

STUDY & STRUGGLE

Tracking Anti-HMoob Violence in CA, MN, and WI, 1975-2019



WRITTEN BY:
Maij Xyooj, Choua P. Xiong,
Jessica Y. Wang, Thao Nguyen,
Jasmine An

Cia Siab, Inc.
La Crosse, WI
November 2022

Cia Siab Inc.'s mission is to provide culturally empowering advocacy to the Hmoob Community through holistic support services, with the revitalization of the Hmoob language and culture as the foundation.



Cia Siab, Inc.

Cia Siab, Inc.
1825 Sunset Lane
La Crosse, WI 54601
www.ciasiabinc.org
info@ciasiabinc.org

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments & Credits	2
Executive Summary	3
Lus Nkaw/Lus Xaus Ntawm Kev Tshawb Fawb (Tau Dab Tsi)	6
Introduction	10
Grounding Anti-HMoob Violence	12
The Pyramid of Hate	14
Findings	16
• Key Finding #1: Wisconsin is a Hotbed for Anti-HMoob Violence	
• Key Finding #2: Institutional Justice is Insufficient to Address Systemic Injustice	27
• Key Finding #3: Media Bias Manipulated Public Dialogue on the Chai Soua Vang Case	40
Conclusion	47
References	50
Glossary	55
Txhais Cov Lus Siv Hauv Txoj Kev Tshawb Fawb No	57
Appendices	59
Appendix A: Research Design and Method	
Appendix B: Bibliographic Information on News Articles	62
Appendix C: Design for Oral History Interviews	68
Appendix D: Copy of Oral History Interview Protocol	69



Acknowledgements & Credits

The founding team of researchers included the following individuals:

- Xong Xiong, EdD, Executive Director at Cia Siab, Inc.; Community Member
- Linda Xiong, Assistant Director, Cia Siab, Inc.; Community Member
- Maij Xyooj, Community Resource Advocate, Cia Siab, Inc.; Community Member
- Maggie Xiong, Community Member
- Thao Nguyen, Research Assistant

We also acknowledge volunteers and interns who have made this research possible:

- Mai Lee
- Elleen C. Thao
- Nou Xiong
- Nhia Thao
- Webster An

This project was completed with partial support from the following funders, whose views do not necessarily align with those expressed in the report*:

- AAPI Civic Engagement Fund
- PRISM Foundation
- University of Michigan Library, NCID Anti-Racist Collaborative, and LSA Technology Services, Anti-Racism Digital Research Grant
- University of Michigan, Rackham Public Scholarship Grant
- University of Michigan, Department of Women's and Gender Studies, Herman Family Internship Initiative

The report title “Study & Struggle” comes from Leigh Patel’s (2021) book *No Study without Struggle: Confronting Settler Colonialism in Higher Education*, where she argues that our work towards community wellbeing inevitably involves study and struggle.

In a step toward accountability to the HMoob community (of which this research is about), we would like to ensure that our communities have access to this report as well as the project's raw data files. As such, **this report & our dataset can be downloaded** on Cia Siab, Inc.'s website: www.ciasiabinc.org.

*An earlier version of this report did not include this disclaimer. The authors added this disclaimer on February 18, 2023.

Executive Summary

Key Findings

1. WI is a hotbed of anti-HMoob violence:

From 1975 to 2019, between California (CA), Minnesota (MN), and Wisconsin (WI), there were 323 incidents of anti-HMoob violence. WI has the highest counts of anti-HMoob violence (N=136/323). Anti-HMoob violence in WI reflects the racial climate of the conservative-leaning political state combined with the visibility of the HMoob population (the majority-minority of Asians).

2. Compared to the criminal legal system, community-led initiatives more effectively uncovered civil liberties violations and supported HMoob victims more holistically:

HMoob people, alongside Black and Brown people, have experienced systemic violence at the hands of the criminal legal system and other government institutions. HMoob people often seek institutional justice through the legal system, which is often unattainable. Community-led initiatives led to more reforms in the police, uncovering of civil liberties infringements, and support of HMoob people wholly. At the same time, community-led initiatives to seek justice must expand their understanding of hate violence to include gender.

3. As seen in the Chai Soua Vang case, news media frames HMoob people in ways that other them, making anti-HMoob violence publicly justifiable:

Reporting is subjective, and, as with Chai Soua Vang's incident, news media produces a public dialogue that marginalizes HMoob people. This public dialogue works in tandem with structures and processes of white supremacist heteropatriarchy to dehumanize HMoob victims of violence.

Description

The Anti-HMoob Violence Research Project is a multi-year, multi-methods study on hate violence against HMoob people in California (CA), Minnesota (MN), and Wisconsin (WI) from 1975 to 2019. **Anti-HMoob violence is defined as behavior, attitudes, and actions from white people, who have access to power, that harm and oppress HMoob folks, thereby perpetuating white supremacy.** Following this definition, the perpetrators of anti-HMoob violence are whites, not BIPOC.

Method & Design

Our mixed-method research protocol includes quantitative analysis of published news articles and oral history interviews with six La Crosse HMoob community members. We tagged 323 anti-HMoob violence incidents from 648 news articles.

Recommendations (for policy makers, funders, news media, and allies)

Holistic support for HMoob communities:

We recommend policymakers, funders, and allies invest in and support the spiritual, physical, mental, and emotional health of HMoob communities to effectively prevent anti-HMoob violence and buffer against the trauma and aftermath of such violence. In the area of spiritual health, we recommend efforts to foster healing. For emotional health, we recommend efforts in culturally-relevant counseling and traditional HMoob ways of support. In the area of physical health, we recommend bolstering long-term and sustainable efforts around housing programs, access to traditional clean and healthy HMoob foods and meals, and HMoob communities' financial wellness. Financial stability is linked to one's ability to self-advocate effectively.

Funding to culturally-specific community organizations to build, support, and enhance services on violence prevention, education, and victim support and empowerment:

We recommend that federal and state resources be invested in building, supporting, and strengthening culturally-specific and linguistic services that center HMoob people and their lived experiences as well as community-led initiatives around wellness, education, racial-gender-language justice, victim support and violence prevention. The climate and demography of WI contribute

to the visibility of HMoob people and the socio-political violence they experience. Our study found that community action created more just results for victims than actions from institutions, such as police departments, courts, etc. This highlights the necessity to increase funding to support community organizations and community-led efforts as they are the ones which center victims' wellbeing and needs in their advocacy, as well as work intimately with and holistically support HMoob victims of violence.

● **Support and expand Cia Siab, Inc.'s anti-HMoob hate violence tracking efforts:**

Cia Siab, Inc. is the only organization in the U.S. to track hate violence against HMoob people. The tracking effort is only as good as the ability to maintain the infrastructure to enable reporting. Furthermore, education on and awareness of reporting anti-HMoob violence is necessary for people to report. Data on anti-HMoob violence will help community-based social justice organizations' efforts to make effective data-informed community education, outreach, and prevention efforts.

● **Disaggregate Asian Pacific Islander American (APIA) data:**

There is tremendous ethnic, cultural, social, and class diversity in "Asian Pacific Islander Americans." We each deserve to be represented. Without data disaggregation, some of us remain overlooked in data points and inadequately served. Hate violence is one example of how data aggregation makes HMoob people invisible. We recommend a data justice approach to data disaggregation when it comes to all other areas of social and political life, including but not limited to public health and medicine, education, income and class, and hate violence.

● **Employ and center anti-racist values, principles, and practices in news media:**

Anti-racism in the news media is necessary to effectively battle harmful discourses about HMoob people. Racist discourses and news media's re/use of these discourses shape material realities for many HMoob individuals. This manifests in many ways, such as anti-HMoob racist rhetoric and violence against HMoob people.

Lus Nkaw/Lus Xaus Ntawm Kev Tshawb Fawb (Tau Dab Tsi)

Qhov Tseem Ntsiab Ntawm Kev Tshawb Fawb Tau:

1. (Lub xeev) Wisconsin yog ib lub xeev ua muaj kev tawm tsam vim muaj kev ntxub rau/txog HMoob:

Txij li xyoo 1975 txog xyoo 2019, hauv lub xeev California, Minnesota, thiab Wisconsin, tau muaj 323 zaug uas tau tshaj tawm rau hauv xov xwm, uas yog xwm txheej tshwm sim vim muaj kev ntxub ntxaug rau HMoob. Ntawm 323 zaug xwm txheej no, Wisconsin yog lub lav uas muaj kev tawm tsam vim kev ntxub ntxaug rau HMoob ntau tshaj plaws. Ntawm 323 zaug no, 136 zaug yog tau tshwm sim nyob rau hauv lub lav Wisconsin. Kev tawm tsam vim kev ntxub ntxaug nyob rau hauv Wisconsin tau ua rau muaj kev cais pab cais pawg, txuam nrog rau sab kev nom kev tswv, thiab ua rau pom tseeb hais tias cov kev ntxub ntxaug no tshwm sim ntau npaum li cas. HMoob kuj yog ib pawg neeg coob ntawm cov haiv neeg tsawg Es Xias. Vim li no, kev ntxub ntxaug thiaj tshwm sim rau HMoob ntau tshaj.

2. Yog muab piv rau txoj kev cai lij choj (tuav) plaub ntug, yog thaum muaj ib leej HMoob raug plaub ntug los yog raug txim lawm, koom haum HMoob thiab HMoob cov thawj coj kuj yuav tshawb tau kev ncaj kev ncees thiab pab tus neeg ntawd tag nrho lawv lub zog, lub siab, thiab lub ntsws—yuav pab tau zoo tshaj yog yuav raws txoj cai lij choj xwb:

HMoob, nrog rau cov neeg tawv Dub thiab tawv Daj, puav zaus, yeej tau muaj kev ntsib plaub nthug rau sab kev cai lij choj thiab sab nom tswv lawm. Thaum muaj li no lawm, HMoob tau nrhiav kev ncaj ncees los ntawm txoj kev cai lij choj, tiam sis feem ntau lawv yeej tsis tau txais kev ncaj ncees li. Thaum zej zog HMoob los koom tes thiab tawm tsam kom tau kev ncaj ncees, xws li mus tsa paib thiab pov npav, lawv thiaj yuav txhais tau kev ncaj ncees thiaj ua rau tsoom tub ceev xwm (thiab nom tswv) muaj kev tsim kho pej xeeb. Thaum muaj li no lawd, zej zog HMoob thiaj pom tau hais tias muaj kev ncaj ncees thiab lawv thiaj yuav los muaj siab los pab lawv haiv HMoob. Thaum lawv tawm tsam lawm awb, lawv yuav tsum pom kom dav mi ntsis tias kev ntxub ntxaug rau haiv neeg Dub Hau raug poj niam/menyuam ntxhais thiab.



3. Zoo li qhov tau pom tshwm sim rau Nchaiv Suav Vaj rooj plaub, xov xwm hauv teb chaws Meskas tau iab liam thiab siv lus tsis zoo los piav txog HMoob. Cov lus uas lawv siv nod, ua cuag li muaj kev ntxhub ntxaug rau HMoob yog ib yam zoo:

Xov xwm Mekas tshaj xov xwm tawm mas, ntau zaus piav xov xwm tsis ncaj ncees li: tuaj ib tog xwb. Yam li tau pom nrog Nchaiv Suav Vaj rooj plaub, cov tshaj xov xwm tawm tau hais thiab siv cov lus uas yuav ua kom haiv neeg HMoob poob txoj cai thiab poob npe ntxiv mus tom ntej xwb. Teb chaws Meskas cov kev lij choj uas tsis ncaj ncees rau neeg Dub Hau, ib txwm muab txoj cai loj rau txiv neej tawv Dawb xwb. Txoj kev tsis ncaj ncees no, thiab cov lus iab liam saib tsis tau HMoob, qhia tau hais tias nom tswv teb chaws thiab xov xwm Mekas saib haiv neeg HMoob cuag li lawv tsis yog tib neeg pej xeeb li.

Lus Piav Txog Txoj Hauj Lwm Tshawb Fawb No

Txoj hauj lwm yuav los tawm tsam nrog kev ntxub ntxaug rau haiv neeg HMoob yog ib txoj hauj lwm uas tau tshwm sim muaj ob peb xyoos los no lawm, thiab yog ib txoj hauj lwm uas tau muab ob peb txoj hauv kev los tshawb fawb txog kev ntxub ntxaug rau HMoob uas nyob hauv xeev California, Minnesota, thiab Wisconsin thaum xyoo 1975 mus txog xyoo 2019. Kev ntxub ntxaug rau HMoob yog dab tsi? Nws yog cwj pwm, kev coj, khoom uas neeg Tawv Dawb ua los tsim txom HMoob vim HMoob cev nqaij daim tawv. Neeg Tawv Dawb yog haiv neeg muaj txoj cai loj tshaj, lawv thiaj tsim txom tau neeg Moob tshaj, ua li no kom neeg Tawv Dawb lub hwm chim thiab txoj cai haj yam loj zuj zus mus xwb. Li no, cov neeg uas ntxub ntxaug thiab tsim txom tau HMoob yuav yog neeg Tawv Dawb xwb, yuav yog tsis tau lwm haiv neeg Dub Hau

Kev Los Tshawb Fawb Yog Li Cas

Peb txoj kev tshawb fawb no, peb tau los xam thiab suav txhij, cov xov xwm ntaub ntawv, thiab lus ntawm ncauj uas rau leej pej xeeb HMoob uas nyob rau hauv lub zos La Crosse, Wisconsin tau piav qhia rau peb. Peb tau khaws tau 323 tus xwm txheej uas yog kev ntxub ntxaug rau HMoob uas tau los ntawv 648 txoj xov xwm uas tau tshaj tawm rau hauv ntawv xov xwm.

Lus Nug Thiab Tej Yam Xav Tau los Ntawv Nom Tswv, Koom Haum Pab Nyiaj, Thiab Koom Haum Tshaj Tawm Xov Xwm

Txoj hauv kev yuav pab zej zog HMoob:

Qhov peb xav pom yog kom nom tswv, mus rau cov pab nyiaj pab txiaj, kom lawv los pab txhawb nqa zej zog HMoob txoj kev coj noj coj ua, xws li tej yam uas yuav pab tau HMoob los ua kom tau lub neej kaj siab, qab noj qab los, thiab thaj yeeb. Ua li no, zej zog HMoob thiaj li yuav tsis raug kev tsim txom, thiab yog ho yuav raug lawd, no los thiaj yuav muaj chaws thiab muaj kev los tiv thaiv cov xwm txheej no thiab nrhiav kom tau kev kho thiab kev ncaj ncees. Hais txog txoj kev nyob kom tau ib lub neej kaj siab, peb xav pom kom muaj cov hauv kev yuav los pab tau HMoob kom raws li HMoob ib txwm coj noj coj ua. Kom yog cov hauj lwm uas yuav haum thiab zoo rau neeg HMoob txoj kev ua lub neej. Hais txog ntawv qhov kom noj tau qab, nyob tau zoo, pem xav pom kom muaj lub zog thiab peev los pab txhawb nqa zej zog HMoob kom mus thov tau nyiaj los pab them nqi vaj nqi tsev, kom muaj txoj hauv kev thiab cov chaw uas zej zog HMoob yuav nrhiav tau zaub mov HMoob los ua noj, thiaj yuav noj tau qab haus tau huv raws li HMoob txoj kev ua noj ua haus. Li no, zej zog HMoob thiaj yuav khaws tau nyiaj khaws tau txiaj. Muaj nyiaj muaj txiaj ua ntej lawm, yus thiaj yuav los pab tau yus tus kheej thaum muaj teeb meem, thiab thaum yus xav mus kom txog yus lub hom phiaj.

Muab nyiaj txiag rau cov koom haum pab zeb zog, kom lawv los tsim tau thiab txhawb nqa cov hauj lwm uas yuav los pab tiv thaiv kev tsim txom neeg, pab txhawb nqa kev kawm ntaub ntawv, thiab pab neeg uas tau raug kev tsim txom yav tas los lawm:

Peb xav kom cov nom tswv loj, uas yog nom tswv rau lub teb chaws, thiab nom tswv me, uas yog nom tswv rau hauv txhua lub xeev, los khoos tes pab peev thiab pab tsa cov koom haum thiab hauj lwm uas yog cov los txhawb nqa zej zog HMoob, xws li pab txhawb HMoob kab li kev cai, kev noj qab nyob zoo, kev kawm ntawv, kom muaj txoj cai sib npaug lwm haiv neeg hauv lub teb chaws no, tsis hais yus cev nqaij daim tawv, hom lus yus hais, seb yus yog poj niam, txiv neej, li cas, los yuav txais tau kev ncaj ncees.

Pab txhawb nqa lub koom haum Cia Siab Inc. txoj hauj lwm thiab lub zog, uas yog los muab cov xwm txheej ntxub ntxaug rau HMoob sau khaws cia:

Tas Cia Siab, Inc. lawm, yeej tsis muaj lwm lub koom haum hauv teb chaws Mes Kas li, uas tau los sau khaws cia, hauv ntawv, tej kev tsim txom, thiab xwm txheej ntxub ntxaug rau HMoob. Txoj hauj lwm coj tej xwm txheej ntxub ntxaug no los sau

khaws cia, yuav qhib tau ib txoj hauv kev rau zej zog HMoob kom lawv muaj ib qho chaws, los sis ib lub koom haum los piav rau thiab qhia hais tias lawv tau raug kev tsim txom ntsub ntxaug lawm. Tsis tas li no, los txoj hauj lwm sau khaws tej xwm txheej no cia, yuav tsum muaj lub zog los tshaj lus tawm rau zej zog, kom zej zog paub hais tias muaj ib qho chaw thiab ib lub koom haum uas lawv mus tau rau, mus qhia yog tej kev ntsub ntxaug no tau tswm sim rau lawv lawm. Thaum muaj tau li no, thiab sau khaws tau tej xwb txheej ntsub ntxaug no cia lawd, cov koom haum pab pej xeeb thiaj yuav ua tau lawv cov hauj lwm los txhawb nqa zej zog, vim hais tias lawv yuav paub txog cov xwm txheej no tas tas thiab zoo zoo heev lawm. Lawv thiaj yuav paub hais tias yuav ua li cas thiaj yuav tiv thaiv tau tej kev ntsub ntxaug no, thiab yuav ua li cas pab cov uas twb raug kev tsim txom yav tas los lawm.

Muab txoj kev tshawb fawb uas sau HMoob thiab txhua hom neeg Es Xias los ua tib pawg pov tseg:

Saib HMoob, Suav, Kaus Lim, thiab txhua haiv neeg Ev Xias cuag li lawv yog ib haiv neeg xwb, yog ib txoj kev tshawb fawb tsis zoo. Cov neeg “Es Xias” no mas muaj ntau pab ntau pawg heev li, xws li ntau haiv neeg txawv, ntau hom lus txawv, cov haiv neeg uas feem coob muaj nyiaj muaj txiaj lawm, thiab cov haiv neeg uas feem ntau pluag heev li. Tiam sis, hauv teb chaws MesKas no, txoj cai cia li muab tas nrho cov neeg Es Xias los cais ua ib pawg lawm xwb. Qhov no, txhais tau hais tias tej pab, los tej haiv neeg Es Xias uas ib txwm yog neej tsawg yuav txais tsis tau kev pab raws qhov uas yuav pab tau lawv lub neej kom nce tau ib kauj nruam mus tom ntej, vim hais tias nom tswv yuav saib tas nrho cov haiv neeg Es Xias cuag li lawv yog cov haiv neeg Es Xias ntau uas ib txwm muaj nyiaj, muaj txiaj, muaj cai, thiab muaj hwj chim ntev niaj ntau xyoo los lawm. Vim li no, thaum los sau khaws cia cov xwm txheej ntsub ntxaug no mus rau kev mob, kev kawm ntawv, thiab kev muaj nyiaj muaj txiaj, peb yuav tau los cuv hais tias nws tau tshwm sim rau haiv neeg Es Xia dabtsi kiag. Xws li hais tias, tus raug kev tsim txom no, yog haiv neeg dab tis, hais lus dab tsi, muaj nyiaj muaj txiaj los tsis muaj li cas, thiab ho raug tsim txom los li cas lawd? Li no, thiaj yuav pab tau tus neeg ntawv kom zoo.

Thaum xov xwm Mekas tshaj lus tawm txog HMoob, lawv yuav tsum siv cov lus uas yuav los txhawb nqa HMoob txoj kev los ua lub neej ywj pheej thiab thaj yeeb thiab. Navtwg HMoob li no yog yam tseem ceeb tshaj plaws:

Cov koom haum tshaj tawm xov xwm, yuav tsum muab tej kev thiab lus tsim txom ntsub ntxaug no, laij pov tseg. Txhob siv cov lus no lawm. Vim hais tias xov xwm nquag coj lus ntsub ntxaug thiab lus saib tsis tau HMoob los siv, thiaj li ua cuag li lawm tso cai tsim txom neeg HMoob lawm. Li no, HMoob thiaj li raug ntsib kev tsim txom thiab kev ntsub ntxaug ntau heev li. Cov koom haum tsim xov xwm, mus rau tej nom tswv thiab pej xeeb tas nrho yuav tau los sawv koom tes nrog HMoob

Introduction

The Anti-HMoob Violence Research Project is a multi-year, multi-methods study on hate violence against HMoob people in California (CA), Minnesota (MN), and Wisconsin (WI) from 1975 to 2019. Due to the rise in anti-Asian sentiment following the attribution of COVID-19 to Wuhan, China, in 2019, many Asian American organizations have documented and published anti-Asian violence reports to draw awareness and create coalitions that can better support community organizations and their clients who face violence (Borja and Gibson, 2020; Yellow Horse et al., 2020). Despite these timely efforts, the Anti-HMoob Violence Research Project identifies a lack of culturally specific reporting and disaggregated data documenting hate violence against HMoob people. This community resettled in the U.S. as Vietnam/Secret/Cold War refugees starting in the mid-1970s due to U.S. imperial interests and interference in Southeast Asia.

In the 45-plus years since HMoob people resettled in the U.S., a myriad of problems, including but not limited to HMoob American invisibility in mainstream society, lack of institutional initiative to disaggregate Asian Pacific Islander American (APIA) data, institutional neglect of hate crime reporting before the 1990 Hate Crimes Statistics Act, and the lack of sensitive culturally- and linguistically-appropriate reporting agencies, have contributed to a lack of hate violence data on HMoob people and accompanying resources to support survivors. While the Anti-HMoob Violence Research Project began in April 2020 in response to the exacerbated situation of anti-Asian violence during the COVID-19 pandemic, our report takes a long-term historical lens of tracking anti-HMoob violence incidents from 1975 to 2019 to prioritize cultural, linguistic, and community-based understanding of anti-HMoob violence.

The Anti-HMoob Violence Research Project was initiated by the leadership of Cia Siab, Inc., a La Crosse, WI non-profit founded and led by HMoob womxn, focused on building a culturally vibrant HMoob community and providing domestic violence/sexual assault services. The project was carried out by an interdisciplinary team of student researchers from the University of Michigan and the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse as well as and Cia Siab, Inc. staff and other community members.

Our mixed-method research protocol includes quantitative analysis of published news articles and oral history interviews with six La Crosse HMoob community members to capture a comprehensive snapshot of anti-HMoob violence in the U.S. In a study about anti-HMoob violence, we felt it necessary to include authentic HMoob perspectives. In using news articles for accounting incidents, we do not want to inadvertently place the “expertise” or “authority” solely with the news media. Our oral history interviews give

expertise and authority on anti-HMoob violence to HMoob individuals. In our semi-structured interviews, interviewees had a chance to read and respond to two articles describing a case of anti-HMoob violence. This format allowed local HMoob voices, memories, and a variety of perspectives to that of potentially-biased national news reporting. The diverse collection of their opinions is meant to represent - to an extent - the experiences of the HMoob community, especially within La Crosse, WI. Our interviews captured the personal histories of refugees, voices of the next generation, and interpretations of commonly known anti-HMoob violence incidents. For further details on the oral history interview design, refer to Appendices C and D.

For the quantitative side of our report, we used the *Access World News-Historical and Current* database to search for reporting (e.g., news articles and transcriptions of TV broadcasts) on anti-HMoob violence incidents from across the country. We then focused our search on incidents in CA, MN, and WI: the three states with the largest HMoob populations in the U.S. Searching the database, we collected an initial set of approximately 6,000 articles that hit our search string (refer to Appendix A for our search string). Of the initial 6,000 articles, we identified 1,047 articles within our research project's scope. We then conducted close readings of all 1,047 articles. After we read and tagged all identified articles, we removed 399 articles because they did not include an anti-HMoob violent incident, leaving 648 articles that referenced/discussed anti-HMoob violence incidents. Within these 648 articles, we subsequently tagged 323 anti-HMoob violence incidents.

Out of the 323 incidents, we identified 63 incidents that we call “frequently-cited incidents” (FC incidents). FC incidents appear in multiple news articles AND are considered by a HMoob-identified staff at Cia Siab, Inc. to be significant to HMoob American memory and consciousness due to the egregiousness of the incident or its significance in changing and shaping HMoob American communities. This method of identifying FC incidents consolidates two sources of information to draw attention to the tension between knowledge, lived realities, and memory. For a more in-depth discussion of our research design and method, refer to Appendices A and B.

While gathering information on hate violence through media reporting is incomplete, these articles nonetheless contain essential information detailing the outcomes for perpetrators and victims of anti-HMoob violence incidents. These details support long-term observations, experiences, and critiques of white supremacy, the carceral state, and anti-Blackness as endemic problems of the U.S. Despite chronological and geographical variations, a clear set of patterns emerged, affirming discriminatory and racialized practices of the U.S. criminal legal system, public policy decisions, and capitalism, which are the most harmful and fatal forms of anti-HMoob violence. Interpersonal racism is enabled by white privilege. White male perpetrators receive

care and protection in the criminal legal system. They are seldom punished according to the violence they commit because of white privilege. Additionally, the details of outcomes for perpetrators and victims affirm what hate crime critics Amy Brandzel (2016) and Barbara Perry (2001) have noted about U.S. hate crime legislation: the state cannot commit hate crimes against people since the state does not formally acknowledge that state actors commit hate crimes.

In the next section of our report, we offer some contextual grounding for how we understand and define anti-HMoob violence. Then, we discuss our three key findings. We discuss each finding using quantitative material from our media dataset, close readings of our FC incidents, and community perspectives gathered through our oral histories. We conclude our report with recommendations for how community members, Cia Siab, Inc. partner organizations, educators, and funders can use our report and findings to build a more welcoming, inclusive, and equitable environment for HMoob folks in the U.S.

Grounding Anti-HMoob Violence

Many cases of anti-Asian violence, and more specifically anti-HMoob violence, get labeled as “hate crimes.” “Hate crime” was developed for legislative and political purposes and statutorily constitutes serious crimes. On both federal and state levels of legal jurisprudence, a bias incident qualifies as a hate crime only if the perpetrator, regardless of race, targeted the victim because of their race/ethnicity (or another protected class, such as gender, religion, disability, national origin, and sexual orientation) (The U.S. Department of Justice, n.d.). However, this approach does not include a power/domination lens in defining hate violence. Namely, along race lines, victims of hate crimes could be whites, even though whites are on top of the social hierarchy due to white supremacy. White supremacy is “a historically-based, institutionally-perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations, and peoples of color by white peoples and nations of the European continent, for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power, and privilege” (Martinez, n.d., p. 16). In a system where whites have access to wealth, power, and privilege, they cannot be victims of racialized hate violence.

We articulate and follow a definition of anti-HMoob violence that understands hate violence through a lens of anti-black oppression and white supremacist domination. For us, **anti-HMoob violence is defined as behavior, attitudes, and actions from white people, who have access to power, that harm and oppress HMoob folks, thereby perpetuating white supremacy.** Following this definition, the perpetrators of anti-HMoob violence are whites, not BIPOC. Specific to the U.S. context, white people are

at the top of the racial hierarchy and hold positions of power. Violence against HMoob folks from BIPOC is indeed violence, but they are not anti-HMoob violence since BIPOC are all oppressed by white supremacy.

For white supremacy to exist, the oppression of Black folks is necessary. Asian American Studies scholar Claire Jean Kim (1999) indicates that Blacks may be the furthest removed from the power gained through white supremacy. Still, they do not exclusively and always have less access to power than HMoob people since there is no strict racial hierarchy. Moreover, we interrogate how the racial hierarchy intersects with gender, sexuality, class, ability, etc. Anti-HMoob violence focuses on white perpetrators to understand systemic racism as a symptom of anti-blackness in the U.S. We see that the treatment of HMoob people and incident outcomes are due to how HMoob people are treated as a racialized group informed by racial relations between white and Black people. Furthermore, through anti-HMoob violence research, we see that HMoob people can relate to Black people and other people of color based on a shared understanding of racial oppression. We ask our readers to recognize that people of color in the U.S. can build solidarity based on the understanding that we all suffer vis-a-vis white racial domination when we perpetuate anti-blackness (Kim, 1999, p.129).

In our oral history interviews, our interviewees also discussed the interrelatedness of white supremacy and anti-HMoob violence. Racism and systemic discrimination have deep-rooted ties to this nation's history. Dr. Bee Lo, a naturopathic physician and acupuncturist in the La Crosse area, stated:

I know that racism between white and other people of color has been here from the beginning of the creation of this country and it's going to be with us for generations because the white people are the people that create all the racism toward everybody else who's not white. Unless white people decide to stop being racist, racism and social injustice that [are] run by white supremacy will never be justice to people of color.... It's something white people perpetuate through their own children, racism.

Dr. Bee's take on the role of whiteness in racial injustice aligns with our understanding of how white supremacy is an integral component of anti-HMoob violence. Dr. Bee also notes the opposition between white people and "everybody else who's not white," i.e., all BIPOC who do not have access to the power of white supremacy. Importantly, this understanding of the dialectical relationship between white supremacy and anti-blackness also means that unless HMoob individuals stop perpetuating anti-blackness, anti-HMoob violence will continue. Continued acts of anti-blackness merely uphold the system of white supremacy that also makes possible anti-HMoob violence.

Vandali Vang, a former community member of La Crosse, also noted that COVID-19 has exacerbated racial tensions and brought them to the forefront of public attention. A popular mainstream understanding of anti-Asian and anti-HMoob violence is solely focused on Black-on-Asian violence. Evidently, in the media, crime is distorted in the U.S. in a way that perpetuates racist stereotypes towards the Black community, especially the narrative that amplifies Black perpetrators attacking the Asian elderly. This rhetoric reinforces white supremacy since we are fixated on the myth that most anti-Asian violence is executed solely by Black perpetrators. Data refutes the misconception of perpetrators being only Black. The *Virulent Hate Project* found that “white and male politicians were the source of 95.28% of discriminatory statements, images, policies, and proposals” (Borja & Gibson, 2020). Recognizing the source of the main form of bias is vital for understanding marginalized groups’ interrelated experiences with racism and systemic discrimination. That way, there can be ways in which communities of color can uplift one another to challenge the systematic foundations of white supremacy embedded in our society.

The Pyramid of Hate

To articulate the various ways anti-HMoob violence manifest, we adopted the Anti-Defamation League’s (ADL) Pyramid of Hate¹ (ADL, 2021) shown in Figure 1 below. We

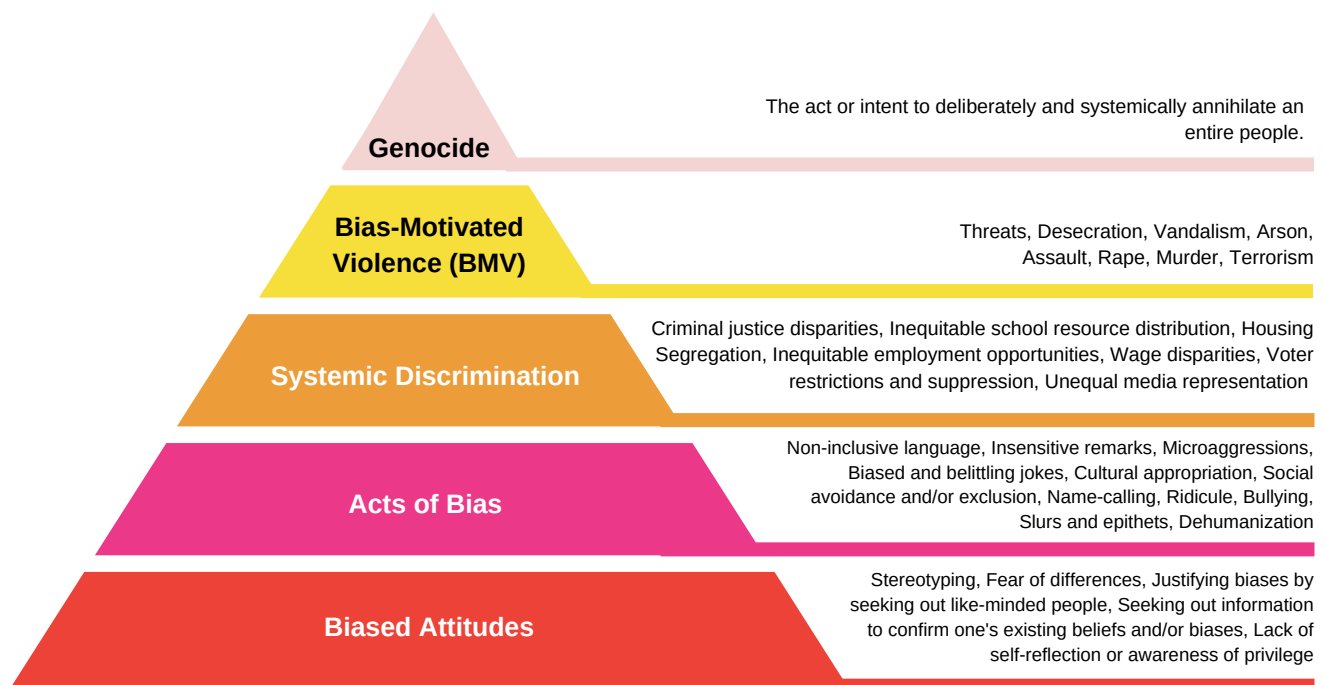


Figure 1. The ADL Pyramid of Hate

¹ At the start of our project, we used an earlier edition of the Pyramid of Hate where the level of

used the Pyramid of Hate to categorize types of violence, record intent, and show that more minor forms of violence support more severe forms of violence. The ADL states:

The Pyramid of Hate illustrates the prevalence of bias, hate and oppression in our society. It is organized in escalating levels of attitudes and behavior that grow in complexity from bottom to top. Like a pyramid, the upper levels are supported by the lower levels; unlike a pyramid, the levels are not built consecutively or to demonstrate a ranking of each level. Bias at each level reflects a system of oppression that negatively impacts individuals, institutions and society. Unchecked bias can become “normalized” and contribute to a pattern of accepting discrimination, violence and injustice in society. While every biased attitude or act does not lead to genocide, genocide takes place within a system of oppression in which the attitudes and actions described at the lower levels of the pyramid are accepted (ADL, 2021).

The higher the form of violence on the triangle, the more severe, visible, and/or unacceptable the violence is. For instance, the examples of Biased Attitudes in the triangle are usually more subtle forms of hate violence, so much so that for a recipient of such hate violence (or even a bystander), it is difficult to ascertain that one has been victimized. Additionally, forms of violence that are considered Biased Attitudes are often protected, because it is one’s right to free speech. Also, violence of Biased Attitudes are justified because of the overused excuse that it will take time to change their beliefs since they are not as aware or educated. As we move up the triangle to Bias-Motivated Violence (BMV), we see the violence becoming more physical and visible: assault, arson, murder, etc. These types of violence are considered more egregious and therefore more likely to be socially condemned and prosecutable.

.....

"Systemic Discrimination" was referred to as "Discrimination." Our use of "Discrimination" in the early stages of our project aligned with "Systemic Discrimination." To avoid confusion for our readers and ensure continuity, we use use "Systemic Discrimination" in place of "Discrimination" throughout the report. Our Appendices may still reflect our use of "Discrimination" over "Systemic Discrimination."

Findings

Our report's findings consist of narratives from the oral histories of La Crosse community members and an analysis of news articles. To discuss what we discovered throughout this project, we organized this section according to our **three key findings**:

1. From 1975 to 2019, between California (CA), Minnesota (MN), and Wisconsin (WI), there were 323 incidents of anti-HMoob violence. WI has the highest counts of anti-HMoob violence (N=136/323). Anti-HMoob violence in WI reflects the racial climate of the conservative-leaning political state combined with the visibility of the HMoob population (the majority-minority of Asians).
2. HMoob people, alongside Black and Brown people, have experienced systemic violence at the hands of the criminal legal system and other government institutions. HMoob people often seek institutional justice through the legal system, which is often unattainable. Community-led initiatives led to more reforms in the police, uncovering civil liberties infringements, and supporting HMoob people wholly. At the same time, community-led initiatives to seek justice must expand their understanding of hate violence to include gender.
3. Reporting is subjective, and, as with Chai Soua Vang's incident, news media produces a public dialogue that marginalizes HMoob people. This public dialogue works in tandem with structures and processes of white supremacist heteropatriarchy to dehumanize HMoob victims of violence.

In the following subsections, we elaborate on each of these key findings.

Key Finding #1: Wisconsin is a Hotbed for Anti-HMoob Violence

From 1975 to 2019, between California (CA), Minnesota (MN), and Wisconsin (WI), there were 323 incidents of anti-HMoob violence. WI has the highest counts of anti-HMoob violence (N=136/323). Anti-HMoob violence in WI reflects the racial climate of the conservative-leaning political state combined with the visibility of the HMoob population (the majority-minority of Asians).

Number of Incidents Differed by State

Although CA has the largest HMoob population in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), our data show 80.5% (N=260/323) of the published anti-HMoob violence incidents occurred in the Midwestern states of WI and MN. WI has the highest counts of

anti-HMoob violence incidents (42.1% or N=136/323). MN has the second highest counts of anti-HMoob violence incidents reported (38.4% or N=124/323). CA has the lowest counts of incidents (19.5% or N=63/323).

As shown in Figure 2, across all three states, the most common Type of Violence is Acts of Bias (N=130/323). On the ADL Pyramid of Hate, Acts of Bias are the second level of violence. It includes bullying, biased remarks, and microaggressions. According to our data, 47.7% of all incidents classified as Acts of Bias occurred in WI alone (N=62/130). Next to Acts of Bias, BMV, which includes some of the most violent crimes (e.g, murder, rape, assault, arson, terrorism, vandalism, desecration, and threats), was the second most common Type of Violence recorded (N=88). MN (N=36/88) and WI (N=30/88) have the most recorded BMV incidents compared to CA (22).

State	Type of Violence				Grand Total
	Acts of Bias	BMV	Biased Attitudes	Systemic Discrimination	
CA	18	22	12	18	63
MN	50	36	25	14	124
WI	62	30	29	24	136
Total	130	88	66	56	323

Figure 2. Incident Count By State and Type of Violence

Biased Attitudes was the third most commonly recorded Type of Violence (N=66), followed by Systemic Discrimination as the least commonly documented Type of Violence (N=56). The only category where CA did not have the lowest case count was Systemic Discrimination where it had N=18 cases compared with MN (N=14) and WI (N=24). Even in this last example, WI still has a higher case count than CA, dominating in most incidences of discernible Systemic Discrimination (N=24).

The higher the form of violence on the ADL Pyramid of Hate, the more violent and visible the incident and repercussions for the victim(s). Too often, anti-HMoob violence incidents are underreported and undocumented. Often, victims may feel that the violence itself and its outcome are not extreme enough to warrant reporting; some fear coming off as “complaining” or “too fragile.” Also, victims may mistrust the police or do not have enough knowledge of hate crime reporting avenues. These reasons make up too many barriers for accurate, timely, and reasonable follow-up for victims.

We suspect that HMoob individuals experience Biased Attitudes everyday, but this is underreported and under-discussed for fear of being gaslighted. Acts of Bias then are the most frequently reported Type of Violence, because with Acts of Bias, victims most likely feel more supported and relatable in discussing, sharing, and reporting these incidents. Likewise, authorities, including non-police, feel more prepared to handle Acts of Bias, including bullying, racial epithets, and harassment.

Incidents of BMV show a different victimization pattern between CA and the Midwestern states induced by different settlement types (Figure 3). Total, there were 88 recorded incidents (N = 27.2% or 88/323):

- 37 incidents or 42% did not have a recorded settlement type
- 31 incidents or 35% occurred in Urban areas.
- 14 incidents or 16% occurred in Rural areas
- 6 incidents or 6.8% occurred in Suburban areas

CA-based BMV incidents that indicated a settlement type only occurred in urban areas (N=11). In comparison, the majority of WI and MN BMV incidents are spread across all three types of settlement type. The BMV incidents (14 total) in rural areas of WI and MN mostly had to do with hunting and disputes over private land. For BMV incidents, there were also a significant number of incidents where the settlement type was unknown.

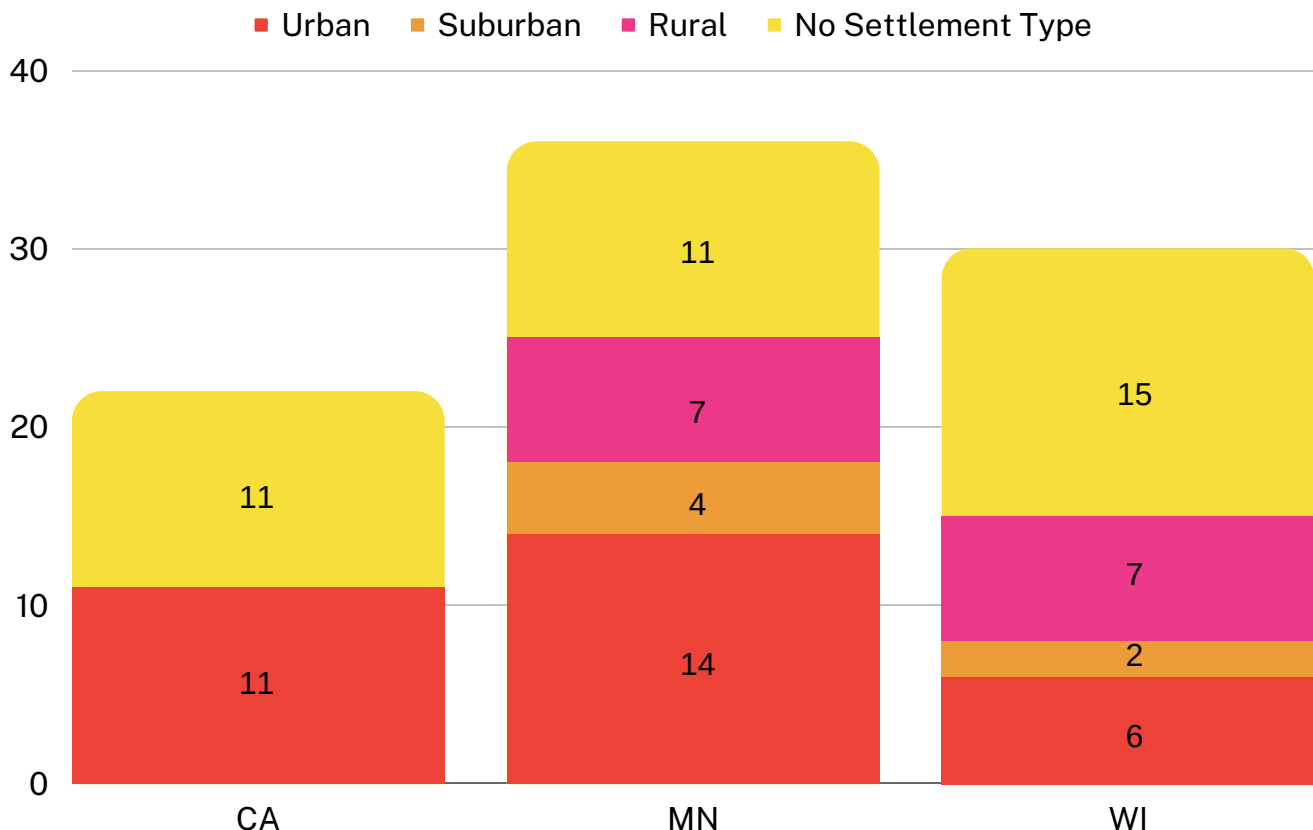


Figure 3. Incidents of BMV by State and Settlement Type

Incidents Differed Over Time

Based on the available data, most of the incidents reported occurred in the 1990s compared to the other decades (average=10), but the peak of reported incidents was in 2004 (N=44) occurring only in the Midwestern states. In the 1990s, CA had 27 incidents, 33 in WI, and 41 in MN, totaling 101/322 incidents (31% of the overall incidents). However, we were unable to confirm a date for all incidents. Out of 323 anti-HMoob incidents, there are 79 (24%) incidents without a year listed—indicated by "NS" in the horizontal axis in Figure 4. This gap in data may be due to a variety of reasons: the lack of attention paid by mass media to record and report HMoob-related incidents, the official authorization of hate crime legislation in the 1990s, the unprofitability to investigate and report anti-HMoob violence for the white majority readership.

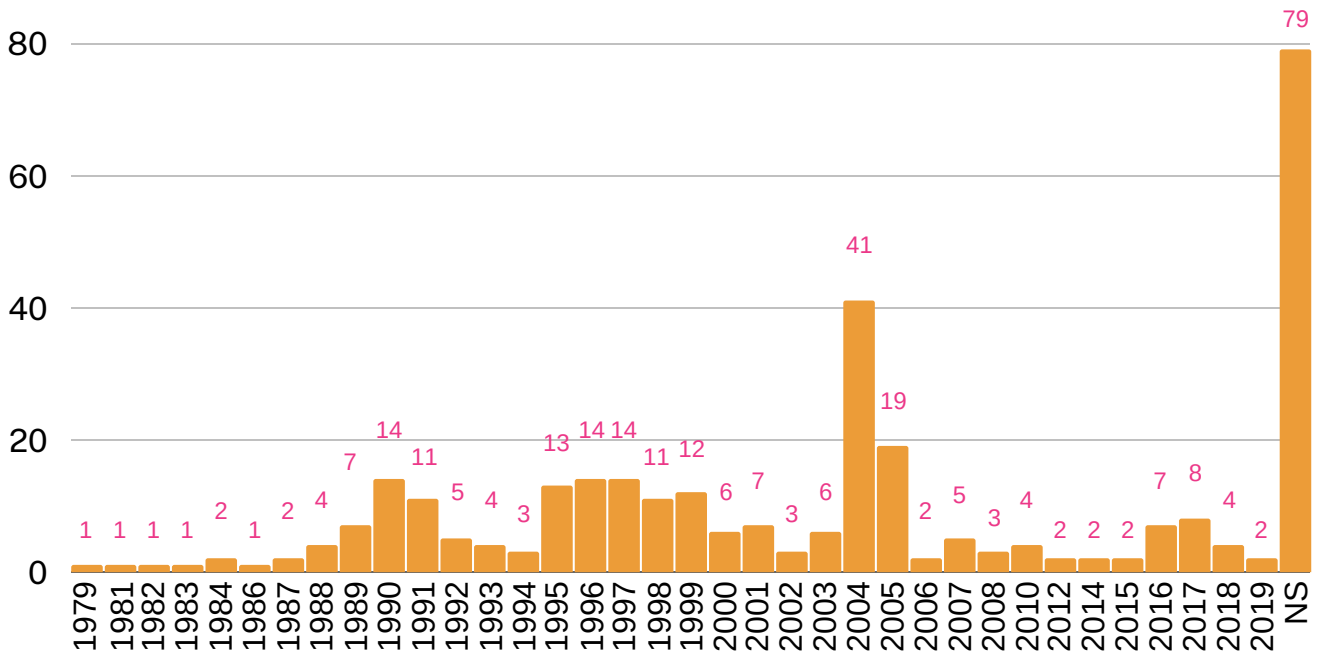


Figure 4. Incident Count by Year ²

Anti-HMoob Violence Reporting is Different in the Midwest and the West Coast

In comparing the similarities and differences in the rate and type of violent incidents across each state, our findings show that anti-HMoob violence is related to the specific social-political climate of each state. In the Midwest, HMoob people are the most



² For the years where there are no incidents (no values), the years are omitted from the figure. For example, in Figure 4, there are no recorded incidents in years 1974-1978; as such, we have omitted those years from the graph.

visible amongst the Asian population compared to CA where HMoob is a minority Asian ethnic group. This suggests that the higher rate of anti-HMoob violence reported by news media in the Midwest versus CA is partially due to the population and visibility of HMoob people.

While more HMoob people reside in CA than in MN and WI, other Asian ethnic groups living in CA are more visible historically, by population, public representation, and knowledge. Anti-HMoob violence does happen in CA (and the rate reported here is more like than not a deflated count), but incidents are written about more in the Midwest due to the less diversified racial demographic in MN and WI, which makes anti-HMoob violence incidents more sensational, political, and as shown in many of the incidents, contribute negatively to the polarized Midwestern white and black racial binary and politically conservative-leaning society. Notably, as shown in Figure 2 from earlier, 34.9% of CA cases are BMV, slightly higher than other Types of Violence in CA and higher than the percentage of BMV in MN (29%) and WI (22%). While more incidents overall happen in MN and WI compared to CA, CA has a higher percentage of severe incidents relative to less severe incidents than either MN or WI. As previously shown in Figure 3, most BMV incidents occurred in urban areas across all three states; however, many severe incidents (BMV) occurred in the Midwestern states.

Case Study: La Crosse, WI

La Crosse County had the highest documented incidence rate (24/136 incidents) within the state of WI between 1975-2019. Unlike CA and MN where anti-HMoob violence occurred in areas with a high density of HMoob population, why are the patterns of anti-HMoob violence different in WI?

The HMoob population in WI is spread across various counties and cities throughout the state. Since the 1990s, the American Community Surveys (ACS) consistently reported that Milwaukee and Marathon Counties are counties with the most HMoob population (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020). However, our findings show that La Crosse County has a disproportionately high count of anti-HMoob violence in comparison to Milwaukee and Marathon Counties (see Figure 5 in the next page). La Crosse County ranked in the top 5 most populist HMoob counties only from 1990 to 2010. Since 2010, the HMoob population in La Crosse has declined (2010 population, N=3469 versus 2020 population, N=2999) while the HMoob population in Milwaukee and Marathon counties have increased (Milwaukee HMoob population: 2010, N=10,881 versus 2020, N=12,586; Marathon HMoob population: 2010, N=4,882 versus 2020, N=5,998).

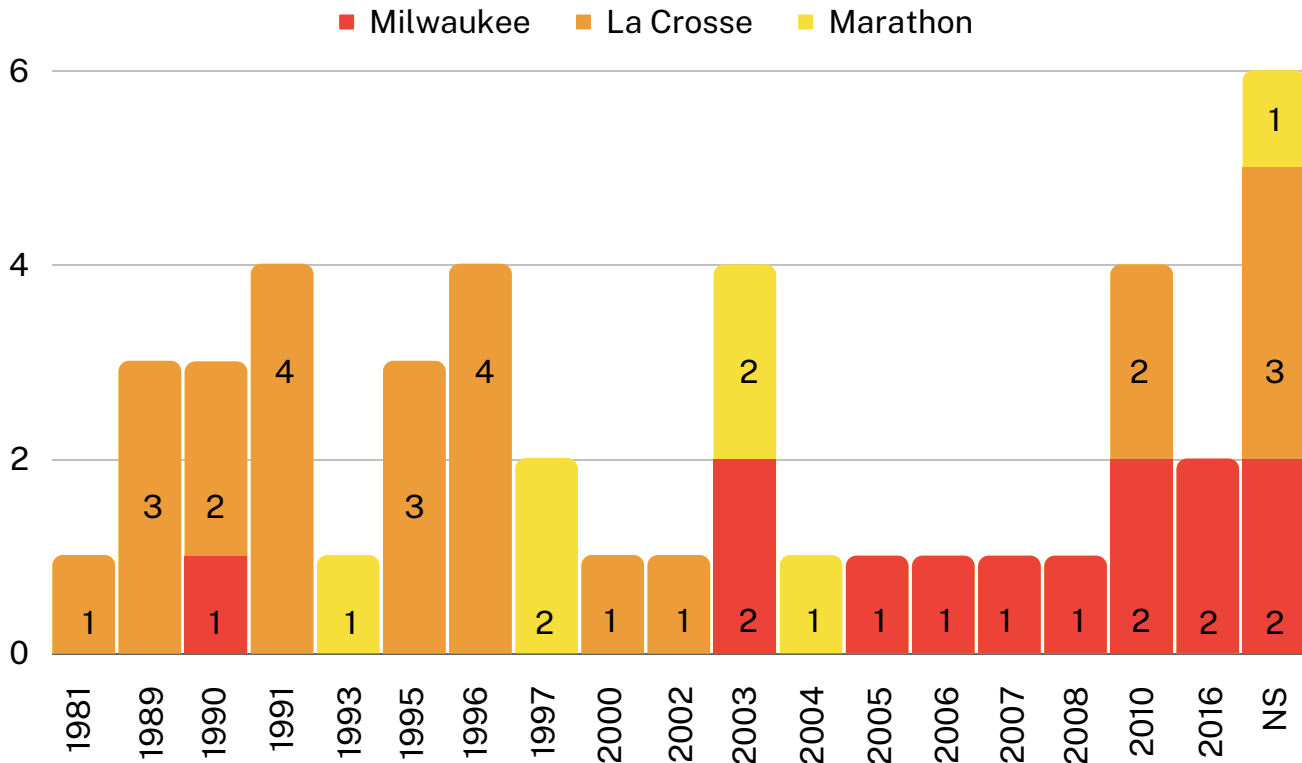


Figure 5. Anti-HMoob Incidents by Year in WI Counties with High HMoob Populations, 1990-2020.

Most notably, the majority of these incidents occurred in the 1990s (N=13). According to the 1990 ACS, La Crosse County was the second most populous HMoob county (N=1,933) after Marathon County. Additionally, the HMoob population made up 73.28% of the overall Asian population in La Crosse County, meaning that HMoob was the most visible Asian ethnic group in this county (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). This finding supports our overall finding that the visibility of HMoob population within La Crosse County also resulted in more media reports of anti-HMoob violence. Furthermore, this finding suggests further investigation of why there is a high reporting of anti-HMoob violence and criminalization of HMoob people by the *La Crosse Tribune*, the local news press.

Analysis of anti-HMoob Violence in La Crosse

Referencing back to the ADL Pyramid of Hate, a majority of these incidents are accounted for under Acts of Bias (microaggressions, cultural appropriation, bullying, slurs, etc.) and Biased Attitudes (stereotyping, fear of difference, etc.). Similar to the

overall incidents in this report, the Origins of Violence are equally distributed across the four categories of Unsure, Organizations/Institutions, individuals, and Groups (Figure 6).³

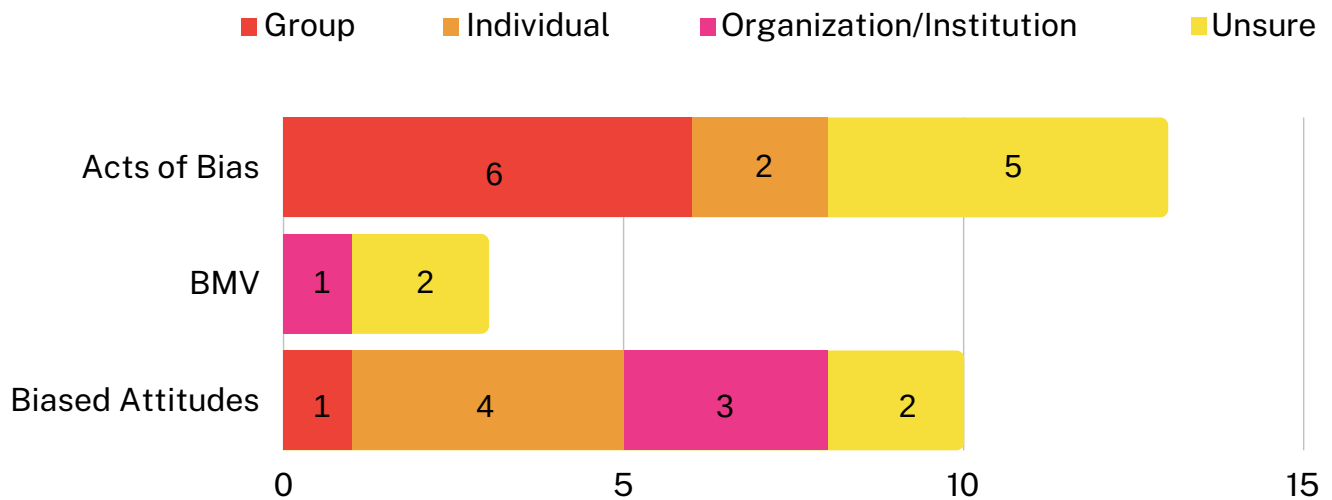


Figure 6. La Crosse County Incidents by Type and Origin of Violence

We realize that it is important to explain why La Crosse County has the highest rates of violence and why a majority of these incidents happened in the 1990s. We offer brief explanations by utilizing the historical memory of interviewees and Cia Siab Inc.’s staff members to explain this. These explanations are not comprehensive; with these explanations, we encourage people to do further research that examines this phenomenon from historical and sociological perspectives.

In a 1987 study of BIPOC in La Crosse, a sociologist at a local La Crosse college, Darrell Pofahl (1988), citing the 1980s census, writes in the introduction the following:

La Crosse metropolitan area ranked fifth in the entire nation in the percentage of whites in its population (99%)... [T]his part of the upper Midwest has a rather unique population structure in that four more of the top eight metropolitan areas with the highest white population are nearby (Wausau, Eau Claire, Dubuque, St. Cloud), with La Crosse nestled pretty much in the center of these cities. Thus, the La Crosse area has not been typical of the rest of the U.S. in terms of racial composition. This fact has affected the experiences and attitudes of its long-term residents and the experiences and attitudes of minority group members who have recently arrived in the area (p. 1).

³ Figure 6 shows 26 total incidents versus the 24 incidents because some incidents are classified under two different categories (i.e., one incident is Acts of Bias and Biased Attitudes).

Pofahl's remark on the atypicality of La Crosse's racial composition given the wider context of the racial composition of its region is a worthwhile point of inquiry on the phenomenon of the prevalence of anti-HMoob violence. After all, anti-HMoob violence cannot happen without white people.

At the same time, we feel that the racist criminalization of Southeast/HMoob youth in La Crosse County was a process that galvanized and justified whites to enact violence against HMoob people. Cia Siab, Inc. elder staff as well community members remember the 1990s in La Crosse as a period of heightened sensationalization of the "gang" problem. For Lisa, one of our interviewees who is currently in her 40s, institutional injustice makes her recall "our Asian brothers and sisters back in the early 80s and 90s who were [or] were not heavily involved in gangs." It is salient to us that a discussion on racial injustice made her think of "gangs" in the 1980s to 1990s. Vandali remembers HMoob involvement in gangs as a way to combat racist bullying in schools and in public: "if we examine gang and gang members and the gang membership, we know that it was all done to protect ourselves and to protect each other." Dr. Bee shares his brother's story of being stereotyped as a gang member and the consequences of that stereotype:

[My] brother, who's big and strong, had long hair, he went to one of the high schools in La Crosse. They look at him like he's scary, he could be in a gang. He's not in a gang, but he's just big and strong, long hair, and they're just afraid of him. He said there's so many racism toward him, so much that he just hated going to school and skipping school. They'll blame him for different things he didn't do. He ended up drop out from high school.

Lisa, Vandali, and Dr. Bee are all long-time residents of La Crosse County. Their recollection of the "gangs" in La Crosse County suggests that this rhetoric, this creation of crisis, was remarkable in HMoob American history in La Crosse.

Gang activity in the 1980s and 1990s was very racialized to the point where "gang" became a shorthand for boys and men of color who were perceived by whites as a threat (to this day, it still is racialized). In alignment with our interviewees' memories, gang researchers often note the proliferation of gangs in the 1980s with the 1990s marking the peak in gang activity (Howell, 2015; Miller, 2001). In response to the "gang crisis," the La Crosse Police Department was one of four cities in the nation to implement the Gang Resistance Education And Training (G.R.E.A.T.) Program, a federally-funded "evidence-based and effective gang and violence prevention program built around school-based, law enforcement officer-instructed classroom curricula" (G.R.E.A.T., n.d.). This curricula intended to immunize youth against delinquency, youth violence and gang membership..." (G.R.E.A.T., n.d.). The G.R.E.A.T. Program was trialed in 1991 in Phoenix, AZ. By 1998, the program expanded to four cities/counties: Orange County, FL, Philadelphia, PA, La Crosse, WI, and Portland, OR.

Many Cia Siab, Inc. staff who attended La Crosse Public Schools, such as Maij Xyooj and Xong Xiong, went through G.R.E.A.T. It is odd to us that a little white Midwestern city (e.g., La Crosse) would implement such a program.

We have only scratched the surface to begin explaining why La Crosse County has the highest rates of violence and why the concentration of these incidents occurred in the 1990s. We again encourage further research on the relationship between La Crosse County's high rate of anti-HMoob violence and the normalization and prevalence of whiteness in this area as well as the criminalization of HMoob people and the unprecedented implementation of gang "immunization" efforts in La Crosse. We believe the historical-sociological specificity of La Crosse explains the rate of violence in La Crosse County.

2004: Chai Soua Vang

The case of Chai Soua Vang, which occurred in 2004 in rural Wisconsin is perhaps the most well known case of anti-HMoob violence. In fact, we argue that the spike in anti-HMoob violence incidents in 2004 is a result of escalating racial tensions between HMoob and white people in the Midwest following Chai Soua Vang's case. Figure 4 from earlier shows a dramatic increase in cases in 2004 in both MN (N=20) and WI (N=21), but tellingly, there were no incidents in CA during 2004. This spike of anti-HMoob violence in 2004 includes incidents directly related to Chai Soua Vang and incidents where HMoob people reported current and past racist encounters. This spike continued into 2005 in both WI (N=9) and MN (N=9). Chai Soua Vang's case was counted as a FC incident as it was a formative (if not traumatic) event for many community members. Multiple articles in our dataset (N=37/41) incidents from 2004 were incidents that occurred after the Chai Soua Vang incident. They report HMoob's encounters of anti-HMoob violence stemming from the Chai Soua Vang incident.

On November 21, 2004, Chai Soua Vang, a St. Paul, MN resident, was hunting in Sawyer County, WI. He got lost and wandered onto private land, climbing into a deer stand before being confronted by a group of eight white hunters. Terry Willers, one of the landowners, told Vang to leave, and Vang left the deer stand after getting directions. However, five other white hunters in Willers' party confronted him and shouted racial slurs at him. The dispute led to a shooting in the woods, resulting in six fatalities, two wounded white hunters, and a life sentence without parole for Vang.

Thirty-seven out of 41 incidents that occurred in 2004 were related to the Chai Soua Vang incident. Most notably, these incidents document racial violence against HMoob people (i.e., fistfights, intimidation by gunfire, etc.), harassment toward HMoob hunters (i.e., harassing phone calls, racial slurs, and name-calling such as 'chink', etc.), and

racial terrorization to remind HMoob people of their alleged hunting violations (i.e., ‘Save Deer, Kill a Hmong’ bumper stickers, a warden fined a HMoob hunter for killing a beaver even though it was a porcupine, etc.).

Tracing Type and Origin of Violence of the 2004 incidents

While 18 incidents in 2004 were missing the Origin of Violence (shown as “Unsure” in Figure 7), most of the 2004 incidents were committed by Individuals (N=15/41). The most common incidents in 2004 are classified as Acts of Bias (44% or N=18/41). These Acts of Bias incidents included harassment, name-calling, bullying, slurs, and taunts towards HMoob organizations, men, and groups. The second most frequent Type of Violence is BMV (N=10/41). Incidents classified as BMV remain notable in 2004 (N=10/41), which include threats, assault, and vandalism. Biased Attitudes (N=8/41) and Systemic Discrimination (N=5/41) rank third and fourth for Types of Violence.

		Origin of Violence				Grand Total
State	Type of Violence	Group	Individual	Organization /Institution	Unsure	
MN	Acts of Bias	1	2	1	3	7
	BMV	0	2	0	5	7
	Biased Attitudes	0	2	0	1	3
	Systemic Discrimination	1	2	0	0	3
MN Total		2	8	1	9	20
WI	Acts of Bias	1	5	0	5	11
	BMV	0	0	1	2	3
	Biased Attitudes	0	2	2	1	5
	Systemic Discrimination	0	0	1	1	2
WI Total		1	7	4	9	21
Grand Total		3	15	5	18	41

Figure 7: Incidents in 2004 by Type and Origin of Violence in MN and WI

Figure 7 shows that one of the most striking effects of the Chai Soua Vang incident was inflaming more individual, serious acts of violence against HMoob people in the Midwest. This pattern of violence in the early 2000s is distinct from the anti-HMoob violence we observed in other decades and locations.

Beyond these statistics, Chai Soua Vang's case had a serious and lasting effect on the WI HMoob communities, including the folks we spoke to in La Crosse. During our oral history interviews, we asked interviewees to read and then discuss two articles on Chai Soua Vang's case (Associated Press, 2005; Imrie, 2005). It has been nearly two decades since the eight white hunters harassed Chai Soua Vang in the woods and he subsequently shot and killed 6 of them in self defense. Even after all this time, however, all the interviewees shared a multitude of emotions reading about the incident: doubt, anger, trauma, and feelings of injustice. Specifically, Dr. Bee shares:

[B]y just reading the case it gives — it gave me high blood pressure, it brought back a lot of trauma, a lot of anger, a lot of injustice feeling inside of me because the cases were injustice. So by just reading it again it just brought out all those old feelings and I just thought I would share that with you. Just being in this country and have experienced a lot of racist acts from white folks over the past 35 years, this kind of case just reignites some of the racist experiences that I experienced and the anger and frustrations of injustice feeling that these two HMoob victims — these two HMoob persons got from these two cases. This is what happens with victims of racism or racist acts is that it stays with you for life. It's like a PTSD.

The entire community held doubts about what really happened; especially as an argument from a self-defense vantage point was not even considered despite the incident involving one man (Chai Soua Vang) against eight. Chai Soua Vang's incident, the trial, and the visceral emotions it conjures among the interviewees tell us that anti-HMoob violence has a long-lasting impact. The long-term impact of violence was something that an analysis of news articles could not account for and therefore made the perspectives gained from the oral histories especially important.

Additionally, Chai Soua Vang's case is also a prime example of the inadequacy of the criminal legal system to address anti-HMoob violence and the harmful impact of biased news media reporting. We will return to Chai Soua Vang's case in our next two sections to more fully address these aspects of his case.

Key Finding #2: Institutional Justice is Insufficient to Address Systemic Injustice

HMoob people, alongside Black and Brown people, have experienced systemic violence at the hands of the criminal legal system and other government institutions. When HMoob people seek institutional justice through the legal system, it is often unattainable. Community-led initiatives uncovered civil liberties infringements, supported HMoob victims more wholly, and led to reforms that addressed the harmed cause. At the same time, community-led initiatives to seek justice must expand their understanding of hate violence to include gender.

This section addresses patterns of institutional failure and community support by analyzing the outcomes of FC incidents. FC incidents were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively using our dataset and the insight of Cia Siab Inc. staff. The category of FC incidents allows us to incorporate our empirical data and the lived knowledge of the HMoob community as we draw upon community memory to assist in defining what counts as an FC incident. While the media can raise awareness for social problems affecting HMoob people, the coverage is brief and too soon lost to the daily news cycle. Likewise, the legacy and lessons learned from these incidents might also be lost. On the other hand, the impact of anti-HMoob violence lasts a lifetime. It is often in the outcomes of anti-HMoob violence incidents that racial inequalities are most glaring.

We discuss selected incidents comparatively, linking systems and ideologies of oppression— police, carceral, neoliberalism, capitalism, and gender-based violence— to the outcomes of white male perpetrators and HMoob people. FC incidents highlight consistent problems and contentions in systems of oppression by showing the different treatments provided to HMoob and white people. While we discuss each FC incident under thematic headings, these are complex cases, and many of the incidents and people involved interacted with multiple systems mentioned. A final note to keep in mind, these incidents are highly violent, so please take care when reading and prioritize your wellbeing.

Police Violence is Anti-HMoob Violence

On May 25, 2020, four Minneapolis police officers murdered George Floyd, a Black man, during a routine call made by the store clerk where Floyd had shopped. His death ignited national protest against state police violence that biasedly targeted Black people and the lack of police accountability to the public. This was another incident in a long history of police violence against Black and Brown people, including HMoob youths fatally shot by the Minneapolis and St. Paul police in 1989 and 2006 (Hanners,

2009; Zhang, 2005). Floyd's death is complicated for the HMoob American community as one of the officers on-scene, Tou Thao, was found guilty of violating Floyd's federal civil rights. As articulated by Vang and Meyers (2021) discuss in their article "In the Wake of George Floyd," Thao stands for the "messiness of race relations in the U.S." (p. 21). Vang and Meyers discuss the intricacies of the relationship between the U.S. and HMoob people beginning in the Secret and Vietnam Wars. They draw a parallel: Thao, the ex-police officer, is the ally of the police force, as were the HMoob people, who the CIA recruited to be an ally. This pattern of funneling people of color, mainly men, into state institutions—prisoners, servicemembers, or police officers— all speak to the same issue: white state violence.

Going back to November 1989, Inver Grove Heights police shot See Lor and Thai Yang during a foot pursuit, and police fatally wounded Fong Lee in a chase on July 22, 2006. These two FC incidents show a common pattern of police shooting in self-defense, where they claim that they saw guns. The families of the deceased all attempted to file suit against the police officers and the city for excessive force. While police violence is anti-HMoob violence and often is the case, discrimination based on race would be legal grounds for indictment as a hate crime. Lor and Yang's death in 1989 came before enacting the first federal hate crime legislation, the Hate Crime Statistics Act 1990. It was not possible to have indicted the Inver Grove Heights police of a hate crime. Then, in 1994, the Hate Crime Sentencing Enhancement Act was passed in Congress as part of the federal government's recognition of hate crimes, and sentence enhancement was their solution and deterrence (Brandzel, 2016, p. 36). Lee's trial came later, but the trial was not concerned with indicting Andersen for a hate crime. Amy Brandzel, the author of *Against Citizenship*, frames the contradiction clearly:

[P]olice brutality is rarely, if ever, marked as a hate crime, whether in popular discourse, through legal apparatuses, newspaper accounts, or criminal charges. This is, no doubt, related to ways in which police violence is always-already marked as justifiable...the state's violence is pardoned to the point of being seen as the equivalence to nonviolence (p. 41).

Based on Brandzel's argument and evidence, it was highly improbable the police would have been charged and tried with a hate crime in 2006, let alone in 1989. Her evidence is damning and shows that the federal databases track murder by the police, but it is well hidden. The Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Statistics (n.d.) categorizes murder by the police under "Arrest-Related Deaths" and the FBI's (2019) Uniform Crime Reports call it "justifiable homicide" (as indicated by the red arrows on Figure 8 in the next page).

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE • FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION • CRIMINAL JUSTICE INFORMATION SERVICES DIVISION

2019 CRIME in the UNITED STATES

FIDELITY BRAVERY INTEGRITY

Criminal Justice Information Services Division Feedback | Contact Us | Data Quality Guidelines | UCR Home

Home Offenses Known to Law Enforcement Violent Crime Property Crime Clearances Persons Arrested Police Employee Data

Expanded Homicide Data Table 14

Justifiable Homicide ←

by Weapon, Law Enforcement,¹ 2015–2019

Download Excel

Year	Total	Total firearms	Handguns	Rifles	Shotguns	Firearms, type not stated	Knives or cutting instruments	Other dangerous weapons	Personal weapons
2015	457	456	316	40	7	93	0	1	0
2016	440	432	313	51	5	63	2	5	1
2017	444	436	284	57	2	93	3	4	1
2018	435	431	292	56	4	79	1	2	1
2019	340	334	248	32	2	52	2	2	2

- ¹ The killing of a felon by a law enforcement officer in the line of duty. ←
- NOTE: The Uniform Crime Reporting Technical Refresh enables updating of prior years' crime data; therefore, data presented in this table may not match previously published data.

Figure 8. Screenshot of the “Justifiable Homicide” data table from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Justice Information Services Division. Taken October 26, 2022.

By hiding such numbers in plain sight, the public is misled to think that the statistics on homicide by police are lower than it is. The federal government is purposefully disregarding police brutality as a social issue. If the same databases that track hate crimes also track homicide by police, why is it so hard for our society to recognize and commit to holding police accountable for hate crimes?

The core of this problem is that the U.S. governmental system and state apparatuses rely upon state and military power and violence to enforce its rule of law. Therefore, the accountability of state actors committing hate crimes is lenient and often dismissed. It is only with national social uprisings that criminal trials are brought against state actors, such as the Minnesota police in the murder of George Floyd, or else the system would crumble under the “sheer enormity of police brutality” if every case was prosecuted under hate crime legislation (Brandzel, 2016, p. 41).

The federal district court ruling in *Yang v. Murphy* dismissed charges against officer Kenneth Murphy and the City of Inver Grove Heights, rejecting the claim that the

shooting and police training and manuals were racially motivated or had an explicit racial bias (Yang v. Murphy, 1992). Before 1992, a grand jury also declined to bring criminal charges against Murphy and General Attorney Humphrey (at the time) refused to reopen the investigation and bring charges against the officer. Four hundred community members met for a four-and-a-half hour long vigil on December 28, 1989, on the steps of the Minnesota capitol to mourn the passing of the HMoob youth and the criminal legal system's failures (Kelly, 1989). Lee's passing in 2006 also resulted in a series of trials against police officer Jason Andersen with similar results—neither a grand jury, civil court, or the Supreme Court would rule in favor of the family either for excessive force or on appeal when the gun Andersen alleged to have seen had been in police possession since 2004. A local non-profit organization, TakeAction Minnesota, rallied behind the late Lee to condemn racial profiling and hailed Andersen's discharge from the police as a victory in 2009. Both families did not receive legal justice, nor were the community's voices heard when they asked for further investigation against the police officers.

One of the main paradoxes of hate crime legislation is that it reveals an overinvestment in policing. It is a catalyst that forces the police to interact and perform reform for community members. Still, legislation is meant to increase policing of individuals who commit "extraordinary" acts of violence (Brandzel, 2016, p. 42). Hate crime legislation supports the criminal legal system, which increases the risk of surveillance and policing in places like Minnesota. For example, in 1997, the police raided and arrested HMoob party-goers at a New Year celebration. Chrystina Xiong took center stage when the community rallied behind her and demanded her release and police reform. Community organizers met resistance and deflection at public meetings with the police department. The police offered an alternative solution to police reform—they would hire a liaison (read: HMoob cultural worker to smooth over racial differences) and promised to attend more meetings. The article did not provide more information, but these tactics are common, libertarian and multiculturalist modes of reform and instruction that only placate communities and do not address the roots of the problem: police violence is anti-HMoob violence.

Another FC incident in 2017 in Junction City, WI, further illustrates how race impacts police and general public interactions. In this case, 80-year-old Henry Kaminski fired three shots at his neighbor Mai Houa Moua without provocation and then proceeded to have a standoff with the police while intoxicated. Unlike Lor, Yang, and Lee, who was fatally shot by police, drunken Kaminski was afforded patience and care. The police contacted his daughter and got her onsite to de-escalate and facilitate his surrender to the police. He posted bail the next day, which forced Moua to relocate out of fear of retaliation and concern for living next to a man who had already been violent towards her. The police actions in this incident highlight the fact that it is the presence of Black

and Brown bodies– not weapons– that is considered an imminent threat to police officers because Kaminski was both white and fully armed during his standoff with police.

Finally, like many other anti-HMoob violence incidents involving women, Moua's case shows how gender and other protected categories do not operate in tandem with hate crime legislation. For example, the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) is instrumental in providing avenues of redress, but it also cordons gender-based violence and constructs it as a separate social issue (Brandzel, 2016, p. 60; Perry, 2001, p. 211). Moua's age, immigrant status, gender, and familial obligations negatively impacted her forced relocation. Still, the criminal legal system did not consider her identity outside of her race when Kaminski was convicted of recklessly endangering safety as a hate crime. In the history of U.S. hate crime legislation, gender and sexuality have always been contested because to acknowledge gender-based violence as a hate crime would acknowledge that rape, homophobia, transphobia, and misogyny are not limited to incidents occurring to women and LGBTQ+ people in intimate relationships and private settings like the home. Like homicide by the police, the prosecution of gender-based violence based on its sheer size would overload the criminal legal system and destabilize the government. The stability of the government depends upon not only the influence and power of the police but also depends on the social hierarchy set up by the lack of enforcement of hate crime legislation to create social inequality with women and LGBTQ+ as second-rate citizens (Brandzel, 2016, pp. 66-68).

Many of the HMoob people involved in these cases sought justice. The families of the survivors pursued lawsuits in the hopes of convicting police of unlawful shootings. Community members and organizations rallied to protest and pressure the authorities to make more impactful changes. The St. Paul police department opted to build with the community by attending more public meetings and hiring staff to work as cultural liaisons. Western forms of justice– filing lawsuits and working towards police reform– can be effective. Still, these institutional forms of justice are limited because they often prioritize police and protect them from punishment. American society has conditioned people to trust in authority– mainly, the legal system– for swift and unbiased rulings without prejudice. Such a mentality normalizes the belief that we live in a colorblind society and diminishes the cruelty of punishment because a criminal sentence is marked as the optimal recognition of pain and injustice.

Anti-HMoob Violence within the Criminal Legal System

As HMoob, other BIPOC, and white people move through the criminal legal system, their experiences differ dramatically based on racial and gender biases and prejudice. The criminal legal system involves law enforcement (police), courts (legal), and corrections (prison/parole). Chai Soua Vang entered this system when he was found guilty on September 16, 2005, on six counts of attempted murder for trespassing on private land in November 2004, which led to the death of six and the wounding of two people in self-defense by Vang. The Coalition for Community Relations (CCR) from St. Paul, MN, a civil rights organization, published a report shortly after Vang's guilty verdict in September 2005, stating concerns about the discriminatory-based treatment of white and non-white court attendees by the police, the unequal distribution of seatings reserved mainly for the deceased's family and the press, the selection of an all-white jury, media bias that vilified Vang, and the rushed nature of Vang's trial. CCR questioned the upholding of due process and Vang's civil liberties because he was denied a lawyer and translator during his arrest (CCR, 2005, as cited in Zufall, 2005).

The treatment of Chai Soua Vang and other Black and Brown defendants who have usually been unprotected in the criminal legal system stands in sharp contrast to the experience of some white male defendants. Take, for example, Dan J. Popp, 40 years old in 2016, based in Milwaukee, WI. On March 6, 2016, Popp shot and killed three of his neighbors, including a HMoob couple—Phia and Mai K. Vue—and Jesus Ramon Manso-Perez. They all resided in an apartment complex. Popp is a person living with behavioral disorders and, in 2008, had his firearms confiscated by the police. The courts dismissed that prior case in 2008 and returned his guns, which should not have happened (Luthern, 2016). As the Milwaukee community mourned the late Vue and Manso-Perez families, lamenters also expressed their anger at the courts. Popp faced three counts of first-degree intentional homicide and one count of attempted first-degree intentional homicide, but his trial was suspended, pending mental health review. Mai Zong Vue, a spokesperson for the Vue family, had expressed the family's frustration with the leniency given to Popp and the court's disregard for the race-based motive in the shooting (Vielmetti, 2016). The defendants—Popp and Vang—on trial in Wisconsin courts experienced different treatments as Vang's civil liberties were disregarded while Popp received more than a fair trial.

Welfare Cuts are Anti-HMoob Violence

Several key public policy changes during the late 1900s also impacted HMoob people negatively. Initially, HMoob people who resettled under the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act were eligible for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) cash assistance beginning on May 23, 1975. In the following decades, this

change in the 1990s, often dubbed the “New Nativism” era, due to the enactment of anti-immigration and neoliberal common laws meant to enhance deportation and incarceration while reducing welfare programs that many communities had relied on since 1975.

For example, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) was signed into law on August 22, 1996, effectively replacing AFDC with Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) as of January 1, 1997 (Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, 1996, p. 161). TANF is a federal block grant administered by states and has different names in each state: CalWORKS is issued by California, Minnesota issues TANF through Minnesota Family Investment Program, and Wisconsin administers W2. Decentralization left many state agencies with more leeway and discretion to implement TANF, but retained several specific requirements regarding the distribution of benefits to HMoob people, and other TANF recipients, throughout the U.S. These restrictions include:

- Timed benefits limit adult recipients to five years of cash assistance in a lifetime.
- Legal non-residents (green card holders) were ineligible for federal aid (SSI, Medicaid, food stamps) effective January 1, 1997.

These new, national-wide restrictions contributed to an increasingly resource-deprived and hostile environment for HMoob families and communities who had previously used the AFDC system to support themselves.

These negative changes came about in part because public officials-- pressured by neoliberal ideologies of self-sufficiency and a 1990-91 recession-- needed to decrease the number of welfare dependents. Public policy in this era tried to reduce the number of welfare dependents by reducing the number of children born out of wedlock. The anti-Black stereotype of the “welfare queen”– a Black, unemployed, single mother living large off of welfare money– arose during this period to stigmatize non-nuclear families that depended upon public support (Tang, 2010, p. 464). With the transition from AFDC to PRWORA, refugee families who had previously been exempt from the family-composition requirements targeting non-nuclear families were no longer granted an exception and many lost eligibility for support (Marsh, 1976, p. 13). Critically, these policy and cultural shifts affected Black, HMoob, and other low-income communities of color similarly. As scholar Eric Tang (2010) has argued:

PRWORA, as a racial project, did not separate “native” blacks from Third World immigrants. On the contrary, the two groups were taken as a combined coordinate, a rare and perhaps unwitting disclosure of their [social] common location vis-à-vis the nation’s conservative welfare policy (p. 456).

These dynamics are why it is crucial to combat the false sense of competition between Asian immigrant and Black communities perpetrated by white supremacy and why our work of tracking anti-HMoob violence must include an acknowledgment of systemic anti-Blackness.

Throughout the 1990s, the changes in welfare policy had the desired economic results, but at the expense of the communities these programs were meant to serve. PRWORA reduced rising costs by \$1.3 billion for the federal government, and state cost-share dropped by \$4.1 billion from 1995 (before PRWORA) to 2001. By 2002, the federal share was \$14.8 billion, a lower amount than the AFDC expenditures for each year from 1991 to 1996 (Encyclopedia, 2004). TANF was working, but there were unaccounted human costs. The welfare benefits changes resulted in abolishing a primary means of income and fringe benefits for HMoob elders, women, and households, which was a general detriment to the HMoob community.

Next, we discuss four suicides related to welfare benefits changes in 1996-1997 to foreground the human costs of policy change:

In 1997, a 59-year-old mother with the family name of Yang residing in Fresno and an elder man living in Wisconsin both committed suicide due to changes in welfare benefits. PRWORA placed financial constraints and emotional uncertainties on refugee agencies and families. Yang and this unnamed older man were highly dependent upon public assistance, so the termination of benefits (or even thought of it) could have been detrimental to their well-being and future. The state-ran TANF programs shifted responsibility to children and family support agencies that most likely left non-English speaking recipients to infer or depend upon their family and support network for guidance. Sometimes, a delay in action might halt or terminate benefits.

In the case of the Wisconsin older man, WI's W2 program left the age eligibility for work exemption broad, meaning that a caseworker determined whether or not this older man met their criteria to continue receiving benefits. If he had to work, his cash aid would have been rated by his work activity, not by his family size, which did not take into account the number of dependents he supported (Encyclopedia, 2004). W-2 assumes that "work is the best way for parents to support their families. Individuals who the agency determines are ready for work will be referred to unsubsidized employment, or assigned to a TEMP job to combine employment training with a job" (The Department of Children and Families, 2001, p. 643). This guideline does not account for language, ability, culture, or even transportation differences because it seems that expediency is a prerogative rather than holistic acclimation and care for welfare recipients.

Yang, who resided in Fresno, was affected differently due to the requirements of

CalWORKS, not Wisconsin's W2 program. PRWORA would have excluded non-citizens from receiving benefits in CA and WI as of 1997. It would not be until after Yang's death on September 1, 1998, that California passed AB 2779 to reinstate (between the age of 18-64) food stamps benefits for resident aliens who lost federal benefits under PRWORA (California Department of Social Services, 1998). Yang might have had her benefits fully terminated or experienced a reduction in benefits under CalWORKS. Like W2, CalWORKS provided less money and rated benefits by the number of hours worked and family size to push adults into full-time work. California also instituted more stringent eligibility requirements, requiring single parents to work at least 32 hours and two-parent households to work at least 35 hours (Hill, 1998, pp. 5-7). These discriminatory practices against single-parent and larger families disadvantaged HMoob women since they might have needed to work more hours at their job to keep their current benefits. Cash assistance did not increase due to pregnancies, i.e., CalWORKS did not support pregnancies, so this might have placed an extra burden on HMoob women and families who had to live in a deficit.

Two years later, in 1999, two more women in Fresno and Sacramento committed suicide. "When Chia Yang, 54, a mother of seven, died by hanging herself, her 30-year-old son, Toby Vue, retorted: "She lost her country because we fought on the American side. Then she loses her benefits because she wasn't a U.S. citizen" (Schwartz, 1998). Many advocates feared that the public benefits cutoff would lead to more murder-suicides in the HMoob community.

PRWORA targeted HMoob legal immigrants and poor urban Black people dependent upon federal assistance— a war against the poor and immigrants. The state and private capital enable low-wage labor and urban poverty to expand while minimizing welfare benefits. The corrosion of minimum wage, work, and health and safety standards are some facets of neoliberalism. PRWORA's reduction of welfare benefits that led to HMoob elders' and women's deaths also shows the similarities between Southeast Asians and Black people who wish for similar things: employment, survival, basic needs, and family. Receiving welfare was only a part of living; it was to sustain life.

In 1996, Chia Yang might have received \$607 a month and a food stamp amount of \$245, totaling \$852. This net amount would have put a family of three into the 79th poverty percentile, but almost "four-fifths (78 percent) of the states and territories, typical payment amounts were well below the state-established need standards." In summary, the amount of aid received from 1980 - 1996 declined sharply, and its complete elimination was disastrous for people dependent upon public assistance (Encyclopedia, 2004).

Deportation is Anti-HMoob Violence

Alongside the enactment of PRWORA, laws criminalizing Southeast Asians and immigrants also went into effect in the latter half of the 20th century. The Southeast Asian Resource Action Center (SEARAC) notes that:

Deportation in these and other immigrant communities soared after 1996, when Congress passed the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA). The laws were made to be retroactive, meaning that noncitizens could be deported for certain crimes even if they were committed before the passage of the law in 1996. In addition, the laws severely restricted the ability of immigration judges to consider the individual circumstances of a person before ordering deportation (SEARAC, 2013).

AEDPA and IIRIRA significantly increased the severity of the link between becoming entangled in the criminal legal system and deportation. The retroactive nature of these laws was especially significant for HMoob non-citizens, who became more vulnerable to deportation. One case, in particular, is known intimately by Cia Siab, Inc. and their partner organization, Freedom Inc., based in Madison, WI. On a morning in 2018, ICE barged into a HMoob family's home and arrested Mai Thao Yang's brother Hue Yang. "Her [Mai Thao's] mother, Ka Lor, was confused. Her son had "served his time," she said, she didn't understand why he had to be detained. 'They [ICE] came to our house, they wouldn't let me say anything, they told me to be silent,' she said. 'I don't know why I didn't reach my hand out to pat (my son) or to touch him'" (M. T. Yang, personal communication, July 7, 2022; M.T. Yang, 2018, as cited in Pasque, 2018).

The incident prompted a panel discussion with local leaders at UW-Madison, including Kabzuag Vaj from Freedom Inc., who is well-known to Cia Siab, Inc. At the discussion, panelists talked about unity among communities of color, all impacted by deportation. HMoob Laotians have a different experience— a unique undue burden— in detention since Laos does not have a repatriation agreement with the U.S. Southeast Asian Americans, especially those originally from Cambodia and Laos, with deportation orders in the last two decades, have had to live in limbo, facing uncertainty as to whether or not they will be deported. Kabzuag Vaj sums up this difficult situation nicely, "You're [U.S. government and ICE] taking them not because you can deport them, you're taking them to terrorize a community" (Vaj, 2018, as cited in Pasque, 2018).

While deportation orders have gone out since the enactment of the 1996 laws, ICE under the Trump administration increased arrests and deportations against Southeast Asians and pressured the Laos government to repatriate deportees by enacting

sanctions. With many HMoob people's involvement in the Secret War orchestrated by the CIA to combat the Viet Minh in northern Vietnam during the Vietnam War, repatriation for HMoob people with final orders was extremely dangerous. In the early 2020s, the repatriation agreement stalled due to the COVID-19 pandemic and has not made headway under the Biden administration. Many community leaders and anti-deportation advocates see this as a sign of relief (Amaro, 2022).

Gender-based Violence is Anti-HMoob Violence

Some FC incidents bring to the fore the various ways that gender is minimized or decentered when it comes to race-ethnic relations and racism. As Cia Siab Inc. is an organization that works to eliminate gender-based violence, it is imperative that we aim to center gender relations in anti-racist work. The cases of KQRS and Pa Nhia Lor exemplify how victims of anti-HMoob violence are not fully humanized because racism becomes a dominant analytic in framing power and oppression while a gender analysis falls by the wayside. This kind of dehumanization is sexist and is another level of violence that victims face on top of the racist violence they experience(d).

In the KQRS case, on June 9, 1998, KQRS host Tom Barnard read a *Pioneer Press* article about a 13-year-old HMoob girl from Eau Claire, WI, who allegedly killed her newborn child. "During on-air banter, Barnard mocked the HMoob clan system and a cultural practice that involves HMoob women eating a special chicken broth after giving birth. At one point he said, 'Either assimilate or hit the goddamn road'" (Beckstrom, 1998). This comment racialized the infanticide immediately and many HMoob community members felt racially offended. In response to the broadcast, a group called Community Action Against Racism (CAAR) formed and spearheaded protest efforts to get an apology from KQRS. The outrage that the HMoob community felt was valid-- the broadcast was so blatantly racist. But, at the same time, it was also sexist. Barnard would not have raged in the way he did, and the incident of the 13-year-old HMoob girl would not have transpired at all had it not been for the mere fact that she is a girl, a birthing person.

In September 1998 in Brooklyn Park, MN, Pa Nhia Lor, a 13-year-old HMoob girl and resident of St. Paul, MN, was "raped, beaten and stabbed..." (The Sun, 1999). The perpetrators-- Michael Medin, 18, Shea Holt, 17, and Johnnie Rhodes, 17-- then carried her "to a nearby garage, where she was slowly asphyxiated to death" (The Sun, 1999). Afterwards, two women, Nickie Lynn Frank and Stacy Marie Koerner, 18, helped the perpetrators dispose of Lor's body. In both news articles that referenced this incident (Burson, 1999; The Sun, 1999), like the KQRS incident, anti-HMoob violence became an issue of violence due to race, not due to gender. The fact of the matter however is that

Pa Nhia was raped because she was not only HMoob but also a girl. She was beaten, stabbed, and murdered because she was both HMoob and a girl. It is inconceivable that a 13-year-old HMoob boy would have been the victim of the perpetrators.

In both cases, HMoob community members' comments about the cases demonstrate their centering on race and racism as the impetus for these egregious acts of violence. In the KQRS case, one community member voiced her feelings about the shock over the girl killing her newborn and the frustration she felt with KQRS: 'This was a tragedy and KQRS used it as a platform to bash our culture' (Locke, 1998). Tom Barnard himself made the case of infanticide one about HMoob people's inability to assimilate. In the Pa Nhia Lor case, one community member expressed her outrage that Nickie Lynn Frank and Stacy Marie Koerner, the two women who disposed of Panhia's body, could "go free with only probation and community service" (Burson, 1999). This community member stated, 'if Pa Nhia Lor had been white and these girls had been HMoob, what would the suggested sentence have been" (Burson, 1999). Another community member responded to the incident stating 'You look at something like that, and it is hard not to think that it was a hate crime that was committed against a little girl simply because she was HMoob" (The Sun, 1999). Gender, sexism, and patriarchy intersected with racism to open pathways for the violence in these incidents. The larger communities' (HMoob and non-HMoob folks) disregard for the gendered dynamics, however, made them unable to support, understand, and therefore help find justice and advocate for these girls holistically.

Pa Nhia Lor and KQRS cases highlight the presence of gendered violence within some instances of anti-HMoob violence and suggest that to achieve justice fully, gender is central in deconstructing anti-HMoob violence. Anti-HMoob violence is not just racial violence when it is actually, as exemplified in these cases, motivated by both racism and gender. Without acknowledging the complexities of a victim's identities that converge together to motivate a perpetrator to victimize them, anti-violence advocates and allies will continue to uphold sexism/patriarchy while pushing for a racial justice agenda.

Defining Justice

As we analyzed the varying outcomes — for the victims, the perpetrators, the community — of the FC incidents, we returned multiple times to the connected questions: What is justice, and was it served? In civil and criminal cases involving police brutality and fatal shootings, victims often sought justice administered by the legal system. Still, the process of seeking, let alone receiving, legal justice is often prolonged and unobtainable for many HMoob defendants and plaintiffs. It is desired because we have been taught, conditioned, and forced to participate in the criminal legal system

and capitalism. We want our perpetrators found guilty and sentenced. If that's not possible, a civil lawsuit to retrieve a monetary settlement is the next best thing. It feels good to be vindicated, and there is nothing wrong with money that can provide shelter, necessities, and access to medical and wellbeing services to help one grieve. However, the outcomes of the FC incidents involving the criminal legal system and police have shown us that even if/when legal justice is technically achieved, it does not fully address the harm caused by the initial violence and often comes with the additional expenses of time, labor, and retraumatization.

A community-based approach to justice has always existed alongside this institutionalized form of justice. TakeAction Minnesota, Coalition for Community Relations (CCR), Freedom Inc., Cia Siab, Inc., and many other unnamed organizations and individuals have advocated for police reform, civil liberties, welfare enhancements, and immigration justice on behalf of HMoob and people of color. This process can appear unstructured, but multiple campaigns by collaborating groups are often carried out with intentional strategies to combat overlapping systems of oppression.

As our research team imagined our own definition of what justice could look like beyond the confines of the state's legal justice system, one of the outcomes that we identified as potential justice was that the victim and victim's family/community regain a sense of power and possibility for the future. The presence and support of community is essential for making this form of justice happen. Lisa reiterated this point in her oral history interview with us:

For me, it's knowing that I'm surrounded by people and community members who are really looking to make change, doing their best, and knowing I could be part of that too. That's how I participate in that. It doesn't cancel or correct the incident that happened with me, but I know moving forward, that I have a support system and people in the community are working to do better.

Even in instances when the legal justice system fails, there are still actions, support, and resources that community members can offer one another in search of justice.

Organizing a community response to systemic violence takes a lot of time, effort, and love. It is not uncommon for HMoob women and girls to lead campaigns, movements, and their community in these fights. For instance, when Hue Yang was arrested by ICE in 2018, it was his sisters, Ma and Mai Thao (MT), who organized the HMoob community in Madison to get him released. They navigated the criminal legal system alongside their mother and the assistance of Freedom Inc. HMoob staff who helped them obtain legal counsel, transportation, and other resources. With this support, Ma did the bulk of the work to free her brother.

Unfortunately, unlike Hue Yang’s case, in many of our FC incidents “justice” was not served, not even a limited sense of legal justice. While it is important to acknowledge that many of these FC incidents end without justice of any form for the HMoob people involved, we suggest that moving away from a narrow definition of justice as tied to the criminal legal justice system allows for a complete view of what types of actions and outcomes are actually most beneficial to HMoob victims and communities. We take inspiration from the response of community leaders-- often HMoob women and girls-- to the dangers of welfare cutbacks and deportations of their family members and friends. Through informed political consciousness, strategic vision, and community support, they lead the demand for safety and liberation for our families and communities.

Key Finding #3: Media Bias Manipulated Public Dialogue on the Chai Soua Vang Case

Reporting is subjective, and, as seen in Chai Soua Vang’s incident, print media produces a public dialogue that marginalizes HMoob people. This public dialogue works in tandem with structures and processes of white supremacist heteropatriarchy to dehumanize HMoob victims of violence.

In this section, we highlight the perspectives and insights of a diverse group of HMoob people who shared with us their personal feelings on and experiences with anti-HMoob violence and analyses of two articles written about Chai Soua Vang. Including their personal critiques around anti-HMoob violence vis-a-vis their analyses on the Chai Soua Vang incident brings balance to a project based entirely on media analysis.

In news media, information is dispensed via television, radio, print and electronically. On the surface, it is taken for granted and widely accepted that the news industry’s aim is to deliver information about current events to the general public. The demand for the increased viewer/reader engagement, however, has always impacted the type of news that gets delivered. In the context of anti-HMoob violence, this means that incidents that are not sensational are less likely to be reported by news media. News media therefore does not deliver just any news to the general public, which is a public that, through a myriad of processes and negotiation, upholds and perpetuates white supremacist racial capitalism. Rather, the news that gets delivered feeds into gendered racialized stereotypes in order to draw public engagement to drive profits. Reporting is therefore subjective and the news media is part of an industry that does not always report information based solely on the ethical value of public education and information dissemination.

Through the use of words and discourse, the news media's approach, powered with a far-reaching platform, has the potential to do more harm than good for the HMoob community and, on a broader scale, communities of color. Dr. Bee shared his awareness of the relationship between words and power when he discussed the power of words throughout American history. Although he discusses the general use of words, his points are relevant to the news media and the discourses it generates. He states "they use words to go to war with people, kill people. Words become weapons and white folks are really good at this. They will find a way to turn words into weapons to rile white folks against us." In this context, Dr. Bee is talking about how white people often blame an entire ethnic/racial group when a BIPOC has done something wrong. He recalls the contradictory and violent history of the U.S. government mobilizing against First Nations people, Black, Japanese, Muslims and Middle Eastern, and, as of recently due to the COVID-19 pandemic, Chinese Americans. News media operating within a white supremacist society is immune to scrutiny and normalizes white supremacist ideas and viewpoints. Whether it is a domestic or international issue, white supremacy uses mass media to weaponize words and thereby mobilize resources, people, and even legislation against BIPOC.

All articles that have anti-Asian bias language were flagged in our dataset. Of 323 incidents, 66 incidents were identified as having anti-Asian bias language. Of these 66 incidents, a majority of them were related to the Chai Soua Vang incident (N = 43/66). These incidents were tagged across 30 articles. Conversely, 23 incidents were not related to the Chai Soua Vang incident (N = 23/66). These 23 incidents were tagged across 15 articles. This is significant because this means that in the 43-year timeframe that our data covers, the concentration of biased language in news media that indicates anti-HMoob violence is related to the news reporting of the Chai Soua Vang incident. This finding converges with our other finding that the spike in anti-HMoob violence incidents in 2004 is a result of escalating racial tensions between HMoob and white people in the Midwest following Chai Soua Vang's case.

To our finding that many articles with biased language were related to the Chai Soua Vang incident, our interviewees echoed this sentiment in the two articles we asked them to read about the Chai Soua Vang incident (the two articles are Associated Press, 2005 and Imrie, 2005). All interviewees shared their concerns about the framing, marginalization and dehumanization of Vang. Lisa, for instance, critiques the article *The Seattle Times* article "Jury finds immigrant guilty" by Robert Imrie (2005):

[T]he last point of this article was that he was trained to kill. Part of me feels like they so demonized him in a way where he was set up to not walk free. When you have a jury as well, even though they're not from the town — they're from Madison — there was no one [person] of color, no one that we know that

didn't identify any other way than white Wisconsin-American.... And I think it [was made to be] painted that way. We're these savages that came out of these jungles who don't know any better, who are illiterate, and can't figure the law of the land in that sense. And we'll just come in and shoot up people just because we have a gun and we can and we're trained. I feel like they're using his experience against him. And who trained him? The American people did. It's kind of ironic in that sense but at the same time it's disappointing and it's sad.

Lisa expresses her concerns about Vang's negative depiction in the media and the jury selection in his trial proceeding. She points to the fact that he was trained in the National Guard, not overseas during the Secret/Vietnam War. His military training, given to him by the U.S., is used against him. Because it is linked to his race and ethnic origin, he is not revered as a patriot, but is painted as a cold-blooded killer.

News media takes an intrinsic approach toward minoritized groups to explain incidents of violence. When minoritized groups commit a crime, the report focuses more of the blame on their personal qualities and traits, labeling them as demons or innately bad people and then those individual, internal characteristics represent the larger ethnic group. In other words, not only is Vang a killer, but so are all HMoob people. When this rhetorical practice is questioned and pointed back to white people, there is an immediate dismissal. To most of the American public, it would be absurd to make such a blanket statement: anti-HMoob violence perpetrators (i.e., white people) represent all white people. Unlike BIPOC folks, the media approach towards whites is different and often takes the form of attributing incidents to external factors and constraints, placing the blame not on the individual and constructing them as an unfortunate individual.

Vandali sees eye-to-eye with the extrinsic-intrinsic approach. Acknowledging the consequences of negative news depictions of HMoob people, she agrees with the *Telegraph Herald's* (Associated Press, 2005) article "Hmong stand vigil" when it reports that some HMoob people felt like they were on trial with Vang. She said that the "whole community was also microscoped," and heavily surveilled. In fact, she shared that during the time of the trial she received unwanted comments, stares, and knew that white people were afraid of her. Her family made sure that all the children in the household did not go to public spaces, such as stores, or other places alone and created safety plans for the children.

At the same time, the news media also painted Chai Soua Vang as an isolated incident removed from the complex racist settler colonial processes and structures of northern WI (and all of North America as a whole). Critiquing this rhetorical move in reporting,

Vandali says that both articles (Associated Press, 2005; Imrie, 2005) “made it sound like this is an isolated incident.” She continues,

[T]his racial tension was like, ‘Oh, my gosh, brand new to up north Wisconsin,’ when we know it’s not. There’s always been racial tension, and not just in the HMoob community, too, right? And in Native communities as well. There’s always been that racial tension.

Vandali highlights the racial tension that has played out between First Nations communities and white settler communities over Native rights to spearfishing in northern WI in the 1980s.

According to Zoltan Grossman and Debra McNutt (2001), “under the treaties of 1837 and 1842, the Ojibwe had reserved rights to use natural resources--such as fish, game, wild rice, and medicinal plants-- in the ‘ceded territories’ they sold to the U.S.” (p. 23). Treaties are binding agreements between nations, in this case, between the Ojibwe Nation and the U.S. With these rights in place, Ojibwes continued to spearfish in the ceded territories. In the 1980s, white sportsmen in northern WI grew discontent with Ojibwes’ rights to the land. Their discontentment was partly due to concern over depleting the lakes of fish; mostly, however, their discontentment stemmed from white supremacist racism and hatred against First Nations people. Grossman and McNutt continue writing that “although the Ojibwe never speared more than three percent of northern Wisconsin fish, they were repeatedly scapegoated by the media and sport fishers for the region’s environmental and economic problems” (p. 23). Whites harassed, assaulted, and protested against Native communities and Native boats and spearfishers. When Vandali points to the racism Ojibwe communities experienced during the spearfishing controversies in northern WI, we see Chai Soua Vang’s case as an extension of this pattern of racism in WI’s northwoods.

However, without this history of racial conflict steeped in settler colonialism, Chai Soua Vang’s incident is decontextualized, thereby persuading the public, who is overwhelmingly white, that Vang killed them without self defense. As Ntxawm, an elder from La Crosse, states:

There are most definitely the words that they say to you and that you then respond back to. That’s why there’s antagonism, that’s why there’s pain and hurt, that’s why there’s killing and death. There must have been those initial words that were said. But I didn’t hear anything about what Mekas said to him, what he said to Mekas, and that’s why they shot at each other.

⁴ In HMoob, “Mekas” means white people.

Vandali shares a similar sentiment stating “I don't believe in violence, but I think when you are pushed, when you've experienced such violent forms of racism and assimilation, you are kind of backed up into a corner.” The news media often did mention that Vang claimed that he shot in self-defense but that was left as unlikely since the racial climate of the WI as well as the white members' likeliness of having deep-seated biases and racism against BIPOC were never investigated and scrutinized, let alone mentioned. Considering the history of racism in northern WI, the overwhelming societal privilege white people have, and their knowledge that they can exploit the system to their benefit, we believe Vang's side of the story that the white hunters harassed and shot at him first, as he claimed that they did, that he shot at them in self defense.

Vandali discusses the danger of the privilege that white people have of always being the victim, of always being more credible than their BIPOC counterparts. She points out the weaponization of white innocence. She states “white tears are literally so scary because white folks can just cry and we will die.” Vandali's point about white tears is also a commentary on the societal advantage of credibility and innocence granted to whites. Because of the news media's unfair reporting through the victimization of whites and the hyper-villainization of Chai Soua Vang by painting him as an immigrant/foreigner (even though he is a U.S. citizen) and a cold-blooded killer, all the interviewees believe that Vang did not get a fair trial. Similar to other interviewees, Nao Houa, another La Crosse local, also doubts Vang received a fair trial:

[W]hen you look at the case and the trial, I can't believe how short it was — I mean this is a huge case and it only took the jury like three hours? You know to deliver and make the decisions. And this is such a high profile case and I was kind of shock that — not that they need to find like a HMoob person to be part of the jury, but they could easily find some — you know I mean all of the jury are like Caucasian people. So they could easily like a Hispanic person or like African American person or maybe like a Native First Nation People in there or even like an Asian person, but they can't. I didn't think he got a fair trial.

The sensationalized and biased reporting on the case affected the opinions of the public. In an article published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, the matter of whether or not Vang can have a fair trial in Sawyer County is discussed (Harter, 2005). Vang's defense submitted a motion to move the trial, citing the media as among the reasons. During that time, the media fueled the public's emotions and referred to the incident as “the Columbine of the Northwoods and the area's own 9/11” (Harter, 2005). The defense argued that it is impossible to select an impartial trial given such controversial headlines. By alluding to these terrible events, Vang is already guilty prior to his trial.

The news media reporting of Chai Soua Vang demonstrates how subtle white supremacist discourse seeps into news media, perpetuating stereotypes about HMoob people that normalizes whiteness and othered HMoob people. In doing this, HMoob people are not considered full citizens and therefore more worthy of harsh punishments while whites are seen as model citizens and deserving of protection. For our informants, the news media and its biased reporting of HMoob-related news produce and perpetuate anti-HMoob violence.

Huab Cua, a La Crosse resident, noted the need to be critical when gathering information from mainstream news media. He shared his method of assessing reliability and bias in news articles:

Whenever I read white media or mainstream things, I always look at how they're going to identify my people. When I say my people, I'm not just talking about the HMoob people. I'm also talking about non-white people and my community. I think you really have to look for that identity piece. How are they addressing you? They're not just saying "a HMoob person is being accused," they're saying "a Hmong immigrant being accused." I think when they say those things, it adds intersectionality. We know with intersectionalities, there's a lot of stigmas that come with it especially in this mainstream white, systemic world. We know how white people like to box us.

Huab Cua is referring to intersectionality, the concept coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) to initially identify the multiple oppressions faced by Black women in the U.S. In this example, one of the newspapers read by Huab Cua and all other interviewees, "Hmong stand vigil," from the *Telegraph Herald* first identified Vang as a "Hmong immigrant being accused of killing six white deer hunters" (Associated Press, 2005). Why did the *Telegraph Herald* introduce Vang as an immigrant, when at the time of the publication he had been in the U.S. for over two decades?

Huab Cua used a comparative strategy to look for disparities in how individuals from varying ethnic and social groups are distinguished. On the one hand, the deceased white hunters are only mentioned by name and age. Their families were described as filling up the pews in the courtroom. On the other hand, characteristics of immigrant and minority are deferred to HMoob people. The term immigrant does describe him but he is also an American citizen. Huab Cua's statement, "white people like to box us in," means that the article titled "Hmong stand vigil" sheds HMoob people of all American-like identifiers and fuels xenophobia.

The news media is not directly responsible for the result of Chai Soua Vang's trial. However, it amplifies emotions and racial tensions and, at times, convicts Vang. This

hinders a possibility of an alternative for him. What would the outcome have been for Vang if the media had produced different representations of him/HMoob people, if it had called into question the racist dominant stereotype that he was a blood-thirsty HMoob male killer. Ntxawm pointed to the background context that did give humanity to Chai Soua Vang; this kind of framing was an opportunity the news media could have latched onto. Acknowledging that Vang was not wrong but not right either, she states:

[I]t's likely that they didn't ask him to leave in a dignified way. He was but one single person and they were the majority. There were *that* many of them. So they weren't afraid of him at all. If he hadn't taken a stand to defend himself, they would never have been afraid of him and backed down from harming him. Because he is a soldier. He was trained to be a soldier and completed his service in the military. He defended himself in accordance with the logic embedded in him [during his time in the armed forces]: "if I don't kill them, they will kill me. So, one: I live; two: I die." So that's why he shot and killed them. I feel that-- It's not that he wasn't in the wrong at all. He is in the wrong a little. But his wrongdoing is not enough to warrant a death sentence for him.⁴

Ntxawm points out the dynamic circumstances and complexities in any interpersonal conflict. What could the outcome have been for Chai Soua Vang if the media had acknowledged his wrongdoing but also acknowledged the real possibility that the white members harassed him? What could the outcome have been for this case had the news media pointed out the strength in numbers that whites had over him?

When we asked Ntxawm to define hate/bias, Ntxawm stated "hate is when [people] speak disrespectfully to us [HMoob people]. One, they speak disrespectfully to us [HMoob people]. Two, they will [do something] to you directly." Dr. Bee mentioned earlier the power of words and white people using words as weapons against BIPOCs. In the case of Chai Soua Vang, we see how the media weaponized words against him, and how they exhibited bias against HMoob people through their stereotypical, often disrespectful, framing of Chai Soua Vang. Media bias has real material consequences as bias in language builds the foundation for physical violence, discrimination, and genocide.

⁴ The "death sentence" Ntxawm refers to is the sentence handed to Chai Soua Vang of six consecutive life terms plus 70 years.

Conclusion

We began this project under unprecedented circumstances. The COVID-19 pandemic brought many pre-existing social inequalities to the surface as well as added a new outlet for anti-Asian violence. In the midst of responding to our communities' urgent and immediate needs, we also knew that there were valuable lessons and information waiting to be found if we retrace the historical trajectory that brought us to this moment. Our project was born from a desire to understand both the contemporary manifestations of anti-HMoob violence but also the patterns, forces, and past experiences that shaped the present. Our desire to investigate the historical roots of contemporary anti-HMoob violence was also sharpened by the fact that there is no research on anti-HMoob violence. Within the already sparse archive of data documenting anti-Asian violence, we were unable to find disaggregated data specifically tracking anti-HMoob violence. In contrast to many other anti-Asian violence reports, we decided to take a long-term look at violent incidents: our data spans 1975 to 2019 and encompasses the entire 45+ years of HMoob history in the U.S.

For Cia Siab Inc.'s partner organizations, we hope that our findings can provide useful material for educational, policy recommendations, and funding applications. Our partner organizations should feel free to use our data and findings as they see fit to support the mission of their organizations. Our Key Finding #1 focuses specifically on WI and the way the sociopolitical climate shapes the type, frequency, and outcomes of anti-HMoob violence in the state. We recommend that WI-based organizations look at our figures in this section for data specifically pertaining to anti-HMoob violence in WI and MN.

As with any study, there must be praxis. Beyond encouraging our partner organizations to use the data and findings to advance their mission, we would like to make our own recommendations about steps that can be taken to buffer against, resist, heal from, and prevent anti-HMoob violence. Below, we also offer recommendations to funders, policy makers, news media and allies in and outside of WI:

Holistic support for HMoob communities:

We recommend policymakers, funders, and allies invest in and support the spiritual, physical, mental, and emotional health of HMoob communities to effectively prevent anti-HMoob violence and buffer against the trauma and aftermath of such violence. In the area of spiritual health, we recommend efforts to foster healing. For emotional health, we recommend efforts in culturally-relevant counseling and traditional HMoob ways of support. In the area of physical health,

we recommend bolstering long-term and sustainable efforts around housing programs, access to traditional clean and healthy HMoob foods and meals, and HMoob communities' financial wellness. Financial stability is linked to one's ability to self-advocate effectively.

Funding to culturally-specific community organizations to build, support, and enhance services on violence prevention, education, and victim support and empowerment:

We recommend that federal and state resources be invested in building, supporting, and strengthening culturally-specific and linguistic services that center HMoob people and their lived experiences as well as community-led initiatives around wellness, education, racial-gender-language justice, victim support and violence prevention. The climate and demography of WI contribute to the visibility of HMoob people as well as the socio-political violence they experience. In our study, we find that community action created more just results for victims compared to action from institutions, such as police departments, courts, etc. This highlights the necessity to increase funding to support community organizations and community-led efforts as they are the ones which center victims' wellbeing and needs in their advocacy as well as work intimately with and holistically support HMoob victims of violence.

Support and expand Cia Siab, Inc.'s anti-HMoob hate violence tracking efforts:

Cia Siab, Inc. is the only organization in the U.S. to track hate violence against HMoob people. The tracking effort is only as good as the ability to maintain the infrastructure to enable reporting. Furthermore, education on and awareness of reporting anti-HMoob violence is necessary for people to report. Data on anti-HMoob violence will help community-based social justice organizations' efforts to make effective data-informed community education, outreach, and prevention efforts.

Disaggregate Asian Pacific Islander American (APIA) data:

There is tremendous ethnic, cultural, social, and class diversity in "Asian Pacific Islander Americans." We each deserve to be represented. Without data disaggregation, some of us remain overlooked in data points and inadequately served. Hate violence is one example of how data aggregation makes HMoob people invisible. We recommend a data justice approach to data disaggregation when it comes to all other areas of social and political life, including but not limited to public health and medicine, education, income and class, and hate violence.

Employ and center anti-racist values, principles and practices in news media:

Anti-racism in the news media is necessary in order to effectively battle harmful discourses about HMoob people. Racist discourses and news media's re/use of these discourses shape material realities for many HMoob individuals. This manifests in many ways, such as anti-HMoob racist rhetoric and violence against HMoob people.

As we close out our report, it is important that we mention that in the 45+ year history of HMoob people in the U.S., 323 incidents is very small. Although 323 incidents are a great departure point to inform future research on anti-HMoob violence, we acknowledge that not all incidents make it into the news media. It is likely that the amount of hate violence is significantly greater than what our numbers report. Our data represent a small sample of the reality of the high frequency of anti-HMoob hate violence incidents. Our findings are to be used with this knowledge in mind.

Anti-HMoob violence is an ongoing and evolving issue. We offer our data and our analyses as an invitation for further engagement. We envision multiple ways our project can be of use to different audiences. We encourage anyone who is interested to take a closer look at our appendixes where we have included more detailed descriptions of our methods, additional figures, and our raw datasets. We hope that by providing these background elements of our work other groups will be able to replicate, build on, and improve our data for similar projects and causes. We encourage folks to re/use our data to run their own analyses and use the data to complement their own research on anti-HMoob violence. Additionally, we have rich oral history interviews with HMoob folks in La Crosse. Interested folks are encouraged to listen to these interviews as well as reuse them for their research. Students and educators are encouraged to be in touch as we are happy to discuss our process and what we have learned about research design by carrying out this project.

References

- Amaro, Y. (2022, February 10). U.S. lifts visa sanctions on Laos. What this means for Fresno's Hmong, Laotian communities. *The Fresno Bee*.
- Anti-Defamation League. (2021). ADL Pyramid of Hate. Retrieved from https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/pyramid-of-hate-web-english_1.pdf
- Associated Press. (2005, September 13). Hmong stand vigil. *Telegraph Herald*, d5.
- Beckstrom, M. (1998, August 23). Crowd protests KQRS broadcast, seeks an apology. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 1B.
- Borja, M., & Gibson, J. (2020). *Virulent Hate: Anti-Asian Racism in 2020*. Retrieved from <https://virulenthate.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Virulent-Hate-Anti-Asian-Racism-In-2020-5.17.21.pdf>
- Brandzel, A. L. (2016). *Against citizenship: The violence of the normative*. University of Illinois Press.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics, The. (n.d.). FAQ: What is arrest-related deaths (ARD) program? Department of Justice. Retrieved from <https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm/content/data/content/pub/ascii/index.cfm?ty=qa&iid=701>
- Burson, P. (1999, February 20). 'I will never be happy... ' Slain Hmong girl's kin express fresh anger at proposed sentences in case. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 1B.
- California Department of Social Services. (1998, September 1). All County Letter 98-66 California Food Assistance Program (CFAP) as amended by Assembly Bill (AB) 2779 (Chapter 329, Statutes of 1998). Retrieved from <https://www.cdss.ca.gov/lettersnotices/entres/getinfo/acl98/98-66.PDF>
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Form*, 1989(1), 139-167

- Department of Children and Families. (2001). *Wisconsin Works Manual: Release 21-09*. Retrieved from <https://dcf.wisconsin.gov/manuals/w-2-manual/Production/!SSL!/WebHelp/Production/pdf/W2ManualRelease2109.pdf>.
- Encyclopedia. (2004). Comparing the new (TANF) with the old (AFDC). *Information Plus(R) Reference Series*. Retrieved June 10, 2022, from <https://www.encyclopedia.com/reference/culture-magazines/comparing-new-tanf-old-afdc>.
- FBI, Criminal Justice Information Services Division. (2019). *Expanded Homicide Data Table 14*. Retrieved from <https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2019/crime-in-the-u.s.-2019/tables/expanded-homicide-data-table-14.xls>.
- G.R.E.A.T. (n.d.). *G.R.E.A.T. Great Resistance Education And Training*. <https://www.great-online.org/>.
- Grossman, Z. & McNutt, D. (2001). From enemies to allies: Native Americans and whites transformed violent treaty conflicts into a powerful environmental movement in Wisconsin. *Colorlines*, 22-25. <https://sites.evergreen.edu/zoltan/wp-content/uploads/sites/358/2019/09/From-Enemies-to-Allies.pdf>.
- Hanners, D. (2009, September 18). Union assails officer's firing - Police shed little light on handling Andersen case. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, B1.
- Harter, K. (2005, May 12). Prosecutors say Vang can get fair trial - Defense bid to change venue is opposed. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, B6.
- Hill, E. G. (1998). *CalWORKs Welfare Reform: Major Provisions and Issues*. Legislative Analyst's Office. Retrieved from <https://lao.ca.gov/Publications/Detail/86>.
- Howell, J.C. (2015). *The history of street gangs in the United States: Their origins and transformations*. Lexington Books.
- Imrie, R. (2005, September 17). Jury finds immigrant guilty of killing hunters - Defendant claims others shot first. Attack strained race relations. *The Seattle Times*, A4.
- Kelly, S. P. (1989, December 29). Humphrey won't reopen shooting probe - He meets with parents of 2 boys slain by Inver Grove police officer. *Star Tribune: Newspaper of the Twin Cities*, 03B.

- Kim, C.J. (1999 March). The racial triangulation of Asian Americans. *Politics & Society*, 27(1), 105-138.
- Locke, D. (1998, August 27). Jeers of schoolyard bullies echo on airwaves. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 17A.
- Luthern, A. (2016, March 16). Triple homicide suspect had guns taken from him, then released in '08. *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*.
- Marsh, R. E. (1976). Socioeconomic status of Indochinese refugees in the United States: Progress and problems. *Social Security Bulletin*, 43(10), 10.
- Martinez, E.B. (n.d.). *What is white supremacy?* Catalyst Project.
https://collectiveliberation.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/What_Is_White_Supremacy_Martinez.pdf.
- Miller, W.B. (2001). *The growth of youth gang problems in the United States, 1970-1998*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- Pasque, L. S. (2018, November 23). 'This is not just a Latino immigrant issue:' Panel addresses ICE activity, community response. *The Capital Times*.
- Perry, B. (2002). *In the Name of Hate: Understanding Hate Crimes*. Routledge.
- Pofahl, D. (1988). *To make a difference: American mix: The Southeast Asians and other racial minorities of La Crosse*. The La Crosse Foundation.
<http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=1325>.
- Schwartz, S. (1998, March 7). Food Stamp Cutoff Upheld - Benefits denied to Hmong who fought for the U.S. *San Francisco Chronicle*, B1.
- Smith, A. (2012). Indigeneity, settler colonialism, white supremacy. *Racial formation in the twenty-first century*, 66.
- Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC). 2013. *Southeast Asian Americans and Deportation Policy*. Retrieved from: https://www.searac.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Southeast-Asian-Americans-and-Deportation-Policy_8.8.2013.pdf.

- The Sun. (1999, March 8). Surviving culture shock. *The Sun*, 1A.
- Tang, E. (2010). Collateral damage: Southeast Asian poverty in the United States. In J. Y.W S. Wu & T. Chen (Eds.), *Asian American Studies Now: A Critical Reader* (pp. 454–474). Rutgers University Press.
- U.S. Department of Justice. (n.d.). Learn about hate crimes.
<https://www.justice.gov/hatecrimes/learn-about-hate-crimes>.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (1990). ACS Population Table 1990 - Hmong only. Retrieved from <https://www.socialexplorer.com/us-census-data>.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). ACS Population Table 2000 - Hmong only. Retrieved from <https://www.socialexplorer.com/us-census-data>.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). ACS Population Table 2010- Hmong only. Retrieved from <https://www.socialexplorer.com/us-census-data>.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2015). 2015: ACS 5-Year Estimates Selected Population Detailed Tables [SAS Data file]. Retrieved from <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=hmong&g=0400000US06,27,55&y=2015&tid=ACSDT5YSPT2015.B01003>.
- Vang, M., & Myers, K. (2021). In the wake of George Floyd: Hmong Americans' refusal to be a U.S. ally. *Amerasia Journal*, 47(1), 20–34.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00447471.2021.1974781>.
- Vielmetti, B. (2016, April 24). Family gathers to grieve again, seeks justice after triple homicide. *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*.
- Viet Stories. (2022). *Viet Stories: Vietnamese American oral history project*. University of California Irvine. <https://sites.uci.edu/vaohp/>.
- Yang v. Murphy, 796 F. Supp. 1245 (1992). Civ. No. 3-90-417 (U.S. District Court for the District of Minnesota June 15, 1992). <https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp/796/1245/1559377/>.
- Yellow Horse, A., Jeung, R., Lim, R., Tang, B., Im, M., Higashiyama, L., Schweng, L., & Cheng, M. (2020). *Stop AAPI hate national report*. Stop AAPI Hate.

Zhang, X. (2005, February 18). Hmong residents protest fatal shooting by police. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, B2.

Zufall, F. (2005, November 16). Vang trial concerns raised. *Spooner Advocate*.

Glossary

Terms are internally defined unless explicitly stated

- **ADL Pyramid of Hate** (ADL, 2021)
 - **Biased Attitudes:** Stereotyping, Insensitive Remarks, Fear of Differences, Non-inclusive Language, Microaggressions, Justifying biases by seeking out like-minded people, Accepting negative or misinformation/screening out positive information.
 - **Acts of Bias:** Bullying, Ridicule, Name-calling, Slurs/Epithets, Social Avoidance, De-humanization, Biased/Belittling jokes.
 - **Systemic Discrimination:** Economic discrimination, Political discrimination, Educational discrimination, Employment discrimination, Housing discrimination & segregation, Criminal justice disparities.
 - **Bias-Motivated Violence:** Murder, Rape, Assault, Arson, Terrorism, Vandalism, Desecration, Threats.
 - **Genocide:** The act of intent to deliberately and systematically annihilate an entire people.
- **Adult:** Anybody between the ages of 18 and 64.
- **Anti-Asian bias language:** language that expresses anti-Asian sentiments and includes expressions that demean or exclude people because of age, sex, race, ethnicity, social class, or physical or mental traits.
- **Anti-Blackness:** overt racism (in the form of actions or behaviors) which marginalizes and discriminates against Black identifying individuals, institutions, and policies.
- **Anti-HMoob Violence:** behavior, attitudes, and actions from white people, who have access to power, that harm and oppress HMoob folks, thereby perpetuating white supremacy.
- **Colorblind:** the reluctance of society to acknowledge racial or identity-based discrimination that operates off a social hierarchy embedded in anti-blackness. The term also alludes to the term “multiculturalism,” which purports cultural diversity and difference, instead of race, to also distort racial oppression.
- **Community Action:** Activity that increases civic engagement or understanding of communities with a local reach (e.g., protest, gathering, vigil, pledge, strike).
- **Elder:** Anybody 65 or older.
- **Frequently-cited incidents:** incidents that appear in multiple news articles AND are considered by a HMoob-identified person at Cia Siab, Inc. to be significant to HMoob American memory and consciousness due to the egregiousness of the incident or its significance in changing and shaping HMoob American communities.
- **Group:** a band of white people with or without official affiliation.

- **Incident:** an occurrence, experience or event.
- **Hate Violence Incident:** any Type of Violence that involves an altercation/interaction/exchange between 2 or more parties/entities, can be visualized, and can be classified under the ADL Pyramid of Hate.
- **Gender-Based Violent Incident:** any Type of Violence that manifests from unequal power relations between genders.
- **Minor:** anybody under 18 years old.
- **Organization/Institution:** An organization or institution, such as a court, news outlets, local/regional/state/ federal departments, police, school and/or university.
- **Sense of Justice:** The victim or author describes the victim as having received a sense of justice, including a favorable verdict against their perpetrator, some type of extralegal resolution, etc.
- **White supremacy:** a historically-based, institutionally-perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations, and peoples of color by white peoples and nations of the European continent, for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power, and privilege (Martinez, n.d., p. 16).

Txhais Cov Lus Siv Hauv Txoj Kev Tshawb Fawb No

- **Qib Qis mus rau Qib Siab Ntawm Kev Ntxub Ntxaug** (ADL Pyramid of Hate (ADL, 2021))
 - **Txoj kev coj cwj pwm tsis ncaj ncees** (Biased Attitudes): kev ntseeg yuam kev hais tias haiv neeg twg, los txhua leej txhua tus uas yog haiv neeg ntawv, ces yeej coj tib yam kiag xwb, tsis txawv ib qho li. Xws li hais lus saib tsis tau lwm haiv neeg txawv, kev ntshai lwm haiv neeg vim lawv cev nqaij daim tawv xwb, siv lus uas yuav cais lwm haiv neeg, tsis pub lwm haiv neeg los koom nrog yus, kev coj thiab kev ua uas saib tsis tau lwm haiv neeg, ntseeg lus phem txog lwm hais neeg xwb tiam sis tsis ntseeg lus zoo li.
 - **Txoj kev coj thiab txoj kev ua uas tsis ncaj ncees** (Acts of Bias): kev tsim txom ntxub ntxaug, chob lus phem lus tsis zoo rau ib haiv neeg, tis npe phem rau lwm haiv neeg, tsis kam nyob ze lwm haiv neeg, coj thiab saib lwm haiv neeg cuag li lawv tsis yog neeg li, tso dag saib tsis tau lwm haiv neeg.
 - **Txoj kev txhob txwm tsim cai los pab txhawb cov haiv neeg uas twb muaj hwj chim thiab txoj cai loj thiab ntau lawm** (Systematic Discrimination): Kev cais thiab ntxub cov haiv neeg tsawg raws li lawv cev nqaij daim tawv, txoj kev muaj, kev pluag, txoj kev mus pov npav xaiv nom tswv, txoj kev tsis txawj ntse, txoj kev tsis muaj vaj tsis muaj tse, thiab txoj kev ntes mus kaw thiab hno txim loj tshaj rau neeg Dub Hau.
 - **Kev tsim txom rau ib leej tus twg vim nws cev nqaij daim tawv** (Bias-Motivated Violence): xws li tua tus neeg ntawv pov tseg, yuam deev tus neeg ntawv, ntaus tus neeg ntawv, hlawv nws tej khoob thiab vaj tse kom kub hluav taws, tsim txom ntxub ntxaug rau ib haiv neeg, tsoo vaj tsoo tsev, tsoo tsheb tsoo khoom, rhuav vaj tsev, siv lus sib ntaus sib tua los tsim txom rau tus ntawv los rau ib haiv neeg ntawv.
 - **Txheej txheem los tua ib haiv neeg kom tu noob** (Genocide): thaum ib haiv neeg twg, los ib leej twg muaj ib lub hom phiaj los tua lwm haiv neeg kom tuag tas nrho, kom lwm haiv neeg ntawv txhob muaj ib leeg cia li lawm.
- **Neeg laus** (Adult): ib tug neeg muaj 18 mus rau 64 xyoo.
- **Lus ntxub ntxaug thiab lus saib tsis tau neeg Es Xias** (Anti-Asian bias language): Lus ntxub ntxaug thiab lus saib tsis tau neeg Es Xias xws li cov lus thiab kev coj uas yuav cais neeg raws lawv hnoob nyoog, yog poj niam los txiv neej, cev nqaij daim tawv, haiv neeg, tsis muaj nyiaj, los yog hlwb tsis mee pem.
- **Kev ntxub ntxaug rau haiv neeg Tawv Dub** (Anti-Blackness): kev uas yuav muab neeg Tawv Dub cais los ntawv lawv cev nqaij daim tawv, yuav ua rau lawv raug kev

tsim txom ntau tshaj plaws rau cov tib neeg Tawv Dub, cov koom haum Tawv Dub, thiab txoj cai uas yuav los pab haiv neeg Tawv Dub.

- **Kev npog, kev tsis lees hais tias muaj kev ntxub ntxaug los ntawm yus ces nqaij daim tawv** (Colorblind Racism): Yog thaum leej twg, los sis yog zej zog twg, tsis kam lees hais tias hauv peb teb chaws no, muaj kev cais pab pawg, thiab kev ntxub ntxaug los ntawm yus cev nqaij daim tawv, uas yog ib txoj kev coj uas tau muaj neeg Tawv Dub cais mus raug kev tsim txom ntau tshaj plaws thias yog hais neeg raug ntxub tshaj plaws. Tsis tas li ntawv, lo lus no kuj siv los ras txog lo lus “multiculturalism” uas yog txoj kev dag ntxias hais tias tsis muaj kev ntxub ntxaug rau haiv neeg Dub Hau.
- **Zej zog koom tes tsa suab** (Community Action): Ib txoj hauj lwm, los sis ib lub zog twg uas yuav los pab tsa pej xeem zej zog lub suab, kom lawv muaj lub siab thiab txoj cai mus tawm tsam, tsa suab, thiab piav lawv zaj thaum ib yam uas tsis ncaj ncees tau tswm sim rau lawv lawm.
- **Cov laus** (Elder): ib tug neeg laus ua muaj 65 xyoo rov sauv.
- **Xwm txheej ua nrov/paub zoo** (Frequently-cited incidents): thaum xov xwm tham tshaj tawm txog ib qho xwm txheej ntau ntau zaus thiab neeg HMoob paub thiab tham txog ntau heev li.
- **Ib pab neeg** (Group): Ib pab neeg–tsis hais yuav yog ib lub koom haum los tsis yog, muaj npe los tsis muaj npe–tsuas yog ib pab pej xeem neeg twg lawm xwb ces yog ib “group” lawm.
- **Xwm txheej** (Incident): yam ua tau tswm sim
- **Xwm txheej ntxub ntxaug neeg Dub Hau** (Hate Violence Incident): xwm txeej ua ob tug neeg--ib tug yog tawv dawv, ib tug yog neeg Dub Hau-- sib ceg, sib ntau. Txoj kev sib ceg sib ntau no yuav tsum taug qab tau mus rau lub ADL Pyramid of Hate.
- **Xwm txheej ntxub ntxaug tsim txom poj niam menyuam ntxhais** (Gender-based Violence Incident): ib yam xwm txheej tswm sim ua uas tsis muaj kev vaj huam sib hluag nrog txiv neeg thiab tsis ncaj ncees tsim txom poj niam/menyuam ntxhais.
- **Menyuam** (Minor): ib tug menyuam ua muaj 17 xyoo rov hauv.
- **Koom haum** (Organization/Institution): Ib lub khoos haum, yam li chaw hais plaub, chaws luam xov xwm tawm, tsev nom tswm ntawv ib lub zov, nroog, xeev, los teb chaws loj, pab tub ceev xwm, tsev kawm ntawv – cov qib qis thiab qib siab ua ke.
- **Thaum tus neeg raug kev tsim txom ntawv tau txais kev ncaj ncees** (Sense of Justice): Thaum tus neeg raug kev tsim txom ntawv tau txais kev ncaj ncees uas ua rau nws ntseeg thiab pom tau hais tias lub txim ua kev lib choj tau hno rau tus tsim txom nws ntawv, yog ib lub txim ncaj ncees.
- **Keeb kwm uas neeg Tawv Dawb tau tsim txom neeg Dub Hau thoob plaws ntiaj teb** (White Supremacy): Keeb kwm uas neeg Tawv Dawb tau tsim txom neeg Dub Hau thoob plaws ntiaj teb, kav teb kav chaw, khoos thiab tua neeg Dub Hau. Cov neeg Tawv Dawb thiab teb chaws sab ntuj Europe, tau ua li no kom thiaj txeeb tau nyiaj txiag, hwj chim, thiab txoj cai los mus ntawv lwm haiv neeg.

Appendices

Appendix A: Research Design and Method

Building Our Corpus

We have two main components to our corpus: oral histories (see Appendix C) and news articles. For our news articles component, we searched for and selected articles from the *Access World News-Historical and Current* database, which indexes news results from approximately 12,000 sources worldwide, including the U.S. We set our search criteria for articles published between 1975 and 2019 in the U.S., except newswires. Below is our search string that took into account geography, vernacular of different decades, and terms commonly associated with hate crime reports :

(Hmong* OR HMoob* OR Indochinese OR "Southeast Asian" OR "Southeast Asians") [ALL TEXT] AND
(racism OR bias* OR discrimination OR "racial slur" OR "racial slurs" OR prejudice* OR hate OR fear* OR harass*) [ALL TEXT] AND
(incident OR incidents OR altercation* OR assault* OR attack* OR bully* OR crime* OR gang* OR thug* OR beating OR friction OR tension OR terroriz* OR hostile*) [ALL TEXT] AND (California OR Wisconsin OR Minnesota)

We used this search string to find news reporting on incidents in the three states with the largest populations of HMoob people: California, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Using Boolean operators of AND and OR in our keyword search allowed us to run a single search that collected a wide range of digitized news articles and television segment transcripts. We also used keywords to account for how U.S. media described HMoob people over time. For example, in the 1970s and 1980s, "Indochinese" described Southeast Asians, which include the HMoob people. We also included the keywords "gang" and "thug" because these are common descriptors of HMoob youth in mainstream American news media. Our initial search resulted in 6,000 articles.

After downloading PDFs of these articles, we skimmed them for relevancy. We found 1,047 articles to be relevant to the scope of our research. In our next step, we conducted close readings and/or tagged all 1,047 articles. Of these 1,047 articles, 399 were removed because they did not explicitly reference/discuss an anti-HMoob violence incident. 648 articles made up our news article corpus. We divided these 648 articles into loose collections based on the race/ethnicity of the victim in the incident.

These collections are:

- HMoob: the victim is unquestionably HMoob because they self-identified, the news article framed them as such and/or information about them (such as their name) inferred that they are HMoob
- Southeast Asian: the victim is racialized as Southeast Asian but there is no clarification from either the victim or the news article of the victim’s specific ethnicity. The victim could therefore be HMoob.
- Gender-based violence & anti-HMoob violence: the victim is a victim of gendered hate violence, meaning they were targeted because of their gender

From the 648 articles, we tagged 323 anti-HMoob incidents. This total also includes 19 anti-Southeast Asian (SEA) incidents included due to a lack of information reported, but we strongly suspect these incidents are about HMoob people.

Our Tagging Process of News Articles

Before we started tagging, we identified certain elements we wanted to capture in anti-HMoob violence incident. This included the following:

- Incident information: date, description of the incident, location type, and incident city, county, and state
- Incident violence information: Type of Violence, Origin of Violence, perpetrator information
- Victim and Perpetrator information: name/description, age group, sex/gender, race/ethnicity, and languages spoken by victim
- Outcome of incident: outcome for the perpetrator, victim, and larger community

We created a tagging template in Google Spreadsheet: each row corresponded to an incident, while each column corresponded to elements of an incident. A snapshot of different elements of our tagging template and how we tagged is in Figure A1:

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1	Tagger	Incident No.	File-Name	Reprint-Articles	Duplicate-Incidents	Anti-Asian-Bias-Languages	Reference-Incidents	Anti-HmoobSEA-Incident	GBV-Incident	YYYY	MM	DD
18	NT	H17	H003	0	0	N	None	Y	N	NS	NS	NS
19	NT	H18	H005	0	0	Y	None	Y	N	NS	NS	NS
20	NT	H19	H006	0	0	N	None	Y	N	NS	NS	NS
21	NT	H20	H010_A	0	0	N	None	Y	N	1987	NS	NS

	M	N	O	P	Q	R
1	Description	Settlement-Type	Location-Type	City	County	State
18	Hmong children were taunted because of their race	Urban	School	Wausau	Marathon	WI
19	Unprovoked attack on an elder Hmong couple that left the man dead	Urban	NS	Santa Ana	Orange	CA
20	Hmong refugees experiencing racism *from the same people today who are fr	NS	NS	Milwaukee	NS	WI
21	Nana and John Gil's land along County Rd. 71, Dakota County; In addition to Rural		Outdoors	Rosemount	Dakota	MN

Figure A1: Screenshot of Tagging Template and Tagged Elements

Each article was assigned a file name, and each incident was assigned a unique incident name. We read 1,047 articles and of these articles tagged 648.

We aggregated reprint articles during the reading/tagging phase and further weeded out pieces that did not report on an incident. Reprint article means that the news article was reprinted in two or more newspapers. A “reprint article” is both a newswire and other articles that were more than the majority of the content are verbatim. Reprint articles were aggregated under the article file name for an article that taggers selected to be the “parent” article. Across many incidents, multiple columns were tagged with “NS,” which is shorthand for “Not Specified.” Our taggers were instructed to use the tag NS for any information that the article did not explicitly state and *not* to do any outside research to fill in this category (during the initial tagging phase).

Location

The purpose of stating ‘NS’ in regards to location of the incident is to account for any articles that omitted the exact location of incidents for unspecified reasons. However, even in these cases an incident still took place. As we cannot properly pinpoint its geographic location, such incidents have been omitted from the map. However, alongside each map, the exact number of incidents that have been omitted due to lack of this detail will be noted.

State

For states, we did not use “NS,” since we agreed that according to the parameters of our study, we would already be assuming that the incident occurred in one of the three states (CA, MN, or WI). As such, we agreed to assign one of the three states to each incident. We took the article publication location as well as the context of the article to infer and determine a location for the incident on the state level. For example, incident H66 is an opinion piece in response to a letter to the editor. Because the opinion piece was sent to *The Sacramento Bee*, we assumed that the letter to the editor was also sent to *The Sacramento Bee*. We assigned CA as the state to incident H66.

In another example, for incident H171, the incident tagged was a comment by an interviewee about the general hate violence HMoob hunters experience. The author did not mention a specific state where this general hate violence took place, but in the preceding paragraph, the author mentions HMoob populations from Eau Claire, WI, and St. Paul, MN. Based on the incident description and a general observation of HMoob hunters’ experiences with hate violence experiences, we assigned WI and MN to H171. For the columns Victim Language-Tagger and Perpetrator Race-Tagger, if taggers did not know, they put “unsure” to indicate that they were not sure of the exact language or race.

Appendix B: Bibliographic Information on News Articles

As previously mentioned, 648 articles were relevant to the scope of our research. The breakdown of these articles by collection is as follows:

Collection	Number of Articles	Number of Incidents
Gender-based Violence - Anti-HMoob Violence (GBV-AHV)	19	8
HMoob	602	303
SEA	49	20
Grand total	668	323

Figure B1. Count of Articles and Incidents by Collection

The number of articles between the three collections total 668 articles, which means that some of the articles overlap between 2 or more collections which is why the total number of articles is 668, versus 648. Of these 648 articles, 307 articles were “reprint articles”; Reprint articles explain the inflated number of articles in relation to the number of incidents. The other explanation is that articles that referenced an incident but the article was NOT a reprint. In this particular instance, similar incidents were rooted in one incident, but the bibliographic information for all articles about that incident was not tabulated as a reprint but rather as an article with an incident number.

Below in Figure B2 is a breakdown of the article publication year. The height of article publication on HMoob is in 2004 and 2005 at both 150 and 156 articles, respectively.

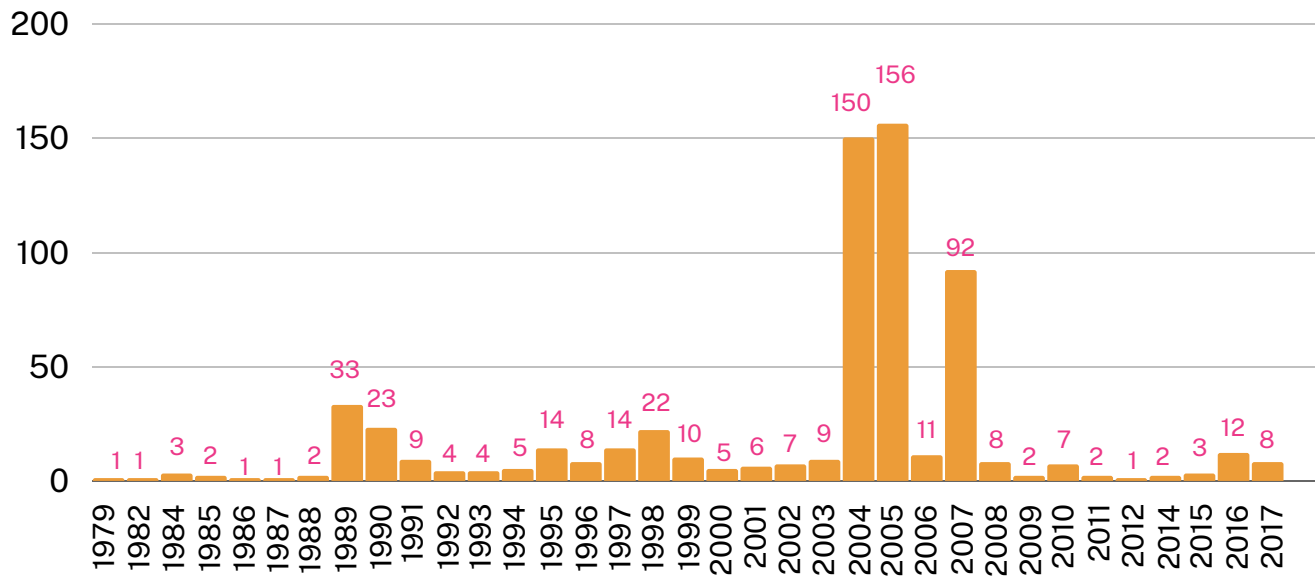


Figure B2. Article County by Year

Thirty-six states are represented in the 648 articles. The District of Columbia is also represented in our corpus. There are 14 states that are not represented in our corpus: Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Maine, Mississippi, Montana, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Wyoming. The top 10 states that published the most HMoob articles are tabulated below in Figure B3.

State	Count of News Articles
MN	164
WI	155
CA	69
IA	26
FL	21
TX	18
ND	18
PA	17
MO	15
IL	15

Figure B3. Top 10 States with Highest Number of News Articles Published

There are 150 new sources represented in the 648 articles. Of the 150 new sources, the top 10 are listed below. All except for the *Telegraph Herald* are newspapers from MN, WI, and CA. The *Telegraph Herald* is from Dubuque, IA which is near the IL-WI-IA border. The top 10 news source is below in Figure B4:

Publisher Title	Count of News Articles
St. Paul Pioneer Press (St. Paul, MN)	83
La Crosse Tribune (La Crosse, WI)	39
Star Tribune: Newspaper of the Twin Cities (Minneapolis, MN)	38
Capital Times (WI)	26
Duluth News Tribune (MN)	25
Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)	24
Milwaukee Journal Sentinel (Milwaukee, WI)	24
Wisconsin State Journal (Madison, WI)	15
Sacramento Bee (Sacramento, CA)	15
Fresno Bee (Fresno, CA)	13

Figure B4. Top 10 News Outlets/Newspapers with Highest Articles Published

Finally, there are many unknown authors. The top 10 most published authors are as follows in Figure B5:

Author Name	Count of Articles
Unknown Author	260
Imrie	102
Harter	15
Freed	10
Held	6
Crenson	6
Yuen	6
Magagnini	5
Karnowski	5
Trevison	4
Amaro	4
Aamot	4

Figure B5. Top 20 Most Published Authors

These counts include whether they are second or third authors. HMoob authors are not represented in the top 10 most published authors; the majority of these authors have European descent names.

Because Robert Imrie has written so much on the HMoob, we have included a short yearly breakdown of their articles in our corpus.

Year	Robert Imrie - First Author Articles	Robert Imrie- Second Author Articles
1997	1	0
2004	47	6
2005	71	0
2007	15	0
TOTAL	140	

Figure B6. Article Publication by Year of Robert Imrie (Most published author)

As demonstrated in the table below, Robert Imrie writes significantly about the HMoob in news article reporting. His writings about HMoob people span the mid-2000s, at the height of the shooting in northern WI involving Chai Soua Vang.

Appendix C: Design for Oral History Interviews

For the oral history component, we conducted six multipart interviews with La Crosse HMoob community members. We utilized oral interviews to counterbalance the systematic media analysis from the news articles component. We followed the Vietnamese American Oral History Project for the step-by-step oral interview procedure and form templates (Viet Stories, 2022). We created a semi-structured interview protocol, a biographical survey, informed consent and release forms in English and HMoob, and a set of well-being resources and compensation for the interviewees. Our interviews captured their personal history and interpretation of anti-HMoob violence.

The interviews were two-day teleconference calls scheduled in 90-minute segments that touched on the interviewee's biographical information, their understanding and experiences with anti-HMoob violence, and their media analysis. This oral history structure is not traditional, but it does follow a chronological and linear pattern that encompasses a brief life history narration by the interviewee. It includes an interactive portion where we asked the interviewees to read two pre-selected articles about Chai Soua Vang and give us their opinions and comments. After the interviews were completed, we held a debrief meeting with the interviewers to allow them to share their experiences and give us feedback on the interview structure. The output from each interview was:

- Video and audio recordings.
- Signed release and consent forms.
- A biographical survey.
- Transcriptions of each two-part interview.
- Translations from HMoob to English for one interview.
- Some photos and screenshots of interviewees and interviewers.

Almost all interviews were conducted mainly in English and over either Zoom or over the phone, except for one interviewee who met in-person and spoke mainly HMoob. The research team transcribed all interviews and translated the HMoob-speaking interview. The synthesization and analysis of the interview materials created themes relevant to the interviews and incorporated them into our media analysis. The themes were based on common topics and patterns from interviewee's transcripts in which individual members of the oral history team cultivated by reviewing each transcript and making their personal list of recurring topics. Later, we designated a meeting to bridge together our individual lists to create a cohesive collective list which became our ultimate theme designations.

Appendix D: Copy of Oral History Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol

Narrator: []

Interviewer: []

Date:

Location:

Transcriber: []

Translator(if applicable): []

Articles Referenced Shortcodes: []

Interview Items

- Audio File
- Screenshot/photograph of interview
- Transcript
- Forms
- Release form
- Informed Consent Form
- Biographical Survey

Opening

- **Interviewer introduces themselves:** Hi, my name is [] and I use [] pronouns.
- **Talk a bit about the project to remind the interviewee:** *Today, we will be conducting an interview to incorporate your life history into a report about anti-HMoob violence in the last forty years. The interview will be conducted in two separate meetings, up to 90 minutes each, and divided up into three main parts. The first part will be a chat about your background. For the second part, we will dive deeper into your life history and experiences with racism and discrimination. The last part will be more interactive, where we will read two articles about the Chai Soua Vang case and have a discussion regarding your thoughts on both articles.*
- **General Introduction for audio recording**
 - Include location, date, names of interviewee and interviewer, name of project, others attending the interview and a brief statement of purpose. For example:
“Today is Monday, June 7th, 2021. This is John Vue with the Anti-HMoob Violence Report Project and I am interviewing Thao Nguyen. We are at their home in Fresno, California. Also present is his dog, Mochi.”

Part 1: Biographical Questions

****Use the biographical survey to steer & inform your conversation****

- Would you like to take a moment to introduce yourself including your first and last name, pronouns, and year (and month) you were born?
- Can you introduce your family to me?
- Can you tell us about your childhood, starting with where you were born?
 - (if born in the U.S.) Can you share a bit about your family history and how your family decided to move to the U.S.?
 - (if born abroad) What made you decide to move to the U.S.?
 - What date and city did you arrive in the U.S.?
- Why did you decide to move to your current home?
- On a typical workday, what do you do?
 - Elders: What do you do on a typical day?

Part 2: Anti-HMoob/Anti-Asian violence and personal experiences

Note: Put out a disclaimer that this next portion of the interview can be very difficult and you are going to ask questions related to racism, violence, and discrimination that the interviewee could have experienced first-hand. Let them know that they can stop the interview at any time. Go on to explain that the terms anti-Asian and anti-HMoob are newer phenomena, but it also encapsulates racism and discrimination, and you will be using some of these terms as part of the questions you ask.

- How do you define racism and discrimination?
 - Follow-up: Who can perpetuate racism and discrimination?
 - Why do you think Anti-HMoob violence or sentiment happens in the U.S.?
- Can you share a moment where you witnessed or experienced racism or discrimination for being HMoob/Asian?
 - What factors do you think impacted how that person/you were treated?
 - What was the outcome of this incident?
- Do you have other experiences with racism or discrimination you can share with me?
 - What factors do you think impacted how that person/you were treated?
 - What was the outcome of this incident?
- What do you think of the recent rise in anti-Asian hate and violence?
 - What do you think contributed to the rise in hate and violence?
- What has been the impact of anti-Asian violence on you?
- Does being a HMoob/woman/LGBTQ+ affect how people treat you or how you act?

Part 3: Article Based Questions

- We will ask you to read 2 articles and ask you a few follow up questions. Please take all the time you need and let us know when you're finished.
 - Provide articles in preferred languages
 - 2 articles: Impact on the HMoob community. Summary of the entire case + a few HMoob people's reactions
- What do you think this article is about?
- Do you remember this incident happening or hearing about it from others?
- How do you feel after reading this article?
- Do you believe that this was an accurate depiction of your community and the other parties involved aka white people?"
- Is there anything you would add or change to the article?

Closing

- Could you think of any community resources that should be around to help support victims of anti-HMoob racism and violence?
- We are at the end of our interview today. Is there anything you would like to add or say that was not asked?
- *Ask to take a screenshot/picture of interview (only through Zoom or in-person)*
- The research team and I want to thank you so much for taking your time to help us with our Anti-HMoob Violence Project. What you shared today about your experiences and perspective is going to help spread awareness and educate people about Anti-HMoob Violence. If there's anything you need or any questions in the future, please feel free to contact services in the well-being resources list or you can also contact our Primary Investigators Maij and Thao. Their contacts should be in the Informed Consent form, but I can also give you their emails if you want: Maij Xiong (iammai.xiong@gmail.com), Thao Nguyen (thaonguy@umich.edu).
- If applicable, remind them of the second interview date
- Bye! Have a nice day!

