Accommodation, Observational Learning, Cultural Relativism, Heritage Literacy and Cultural Relativism, Socio-cultural Learning and Referentiality.

Category: Transformative Literacy and Cultural Relevant Practices

PARTICIPANTS' DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Shakuntala: Shakuntala is a twelve-year-old student from the state of Andra Pradesh. This writer is a priest's daughter, so her environment is culturally rich with Indian people visiting the temple and her house all year long and during the various festivals and special occasions. She lives on the temple premises, where she is part of the festivities. Since the mother does not drive, the priest must take the family to the ceremonies and celebrations that he conducts at people's houses. The writer has firsthand deep knowledge of all the rituals during the festivals. This participant also helps teach Bharatnatyam at her dance school, and hence interacts with children from different cultural groups such as Tamil, Kannada, and Telugu communities.

Shakuntala was in the sheltered program at a public school for 5 years and she is now at a magnet school. This student was part of my reading group for two years along with one other student because their parents wanted the children to have extra reading practice outside of the school curriculum. When the student came to my class, she was shy, hesitant to speak because of an accent and unwillingness to share. The student was immersed in listening and reading for a year until the student began to articulate her views. Several culturally relevant texts were used in that class to make the student comfortable. Texts such as R.K. Narayan's "Swami and His Friends" and Rudyard Kiplings' "Jungle Book" were read and discussed. The following year, Shakuntala was slowly introduced to the writing conventions and eventually to the writing workshop model during data collection period. Shakuntala was comfortable writing culturally meaningful stories and later sharing them confidently at the workshop. The following excerpt from her questionnaire illustrates this point:

I love writing stories about my culture because I know it. I love to write about dance called Bharatnatyam because I am a dancer... (Shakuntala, 2013)

Menaka: Menaka is a 10th grade 15 years old student from the state of Gujarat. She learns Bharatnatyam at the Arathi School of Indian dance, and she just completed her dance debut or arangetram. She speaks Gujarati and her parents are both professionals. This writer is in health careers high school, a magnet school for students interested in pursuing health related fields. She participates in the Gujarati Samaj cultural events, attends Swadyaya, and volunteers at the Swaminarayan Mandir.

Urvashi: Urvashi is a 14-year-old high school student from Delhi. Her parents are in the communication field. This writer used to learn Bharatnatyam at Natyanjali, but she later decided to learn Bollywood instead. This student is in the high school band and she is a cheerleader at school. She can manage to speak in Hindi because she took Hindi classes when she was younger. This student is articulate and she voices her opinion without any inhibitions.

Tyagaraja: Tyagaraja is fourteen years old from the state of Andra Pradesh. This writer attends a private school for academically advanced children. He learns Carnatic music at Kalalaya and his sister also learns music and Bharatnatyam at Kalalaya. The writer's parents are both professionals who are active in the lives of their children's academic and cultural activities. The mother learns Carnatic music and sings with her children. This particular writer focused on testimonial literature that discussed consciousness raising plot points in his narrative. For example, his willingness to learn music was to build relationships with his family in India and keep connected to his roots are examples (see figures 3 and 4 for Tyagaraja's (2013) excerpts). This writer was quiet in the writing workshop. He did not offer any comments unless asked. He was the last one to share and he used good vocabulary that reflected on his reading skills.

CONCLUSION

The analytical tool used here facilitated the preservation of the core of the narratives, especially that the stories were culturally relevant to children of Asian Indian origin living in the United States. The researcher was able to read the stories in their entirety without sacrificing the essence of the materials presented. Therefore, Holistic Content Analysis (Leiblish et al, 2008) is an appropriate analytical procedure for stories that are aesthetically germane or appropriate to certain demographics of students, whose culture and heritage may be marginalized or undermined in societies that do not honor diversity.

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