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Master's Thesis of International Studies

**Heritage and Identity — Cultural Comparison
between Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans**

역사적 뿌리와 정체성 인식 — 중국 묘족과 미국 묘족
간의 문화적 비교

February 2020

Graduate School of International Studies

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Heritage and Identity — Cultural Comparison
between Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans

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Submitting a Master's Thesis of International Studies

February 2020

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Abstract

Heritage and Identity — Cultural Comparison between Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans

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The inheritance of culture and cognition of our identity is a spiritual sustenance of all ethnic groups. These are the links that connect our ancient identities with modern lifestyles, the links that reflect history onto the scope of future ethnic developments. With the progression of human societies into the modern era, the migration of ethnic groups has shown no signs of slowing down. As a result, many earlier definitions, such as our concepts of nationality, ethnicity, and minority identities, have changed.

Among these many migrant groups, the Hmong are a minority that has endured from the past to the present, crossing the Eastern and Western world. Their migration and development can be traced back to ancient China, 4000 years ago. In the present day, they are found throughout China, Southeast Asian countries, the United States, and parts of European countries.

This paper aims to accurately reproduce the history of the Hmong people's migration from China to the United States, through the records of Chinese and other foreign historical books, as well as to discuss the definition of Hmong and Miao (a designated name of the Hmong in China) identity through their history. Furthermore, this paper compares Hmong Chinese and Hmong American ethnic

cultures through both social identity theory and the cultural model theory, and analyzes their cultural attributes and group identity.

Finally, the author hopes that this paper can remind the Hmong people of their ethnic development history. It is also hoped that it can help Hmong people in different countries, especially in the United States, to find their cultural heritage, and inspire them to rediscover themselves, to get the same ethnic memories, as well as the same spiritual home.

Keywords: Hmong, Miao, Hmong Chinese, Hmong American, Heritage, Identity

Student Number: 2017-28254

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Chapter I. Introduction

1.1 Background

As an international ethnic group, Hmong people are widely distributed all over the world. The Hmong population throughout the entire world is estimated to be no less than 12 million, mainly distributed in Asia. According to statistics, the population of Hmong people in China is nearly 9.4 million; 860,000 in Vietnam; 460,000 in Laos; 309,564¹ in the United States; 150,000 in Thailand; 15,000 in France; approximately 2,000 to 3,000 people in Myanmar; 2,000 in Australia; 800 in Canada; 300 in Argentina; and 110 in Germany (Lemoine, 2005).

Hmong people have an extensive history and rich culture. According to the corresponding historical records and the collective oral recounting of the ethnic group, the initial living area of the Hmong people can be identified as Northern China, approximately 4,000 years ago (Vang and Flores, 1999). In the early nineteenth century, some clans of Hmong people chose to cross the border and live in Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and other Asian countries; due to their inability to integrate into Chinese society (Yang, 1992). In modern times, the Hmong have migrated across the Mekong River from Laos to Thailand, after being expelled by North Vietnam for helping the United States defeat the socialist forces during the Vietnam war (Hamilton-Merritt, 1999). After the war, American authorities allowed some Hmong

¹ U.S. Census Bureau, SELECTED POPULATION PROFILE IN THE UNITED STATES, 2017 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, p. 1.

people to emigrate to the United States on moralistic grounds. Later, Hmong people would migrate to other western countries and regions, resulting in the group developing from an ethnic minority in Asian countries, to a cosmopolitan ethnic group across the East and West.

1.2 Aim of Research

With the international migration of the Hmong people across different countries and regions, more and more scholars have paid increasing amounts of attention to this notable ethnic group, and have started to study their identity and cultural characteristics. For example, many scholars in different countries, including America's Yang Dao, Japan's Torii Ryuzo, France's Savina and Britain's Nicholas Tap, have conducted in-depth studies on the Hmong people. They have obtained a high degree of understanding of the historical origin and living status among Hmong people overseas (Zhang et al., 2019).

In recent years, scholars from all over the world have organized academic forums on the issue of the Hmong people's transnational identity in the United States. During 2008 and 2010, two sessions of the "International Conference on Hmong Studies" were held in Concordia University in the United States. In 2009, the 16th world congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) held conferences regarding Hmong anthropology and identity research topics. However,

different scholars have differing views on the identity of the Hmong people. The scholar Ma Yongbin stated one view is that Westerners are the main group who would argue that the ‘Hmong’ nominated by themselves is not Miao² ethnicity, but an independent ethnicity. Furthermore, the ‘Miao’ ethnicity is imposed by the Chinese Government on ‘Hmong’, which causes further complications with the naming system. A different scholarly view is that Han scholars and individuals from the Miao ethnicity in China argue that ‘Hmong’ is not only a self-defined appellation, but also a term used in three dialects of Chinese regions (Ma, 2018)². This summarizes the main viewpoint distinctions held by different scholars. Therefore, it is of great research significance to clarify the relationship between Hmong and Miao people, as well as to discuss whether they can be identified as the same ethnic group or not. This is the first question that will be discussed in this paper.

At the same time, it has become known that it is difficult for the Hmong people to integrate into local society when they move to other countries, due to war, amongst other reasons. Many scholars have studied the migration of the Hmong people in Southeast Asian countries, as well as the process of immigrating to the United States because of the Vietnam war. Additionally, some scholars have made research inquiries into the quality of life and education distribution of Hmong people, following their United States immigration. However, few scholars have paid attention to their cultural

² The Miao is an ethnic group belonging to South China, and is recognized by the government of China as one of the 55 official minority groups.

heritage and identity, and little research has been conducted on the cultural comparative study between Hmong Americans and their Asian ancestors. Accordingly, there was a need for Hmong Chinese and Hmong American cultural models, to analyze their cultural identity. The data of the two cultural models have been compared to obtain their matching degree, with the goal of understanding Hmong Americans' current situation of either inheriting or innovating the traditional culture from ancestral history. This may help Hmong Americans realize their lost tradition and help them find their cultural roots.

1.3 Organization of Thesis

If we want to understand the culture of an ethnic group, we have to know its history. In various historical contexts, different countries have different understandings of the Hmong people. It is necessary to make an objective comparison of different countries, so that the Hmong people can know the historical truth of their ethnic group and better understand their own identity. Chapter II summarizes the history of Hmong people and analyzes the reasons for their transnational migration. Chapter III discusses the question of whether Hmong and Miao can be identified as the same ethnic group, or if they are notably distinct. Chapter IV uses social identity theory and the cultural model theory to understand how cultural identity is measured. Subsequently, both

quantitative and qualitative³ research methods will be used to analyze the influence of different elements and environments on ethnic culture and group identity.

As the core of this paper, Chapters V and VI compares the Hmong Chinese and Hmong American cultural models in accordance with the methodology of cultural domain analysis. Chapter V analyzes the contents of the first phase questionnaire with regard to freelist process, while Chapter VI analyzes the contents of the second phase questionnaire associated to cultural consensus analysis. During these two phases, the Hmong communities in China and the United States have been contacted to collect information through questionnaires and personal interviews⁴. Questions for in-depth interviews covered many aspects, focusing on the group identity of the Hmong people in both countries. Furthermore, on the basis of cultural consensus analysis and interview results, policy recommendations on how to better inherit Hmong culture in China and the United States are listed in Chapter VI. It is hoped that, through this study, policy makers in both countries can focus more on the protection and inheritance of ethnic cultures, and maintain cultural diversity in their respective countries. Chapter VII serves as a conclusion to this research paper.

³ Qualitative research is a scientific method of observation to gather non-numerical data(Babbie, Earl, 2014). This type of research “refers to the meanings, concepts definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and description of things” and not to their “counts or measures”(Berg, Bruce, Lawrence; Lune, Howard, 2012).

⁴ A qualitative data collection method, in-depth interviews offer the opportunity to capture rich, descriptive data about people’s behaviors, attitudes and perceptions, and unfolding complex processes.

Chapter II. Literature Review: Five Migrations and the Secret War

History plays an important role in our understanding of a nation's identity. In other words, there is no doubt that we need to understand the past, and the cultural roots of a nation from the perspective of a longitudinal study. Unfortunately, as the Hmong people have migrated many times in history, there are few remaining primary sources to document their historical background. Therefore, we can only learn the history and culture of the Hmong people through the records of other subjects, such as the records of the Hmong people from other ethnic groups, or ancient songs and poems about the Hmong people. The earliest records of Hmong people can be found within the history of Miao Chinese people, most frequently. The specific differences and definitions between Hmong and Miao will be introduced in detail in the following chapter.

Miao is a designated name given by the national government after the founding of the People's Republic of China, following the consent of the relevant ethnic minorities. We can understand that, in modern China, the Hmong people are called Miao. In ancient times, the Hmong people had many names or had different expressions of their identity from the Han⁵ people, throughout different periods. According to the records of the Grand Historian⁶, the ancestors of the Hmong people

⁵ The Han Chinese, or named as Hanzu and Han people are an East Asian ethnic group and nation native to China. They constitute the world's largest ethnic group, making up about 18% of the global population (Zhang, Feng; Su, Bing; Zhang, Ya-ping; Jin, Li, 2007).

⁶ The Records of the Grand Historian, also known by its Chinese name Shiji, is a monumental history of ancient China and the world finished around 94 BC by the Han Dynasty official Sima

(also known as the Jiuli group) lived in the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River⁷ in China. Because of its plain and fertile soil, this area is very suitable for farming. It has always been a desirable place for all ethnic groups to live, and numerous conflicts and wars broke out in this land as a result.

During that time, the Hmong ethnic group was composed of nine tribes, each of which contained nine brotherly tribes, a total of eighty-one brotherly tribes. Chi You⁸, as the great chief, led all of the Hmong people and was regarded as the most powerful group leader in ancient China (Fan, 2012). Although the existence of Chi You cannot be accurately cross-examined due to his appearance in the context of Chinese myth and legend, as many Chinese dynasties and historical documents have some record of the individual, we cannot completely deny his existence. According to the above resources, almost all of them collectively recognize the identity of Chi You as the leader of the Hmong people, which can also be found mentioned in the ancient songs sung by the Hmong people for generations.

Qian after having been started by his father, Sima Tan, Grand Astrologer to the imperial court. The work covers the world as it was then known to the Chinese and 2500 years from the age of the legendary Yellow Emperor to the reign of Emperor Wu of Han in the author's own time (Nienhauser, William, 2011).

⁷ The Yellow River or Huang He is the second-longest river in China after the Yangtze River, and the sixth-longest river system in the world at the estimated length of 5,464 km (3,395 mi). Originating in the Bayan Har Mountains in Qinghai province of Western China, it flows through nine provinces, and it empties into the Bohai Sea near the city of Dongying in Shandong province.

⁸ Chi You was a tribal leader of the Jiuli group in ancient China (Dai Yi, 2003). For the Hmong people, Chi You was a sagacious mythical king (Ya Po Cha, 2010, An Introduction to Hmong Culture, McFarland, p. 8).

2.1 Losing the Battle of Zhuolu

According to Chinese historical books and legends, the earliest recorded history of the Hmong people appeared more than 4,000 years ago. To date, the Hmong people have experienced at least five mass migrations in recorded history. The first migration took place during the reign of Chi You, as a result of a conflict arising from the coveting of the fertile and superior environment of the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River mentioned above, by other conflicting ethnic groups. It should be mentioned that the Yellow Emperor⁹ and the Yan Emperor¹⁰, who lived in the same period with Chi You, also had two very powerful ethnic groups respectively; and they had long coveted the resources of the land. The group led by Yan Emperor took the initiative in attacking Chi You's Jiuli group. However, due to the highly developed Hmong culture, which included concepts of criminal law, weapons, and religion, gave the Hmong an overwhelming advantage at that time as a result of their more organized group structure. Accordingly, this initial attack was a failure. The defeated Yan Emperor instead migrated to the west, where the group met the Yellow Emperor during their migration. These two ethnic groups united, and then attacked the Jiuli group, led by Chi You once more. This is recorded in the Grand Historian and the Classic of

⁹ The Yellow Emperor, also known as the Yellow Thearch, the Yellow God or the Yellow Lord, is a deity in Chinese religion, one of the legendary Chinese sovereignty and culture heroes included among the mytho-historical Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors and cosmological Five Forms of the Highest Deity(Fowler, Jeanine D, 2005).

¹⁰ The Yan Emperor or the Flame Emperor was a legendary ancient Chinese ruler in predynastic times. Modern scholars have identified the Sheep's Head Mountains just north of Baoji in Shanxi Province as his homeland and territory(He Wandan and Yang Hongbao, 2005).

Mountains and Seas as the Battle of Zhuolu¹¹. The war ended with the defeat of Chi You, who died fighting during the war, leaving the Jiuli group (also known as the Hmong people now) with no choice other than to move to Southern China. In conclusion, the first mass migration of the Hmong people can be seen as having resulted from their defeat at the Battle of Zhuolu (Shi, 1995).

2.2 Collapse of the Three Miao Kingdom

The second great migration of the Hmong people took place in Southern China, along the Yangtze River¹². As a result of the defeat of the Jiuli group, as well as the death of their leader, a small number of the Hmong ethnic group were captured by the Yellow Emperor and the Yan Emperor's group (whom would later become the Han Chinese). Most of the Hmong people, however, fled to the Yangtze river valley because they had many branches in Southern China, a place where they could recover and rebuild their morale. Another reason that the Hmong people chose the Yangtze river basin for further development, is that the area also has fertile soil and a mild climate, which was suitable for them to grow plants and farms. After this period of developing their agriculture, they continued to establish their development in what is

¹¹ The Classic of Mountains and Seas or Shan Hai Jing, formerly romanized as the Shan Hai Ching, is a Chinese classic text and a compilation of mythic geography and myth (Lewis, Mark Edward, 2006).

¹² The Yangtze or Yangzi is the longest river in Asia, the third-longest in the world and the longest in the world to flow entirely within one country. Its drainage basin comprises one-fifth of the land area of China, and is home to nearly one-third of the country's population.

now Hunan, Hubei, and Jiangxi provinces in Southern China, a grouping which would later come to be known as the powerful “Three Miao Kingdom”. Liang Qicha, a famous historian and litterateur of the late Qing Dynasty and early Republic of China (ROC), once said in a book he wrote: “three Miao and Jiuli, two names for an ethnic group” (Liang, 1905). His expression also further affirmed the credibility of the development of the Hmong people from the Jiuli group into the Three Miao Kingdom. In addition, the Han people also referred to the Hmong people as “Nan Man”, “Jing Man” or “Jing Chu” at that time.

Although the Hmong people had migrated from Northern China to Southern China, during the three periods of Yao, Shun, and Yu (the ruling periods of the descendants of the Yellow and Yan Emperors), the Han people still feared the power of the Southern Hmong people. After a period of peaceful coexistence, the Han people ultimately attempted to expel and exterminate the Hmong people in the South, in order to maintain their ruling dominance. The number of battles between the Hmong and Han people has been difficult to measure, but the final warring period lasted more than 70 days, with the Three Miao Kingdom once again being completely defeated by the Han army. The final war was so brutal that the Hmong population was completely decimated, and most of the remaining Hmong had to flee to the wilderness and mountains, forced to live a life isolated from the Han for a long time.¹³

¹³ References come from the Book of Document or Classic of History, also known as the Shangshu.

2.3 Annexation of the Chu by the Qin Dynasty

The Hmong people showed extreme signs of perseverance in the wake of The Second Great Migration. After they moved from the marshes to the rolling hills, the change of natural conditions was an obstacle that they overcame in order to rebuild their settlements. They again developed their living areas from the ground up, and later their social economy once again flourished. This was not a permanent state, however, and a third migration of the Hmong people occurred during the Spring and Autumn¹⁴ and the Warring States¹⁵ periods in ancient China.

After escaping from the influence of Yao, Shun, and Yu, emperors of the Xia Dynasty¹⁶, the Hmong people were relocated through the South, during the time that China entered into the Spring and Autumn, and the Warring States periods. It should be mentioned here that the Hmong people lived in the territory of Chu¹⁷ at that time. This

¹⁴ The Spring and Autumn period was a period in Chinese history from approximately 771 to 476 BC, which corresponds roughly to the first half of the Eastern Zhou period. The period's name derives from the Spring and Autumn Annals, a chronicle of the state of Lu between 722 and 479 BC, which tradition associated with Confucius(Hsu, Choyun, 1990).

¹⁵ The Warring States period was an era in ancient Chinese history characterized by warfare, as well as bureaucratic and military reforms and consolidation. It followed the Spring and Autumn period and concluded with the Qin wars of conquest that saw the annexation of all other contender states, which ultimately led to the Qin state's victory in 221 BC as the first unified Chinese empire, known as the Qin Dynasty (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Warring_States_period#cite_ref-1).

¹⁶ The Xia Dynasty was the first Dynasty in traditional Chinese history. According to tradition, the Xia Dynasty was established by the legendary Yu the Great after Shun, the last of the Five Emperors, gave his throne to him. The Xia was later succeeded by the Shang Dynasty(Mungello, David E, 2009).

¹⁷ Chu was a hegemonic, Zhou Dynasty era state. The Chu began a series of administrative reforms, becoming a successful expansionist state during the Spring and Autumn period. With its continued expansion, Chu became a great Warring States period power, until it was overthrown by the Qin in 223 BCE(Baxter & Sagart, 2014).

is a complication, as it is not certain whether the state of Chu was founded by the Hmong people, or a pre-existing society. According to the records of the Grand Historian, both King Wu of Chu¹⁸ and King Wen of Chu¹⁹ once said that their citizens were “Man Yi (another name of the Hmong people called by Han)”, which only informs us that the Hmong people were the main inhabitants of the state of Chu, and does not provide insight into its founding. During the Warring States period, Qin²⁰ was also a very strong state, known as one of the Seven Warring States²¹. In 223 BCE, the state of Qin annexed the state of Chu, forcing the Hmong people to migrate once more. Most of their population fled to the Wu Ling and Wu Xi areas, which is the modern-day Hunan province of China. Due to geographical factors, the Han people later also called the Hmong people “Wu Ling Man” and “Wu Xi Man”. A few other, smaller groups moved south to the Guangxi province, and some even to Hainan island. This was the third great migration of the Hmong people in their history.²²

¹⁸ King Wu of Chu was the first king of the State of Chu during the Spring and Autumn period of ancient China.

¹⁹ King Wen of Chu is the son of King Wu of Chu.

²⁰ Qin was an ancient Chinese state during the Zhou Dynasty. Traditionally dated to 897 B.C(The Cambridge History of Ancient China, 2011).

²¹ The Seven Warring States or Seven Kingdoms refers to the seven leading states, including Qin, Qi, Chu, Yan, Han, Zhao and Wei, during the Warring States period of ancient China.

²² Jian Bozan, “An Outline of Chinese History(中国史纲)”.

2.4 Oppression from the Han to the Song Dynasty

The fourth migration period of the Hmong people was a relatively extensive one. The first dynasty of Imperial China²³ was formed not long after the state of Chu was annexed by the state of Qin. Since then, the Chinese civilization led by the Han people has established its unshakable position, while the Hmong people are spurned by the mainstream culture and became a vulnerable group, along with several other ethnic groups. From the Qin Dynasty to the Han Dynasty²⁴, and then to the Tang²⁵ and Song²⁶ dynasties, the central government led by the Han people suppressed the Hmong people to varying degrees of severity. For example, according to the description in the Book of the Later Han²⁷, the Hmong people attracted the attention of the Han Dynasty after a long period of recuperation in the Wu Ling area. The Han Dynasty had been trying to force the various ethnic groups in the Southwest to accept its rule by force, and the Wu Ling Man was a geographically close competing force, which the Han Dynasty decided

²³ Historians often define Imperial China as the period from the Qin Dynasty to the end of the Qing Dynasty.

²⁴ The Han Dynasty was the second imperial dynasty of China, preceded by the Qin Dynasty and succeeded by the Three Kingdoms period. Spanning over four centuries, the Han period is considered a golden age in Chinese history (Zhou, Jinghao, 2003).

²⁵ The Tang Dynasty or the Tang Empire was an imperial dynasty of China spanning the 7th to 10th centuries. It was preceded by the Sui Dynasty and followed by the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period. Historians generally regard the Tang as a high point in Chinese civilization, and a golden age of cosmopolitan culture (Lewis, Mark Edward, 2012).

²⁶ The Song Dynasty was an era of Chinese history that began in 960 and lasted until 1279. The dynasty was founded by Emperor Taizu of Song, following his usurpation of the throne of the Later Zhou, ending the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period.

²⁷ The Book of the Later Han, also known as the History of the Later Han and by its Chinese name Hou Hanshu, is one of the Twenty-Four Histories and covers the history of the Han Dynasty from 6 to 189 CE, a period known as the Later or Eastern Han.

to address. Beginning in AD 42, the Han army launched four attacks against the Hmong people. Though the battle between the two sides was a long, drawn-out affair, the Han army ultimately won the conflict. Additionally, the central government also increased taxes on the Wu Ling area after the war, forcing the Hmong people into poorer living circumstances that were often unsustainable, meaning that for much of the population, the only option was to move to the Southwest.

In addition, the Han people did not stop this exploitation of the Hmong people until the Song Dynasty, when the heavy taxation made the Hmong people's living conditions even worse, leading to even more Southwest migration of the population, which was spread throughout the provinces of Guizhou, Sichuan, and Yunnan in China today (Niuulu and Zhang, Qing Dynasty).

2.5 Dissatisfaction with the Tributary System

As time went by, the fifth migration of the Hmong people took place during the Yuan²⁸, Ming²⁹ and Qing³⁰ Dynasties. As the Hmong people had by now been scattered throughout Hunan, Hubei, Sichuan, Guizhou, Yunnan, Guangxi and Guangdong

²⁸ The Yuan Dynasty, officially the Great Yuan, was the empire or ruling dynasty of China established by Kublai Khan, leader of the Mongolian Borjigin clan. It followed the Song Dynasty and preceded the Ming Dynasty(Mote, Frederick W., 1994).

²⁹ The Ming Dynasty was the ruling dynasty of China — then known as the Great Ming Empire — for 276 years(1368-1644) following the collapse of the Mongol-led Yuan Dynasty. The Ming Dynasty was the last imperial dynasty in China ruled by ethnic Han Chinese.

³⁰ The Qing Dynasty, officially the Great Qing was the last imperial dynasty of China. It was established in 1636, and ruled China proper from 1644 to 1912. It was preceded by the Ming Dynasty and succeeded by the Republic of China.

provinces, the fifth migration showed a more complicated, smaller-scale series of partial movements. After the Song Dynasty was replaced by the Yuan Dynasty, the nomadic Mongols in the north controlled the central plains. The Mongols, whom themselves were a minority ethnic group, had shown no mercy to the Hmong people in the south. Their methods of repression were no different from those utilized by the Han people. The Ming Dynasty, led by the Han, inherited the exploitation and oppression of the Hmong people from the previous dynasties. Even later, the Manchus, also a minority ethnic group, took control of the central government and established the Qing Dynasty. After the Manchus came into power, they continued to suppress and control other ethnic groups in the Southwest. The most defining example of this can be seen in the 17th century to the early 18th century, when the Qing Dynasty implemented the Bureaucratization of Native Officers System³¹ to stabilize its central regime. Many Hmong moved to the Đông Văn District³², in Vietnam, because they opposed the failures of that system. The Qing Dynasty then implemented the Tributary System³³, and Vietnam, as a vassal state of Great Qing, had an inseparable relationship with the central plains. Additionally, the concept of borders during this period was so

³¹ The Bureaucratization of Native Officers System: To change the management mode from internal chiefs to external officials appointed by the central government. The Han people believed that this system would help eliminate the backwardness of chieftain management and strengthen the central government's rule over minority areas.

³² Đông Văn is a rural district of Ha Giang province in the Northeast region of Vietnam. The district covers an area of 447 km². The district capital lies at Phó Bảng (Districts of Vietnam, Statoids, Retrieved March 13, 2009).

³³ The Imperial Chinese Tributary System or Cefong System is a term created by John King Fairbank to describe "a set of ideas and practices developed and perpetuated by the rulers of China over many centuries" (Lee, Ji-Young, 2017).

unenforced that it was easy for the Hmong to leave their homeland without hindrance from other vassal states. Since then, the Hmong people have migrated across Southeast Asia, to what is now the regions of Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, and Thailand (Guo, 1986).

The five great migrations of the Hmong people reflect their extreme history of forced homelessness and migration throughout Chinese history. As an ethnic group in ancient times, the Hmong people were undoubtedly a powerful group. However, aggressive wars against them by other ethnic groups eventually forced the Hmong to live in exile for a span of thousands of years. Such a rich history deserves preservation and remembrance, as it is a testament to the tenacity of their ancestral roots. The Hmong people had left their homeland and settled in Southeast Asian countries, thinking that they could potentially build a new home in a new place. Unfortunately, these migrations would only lead to future conflicts and hardship. In addition to the five spontaneous migrations throughout Chinese history, the Hmong people also underwent an international migration, aided by international organizations, and more broadly by some countries during modern times. The reason is due to the split of the Lao regime and the abandonment of the Hmong by American allies.

2.6 The Secret War and Its Effects

Specifically, in 1960, then-president Dwight D. Eisenhower focused on the small Southeast Asian nation of Laos. At the time, Washington was worried about a domino effect in Southeast Asia, that he feared might lead to Laos becoming a communist state. Therefore in January 1961, Eisenhower ordered the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to launch a “Secret War” plan. The plan was to find an anti-communist proxy army for the United States in Laos, known as the Hmong army. Hidden from the public and from most members of congress, the Secret War became the CIA’s largest paramilitary operation in American history. The events of the Secret War, including the Vietnam War, were brutal. It occurred over the span of two presidents, Kennedy and Nixon, totaling 20 years. It killed a tenth of the country’s population, with New York Times putting Laos’ death toll at 200,000, left thousands of buried, unexploded bombs, and forever changed the nature of the CIA (Shane, 2017).

Joshua Kurlantzick gives us a clear account of the war and its key figures, based on interviews with numerous war veterans and newly declassified CIA files (Kurlantzick, 2017). There are four key figures in his book, who are Bill Lair, a CIA officer with a deep knowledge of Southeast Asian languages and cultures who had served as a war adviser; Anthony Poshepny, a military expert who trained the proxy Hmong Lao army; General Vang Pao, known as “lion of Hmong people”; and Bill Sullivan, an American ambassador with the ambition to keep the war going. However,

in the late 1970s, the United States abandoned its Hmong allies in Laos, because this was seen as no longer vital to its interests. By 1975, the United States had also achieved its original goal of preventing Southeast Asian countries from becoming communist states. But when the Vietnam War ended and the North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao Communists took over Laos, the Hmong soldiers and their families were treated by the communists as American spies, and in their retaliation, thousands of Hmong were killed. The rest fled Laos and escaped into Thailand as refugees, after struggling across the Mekong River³⁴. According to the article researched by Tony Vang and Juan Flores, “Many Hmong people had to escape through enemy-filled jungles for days before reaching the Mekong River. At night, they made their way to freedom on logs, on makeshift rafts, or even with lengths of bamboo under their arms like water wings” (Vang and Flores, 2009).

Unfortunately, Thailand was overwhelmed by the sudden mass migration, and was unable to take appropriate care of the Hmong refugee influx. As such, the Hmong people migrated to the United States, Europe, and Oceania, in a move coordinated by the United Nations and other international organizations. Due to the huge cultural differences and low education level of the migrants, these Hmong people had no advantages over other immigrant groups initially. However, they still fared better comparatively than their 400,000 remaining Hmong compatriots in Laos, who were

³⁴ The Mekong is a trans-boundary river in Southeast Asia. It is the world’s twelfth longest river and the seventh longest in Asia. From the Tibetan Plateau, the river runs through China’s Yunnan Province, Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam.

persecuted as enemies of the new regime. Lord Palmerston is famously quoted as saying, “We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is our duty to follow.” The Hmong experience in Laos perfectly encapsulates this, and fate of relatively weak minorities, when left in the hands of hostile foreign powers, seems destined to end in tragedy (Warner, 1995).

Looking back on history, the Hmong people have experienced five great migrations within the territory of China, and one great international migration in the region of Southeast Asia in modern times. Their population has spread across Asia, the United States, Europe, and Oceania. However, due to the multi-layered nature of the migratory period, and the diversity of countries involved, the identity of the Hmong becomes extremely complicated to categorize. This also reflects that the identity of the Hmong has a notable research significance and value because the research of the cross-border migration and identity of Hmong ethnic groups can be used as an analytical reference for the international migration research of other nationalities, and the identity tracing of people with a similarly complex multi-cultural background.

While many scholars have systematically studied the Hmong migration and living conditions of refugee camps in Southeast Asia, comparatively few scholars have studied the identity and cultural roots between the Hmong people of the United States, and the Hmong people of China. As such, this paper will aim to comprehensively analyze the relationship between the Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans, through

the corresponding theories of identity. Before this systematic analysis, as many Western scholars have some disputes on the unity between current Chinese Miao and Hmong, phonetics and linguistics will first be addressed in the next chapter to analyze the connections and differences between these two concepts, so as to better illustrate the identity definitions of Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans.

Chapter III. Literature Review: Relationship between Hmong and Miao

In the previous chapter, the Miao Chinese and overseas Hmong people were referred to collectively as “Hmong”. However, some Western scholars argue that the ‘Hmong’ as they refer to themselves are not Miao in their countries, but rather an entirely independent ethnicity. This ‘Miao Ethnicity’ was imposed by the Chinese government on the Hmong people, and therefore it is necessary to objectively analyze the relationship between the two designations of “Miao”, and “Hmong”.

While some Western scholars believe that the Hmong people who call themselves “Hmong” are completely unrelated to the Miao people of China, the internal logic of self-identity and the complicated nature of cultural identity itself, means that this is not such an easy assertion to make. There are several phonetic and semantic differences in the designation of the Hmong over the years, which must be addressed for accuracy.

3.1 Miao Self-Proclaimed Introduction

The identity claims of the Miao people can be classified into three main groupings. The first of these is the Miao people who call themselves “Hmongb” or “Ghab Hmongb”(pronounced 蒙 or 仡蒙 in Mandarin³⁵). They speak the Western dialect and have a population of more than four million, mainly living in Guiyang, Zunyi and Anshun cities, in the Guizhou province. Several smaller groupings are

³⁵ Mandarin, also known as Standard Chinese, Modern Standard Mandarin or Modern Standard Mandarin Chinese(MSMC), is a standard variety of Chinese that is the sole official language of China.

scattered throughout the Yunnan and Sichuan provinces. This is the self-designation that the majority of Miao people outside of China most commonly utilize. The second type of self-identification is seen in the Miao people who refer to themselves as “Hmub” or “Hmuob”(pronounced 穆 or 摩 in Mandarin). In recent years, this group is mainly located in the Qiandongnan Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture³⁶, the Southwest Guizhou Autonomous Prefecture³⁷ and Guangxi province. The population of this group is approximately four million. The third group are the Miao people who call themselves “Xiongb” or “Ghob Xiongb”(pronounced 熊 or 仡熊 in Mandarin). They speak the Eastern dialect, and now live mainly in the Tongren city of Guizhou province, Xiangxi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture³⁸, the Huaihua and Shaoyang cities of Hunan province, as well as Enshi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture³⁹ of Hubei province, with a population of about three million.

³⁶ Qiandongnan Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture can be shortened as S.E. Qian Prefecture is an autonomous prefecture in the southeast of Guizhou province in the People’s Republic of China, bordering Hunan to the east and Guangxi to the south.

³⁷ Southwest Guizhou Autonomous Prefecture, also known as Qianxinan Buyei and Miao Autonomous Prefecture is an autonomous prefecture of Guizhou province in China. It is bordering Guangxi to the south and Yunnan to the west.

³⁸ Xiangxi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture is an autonomous prefecture of the People’s Republic of China. It is located in western Hunan province. It consists of one capital city called Jishou and seven counties. Twenty-five nationalities gather here, of the total 2,480,000 population, 66.6% are ethnic minorities, including 860,000 Tujia and 790,000 Miao.

³⁹ Enshi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture is located in the mountainous southwestern corner of Hubei province, People’s Republic of China. It forms Hubei’s southwestern “panhandle”, bordering on Hunan in the south and Chongqing Municipality in the west and northwest. The Yangtze River crosses the prefecture’s northeastern corner in Badong County.

3.2 Phonological Relationship of Miao Self-Proclaimed Identity

Understanding the phonetic relationship among Miao's self-proclaimed identity is one of the important prerequisites to understanding the identity of the broader Miao ethnicity. First, in the Miao language, the consonant “hm” or “m” or “np” can essentially be considered the same sound. These differences are purely rooted in the characteristics of dialect differences, and the idea of them as unique sounds only arises as a result of their transliteration into Mandarin. Mandarin marks these as “蒙(meng)”, “穆(mu)” and “摩(mo)”, but the consonant is a singular sound in native Hmong. This demonstrates that Mandarin cannot perfectly express the internal connections between the Miao dialects, and Chinese phonologists are forced to only use the closest approximation of Chinese characters to express the pronunciation of the Miao language.

However, the choice of Chinese characters varies greatly depending on the accent, and accordingly foreign scholars may mistake different Chinese names for entirely different ethnic groups. For example, in the Miao language, a Western dialect with the pronunciation of “hmongb”, is similar to the pronunciation of “蒙(meng)” in Mandarin, but it is by no means equivalent to the meaning of the character itself. The Chinese character for “蒙(meng)” contains many meanings, sometimes even representing the abbreviation of the Mongols⁴⁰, which can be quite confusing. If a translator has a

⁴⁰ The Mongols are a Mongolic ethnic group native to Mongolia and China's Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. They also live as minorities in other regions of China(e.g. Xinjiang province), as well as in Russia.

complete linguistic mastery of Mandarin, they would likely not mistake the word “蒙 (meng)”, which distinguishes the different branches of the Miao ethnic group, for the Mongols. However, this demonstrates how much room for confusion and mistranslation can potentially occur within Miao linguistic study and analysis.

Second, self-identification of the Miao people based on the consonant “n” or “l” can also be considered the same expression. Here, we need to understand that in Guizhou, Hunan, Hubei and Chongqing provinces of China, there are pronunciation patterns within the dialects of these regions that may cause the sounds of “n” and “l” to be confused with each other. For examples of this, “女(nü)” is often pronounced “旅 (lǔ)”, “泥(ni)” is pronounced as “梨(li)”, and “男(nan)” is pronounced as “蓝(lan)”. Under such circumstances, there will be frequent and notable errors in the transliteration of the Miao language with such factors influencing the Chinese characters used. Although the pronunciation of Chinese words used is quite close, the connotations of the characters are sometimes further away from the original meaning, and these sounds may not necessarily be particularly close to the Miao language itself. This further proves that the transliterated Chinese characters can only provide a surface meaning. Different choices of pronunciation also affect the understanding of ethnic group classification, which separates these ethnic groups and their relationships with each other in such a way that phonetic analysis must be performed for accuracy.

Finally, while on the surface the identification of the consonant “m” is different from that of the consonant “n”, there is actually a close correspondence. In the Miao

language, the same word can be used as a consonant with “m” or “n”. Examples of this can be found in the Eastern Miao dialect, which refers to monkeys as “mlanb” or “nanb”, rice as “mloux” or “noux”, people as “mlex” or “nex”, and mother as “minl” or “ned”. In regions with this phonetic characteristic, the consonants of self-proclaimed ethnic names, whether “m” or “n”, mean the same thing. As such, while we can recognize that there are some slightly unique characteristics to the dialects of Hmong groups, these deviations are not strong enough to be considered as separate language groups or systems. If we do not understand the characteristics of the Miao language, we may mistakenly believe that the different self-proclaimed Miao people may belong to different ethnic groups, when this may instead be the result of transliteration failures or simple misunderstandings of regional dialects.

3.3 Designated Names of Miao People

In addition to the self-identification of the Miao people, since ancient times, the Han people and other ethnic groups also have many other names that were assigned to them, either by ruling groups or obtained colloquially. It was not until after the founding of modern China (the PRC) that the central government identified the relevant ethnic groups as “Miao” according to the wishes of the local people (Fan and Ma, 2009). In terms of the classification of designated names, these can be sorted into two major categories according to their clothing or surname. The Miao people have a

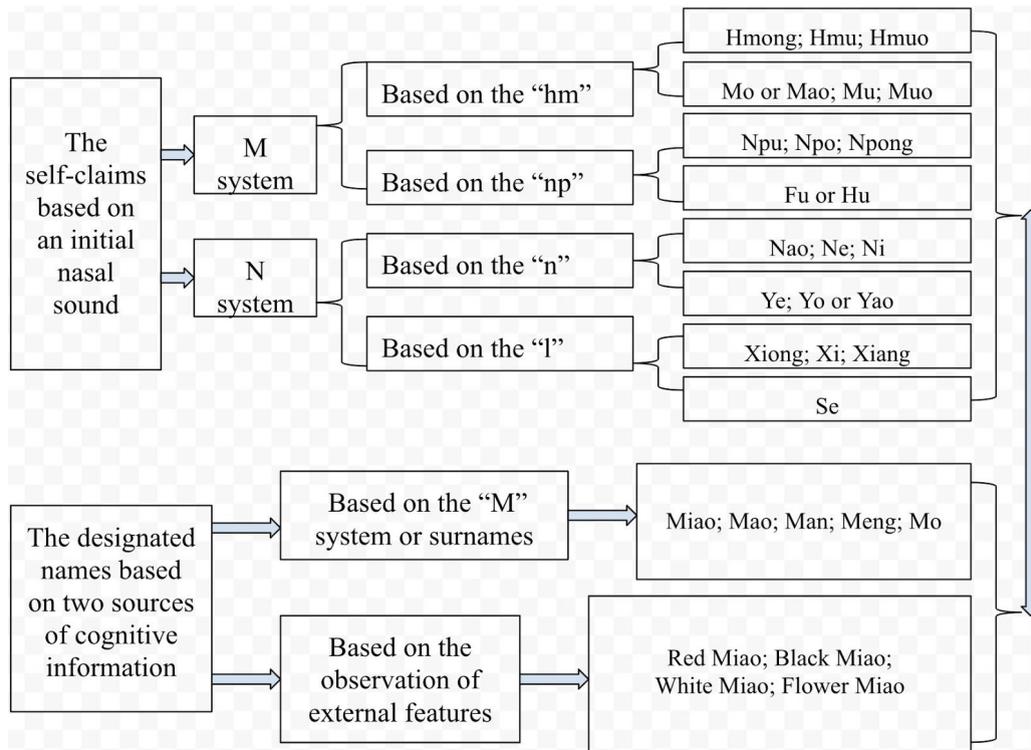
large population, numerous branches, and were spread throughout a wide area meaning that each branch has its own slightly distinct color scheme and accessory styles they identify with. In the Qing Dynasty, the Emperor Qianlong had government officers draw pictures to record the Miao people, which were compiled in the Portraits of Periodical Offering⁴¹, with the eighth volume focusing on the headwear and costumes of ethnic minorities in Guizhou province, almost half of which are Miao.

Given the historical conditions of that time, the national identification method is not as refined or specific as could be hoped, as an average person would only distinguish different Miao people by their most intuitive headwear and costumes. Therefore, the Miao people are called “Red Miao”, “Black Miao”, “Green Miao” and “Flower Miao”, which correspond to their main dress colors. Additionally, Han people use Chinese characters to mimic the surname of the Miao people. Most of these surnames are based on self-identification by Miao people themselves, including “Xiang”, “Mi”, “Xie”, “Su” and “Long”. For example, the Miao people whose Chinese surname character is written as “Xie” became known as the “Xie Jia Miao”, which led to a linguistic distinction of two groups. However there is no real distinction here, this still simply the one group of Miao people.

⁴¹ The Portraits of Periodical Offering was a series of official historical paintings were used in the Chinese dynasties. These paintings were official historical documents. The phrase roughly translated to “duty offering pictorial”. Throughout Chinese history, kingdoms and tribes conquered by Chinese forces were required to send ambassadors to the imperial court of China periodically and pay tribute with valuable gifts.

The scholar Ma Yongbin made a systematic summary of both the self-claims and the designated names of the Miao people. Specific internal relations are shown as below:

Chart 1: Structural Diagram between Self-claims and Designated Names



To summarize, the Miao people derive many different pronunciation habits and local cultural characteristics from their geographical separation. Hence, they also have different self-identification and designated names in three major dialect areas, including the Xiangxi dialect (also known as the Eastern dialect), the Qiandong dialect (also known as the Central dialect) and the Chuanqiandian dialect (also known as the

Western dialect). These different names will have corresponding differences and connotations according to different costumes, surnames, and consonant syllables. On the other hand, due to the different descriptions of Miao people throughout different periods of Han culture, the Miao people also have different names in mainstream conjecture. Since the self-identification of Miao people involves many regional dialect cultural backgrounds and phonetics rules, we need to analyze these relations in detail, so as to gain a better understanding of the internal relations of these ethnic groups.

Through the analysis of this thesis, despite the differences in pronunciation habits and consonant syllables, the self-identified Miao of China can be seen as a relatively unified group, once the nomenclature of their given names is accounted for. It can also further prove that the international Hmong people, and the Miao people of China, are of the same origin because the international Hmong title is in alignment with the pronunciation patterns and dialect of the Western Chinese Miao. The overseas Hmong group and the Miao Chinese group are not two disconnected cultural identities, but rather different branches of the same, larger ethnic group. To be more precise, in many ways the international Hmong people have more similarities to the Chinese Miao than they do with other local groups in their respective locations. Whether their designation is Hmong or Miao, their overall grouping is similar enough that they will be referred to collectively as “Hmong” for the remaining chapters, regardless of whether they are from China or international groupings.

3.4 Concept of Hmong Blood Ties

Whether we look at Hmong culture specifically or at the broader cultural background of Asia, blood ties are unarguably regarded as one of the most important elements of distinguishing ethnic groups. This kinship link can be explained biologically, through genealogy and genetics. “Both genealogy and genetics involve compelling and often interconnected imaginations of many concepts, including family, race, individuality, sex, nation, blood, gene, gender, and technological and bodily processes of generation, inheritance, representation, and procreation” (Nash, 2001).

Additionally, scholar Sarah Franklin stated that, “the rapid emergence of new genetic technologies has placed a premium on familiar anthropological questions, such as the meaning of genealogy, parenthood, or a ‘blood tie’; Gene sequences and family trees are iconic diagrams of mutually constituting scientific and popular discourses of genes, genetics, genealogy, ancestry, ethnicity, and descent” (Franklin, 2001). From this, we can analyze and infer the importance that Hmong people place on the concept of consanguinity in relation to continuity and inheritance of their ethnic identity. This paper, however, will not analyze the genetic continuity of Hmong people from the perspective of biology and genetics, but will address the importance of ethnic continuity among Hmong people, from the perspective of Hmong marriage customs and status.

Starting from the end, the concept of marriage among the Hmong people is relatively conservative compared to other ethnic groups, relying on a blood bond within the tribe in order to maintain relative stability. Traditionally, the Hmong only intermarried within their own ethnic group and rarely intermarried with other ethnic groups. According to an article written by Chinese scholar Cui Rong, there is a folk saying, “Hmong never mix with foreigners, like copper and iron,” which reflects their rejection from other ethnic groups. There is also a saying from other ethnic groups, that “people would rather suffer three knives than get along with Hmong” (Cui, 2011). This also reflects the resistance of other ethnic groups to the Hmong in intermarriage due to inferred difficulty. As the years have progressed, the Hmong people have broadened their understanding regarding the freedom of marriage to some degree, but it is still a common preference for Hmong people to choose to intermarry with people from the same ethnic group.

In addition, this view is also supported by some research outside of Asia. Scholar William H. Meredith and George P. Rowe have conducted research regarding Hmong marital attitudes after immigrating to the United States. Their research showed that more than 72% of Hmong people in Omaha, Nebraska, considered the mating of Hmong and non-Hmong people unsuitable (Meredith and Rowe, 1986). This indicates that the Hmong ethnic group in some parts of the United States still maintains the relatively traditional marriage values, even long after their ethnic migration.

As such, despite the extensive migratory history of the group, the Hmong blood ties within a tribe are still relatively close. According to the theory of genealogy and genetics, the genes of the Hmong people are a consistent and continuous community. Although the Hmong ethnic group may be integrated with other ethnic groups at different times in different regional environments, this does not affect the unity and continuity of Hmong ethnic culture (specifically, the concept of marriage in this situation) in the broader context of the whole era. Whether it is the migration from China to Southeast Asian countries, or the international migration from Asia to the Americas, the concept of Hmong marriage has maintained its relatively conservative views on a large scale. Hence, the strong correlation between the overseas Hmong and Asian Hmong identities is reflected laterally.

Chapter IV. Theories and Research Methodology

4.1 Theoretical Framework

The definition of identity is complicated, and the research surrounding it spans many fields such as philosophy, sociology, and psychology. For example, in philosophy, research of identity is divided into three modes: 1) individual-centered enlightenment identity, 2) society-centered social identity, and 3) postmodern decentralized identity (Tao, 2004). Based on these models, we can also realize that the perspective of identity is diverse, and that the conclusion we reach may be different depending on the perspective we approach it from. A single research subject may have different identities that emerge in different research categories. Overall, the theoretical construction of identity cannot be separated from self-categorization and the support of corresponding research methods.

Before developing specific research methods, it is necessary to systematically understand the process of identification and the classification of identity. Identity can be seen as common attributes shared with someone from a group, that differentiates them from others. In essence, identity gives one a sense of being. It involves the social relations of the individual, including the complex interconnections between one and others (Weeks, 1998).

According to scholars Tajfel and Turner, individual identity refers to the individual's consciousness of his or her own uniqueness. Thus, personal identity allows

individuals to establish their unique existence in relation to the time and space that they occupy (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Additionally, Tajfel defines social identity as an individual's identification of the qualifications of members of his or her group, and the value and emotional importance of such qualifications (Tajfel, 1978).

There are similar expressions of identity theory that emerge throughout other sources of literature. The individual itself is an object that can categorize, classify, or name itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classifications. This process is called identification in identity theory (McCall and Simmons, 1978). In social identity theory, it is called self-categorization (Turner et al., 1987). In identity theory, this self-categorization is relevant to the formation of one's identity, in which categorization depends upon a named and classified world. The core of identity is the categorization of the self as an occupant of a role, and the responsibilities associated with that role and its performance. In the framework of social identity theory, a social identity is a person's knowledge that he or she belongs to a social category or group. A social group is a set of individuals who hold a common social identification, or view themselves as members of the same social category.

Scholars Jan E. Stets and Peter J. Burke believe that identity theory and social identity theory share a lot of similarities. It is more about the emphasis on the two theories, as well as the different bases of identity, the different focuses used in examining activation and salience of identity, and the cognitive and motivational underpinnings of the two theories (Stets and Burke, 2000).

In addition, scholars Sellers, Smith, Shelton & Chavous are of the view that racial identity is an attitude and belief about the meaning and importance of race (Sellers et al., 1998). Other scholars also extend the classification of identity to roles, occupations and other fields.

In general, the definition of identity is diverse, depending on the level of the object of study: 1) individual level, 2) group level and 3) macro level. In this paper, social identity theory is one of the main theoretical bases of the research, and the identity of Hmong groups is the main research object. Especially as the identification between the Hmong American and Hmong Chinese will serve as a reference standard. In these two ethnic groups, the group's common identity is the core object of comparison, however, an individual's interpretation of his or her ethnic identity serves as an auxiliary reference.

In order to understand the identity of different Hmong ethnic groups, it is very important to understand their cultural connotations. This will involve beliefs, values, and customs among different Hmong groups. Although individuals have diverse cultural interpretations of themselves, there tends to be a cultural mainstream and corresponding cultural consensus within the same cultural group. As such, the core of comparative identity is to analyze existing cultural connotations. This idea has been studied and confirmed by many scholars. For example, Scholar Ward H. Goodenough once mentioned that culture is an important part of an individual's learning, and the way they interact in specific groups. This is important, as the way we are socialized is

an integral part of our identity as humans. Cultural inheritance is an important basis for an individual to belong to a particular ethnic group (Goodenough, 1999). This is part of the cultural model theory, which is also one of the theoretical frameworks forming this paper.

The historical connection between the Miao in China and the Hmong in the United States has been discussed in the previous chapters. Miao people have diversity in their self-proclaimed identity, and Hmong is just a way of addressing yourself. We can call the Miao people in China as Hmong to correct the previous limitations and misunderstandings regarding ethnic language. Although some scholars still doubt whether the Miao people of China should be identified as Hmong, by comparing the records of historical literature and fieldwork conducted by existing ethnologists, there is at the very least an observable, close relationship between these two groups. However, this paper does not aim to define the identity relationship between the Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans from a biological perspective, despite the subtle influence that biological blood ties have upon the formation of an individual's identity. This paper instead attempts to examine the relationship between the two ethnic groups and their identity through a cultural analysis perspective.

Anthropologists and ethnographers have never stopped trying to hone their research methods, but it is still difficult to measure the subjectivity and diversity of identity. Therefore, it is very important to measure the identity of different ethnic groups and tribes relatively objectively, and to assess the influencing variables.

According to scholar A. Kimball Romney, culture, unlike simple biological genetic properties, is what people need to learn in their own community. He believes that the comparison of group cultural knowledge is in line with the cultural consensus model, and thinks that this is an objective measure of cultural connotation (Romney et al., 1986). Scholar Roy Goodwin D' Andrade also elaborated on similar concepts, believing that culture is like a "pool of information", which is acquired by people's continuous learning from others and groups (D'Andrade, 1981). Therefore, the comparison of ethnic identity can be understood as the comparison of cultural connotation, and the essence of cultural connotation is cultural knowledge among different group members. In other words, comparing the cultural knowledge of ethnic groups is a way to test their group identity.

Notably, the identity between any two cultural groups can be measured by analyzing the culture knowledge between specific groups, which involves their beliefs, values, and customs. If there is a high degree of cultural consensus between two groups, we can observe the equality of cultural identity between the two groups. This is different from biological kinship, and political nationality. Accordingly, even if two groups live in the same community, there are huge differences in their cultural knowledge over time, which partly reflects the isolation and inconsistency of the two groups in relation to their cultural identity. These divergences are understandable and verifiable through the framework of culture model theory. As such, the ability to successfully reflect all cultural beliefs, values, and customs becomes the key to

defining the Hmong identity in the United States. At the same time, we can compare the results of cultural measurement with the cultural identity of the Hmong people in China, so as to test whether ethnic culture is inherited and consistent.

4.2 Research Methodology

Based on the cultural model theory, this paper uses the cultural domain analysis derived from core research methodology. This pertains to studying a “sphere of discourse,” which includes anything individuals of a group converse about. The foundation of cultural domain analysis is not a new measurement method, it comes from many fields, including anthropology, ethnoscience, market research and more (Borgatti, 1994). The historical development and content of its Methodology will not be explained in detail in this paper, however, the measures about cultural and identity are explained in detail. According to cultural domain analysis, cultural data collection is to measure the relationship between four groups of entities: researchers, informants, items, and attributes (Borgatti, 1994). In other words, the concrete objects are Hmong American and Hmong Chinese, as well as their cultural attributes and group identity.

In reference to cultural domain analysis, there are specific steps in measuring Hmong culture and identity, that can be divided into two steps: free-listing, and cultural consensus analysis. The first step of free-listing is to invite different Hmong groups, the Hmong American group and the Hmong Chinese group, to record the relevant

information about identity and culture. This information includes all the beliefs, values and customs, and it will allow the author to analyze the expression of identity and cultural connotation in different groups and obtain corresponding keywords.

The second step is to model the keyword data through cultural consensus analysis. Consensus analysis was proposed by scholar Romney in 1986, which provided a framework for the work and method of analyzing the consistency pattern of respondents. That is to say, given the appropriate data, it is possible to infer the protocol patterns of all respondents, including how much a respondent knows about a cultural field and whether there is a mainstream cultural model regarding certain concepts. In other words, shared cultural knowledge provides a way to reflect consistency (Borgatti, 1994).

In the context of the research topic of this paper, cultural consensus analysis can be used to test whether Hmong American and Hmong Chinese groups have their own consistent cultural models. If Hmong Americans and Hmong Chinese do not have their own distinct cultural identity model within their respective groups, it would be unnecessary to compare the unified nature of ethnic cultural identity. Moreover, if only one group could form the model of cultural identity within its ethnic group while the other presents a scattered and inconsistent status, then the comparison cannot be realized either. Only when Hmong Americans and Hmong Chinese have corresponding cultural identity models, can a quantitative analysis of the two models be carried out to

find out whether the two cultural models have complete unity, partial unity, or no correlation.

In order to analyze whether Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans have their own cultural models, the sources and validity of data are of great importance. Hence, much time was spent gathering first-hand information from people in both groups. Due to geographical constraints, communication with Hmong people in the United States and Hmong people in China was made through social media, such as Facebook, Instagram, and WeChat.⁴² Taking into consideration the restrictions placed upon Google in China, the method of collecting information for Hmong people within China was mainly conducted through online questionnaire survey, via a third-party platform named “questionnaire star”.⁴³ The link of the questionnaire was also sent to other relevant people through WeChat. For participants in the United States, information was collected via a Google form. Links to the questionnaire were also facilitated through Facebook and Instagram.

⁴² WeChat (微信) is a free application that provides instant messaging service for smart terminals launched by Tencent on January 21, 2011. By the second quarter of 2016, WeChat had covered more than 94% of China’s smartphones with 806 million monthly active users. [https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%BE%AE%E4%BF%A1/3905974?fr=aladdin#reference-\[1\]-15145056-wrap](https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%BE%AE%E4%BF%A1/3905974?fr=aladdin#reference-[1]-15145056-wrap)

⁴³ Questionnaire star (问卷星) is a professional online questionnaire survey, evaluation, voting platform, focusing on providing users with the powerful, user-friendly online design of questionnaires, data collection, custom statements, survey results analysis series of services. Compared with traditional survey methods and other survey websites or survey systems, questionnaire star has the obvious advantage of rapidity, ease of use and low cost, and has been widely used by a large number of enterprises and individuals. <https://baike.baidu.com/item/问卷星/6272243?fr=aladdin>

Ensuring that sufficient numbers of high-quality responses were collected was the key to this study. Therefore, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in the United States, and Guizhou University in China were contacted for assistance. With their cooperation, and the support from both Hmong student associations within these two universities, along with some members of the “Hmong American Sportsmen Club,” and the “Hmong American Partnership”, a variety of sample data was able to be collected through the questionnaire survey. Other survey participants included my Hmong friends and their relatives in California, as well as in Hunan province, China.

It should be noted that an online questionnaire does not reflect all cultural and identity information, so additional in-depth interviews from Hmong informants were conducted. The detailed content and analysis of the questionnaire and interview will be elaborated in following chapters.

Chapter V. Analysis of the Freelist and Phase I Questionnaire

5.1 Data Acquisition and Its Effectiveness

The purpose of the first phase is to collect data, understand the answers provided, and then interpret the Hmong ethnic groups through the scope of the free-listing research method, to analyze their culture and status symbols. The core of this research method approach is to observe and understand Hmong people's description of their own beliefs, values, and customs. The rationale behind identifying each ethnic groups' cultural identity can be attributed to testing their shared knowledge. This reasoning is supported by the social identity theory and cultural models theory.

There is a specific way to collect cultural keywords, and that is through direct distribution of questionnaires, then through utilizing computer programming to carry out the comprehensive analysis of keywords. The keyword analysis was done by Microsoft's FLAME software.⁴⁴ More accurate data was obtained after misspellings of the original freelists' keywords were manually corrected, and similar expressions were further unified by the researcher. This process is called "The Normalized Name" in

⁴⁴ "FLAME is a new software entirely dedicated to the analysis of free-lists. The development of the software was largely inspired by ANTHROPAC - developed by Stephen Borgatti. However, it offers a wider range of free-list analysis and output data in a more user-friendly and up to data environment." Refer to https://www.researchgate.net/publication/261704624_Flame_v12_-_Free-List_Analysis_Under_Microsoft_Excel_Software_and_English_User_Guide

FLAME. Additionally, the corrected and unified data replaced the original data within the FLARES software, to confirm the final meta-analysis.⁴⁵

There were 115 Hmong people who participated in the questionnaire survey in the first phase, including 53 Hmong Americans and 62 Hmong Chinese. Most of the informants were contacted directly via social media, while other participants were informed of the questionnaire links from their friends and relatives. Some of the questionnaires were incomplete or had too many errors to reliably analyze, and as such 13 questionnaires were not included in the analysis sample due to incomprehensible answers given. The final comparison was between 52 Hmong Americans and 50 Hmong Chinese. In each of the participants' respective languages, English and Chinese, their responses were recorded through Google forms and Questionnaire Star. Most of China's survey websites and platforms require the identification of a Chinese national, so the Chinese questionnaire also passed the real-name authentication of the website and has corresponding legitimacy.

The first phase of the questionnaire was mainly collected in the middle of October 2019. Through this questionnaire, it was found that there was a great diversity of respondents to the survey. Hmong Chinese respondents from eight provinces — Guizhou, Hunan, Zhejiang, Guangdong, Yunnan, Jiangxi, Sichuan, and Hubei. Some

⁴⁵ “FLARES is an online, open-source software for free-list analysis. FLARES was developed to overcome some of the limitations of its direct ancestor FLAME which is a set of VBA macros running under Microsoft Excel (Pennec et al., 2012)`refer to <http://www.anthrocogs.com/shiny/flares/>

overseas Hmong Chinese compatriots also participated in the first phase of the questionnaire. As China has an extremely large population base, with the Hmong minority alone accounting for 9.4 million, and due to the scattered distribution of Hmong populations throughout China, it is not feasible to reflect all of the cultural attributes of the Hmong people by distributing questionnaires alone. The means by which we can scientifically and effectively assess the cultural knowledge held by Hmong people in a population is the main difficulty encountered in this phase of research.

Chapter III reflects the criterion of the division in the Hmong residence mentioned by linguists. The Hmong people's living places in China can be divided into three main areas divided by the dialect spoken, being the Western, Central, and Eastern dialect regions. The Hmong people who live in the western dialect region, now Guizhou province, are especially notable for using a dialect that linguists confirm is most closely related to those Hmong people who later migrated to Southeast Asian countries, as well as the United States. For this reason, Hmong people in Guizhou province, China were contacted, in order to better compare the culture and identity between Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans.

Questionnaires from the Eastern dialect area were also collected, in order to serve the comparison between internal Hmong and external Hmong tribal groups. In other words, there is a regional arrangement in the actual questionnaire; 34% of respondents were from Guizhou province, a Western dialect area, and 34% from Hunan province,

an Eastern dialect area. The remaining other 32% of respondents included the Central dialect area, as well as other provinces and regions. Therefore, the data collected from China is reliable and useful.

Hmong American respondents comparatively, were from eight states — Wisconsin, Minnesota, California, Colorado, Ohio, North Carolina, Oregon, and New York. Compared to China, the Hmong people in the United States live in relatively concentrated places, although these population-dense groups themselves are also geographically distant from one another, to a certain degree. This may be due to the geographical selectivity of the administrative planning for Hmong refugees in the United States after the Vietnam War, as well as the Hmong people's preference for living together in unfamiliar environments.

According to the statistics of scholar Moua Mai, the three states with the largest population distribution of Hmong Americans in the United States are California (86,989/33.9%), Minnesota (63,619/24.8%) and Wisconsin (47,127/18.4%) (Moua, 2010). The total population of Hmong Americans in the United States was 256,430 in 2010.⁴⁶ In other words, the Hmong people of California, Minnesota, and Wisconsin accounted for 77% of the total Hmong American population in 2010. In the seven years since, the most recent census results show that the number of Hmong people living in California grew to 101,119 in 2017, which now accounts for 32.7% of the total Hmong

⁴⁶ U.S. Census Bureau, *SELECTED POPULATION PROFILE IN THE UNITED STATES, 2008-2010 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates*, p. 1.

American population.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, the population of Hmong Americans in Minnesota grew to 85,263 in 2017, accounting for 27.5% of the total Hmong American population in the same year. Due to the lack of specific Hmong population data in Wisconsin, proportion calculation results cannot be obtained. However, through the analysis of the Hmong population demographic of California and Minnesota, it can be seen that the proportion of Hmong populations in both states are similar. Hence, we can infer that the proportion of the Hmong population in Wisconsin remained largely similar and roughly in line with 18.4% in 2010. In other words, the Hmong population of those three states approximately accounted overall for 80% of the total Hmong American population in 2017. In the actual questionnaire survey, the vast majority of Hmong American respondents, 88%, are from California, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. As such, it can be seen that the answers in the questionnaire can reflect the cultural knowledge and responses of Hmong Americans, by using a smaller segment that demographically reflects the larger group.

5.2 Questionnaire Content and Its Analysis

The questionnaire itself played a key role in the first phase of the collection of Hmong culture and identity information. The information collection of the questionnaire is mainly divided into four sections, which are a demographic profile,

⁴⁷ U.S. Census Bureau, *SELECTED POPULATION PROFILE IN THE UNITED STATES, 2017 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates*, p. 1.

life status, identity awareness, and an opinion form. A sample of the English questionnaire can be found in APPENDIX I, while the Chinese questionnaire can be found in APPENDIX II. Both English and Chinese questionnaires were conducted anonymously. Each questionnaire section has its own unique purpose and mission.

5.2.1 Questionnaire Content

The demographic profile mainly collects the basic information of respondents, such as gender, age, educational background, religious beliefs, marital status, etc. The life status section collects information such as the place of birth, living area, and the occupation of those who answered the questionnaire, so as to confirm the identity of Hmong ethnicity and avoid members of other ethnic minorities from filling in the questionnaire by mistake. These contents are used to test the validity of the questionnaire, and have been analyzed in the content of the data acquisition and its effectiveness.

The identity awareness section is the most important component of this questionnaire, which aims to collect an individual's understanding of their ethnic identity from different perspectives. In one of the questions, the respondent is asked to list all of the beliefs, values, and customs of people in their community. This question is also the most crucial point of the freelists process. In this way, the surveyor can collect all of the information regarding Hmong culture and identity effectively. It is

worth noting that all the beliefs, values and customs here refer to the consensus of the whole ethnic group, which has been clearly stated in the corresponding question. The purpose of asking this question is to reflect an individual's cognition and understanding of their ethnic culture and group identity, rather than their self-definition. This is necessary as according to the social identity theory, certain group culture and identity classifications are predetermined. Cultural model theory also supports the analysis of the group's cultural consensus by examining the cultural knowledge of the majority. The differing self-identity of individuals is not included in the comparative category of this paper.

The fourth section of the questionnaire, the opinion form, is the preliminary preparation for the comparison of cultural models in the second phase. Admittedly, there are many variables that may affect ethnic culture and identity, and it is impossible to predict all of them comprehensively, but those obvious, or easily guessed variables can be noted in advance. This section is also my own research hypothesis, which is used to test whether the 14 elements, such as nationality, gender, age and more, will have an impact on cultural attributes and identity cognition. The method of answering is multi-dimensional quantification. The number assignments of 0 to 3 represent the responses of: not influential, slightly influential, influential, and strongly influential respectively. At the end of the questionnaire, all the opinions and suggestions about this study were collected accordingly. Any respondents were given maximum freedom to ask any question about the questionnaire itself or about the Hmong identity study.

5.2.2 Differences in Variable Comparisons

As mentioned above, the English questionnaire was sent through “Google Form”, while the Chinese questionnaire was sent through questionnaire Star. Since Google information dissemination is relatively free, the collection of the questionnaire was smooth. It is interesting to note that the distribution of the Chinese questionnaire encountered some difficulties. The use and registration of the questionnaire platform required a mobile phone number from mainland China, which is a barrier for overseas Chinese students and foreign scholars to use the Chinese network platform. Once this problem was solved, more problems arose in the form of Chinese government regulations.

After uploading the Chinese questionnaire, the website rejected some contents of the questionnaire, viewing them as sensitive topics. The Chinese version of the questionnaire was only able to be created once questions regarding the impact of Chinese Socialism upon the formation of cultural inheritance and identity amongst Hmong Chinese people were removed. This question aimed to compare whether living within a Democratic system of government would affect Hmong Americans’ cultural inheritance and identity cognition in the English questionnaire, so that the two sides could be contrasted. Ultimately, the question was forced to be deleted because of the sensitivity of the Chinese internet and related government regulations of certain keywords, regardless of the academic context. Hence, in the actual questionnaire

answers from the Hmong Chinese side, the variables in opinion form section only covered 13 corresponding elements. Here, scholars who are likely to use a Chinese online platform to collect relevant data are advised to choose this method carefully.

5.2.3 Analysis of Sex Ratio and Age Span

Before the results were analyzed, it was necessary to analyze the demographic information of respondents, both in the Hmong Chinese and Hmong American groups respectively. Of the 50 respondents of Hmong Chinese background, 54% were female and 46% are male, ranging from ages 18 to 58. In comparison, among the 52 respondents of Hmong Americans, 59.6% were female and 40.4% are male, ranging from ages 18 to 48. It reflects that there is no difference in gender ratio or age span among Hmong respondents in these two countries, the sample is comparative regarding other variables.

5.2.4 Analysis of Differences in Language Preference

There are two different phenomenons worth noting in these two seemingly similar groups: language preference, and religion. While the official language of a country indicates the language spoken in a public and academic setting, language preference in this instance refers to whether Hmong people prefer to speak Hmong, or another language at home.

From the results gathered, most Hmong Chinese, 64%, more frequently use the Hmong language at home, despite the widespread adoption of China's policy to standardize Mandarin throughout the country. In contrast, most Hmong Americans, 65.4%, are more accustomed to using English at home, rather than speaking a Hmong dialect. This may have something to do with the Hmong's education in the United States and the group's efforts to integrate into the English-speaking environment.

Overall, Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans have certain differences in language preference. This is not necessarily an indicator of a Hmong individual's ability to speak the Hmong language, but is rather an observation of language preference in the context of a family environment. The Hmong language ability of the respondents was not recorded in this questionnaire. Specific language ability will be recorded and compared in the second phase, during the cultural consensus analysis.

5.2.5 Analysis of Differences in Religious Beliefs

The second phenomenon of note here is the difference in religious belief. The traditional Hmong Chinese religion can be traced back to primitive religion, which includes nature worship, totem worship, ghost worship, and hero-worship (Yang, 1996). Hmong Chinese religion is polytheistic, which has no sects, and belief in numerous ghosts and gods. There are other concepts of Animism and of the Immortal Soul in the earliest seen developments of ancestor worship in this religion. Later, the

group would be exposed to Western Christianity, and due to the continuous influence, religious conversion occurred to some degree (Ma, 2000).

In the questionnaire, 78% of Hmong Chinese claim to not believe in any religion. Others stated that they believe in Christianity, Buddhism and other religions. Other scholars observed the loss of traditional religion amongst the Hmong Chinese, but this is somewhat explained by the fact the current Chinese government only acknowledges Taoism, Buddhism, Catholicism, Protestantism and Islam as official religions. The Hmong Chinese traditional religion is considered too small in scale to be recognized by the National Government. In the identity awareness section, it was observed that the Hmong Chinese tend to classify their primitive religions or beliefs into a larger cultural category. This was also supported through the Hmong Chinese opinion form, where half of the Hmong Chinese stated their belief that religious beliefs have no influence over their cultural inheritance and identity cognition, and 20% believe it to only have a slight influence. It is conceivable that relevant policies of modern society and the government has exerted a strong influence over the Hmong Chinese primitive religious belief.

As for Hmong American, however, 43.15% of them answered that they believed in Christianity. Although the questionnaire divides Christianity into Catholicism and Protestantism, many respondents claim to believe in Christianity. According to scholar Peter Laurence, the four largest branches of Christianity are the Catholic Church (1.3 billion/50.1%), Protestantism (920 million/36.7%), The Eastern Orthodox Church (260

million) and Oriental Orthodoxy (86 million/combined 11.9%), (Laurence, 2018). For brevity, all these associated religious sects will be referred to as Christianity. 35.35% of them answered that they believed in Shamanism, and some other members believed in United Methodist and Veganism. While Veganism is not typically recognized as a religion, the respondents' different definitions are respected here.

According to statistics, by 2019, 65% of Americans identify as Christians, which is still a high percentage.⁴⁸ While the percentage of Christians amongst Hmong Americans is lower than the national United States average, living in such a largely Christian country would cause much exposure to Christians, which may explain why the majority of Hmong Americans have taken up Christianity.

Nevertheless, those members of Hmong American who believe in Shamanism should not be ignored, because this religion is closely related to the traditional beliefs of the Hmong Chinese. Shamanism is a practice that involves a practitioner reaching altered states of consciousness in order to perceive and interact with what they believe to be a spirit world, and to channel these transcendental energies into this world (Singh, 2017). This religion is mainly distributed in North Asia, and before the introduction of foreign religions, Shamanism was also the common belief of various ethnic groups in North China. The theory of Shamanism is also based on animism, which holds that all

⁴⁸ In the U.S., The Decline of Christianity Continues at a Rapid Pace, Pew Research Center, 2019.

kinds of things in the world have souls.⁴⁹ This is closely related to the polytheism believed by the Hmong Chinese and the worship of nature, totems, the soul, and more. Even though Hmong Chinese do not claim their belief as Shamanism due to the change of national policies and their social environment, the animism they recognize in the traditional belief is similar to the Shamanism claimed by Hmong Americans.

In addition, history shows that Northern China had a large number of Shamanistic believers. Previous chapters have explained that Hmong ethnic groups were defeated by the Han people, causing their migration to the Southern regions. This ancient Shamanism was likely practiced by the Hmong's ancestors, and eventually spread to the United States through the migration of the Hmong people. Although there is not definite evidence to support the above conjecture, it is certain that Hmong Americans received the impact of western Christianity after emigrating to the United States. A considerable proportion of Hmong American members chose to give up their original faith in this new environment, converting to Christianity instead. Some members continued to believe in their traditional practices, while the other 17.3% have renounced all religious beliefs and become atheists.

In conclusion, the Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans have some differences in religious beliefs. The Hmong Chinese's majority of no religious beliefs contrasts strongly with the Hmong Americans' rise in Christianity. In spite of this, the Hmong

⁴⁹ Baidu Article on sà mǎn jiào <https://baike.baidu.com/item/萨满教/2662884?fr=aladdin> (assessed on October 20th, 2019)

Chinese traditional belief in the worship of nature, totems, and ghosts, still has a subtle and ancient connection with the Shamanism of some Hmong Americans.

5.2.6 Analysis of Identity Awareness

After analyzing the differences between language preference and religious beliefs, the analysis of identity awareness in Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans will be interpreted in this chapter. Although living in different locations across the entire Pacific Ocean, and with a vastly different political system and social environment, the Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans are very similar in terms of the time frame during which they first realize their ethnic identity.

After analyzing the word frequency of responses to the question “When did you realize you were Hmong”, it can be seen that both Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans reported of learning their ethnic identity at a very young age. Most of the respondents claimed to be aware of their ethnic identity between the ages of five and seven, or in elementary school. Hence, it can be understood that a person’s childhood plays a key role in the process of identity awareness.

In addition, the questionnaire data also shows that Hmong Americans’ birthplace and upbringing has many complications than those of the Hmong Chinese. Almost all of the Hmong Chinese respondents were born and raised in China, while 25% of Hmong Americans were not born in the United States, but rather in Thailand, Laos,

France, and other countries. Nevertheless, when asked what made them realize their Hmong ethnic identity, most of the answers given by Hmong Americans are the same as those given by the Hmong Chinese, with reasons including parental explanation, the language environment, and the unique Hmong clothing. The reasons from the family background are further confirmed in the opinion form of questionnaire section four. In this, 59.6% of Hmong Americans stated they believe that family background has a “strong influence” on their cultural inheritance and identity cognition, with the other 30.8% of them believing it was at least an “influence”. Correspondingly, 46% of Hmong Chinese also believe that family background is “strongly influential” to their cultural inheritance and identity cognition, with the other 30% believing it is “influential”.

The two groups, however, also have certain differences regarding what made them realize they were Hmong. Hmong Americans answered that they were aware of their Hmong ethnic identity from the food their families ate, as well as their “Asian race” appearance. These responses are not reflected among Hmong Chinese members. Unsurprisingly, in a land as vast as Mainland China, food diversity has made people less aware of the ethnic origins and cultural values of their food choices. In contrast with the United States, despite the existence of Chinatown, Asian food has a strong “Oriental label” throughout society. However, in the context of specifically Hmong dishes, the distinct flavor profile and relatively similar style of dishes throughout the culture means that Hmong cuisine is identifiably different from the broader label of

“Asian cuisine”. Hmong cuisine is typically notable for having a distinct spicy and sour flavor profile across the majority of their dishes. This contrasts with the broader Chinese cuisine tastes, which incorporate more spices and a typically more diverse range of food. Furthermore, the differences in facial features are also understandable. Although the United States has a very large number of ethnic groups, Asian Americans as a “minority group” are often overlooked⁵⁰, with Hmong Americans definitely being one such group. One respondent even used the expression “we are a minority even among other minority groups” to describe the uniqueness of Hmong Americans.

According to relevant data, in 2017, Asian Americans comprised only 5.6% of the U.S. population. If we include multiracial Asian Americans, that percentage increases to 6.9%.⁵¹ As such, the relative sparseness of Asians in the general American population means that their physical racial features are recognizable in their society, and this extends to Hmong Americans. Some Hmong respondents mentioned cited the reason behind their perceived differences as including, “color skin, eyes, hair”, “seeing the physical differences between my Hmong peers, other peers, and myself”, “the differences between my American friends and I”, and “the slight hints of racial

⁵⁰ Evidence suggests that Asian Americans, who represent about 6% of the U.S. population, are frequently denied leadership opportunities (The Illusion of Asian Success, Ascend, 2017). For instance, many scientific grantmaking agencies do not consider Asian Americans an at-risk group, says psychologist Vivian Tseng, PhD, the senior vice president of grantmaking programs at the William T. Grant Foundation (Countering stereotypes about Asian Americans, Zara Greenbaum, 2019).

⁵¹ “Asian Alone or in Any Combination by Selected Groups”, United States Census Bureau. P. 2017 American Community Survey 1 - Year Estimates. Retrieved December 11, 2018.

stereotypes”. Many Americans may not be able to tell the differences between Hmong people and other Asian people, but their “Asian characteristics” are still recognizable. Therefore, the identity attribute consciousness caused by appearance or facial features is very intuitive, to a certain extent. On the contrary, Hmong people in China do not feel differences in their ethnic attributes due to their appearance. The facial features of different ethnic groups are quite similar to the Han Chinese, except for several ethnic groups in certain areas that have very recognizable ethnic features, such as the Xinjiang Uyghur, and Tibetans, among others. It is broadly quite difficult for an average person to identify different ethnic types just from a person’s facial features.

Compared with Hmong Americans, the Hmong Chinese have another unique opportunity to realize their ethnic identity, which is reading the Household Register Under Supervision of The Ministry of Public Security of P.R.C, as well as the People's Republic of China Resident Identity Card. On these mandatory documents, if they are members of ethnic minorities, their documents will have specific ethnic markers to denote this. Many Hmong Chinese respondents answered that they learned their ethnicity from these official printed documents. Unlike China, there is no “Household Registration System” in the United States. The identity documents of American citizens, including Social Security Card, State-Issued Driver’s License, and passport, are not marked with a specific ethnicity. Therefore, Hmong Americans who participated in the questionnaire survey did not mention learning about their ethnic identity through the above documents.

5.3 Freelist Results

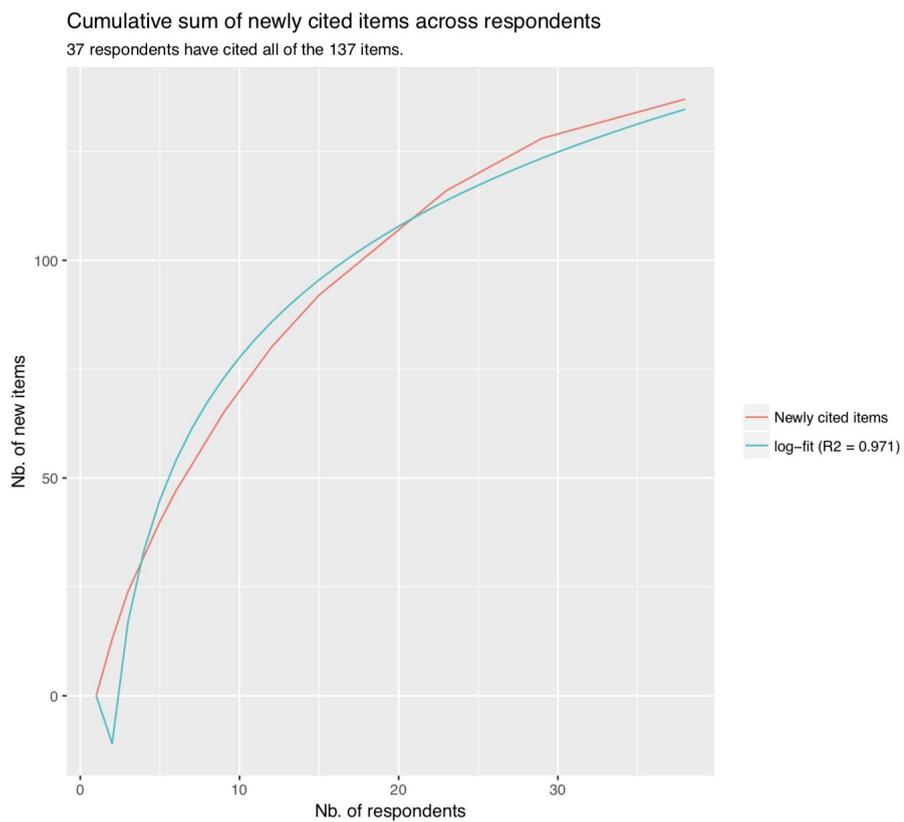
After the preliminary analysis of the questionnaire contents, the first phase of my research came to the freelist results, arguably the most important section of the research analysis. This is also the premise and foundation of the analysis of Hmong Chinese and Hmong American cultural models. As mentioned earlier, the exact statistics and analysis were calculated using FLAME and FLARES software.

50 respondents of Hmong Chinese background and 52 respondents of Hmong American background respectively provided the keywords that they associate with the beliefs, values, and customs in their own ethnic community. The Hmong Chinese respondents provided 223 keywords, while Hmong American respondents provided 309 keywords. Due to the relative independence of vocabulary selection of each respondent, the final results of keywords are repetitive, to a certain extent. Some of these keywords have different wording, but the actual meaning is the same. For example, some respondents used “Shaman” to express their original beliefs, while others used “Shamanism”. These two words, however, are identified as two separate items by the FLAME software. After the keyword optimization, a more accurate keyword list was curated, leaving a final list of 137 effective keywords from Hmong Chinese, and 133 words from Hmong Americans. Coincidentally, although there is a certain difference in the number of keywords between Hmong Chinese and Hmong

Americans in their original keyword lists, the final number of keywords between the two groups shows a surprising unity after the vocabulary lists were refined.

5.3.1 Hmong Chinese Freelist Results

Figure 1: Hmong Chinese Data Saturation



In addition to the complexity of language expression, it is also necessary to discuss whether the number of respondents in the questionnaire is sufficient to answer questions about the broader Hmong ethnic culture and communities. In the first phase,

ethnic group's awareness of different cultural connotations, and the rate at which awareness of these connotations is expressed. As can be observed in Figure 2, the frequency of mentions of all keywords varied, from arising only once, to being mentioned eighteen separate times. Among these, most keywords were mentioned in a relatively low frequency, and a smaller number of keywords were mentioned in a relatively high frequency. Keywords that have been mentioned twice or less account for the majority of responses, while those that have been mentioned three times or more account for the minority. These few cultural keywords that have been mentioned many times are the core of cultural model analysis, and also the most important basis for analyzing cultural identity.

Since the questionnaire of ethnic cultural information collection for the Hmong Chinese is in Mandarin and all the answers are in Mandarin as well, the high-frequency Mandarin keywords have been translated into English. Language translation is a complex subject, especially when it comes to a specific culture and professional field. Thus, the importance of vocabulary selection is crucial in this particular context.

Table 1: Hmong Chinese High-Frequency Keywords List

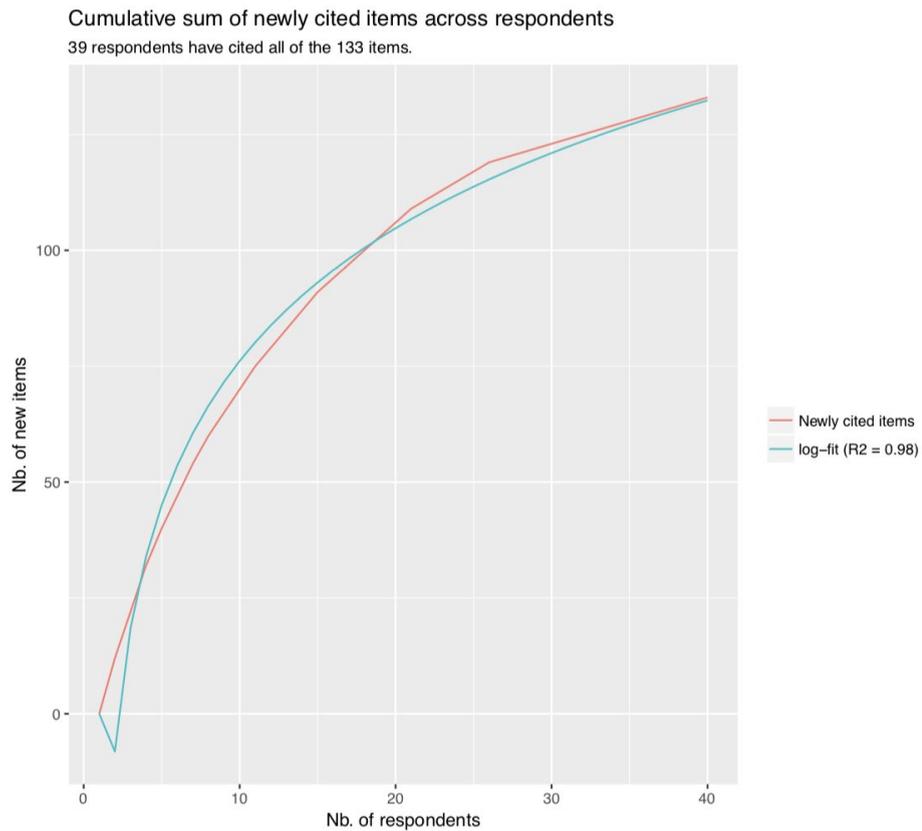
Cited Items	Translation	Freq.cit	Freq.cit.rel
苗族服饰	Hmong Clothes	18	0.36
苗歌	Hmong Songs	17	0.34
芦笙	Lusheng (Qeej)	12	0.24
银饰	Silver Jewelry	12	0.24
苗语	Hmong Language	11	0.22
团结	Solidarity	6	0.12
好客	Hospitality	6	0.12
热情	Enthusiasm	6	0.12
苗鼓	Hmong Drum	6	0.12
四月八	April 8th	5	0.1
斗牛	Bullfighting	5	0.1
祭祖	Ancestor Worship	5	0.1
刺绣	Embroidery	4	0.08
大方	Generosity	4	0.08
祖先崇拜	Ancestor Veneration	4	0.08
米酒	Rice Wine	4	0.08
蚩尤	Chi You (Cuaj Li Ntuj)	4	0.08
豪爽	Being Straightforward	4	0.08
上刀山	Climbing a Ladder of Knives	3	0.06
六月六	June 6th	3	0.06
龙舟	Dragon Boats	3	0.06
哭嫁	Wedding Lament	3	0.06
巫术	Witchcraft	3	0.06
朴素	Simplicity	3	0.06
板凳舞	Bench Dance	3	0.06
舞狮	Lion Dance	3	0.06
赶秋节	“Gan Qiu” Festival	3	0.06
重义	Value Personal Loyalty	3	0.06

Table 1 contains all the high-frequency keywords that were mentioned by the Hmong Chinese respondents. “Cited Items” refers to Hmong Chinese cultural keywords. “Freq.cit” refers to how often that one keyword is mentioned. “Freq.cit.rel” refers to the percentage of times that specific keyword was mentioned.

As the list above shows, the few cultural keywords that the Hmong Chinese mention three times or more have been listed. These keywords involve the majority of aspects of Hmong Chinese culture, including clothing culture, traditional festivals, the perceived virtues of Hmong people, and more. In other words, what these keywords involve is the common cultural beliefs, values, and customs highly recognized by the surveyed people in Hmong Chinese. Some of those Hmong musical instruments and traditional festivals also have different expressions in the spoken language of Hmong people. The keywords shown to respondents regarding these words in the above list were a more direct translation, for the sake of clarity. Keywords mentioned twice and below are not included in the table above, but that does not mean they are not important from a research perspective. In the second phase, some low-frequency words have been selected due to the fact that they appeared in both the Chinese and American responses, in order to help draw connections between the two groups.

5.3.2 Hmong American Freelist Results

Figure 3: Hmong American Data Saturation



Compared with the Hmong Chinese, 52 Hmong Americans participated in the questionnaire survey. According to FLARES's calculations, Figure 3 shows that 39 respondents gave 133 keywords concerning Hmong American culture. After the first 39 respondents, no more unique keywords were obtained, only duplications of earlier responses. That is to say, 39 respondents answered all the cultural keywords Hmong

Hmong American cultural model and their cultural identity. Keywords that are mentioned once or twice, however, will still be reviewed to a certain extent.

Also, as the online questionnaire provided to Hmong American is in English, most of their answers are directly recorded without translation. In some instances during the free-form responses, some answers were so long and detailed that they had to be manually summarized, for the sake of extracting keywords. In addition, some Hmong Americans answered their ethnic musical instruments and specific cultural tradition in the Hmong language, which will be further discussed at the end of this chapter.

Table 2: Hmong American High-Frequency Keywords List

Cited Items	Freq.cit	Freq.cit.rel
Family	26	0.5
Hmong Language	21	0.404
Shamanism	21	0.404
Hmong Clothes	18	0.346
Respecting Elders	17	0.327
Marriage Custom	13	0.25
Hmong New Year	11	0.212
Hmong Clans	10	0.192
Hmong Food	10	0.192
Community	9	0.173
Spirituality	8	0.154
Funerals	7	0.135
Ancestor Veneration	6	0.115
Respect	6	0.115
Sexism	6	0.115
Religion	5	0.096
Dutiful Daughter	4	0.077
Gender Roles	4	0.077
Reincarnation	4	0.077
Reputation	4	0.077
Christianity	3	0.058
Hmong Gatherings	3	0.058
Hmong Rules	3	0.058
Hmong Songs	3	0.058
Honor	3	0.058
Importance of Education	3	0.058
Pride	3	0.058
Qeej	3	0.058

In Table 2, all of the high-frequency keywords mentioned by Hmong Americans are listed, which have been mentioned at least three times. “Cited Items” refers to Hmong American cultural keywords. “Freq.cit” refers to how often that one keyword is mentioned. “Freq.cit.rel” refers to the percentage of that specific mentioned keyword.

Hmong Americans’ high recognition of certain cultural keywords is obvious. These words also cover many aspects of the Hmong American cultural background, such as family, language, traditional religion, etc. There are also keywords in the above table that we should pay special attention to. For example, Qeej is the Laotian RPA (Romanized Popular Alphabet) Hmong language⁵², which means a Hmong ethnic musical instrument. In Mandarin, Qeej is also expressed as Lusheng (芦笙), which corresponds to the third keyword in the Hmong Chinese high-frequency keywords list.

5.4 Phase I Conclusions

In general, according to FLARE’s calculations, Figure 1 and Figure 3 show that respondents from both Hmong Chinese and Hmong American backgrounds provided valid keyword information, and both result sets were saturated with cultural keywords. In both cases, the keywords were ordered from high to low-frequency mentions. In the

⁵² “The Romanized Popular Alphabet (RPA) or Hmong RPA (also Roman Popular Alphabet), is a system of romanization for the various dialects of the Hmong language. Created in Laos between 1951 and 1953 by a group of missionaries and Hmong advisers, it has gone on to become the most widespread system for writing the Hmong language in the West. It is also used in Southeast Asia and China alongside other writing systems” refers to Smalley, Vang & Yang (1990:151–154).

cultural model analysis, not all keywords are reanalyzed, but the keywords that are mentioned frequently by the cultural group are focused on. It can be observed from Figure 2 and Figure 4 that the frequency of keyword mentions on both sides decreases sharply at or below two times. Hence, the dividing line between important words and relatively less-important words can be seen as whether the words were mentioned twice or more. The keywords mentioned three times or more were extracted and arranged to form the lists of Table 1 and Table 2. Other cultural keywords mentioned either twice or once, are listed for reference. In the above two tables, high-frequency cultural keywords appear in very clear and ordered groups, and these keywords will also become the specific objects utilized in the second phase of the Hmong Chinese and Hmong American cultural model analysis.

Surprisingly, the number of high-frequency cultural keywords shared by both the Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans is 28. Many of these keywords are directly corresponding, such as Hmong clothes, Hmong language, ancestor worship, Hmong songs, Qeej, and more. In addition to the similarities between the two groups, the keyword differences they described were also notable. When Hmong Chinese are asked about the customs of the Hmong ethnic group, the keywords they answered tended to be more specific, such as bullfighting⁵³, bench dance⁵⁴ and more. However,

⁵³ Bullfighting festival is a traditional Hmong folk activity, and it is called “Oriental Bullfighting”. The bullfight of the Hmong people is different from the bullfight of other nationalities, as the bullfight of the Hmong people is the relic of the bull totem worship.

⁵⁴ Hmong bench dance is mainly spread in Kaili city and surrounding areas of Qiandongnan prefecture, Guizhou province. The spread of bench dance of Hmong people is of a long history

the Hmong American customs mentioned included comparatively abstract behavioral answers, such as respecting elders and funeral culture.

Although both questionnaire sets in English and Mandarin respectively were required to give their responses to the same set of listed beliefs, values, and customs, there likely is some slight degree to which the results may have been impacted by language differences. However, this does not minimize the differences between the two cultural groups in their understanding of this question, it simply emphasizes the differences in the way language may shape responses. An example of this can be seen in that Hmong Americans' responses to the Hmong's traditional costumes were typically significantly less specific than the responses given by the Hmong Chinese. Several of the keyword concepts listed by the Hmong Americans overlapped with those listed by the Hmong Chinese. An example of this is the response "Hmong gathering", which can include a variety of Hmong traditional festivals, which may be related to the dates June 6th and April 8th that mentioned by the Hmong Chinese. As such, in the second phase, when subjects of both ethnic groups are asked to confirm the importance of certain keywords, grouped answers that may inherently be overlapping are specifically recorded.

After the first phase of the freelist results were finalized, both sides of the cultural keywords had been strictly screened. According to the answers from both groups, it is

and its generation history is lack of records. Most Hmong people believe that bench dance, like Lusheng (Qeej) dance, originated in the primitive society of slash-and-burn cultivation.

observable that the Hmong Chinese and Hmong American's freelist results have certain similarities between them. This is indicative of an absolute link between the beliefs, values, and customs held by both ethnic groups. The connection between the two ethnic groups in cognition of their cultural knowledge is directly contrary to the academic views that the Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans have deviated to the extent of existing now as two entirely separate groups.

Although as mentioned above, the cultural attributes and group identity of the Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans cannot be considered identical. The degree to which these two groups match their cognitive identities needs to be further elaborated through the cultural model analysis in the second phase.

Chapter VI. Analysis of Cultural Models and Phase II Questionnaire

The second phase is to collect opinions on the importance of the keywords collected from Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans. The importance of different keywords constitutes the cultural model of a cultural group, while the cultural consensus of different groups can be analyzed by comparing cultural models. These research methods are utilized extensively in several fields of study, and the theoretical basis can be found in many papers written by anthropologists.

Anthropologists Romney, Weller, and Batchelder (1986) described the method of cultural consensus analysis in their paper “Culture as Consensus: A Theory of Culture and Information Accuracy”. They argue that culture — understood as a set of information shared and distributed among a group of people — can be measured and evaluated using this analysis. In other words, an individual’s understanding of his or her group’s culture can be measured by comparing an individual’s responses to a survey or questionnaire with the responses of every other participant in a sample group (Romney et al., 1986). In the multiple-choice questionnaire, the best choice is to set four different options, or four different degrees (Bernard, 2011).

According to Romney, Weller, and Batchelder (1986), if the ratio of the eigenvalues⁵⁵ of the first and second factor of a cultural consensus analysis is greater

⁵⁵ Eigenvalues describe the amount of variation encompassed by a given factor. A factor is the underlying pattern that organizes responses (which using Cultural Consensus Analysis, is culture in the first factor and Residual Agreement in the second factor). It is basically a descriptive number that results from factor analysis.

than or equal to 3:1, there is a “cultural consensus.” This indicates that people in that group tended to respond to the questionnaire or survey in generally the same ways, implying that they are drawing from a shared cultural model to reach those answers. On the other hand, if the eigenvalue ratio is less than 3:1, it indicates that people tend to respond in different ways to the questionnaire or survey, suggesting either that there is no cultural model on that topic, or that there are multiple cultural models within the same sample (Dressler et al., 2015). All the eigenvalues are calculated through ANTHROPAC, a menu-driven DOS (Disk Operating System) intended for the collection and analysis of cultural data. This program helps collect and analyze structured qualitative and quantitative data, including pilesorts, triads, paired comparisons, and ratings. ANTHROPAC’s analytical tools include anthropological techniques, such as consensus analysis, as well as standard multivariate tools such as multiple regression, factor analysis, cluster analysis, multidimensional scaling, and correspondence analysis (Borgatti, 1996).

6.1 Selections of Cultural Keywords

The contents of the second phase of the questionnaire are mainly based on the high-frequency keyword lists of the first phase. They are clearly recorded in Table 1 and Table 2 of Chapter 5. Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans have 28 high-frequency keywords on their respective sides. Some of these keywords are shared

between the two cultural groups, so the final high-frequency keyword list is made up of 45 individual cultural keywords, or elements. In addition, low-frequency keywords of the two cultural groups for specific cultural beliefs, values, and customs are also relatively important. Although these were mentioned only once or twice in the original questionnaire in the first phase, they also play an important role in identifying different cultural identities. As a result, 15 low-frequency keywords about Hmong ethnic customs were filtered into the key cultural elements as well, such as “animal sacrifices”. This left a total of 60 cultural keywords as the final established basis of this cultural consensus analysis. Their order is shown in the following table:

Table 3: Elements of Cultural Consensus Analysis

Serial Number	Key Cultural Element	Frequency
1	Wearing Hmong Clothes	High
2	Hmong Songs	High
3	Qeej	High
4	Wearing Silver Jewelry	High
5	Speaking the Hmong Language	High
6	The concept of helping people in the same community	High
7	Hospitality	High
8	Enthusiasm	High
9	Hmong Drum	High
10	April 8th	High
11	Bullfighting	High
12	Embroidery	High
13	Generosity	High
14	Ancestor Veneration	High

15	Rice Wine	High
16	Cuaj Li Ntuj	High
17	Being Straightforward	High
18	Climbing a Ladder of Knives	High
19	June 6th	High
20	Dragon Boats	High
21	The Wedding Lament	High
22	Belief in Superstition and Witchcraft	High
23	Being Genuine and Unpretentious	High
24	Bench Dance	High
25	Lion Dance	High
26	Gan Qiu Festival	High
27	Personal Loyalty	High
28	Family	High
29	Shamanism	High
30	Respecting Elders	High
31	Hmong New Year	High
32	Hmong Clans	High
33	Hmong Food	High
34	Community	High
35	Beliefs and Practices regarding Spirits	High
36	Funeral rules and customs	High
37	Respecting nature and people	High
38	Being a Dutiful Daughter	High
39	Gender Roles	High
40	Reincarnation	High
41	A Person's Reputation	High
42	Christianity	High
43	Hmong Gatherings	High
44	Education	High
45	Pride in being Hmong	High
46	Animal Sacrifices	Low
47	Farming	Low
48	Herbal Remedies	Low
49	Leaf as a Musical Instrument	Low
50	The Worship of Nature	Low

51	Belief in ghosts and their powers	Low
52	Totem Worship	Low
53	Glutinous rice	Low
54	Run Away from Wedding	Low
55	Kidnapping Women	Low
56	People who have the same surname do not marry each other	Low
57	Finding a partner by singing love songs to each other	Low
58	Batik	Low
59	Oral History	Low
60	Belief in or interaction with Witches	Low

6.2 Questionnaire Structure and Its Analysis

After determining all of the key cultural elements, the second questionnaire is mainly to collect the opinions of the two ethnic groups based on the above 60 elements. The second questionnaire is mainly divided into four sections, including a demographic profile, ethnic culture, individual opinion, and cultural practices. The English version of the second questionnaire can be found in APPENDIX III, while the Chinese version of the second questionnaire can be found in APPENDIX IV. The structure and content of both versions are consistent across translation.

The content of the demographic profile section is roughly the same as that of the first questionnaire, which is mainly used to collect the basic information of respondents. Due to the omission of detailed questions about life status and identity awareness in the second questionnaire, a question was added to confirm the respondents' self-identity, so as to distinguish whether the respondent identifies as

Hmong or not. In addition, according to the feedback of the first questionnaire, the setting of religious beliefs has also been adjusted accordingly. Different branches of Christianity are collectively referred to as “Christianity” in the English version, and the option of “Shamanism” is also added respectively.

The collection method of the second phase questionnaire was the same as that of the first phase questionnaire, which is to contact people through social media software, and then collect different answers through the third-party platform. This third-party platform refers to the previously mentioned Google form, and “Questionnaire Star”. Many respondents also shared the questionnaire link with their family members and friends, to diversify the age range of participants in the survey. Some of the undereducated respondents, or those with dyslexia, completed the questionnaire with the help of their children.

According to the demographic profile section, the valid total number of Hmong respondents in the second phase is 132, among which 69 are Hmong Chinese and 63 are Hmong Americans, who come from major states of the United States and provinces of Mainland China. Both the geographical scope and the number of people of respondents have been expanded based on the first phase, in order to ensure that the data provided by both sides can be as saturated as those seen during the first phase. Additionally, within the second questionnaire, the age range of Hmong American respondents is between 14 years old to 52 years old. Among them, female respondents accounted for 61.9%, while male respondents accounted for 38.1%. The age span of

Hmong Chinese respondents is 18 to 58, which is similar to Hmong American, allowing for responses from several generations. Hmong Chinese female respondents accounted for 68.1%, while male respondents accounted for 31.9%. The gender ratio of the two sides is very similar, which allows for accurate parallels to be drawn.

In addition to the demographic profile section, the question settings of the other three sections have their own functions as well. The ethnic culture section aims to understand the importance of the 60 key cultural elements at a group level. The importance option is also set a standardized four dimensions, which are “not important”, “slightly important”, “important”, and “very important”. This section is also an important data source for cultural consensus analysis, which can finally identify the relationship between the Hmong Chinese and Hmong American cultural models.

The individual opinion section examines the connections of Hmong culture from the perspective of the respondent at an individual level, in order to account for unique experiences such as those rooted in gender, which other individuals in the same group would not experience. Although the cultural consensus analysis in this paper focuses on the ethnic group level, views and opinions at the individual level are also used for observation and reference. By comparing the differences between respondents' individual opinions and those held by the wider attitude of their communities, the trend of cultural transformation and cultural continuity can be understood. Finally, the cultural practices section aims to discover the obstacles faced by Hmong cultural inheritance in both countries, with the goal of analyzing specific problems in hopes of

providing possible solutions. This may provide some reference for future policymaking, which is also one of the purposes of this study. A detailed breakdown of these three sections will be presented in detail in the following paragraphs.

6.3 Code Book

In the process of cultural consensus analysis, the digital processing of original data is essential. In the second phase questionnaire, with the exception of the cultural practices section, all answers were changed from words to numbers. Ultimately, the corresponding digital information is synthetically analyzed by ANTHROPAC's program. The data record of this transformation is called the codebook.

In Table 4, "variable" refers to the objects of raw data in the second phase questionnaire. Code refers to the number of the digitization of the original data, which is also the code for running and calculating inside the ANTHROPAC program. The specific codes are listed as below:

Table 4: Code Book

Variable	Code
Male	0
Female	1
Hmong Chinese	1
Hmong American	2
Yes	1
No	0
Very Important	3
Important	2
Slightly Important	1
Not Important	0
Very Limited	3
Hmong Language	1
National Official Language	2
Other Language	3
High School Diploma	1
Bachelor's Degree	2
Master's Degree	3
Doctor's Degree	4
Did not graduate from high school	0
Christianity	1
Buddhism	2
Islam	3
Taoism	4
Other Religion	5
No Religion	0
Shamanism	6
Never Married	1
Married	2
Widowed	3
Divorced	4
Separated	5

6.4 Cultural Consensus Analysis Results

The previous section mentioned that cultural consensus analysis is an important methodological tool in this paper. Here, three important sets of values should be explained, with regard to the cultural consensus method. These include the cultural competency coefficient, the residual agreement coefficient, and the cultural answer key. The cultural competence coefficient and the residual agreement coefficient are determined by the way in which the respondents' answers are consistent with the cultural key.

The cultural competence coefficient describes the extent of a respondent's knowledge regarding their cultural community, while the residual agreement coefficient describes how a respondent's answers deviate from the cultural answer key. The cultural answer key refers to the average cognition of specific groups regarding key cultural elements. This group-level cognition is the benchmark of the cultural answer key.

When cultural competence coefficients and residual coefficients are used to draw graphs, patterns of "agreement in disagreement" can be shown. This means that in a particular cultural group, individuals may deviate from the cultural answer key because of their different perspectives and perceptions. These deviations are known as residual agreements (Dressler et al., 2015). The comprehensive analysis of these three values ultimately reflects the cultural understanding of different respondents.

In this chapter, the answers of the 132 Hmong respondents are all digitally translated in accordance with the codebook, and all coefficients are accurately calculated by the ANTHROPAC program. The cultural coefficient, the residual agreement coefficient, and the cultural answer key of Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans were all answered. Due to the large number of samples, the specific calculation process will not be deduced in this paper, while calculation results will be presented in the following paragraphs through the SPSS⁵⁶ quantitative drawing.

Table 5: The Cultural Answer Key List

Code Number	Key Cultural Element	Cultural Answer Key
A1	Wearing Hmong Clothes	2.36
A2	Hmong Songs	2.23
A3	Qeej	2.26
A4	Wearing Silver Jewelry	2.24
A5	Speaking the Hmong Language	2.72
A6	The concept of helping people in the same community	2.59
A7	Hospitality	2.57
A8	Enthusiasm	2.1
A9	Hmong Drum	2.28
A10	April 8th	1.45
A11	Bullfighting	1.14
A12	Embroidery	2.52
A13	Generosity	2.36
A14	Ancestor Veneration	2.48

⁵⁶ The full name of “SPSS” is Statistical Product and Service Solutions, which is the general name for a series of software products and related services launched by IBM for Statistical analysis operations, data mining, predictive analysis, and decision support tasks.

A15	Rice Wine	1.58
A16	Cuaj Li Ntuj	1.61
A17	Being Straightforward	1.69
A18	Climbing a Ladder of Knives	1.32
A19	June 6th	1.23
A20	Dragon Boats	1.42
A21	The Wedding Lament	1.54
A22	Belief in Superstition and Witchcraft	1.42
A23	Being Genuine and Unpretentious	2.12
A24	Bench Dance	1.55
A25	Lion Dance	1.16
A26	Gan Qiu Festival	1.45
A27	Personal Loyalty	2.16
A28	Family	2.78
A29	Shamanism	1.43
A30	Respecting Elders	2.83
A31	Hmong New Year	2.45
A32	Hmong Clans	2.45
A33	Hmong Food	2.33
A34	Community	2.54
A35	Beliefs and Practices regarding Spirits	2.09
A36	Funeral rules and customs	2.41
A37	Respecting nature and people	2.35
A38	Being a Dutiful Daughter	2.42
A39	Gender Roles	1.47
A40	Reincarnation	1.21
A41	A Person's Reputation	2.49
A42	Christianity	0.77
A43	Hmong Gatherings	2.28
A44	Education	2.53
A45	Pride in being Hmong	2.46
A46	Animal Sacrifices	1.54
A47	Farming	2.11
A48	Herbal Remedies	2.07
A49	Leaf as a Musical Instrument	1.46
A50	The Worship of Nature	1.39

A51	Belief in ghosts and their powers	1.41
A52	Totem Worship	1.02
A53	Glutinous rice	1.81
A54	Run Away from Wedding	0.93
A55	Kidnapping Women	0.58
A56	People who have the same surname do not marry each other	2.12
A57	Finding a partner by singing love songs to each other	1.14
A58	Batik	1.28
A59	Oral History	2.27
A60	Belief in or interaction with Witches	0.81

Table 5 lists the corresponding cultural answer keys of 60 key cultural elements. The code number refers to the markers that represent each corresponding key cultural element in the ANTHROPAC program. The cultural answer key represents the comprehensive average value of the importance of the second phase questionnaire's key cultural elements, as rated by the 132 Hmong respondents. According to Table 4, the codes of importance vary from 0 to 3, representing: not important, slightly important, important, and very important. Hence, the closer the cultural answer key of a particular element is to 3, the more important that element is in the group cognition of the 132 Hmong respondents. Conversely, if the cultural answer key of a particular element is closer to 0, the importance of that element is notably lower.

Figure 5: Residual Agreement Coefficients vs Cultural Competence Coefficients

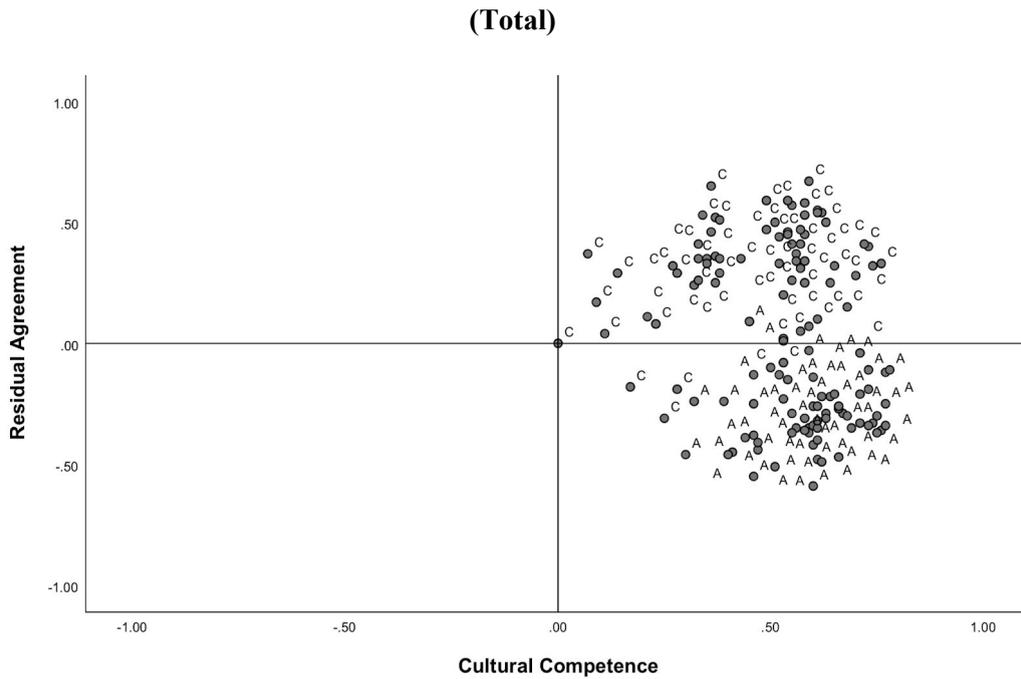


Figure 5 shows the patterns of agreement on the X-axis (how closely Hmong respondents' answers matched the cultural answer key), against the patterns of disagreement on the Y-axis (how Hmong respondents' answers deviated from the cultural answer key). Each dot represents a Hmong respondent. Among these 132 Hmong respondents, the dots marked "C" represent Hmong Chinese, while the dots marked "A" represent Hmong Americans.

Based on the cultural consensus analysis of 132 questionnaires of Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans, the ratio of the eigenvalues is 2.437:1. Hence, despite both groups identifying as "Hmong" cultural consensus analysis did not find a shared model

of Hmong cultural identity in the sample. While there is certainly some overlap, it did not meet the 3:1 threshold conventionally used as the standard when following Romney, Weller, and Batchelder's logic (1986). In other words, Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans can no longer be regarded as the same cultural ethnicity from the current level of cultural consensus. Despite the comparison of the two coefficients of cultural competence and residual agreement showing some areas of shared culture amongst the 132 respondents, in the broader context of the whole sample, Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans fail to reach a unified standard of a cultural model.

Table 6: Residual Agreement vs Nationality Correlation

Items	Category	Residual Agreement	Nationality
Residual Agreement	Pearson Correlation	1	-.865**
	Significance (both sides)		.000
	Sample N	132	132
Nationality	Pearson Correlation	-.865**	1
	Significance (both sides)	.000	
	Sample N	132	132
** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (both sides).			

Table 6 shows the residual agreement and nationality correlation reported in SPSS (Statistical Product and Service Solutions). The results showed that “a pearson correlation between nationality and residual agreement suggests that variation in the sample beyond cultural consensus is related to the nation in which Hmong people currently reside (Pearson’s $r = -0.865$, $p < 0.001$).” In the 132 sample units, the nationality of the respondent largely affects his or her perceptions of the Hmong cultural beliefs, values, and customs. In other words, geographical differences have caused a large rift between Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans ethnic ideology.

Table 7: Multiple Correlation Reference Values

Items	Category	Age	Gender	EL	CC	RA
Age	PC	1	-.154	.035	-.042	.479**
	S		.077	.688	.629	.000
	Sample N	132	132	132	132	132
Gender	PC	-.154	1	-.182*	-.151	.032
	S	0.77		.037	.084	.718
	Sample N	132	132	132	132	132
EL	PC	.035	-.182*	1	.282**	-.240**
	S	.688	.037		.001	.006
	Sample N	132	132	132	132	132
CC	PC	-.042	-.151	.282**	1	-.221*
	S	.629	.084	.001		.011
	Sample N	132	132	132	132	132
RA	PC	.479**	.032	-.240**	-.221*	1
	S	.000	.718	.006	.011	
	Sample N	132	132	132	132	132
<p>** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (both sides); * . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (both sides); “EL” refers to “Educational Level”; “CC” refers to “Cultural Competence”; “RA” refers to “Residual Agreement”; “PC” refers to “Pearson Correlation”; “S” refers to “Significance (both sides)”.</p>						

Table 7 shows the correlation of values regarding age, gender, educational level, cultural competence, and residual agreement reported in SPSS. Specific results are as follows:

- 1) There is a Pearson correlation between age and residual agreement (Pearson's $r = 0.479$, $p < 0.001$). This indicates that the age difference among the 132 respondents affects the agreement between individual responses and the cultural answer key. In other words, the degree to which Hmong culture is understood varies at different ages. This reflects the "generation gap in the cultural inheritance of the Hmong culture" mentioned later by Hmong respondents during the in-depth interview, with this specific content referring to 6.7.2. When other influencing variables are the same, older Hmong individuals have a higher understanding of the Hmong culture, while younger individuals have a lower understanding.
- 2) There is a Pearson correlation between gender and educational level (Pearson's $r = -0.182$, $p = 0.037$). This indicates that gender has a certain influence on level of education, which is directly related to the lower status of women in the Hmong culture, as their educational opportunities are reduced.
- 3) There is a Pearson correlation between educational level and cultural competence, as well as residual agreement (Pearson's $r = 0.282$, $p = 0.001$; Pearson's $r = -0.240$, $p = 0.006$). This indicates that the difference in individual education level among 132 respondents affects the degree to which individual

responses are either closer to, or more deviated from, the cultural answer key. Essentially, level of education has a strong relationship with the identification of the Hmong identity. Specifically, this is directly related to the factors of the Hmong Chinese receiving relatively low-quality education in China, and the Hmong Americans receiving Western-oriented education in the United States. Both the backward educational environment and the Western-oriented education system affected the Hmong people's understanding of the Hmong culture, as well as their cultural identity.

- 4) There is a Pearson correlation between cultural competence and residual agreement (Pearson's $r = -0.221$, $p = 0.011$). This shows that cultural competence and residual agreement interact and influence each other.

6.4.1 Result of Hmong Chinese Cultural Consensus Analysis

The analysis of cultural consensus within a single cultural group is also necessary, given the scattered residence of Hmong respondents within their respective countries. Through the analysis of cultural consensus within a single cultural group, it can be observed as to whether the Hmong culture has a unified cultural model within its own country. If not, it will show that Hmong culture and identity have its diversities within a single country and has many sub-cultural models.

Figure 6: Residual Agreement Coefficients vs Cultural Competence Coefficients

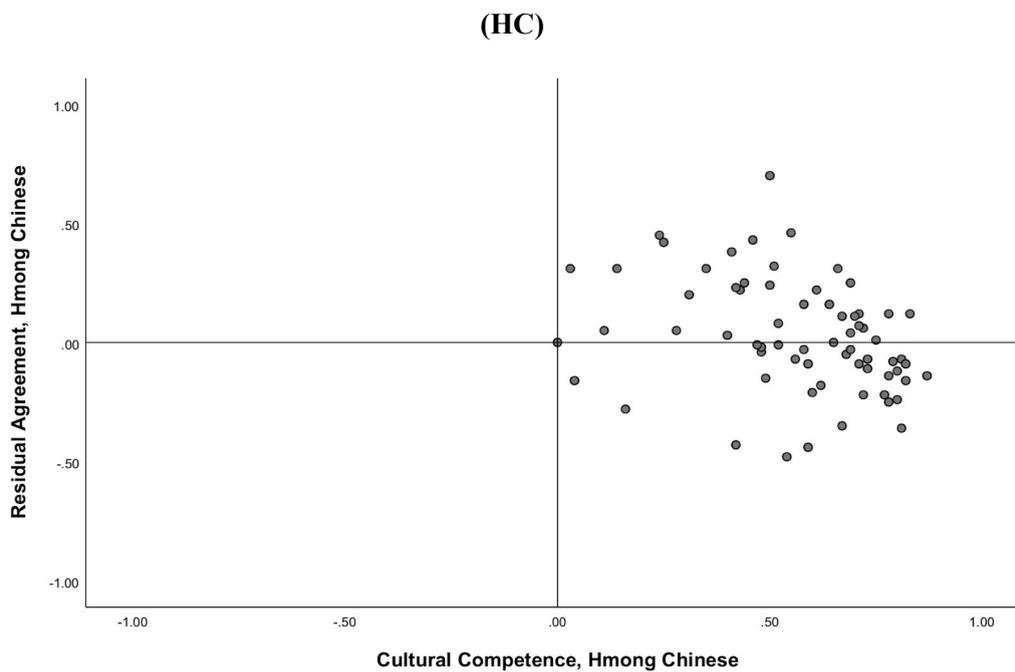


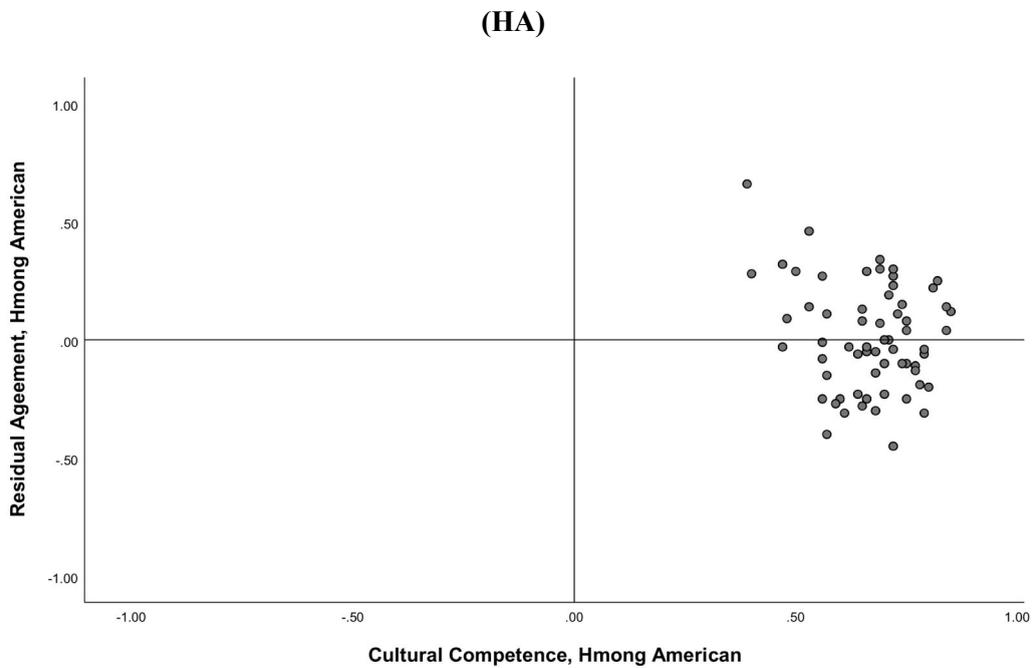
Figure 6 shows the relationship between the residual agreement coefficient and cultural competence coefficient of 69 Hmong Chinese respondents. All the

respondents' answers regarding their cultural beliefs, values, and customs, have been digitally transformed. The relevant values are precisely calculated on the ANTHROPAC program, and the finalized data was input into the SPSS system, and the figure was drawn.

As a result, the eigenvalue ratio between the first and second factor is 6.482:1. This exceeds the 3:1 ratio recommended by Romney, Weller, and Batchelder (1986) to evidence a single cultural model. The first factor explains 78.9% of the variance. Despite the Hmong people's displacement across different provinces in China, including developed cities and remote rural areas, their cultural consensus is relatively uniform and consistent. In other words, it can be reasonably concluded that the geographical differences have not affected the internal members, forming a relatively consistent cultural identity among them.

6.4.2 Result of Hmong American Cultural Consensus Analysis

Figure 7: Residual Agreement Coefficients vs Cultural Competence Coefficients



In comparison with Figure 6, Figure 7 shows the relationship between the residual agreement coefficient and cultural competence coefficient of 63 Hmong American respondents. Similarly, the calculation and graphing processes of the corresponding index are the same as that of Hmong Chinese. The data has shown that the eigenvalue ratio between the first and second factors is 9.205:1, indicating a cultural consensus within this sample. The first factor explains 83.3% of the variance. Hence, it can be concluded that Hmong Americans share a model of Hmong ethnic identity. In other words, although the cultural model of Hmong Americans is different from that of the

Hmong Chinese, both groups have formed a similar, unified consensus within their own groups.

Furthermore, according to the eigenvalue ratio, Hmong Americans have reported a higher degree of cultural consensus. This may be because the cultural structure of the American groups is comparatively simpler, or because Hmong cultural inheritance is only partially inherited from the original pattern, causing a comparatively higher degree of cultural consensus. Another explanation could be that during the Hmong people's arrival and long-term residency within the United States, a secondary construction of internal culture and values has been completed, creating a new cultural model that is distinct from that of their ancestors. The final conclusions drawn from this will be explained in detail in the following paragraphs.

6.5 Data Utilization and Policy Recommendations

6.5.1 Analysis of Deviation Scores for Key Cultural Element

Figure 8: Deviation Scores for Key Cultural Element

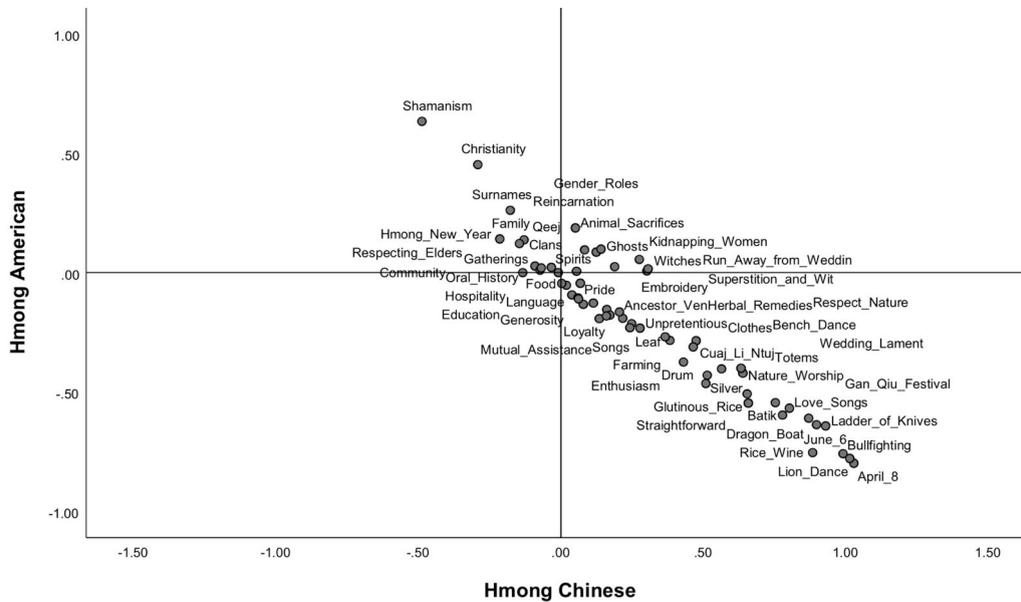


Figure 8 shows the deviation scores of 60 key cultural elements. From the perspective of the individual respondents, the deviation means the difference between an individual's response to a cultural element and the cultural answer key. For example, if the cultural answer key states that the key cultural element of wearing Hmong clothes is important (2.36), and an individual instead believes it to be only slightly important (1), then the individual has deviated -1.36 points on this question, compared to the broader group. In accordance with this method, all deviation scores of 132 respondents to 60 key cultural elements were calculated.

The X-axis in Figure 8, represented the average deviation of 69 Hmong Chinese respondents for 60 key cultural elements, while the Y-axis represents the average deviation of 63 Hmong American respondents. The higher the deviation score of a certain key cultural element on the X-axis, the closer it was to the Hmong Chinese cultural model. Correspondingly, the higher the deviation score of a certain key cultural element on the Y-axis, the closer it was to the Hmong American cultural model. Deviation scores on the X-axis and Y-axis resulted in the 60 key cultural elements on the coordinates in the figure above.

As mentioned above, Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans failed to reach a unified cultural consensus, and hence their own internal cultural models are considered separate. As such, it was necessary to analyze the differences between the two cultural models. The role of the Deviation Score was to distinguish cognitive differences between the Hmong Chinese cultural models and the Hmong American cultural models.

In Figure 8, it can be seen that the 60 key cultural elements are negatively correlated with the X and Y axes. The corresponding key cultural elements are categorized into three standardized groups: closer to Hmong Americans elements, middle-ground elements, and closer to Hmong Chinese elements. However, being closer to either side does not mean that a particular element is inherently more important in a cultural model, but rather that each element is more deviated from the cultural answer key, and its importance is weighted more in a cultural model.

It can be seen that the middle-ground elements, referring to “spirits, pride, and clans” had a deviation value that intersected with 0 when compared to the cultural answer key. This means that these elements held the same degree of importance in both cultural models, and indicated that there were shared values between Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans. Elements that were represented by “Shamanism, Christianity, and surnames” were more common between Hmong Americans, which indicated that these elements were more important in the Hmong American cultural model than in the Hmong Chinese cultural model.

In the other cultural model however, the key elements referencing “April 8”, “lion dance”, and “bullfighting” were skewed more towards the Hmong Chinese, which indicated that these elements were more important in the Hmong Chinese cultural model than in the Hmong American cultural model. As such, it was found that Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans have differing opinions on the topics of religious beliefs, and some specific ethnic customs. Other than the middle-ground elements, both sides have different perspectives on the importance of key cultural elements. This further illustrates the concrete differences between the Hmong Chinese cultural model and the Hmong American cultural model.

6.5.2 Analysis of In-Depth Interviews

The main analysis of this paper is based on the respondents of 234 Hmong valid questionnaires. Considering that the processes of analysis in such a subjective context are dependent on the data interpretation of the researcher, in order to present an accurate analysis of the Hmong cultural identity, in-depth interviews were undertaken for this paper. 10 Hmong Chinese and 10 Hmong Americans were invited to participate in the in-depth interview process. Due to geographical distance, all interviews were conducted online through social media. The contents of the phase I and phase II questionnaires were combined, and the interviewees were asked about their responses, and invited to share their opinions. Some interviewees also talked about their personal experiences and thoughts. All interviews were conducted with care to ensure that respect was maintained towards participants.

First of all, when asked about the degree to which the two questionnaire questions were understandable, most interviewees stated that there were no issues. Several individuals expressed some confusion about the setting of some questions. This stemmed from respondents being unfamiliar with the different cultural customs associated with the other cultural model, and questions relating to these concepts specifically. Those questions are all announced in advance when the corresponding questionnaire is set up. If respondents did not understand some key cultural elements, they could answer that these elements were not important, which would not negatively

impact results, as this simply showed deviations from the cultural models. Therefore, the overall setting of the two questionnaires is still reliable.

Secondly, when asked about the impact of Hmong culture on their everyday lives, the answers of the interviewees are essentially consistent with those of the questionnaire respondents. Hmong Chinese interviewees said that Hmong culture has had both positive and negative effects on their lives. The positive influence referred to the idea that Hmong culture enabled individuals to live a culturally rich, ethnic life. Examples of this given were Hmong marriage customs, as well as citing their lifestyle as helping to form a kind and honest character. The negative influence referred to the concept of “male superiority and female inferiority” in Hmong culture, and how this influenced women’s access to education. Some Hmong Chinese interviewees also expressed the view that the Hmong culture has shown a very serious “sinicization⁵⁷” trend. As such, the inheritance of ethnic culture faces a very difficult obstacle. Furthermore, this interviewee stated that Hmong Chinese have a relatively low level of education, especially in rural areas, so some Hmong people are despised by broader Chinese society.

The American interviewees expressed similar sentiments in some ways, with Hmong American interviewees reporting that Hmong culture has a positive and negative impact on their lives. The positive influences referred to the idea that they

⁵⁷ In a broad content, sinicization includes the assimilation and integration of the Han ethnicity as the main body of the Chinese nation to the neighboring ethnicities, known as sinization. In this thesis, it refers to the merger and fusion of the Han ethnicity towards the Hmong ethnicity.

have a better understanding of who they are and where they come from, and that their cultural ties enable them to have close interactions with the members of the Hmong American community. However, the negative effects reported were that Hmong culture emphasizes a very burdensome reputation standard for individuals, especially for women. This limits an individual's freedom of action, to a certain extent. Women exhibit a tendency to be oppressed, and face unreasonable expectations set by older Hmong community members, meaning that they have to consider the opinions of others in their social circles, not just those of their families. Some interviewees also expressed that as Hmong people, they feel discriminated against and excluded by American society, especially from white people. They are frequently labeled as "foreigners", and some Hmong Americans struggle to reconcile where their identity fits between "Hmong" and "American". In addition, the conservative cultural values of Hmong culture also oppress some young members, such as those in the LGBTQ+ community.⁵⁸ These individuals feel that Hmong culture has a very negative impact on them, as the majority of Hmong people, especially the older members, cannot accept their sexual orientation.

Thirdly, when asked what factors would affect the inheritance of Hmong culture in their communities, interviewees from both sides gave significant feedback, and numerous opinions. The specific contents of these comments are as follows:

⁵⁸ LGBTQ+ stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (or questioning) and others

Hmong Chinese:

- 1) The education level of the Hmong people is lower than that of the Han people in China.
- 2) Young Hmong people are not interested in learning the Hmong traditional culture.
- 3) The sinicization of the Hmong culture is very serious, and there is even ethnic discrimination towards Hmong people in China.
- 4) Hmong culture lacks the foundation of written language, and young people gradually lose the ability to speak the Hmong language.
- 5) The rapid development of the Chinese economy forces Hmong people to pay more attention to a materialistic way of life, and less pay less attention to their spiritual and cultural lifestyle.

Hmong Americans:

- 1) Being Hmong, or even Asian, is still ostracized by American society.
- 2) There is a generational gap in the inheritance of the Hmong culture in the United States, and there is no bridge between the older and younger generations.
- 3) The rest of the American public lacks awareness of the Hmong citizens, especially since many people still do not know the contribution of the Hmong people made to the U.S. military during the Vietnam war.

- 4) Young people lack enthusiasm for learning the Hmong language, and the strong prominence of the English language makes it hard to keep the Hmong language alive.
- 5) The traditional beliefs of the Hmong people have been impacted by Christianity in the United States, and many Hmong people have given up their original religious beliefs and converted to Christianity.

The above 10 factors are some of the main issues mentioned by the interviewers. Other factors do exist, but will not be elaborated in this paper.

6.5.3 Policy Recommendations on Hmong Cultural Inheritance

After assessing the above information, it is apparent that the cultural inheritance of Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans is not an optimistic prospect. The inheritance of Hmong culture in both countries will face more serious challenges going forward. With this in mind, in order to maintain elements of this culture, policy recommendations for China and the United States will be very necessary.

For the People's Republic of China:

- 1) The central government should strengthen educational support for ethnic minorities, especially the Hmong, such as through providing more educational funds and reading materials.

- 2) The local government should strengthen the Hmong language inheritance, and invite a language expert group to organize the restoration of Hmong language writing standards as soon as possible.
- 3) The central government should immediately stop the comprehensive policy of ethnic annexation and preserve cultural diversity. Policies of sinicization will only damage Chinese cultural diversity.
- 4) Hmong parents should be encouraged to attach importance to their children's Hmong language education, and bilingual or multilingual education should be promoted at schools in minority autonomous regions.
- 5) The local government should be encouraged to strengthen the construction of cultural life (Hmong clothes, Hmong songs, and more) while pursuing economic development, so as to promote the inheritance of Hmong culture from generation to generation.
- 6) Some unethical and inappropriate Hmong customs should be removed, such as those mandating unequal gender roles, and the Hmong people should be encouraged to modernize to some degree to maintain a healthy cultural development model.

For the United States of America:

- 1) American governments and major media still need to make efforts to eliminate racial discrimination, especially against the Hmong people, and even against the broader Asian-American population.
- 2) Young Hmong people in the United States should be encouraged to communicate with their parents and grandparents to understand their ethnic roots. Some traditions should be actively promoted, such as Hmong New Year.
- 3) The state government should popularize the American people's understanding of the Hmong people, so that other citizens can better understand the historical and cultural background of them. It is necessary to publish more reading materials about Hmong ethnicity, as well as newspapers introducing Hmong culture.
- 4) The state government should promote the popularization of the Hmong language in the Hmong community, and promote bilingual education in some schools where Hmong students are gathered.
- 5) The publicity of marriage freedom, religious freedom, and gender equality should be further strengthened in the Hmong community.
- 6) It is very important to establish an academic exchange platform for the Hmong people, and to invite young students to actively participate in the inheritance processes of the Hmong culture.

Chapter VII. Conclusions

By reviewing the history of Hmong international migration, the group can be seen as having a uniquely resilient migratory pattern. Hmong people have endured much historical hardship, and required multiple international migrations to sustain their groups, moving from the far East to the West, and leaving a historical record in many sections of the world. From this record, we can observe a period of ethnic struggles spanning 4000 years, as well as an enduring persistence.

As an answer to the first research question of this paper, it can be argued that the identities of Hmong and Miao are highly consistent. From the historical records of China and Southeast Asian countries, the migration route of Hmong or Miao ethnicity is traceable. The ancient wars brought the Hmong people from their original Northern China into Southeast Asian countries, as a result of the five great migrations. Later on, due to the influence of the Vietnam war, the Hmong people eventually immigrated to the United States and other Western countries. From the perspective of phonetics and linguistics, Hmong and Miao are just different names that either describe the same self-proclaimed name among Hmong ethnic groups, or designated names used by other ethnic groups.

In relation to the second research question, this paper took the oldest Hmong Chinese group and the youngest Hmong American group as cultural comparison objects. This research employed the theoretical bases of social identity theory and

cultural model theory to analyze whether their cultural identities are consistent. Through the methodology of cultural domain analysis, it was conclusively confirmed that due to the span of a long history and geographical distance, as well as educational differences, cultural consensus between Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans has failed to reach unity. Both of them have formed a new and unified cultural consensus within their respective groups. However, Hmong Chinese and Hmong Americans still have much in common with regard to cultural beliefs, values, and customs. In other words, although there are differences between the two cultural models, some of their cultural attributes still have certain similarities. This further proves that there is a cultural connection between different Hmong clans, despite geographical distances.

From the perspective of the Hmong cultural inheritance status, both China and the United States will face the possibility of gradually losing the Hmong culture. Therefore, in the future, both China and the United States need to adopt new policies to protect the Hmong culture, so as to preserve cultural diversity within the country. From the perspective of the Hmong culture itself, there are also many conservative and negative elements within the two cultural models, such as gender inequality. The Hmong people should attempt to modernize to some degree, and adjust cultural customs that are outdated. However, they should continue certain enriching cultural customs, such as Hmong clothes, Hmong language, and more.

History not only has given the Hmong people significant periods of suffering, but has also provided a notable cultural heritage. No matter where the Hmong people are

living in this world, effort should be made to remember the Hmong history, Hmong historical figures, and all recorded periods of historical experiences. Hmong youths should shoulder the responsibility of rejuvenating the Hmong ethnicity and inheriting the Hmong culture, and all countries that host Hmong groups should make a dedicated effort to protect their unique culture.

History has shown that cultural groups and practices are fragile, and can be easily lost to time. Only through a conscious effort to preserve these valuable groups and their experiences, will we be able to ensure their continued existence.

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APPENDIX I — Hmong Identity Research Questionnaire

This study is being conducted by Seoul National University student as part of the Master's thesis research. This is a questionnaire survey about the Hmong people's identity and life status. This survey is done to help the compiler, as an East Asian Hmong student, to understand the Hmong people's recognition and identification of their cultural identity in the United States. This questionnaire will take you around 10 minutes.

This study is intended for educational purposes only, and not for any commercial purposes. Also, please note that the responses you provide are completely anonymous and confidential. The research outcome and report will not include a reference to any individuals. The compiler of the questionnaire has sole ownership of the completed questionnaire and the questionnaire will be destroyed after completion of the research.

Section A: Demographic profile (put a tick (✓) in the box with regard to your answer)

1. Gender
a. Male b. Female c. Other: _____

2. What is your age?

Answer: _____

3. What language do you prefer to speak at home?
a. Hmong b. English c. Other
Language: _____

4. What is your highest degree of education?
a. High school diploma b. Bachelor's Degree
c. Master's Degree d. Doctor's Degree
e. Did not graduate from high school

5. What religion do you believe in?
 a. Catholicism b. Protestantism c. Buddhism
 d. Islam e. No religion d. Other Religion: _____
6. What is your marital status?
 a. Never married b. Married c. Widowed
 d. Divorced e. Separated

Section B: Life status (please answer the following questions as specifically as possible)

1. What is your occupation?

Answer: _____

2. Which state and city do you live in?

Answer: _____

3. Which country were you born in?

Answer: _____

4. Where did you grow up?

Answer: _____

5. What Asian countries have you been to?

Answer: _____

6. In which countries have you attended school? (starting from primary school)

Answer: _____

Section C: Identity awareness

1. When did you realize you were Hmong?

Answer: _____

2. What made you realize you were Hmong?

Answer: _____

3. How have you learned about your Hmong ethnicity?

Answer: _____

4. Please list all of the beliefs, values, and customs people in your community tend to believe represent Hmong identity? (at least 10 words)

Answer:

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.

5. Of all the beliefs, values or customs on the previous question, please choose one word that best represents Hmong identity in your community.

Answer: _____

6. Please select the degree to which each of the following elements affects Hmong people's identity in your community. (put a tick (√) in the box with regard to your answer)

The number "0" means not influential. The number "1" represents slightly influential

The number "2" represents influential. The number "3" stands for strongly influential

Elements	Degrees			
	0	1	2	3
Nationality				
Gender				
Age				
Sexual orientation				
Educational				
Religion				
Marital status				
Occupation				
Living area				
Birthplace				
Family background				
Political stance				
Capitalist economic system				
Living within a democratic republic system of government				

7. Do you have any other suggestions for Hmong identity research?

Comment: _____

APPENDIX II — 关于中国苗族文化的问卷调查

本文卷调查由高校研究生个人发起，用以完成学术论文的数据收集。这是一份有关中国苗族同胞文化传承现状的问卷调查，目的在于帮助研究者更好地了解与分析苗族文化的内涵。

本文卷调查仅用于教育目的，不涉及任何商业用途。与此同时，您的回复是完全匿名和保密的，调查结果和报告将不会向第三方进行转让，相关问卷材料也将在研究完成后销毁。

民族文化的学习与传承离不开我们每一个人的努力，您的参与将对研究者提供莫大的帮助。在此，非常感谢您的配合与支持，谢谢！

1. 您的性别：（请在选项后打勾）
 - 1) 男
 - 2) 女
 - 3) 其他：_____

2. 您的年龄：（请填写阿拉伯数字）
回答：_____

3. 您在家更习惯使用哪种语言？
 - 1) 苗语
 - 2) 汉语
 - 3) 其他：_____

4. 您的最高学历：
 - 1) 高中文凭
 - 2) 大学文凭
 - 3) 硕士文凭
 - 4) 博士文凭
 - 5) 未从高中毕业

5. 您的宗教信仰：
 - 1) 天主教
 - 2) 基督教
 - 3) 佛教
 - 4) 伊斯兰教
 - 5) 道教

- 6) 其他宗教
- 7) 无宗教信仰

6. 您的婚姻状态

- 1) 未婚（不包括离婚后单身）
- 2) 已婚
- 3) 丧偶
- 4) 离婚
- 5) 分居

7. 您的职业：

回答：_____

8. 您现居住的省份和城市：

回答：_____

9. 您出生的国家：

回答：_____

10. 您成长的地域：（请详细回答具体省（直辖市）、城市，如有多重成长背景请分阶段回答）

回答：

11. 您是否有过出（国/境外）经历？如果有，请回答具体到访国家及地区：（包括旅游）

回答：

12. 您在哪个国家接受过教育？（如有多重教育背景，请分阶段进行回答，其中包括小学、初中、高中、大学等）

回答：

13. 您从何时了解或意识到自己的苗族身份？（请具体回答，如年龄、成长阶段、相应地点及场合等）

回答：

14. 是什么让您了解或意识到自己的苗族身份？（请具体回答，如相应场合、契机、原因等）

回答：

15. 您对苗族身份以及文化有怎样的了解与学习？

回答：

16. 请列出能代表您所在地区苗族人士的所有信仰、价值观以及风俗习惯（请至少列出十个不同的词汇，此题对于分析苗族文化十分关键；请具体回答，可以通过词语、成语、俗语或者是短语等形式进行作答）：

回答：

17. 在以上您列出的所有信仰、价值观以及风俗习惯中，请选择一个最能代表您所在地区苗族文化和民族身份的词汇：

回答：_____

18. 请在下列因素中选择您认为会影响当地苗族人士文化传承与身份认同的程度：

（请在程度选项方框处打勾）

数字“0”表示没有影响力

数字“1”表示具有轻微影响力

数字“2”表示具有影响力

数字“3”表示具有强烈影响力

因素	影响程度			
	0	1	2	3
国籍				
性别				
年龄				
性取向				
教育				
宗教				
婚姻				
职业				
生活地域				
出生地				
家庭氛围				
政治立场				
市场经济体制				
中国特色社会主义				

19. 请问您对于中国苗族文化的传承与苗族人士身份认同的研究还有何其他意见和建议？

回答：

7. What religion do you believe in?
- | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| a. Christianity | b. Shamanism | c. Buddhism |
| d. Islam | e. No religion | f. Other Religion: _____ |
8. What is your marital status?
- | | | |
|------------------|--------------|------------|
| a. Never married | b. Married | c. Widowed |
| d. Divorced | e. Separated | |

Section B: Ethnic culture In your community, how important are each of the following factors in Hmong identity? (If you do not know certain element, or do not think it is relevant to Hmong culture in your community, then simply select “not important”)

1. How important is “**Wearing Hmong Clothes**” in Hmong culture?

a. Not important	b. Slightly important	c. Important	d. Very important
------------------	-----------------------	--------------	-------------------
2. How important are “**Hmong Songs**” in Hmong culture?

a. Not important	b. Slightly important	c. Important	d. Very important
------------------	-----------------------	--------------	-------------------
3. How important is “**Qeej** (a reed-pipe wind instrument)” in Hmong culture?

a. Not important	b. Slightly important	c. Important	d. Very important
------------------	-----------------------	--------------	-------------------
4. How important is “**Wearing Silver Jewelry**” in Hmong culture?

a. Not important	b. Slightly important	c. Important	d. Very important
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5. How important is “**Speaking the Hmong Language**” in Hmong culture?

a. Not important	b. Slightly important	c. Important	d. Very important
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6. How important is “**The concept of helping people in the same community**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
7. How important is “**Hospitality**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
8. How important is “**Enthusiasm**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
9. How important is the “**Hmong Drum**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
10. How important is “**April 8th**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
11. How important is “**Bullfighting**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
12. How important is “**Embroidery**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
13. How important is “**Generosity** (the concept of having generous character)” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
14. How important is “**Ancestor Veneration**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
15. How important is “**Rice Wine**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

16. How important is “**Cuaj Li Ntuj** (a tribal leader of the Nine Li tribes)” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
17. How important is “**Being Straightforward** (the concept of having straightforward character)” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
18. How important is “**Climbing a Ladder of Knives**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
19. How important is “**June 6th**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
20. How important is “**Dragon Boats**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
21. How important is “**the Wedding Lament** (the custom of a woman getting married and crying when she leaves her original family)” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
22. How important is “**Belief in Superstition and Witchcraft**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
23. How important is “**Being Genuine and Unpretentious**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
24. How important is the “**Bench Dance**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

25. How important is the “**Lion Dance**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
26. How important is the “**Gan Qiu Festival** (autumn harvest festival)” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
27. How important is “**Personal Loyalty**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
28. How important is “**Family**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
29. How important is “**Shamanism**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
30. How important is “**Respecting Elders**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
31. How important is the “**Hmong New Year**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
32. How important are “**Hmong Clans**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
33. How important is “**Hmong Food**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
34. How important is “**Community**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

35. How important is “**Beliefs and Practices regarding Spirits**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
36. How important are “**Funeral rules and customs**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
37. How important is “**Respecting nature and people**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
38. How important is “**Being a Dutiful Daughter**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
39. How important are “**Gender Roles** (men being the superior gender, women serve men)” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
40. How important is “**Reincarnation** (believe in rebirth)” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
41. How important is “**A Person's Reputation**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
42. How important is “**Christianity**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
43. How important are “**Hmong Gatherings**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
44. How important is “**Education**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

45. How important is “**Pride in being Hmong**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
46. How important are “**Animal Sacrifices**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
47. How important is “**Farming**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
48. How important are “**Herbal Remedies**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
49. How important is the “**Leaf as a Musical Instrument** (the leaves are played on the lips as instruments)” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
50. How important is “**The Worship of Nature**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
51. How important is “**Belief in ghosts and their powers**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
52. How important is “**Totem Worship**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
53. How important is “**Glutinous rice**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
54. How important is “**Run Away from Wedding**” in Hmong culture?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

55. How important is “**Kidnapping Women** (The marriage custom)” in Hmong culture?
 a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
56. How important is “**People who have the same surname do not marry each other**” in Hmong culture?
 a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
57. How important is “**Finding a partner by singing love songs to each other**” in Hmong culture?
 a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
58. How important is “**Batik**” in Hmong culture?
 a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
59. How important is “**Oral History**” in Hmong culture?
 a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
60. How important is “**Belief in or interaction with Witches**” in Hmong culture?
 a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

Section C: Individual opinion How important are each of the following factors to you? (If you do not know certain element, or do not think it is relevant to your personal values, then simply select “not important”)

1. How important is “**Wearing Hmong Clothes**” to you?
 a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
2. How important are “**Hmong Songs**” to you?
 a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

3. How important is “**Qeej** (a reed-pipe wind instrument)” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

4. How important is “**Wearing Silver Jewelry**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

5. How important is “**Speaking the Hmong Language**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

6. How important is “**The concept of helping people in the same community**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

7. How important is “**Hospitality**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

8. How important is “**Enthusiasm**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

9. How important is the “**Hmong Drum**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

10. How important is “**April 8th**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

11. How important is “**Bullfighting**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

12. How important is “**Embroidery**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

13. How important is “**Generosity** (the concept of having generous character)” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
14. How important is “**Ancestor Veneration**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
15. How important is “**Rice Wine**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
16. How important is “**Cuaj Li Ntuj** (a tribal leader of the Nine Li tribes)” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
17. How important is “**Being Straightforward** (the concept of having a straightforward character)” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
18. How important is “**Climbing a Ladder of Knives**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
19. How important is “**June 6th**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
20. How important is “**Dragon Boats**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
21. How important is “**the Wedding Lament** (the custom of a woman getting married and crying when she leaves her original family)” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

22. How important is “**Belief in Superstition and Witchcraft**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
23. How important is “**Being Genuine and Unpretentious**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
24. How important is the “**Bench Dance**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
25. How important is the “**Lion Dance**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
26. How important is the “**Gan Qiu Festival** (autumn harvest festival)” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
27. How important is “**Personal Loyalty**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
28. How important is “**Family**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
29. How important is “**Shamanism**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
30. How important is “**Respecting Elders**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
31. How important is the “**Hmong New Year**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

32. How important are “**Hmong Clans**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
33. How important is “**Hmong Food**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
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a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
35. How important is “**Beliefs and Practices regarding Spirits**” to you?
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36. How important are “**Funeral rules and customs**” to you?
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37. How important is “**Respecting nature and people**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
38. How important is “**Being a Dutiful Daughter/Son**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
39. How important are “**Gender Roles** (men being the superior gender, women serve men)” to you?
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40. How important is “**Reincarnation** (believe in rebirth)” to you?
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41. How important is “**A Person's Reputation**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

42. How important is “**Christianity**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
43. How important are “**Hmong Gatherings**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
44. How important is “**Education**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
45. How important is “**Pride in being Hmong**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
46. How important are “**Animal Sacrifices**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
47. How important is “**Farming**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
48. How important are “**Herbal Remedies**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
49. How important is the “**Leaf as a Musical Instrument** (the leaves are played on the lips as instruments)” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
50. How important is “**The Worship of Nature**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
51. How important is “**Belief in ghosts and their powers**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

52. How important is “**Totem Worship**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
53. How important is “**Glutinous rice**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
54. How important is “**Run Away from Wedding**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
55. How important is “**Kidnapping Women** (The marriage custom)” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
56. How important is “**People who have the same surname do not marry each other**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
57. How important is “**Finding a partner by singing love songs to each other**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
58. How important is “**Batik**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
59. How important is “**Oral History**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important
60. How important is “**Belief in or interaction with Witches**” to you?
a. Not important b. Slightly important c. Important d. Very important

Section D: Cultural practices

1. How does Hmong culture affect you in your real life?

Answer: _____

2. What factors do you think affect how Hmong culture is passed down in your community?

Answer: _____

3. Do you have any ideas about how to promote Hmong culture to future generations?

Answer: _____

4. Do you have any other opinions or suggestions?

Answer: _____

APPENDIX IV — 关于中国苗族文化的问卷调查(二)

本文卷调查由高校研究生个人发起，用以完成学术论文的数据收集。这是一份有关中国苗族同胞文化传承现状的问卷调查，目的在于帮助研究者更好地了解与分析苗族文化的内涵。

本文卷调查仅用于教育目的，不涉及任何商业用途。与此同时，您的回复是完全匿名和保密的，调查结果和报告将不会向第三方进行转让，相关问卷材料也将在研究完成后销毁。

民族文化的学习与传承离不开我们每一个人的努力，您的参与将对研究者提供莫大的帮助。在此，非常感谢您的配合与支持，谢谢！（请非苗族人士不要进行填写）

模块A: 基本信息选项

1. 请问您是苗族人吗？
 - 1) 是
 - 2) 否（需要选择该选项的人士不必再往下进行填写）

2. 您的性别：
 - 1) 男
 - 2) 女
 - 3) 其他：_____

3. 您的年龄：（请填写数字）
回答：_____

4. 您会说苗语（苗话）吗？
 - 1) 会
 - 2) 完全不会
 - 3) 只会一点点

5. 您在家更习惯讲哪种语言？
 - 1) 苗语（苗话）
 - 2) 汉语
 - 3) 其他：_____

6. 您的最高学历是：
- 1) 高中文凭
 - 2) 大学文凭
 - 3) 硕士文凭
 - 4) 博士文凭
 - 5) 未从高中毕业
7. 您的宗教信仰是：
- 1) 天主教
 - 2) 基督教
 - 3) 佛教
 - 4) 伊斯兰教
 - 5) 道教
 - 6) 其他宗教
 - 7) 无宗教信仰
8. 您的婚姻状态是：
- 1) 未婚（不包括离婚后单身）
 - 2) 已婚
 - 3) 丧偶
 - 4) 离婚
 - 5) 分居

模块B：苗族群体文化（请从“群体”的角度选择以下关键词在苗族文化中的重要性。如果您不知道其中的某个关键词，或者认为该关键词与您所在地区的苗族文化无关，则选择“不重要”选项）

1. “苗族服饰”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
2. “苗歌”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
3. “芦笙”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要

4. “**银饰**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
5. “**苗语（苗话）**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
6. “**团结**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
7. “**好客**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
8. “**热情**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
9. “**苗鼓**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
10. “**四月八**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
11. “**斗牛**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
12. “**刺绣**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
13. “**大方**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
14. “**祭祖（祖先崇拜）**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
15. “**米酒**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要

16. “**蚩尤**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
17. “**豪爽**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
18. “**上刀山（爬刀梯）**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
19. “**六月六**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
20. “**龙舟**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
21. “**哭嫁**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
22. “**巫术**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
23. “**朴素**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
24. “**板凳舞**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
25. “**舞狮**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
26. “**赶秋节**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
27. “**重义**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要

28. “**家族**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
29. “**萨满教**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
30. “**尊重长辈**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
31. “**苗年（苗族小年）**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
32. “**苗族宗族（宗族姓氏）**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
33. “**苗族食物（菜式）**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
34. “**群体概念**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
35. “**灵魂**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
36. “**苗族丧葬习俗**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
37. “**尊重人与自然**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
38. “**贤妻良母的概念**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
39. “**男女有别（性别不平等）**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要

40. “**轮回转世（重生概念）**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
41. “**个人声誉**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
42. “**基督教**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
43. “**苗族集会（聚会）**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
44. “**文化教育**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
45. “**作为苗族而自豪**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
46. “**动物祭祀**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
47. “**农耕文化**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
48. “**传统草药**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
49. “**木叶**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
50. “**自然崇拜**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
51. “**鬼神崇拜**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要

52. “**图腾崇拜**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
53. “**糯米（糍粑）**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
54. “**逃婚**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
55. “**绑架女性的婚姻旧俗**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
56. “**同姓氏不结婚的观念**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
57. “**游方（青年游方自由对歌恋爱成婚的习俗）**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
58. “**蜡染（工艺）**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
59. “**口传祖辈历史**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
60. “**草鬼婆**”在苗族文化中有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要

模块C：个人价值观（请从“个人”的角度选择以下关键词对您个人的重要性。如果您不知道其中的某个关键词，或者认为该关键词与您的个人价值观无关，则选择“不重要”选项）

1. “**穿苗族服饰**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
2. “**唱苗族歌**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要

3. “吹芦笙”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
4. “戴银饰”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
5. “说苗语（苗话）”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
6. “团结”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
7. “好客”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
8. “热情”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
9. “打苗鼓”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
10. “四月八”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
11. “斗牛”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
12. “刺绣”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
13. “大方”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
14. “祭祖（祖先崇拜）”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要

15. “米酒”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
16. “蚩尤”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
17. “豪爽”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
18. “上刀山（爬刀梯）”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
19. “六月六”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
20. “划龙舟”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
21. “哭嫁”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
22. “巫术”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
23. “朴素”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
24. “板凳舞”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
25. “舞狮”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
26. “赶秋节”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要

27. “**重义**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
28. “**家族**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
29. “**萨满教**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
30. “**尊重长辈**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
31. “**苗年（苗族小年）**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
32. “**苗族宗族（宗族姓氏）**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
33. “**苗族食物（菜式）**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
34. “**群体概念**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
35. “**灵魂**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
36. “**苗族丧葬习俗**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
37. “**尊重人与自然**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
38. “**贤妻良母的概念**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要

39. “**男女有别（性别不平等）**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
40. “**轮回转世（重生概念）**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
41. “**个人声誉**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
42. “**基督教**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
43. “**苗族集会（聚会）**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
44. “**文化教育**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
45. “**作为苗族人而自豪**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
46. “**动物祭祀**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
47. “**农耕文化**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
48. “**传统草药**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
49. “**吹木叶**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
50. “**自然崇拜**”对你个人而言有多重要？
 1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要

51. “鬼神崇拜”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
52. “图腾崇拜”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
53. “糯米（糍粑）”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
54. “逃婚”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
55. “绑架女性的婚姻旧俗”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
56. “同姓氏不结婚的观念”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
57. “游方（青年游方自由对歌恋爱成婚的习俗）”对你个人而言有多重要？
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58. “蜡染（工艺）”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
59. “口传祖辈历史”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要
60. “草鬼婆”对你个人而言有多重要？
1) 不重要 2) 有点重要 3) 重要 4) 非常重要

模块D: 苗族文化实践 (请尽可能地详细填写以下内容)

1. 苗族文化对您的实际生活有怎样积极或消极的影响？

回答：

2. 您认为什么样的因素会影响苗族文化的传承？

回答：

3. 您对于促进苗族文化的学习与传承有什么样的意见或建议？

回答：

4. 在填写完以上问卷后，您还有其他的意见或建议吗？

回答：

국문초록 (Abstract in Korean)

역사적 뿌리와 정체성 인식 — 중국 묘족과 미국 묘족 간의 문화적 비교

성명: XIA LIQIN (하여흠)

학과 및 전공: 국제학과 국제지역학전공

서울대학교 국제대학원

역사적 뿌리와 정체성 인식은 인류 모든 종족의 영적 식량이라고 한다. 이들은 과거부터 현재까지의 발전 과정을 반영하여 고대와 현대를 연결하는 교량이다. 인류 사회가 현대로 발전함에 따라 민족 집단의 이주는 가속화 되었다. 결과적으로 국적, 민족성 및 소수 민족에 대한 개념은 초기의 정의와는 많은 차이를 보인다.

· 많은 이민자들 중 묘족은 과거와 현재를 견뎌내고 동방과 서방을 가로지르는 특별한 소수 민족 중 하나이다. 그들의 이주와 발전은 4000년 전 고대 중국으로 거슬러 올라간다. 현재 묘족은 중국, 동남아시아 국가, 미국 및 일부 유럽 국가에 거주하고 있다.

· 이 논문은 중국과 여러 나라의 역사적 기록을 통해 묘족이 중국에서 미국으로 이주한 과정을 재현하고, 역사를 통해 묘족의 문화적 정체성의 정의에 대해 논의하고자 한다. 또한 본 논문은 사회 정체성 이론과 문화 모델 이론을 통해 중국 묘족과 미국 묘족의 민족 문화를 비교 한 후 그들의 문화적 속성과 양쪽 집단의 정체성을 분석한다.

· 마지막으로 저자는 이 논문을 통해 묘족이 그들의 민족 발전에 대한 관심을 제고할 수 있기를 희망한다. 동시에 타국으로 이주한 묘족, 특히 미국에 거주 중인

묘족 교포들이 그들의 문화 유산을 찾을 수 있는 기회, 자신에 대한 인식을 재발견할 수 있는 계기, 그리고 역사상 동 민족으로서의 추억과 정신적 고향을 향유할 수 있는 기회를 얻길 바란다.

핵심어: Hmong, Miao, Hmong Chinese, Hmong American, Heritage, Identity

학번: 2017-28254

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Professor Jeong Jong-Ho, for his dedication and help throughout the past year. I thank him for always being available, for his guidance, advice, and his patience. I would also like to thank my thesis committee members, Professors Erik Mobrand and Han Younghae, for their time and advice.

On the organizational level, I would like to thank the Hmong Student Association at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in the United States, as well as the Minority Cultural Association at Guizhou University in China. During the research period, these two organizations provided me with a platform to contact the Hmong people, and I obtained tremendous help from them.

On a more personal level, I am very grateful to my Australian friend, Ethan Song, for his diligent proofreading and editing of my thesis. Also, many thanks to my Hmong American friend, Elizabeth Vang; my Singaporean friend, Janabel Lie; my Chinese friend, Dong Shumin; and my Korean friend, Chan Hee Kim. They have provided great help to my research, enabling me to overcome various difficulties when I faced networking barriers and communication obstacles. Furthermore, I would like to thank all of the Hmong respondents, especially Xiongpaoo Lee, for their cooperation. All of your responses have been very helpful to my research. In addition, I would also like to thank my teachers, classmates, and alumni, who offered holistic help and unconditional support at Seoul National University.

Last but not least, my deepest gratitude to my parents for granting me the strength and wisdom to make it through the past three years. They have always been, and will always be, my biggest moral and emotional harbour. May God be with them, and bless them with health and longevity!