Acculturation Processes of Hmong in Eastern Wisconsin

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Abstract

This study examines acculturation processes among Hmong who live in Eastern Wisconsin by using the East Asian Acculturation Measure (EAAM), which was developed by Barry (2001). The results indicated that in terms of Acculturation, Hmong ranked highest in integration, then separation, assimilation, and lastly marginalization. Questions on each dimension of integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization were analyzed and positive correlations were found between the youngest of the generations, the length of residency in the United States, and the ability to speak, read, and write in English. In contrast, the older the age of the participant when they came to the United States had a positive correlation with separation. The ability to speak, read, and write in English had a positive correlation with assimilation, and the older the age of coming to the United States had a positive correlation with marginalization. Assimilation and separation had a positive correlation with marginalization, while integration had a negative correlation with marginalization and a positive correlation with assimilation, and separation had no correlation with marginalization. Results are discussed in regards to previous Hmong acculturation studies.

Keywords: Hmong, Acculturation, Education, Wisconsin

Introduction

Acculturation is a "phenomena which results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups"(Amer, 2005, p. 5-6). It is also known as the "social interaction and communication response styles (both competency and ease/comfort in communicating) that individuals adapt when interacting with individuals and groups from other cultures" (Barry, 2001, p. 193). During the acculturation process, individuals could experience one or all of the four dimensional of acculturation such as integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Integration is when individuals maintain their cultures and are able to accept and adapt to the host's cultures. In contrast, assimilation is when individuals fully adapt to the host's cultures, while they become more alienated toward their own cultures. On the other hand, separation is when individuals become alienated toward the host culture and separate themselves from the main society. They mainly prefer to socialize with persons from their own culture. Marginalization is when individuals become alienated toward both their own and the host cultures (Culhane, 2004). Therefore, the intent of this study was to discover the acculturation processes of the Hmong in relationship to integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization. The East Asian Acculturation Measure (EAAM) of Barry (2001) was used in the research.

The Hmong are persons of Southeast Asian descent who came to the United States as refugees from Laos after the end of Vietnam War. Currently, there are estimated to be about 221,948 Hmong living in the United States with the most concentrated areas of Hmong population located in California, Minnesota, and Wisconsin (Pfeifer, 2008). The majority of Hmong came here as refugees and were unprepared for life in this country. Most of the older

generations had lived in a completely different society than the United States before their arrival. They did not know how to speak English, had never lived in a house with electricity or indoor plumbing, and did not have much prior knowledge about the United States. When they first arrived, they went through a drastic and incomprehensible experience of change, and many of them had a hard time adjusting to U.S. society (Watt, 2008).

In spite of the early dramatic changes they experienced, the majority of Hmong have been successfully living in the US for approximately 15 to 30 years, and new generations have emerged. For example, in addition to Generation 1 who came here as adults, there are Generation 1.5 and Generation 2. Generation 1.5 are the children who were born in Thailand or Laos and came to the United States between the ages of two and twelve years, and Generation 2 are the children who were born in here or Thailand or Laos and came here when younger than two years old (Yang and Solheim, 2007). Although many younger Hmong have been able to become successful in pursuing their education and professional careers (Miyares, 1997), there are still some members of the later generations who have dropped out of school and have been unable to adjust well to U.S. society (O'Reilly, 1998; University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire Economics Department, 2000; Wisconsin Information Network for Success School (WINSS), 2005). Therefore, it remains vital to understand Hmong acculturation processes in order to assist members of this community in becoming more successful in American society.

In spite of a relatively large body of research regarding the acculturation of immigrants, there have been only a few that have specifically discussed the situation of the Hmong. Thus far, there have been only a few qualitative studies regarding Hmong acculturation, and these studies have yielded different insights into the adaptation process. For instance, the early studies found that Hmong of earlier settlement "were more mentally and physically prepared to

emigrate,"(Xiong & Jesilow, 2007, p. 5), and as a result, they were able to accept the new cultures as well as maintain their own culture. In contrast, many Hmong arriving later had a harder time accepting a new culture and faced more problems associated with cultural conflict including those associated with the use of traditional medicine and social isolation including interaction largely with their families and ethnic community rather than the society at large (Xiong & Jesilow, 2007). In addition, researchers have found that in general Hmong have adjusted differently in diverse environments. For example, those who have resided in California have adjusted to the agriculture of farming, while in Michigan they have been more likely to own restaurants, and in Washington State were more likely to own flower shops. However, the primary problems they faced, regardless of geographical locations, were family conflicts, youth delinquency, a generation gap, poverty, physical and mental health, education, and a lack of access to information and resources (Yang, 2003).

Furthermore, researchers have found that there were distinct values associated with financial matters between Generation 1 and 1.5 and Generation 2. Generation 1 and Generation 1.5 were more able to maintain a strong traditional value of saving their income and were able to successfully utilize the U.S. banking system, while Generation 2 leaned towards spending patterns similar to the dominant American culture as they utilized credit and accumulated debts (Yang and Solheim, 2007). In addition, the Hmong residing in France acculturated differently depending on the geographical locations where they resided and among generations. The families who lived in isolation from other Hmong families tended to lose their traditional cultures and language at a faster pace than those who lived aggregated together. The younger generations and those who had more education were more likely to adapt to the society successfully than older generations and those who had less education (Xiong, 2004).

An additional study observed that Hmong who were living in Fresno, California had changed their traditional ways of living together with an extended family—including parents, grandparents, and grand children to a more modern model of a small nuclear family. Although there were still groups of Hmong living closely together, these families were not necessarily the extended families or closely related clans as they had been in prior generations. In addition, new groups of Hmong professionals had emerged especially among women. Hmong women in the U.S. were more active and willing to take leadership roles in their organizations, communities, schools, or clans (Miyares, 1997).

One scholar theorized that Hmong women in the US may experience four stages of acculturation identified as pre-encounter, encounter, integration, and internalization (Lee. n.d.). The pre-encounter stage is when the individual women view themselves strictly based on their traditional gender roles such as being a good wife; loyalty to their husband, with a role limited to serving family needs inside the household. The encounter stage is when individuals start to understand and become aware of the differences between Hmong traditional women's roles and the existing roles available in the larger society. In this stage, they may become alienated toward their traditional roles, or alienated toward the dominant culture roles, or become accommodated to both roles. After this, they may proceed to the integration stage. During the Integration stage, they will understand that they live in a bicultural society and become aware of its benefits. However, at this stage, they are still not able to fully act on their own choices. The final stage in the process is internalization. During internalization, they are able to fully engage freely and have internalized these beliefs. Although they may realize the existence of external factors, they develop their wills and identities internally. Women in this latter stage often will value both cultures as they strive to become more successful in their lives (Lee. n.d.).

Shi (2001) undertook a quantitative study of Hmong student's acculturation. The findings showed positive correlations with the students' adjustment in the school environment in regards to: (1) the level of the students' English proficiency, (2) experiences of the teachers in relationship to the students' backgrounds and cultures, (3) the teaching styles of the teachers, (4) a high and positive self-esteem of the students, (5) the availability of social and family support to the students, (6) the students' ability to adjust, (7) the lower the age of the student, (8) and the length of residency of the student (Shi, 2001).

Given the limited acculturation research available pertaining to the Hmong residing in the U.S., the goal of this study was to investigate processes and demographics similar to those studied by Shi (2001) but in an older, non-student population.

Methods

Barry's (2001) East Asian Acculturation Measure (EAAM) was given to members of the Hmong community during a community holiday gathering. The EAAM consists of 29 items that were specially designed to measure the acculturation process in the four dimensions of assimilation (8 items), separation (7 items), integration (5 items), and marginalization (9 items). Each item consists of a self-rating Likert scale from 1 to 7 (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=somewhat disagree, 4=neutral, 5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, and 7=strongly agree). Barry, (2001) had tested the EAAM with 150 well-educated East Asians, including 50 Chinese, 50 Japanese, and 50 Koreans. The instrument yielded a reliability of "Cronbach's alpha of coefficients of 0.77, 0.76, 0.74, and 0.85 for the assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization scale" (Barry, 2001, p. 195) and an average total of 0.49 correlations among the assimilation items, 0.48 among separations, 0.51 among integrations, and 0.57 among marginalization (Barry, 2001). The reason the EAAM had been chosen was that the instrument

was written in a simple language and format and consisted of different dimensions providing results that would benefit researchers of the Hmong population.

The participants of this study consisted of 110 Hmong adults with an age range of 18 to 51 years old who were gathering at the New Year celebration party in Southeastern Wisconsin. The questionnaire was given to each participant as he or she entered into the party. The participants were asked to participate voluntarily, and they could either complete the questionnaire at the designated location or take it to return to the primary researcher later.

Within the sample, 41% of the 110 participants were between 18 and 20 years old, 28% between 21 and 30 years, 23% between 31 and 40 years, and 8% between 41 and 51 years. Fifty-four percent of the participants were males and 46% were females. Thirty-five percent of the participants were born in the United States, while 65% were born in other countries (either Thailand or Laos). Thirteen percent had been living in this country for approximately 4 to 10 years, 55% for 11 to 20 years, and 32% for 21 to 32 years. Nine percent of the participants had less than a high school education, 42% had obtained high school diplomas, 27% had attended some college courses, 8% had earned associate degrees, 10% had earned their bachelor degrees, and 2% had earned their master's degrees. Fifty-six percent of the participants said that they had no children, 25% had between one to four numbers of children in their families, 16% had between five to seven children, and 1% had 8 or more children. Forty-six percent said that their English speaking abilities were "very good," 34% "good," 14% "basic," 4% "poor," and 3% "very poor." Similarly with their English speaking ability, 46% said that their reading and writing abilities in English were "very good," 33% "good," 15% "basic," 3% "poor," and 5% "very poor."

The sample was also classified using Yang and Solheim's (2007) definitions of three different generations in the Hmong community; Generation 1 were those who came to the United States when they were older than 12 years of age, Generation 1.5 were those who came to the United States between the ages of 3 and 11 years old, and Generation 2 were those who came to the United States at the age of two and lower or were born here. Thirty-three percent of participants matched the description of Generation 1, 27% of Generation 1.5, and 43% Generation 2.

The data were analyzed using descriptive and correlational statistics. Mean and standard deviations were analyzed from the EAAM data of all 110 participants in relationship to the four dimensions of integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization. Significant differences were also analyzed among the four sub-dimensions. Pearson's correlation was used to analyze the significant correlations of genders, age, generation, age coming to the U.S., length of residency in the U.S., level of education, and the abilities to speak, read, and write in English of the participants in relationship to EAAM sub-scores of integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization. Correlations were also examined between the demographics of the participants' age, generation, age coming to the U.S. and length of residency in the U.S. in relationship to the numbers of children they had, their educational levels, and their abilities to speak, read, and write in English.

<div align="center">Results</div>

Overall Means and Standard Deviations

According to the findings of the EAAM, the overall Hmong acculturation processes ranked from highest in integration (M = 5.30, SD = 1.54); second in separation (M = 4.54, SD = 1.63); third in assimilation (M = 3.86, SD = 1.49); and fourth or last in marginalization (M = 3.04, SD = 1.71). The overall mean of the four dimensions was 4.16 and the standard deviation

was 1.61 (See Table 1). This showed that the overall acculturation processes of the Hmong were very close to neutral. However, there were significant differences among the four dimensions. Hmong were seen to be more oriented towards integration as opposed to marginalization and more oriented towards separation as opposed to assimilation.

EAAM Average	Mean	SD
Integration (5 items)	5.26	1.54
Separation (7 items)	4.54	1.63
Assimilation (8 items)	3.86	1.49
Marginalization (9 items)	3.04	1.71
Total	4.18	1.53

(Cronbach's Alpha: Integration 0.677, Separation 0.665, Assimilation 0.702, Marginalization 0.851)

Table1: Acculturation of Four Dimensions

Means and Standard Deviations in Integration

Integration was rated as the highest among the four dimensions. By carefully analyzing each question under the dimension, it seemed that the questions that rated more highly were having both Hmong and American friends, feeling that both Hmong and Americans valued them, and feeling very comfortable around both Hmong and Americans (M =5.76, 5.43, 5.40 and SD 1.37, 1.28, 1.53 respectively). In contrast, the lower rated questions involved being able to think well in both Hmong and English and being able to tell jokes in both Hmong and English (M = 4.87, 4.82 and SD = 1.74, 1.54 respectively) (See Table 2). This suggests that the majority of the Hmong were more highly integrated in friendships, values, and feeling comfortable in both cultures, while less integrated with the ability to speak and communicate in both Hmong and English language.

Items	Mean	SD
11. I have both Hmong and American friends.	5.76	1.37
15. I feel that both Hmong and Americans value me.	5.43	1.28

19. I feel very comfortable around both American and Hmong people.	5.40	1.53
7. I think as well in English as I do in Hmong language.	4.87	1.74
3. I tell jokes both in English and in Hmong language.	4.82	1.78
Total Average	5.26	1.54

Table 2: Integration

Means and Standard Deviations of Separation

The dimension of separation ranked the second highest among the four sub-categories. Within the responses, the highest means in this dimension were that their closest friends were Hmong, and they preferred to date other Hmong rather than Americans (M = 5.75, 5.13 and SD = 1.54, 1.73 respectively). The next highest responses were that they would prefer to socialize where there were mostly other Hmong, liked to listen to music in the Hmong language, felt more relaxed when being with Hmong than Americans, and they felt that other Hmong treated them as equal to or better than Americans did (M = 4.89, 4.50, 4.44, 4.39 and SD = 1.44, 1.80, 1.70, 1.50 respectively). The lowest mean response was that a Hmong should not date a non-Hmong (M = 2.67, SD = 1.70) (See Table 3). Although the means of this data were between neutral and somewhat agreed, the information suggested that a majority of Hmong are still more separated towards choosing their closest friends, prefer socializing with Hmong, and have more trust with other Hmong. In contrast, they seemed to have no preference to date only Hmong over other ethnicities.

Items	Mean	SD
6. Most of my closest friends are Hmong.	5.75	1.54
18. I would prefer to go on a date with a Hmong than with an American.	5.13	1.73
10. I prefer going to social gatherings where most of the people are Hmong.	4.89	1.44
2. Most of the music I listen to is in Hmong language.	4.50	1.80
22. I feel more relaxed when I am with Hmong people than when I	4.44	1.70

am with Americans.		
14. I feel that Hmong people treat me as an equal more so than Americans do.	4.39	1.50
25. Hmong people should not date non-Hmong people.	2.67	1.70
Total Average	4.54	1.63

Table 3: Separation

Means and Standard Deviations of Assimilation

Assimilation had the third highest average means among the four dimensions. The

highest mean responses were that the individuals would prefer to write poetry in English and

write better in English than in Hmong (M = 5.24, 5.10 and SD = 1.86, 2.16 respectively). The

next higher means were that they would typically speak English at home (M = 4.12, SD = 1.74).

The lowest responses to assimilation questions were that most of their friends at school or work

were Americans, Americans treated them better than Hmong did, it was easier communicating to

Americans than to Hmong, and they felt more comfortable socializing with Americans than

Hmong (M = 3.62, 3.28, 3.28, 3.05 and SD = 1.63, 1.74, 1.47, 1.50, 1.42, respectively) (See

Table 4). These data showed that a majority of the participants would prefer and were able to

write in English better than in Hmong. However, they still spoke both languages at home and

felt comfortable being with Hmong people and thought it was easier to communicate with

Hmong friends than American friends.

Items	Mean	SD
9. If I were asked to write poetry, I would prefer to write in English.	5.24	1.86
1. I write better in English than my native language Hmong.	5.10	2.16
5. When I am in my apartment or home, I typically speak English.	4.12	1.63
27. Most of my friends at work/school are Americans.	3.62	1.74
17. I feel that Americans understand me better than Hmong people do.	3.28	1.47
21. I find it easier to communicate my feelings to Americans than to Hmong people.	3.28	1.50

24. I feel more comfortable socializing with Americans than I do with Hmong people.	3.05	1.42
Total Average	3.86	1.49

Table 4: Assimilation

Means and Standard Deviations of Marginalization

Marginalization ranked the lowest of the four sub-dimensions, and it was found that the higher mean responses were that respondents felt there were times that no one understood them, it was hard for them to trust and communicate with other people, and other people could not understand them (M = 3.73, 3.67, 3.21, 3.09 and SD = 1.70, 1.86, 1.67, 1.63, respectively). In contrast, the lower means for marginalization were that they did not feel comfortable being with other people, it was hard for them to make friends, they felt that no one liked them, they had difficulty in socializing with other people, and they felt that no one would accept them (M = 2.85, 2.78, 2.77. 2.70, 2.54 and SD = 1.71, 1.63, 1.85, 1.76, 1.54, respectively) (See Table 5). The data showed that a majority of the participants were more marginalized toward trusting, communicating, and understanding with other people, while less marginalized toward feeling uncomfortable, being liked, being accepted, and experienced difficulty when socializing with or by other people.

Items	Mean	SD
12. There are times when I think no one understands me.	3.73	1.70
26. Sometimes I find it hard to trust both Americans and Hmong people.	3.67	1.86
16. I some time find it hard to communicate with people.	3.21	1.67
28. I find that both Hmong people and American often have difficulty understanding me.	3.09	1.63
29. I find that I do not feel comfortable when I am with other people.	2.85	1.71
20. I sometimes find it hard to make friends.	2.78	1.63
8. I sometimes feel that neither Americans nor Hmong like me.	2.77	1.85

4. Generally, I find it difficult to socialize with anybody, Hmong or American.	2.70	1.76
23. Sometimes I feel that Hmong people and American people do not accept me.	2.54	1.54
Total Average	3.04	1.71

Table 5: Marginalization

Demographics and Acculturation Correlations

No significant correlation was found between males and females in relationship to any of the four dimensions. However, age had a significant positive correlation (r = .21, p = .04) with separation, and a significant negative correlation (r = -.20, p = .05) with assimilation, but no correlation with either integration or marginalization. Generation had a significant positive correlation (r = .39, p = 00) with integration and (r = .23, p = .02) with assimilation, but a significant negative correlation (r = -.23, p = .02) with marginalization, while no correlation was found with separation.

Age of coming to the United States had a significant negative correlation (r = -.46, p = .00) with integration and in assimilation (r = -.32, p = .00), while it had a significant positive correlation with separation (r = .21, p = .04) and with marginalization (r = .23, p = .02). The length of time living in the United States had a significant positive correlation with integration (r = .38, p = .00) and negative with marginalization (r = -.22, p = .02) but no significant correlation with separation or assimilation. The level of education had significant positive correlation with integration (r = .23, p = .02) but no correlation with any other dimensions. The ability to speak, read, and write in English had a significant positive correlation (r = .57 and. -.58, p = .00) with integration (r = .37, p = .00) with assimilation, and negative (r = -.22 and -.21, p = .03) with separation but no correlation with marginalization (See Table 6).

	Integration	Separation	Assimilation	Marginalization
Genders	-.01	-.02	.09	-.06
Ages	-.14	.21[*]	-.20[*]	.04
Generations	.39[**]	-.19	.23[*]	-.23[*]
Ages Come to U.S.A.	-.46[**]	.21[*]	-.32[**]	.23[*]
Length of Living in U.S.A.	.38[**]	.03	.11	-.22[*]
Levels of Education	.23[*]	-.14	.01	-.07
Ability to Speak English	.57[**]	-.22[*]	.37[**]	-.15
Ability to Read/Write in English	.58[**]	-.21[*]	.37[**]	-.15

**p = 0.00 and *p = 0.05

Table 6: Correlation Data

Four Dimensions Correlations

Among the four dimensions of acculturation, there was no significant correlation found between integration and separation.   However, there was a positive significant correlation (r = .29, p =. 00) found between integration and assimilation, (r = .33, p = .00) between separation and marginalization, and (r = .34, p = .00) between assimilation and marginalization, while there was a significant negative correlation (r = -.27, p = .00) found between integration and marginalization (See Table 7).

	Separation	Assimilation	Marginalization
Integration	-.10	.29**	-.27**
Separation	--	.09	.33**
Assimilation	--	--	.34**

** p = 0.00

Table 7: EAAM Dimension Correlation

Demographic Correlations

Demographic data were analyzed using Pearson Correlation to understand the ages, generations, ages coming to the United States, and length of residency in the United States, in relationship to the levels of education, number of children in the family, and the abilities to speak, read, and write in English. The data showed that ages had a positive correlation with the levels of education (r = .25, p = 0.01) and with the numbers of children in each family (r = .81, p = .00). On the other hand, there was a negative correlation with the abilities to speak English (r = -.26, p = .01) and with the abilities to read and write in English (r = -.32, p = .00). Generations had no significant correlations with the levels of education. However, it had a negative correlation with the numbers of children in a family (r = -.47, p = .00) and a positive correlation with the abilities to speak, read, and write in English (r = .53, p = .00). The ages of coming to the United States had no significant correlation with the levels of education, but it had a positive correlation with the numbers of children in a family (r = .57, p = .00) and a negative significant correlation with the abilities to speak, read, and write in English (r = -.57 and -.59, p = .00). The length of residency in the United States had a positive correlation (r = .35, p = .00) with the levels of education, (r = .34, p = .00) with the numbers of children in the family, (r = .36 and .30, p = .00) and with the abilities to speak, read, and write in English (See Table 8).

Demographics	Levels of Education	Numbers of Children	Ability to speak English	Ability to read/write in English
Ages	.25[**]	.81[**]	-.26[**]	-.32[**]
Generations	-.06	-.47[**]	.53[**]	.53[**]
Ages Come to U.S.	-.00	.57[**]	-.57[**]	-.59[**]
Length of residency in U.S.	.35[**]	.34[**]	.36[**]	.30[**]

** $p = 0.00$

Table 8: Demographic Correlations

Discussion

The results of surveying 110 participants indicated that Hmong have adapted gradually and somewhat well in the United States. The data showed that they had been acculturated and ranked highest in integration (between somewhat agreed and agreed), followed by separation (between neutral and somewhat agreed), assimilation (between somewhat disagreed and neutral) and lowest in marginalization (between disagreed and somewhat disagreed) (See Table 1).

In conclusion, the data showed that the studied Hmong sample had branched into three different groups of acculturation. The most integrated groups were those who came to the United States at younger ages, had been living here for longer periods of time, had higher levels of education, and had the abilities to speak, read, and write very well in English. In contrast, the most separated groups were those who came to this country at older ages and were not able to speak, read, and write well in English. On the other hand, the most assimilated groups were those who were able to speak, read, and write well in English. The differences among these

groups were that the more integrated the group became, the less likely they would experience marginalization. On the other hand, the more separated and assimilated the groups became, the more marginalized they also became. Based on these findings, as it is likely that there will be not be any additional significantly sized groups of new Hmong refugees coming to this country, in the next couple decades, the Hmong population will likely be shifting toward the most assimilated groups, in which members may eventually be unable to understand their own culture and language. As a result, there could be large portions of the Hmong population who will experience greater levels of marginalization. Therefore, in order to reduce these problems, schools and Hmong communities will have to work together to build strong programs that will help to educate Hmong youths in the Hmong language and culture in order for them to be able to integrate themselves successfully between the two cultures.

Suggestions for Future Research

Although there have been many studies related to the Hmong population in general, there has not been much research conducted specifically pertaining to the Hmong acculturation process. Therefore, based on this study, the following future research would be appropriate: 1) it would be beneficial to duplicate this study in a different geographical location to see if the findings are similar. 2) A revision of the EAAM specifically designed to match with the characteristics of the Hmong language and culture would be very useful to help to understand what specifically could help or prevent Hmong in each generation to become integrated in American society. 3) And a comparison and mixed-method study of acculturation issues mainly among Generation 1, Generation 1.5, and Generation 2 would be very useful to help to understand what factors are exacerbating the gaps among each generation.

Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations to this study. First, the demographic questionnaire and instrument were only written in English; therefore, it could affect the interpretation ability of some of the participants who could not read English well. Second, since the survey was done during a time of a holiday celebration, this may have impacted the ability of the participants to accurately and patiently complete all the information. Third, the number of participants was also limited (N = 110); therefore, the results may not reflect the general Hmong population. Fourth, previous studies indicated that Hmong populations who live in different parts of the United States adjust differently to their environment (Yang, 2003), and since this study took place only in Eastern Wisconsin, it may not fully reflect upon the Hmong population in other regions. Fifth, because the study was done only with the Hmong population, the information may not be able to be fully generalizable to other minority populations. Therefore, future research should take these limitations into consideration. However, since several of the findings here are similar to the findings other researchers, it could be generalized to the Hmong populations who live in similar environments or to other minority populations who have somewhat similar cultures and experiences as the Hmong.

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