

A WANDERING NATION: MIGRATION HISTORY AND CULTURAL PRESENTATION OF THE TRANSNATIONAL HMONG

UMA NAÇÃO ERRANTE: HISTÓRIA DA MIGRAÇÃO E APRESENTAÇÃO CULTURAL DA HMONG TRANSNACIONAL

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Abstract: As a nation with a long history, the Hmong has crossed the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau, moved into Southeast Asia, then moved to Europe and the United States in the historical evolution and modern changes, becoming an international nation. Although many cores cultural elements that have been passed down and continued for a long time within the Miao community play a strong cohesive force, due to the differences in the natural ecological environment, livelihood, political and cultural background of the country where they are located. There are many distinctive and diverse cultural differences within this huge group, which are constantly evolving with historical changes.

Keywords: Transnational Hmong. Migration distribution. Cultural Identity. Modern evolution.

Resumo: Como uma nação com uma longa história, os Hmong cruzaram o planalto de Yunnan-Guizhou, mudaram-se para o sudeste da Ásia e depois se mudaram para a Europa e os Estados Unidos na evolução histórica e nas mudanças modernas, tornando-se uma nação internacional. Embora muitos núcleos culturais que tenham sido transmitidos e continuados por muito tempo dentro da comunidade Miao desempenhem uma forte força de coesão, devido às diferenças no ambiente ecológico natural, meios de subsistência, contexto político e cultural do país onde estão localizados. Existem muitas diferenças culturais distintas e diversas dentro deste enorme grupo, que estão em constante evolução com as mudanças históricas.

Palavras-chave: Hmong Transnacional. Distribuição de migração. Identidade cultural. Evolução moderna.

1. Introduction

China is the birthplace of the Hmong, and due to the influence of social structure, livelihood patterns, war and turmoil, the Hmong gradually crossed the border and flourished in more than a dozen countries on five continents, showing the distribution characteristics of multiple clades, extensive diaspora, large mixed and micro-colonies. According to China's 7th census in 2021, the total population of the Hmong in China is about 11.06 million, mainly distributed in Guizhou, Hunan, Yunnan, Chongqing, Guangxi, Hubei, Sichuan, other provinces, and autonomous regions. In addition, there are also about 2 million the Hmong populations in Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and the uplifted mountains of northern Myanmar in Southeast Asia, as well as in the United States, France, French Guiana, Australia, and other countries. These Hmong living overseas are an indispensable part of the overseas Chinese. They have contributed to the transformation of the traditional Chinese nation into an international nation. Domestic and foreign scholars have noticed the particularity and importance of transnational Hmong, but most of the existing studies are scattered. Therefore, this paper introduces the migration history, distribution status, cultural characteristics of the Hmong outside China, as well as the transformation of the Hmong to adapt to the surrounding environment.

2. Transnational Hmong Migration History and Distribution Range

(1) The Hmong: Crossing border's nation

In the mid-seventeenth century, the political turmoil brought about by the change of dynasties in China, especially the final battle between the armed forces of the Ming and Qing dynasties in Yunnan, led to drastic changes in the social life of the peoples. After the Qing Dynasty replaced the Ming Dynasty, there was a period of relative stability on the Chinese frontier, but the subsequent implementation of the "land conversion改土归流" provoked resistance from the various ethnic groups in the southwest, which led to the resurgence of the war and the migration of the Hmong in different scales and ways.

The first stop of the Hmong after migrating out of China was Vietnam. According to the different time periods and routes, there are three main periods: the earliest one was from the 17th century to the early 18th century, when the Hmong of Guizhou moved to Dong Van County, Hoa Giang Province, Vietnam, after they failed to resist the struggle for "land conversion改土归流"; the second migration occurred between 1796 and 1820, when

the Hmong of Guizhou resisted the rule of the Qianlong乾隆 and Jiaqing嘉庆 emperors. The second migration took place between 1796 and 1820, when some Hmong in Guizhou defied the rule of the Qianlong and Jiaqing emperors, and some of them came to Dong Van district in Ha Giang province, then scattered to Hoang Thuy Phi and other places in Ha Giang province, while some others migrated to the northwest after reaching Tay Ma street in Lao Cai province; the third migration took place between 1840 and 1868 during the Taiping Rebellion, about 10,000 people migrated across the border to Lao Cai, Ha Giang, Yen Bai and various places in the northwest of Vietnam (Lin,1984).

However, some scholars believe that Hmong migrated to Vietnam on a large scale during the Shunzhi 顺治period of the Qing Dynasty in the mid-17th century, the Jiaqing period in the mid-to-late 18th century, the Xiandong 咸同 period in the second half of the 19th century, and after the Opium War, four periods in total.(Qin, 1990:112-114) Regardless of the viewpoint of migration, the Hmong have been moving from China to Vietnam for about four hundred years. During this period, the Hmong migrated to Vietnam in many batches through various routes and formed a wide distribution in the mountainous areas of Ha Giang, Lai Chau, Cao Bang, Son La, Nghe An, Lao Cai, Thanh Hoa, Yen Bai, Tuyen Quang, Hoa Binh and Lang Son provinces in the north and south-central Vietnam.

Among the many ethnic groups in Laos, the Hmong are more inclined to choose to live in the hilltop area. The time of their migration to Laos varies from country to country due to the differences in access to literature. Lao historian Phoumi Vongvichit suggesting that the Hmong moved to the Laotian region of Shanglao around the 17th-18th centuries. (Hao, 2019) However, most scholars believe that it was only after the 18th century that Hmong gradually moved into Laos from China and Vietnam. According to information collected by French colonial official Paul Le Belanger, between 1847 and 1850, many Hmong from Sichuan and Yunnan in China moved to the mountains near Luang Prabang, where they established villages and cleared the land for opium cultivation (Michaud & Ovesen, 2000:36).

The migration routes were mainly divided into two types: direct migration from China and migration from Vietnam. Most of the Hmong groups living in Phongsali, Oudomxay, Luang Prabang and Vientiane were migrated from Yunnan Province of China, while most of the Hmong living in Huaphan (Sang Nguyen) and Xiang Khouang Provinces were migrated from the neighboring areas of Vietnam. (Shi, 2006:224) As for the Hmong who

moved into Laos from Vietnam, some of them moved out of China and stayed in Vietnam for a short time before continuing to move westward to Laos, while others lived in Vietnam for several years before moving westward to Laos. Some scholars believe that the Hmong in Laos mainly migrated from Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam in the middle of the 19th century. They first came to the area of Houaphanh Province and then continued to migrate southwest, westward to Louang Namtha, Pochoe, Sayaburi and other provinces, and southward to Xiang Khouang, Luang Prabang, Vientiane and Bolikhamxay provinces (Huang, 2006:113-114).

Compared to other Southeast Asian countries, the Hmong may have migrated from China to Burma later in general. Among the Burmese Hmong, there is a theory that their ancestors first lived in Guizhou and then moved to Yunnan. It is said that about 300 large Hmong families gathered in groups and moved to Burma because of the fierce struggle between the Hui and the Qing Dynasty rulers in Yunnan at that time. In terms of migration routes, there are three main ways: one is from southwestern Yunnan Province (Zhenkang County, Lincang Region), which is directly into the Kokang Mountains of Myanmar bordering Yunnan Province. They through the provinces of Louang Namtha and Bokeo in Laos and Chiang Rai in Thailand, and into the Kyuing region of Burma. In addition, most of them are scattered after advancing from Vietnam to Laos and Thailand, the second one is through western Thailand into the southeastern and southern areas of the eastern branch of Myanmar (Shi, 2004:197). The other is through the provinces of Luang Nam Thar and Pokao in Laos and Chiang Rai in Thailand, and into the Keng Tung region of Myanmar. They are mainly distributed in Dadang Reservoir, Jiadi Mau, Bison Ba, Bawei, Manlo, Palma Chai, Ma Li Ba, Hedian Ba, Kamen, Deni, Monai and Dong Chi, Keng Tung, Rakhine and Palmo of Shan State. However, there is no exact record of when the Hmong moved into Burma. In any case, the Burmese Hmong has attracted the attention of scholars.

The migration of the Hmong to Thailand has a history of about 200 years, and the British geographer John McCarthy mentioned Hmong to Nangpoo in his 1880 account of migration to Thailand. Chinese scholars are more inclined to believe that the Hmong in Thailand were mainly Chinese Hmong who moved to Laos and stayed there for a long time before moving to Thailand as "refugees" in the mid to late 19th century. The first and most important migration route was through Mangxai or Huay Xai in Laos to Chiang Khong in Thailand, which was the northernmost route; the second route was through Sayaburi to

Poona, which was a little further south; and the third route was through Phu Khao to Le Phu, which was closest to Vietnam. After reaching Chiang Khong, the Hmong migrating from Laos to Thailand were divided into two groups, each following two parallel mountain ranges that run through northern Thailand. One branch first followed the Thai-Burma border and then moved into Mae Hong Son and Chiang Mai provinces; the other branch went south along the Thai Lao border and gradually spread to Tonglam, Buea, Thibaw, and Knei, and finally reached Phetchabun province. The Thai Hmong migrated directly or through Vietnam and Laos. (Zhang, 1987) Although there are Hmong in all provinces in northern Thailand, the largest number of Hmong live in Nang Phu, Chiang Rai, and Chiang Mai. There are also large numbers of Hmong in Phetchabun, especially in Pongsilok, Lampang, Phrae, Mae Hong Son, and Lai. Some Hmong have also moved south to the Chainat area in western Thailand. Daphne is the main place where Hmong have recently migrated (Le, 1980).

(2) Global Dispersal of Hmong

In the past 50 years, the Hmong of Southeast Asia have migrated to the United States, Europe, Oceania, and other countries and regions due to international wars, domestic wars, ethnic and religious conflicts, and the needs of production and life. Since the 1970s, the Indo-Chinese region has been plagued by continuous wars, political instability. In 1973, due to the changes in the international and domestic situation, many Hmong who had participated in the "Secret War" in Laos and their families fled for fear of reprisals. According to some figures, 60,000 Lao Hmong people fled to Thailand in 1975, 44,000 of whom were taken in by Thai refugee camps. (Chang, 1988) By March 1980, according to the UN, the total number of Hmong refugees in Thailand had reached 48,937 (Shen & Liu, 1988:134-135). During this period, the Thai government worked with the UNHCR, international relief organizations and Western countries to send the Hmong "economic refugees" or "political refugees" in batches to different parts of the world.

Among them, the United States was the largest recipient of Hmong refugees. From 1975 to 1990, the U.S. received 130,000 Hmong people in refugee camps in Thailand, and the number has continued to grow since then. As of 2010, there were approximately 260,000 Hmong people in the United States, and by 2017, the Hmong population had grown to 310,000. The main reason for the rapid growth of the U.S. Hmong population is the continuous influx of new immigrants. In addition to coming to the U.S. as refugees,

some Hmong who have settled in the U.S. have applied for family reunification, and some Hmong living in Asian countries have moved to the U.S. through marriage channels. (Peng, 2017)

In addition to the United States, France was the recipient of a larger number of Hmong refugees. From 1975 to 1980, about 5,000 Lao Hmong refugees went to France for refuge, accounting for 20% of all refugees who went to France for refuge. Although there are only about 10,000 Hmong people in France, because of the small size of the country, Hmong are scattered throughout France, with concentrations in Paris, Lyon, Limoges, Orléans, Bourges and other departments and cities, while others are scattered with a few to a dozen families. In Oceania, Hmong is mainly located in Australia. At present, the total number of Hmong people in the whole Australia is 2470. They are mainly settled in Sydney, New South Wales; Hobart, Tasmania; Innisfail, Brisbane, Queensland; and Melbourne, Victoria. The largest number of Hmong people live in Brisbane, with 647 in 2009. (Lee, 2011) In addition, in Canada, Germany, Italy, Argentina, Japan and other countries, and even French Guiana, New Zealand, the Philippines, Tanzania and other countries and regions also have Hmong settlement. After the 1980s, the current situation of cross-border movement of Hmong has diversified, with migration for the purposes of marriage, study, and part-time work becoming the main orientation.

To sum up, the Hmong group, which is known for crossing many countries, a wide range of borders, and a long period of time, is mostly related directly or indirectly to wars, social unrest, and other large-scale cross-border movements of Hmong, whether it is the successive large-scale migrations in history or the contemporary migration to Europe and America and other countries. Of course, on the one hand, their distribution in more than ten countries around the world is not completed in one migration, but through multiple batches and multiple ways; on the other hand, the new trends and characteristics that emerge in the contemporary migration also indicate that the current and future cross-border movement of the Hmong group will present a richer and more diverse basic situation due to the influence of more factors and the expansion of more ways.

3. Cultural identity and ethnic boundaries of overseas Hmong

The long migration and wide distribution of Hmong have made it a cosmopolitan nation, and it is the cultural commonality and inner identity among the Hmong

communities that have built the core of their internal structure. Although in the process of migration and dispersion over the past 2,000 years, the groups have become more and more distant from each other spatially, and the variation in specific cultural aspects has increased, as a community with a common origin, they still retain their common historical collective memory through language and script, literature art, living customs, religious beliefs, and livelihood patterns, and have "fused it into their blood " (Naran, 2020) and inscribed on their genes. Especially for a highly mobile ethnic group, this is the fundamental basis for safeguarding, perpetuating, and consolidating their national identity.

It is generally believed that the Hmong migrating to Southeast Asia and the rest of the world as a community are composed of different and intermingled branches, such as the White, Green, Flower, and Han Hmong. However, due to the diversity, intermingling, and fluidity of Hmong's own clades, as well as the differences in language and text descriptions, and the differences in the expressions and translations of related materials, the names of Hmong and its internal communities are somewhat mixed and ambiguous in various countries. For example, the Green Hmong in Yunnan Province call themselves "Meng Shi", while the Hmong in Vietnam call themselves "Monzo" and the Hmong in Thailand call themselves "Moob Ntsuab". In fact, in the complex context of a multi-ethnic region, it is difficult to describe the attributes of subgroups based only on cultural characteristics such as language, dress, and beliefs.

In terms of language genealogy, Miao is a monosyllabic tonal language belonging to the Miao branch of the Miao-Yao language family of the Sino-Tibetan language family. Most Chinese scholars classify it into three major dialects, eight subdialects, and eighteen vernaculars. (Li, 2000:229-238) Among them, the Western dialect is the most widespread, the most widely spoken and the most complex among the three dialects, with about 3.6 million speakers. The Hmong group outside of China mostly speaks the western dialect of Hmong, a subdialect of Chuandianqian川滇黔次方言, and call themselves Hmongb ("Hmong" or "Meng"). Considering the regional scope, population, and frequency of use of the subdialects of Hmong, some foreign scholars have proposed to classify the cross-border Hmong groups into the White Hmong (Lus Hmoob Dawb) and the Green Hmong (Lus Hmoob Ntsuab). In general, the White Hmong language is spoken by a relatively large number of people, and most of the related printed materials and audio-visual media materials are based on the White Hmong language. However, in the actual environment, even within the same branch, there are often variations in phonology and vocabulary due

to the surrounding environment and other factors, and some even use other ethnic languages. What is more obvious is that Hmong groups distributed in other countries, especially the younger generation, are again influenced by the official language of the host country.

The question of whether the Hmong have their own script has always been a controversial issue. In many Hmong epics and ancient texts, it has been pointed out that Hmong had its own script, but it was later lost for various reasons. However, most scholars believe that Hmong historically did not have its own script, and so far, the Hmong region does not have a more unified set of their own ethnic script. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chinese linguists created a relatively complete set of new Hmong scripts based on each of the three major dialects of Hmong based on the old Hmong script. Lao Hmong, with the help of missionaries, developed the Romanized Alphabet (R.P.A.), which was first popularized in the refugee camps in Thailand and expanded with the second migration. Pahawh Hmong alphabet (PHA), a set of Hmong characters that resemble square characters, was also created in Vietnam. In general, the contemporary use of these scripts has a specific scope, and more interactions are needed to modernize Hmong culture.

In literature, the myths and legends of Hmong are listed in the world for their rich content and magnitude, and they have high literary and historical value because they involve various aspects of the history, culture, and social outlook of Hmong, and they maintain the common historical memory of the nation, and they have become important materials for studying the history and culture, national character, customs, and habits of Hmong in the world. Accordingly, Hmong has long been known for its dexterity and ability to sing and dance. Among them, the Hmong silver ornaments, hand-made batik, sewn colorful national costumes, etc., have become a symbol of the cross-border Hmong group to a certain extent and are very representative. Hmong performing arts are also prevalent in daily life and ceremonial activities, such as the annual Hmong " Flower Hill Festival 踩花山", young men and women will express their feelings by singing mountain songs, blowing Lusheng 芦笙, dancing the Lusheng Dance, etc.. As a kind of intangible culture, it is more directly and strongly influenced by the outside world. For example, in some Hmong regions, after the ban on hemp cultivation, few people now know the technique of spinning hemp. The cultural changes of Hmong groups in Europe and America are more rapid than those in Southeast Asia, but they have been able to preserve

and pass on their traditional culture in the new social context by opening Hmong schools and other means.

In terms of costume, as one of the important criteria to distinguish the Hmong clans, the costumes of different clans often have different elements and styles, while the costumes of men are basically the same, i.e., they wear short clothes with lapel sleeves and wide legged pants with large crotch. The costumes of Hmong women are richer in content and connotation, with pleated skirts, short tops with narrow sleeves and various types of leggings. However, the specific style, color pattern of the costumes of different clans varies. For example, the White Hmong used to wear white linen pleated skirts; the Black Hmong women usually wear long black or green skirts and black leggings; and the Flower Hmong women like to wear a square scarf in a bun on top of their heads. The Hmong of some Southeast Asian countries used to decorate their clothing and jewelry with silver coins circulated during the French rule, and some of this decorative style remains. In contemporary times, the Hmong costumes of different countries and regions tend to converge while changing. For example, in recent years, the Hmong costumes around the border of southwest China have become more colorful and popular by incorporating the characteristics of many branches and modern costumes in the mass production of machines.

Ritual customs are integrated into every aspect of the life of the Hmong people and become the norm of their productive life, an unwritten system of social control for the Hmong. Not only can Hmong vary in specific dimensions from country to country, but each clan also has different expressions of the tradition among themselves. For example, the wedding and funeral ceremonies of each branch of Hmong along the Sino-Vietnamese border have different procedures, statutes, and taboos for different branches. Such clan differences have even become a symbolic expression of mutual separation, for example, the White and Green Hmong in some regions are said to have been mutually exclusive. (Yang, 2008:278) In addition to the clan differences, there are also certain cultural differences between different families in the same clan or village. For example, many Hmong families along the Sino-Vietnamese border have their own legends of origin and specific food taboos, in addition to differences in surnames, and are distinguished from each other especially by family rituals such as ancestral rituals, "Zuo Suo 做嗦", and "Ji Men Zhu 祭门猪". For example, the "Zuo Suo" is held periodically as a family unit among different families of the same family, and different families have their own ritual procedures

and detailed features.

Traditionally, Hmong is a polytheistic belief system combining ancestor worship, ghost worship and nature worship. However, since the introduction of Christianity to the Hmong region in the mid to late 19th century, some Hmong in Guizhou and Yunnan regions of China, especially the Dahua Miao and other clans, soon abandoned their traditional belief system and switched to Christianity. In other Southeast Asian and Western countries, many Hmong have now converted to Christianity or other religions as well. However, many Hmong groups still retain their traditional belief systems. For example, most Hmong people in Australia still follow the traditional Hmong animist and ancestor worship beliefs. (Lee, 2011) By maintaining their traditional religion, they can express their Hmong identity and demonstrate their unique identity as part of Australia's multiculturalism.

In addition to the above prominent cultural features, the early Hmong were also widely known for their nomadic lifestyle based on traditional agriculture of slash-and-burn farming. In modern times, after modern warfare and industrialization, young Hmong people have seen the power of modern civilization and are more willing to give up their land and choose a new way of life, and gradually change from nomadic farming to sedentary farming due to the influence of environmental resources, population, and policies of different countries, but the specific time and way of change are quite different. The Hmong groups who entered Europe and America quickly changed their traditional livelihood patterns and adapted to the new environment through large-scale farming, working and business. Of course, the overall standard of living of the Hmong in different countries varies greatly depending on the general environment such as national policies and the level of economic development.

It can be seen that although the Hmong scattered all over the world belong to the same ethnic group and share many of the same cultural characteristics, during the long migration and dispersion process, due to the differences in social and cultural environments in different historical stages and regions, as well as their own diffusion and development process of adaptation and variation, finally contributed to the long-term continuous twisting contract between Hmong families, clans, ethnic groups, countries and other social levels. The cultural formation of the Hmong family, clans, ethnic groups, and the nation has been constantly fractured, and the identity has been lost in different degrees.

4. The reality and cultural expression of Hmong outside China

Although the Hmong in different places have always been able to perpetuate and consolidate their own national historical memory and cultural traditions, maintain their ethnic identity and national spirit through various material and non-material means. However, due to the differences in historical clans and regions, as well as the different natural, social, and cultural environments in their countries of residence and locations, and the different influences from other ethnic groups or groups, the Hmong groups scattered around the world are constantly evolving with their unique ethnic survival strategies in the process of adapting to new social and cultural environments.

In the third national census of Vietnam in 1999, there were 787,604 Hmong people, mainly including White, Flower, Black, Han, and Green Hmong subgroups, reaching more than 960,000 people by 2020. The average altitude of the settlement area is 700 to 1,800 meters, mostly distributed in a continuous mountainous area, interspersed with some valleys, water channels and hollows formed by karst terrain. The higher altitude difference affects their economic production, and along with the increase in population pressure, migration has become more frequent. For example, in the 15 years from 1976 to 1999, 32,121 Hmong migrated spontaneously in Hoang Lien Son Province, (Tran, 1996:20) many to more remote and closed mountainous areas to establish new villages, causing greater difficulties in transportation development and cultural transmission. However, with the policy guidance of the Vietnamese government and the development of the socio-economic environment, some Hmong have tended to settle in settled farming, like in Dong Van and A Minh County, where Hmong have reclaimed terraces on the hillsides, developed and improved water conservancy facilities, and plowed, weeded, and fertilized the terraces. Some Hmong families have started to move away from mountain farming production, choosing instead to grow specialty cash crops and fruit trees, etc.

Although the Lao Hmong were only identified as an independent ethnic group in 1985, there were 315,465 Hmong in the 1995 Lao census, accounting for 7.2% of the total population of Laos, and 724,108 Hmong in the 2005 census, making them the third largest ethnic group in Laos, mainly in Vientiane, Xiang Khouang, Luang Prabang, Oudomxay, Huaphan, and Bolikhamxay provinces. (Hao, 2019) In Laos, the early Hmong lived mainly in the high mountainous areas in the north and relied almost entirely on slash-and-burn farming, cultivating land on steep mountain slopes, and growing mainly corn, dry rice,

poppy, tobacco, coffee, rubber, and other crops. Among them, poppy is the main source of economic income for the Hmong people. In recent years, poppy cultivation among the Hmong people has only gradually decreased due to the multifaceted role of the Lao government. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Control, the area under poppy cultivation in Laos declined from 26,830 hectares in 1998 to 1,600 hectares in 2008. Of the six northern provinces of Laos, only a few in Xiang Khouang, where the Hmong population is concentrated, cultivate opium poppy. Most of the Hmong have abandoned poppy cultivation and have replaced opium cultivation with a variety of cash crops, thus changing their previous livelihood patterns. Tens of thousands of Hmong also moved to the plains and moved from nomadic farming to sedentary farming, cultivating rice, vegetables, fruits, etc. In addition, the overall situation of the Lao Hmong is improving as they begin to gain greater access and rights to health care and education.

In Thailand, according to the 2002 census data released by the Mountain People Research Center of Thailand, there are 153,955 Hmong, the second largest population among the northern mountain peoples, with the five provinces of Daphne, Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Nang Phu and Phetchabun having the largest Hmong population. (Peng, 2007) In the beginning, the Thai Hmong, like the Hmong of other countries, lived a nomadic life. Poppy was also the main source of their economic income, accounting for 40% of the total income of the Hmong economy until 1959 (Shen & Liu, 1988:133). After World War II, with the accelerated modernization of Thailand, the rapid changes in science and technology, and the implementation of various policies and measures by the Thai government, the area of poppy cultivation and its production by the Hmong mountain people have been decreasing, and the agricultural and livestock farming techniques of the villages have been generally improved. The model of multi-industry development from cultivation to cultivation, breeding and tourism has basically been transformed. For example, A Hmong village, just two hours away from Chiang Mai city, has been implementing alternative crop development programs for almost 40 years now. After stopping poppy cultivation, villagers provide fresh fruits and vegetables to the market. Currently the lowest annual income of the villagers' families is about 70,000-80,000 baht and the highest is 300,000-400,000 baht. At the same time, since this village is located within the boundaries of Doi Inthanon National Park, some villagers have started to give up farming and work as guides or casual workers in eco-tourism clubs, while some sell flowers, souvenirs, food, etc. near the park (Peng, 2009).

Of course, Hmong from other countries outside Southeast Asia are basically Thai refugees and their descendants. These people were accepted by various countries and lived in certain areas of the new countries, forming a new chapter in the history of secondary migration.

The American Hmong call themselves "Mon" and mainly include the Green, White, Flower, and Han Hmong branches. Most of them left Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam to come to the U.S. from May 1975, and have been increasing year by year since then. In the early days, most of them lived in Fresno, California. By the end of 1986, there were about 46,000 people settled in California. However, by the 1990s there was a tendency to migrate from California to Minnesota, Wisconsin, and other Midwestern areas. In 1999, the connected cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota, had a Hmong population of over 60,000, making them now the most concentrated places in the United States. In general, with the rapid growth of the Hmong population in the U.S., unemployment problems, and changes in welfare policies, the Hmong population in the U.S. has been moving in a "large mix, small clusters" pattern, scattered in more than 30 states from west to east and from south to north, but in recent years it has been concentrated in California, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and other states.

Their family and clan structures have gradually evolved into groups that are mainly tied by geographical ties. For example, the "Eighteen Surnames Hmong Association 十八姓赫蒙联合会" operates according to the basic rules of "kinship-identity-identity alliance", and its organization and its activities can be regarded as a continuation and innovation of the traditional family model. The organization and its activities can be regarded as the continuation and innovation of the traditional family model. Meanwhile, after more than 30 years of unremitting efforts, the American Hmong has made great progress in culture and education, professional skills, production and economy, and political participation, etc. For example, between 1990 and 2010, the percentage of American Hmong residents aged 25 or older with a bachelor's degree or higher increased from 4.9% in 1990 to 14.5% in 2010, (Yang, 2012) and they firmly believe that Education is the main way to change their destiny and actively overcome the cultural barriers they face in the education process. However, due to a variety of factors, daily life in Hmong is still full of old and new problems such as juvenile delinquency, health insurance, traditional cultural preservation, and cultural conflicts.

Due to the high taxation policy in France, the number of businessmen in Hmong was

not large and the economy was mostly small. Although there were not many businessmen, many of them still found a way out with their own ability. For example, in Paris, some Hmong bought cars and started cabs, earning up to more than 1,000 francs a day. In Nimes in the south of France, they give play to their own farming skills, buying or renting land to grow vegetables and fruits, etc. Whenever the harvest season comes, they can earn 700 or 800 francs by selling vegetables once. It can be said that French Hmong families are no less wealthy than American Hmong, but they mostly save their savings for possible future hardships and pension problems. (Xiong, 1996)

In March 1976, the Australian government took in a group of Lao refugees seeking political asylum from a refugee camp in Thailand. In the following period, a few more Hmong migrated to Australia. There are only a few families of each surname, and they have no more kinship ties with each other. The first Australian Hmong Association was formed in Victoria in 1978, followed by chapters in New South Wales, the Australian Capital Territory and Tasmania, and a consortium to develop policy and coordinate the activities of the state chapters. Now almost all Hmong families throughout Australia have contributed to the group. Initially, most Hmong were reluctant to perform any traditional rituals in Australia, but now they perform rituals such as "spirit shouting喊魂", as well as the occasional door priest, pig sacrifice, and New Year's rituals or celebrations. However, outside of the home, their cultural expression is still limited to the exhibition of handicrafts, the playing of Lusheng, and the singing of traditional folk songs. The Hmong have now largely adapted to the rhythm of Australian life.

We must admit that under the premise of modern state construction, with the increasing clarity of national boundaries, the previous larger-scale and autonomous cross-border movements gradually tend to diminish, and the lifestyles of the Hmong in various countries in general gradually change from migration to settlement. This has not only brought about the corresponding evolution of livelihood patterns, social structures, modes of interaction and even some cultural practices, but also the possibility of passing on and enriching traditional Hmong culture.

5. Conclusion

Over thousands of years, Hmong has moved several times and gradually become a cosmopolitan people through many ways and routes. During the migrations, the disparities

within the Hmong culture have become increasingly wide, from the family and clan to the national level, but this does not deny the integrity of the Hmong social system. To a certain extent, it is the strong cohesion and continuous diffusion of the Hmong culture that has created a more prominent ethnic identity of Hmong. Of course, this identity is no longer the slash-and-burn of the mountainous peoples, but the international perspective that emerges from the inheritance, integration, and adaptation of traditional Hmong culture, which has become a tool for its integration into the new country and offers the possibility of strengthening ties between cross-border peoples, which will bring about a new structural system of Hmong after cultural adjustment.

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